

ESTUDOS ARQUEOLÓGICOS DE OEIRAS

Volume 30 • 2022



Editor científico: João Luís Cardoso

CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE OEIRAS
2022

Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras é uma revista de periodicidade anual, publicada em continuidade desde 1991, que privilegia, exceptuando números temáticos de abrangência nacional e internacional, a publicação de estudos de arqueologia da Estremadura em geral e do concelho de Oeiras em particular, sem prejuízo daqueles que possam valorizar o conhecimento das antiguidades oeirenses, para além de contributos sobre a História da Arqueologia e de comunicações apresentadas a reuniões científicas organizadas pelo Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras/Câmara Municipal de Oeiras.

Possui um Conselho Assessor do Editor Científico, assim constituído:

- Dr. Luís Raposo (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa)
- Professor Doutor Nuno Bicho (Universidade do Algarve)
- Professor Doutor Alfredo Mederos Martín (Universidade Autónoma de Madrid)
- Professor Doutor Martín Almagro Gorbea (Universidade Complutense de Madrid)
- Professora Doutora Raquel Vilaça (Universidade de Coimbra)
- Professor Doutor Jorge de Oliveira (Universidade de Évora)

ESTUDOS ARQUEOLÓGICOS DE OEIRAS

Volume 30 • 2022 ISSN: 0872-6086

EDITOR CIENTÍFICO – João Luís Cardoso
DESENHO E FOTOGRAFIA – Autores ou fontes assinaladas
PRODUÇÃO – Gabinete de Comunicação / CMO
CORRESPONDÊNCIA – Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras
Fábrica da Pólvora de Barcarena
Estrada das Fontainhas
2745-615 BARCARENA

Os artigos publicados são da exclusiva responsabilidade dos Autores.
É expressamente proibida a reprodução de quaisquer imagens sobre as quais existam direitos de autor sem o prévio consentimento dos signatários dos artigos respectivos.

Aceita-se permuta
On prie l'échange
Exchange wanted
Tauschverkehr erwünscht

ORIENTAÇÃO GRÁFICA E

REVISÃO DE PROVAS – João Luís Cardoso e Autores

PAGINAÇÃO – César Antunes

IMPRESSÃO E ACABAMENTO – Grificamares, Lda. - Amares - Tel. 253 992 735

DEPÓSITO LEGAL: 97312/96

**ARQUEOLOGIA EM ESPANHA E PORTUGAL ATRAVÉS
DA CORRESPONDÊNCIA DE JULIO MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA (1905-1972)
DE E PARA ARQUEÓLOGOS PORTUGUESES**

***ARCHAEOLOGY IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL THROUGH
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JULIO MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA (1905-1972)
TO AND FROM PORTUGUESE ARCHAEOLOGISTS***

Alfredo Mederos Martín¹ & João Luís Cardoso²

Abstract

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (1905-1972), the Spanish Commissioner General of Archaeological Excavations (1939-1956) and acting Full Professor of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid (1939-1954), was an amateur archaeologist since he was very young. After studying at the universities of Madrid, Barcelona and Valladolid (1923-26), Santa-Olalla obtained a position as a lecturer at the University of Bonn (Germany) between 1927 and 1931. He defended his doctoral thesis in Spain (1932) and became Hugo Obermaier's assistant (1931-32), Assistant Professor (1932-36), secretary of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory (1935) and Full Professor of Archaeology at the University of Santiago de Compostela (1936). This enabled him to join the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists in 1934 and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology in 1938. In 1944, 1945 and 1947 he visited Portugal, lecturing in Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto, but was unable to undertake other trips planned for 1945 and 1948. His correspondence shows that he maintained relations with the leading Portuguese archaeologists of the time, although he kept a more distant relationship with Veiga Ferreira. He had a special interest in the Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Age phases of Portuguese archaeology.

Keywords: History of Archaeology, Iberian Peninsula, Martínez Santa-Olalla, Mário Cardozo, A. A. Mendes Corrêa, Eugénio Jalhay, Afonso do Paço, J. R. dos Santos Júnior, Virgínia Rau, Abel Viana, O. da Veiga Ferreira, Vila Nova de São Pedro

1 – PERSONAL, ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL PATH

1.1 – Family environment

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla was born in Burgos on 23 August 1905, son of the future General José Martínez Herrera and Consuelo Santa-Olalla Cadiñanos. The family had a military tradition, which led to successive changes of the family's place of residence.

¹ Universidad Autonoma de Madrid. Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología. alfredo.mederos@uam.es

² Universidade Aberta (Lisboa). Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras (Câmara Municipal de Oeiras). ICAREHB (Universidade do Algarve). cardoso18@netvisao.pt

His father was born in Poza de la Sal (Burgos) on December 9, 1877 and graduated as an ensign at the Academy of Military Administration of Ávila at the age of 17. He was decorated during the Rif War campaign. His mother, Consuelo Santa-Olalla Cadiñanos, was also born in Poza de la Sal. José Martínez Herrera, by then a Quartermaster Lieutenant Colonel, temporarily became Mayor of Barcelona on October 8, 1934, replacing Pi y Sunyer after the Barcelona uprising that culminated in the proclamation of the Catalan State of the Spanish Federal Republic by Lluís Companys i Jover, on October 6, which lasted only one day.

Arrested in 1936, he was tried and imprisoned in the prisons of Ventas (Madrid) and Alcalá de Henares. After being released and seeking diplomatic refuge in the French embassy, he was deported to France, from where he went to Burgos, joining the Nationalist Army in the summer of 1937. Once there, he was appointed second in command of the Quartermaster General's Services at Francisco Franco's General Headquarters. When the Civil War ended and General Juan Yagué Blanco, whom he knew from the Moroccan War, became Minister of Air, he was made a Divisional General and appointed Quartermaster General of the Air Force (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 115-116).

His son, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, had four brothers and two sisters: José – 'Pepe' –, a medical doctor in the Municipal Health Service of Barcelona; Antonio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was shot dead in 1936; Víctor Martínez Santa-Olalla, living in Bilbao, the first Provincial Commissioner of Archaeological Excavations in Biscay and later, on returning to Madrid in 1950, Local Commissioner of Bilbao; Emilio Martínez Santa-Olalla, who fought in the Nationalist Army and participated in the archaeological excavation of Castiltierra (Segovia); Consuelo Martínez Santa-Olalla and Carmen Martínez Santa-Olalla. The father and siblings Emilio and Carmen became members of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. The family lived in Madrid, at 41 Calle Serrano, and after the demise of the mother in May 1944, Carmen, Emilio and Julio always lived with the father.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla's studies, depending on his father's assignments, began at the Augustinians of Ronda (Malaga) and continued at the Augustinians of Ceuta, then with the Augustinians of Madrid, followed by the Jesuits in Seville and the Hermanos de la Doctrina Cristiana in Bilbao, until he finished his high school studies at the Real Colegio de Alfonso XII of El Escorial (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011: 116).

He lived in Mahón (Menorca) during the academic year 1921-22, since he refers to the survey of the Trepucó site, near Mahón, where he found Iberian painted pottery during the winter of 1921-22 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 a, p. 124). He was still living on this island in August 1922, when he once again found Iberian pottery at Calas Covas (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 a, p. 125). The survey he undertook in 'the last days of July or early August' in Trebeluger possibly also dates back to the summer of 1922 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 c, p. 185).

During summer he used to live at his father's hometown, Poza de la Sal (Burgos), visiting archaeological sites with José María Ibero, from the school of San Francisco Javier de Oña (Burgos), the parish priest of Poza de la Sal, Melquiades Zuñiga Cuerva, and the Jesuit Father Eugenio Jalhay. He dedicated one of his researches to Zuñiga and Jalhay on 9 January 1922, 'as a token of special affection and in acknowledgement of the data they have provided and for channelling my interests' (AMAN [Archivo Museo Arqueológico Nacional], MSO, cuaderno 4, p. 6) and we have evidence of several archaeological visits he made in the summer of 1923, before starting his first university course in the fall of 1923, two of which took place in Oña and involved Ibero and Jalhay, the first on June 24 and the second on July 12 1923 (AMAN, MSO, cuaderno 7, pp. 27 and 37).

1.2 – University studies in Madrid, Barcelona and Valladolid, and earliest publications

He began his academic studies in 1923-24, in Madrid, where he met Hugo Obermaier. The following year, due to his father's reassignment, he studied in Barcelona during his second academic year (1924-25), and was a student of Pedro Bosch Gimpera. His father was transferred again, so he had to attend the third and last academic year of his degree in Valladolid in 1925-26.

Although he was primarily a disciple of Obermaier, of whom he was an assistant and who supervised his PhD thesis, in these early years he had close relations with Bosch Gimpera, whom he always continued to consider 'my master' (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA et al., 1947, p. 141), even though this relationship caused him major inconveniences (PERICOT, 1963, p. xxvi). He kept an active correspondence with him after the Civil War, even publishing an article in *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*, albeit he was in exile (BOSCH GIMPERA, 1950), before the openness movement under Minister Ruiz-Giménez.

While still a student, his first paper focused on his home province, Burgos (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1921), on which he wrote a large number of papers throughout his life, ranging from prehistory to Romanisation (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1925 a, 1925 b 1926 a, 1929 a, 1937, 1942, 1995), under the guidance of first Bosch Gimpera and afterwards Obermaier. Just after finishing his studies in 1926, he tried to create an Archaeological Research Service in Burgos, the equivalent of Bosch Gimpera's Archaeological Research Service in the Regional Council of Barcelona (CARRERA & MARTÍN FLORES, 2002, p. 113 no. 15), or, on a more modest scale, the work carried out by Pérez de Barradas in the Madrid City Council since 1924, which he tried to consolidate as a Prehistoric Research Service. His studies at the University of Valladolid resulted in some contributions to the prehistory of this province, including the excavation of a number of Chalcolithic pits and hut floors (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1926 b).

Furthermore, as a second-year student, he began to publish small contributions to the prehistory of Menorca, such as a trepanned skull from a cave of Sinia de Andreu, found alongside over 20 burials, of which he purchased 10 skulls and a vertebra pierced by a bronze arrowhead (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 b, p. 147-148). Thanks to Bosch Gimpera, he sent the skulls to Barcelona to be studied by the Chair of Anthropology, Telesforo de Aranzadi (JMSO [Archivo Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla], Bosch Gimpera to MSO, 30-3-1924). Other studies deal with the findings of Roman ceramics in Trebeluger (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 c), or an assessment of the western naveta of Biniach (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1924 c).

1.3 – Lecturer at the University of Bonn

After graduating, he tried to obtain a scholarship from the Board for the Extension of Scientific Studies and Research to go to France, under the tutelage of Henri Breuil and the anthropologist Marcelin Boule, with the support of Obermaier, but in the meantime he obtained a readership in Spanish at the University of Bonn from April 1, 1927 until July 1, 1931. Obermaier recommended him, when G. Moldenhauer asked him for a person for the job, and Bosch Gimpera played his part by talking to Meyer-Lübke: 'we both felt that you were the man (...) and that you could settle all their problems at a stroke' (JMSO, Bosch Gimpera to MSO, 11-4-1927). He took up his post in Bonn on May 12, 1927. At the same time he received a yearly stipend of 2,000 pesetas from the Board of Cultural Relations (AGA [Archivo General de la Administración] 31/01539) (MEDEROS, 2019, p. 112). Actually, it took less than a year (the academic year 1926-27) for him to get a long stay abroad, which ultimately lasted four years.

In Germany, Moldenhauer suggested that he specialise in “classical, Roman and Greek archaeology. It is very important for us in Spain (...) You know the role played, for example, by Greek ceramics in Iberian sites, etc. The professor teaching this subject is excellent and the collections are very good”. It has been suggested that he did not follow this advice (GRACIA, 2009, p. 101-102), but he did follow it in part because he began to work on the Late Roman phase, focusing on the Visigoth period when he realised that this was the most interesting subject in Germany. He had to give up the readership owing to problems with the dean of the faculty, Curtius, and G. Moldenhauer himself (ORTEGA & QUERO, 2002, p. 196; GRACIA, 2009, p. 291).

During the years spent in Germany, as a reader in Spanish and Spanish culture, he kept in touch with Gustaf Kossinna, probably through the mediation of Bosch Gimpera (1980, p. 65), who had been his former pupil and considered him ‘a great professor’. As a result of this contact, Martínez Santa-Olalla (1950: 380-381) became interested in the Indo-Europeans (KOSSINNA, 1921), whom he identified with pre-Celtic and Aryan Celtic populations that arrived in the Iberian Peninsula during Late Bronze Age.

Also during his stay in Germany, he wrote a highly praised review (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1931-32, p. 214-215) of the complete version of Kossinna’s key work, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* [The origin and spread of the Germanic peoples in prehistoric and historical times] (KOSSINNA, 1929). During this period he also carried out studies at the Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum in Mainz, in 1927, at the time directed by Gustav Behrens, with Gero von Merhart as curator.

In 1929, after talking to Bosch Gimpera, Obermaier and probably also to the Higher Board of Excavations and Antiquities, Martínez Santa-Olalla planned to excavate at Torre d’en Galmés (Menorca) ‘because it is indisputably the best on the island’, a large settlement known since the end of the 19th century (CARTAILHAC, 1892, p. 21 Fig. 15, 22 Fig. 16), extending over three ha, a perimeter wall, three talayots, a taula and an external naveta, while he managed its ‘imminent’ classification as a historic-artistic monument. He also tried this with the Higher Board of Excavations in 1930 (MSO to Flaquer, 31-10-1929). Simultaneously, the Royal Order classifying Torre d’en Galmés as a historical-artistic monument was issued on July 16, 1930 (MEDEROS, 2019, p. 112).

1.4 – Obermaier’s Assistant and Assistant Professor of the Chair of Primitive History of Man at the Central University of Madrid

He returned from Germany in the summer of 1931, and in the academic year 1931-32 became an Assistant to the Chair of Primitive History of Man at the Central University, held by Hugo Obermaier. The Seminar of Primitive History of Man was created during this academic year. This assistantship was subsequently occupied by Martín Almagro Basch (1933-36), who was six years younger (MEDEROS, 2011-12, p. 340-340).

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla had kept the prehistory of Menorca as a research topic while he was living in Bonn. Upon his return to Madrid, he defended his doctoral thesis, *Elementos para un estudio de la Cultura de los Talayots en Menorca*, directed by Obermaier, on April 9, 1932, before a panel chaired by Eduardo Ibarra y Rodríguez, with Luis de Sosa as secretary, and Hugo Obermaier, José Ferrandis and Antonio García y Bellido as members, and was awarded the grade of outstanding (AGA 31/01539). He defended it just after taking a position as a Temporary Assistant at the Central University of Madrid, on 24 March 1932, for which a PhD was required in order to be appointed. The committee selected him on May 21, 1932, he was appointed on May 27 and took up his new position on June 6, beginning to teach two subjects, Primitive History of Man and Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy (AGA 31/01539) (MEDEROS, 2019, p. 113). He was awarded the extraordinary award for his thesis, which he subsequently published as an extensive paper (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1935).

In the following academic year, Martínez Santa-Olalla became Temporary Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Primitive History of Man for four academic years (1932-36), by means of a competitive examination. He resigned on March 31, 1936, when he won, again by means of a competitive examination, the Chair of Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics at the University of Santiago de Compostela (SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2001, p. 253).

Taking advantage of the project of creation, by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, of a Geography section in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Central University, Martínez Santa-Olalla decided to take the opportunity to apply for a Chair of Ethnology, as he had done ethnological research at the University of Bonn (1929), with Hermann Trimborn, who eventually became Professor of Pre-Columbian Archaeology and Ethnology of the Americas at the Central University from 1933 onwards. This was at least partially successful, as shown by the fact that from the following academic year onwards (1933-34) there is evidence of Martínez Santa-Olalla's appointment as Professor in charge of the Chair of Geography (SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2001, p. 265 n. 17), probably because these related ethnology subjects were included in the geography studies. This chair was probably vacant, at two-thirds of his salary, and he continued to teach during the academic years 1934-35 and 1935-36, in addition to his post as Temporary Assistant. This position as Professor in charge of the Chair of Geography was probably his main source of income until he won the Chair of Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics at the University of Santiago de Compostela (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 120-122).

1.5 – The Visigoths and the Germanic presence in the Iberian Peninsula

During his stay in Germany, although he made some small contributions in the field of rock art, assessing some engravings from Pontevedra (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1929 c) or a Palaeolithic 'baton of command' from the Cueva del Pendo in Santander (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1929d), he soon realised that his line of research that aroused major interest in Germany were the studies on the Visigoth presence in Spain, as they provided a Germanic connection between the two countries.

This work began in 1931 with studies on Visigoth portable art (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1931) and gained significance following the excavations of the Visigoth necropolises of Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia) and Daganzo de Arriba (Madrid) (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1933 a and 1936). It is quite significant that when Martínez Santa-Olalla managed to be financed by the Higher Board of Excavations with 3,000 pesetas in March 1931, he discarded Menorca and preferred to choose the Visigoth necropolises of Hinojal del Rey (Burgos), and Herrera del río Pisuerga (Palencia) (ASO, 2-3-1931) (MEDEROS, 2019 p. 107, 243).

At the same time, he undertook the first systematisation of Visigoth archaeology in Spain (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1934b: 103), 'the Germanic peoples of the Iberian Peninsula' from his point of view. At the end of 1934, he was appointed a correspondent of the German Archaeological Institute, and was invited to give a lecture on Visigoth archaeology at the University of Berlin. Indeed, at a meeting of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, Martínez Santa-Olalla himself emphasised in the Proceedings, in November 1932, that 'The Germanic Archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula has always been unfairly forgotten. This injustice is beginning to be repaired, since for the first time at a university this branch of archaeological science will be taken into account during the present academic year'

He regularly published works on Visigoth fibulae, sometimes with German translations (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1932, 1933 b, 1936 b, 1940 b). In this respect, we would emphasise that in January 1939, prior to the end of the Civil War, on April 1, 1939, Martínez Santa-Olalla gave a series of lectures on Germanic

studies in Spain at the University of Greifswald, the Ibero-American Institut of Berlin, and at the Universities of Munich and Vienna.

However, in 1941 he had to admit that several of the artefacts he had published in 1936 and 1940, supposedly from Extremadura and Castilla-La Mancha, were forgeries (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1941 c), making this his last work on Visigoth archaeology, a line of research he abandoned to focus on North African archaeology. Even so, between August and September 1941 he directed the excavation of 400 tombs at the Visigoth necropolis of Castiltierra (Segovia), with the collaboration of Joachim Werner, a professor at the University of Tübingen, representing the German Archaeological Institute and the Seminar of the University of Marburg, directed by von Merhart. Martínez Santa-Olalla's (1931, p. 57) personal interest in this necropolis was already reflected ten years earlier when he considered it 'the richest in Spain, in which more than five hundred graves have been destroyed, which constitutes one of the greatest disgraces of Spanish archaeology'. This was the first excavation campaign carried out by the Commissariat General of Excavations, and the funding came from the Ministry of National Movement, to which a personal friend had been appointed in May 1941 as Minister, the Falangist José Luis de Arrese y Magra, Secretary General of the Traditionalist Spanish Falange and of the JONS [the Councils of National-Syndicalist Offensive]. Some of the grave goods were sent to the German SS-Ahnenerbe, the SS Antique Heritage section, for conservation treatment.

1.6 – Full Professor of Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics at the University of Santiago de Compostela

In 1936 the strange position of Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics professor at the University of Santiago was announced, mixing two subjects, Art History with Archaeology and Numismatics, whereas only Archaeology and Numismatics were initially included. As Martínez Santa-Olalla mentioned in a letter to the by then ex-Minister Arrese (ASO, 5-7-1962), this position had been modified during the Second Republic under pressure from the Minister of Public Works, the lawyer Santiago Casares Quiroga from A Coruña, after the victory of the Popular Front in February 1936, to try to place a 'Galician' candidate, presumably a member of the Galician Republican Party, which later became part of the Republican Left. As for Casares Quiroga's presumable ability to exert influence, one should bear in mind that after applying for the chair between May 13 and July 19, 1936, he became Prime Minister and managed to hold the referendum on the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia, approved on June 28.

The panel was chaired by Manuel García Morente, Full Professor of Ethics at the Central University of Madrid; Antonio García y Bellido, Full Professor of Archaeology at the Central University since 1931 as secretary; and members Elías Tormo Monzó, Full Professor of History of Fine Arts at the Central University since 1904, Luis Gonzalvo París, Full Professor of Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy at the University of Valencia since 1905; Domingo Miral y López, Full Professor of Theory of Literature and Fine Arts at the University of Zaragoza since 1913; and José Camón Aznar, Full Professor of Theory of Literature and Arts at the University of Salamanca since 1927. Thus, there were three full professors of Art History, Tormo, Miral and Camón Aznar, the last two having a professor-disciple relationship, two full professors of Archaeology, Gonzalvo and García y Bellido, and a full professor of Ethics as president. However, some of them came from Madrid, Martínez Santa-Olalla's university, such as García Morente and Tormo, while Miral had studied and obtained his PhD in Madrid, while also teaching at a school (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 123-124).

The other applicants were Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, Teresa Andrés Zamora from Valladolid, the future professor Emilio Orozco Díaz from Granada and Sebastián González García-Paz from Pontevedra (GARCÍA SANTOS, 2008, p. 156, 165 n. 59). The latter was the Galician candidate, being a member of the Seminar of

Galician Studies and of the Galicianist Party, created in December 1931, which joined the Popular Front in January 1936. After defending his thesis *El Colegio de San Clemente de Pasantes de Compostela* (GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-PAZ, 1993) at the Central University of Madrid in 1930, he was awarded a scholarship in 1931 in France and Germany by the Board for the Extension of Studies. He was Assistant Professor of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the University of Santiago de Compostela, which explains why the vacant position was changed to Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics and the teaching of the Chair of Ancient and Medieval Universal History was also included; the latter was held by Alberto del Castillo since June 1931, who was attached to the University of Barcelona from November 1932 onwards. García-Paz's main research in archaeology concerned the 1933 excavations at the hill forts of Borneiro (Cabana de Bergantiños, La Coruña) and Baroña (Porto do Son, La Coruña) (GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-PAZ, 1993). Nevertheless, Martínez Santa-Olalla was ahead of him in age, being three years older, graduated earlier, in 1925-26 as opposed to 1929, had experience abroad, four years as a Spanish teacher-reader in Germany, and a better curriculum vitae, although he had less seniority in his PhD, 1932 as opposed to 1930 (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 124).

As far as the competitive examination was concerned, Martínez Santa-Olalla also had the previous support of Bosch Gimpera, who spoke to García y Bellido about his application for the chair. Shortly before, Bosch Gimpera's support had allowed him to join his first international committee, the Commission Internationale pour la Préhistoire de la Méditerranée Occidentale, which met for the first time in Barcelona on September 10-18, 1935 (GRACIA, 2009, p. 419), as a specialist in Balearic prehistory, the subject of his PhD thesis.

Surprisingly, Martínez Santa-Olalla, instead of taking up his new chair, requested, on March 27, 1936, to remain in Madrid as Assistant Professor of the Central University of Madrid (GARCÍA SANTOS, 2008, p. 156), although he resigned on March 30, in order to take up his new position. It is difficult to imagine that he foresaw an immediate outbreak of the Civil War after the victory of the Popular Front on February 16, even though the Falange, the party of which he was a member, was declared illegal on March 15.

1.7 – The Civil War

The outbreak of the Civil War dealt a heavy blow to his family, as his brother, Antonio Martínez Santa-Olalla, a member of the Falange, was executed in Torrejón de Ardoz on November 8, 1936, at a time when the Republican Government was on the run due to the insurgents' attack on Madrid in November 1936. The second edition of his *Esquema Paleontológico* is dedicated to his brother's memory (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946 a).

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla himself had also been a militant of the Falange Española and of the JONS, *1.ª línea de la 5.ª bandera de Madrid*, since before the military uprising, which made him a *camisa vieja*, i.e. a veteran. When the uprising took place in the middle of the summer, on July 18, he was not in Santiago de Compostela, where he held his new chair, but in Madrid in his post as Assistant Professor, and according to his own words "immediately abandoned the service of the Red-Separatist 'government' and voluntarily and openly set himself against our enemies". In 1936 he was arrested in Madrid, imprisoned in the Checa de Fomento jail, and later released thanks to the efforts of Julián Besteiro Fernández (ASO; SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2001, p. 255), Full Professor of Fundamental Logic at the Central University of Madrid since 1912 and Chairman of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1925-32), and of the General Union of Workers (1925-34).

Antonio and Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla had been greatly influenced by José Martínez Santa-Olalla, also a *camisa vieja*, who probably introduced Falangist ideas into the family, and also by Alonso del Real, when he was Julio's student at the University of Madrid, as he acknowledged in a letter (ASO, 5-6-1953) that José

Martínez Santa-Olalla was ‘one of the people who got me involved in all these fascist tumults’. During the Civil War, José Martínez Santa-Olalla fled Barcelona and crossed the Pyrenees, joining the Nationalists (ASO, 8-7-1953) (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 129).

His father was arrested on September 2, 1936 for having replaced Pi i Sunyer as Mayor of Barcelona in 1934, being imprisoned at the prison of Las Ventas; Martínez Santa-Olalla wrote to Pi i Sunyer himself and to Bosch Gimpera to request his release. Apparently, his mother was also arrested and became ‘seriously ill as a result of her imprisonment’, on top of which “the house [was] plundered”, leaving the family “in misery” (GRACIA, 2009, p. 121, 419, 429).

In June 1937, he took refuge in the French embassy in Madrid along with his father, where he stayed among a large representation of politicians from the right-wing parties until January 1938, when he and other refugees from the embassy were taken first to San Vicente de Llavanas (Barcelona), then to the La Morisca concentration camp in Port-Vendres (Roussillon, Pyrénées-Orientales, France), and then, on March 21, 1938, to the Chomérac concentration camp (Ardèche, France). Here he made contact with R. Lantier, who passed on the news to Obermaier, who was overjoyed ‘rarely – in all my life – have I experienced such great joy as today, when Mr. Lantier told me about your letter’. A little over a month later, on April 16, 1938, he was liberated in Hendaye, with the mediation of Lantier, Breuil and Manneville, and shortly afterwards he presented himself at the headquarters of the Ministry of National Education in Vitoria (Álava). He then tried to enlist as a volunteer at the Military Academy of the General Staff in Valladolid, but was considered unsuitable on the grounds of “total uselessness due to his eyesight” (SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2001, p. 265 n. 27-28; ORTEGA & QUERO, 2002, p. 197; GRACIA, 2009: 292, 420). During his internment in the French concentration camps he wrote some papers (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1940 and 1941 b, p. 7). From a letter to Bosch Gimpera dated March 24, 1938, we know that his younger brother, Emilio Martínez Santa-Olalla, was fighting for the National Army in the battle of the Ebro (GRACIA, 2009, p. 420).

1.8 – The creation of the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations

Martínez Santa-Olalla’s most desired project was the creation of a Spanish equivalent of the Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches [Archaeological Institute of the German Empire] to which he had belonged as a correspondent since 1934.

After his appointment as Subsecretary of the Ministry of National Education, he represented the Burgos government abroad in 1938 at the Jubilee of the Institute of Cultural Morphology in Frankfurt and at the International Congress of Anthropological Sciences in Copenhagen, and in 1939 at the International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Berlin. Simultaneously, he developed a project for the creation of a ‘National and Imperial Archaeological Institute’ (ORTEGA & QUERO, 2002, p. 198-199; GRACIA, 2009, p. 217; MEDEROS, 2017, p. 252-254), which must have run into problems when he tried to disassociate it from the Directorate-General of Fine Arts, because a letter from Pérez de Barradas suggested that it should be redirected towards a recreation of the former Higher Board of Excavations and Antiquities (CARRERA & MARTÍN FLORES, 2002, p. 128).

Even before the end of the Civil War, when Eugenio d’Ors was still Director General of Fine Arts, the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations was created by Ministerial Decree on March 7, 1939 (BOE [Boletín Oficial del Estado] of March 8). However, the Commissariat was only provided with financial resources and a network of provincial, island and local commissariats, by the Ministerial Order of April 30, 1941. It had unpaid collaborators, generally akin to its ideological precepts, which brought together a large

number of enlightened amateurs from many regions of Spain, teachers, pharmacists, medical doctors, priests, etc., avoiding as far as possible the appointment of university colleagues, among whom only Antonio Tovar can be mentioned as Provincial Commissioner of Salamanca, or Luis Pericot as Provincial Commissioner of Gerona, with whom Martínez Santa-Olalla had have personal contact in Barcelona. From 1951 onwards, Juan Maluquer de Motes replaced Tovar in Salamanca, while Cayetano de Mergelina and Antonio Beltrán were appointed in Murcia and Zaragoza, respectively.

In any case, it was an important initiative because it constituted the first attempt to decentralise archaeology in Spain by relying on the captaincies general, regional councils, *cabildos* and town / city councils, which were the institutions that actually financed most of the work, given the minimal budget available to the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations. Hence, an Archaeological Commissioner was appointed in all provinces and in many municipalities where previously there had been little or no monitoring and research, and at the same time the creation of provincial or local museums was encouraged. However, the most relevant results, as reflected by their publications, depended on individual paths or on having had regular support from provincial or local institutions, as in the case of Joaquín Sánchez Jiménez in Albacete, Sebastián Jiménez Sánchez in Gran Canaria, Salvador Vilaseca Anguera in Tarragona, Luis Diego Cuscoy in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, etc.

1.9 – Martínez Santa-Olalla, acting Full Professor of Primitive History of Man in Madrid

Hugo Obermaier, given the unstable political situation in Europe following the annexation of Prague and the establishment of the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on March 15, 1939, decided not to return to Spain and to take up his new professorship in Fribourg (Switzerland), as evidenced by his formal letter of resignation for health reasons dated August 1939, which was accepted by the Minister of National Education on September 22, 1939 (MOURE, 1996, p. 44), after the outbreak of the Second World War following the invasion of Poland on September 1st. One month later, on October 26, 1939, Martínez Santa-Olalla was appointed by the Ministry of National Education as acting Full Professor of Primitive History of Man (GRACIA, 2009, p. 103).

However, upon taking up this chair he almost immediately intended to hold the position permanently. Hence, when the call for transfer candidates for the vacant Chair of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid was issued by Ministerial Decree on April 28, 1941, it was signed by Martínez Santa-Olalla, Almagro Basch and Mergelina. By then, the true rival was Mergelina, a Full Professor of Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics at the University of Valladolid since 1925, as opposed to Martínez Santa-Olalla, who had only been a professor since 1936, and who had already written to the Minister of Culture on June 1, 1936, requesting the cancellation of the call for candidates and his permanent appointment as full professor. Apparently, no agreement was reached by the members of the selection committee, since the call for candidates was declared void by the National Education Council in May 1942 (SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, 2001, p. 265 n. 18), which rejected Martínez Santa-Olalla's request because the contents of his Chair, History of Art with Archaeology and Numismatics, were too different from the contents of Primitive History of Man to be eligible for a transfer (GRACIA, 2009, p. 131).

Arguably, what Martínez Santa-Olalla was looking forward to obtain a permanent position in Madrid, on the basis of merit in the scope of transfer competitions, and he did not mind applying for other positions outside the capital in order to subsequently request a transfer to Madrid.

Firstly, he applied for the April 28, 1941 call for transfer candidates to the Chair of Art History at the University of Madrid, which was awarded to Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón on December 12, 1942 (GRACIA,

2009, p. 126); the latter had been a Full Professor of Theory of Literature and Fine Arts at the University of Granada since June 1922, although he was immediately granted a leave of absence when he was appointed Deputy Director of the Museo del Prado on July 18, 1922. Actually, Sánchez Cantón had been the director of the Museo del Prado during the Civil War and was supported by Gómez-Moreno, of whom he had been a disciple at the Centre of Historical Studies.

The second attempt was the July 28, 1941 call for transfer candidates for the Chair of Ancient and Medieval World History of the University of Barcelona, held by Bosch Gimpera between 1916 and 1934, which was awarded to Alberto del Castillo Yurrita on December 12, 1942. Martínez Santa-Olalla and Almagro Basch were dismissed by decision of the National Education Council on May 6, on the grounds of not being full professors of the same subjects (GRACIA, 2009, p. 127-128).

His third application concerned the September 22, 1942 call for transfer candidates for the Chair of Art History at the University of Zaragoza, which he was awarded on December 5, 1942 (GRACIA, 2009, p. 129). Logically, he did not intend to hold this position permanently, since he wanted a posting in Madrid.

Notwithstanding, he subsequently applied for the November 27, 1942 call for transfer candidates for the Chair of Prehistory and Ancient Spanish and World History at the University of Barcelona on November 27, 1942, which was awarded to Martín Almagro Basch on April 7, 1943, who took up the position on May 1, 1943. This was the new Chair of Prehistory and Ancient History created in 1934 for Bosch Gimpera, which Almagro Basch began teaching when he was appointed by the Ministry of National Education on November 29, 1939 (GRACIA, 2009, p. 129), only after Bosch Gimpera was removed from the civil service on November 11 on account of his exile. The chair was taken on the last day by Martínez Santa-Olalla, who at the time had a better curriculum than Almagro Basch. Gracia (2009, p. 129) does not mention the contents of the report of the National Education Council and whether any consideration was given to the fact that the contents of Martínez Santa-Olalla's chair (by then Art History at the University of Zaragoza) were not the same, which could have hindered his application for this transfer.

When a call for transfer candidates for the chairs of Prehistory and World History of the Ancient and Middle Ages and General History of Culture (Ancient and Medieval) at the University of Santiago was announced in 1945, Martínez Santa-Olalla was faced with the paradox that the panel was headed by Cayetano de Mergelina, whom he had tried to prevent from transferring to the Chair of Primitive History of Man; Almagro Basch, with whom he had been in conflict since 1941 and who had applied for his new position in Barcelona; José Pérez de Barradas, with whom he was no longer on speaking terms since 1942; and Luis Pericot. The post was again declared vacant because it was considered that his Chair of Art History, Archaeology and Numismatics was not compatible with the announced position (MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 158). This chair remained vacant until it was awarded to Alonso del Real y Ramos in February 1955.

1.10 – The Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in Southeast Iberia: La Bastida de Totana, Terrera Ventura and Almizaraque and the first journeys to Portugal

World War II severely hindered research in North Africa (MEDEROS, 2003-04; MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011). Thus, from 1944 onwards Martínez Santa-Olalla increased his activities in Southeast Iberia, which were very intense until 1950. This probably prompted him to also reissue his *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Ibérica* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946).

The excavations conducted in the Southeast were actually directed by members of the Seminar of Primitive History or people linked to it, given that Martínez Santa-Olalla was almost entirely dedicated to administrative

and political work. The most outstanding interventions were, for the Chalcolithic period, Campico de Lebor (Totana, Murcia) (1944, Val Caturla), Terrera Ventura (Tabernas, Almería) (1947-50, Martínez Santa-Olalla and Sáez Martín), Almizaraque (Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería) (1950, Ruiz Argilés), and possibly Los Millares, Fortín 5 (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería) (194?). Regarding Argaric Bronze, La Bastida (Totana, Murcia) (1944-45, Martínez Santa-Olalla and Sáez Martín; 1948, Ruiz Argilés and Posac Món; 1950, Jordá and Evans) with 126 graves and El Argar (Antas, Almería) (1950, Ruiz Argilés). Regrettably, only the monograph concerning the 1944-45 field seasons at La Bastida de Totana was ever published (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA et al., 1947).

Nonetheless, one should not underestimate the impact of the lecture given by the Jesuit Father Eugenio Jalhay, the Director of the Museu Arqueológico do Carmo in Lisbon, at the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory in October 1943, on the spectacular results of the excavations conducted at the Chalcolithic fortified settlement of Vila Nova de São Pedro (JALHAY & PAÇO, 1945), a settlement that Jalhay had been excavating since 1937 on a yearly basis. A year later, Martínez Santa-Olalla had direct contact with this site, visiting Vila Nova de São Pedro on the occasion of a series of lectures he gave in 1944 at the invitation of the Lisbon Institute for High Culture during two weeks, a journey abroad which was authorised by the Ministry on 14 February 1944 (AGA). The planned lectures were held at the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists in Lisbon, the Portuguese Society of Anthropology at the University of Oporto and the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Coimbra. At the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Oporto he gave a lecture on 'The Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula', on April 21, 1944, at the invitation of Mendes Corrêa (AGA).

Martínez Santa-Olalla's first visit to Portugal happened in April 1944 and was thoroughly studied by António Carvalho (CARVALHO, 1989). Therefore, it can be examined in detail, showing the care with which it was previously prepared. Santa-Olalla was attended at the highest level, by the Director-General of National Buildings and Monuments, Architect Baltasar de Castro, as evidenced by the photographic documentation included as an annex and belonging to the Santa Olalla Archive at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. This visit lasted about 15 days and encompassed museums, archaeological sites and monuments in the Lisbon region, in Coimbra, and in Northern Portugal, particularly in Guimarães.

The said visit was addressed during the April 15 session of the Martins Sarmiento Society, in Guimarães. A letter from Father Eugénio Jalhay was read, announcing the arrival in Portugal of the Spanish archaeologist, and providing information on the planned programme, which included a visit to the Society and to the Citânia de Briteiros. Bearing in mind the merits of the visitor and his previous collaboration with the Martins Sarmiento Society, it was then decided to approve his election as a Corresponding Member of the Martins Sarmiento Society, and to hand over the corresponding Diploma during his forthcoming visit (pages 78, 79 of the *Revista de Guimarães*, 54 (1-2) 1944, pp. 70-82).

A second series of lectures was scheduled for the academic year 1945-46, during which he planned to give 12 lectures, two in Beja, four in Lisbon, one in Coimbra, two in Oporto, one in Guimarães, one in Figueira da Foz and one in Barcelos. He applied for this rather late in the academic year; thus, on 16 March 1946 he received the approval of the University of Madrid but the authorisation from the Ministry was delayed, which ultimately prevented him from actually giving the lectures (AGA; AGUCM [Archivo General de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid]). This second visit was prepared in advance, like the first one. This is what can be concluded from Martínez Santa Olalla's letters to Manuel Heleno, sent on October 3 and December 22, 1945, which are transcribed below. In the latter he proposes that his planned lecture in the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lisbon, the inviting institution, should take place in the spring of 1946. The Martins Sarmiento Society would also benefit from his presence by organizing a lecture in Guimarães, as decided at the

meeting of the Board of Directors on December 14, 1945 (page 190 of the *Revista de Guimarães*, 55 (3-4) 1945, pp. 188-190). However, this visit never happened.

He was nevertheless authorised again, on 24 January 1947, to undertake a new journey, giving the first of these lectures in Beja, on 'The Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula' (AGA). A new journey he wanted to undertake with his students from the University of Madrid, at the beginning of the summer of 1948, had to be cancelled when the Spanish Institute of Foreign Currency informed him on 16 June 1948 that they had no foreign currency available for this journey (AGA).

1.11 – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs veto on Martínez Santa-Olalla's journeys abroad

The appointment of Alberto Martín Artajo y Álvarez as Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 20, 1945 meant the arrival in office of a new member of the National Catholic Association of Propagandists, to which Ibáñez Martín, the Minister of National Education, already belonged, who were at odds with the Falangist sectors of the government. In February 1947, the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists, organised by the Colonial Research Board, was to be held in Bissau (Portuguese Guinea). The lack of a visa from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the members of the Seminar of Primitive History, including Martínez Santa-Olalla who was the Spanish representative on the International Committee of the International Conference of Western Africanists, following his election in 1945 in Dakar (Senegal), resulted in the withdrawal of their papers. The same situation was repeated at the 3rd International Conference of Western Africanists held in Nigeria in December 1949, for although Martínez Santa-Olalla was elected as representative of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, he would once again inform them, as stated in the SEAEP [Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria] Proceedings, of his inability to attend 'due to not having received authorisation to leave Spain and not even having received a reply from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the request for such authorisation' (MEDEROS, 2003-04, p. 35-37).

The situation was again repeated a year later. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla sought to participate in the 3rd International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences held in Zurich on August 14-19, 1950. This followed the 2nd congress held in Oslo in 1936, after a 14-year hiatus due to the Second World War, and with the return of the German researchers. Taracena attended the congress, focusing on the Iron Age in Navarre and the Basque Country, although he did not send the text. Pericot presented a periodization of Spanish Prehistory and Protohistory from the Palaeolithic to the Iberian period and another on the Iberian pottery of Liria, of which he only sent the abstracts. Finally, Almagro Basch gave a paper on the chronology of Levantine rock art and was the only one to submit a significant text. In order to attend, Martínez Santa-Olalla made prior arrangements to attend indirectly through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for which Adolf Ellegard Jensen, the director of the Frobenius Institut and the Frankfurt Ethnological Museum from 1946 to 1965, invited him to stay in Germany between July and August 1950 in order to attend both congresses (JMSO, 26-6-1950). However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not grant him an exit visa nor a stipend, as had happened in the past.

This congress was preceded a week earlier by a congress of German prehistorians organised by Herbert Kühn in Mainz on August 7-12, 1950. This was the first time that European researchers had attended a prehistoric congress in Germany, under the patronage of the French occupation authorities. Almagro Basch participated in the meeting with a paper on the post-Palaeolithic chronology of Levantine art, which was supported by Kühn. For his part, Pericot presented a synthesis of new findings concerning the Palaeolithic, Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic in Spain. Martínez Santa-Olalla was also invited to the congress by Kühn (JMSO, 17-3-1950), but did not obtain a visa from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As these events were almost consecutive, many

international participants of the Zurich congress, in the north of Switzerland, had previously attended the Mainz congress, only 412 km away (MEDEROS, 2017, p. 261).

1.12 – The Chair of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid

A call for candidates to the Chair of Primitive History of Man at Madrid was issued after Ibáñez Martín's resignation as Minister of Education in July 1951 and when Cayetano de Mergelina, after being dismissed as Rector of the University of Valladolid in September 1951, requested his transfer and was appointed as the new Professor of Art History in Murcia on April 25, 1952 (MEDEROS, 2010, p. 201). Before the competitive examination, Pericot received an offensive letter from Martínez Santa-Olalla (GÓMEZ TABANERA, 1985, p. 017). This letter is also mentioned by Pericot to Bosch, who was aware at least since July 10, 1954 (GRACIA, FULLOLA & VILANOVA, 2002, p. 338), almost three months before the competitive examination began, at the end of September 1954. On the other hand, Bosch Gimpera advised Pericot to support Maluquer for the position, when Pericot told him in October 1953 that there would be a call for candidates for this chair (GRACIA, FULLOLA & VILANOVA, 2002, p. 331). In any case, Almagro Basch's departure to Madrid left a vacancy at the University of Barcelona, which Pericot finally seized, transforming his Chair of Ancient and Medieval History of Spain, which he held since the 1943-44 academic year, into the Chair of Prehistory at the end of 1954, while it further weakened Martínez Santa-Olalla, with whom Pericot had competed as Spanish foreign representative at a number of international congresses, e.g. in the Pan-African Congresses on Prehistory since 1947 (MEDEROS, 2003-04, p. 35-38).

The call for candidates for the Madrid vacancy was issued on October 7 1953 and the examinations began on September 29 1954 (AGA 32/15.522/46). The panel for the Chair of Prehistory at the University of Madrid was headed by the president, Francisco Sánchez Cantón, and included Santiago Montero Díaz. Both were linked to the Centre of Historical Studies and influenced by Gómez Moreno and voted for Martínez Santa-Olalla. Almagro Basch's supporters were the Barcelona Professors Luis Pericot and Alberto del Castillo, and the Professor of Art History at the University of Madrid, José Camón Aznar. Almagro Basch was appointed to the chair on October 28 (AGA 32/15.522/46) (GARCÍA SANTOS, 2008; GRACIA, 2012, p. 333-348).

Pericot's vote in favour of Almagro Basch is explained by Pericot to Bosch in a letter dated either September 9 or October 6, 1954, following completion of the call. According to Bosch Gimpera, who wrote back on November 10: 'The competitive examinations are amazing (...) I really think that you are right in your assessment of the character and the scientific value each of the two contenders' (GRACIA, FULLOLA & VILANOVA, 2002, p. 342).

In scientific terms, Almagro Basch had surpassed Martínez Santa-Olalla years ago and in 1954 he had already authored 134 publications, including several books, such as *Introducción a la Arqueología. Las culturas prehistóricas europeas* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1941); *Prehistoria del Norte de África y del Sahara Español* (Almagro Basch, 1946); *Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1951); *El covacho con pinturas rupestres de Cogul (Lérida)* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1952 b); *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1952 c); or book chapters of monograph length, *El hallazgo de la Ría de Huelva y el Final de la Edad del Bronce en el Occidente de Europa* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1940); *El Paleolítico Español* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1947 a); *Arte Prehistórico* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1947 b) and *La invasión céltica en España* (ALMAGRO BASCH, 1952 a). On the other hand, Martínez Santa-Olalla had published his last book dealing with the excavation of the Bastida de Totana (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA et al., 1947) and his last participation in a scientific congress had occurred in 1946, during the 2nd Archaeological Congress of

Southeastern Spain, held in Albacete. This lack of scientific contributions during the second half of the 1940s is reflected in the fact that all his minor papers were aimed at supporting the journal *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva* between 1946 and 1949. Moreover, and quite clearly, his last long paper was published in 1941, i.e. the basic text of his *Esquema paleontológico de la Península Ibérica* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA et al., 1941), and the last paper longer than 10 pages was an assessment of the of the Lower Guadalquivir Bell Beaker in 1947 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1947).

Nevertheless, Sánchez Cantón, the Director of the Royal Academy of History, who had chaired the Madrid panel, insisted that Santa-Olalla be allowed to remain at the Seminar of Primitive History of Madrid (GRACIA, FULLOLA & VILANOVA, 2002, p. 349). Martín Almagro Basch was installed on November 24, 1954, but the faculty provided him with very scarce means only.

1.13 – Full Professor of Ethnology at Valencia

The loss of the chair forced Santa Olalla to retake his Chair of Art History at the University of Zaragoza on September 14, 1955, and although it has been suggested that he subsequently took up the Chair of Art History at the University of Valencia in 1959 (PASAMAR & PEIRÓ, 2002, p. 395; GRACIA, 2009, p. 483), his transfer to the University of Valencia soon began to be arranged, with the support of Julián San Valero. First, in April 1956, the university requested a chair of ethnology, taking advantage of the fact that the government was going to approve 50 new chairs. To this end, in December 1956 the Falangist professors at the University of Madrid closest to Martínez Santa-Olalla, namely Carmelo Viñas Mey, Santiago Montero Díaz and Manuel Ballesteros Gaiibrois, lobbied the new Minister of Education, the Falangist Jesús Rubio García-Mina, who had been Subsecretary of National Education between 1939-51. The call for transfer candidates for the Chair of Ethnology and Prehistory was announced on July 29 1957 and Santa-Olalla was the only applicant. He obtained a favourable decision from the National Council of Education on December 27, 1957. This was the key to the whole procedure and he left Zaragoza on January 31, 1958 and one day later, on February 1, he occupied his position at the University of Valencia (MEDEROS, 2012, p. 70-71).

In scientific terms, only three articles were published in that decade, all previously written, one from 1950 dealing with a lecture he had given in Berlin in 1940 on the Indo-European invasions of Spain during the Late Bronze Age (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1950) and another on the *motilla* (an artificial mound) of El Acequión in Albacete (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1951), whose publication had been delayed for years. And finally, in 1952, the Spanish translation of an article on the Cyclopean walls of Tarragona, published in English in 1936 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1936 y 1952). This is rather surprising at a time when Santa-Olalla still had to take a competitive examination for a chair in 1953, but which did not take place until the end of 1954, although he always tried not to take the competitive examination and would rather be appointed to the position through a call for transfer candidates.

1.14 – The financing and crisis of the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations

The Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations went through two clear stages, the first up to 1951, during years of very high inflation that minimised the value of salaries and the excavation funds, when the process of financial strangulation promoted by the Minister of National Education, José Ibáñez Martín, reached its peak, well analysed by Gracia (2009). Still, this did not prevent Martínez Santa-Olalla from spending

a large part of the available funding in 1950, almost half of 64,000 pesetas on the excavations conducted at Terrera Ventura (Almería) co-directed by Julián San Valero Aparisi; La Bastida de Totana (Murcia), co-directed by Vicente Ruiz Argilés, although between November and December these were conducted by Francisco Jordá Cerdá as Provincial Commissioner of Archaeological Excavations of Murcia and Director of the Museo Arqueológico de Cartagena and the by then scholarship holder at the Seminar of Primitive History, John Davis Evans; and in Guadalajara and Burgos, with Bernardo Sáez Martín. This amounted to 30,000 pesetas, almost 47% of the available funds. In 1951 the funding of the Terrera Ventura excavations was reduced to 10,000 pesetas, out of the 62,000 pesetas available. This situation was not overcome until the government revised the salaries of civil servants, with the Law of March 15, 1951 (BOE of March 16), by which the salaries of civil servants, who had been suffering a strong decline in recent years due to high inflation, were increased by 40 %.

On the other hand, from the appointment of Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez Cortés as Minister of Education between 1951-56 onwards, the funding improvement was substantial, with 427,000 pesetas in 1952, almost 7 times more, 368,000 pesetas in 1953 and 1954 and 343,000 pesetas in 1955 (GRACIA, 2009, p. 388-389 table, 392-393 table, 394-395 table, 396-397 table). In order to promote the publication of results, given the delay in the submission of the excavation reports to be included in monographs, the publication of the *Noticario Arqueológico Hispano* was started. Three issues were published, no. 1 of 1952 (1953), although with a prologue dated March 1951, no. 2 of 1953 (1955) and nos. 3-4 of 1954-55 (1956).

The clash of competence and the disagreement between the university professors and the Commissariat General of Excavations reached its climax in the reform proposal that Alberto del Castillo Yurrita presented at the 4th Archaeological Congress of Southeastern Spain [C.A.S.E.] (Elche, 1948), before the president of the congress and Director General of Fine Arts, Marqués de Lozoya. The proposal was addressed to Minister Ibáñez Martín, but no official reply was ever received. This proposal was reaffirmed by Castillo Yurrita at the 5th C.A.S.E. and 1st National Archaeological Congress held in April 1949, where it was again approved in the conclusions of the congress, advocating a reform of the existing funding policy.

The tensions over funding with the university professors escalated and in a letter sent on January 31, 1955 to the Minister of National Education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, by seven professors and lecturers of Prehistory and Archaeology from the Spanish universities, Luis Pericot and Alberto del Castillo from Barcelona, Cayetano de Mergelina de Murcia, Antonio García y Bellido and Martín Almagro Basch from Madrid, Antonio Beltrán from Zaragoza and Juan Maluquer from Salamanca. They jointly requested the creation of a 'Council that would grant excavation permits and allocate to the most appropriate tasks the amounts allocated to the Commissariat', recalling that 'The creation of the Commissariat and its regulations were established by means of a decree, which can be modified by another decree' (DÍAZ-ANDREU & RAMÍREZ, 2001, p. 340-341). This tussle came to an end, after months of unrest, when on December 2, 1955 (BOE of January 2, 1956), Martínez Santa-Olalla was dismissed as Commissioner General, as the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations was dissolved and replaced by the National Service of Archaeological Excavations, of which he became Chief Inspector General and Vice-President.

1.15 – The archaeological works at the city of Carteia

Martínez Santa-Olalla himself took advantage of the increase in funding from the Ministry to begin excavations at Carteia (Cádiz) in 1952 and at the Cueva del Pendo in 1953, while trying to maintain the excavations at Terrera Ventura, which involved simultaneous research into the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, Chalcolithic and Tartessian Late Bronze Age – Roman Empire.

The first intervention at Carteia appears in the 1952 budget as the province of Cádiz, allocated to Martínez Santa-Olalla, Sáez Martín, Commander Luis Oleaga Ruiz de Azúa, the Commissioner of Excavations of Campo de Gibraltar and a collaborator of the Military Governor of Campo de Gibraltar, General Antonio Barroso Sánchez-Guerra. This was the second best financed site in 1952, right behind the excavations of the Málaga Roman Theatre, with 35,000 pesetas (GRACIA, 2009: 389 table) but the excavations had not been carried out until December, although they were completed during the Christmas period of 1952-53. However, as early as February 1953, the agronomist Juan A. Galiardo suggested the purchase of the by then ruined El Rocadillo villa, owned by the pharmacist Evaristo Ramos, to provide accommodations while the excavations were being carried out (MEDEROS, 2012: 72-73).

In the 1953 budget, the Campo de Gibraltar in Cádiz and Ceuta are already detailed, and the same allocation of 35,000 pesetas is maintained. Once again, it was the second best funded excavation, right behind the Terrazas del Manzanares in Madrid, with 50,000 pesetas (GRACIA, 2009: 393 table), in the scope of the preparations for the 4th International Congress of Pre- and Protohistoric Sciences held in Madrid in 1954 and at the same economic level as the excavations of the Málaga theatre, directed by Juan Temboury Álvarez, also under the supervision of Martínez Santa-Olalla. During the preparations for the summer field season, the latter travelled to Carteia with Sáez Martín in April (*La Vanguardia*, 11-4-1953: 6). In 1954, Carteia had already become the best financed excavation in Spain, with 50,000 pesetas, followed by the ongoing interventions at the Terrazas del Manzanares with 35,000 pesetas (*La Vanguardia*, 11-4-1953: 6) (GRACIA, 2009: 395 table). In the 1955 budgets, the allocation decreased, the Terrazas del Manzanares in Madrid was again the best financed intervention with 50,000 pesetas, and the Carteia excavations, with 25,000 pesetas, figured under the name of Alonso del Real y Sáez Martín (GRACIA, 2009: 397 table), at the same level as the provinces of Barcelona and Alicante, run by two of his closest collaborators, José de Calasanz Serra Ràfols and Julián San Valero. The 2nd International Course on Field Archaeology held at the Cueva del Pendo probably demanded Martínez Santa-Olalla's attention that summer.

The financial continuity of the Carteia excavations, after Santa-Olalla's dismissal as Commissary General in December 1955, was provided by the Ministry of Housing between 1957-60, which was held by a good friend, the Falangist José Luis de Arrese y Magra, twice Minister Secretary of the National Movement between 1941-45 and 1956-57, through the constitution of the so-called *Obra Carteia*.

1.16 – The excavations at Cueva del Pendo

Santa-Olalla's second major project was the excavation of the Cueva de El Pendo (Revilla de Camargo, Santander) between 1953-57, co-directed by Jesús Carballo, the Director of the Museo de Santander, for which 10,000 pesetas were made available in 1953, 25,000 in 1955 and up to a maximum of 40,000 in 1956 (GRACIA, 2009: 392 table, 396 table, 500 table), probably shared with Carteia.

The sector excavated in the 1953 field season, next to the area studied by Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola in 1878-80, extended Carballo's previous 1941 excavation (CARBALLO & GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, 1952). The team was composed of Martínez Santa-Olalla, Sáez Martín, Joaquín González Echegaray and André Cheynier, from the Paris Institute of Human Palaeontology, who was very interested in command batons, according to the press release in the Spanish newspaper *ABC* (20-6-1952: 23). González Echegaray (1980: 21) has suggested that there was a field season in 1954, conducted by Vicente Ruiz Argilés and the Florentine painter Francesca Minellono, but that year Martínez Santa-Olalla had the Madrid congress and the competitive examination for a chair and had to reduce his field work.

The most important field season was the 1955 one, due to the resources available and the number of participants, financed through the hosting of the 2nd International Field Archaeology Course; this was the most ambitious excavation in the entire career of Santa-Olalla. The excavation team was composed of Martínez Santa-Olalla, Sáez Martín, Ruiz Argilés and González Echegaray. Albert Egges von Giffen from the University of Groningen and Peter Glazema from the State Service for Archaeological Research of Amersfoort were in charge of the stratigraphy and excavation methods. The geological study was performed by Jesús Carballo and Alfredo García Lorenzo, both from the Museo de Santander. The lithic industry was to be studied by François Bordes, from the French CNRS, and Francisco Esteve Gálvez. The osteological record would be studied by Armand Donald Lacaille, from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum of London, Muzaffer Senyürek from the University of Ankara and Moshe Stekelis from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The items of artistic value were to be assessed by Martínez Santa-Olalla and Alonso del Real. The C14 samples were to be analysed by Hallam L. Movius Jr. of the University of Chicago, Carl-Axel Althin of the University of Stockholm and Herman Schwabedissen of the University of Cologne, through Karl Otto Münnich of the Institute for Physics of the University of Heidelberg, who analysed in the same year the first sample of Almagro Basch's 1955 field season at Los Millares. Chemical analysis and colour photography were conducted by Erich Pietsch of the Max Planck-Gesellschaft of Frankfurt. And the palynological analyses were performed by Arlette Leroi-Gourhan of the Paris Musée de l'Homme.

The field archaeology course began on August 8 and ended on August 27, although the excavation took place between the August 9 and 20, with a number of visits taking place between Sunday the 21st and Saturday the 27th. The presence of Arlette Leroi-Gourhan was particularly important because in the following field seasons André Cheynier was no longer involved and his role was taken over by André Leroi-Gourhan (MEDEROS, 2012: 75).

The excavations continued in 1956, with Martínez Santa-Olalla, Sáez Martín and Ruiz Argilés on the Spanish side and André Leroi-Gourhan, J. Chavaillon and P. Hours on the French side. In the 1957 field season, from 24 July to August 21, Alonso del Real was in charge of the supervision, along with Ruiz Argilés, Francisco Presedo and Ana de la Cuadra-Salcedo (GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, 1980: 21), still with the French team.

1.17 – The Advisory Board of Archaeological Excavations

After 1956, once the Commissariat General of Excavations was abolished, the Advisory Board of Archaeological Excavations granted the excavation permits and funds. The Board was composed of the Director General of Fine Arts as president, Antonio Gallego Burín, the head of section of the Directorate General as Secretary, and the Chief Inspector General as Deputy President, a new position that Martínez Santa-Olalla managed to have created for him. However, twelve Zone Delegates from the twelve University Districts were added to the Board, These positions were held by the Full Professors of Archaeology and Prehistory who taught Archaeology subjects in each of the universities, including most of the signatories of the aforementioned letter against Martínez Santa-Olalla. Among them were Cayetano de Mergelina from Murcia, Luis Pericot from Barcelona, Antonio García y Bellido from Madrid, Antonio Beltrán from Zaragoza and Juan Maluquer from Salamanca, besides Elías Serra Ráfols from La Laguna, Juan de Mata Carriazo from Sevilla, Carlos Alonso del Real from Santiago de Compostela, Miguel Tarradell from Valencia and Pedro de Palol from Valladolid. And also Francisco Abbad-Jaime de Aragón y Ríos, Full Professor of Historia del Arte at Oviedo since 1953 and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, Full Professor of General History of Spain at the University of Granada and closely linked to Gallego Burín. Subsequently, the Director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Joaquín

María de Navascués y de Juan, the Professor of Prehistory at the University of Madrid, Martín Almagro Basch, the Secretary of the Inspectorate General of Archaeological Excavations and the Commissioner General of the Service for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage, Francisco Íñiguez Almech, also joined the Advisory Board of Archaeological Excavations as ex officio members (MEDEROS, 2012, p. 79). Although it could be thought that this new stage was an improvement as funding was more widely distributed, there was no control over the submission and publication of excavation reports and no issue of the *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico* was published until 1962, when no. 5, for the years 1956-61, a six-year period of archaeological fieldwork, was published, already with Gratiniano Nieto as Director General of Fine Arts.

1.18 – The Municipal Archaeological Institute of Madrid

The loss of the Chair of Primitive History at Madrid led Martínez Santa-Olalla to withdraw the bibliographical and museological funds of the Seminar of Primitive History of Man, turning it into an independent association. The funds were transferred to the Municipal Archaeological Institute of Madrid, a centre which Martínez Santa-Olalla managed to establish in the scope of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences planned for Madrid in 1954, to promote archaeology in Madrid, while supporting it through the Commissariat General with the excavation of the sand quarries with Palaeolithic materials of the Terrazas del Manzanares. The creation of the Institute resulted from his excellent relationship with José Finat y Escrivá de Romaní, Count of Mayalde, former Spanish ambassador to Nazi Germany in 1940-42 and Mayor of Madrid in 1952-65.

The establishment of the Municipal Institute was submitted to a plenary session on June 17, 1953 and approved on October 21 (QUERO, 1995-96, p. 194), and “even though the position must be allocated by means of a call for candidates, the Mayor is willing to appoint you provisionally, while the call for candidates is being dealt with, so you can begin to work” (QUERO, 1995-96, p. 194) (ASO, 26-10-1953). The loss of the chair at the University of Madrid turned the Municipal Archaeological Institute into Martínez Santa-Olalla’s usual workplace, when he was not spending part of the week teaching in Valencia. In this centre, located at the Parque de la Fuente del Berro, he was able to offer a job to his two main collaborators at the time, Sáez Martín as Head of laboratories and fieldwork and Ruiz Argilés as Deputy Director.

He carried out his most important archaeological work from the Institute, at the end of the 1950s: the excavation of an *Elephas antiquus* in Orcasitas (Madrid) (QUERO, 1994), located in a sand quarry near the Andalusia road on January 12, 1959. This work lasted several months, with the involvement of Sáez Martín, Ruiz Argilés and Ana de la Quadra-Salcedo, and due to its wide press coverage it meant the consolidation of the Municipal Archaeological Institute.

1.19 – The 1960s and the return to Madrid as Full Professor of Art History

The 1960s saw Martínez Santa-Olalla share his time between Madrid and Valencia, where he taught Ethnology and lived in Plaza Cánovas del Castillo 5.^o, planta 1, 2.^a, although he sometimes stayed at the Hotel Inglés in calle Marqués de Dos Aguas 5, virtually without publishing anything. On the other hand, his health was deteriorating and he commented in a personal letter to Santiago Montero, “This has been a very bad summer and I’ve had two months of doctors, testing, etc., so far without knowing what’s wrong with me” (JMSO, 30-10-1961). He told the same to José de Calasanz Serra Ràfols, “I have been very upset for two months

(...) low blood pressure, diabetes (...) I am not well” (JMSO, 30-10-1961) (JMSO, 14-10-1961). Moreover, his father died on August 17, 1962 due to post-operative complications (JMSO, 5-12-1962). Since December 1945, the quartermaster general had been in the reserve, supporting siblings Emilio and Carmen with his pension (JMSO, 15-10-1962).

One of his main field collaborators, Ruiz Argilés, resigned as Deputy Director of the Municipal Archaeological Institute of Madrid on September 30, 1960, when he became Assistant Professor at the Maragall Institute in Barcelona (JMSO, 15-11-1961). Shortly after, Martínez Santa-Olalla offered the position to Esteve Gálvez “and in due course the position of Director, when I’m gone” (JMSO, 15-11-1961) (JMSO, 10-10-1960), who excused himself because he continued with his high school classes and the direction of the Museo de Amposta (Tarragona) (JMSO, 17-12-1960), renamed as Museu de les Terres de l’Ebre. On the other hand, in the homage to Bosch Gimpera, the coordinator of the Spanish collaborators, Luis Pericot, vetoed him as a participant, along with José de Calasanz Serra Ràfols (JMSO, 20-4-1962).

In professional terms, his role in Spanish archaeology was further weakened with the appointment of Gratiniano Nieto Gallo as Director General of Fine Arts on February 10, 1961 (BOE, March 2), who personally took over the Inspectorate General of Archaeological Excavations, a position he held until May 22, 1968. During the previous stage with Antonio Gallego Burín, he believed he had been ‘buried alive, and enduring it all these years’ (JMSO, 10-3-1961).

Thus, his main objective continued to be securing a transfer to a chair in Madrid, for which the best option was a planned splitting of the first Chair of Art History into two, one focusing on the early stages and a new one on the History of Modern and Contemporary Art (JMSO, 22-7 y 28-7-1961). This could have been possible with the support of Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, who had been the Chair in Madrid in 1954, and who started the call for transfer candidates to the first Chair of Art History when he was about to retire (JMSO, 5-10-1962). In his moves to gain support, Martínez Santa-Olalla even requested an audience with General Franco, which he failed to obtain (JMSO, 13-10-1962). On the other hand, there were parallel efforts as the call for candidates to the second Chair of Art History was issued and the panel was appointed on September 22, 1962, headed by Sánchez Cantón; some of the members were José Camón Aznar from the University of Madrid, José Hernández Díaz from the University of Sevilla and Juan José Martín González from the University of Santiago, while the fifth member, appointed by the National Education Council, was Xavier de Salas Bosch, the future aspirant to the first chair.

The panel of the Special Commission, appointed on January 24, 1963 was to be headed by Sánchez Cantón himself and included members Diego Angulo Íñiguez, Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala and José Camón Aznar, all three from the University of Madrid and Rafael Láinez Alcalá from the University of Salamanca. Probably realising that he lacked a majority on the panel, Sánchez Cantón resigned on March 22, and José Hernández Díaz stepped in as deputy president. The final result of the commission, on April 29, was four votes in favour of Xavier de Salas Bosch, while Martínez Santa-Olalla only obtained the vote of Camón Aznar, who had not voted for him in 1954 and thus resolved this competitive examination (AGA, MSO pers. file). On December 30, 1960, at the request of Sánchez Cantón, who was also the director of the Museo del Prado, Salas had been appointed deputy curatorial director of the museum, although once he was appointed deputy director he delayed his appointment and continued to work in London. Xavier de Salas succeeded Sánchez Cantón as director of the Museo del Prado in December 1970, replacing Diego Angulo, who had been its director since 1968.

The Special Commission’s decision was appealed by Martínez Santa-Olalla on June 15, 1962, claiming a superior curriculum, based on the lack of proof of scientific merits in the documentation submitted by Salas, except for two certificates, so that ‘it is logical to infer that the proposal formulated by the special commission

was not based on the aforementioned merits and works', and particularly on a defect of form, as Salas had not completed two years of service as a chair holder in order to be eligible for these competitive examinations (AGA, MSO pers. file). Although Salas Bosch had been appointed Full Professor of Art History at the University of Murcia, he immediately transferred to the University of Barcelona on May 14, 1945, through a call for transfer candidates. Thus, he had been the professor in charge of the Chair of Art History since 1943, but he soon asked for leave of absence to become the Director of the newly created Spanish Institute of London, from December 1946 until 1962, when he won the competitive examination in Madrid. Hence, he held the chair for one year and 7.5 months.

The appeal was overruled by the Ministry of Education, which appointed Salas Bosch by order of May 3, 1963 (BOE of May 20, 1963) and he occupied his position in June 1963, on his return from London, but Martínez Santa-Olalla filed a legal-administrative appeal before the Fifth Chamber of the Supreme Court. The final decision was in his favour, with a retroactive appointment from November 18, 1963, and salary from May 3, 1963 onwards. The Ministry of Education effectively appointed him to the first Chair of History of Art on February 14, 1966. He thus occupied this chair 10 days later, on February 24, having remained attached to his Chair of Ethnology and Prehistory at the University of Valencia until September 30, 1965 (AGA, pers. file MSO).

The publication of an exhibition catalogue of Persian antiquities (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1971) must be contextualised in his new position and his fondness for collecting archaeological items, just like the posthumous compilation of his recorded lectures in the monograph *Historia del Arte y de la Cultura* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1978).

1.20 – Demise, 1972

During the 1971-72 academic year, Martínez Santa-Olalla had been involved in discussions in the faculty with his students who protested against his constant absences from class. That year he had only come to class once, always being replaced by Vicente Ruiz Argilés. The conflict came to a head on February 7, 1972, when, for the second time, he began to teach the class and write on the blackboard in German, and was rebuked by a group of student activists, led by the class delegate, the future restorer of the Institute for the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Assets, Leandro de la Vega. Some of the students left the classroom (R. Sanz Gamó, a student of this class, pers. comm.), a tense situation that shortly afterwards triggered a myocardial infarction during class, with half of the students already out of the room. Martínez Santa-Olalla was left in a coma, having to be urgently admitted to the intensive care unit of the La Concepción clinic, ultimately leading to his death on February 12. As a sign of mourning, the Universidad Complutense suspended all classes on Monday 13 and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid on Tuesday 14, from 11 am onwards, in order to attend his funeral. He was buried in his home province of Burgos (*La Vanguardia*, 9-2-1972, p. 8; *ABC*, 13-2-1972, p. 53).

2 – THE CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence now disclosed concerns the letters from Portuguese colleagues received by MSO that are preserved in his own epistolary archives, in the Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla [JMSO] Archive, Museo de San Isidro, Madrid. These were originally deposited at the Municipal Archaeological Institute of Madrid, where they were recovered by Salvador Quero before their destruction (pers. comm.), to which we have added

only a single letter sent by Manuel Heleno. In some cases, it was possible to establish the relationship between these letters and those sent by MSO in reply. In fact, the addressee of that correspondence kept typed copies of the reply letters he sent, and it was possible to access the originals only in two cases: a letter kept in Octávio da Veiga Ferreira's archives, previously published (CARDOSO, 2008, pp. 398, 670) and the set of letters kept in Manuel Heleno's archives, at the Portuguese Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. An original document of great interest, kept in Santa-Olalla's personal archive in Madrid, is the handwritten draft he prepared regarding the scientific importance of the Vila Nova de São Pedro hillfort, presented at the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, held in Madrid in 1954. This draft is transcribed below, although it has already been fully published by Afonso do Paço (PAÇO, 1956).

After comparing the contents of the letters received by MSO and those sent by him, we found that many of the former were missing and have not been located in Madrid at this stage. However, the matters addressed in them can, in some cases, be recognized in the replies sent by MSO, so that the gaps could be partly overcome.

The transcription of these documents followed the spelling of the originals, with illegible words being marked using (????).

After each letter or set of letters, adequate comments will be presented in order to fully understand or frame the subjects addressed, or simply the expressions, passages or sentences of the correspondence, whose analysis, more or less developed, according to the context, was based on the knowledge of MSO's life circumstances, to which some of the documents presented herein have also contributed. This was the main objective of this paper, particularly with regard to how, in Portugal, the activity and the claims of MSO were followed and more or less supported by his correspondents, who were among the most qualified coeval Portuguese archaeologists. Thus, this is also a contribution to the knowledge of the scientific relations between the two Iberian countries, in the specific field of Archaeology, covering a particularly interesting and scarcely known period, corresponding to the years immediately preceding the Spanish Civil War and until the mid-1950s, when the Francoist regime underwent a turn in its trajectory.

2.1 – ARTHUR, Maria de Lourdes Costa

2.1.1 – Four-page handwritten letter, dated December 7, 1955 [no inv. no.] (Fig. 1)

7/XII/55

Cacilhas

Exmo. Snr. Prof.

Doutor Santa-Olalla

Me marcho hoy para Madrid para asistir à las oposiciones de mi novio à la cátedra de Historia Antigua, Medieval, etc., de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

Ud. me perdonará pero hablando ayer con A. do Paço este me dijo que el Prof. San Valero que toma parte en el tribunal de estas oposiciones es amigo de Ud. y entonces me dió permiso para, en su nombre, pedir a Ud. me haga el favor de 'recomendar' (no sé como se dice en español) mi novio a San Valero. Yo conozco a nadie en el tribunal que está formado por: Presidente-Prof. Pericot (a este lo conozco pero no me atrevo a pedir nada); Prof. Lacarra; Prof. Montero; Prof. San-Valero; Prof. Cornello Viñas.

Mi novio se llama Antonio Ubieto y es ayudante de D. José Maria Lacarra en la Facultad de Filosofia y Letras de Zaragoza.

7/xii/55
Cauillas

Excmo. Sr. Prof.
Doctor Santa-Olalla

Se marcho hoy para Madrid
para asistir a las oposiciones
de mi novio a la cátedra de
Historia Antigua, Medieval, etc.,
de la Universidad de Santiago
de Compostela.

Ud. me perdonará pero hablando
ayer con A. do Paço este me
dijo que el Prof. San Valero ya
toma parte en el tribunal de

Fig. 1 – Maria de Lourdes da Costa Arthur. First page of a handwritten letter, four pages long, dated December 7, 1955 [no inv. no.] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Me encargó A. do Paço para decir a Ud. que ya consiguió saber todo que había que saber en relación al sobrino de Ud. desde que vino andé buscando la forma de enterarse y solamente anteayer supo todo y escribió en seguida al sobrino de Ud. para Barcelona.

(...).

Quiera Ud. recibir los míos más respetuosos saludos de

Lourdes C. Arthur

Maria de Lourdes Costa Arthur

Instituto 'Rodrigo Caro'

2.1.2 – Typed letter, dated December 17, 1955 [no inv. no.]

17 de diciembre de 1955

Srta. Lourdes C-Arthur

António Feio, 58

Cacilhas (Portugal)

Mi querida amiga y colega:

Gracias a la amabilidad del profesor Viñas Mey, recibí en su día, una carta que Vd. remitió en vez de a esta su casa, a la universidad y que si no llega a ser por este buen amigo, hubiera dormido días y más días o, tal vez, eternamente, sin llegar a mis manos y saber algo que ignoraba y, en cuya notificación, he tenido el mayor placer.

A pesar de que he estado y sigo enfermo, hice sobre todo con el profesor Viñas Mey y Montero Díaz y, también, con San Valero, todos muy buenos amigos míos, la gestión que Vd. me encomendó.

Ahora que todo ha pasado felizmente, quiero decirle que las gestiones se hicieron..... y que espero con gran alegría verla pronto de señora catedrático en la universidad de Santiago, a la que me une tan cordiales y estrechos vínculos.

Con mi enhorabuena doble o, en realidad triple y, afectos y saludos al amigo do Paço, sabe puede disponer siempre como guste de su afmo. s.s. y amigo

(unsigned)

2.1.3 – Three-page handwritten letter, dated December 23, 1955 [no inv. no.]

23/XII/55

Querido Maestro

Muchas gracias por todo Prof. Santa-Olalla!

No imagina Ud. como me siento feliz por mi novio haber ganado la cátedra!

Si Dios quiere nos casaremos en Fátima el 9 de Enero.

Además de tantas gracias alcanzadas, el 21 nació mi primero sobrino, una niña, hija de mi hermano mayor!

En Santiago de Compostela seguiré trabajando en arqueología si Dios quiere. Después de la votación hablé con Prof. Montero que me dijo que allí tendré una buena biblioteca de la especialidad y todas las condiciones para bien trabajar.

El Ministro de Educación de aquí me encargó la dirección de las excavaciones de Troia (Setúbal); por esta razón y sin yo tener culpa alguna el Prof. Manuel Heleno ya está armando un tinglado contra mi de miedo pues él antes estaba allí.

Sin ser yo a forzar nada, tengo la dirección de las mejores ¿estaciones? arqueológicas del sur del Tajo: Cetobriga (¿); Salácia y Meróbriga.

Pienso venir pasar el verano en Portugal para poder dirigir estas excavaciones.

En Meróbriga, este año descubrí el nivel indígena (celta) debajo de las lajas de la calle romana. Me gustaría mucho de hablar con Ud. sobre el particular; ya habrá oportunidad!

Una vez más, muchas gracias! Pido a Dios las mayores bendiciones para UD. en el deseo afectuoso de Felices Pascuas.

Lourdes C. Arthur (signature)

Comments

This correspondence is an excellent example of the relationship established between Maria de Lourdes da Costa Arthur and some of the most influential archaeologists of her time, in this case Prof. J. Martínez Santa-Olalla. Not knowing him personally, she took the initiative to use the name of Afonso do Paço, who was aware of the fact, to pursue a personal goal, involving her future husband.

It is interesting to see that Afonso do Paço did not wish to be directly involved in this matter, despite the fact that she collaborated in the excavations he directed at Vila Nova de São Pedro, during the first half of the 1950s, and even co-authored some of his publications (CARDOSO & RIBEIRO, 2013; RIBEIRO & CARDOSO, 2013). It is unclear whether the success of her future husband, the Valencian Antonio Ubieta Arteta, in obtaining the chair was actually due to her initiative. But this does not really matter right now, because what is important is not the result itself, but the evidence of a foreign network that Costa Arthur managed to establish. Ubieta Arteta did win the competitive examination for the Chair of Prehistory, Ancient and Medieval History of Spain and General History of Spain (Ancient and Medieval) in December 1955, and held it until his transfer to the Chair of Ancient and Medieval History of Spain at the University of Valencia on February 1, 1958, where he remained until 1977.

In the second letter, the signee tells Martínez Santa-Olalla about the direction of the excavations of Tróia, Alcácer do Sal and Meróbriga that was assigned to her. In fact, as we can see from the letter, she conducted at least one field season in Meróbriga, where she identified Iron Age levels, which she did not publish, since they were only disclosed much later (ALMEIDA, 1965; SILVA et al., 1979; SOREN, 1983). These excavations, authorized by the 6th Sub-Section (Antiquities, Excavations and Numismatics), of the 2nd Section (Fine Arts) of the National Education Board [JNE], were not without difficulties. Actually, they were even interrupted, as a result of the assessments made by the aforementioned agency regarding the way they were being conducted; Prof. Joaquim Fontes was the reporting person (JNE archives, consulted at the Ministry of Education). As for the two other archaeological sites mentioned in the second letter to Martínez Santa-Olalla, there is no record of any archaeological work ever being carried out there. It is understandable that this should have been the case, given the logistic and financial constraints faced by Costa Arthur, which had to be dealt with prior to any archaeological work, as this was a personal initiative, which seems to have gone completely unsupported. Thus, these were the last known archaeological activities conducted by this former collaborator of Afonso do Paço.

2.2 – ATHAYDE, Alfredo

2.2.1 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia – Faculdade de Ciências – Porto – Portugal’, dated June 30, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1119 – JMSO/5-1] (Fig. 2)

Porto, 30 de Junho de 1938

Exm^o Snr. Prof. Dr. Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla

Concepción, 9

Burgos

Exm^o Senhor:

Tenho a honra de comunicar a V.Ex^a que, na última sessão da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia, foi V.Ex^a, por proposta do Exm^o Snr. Prof. Dr. A. A. Mendes Corrêa, nomeado sócio correspondente desta colectividade que da sua valiosa colaboração muito tem a esperar.

A aprovação desta propósta pela unanimidade da assembleia geral desta Sociedade representa uma sincera homenagem aos elevados méritos científicos de V. Ex^a.



ASO/5-1
1974/001/1119

Porto, 30 de Junho de 1938

Exmº Snr. Prof.Dr.Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla

Concepción,9

B U R G O S

Exmº Senhor:

Tenho a honra de comunicar a V.Exa que, na última sessão da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia, foi V.Exa, por proposta do Exmº Snr.Prof.Dr. A.A.Mendes Corrêa, nomeado sócio correspondente desta colectividade que da sua valiosa colaboração muito tem a esperar.

A aprovação desta propósta pela unanimidade da assembleia geral desta Sociedade representa uma sincera homenagem aos elevados méritos científicos de V.Exa

Aproveito a oportunidade para testemunhar a V.Exa a minha mais distinta consideração.

O Secretário

Alfredo Athayde
(Alfredo Athayde)

Fig. 2 - Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology - Faculty of Sciences - Porto - Portugal', dated June 30, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1119 - JMSO/5-1] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Aproveito a oportunidade para testemunhar a V.Ex^a a minha mais distinta consideração.

O Secretário

Alfredo Athayde (signature)

(Alfredo Athayde)

Comments

This is an official letter concerning the election of Martínez Santa-Olalla as a member of this prestigious scientific society founded in 1918 in Oporto and by then directed by Mendes Corrêa. The Secretary of the society was Alfredo Athayde, an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Oporto.

2.3 – CABRAL, António Machado de Faria de Pina

2.3.1 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses – Real Associação dos Arquitectos Civis e Arqueólogos Portugueses – Fundada em 1863 – Largo do Carmo – Lisboa’. Letter no. 288, dated April 12, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1138 – JMSO/5-20] (Fig. 3)

Em 12 de Abril de 1938

Exm^o Senhor Dr. Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla

Por comunicação do nosso consócio o ilustre Professor Senhor Doutor António Augusto Mendes Correia acabo de saber dos tristes sucessos da vida de V.Ex^a, que o privaram de pessoas da sua Família e de amigos e lhe roubaram o produto de paciente labor, destruindo as suas colecção, biblioteca, fichas e fotografias.

Bem lastimáveis actos de quem pretende ter melhor ideias!

Sinceramente, eu e toda a Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, lastimamos os sofrimentos de V.Ex^a e da sua Pátria, onde desejamos possa regressar muito brevemente, encontrando-a já livre dos bárbaros que pretendiam aniquilá-la.

Junto remeto a V.Ex^a os estatutos desta Associação e logo que haja novos diplomas que se esgotaram e, possivelmente, vão modificar-se enviarei outro para substituir o que destruíram.

Subscrevo-me com elevada consideração

De V.Ex^a

Muito atento, venerador e obrigado

O Secretário Geral

António Machado de Faria de Pina Cabral

Comments

In this letter, the Secretary General of the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists refers to the events that affected Martínez Santa-Olalla's family during the Spanish Civil War, which, besides the loss of his scientific assets, also victimized family members, namely his brother. This loss was deeply felt by Martínez Santa-Olalla, who dedicated to his brother the 2nd edition of his best-known work *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Hispánica* (Fig. 4), published in Madrid in 1946, as follows: “To the sacred memory of my brother Antonio Martínez Santa-Olalla assassinated in Torrejón de Ardoz (Madrid) on November 8, 1936”. Torrejón de Ardoz is an important military base near the Spanish capital, and Martínez Santa-Olalla brother was shot there



ASSOCIAÇÃO DOS ARQUEÓLOGOS PORTUGUESES

(REAL ASSOCIAÇÃO DOS ARQUITECTOS CIVIS E ARQUEÓLOGOS PORTUGUESES)

FUNDADA EM 1863

LARGO DO CARMO
LISBOA

Em 12 de Abril de 1938

N.º 288

Ex. mo Senhor Dr. Juliá Martínez Santa-Blanca

Por comunicação do nosso conselheiro o illustre Professor Senhor Doutor António Augusto Mendes Correia acabo de saber dos tristes sucessos da vida de V. Ex.ª que o privaram de pessoas da sua família e de amigos e lhe roubaram o produto de paciente labor, destruindo as suas coleções, biblioteca, fichas e fotografias.

Bem lastimáveis actos de quem pretende ter melhor ideias!

Sinceramente, eu e toda a Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, lastimamos os sofrimentos de V. Ex.ª e da sua Pátria, onde desejamos possa regressar muito brevemente, encontrando-a já livre dos bárbaros que pretendiam aniquilá-la.

Junto remeto a V. Ex.ª os estatutos desta Associação e logo que haja novos diplomas que se esgotaram e, provavelmente, não modificar-se enviarei outros para substituir o que destruíram.

Subscreevo-me com elevada consideração

de V. Ex.ª
Muito atento, venerador e obrigado
O Secretário Geral
António Machado de Faria de Pina Cabral

Fig. 3 – António Machado de Faria de Pina Cabral. Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses – Real Associação dos Arquitectos Civis e Arqueólogos Portugueses – Fundada em 1863 – Largo do Carmo – Lisboa'. Letter no. 288, dated April 12, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1138 – JMSO/5-20] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

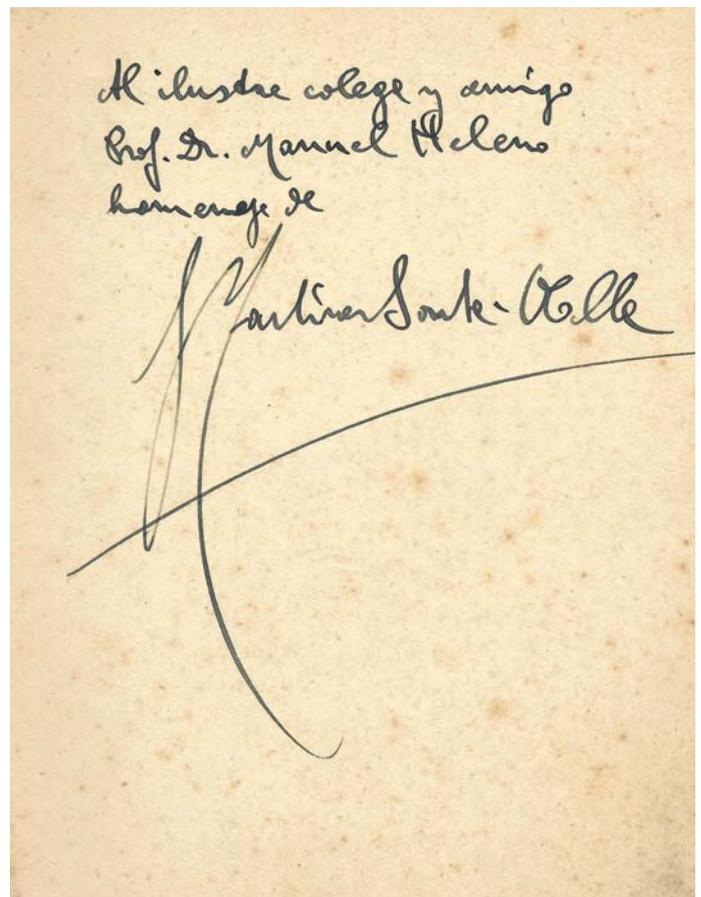
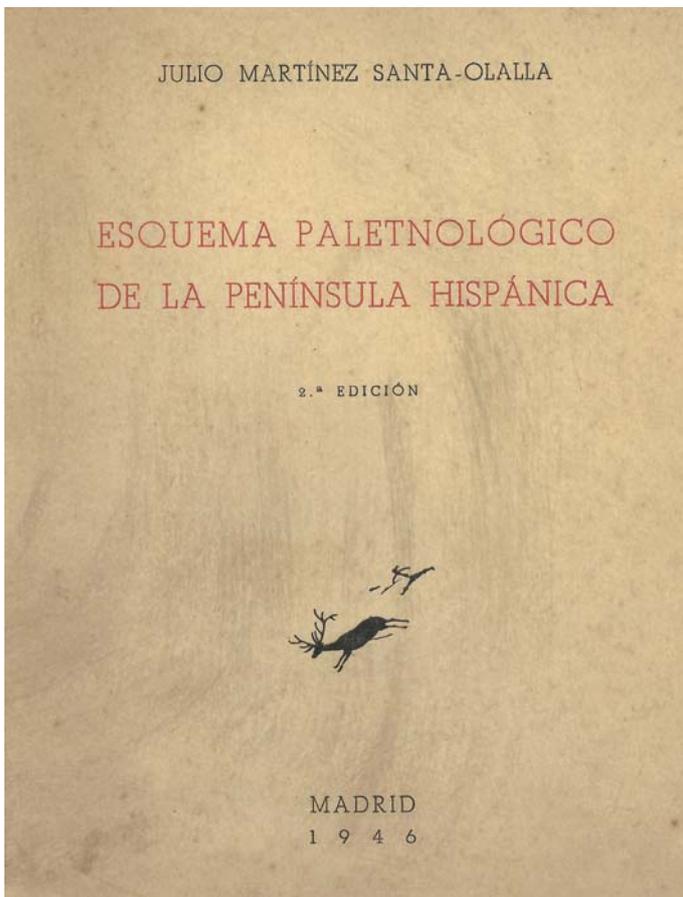


Fig. 4 – Cover of the book *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Hispánica* (second edition, Madrid, 1946), with an autograph dedication to Manuel Heleno. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

at the start of the conflict that opposed the Republican (legitimist) forces to the Francoist forces. The wish that the latter would win the war is clearly expressed in this letter sent to Martínez Santa-Olalla when he was on assignment in Germany in the scope of his activity as an archaeologist. At the time this letter was written, Martínez Santa-Olalla was still under detainment in France, since he was only handed over to the Spanish authorities at the Hendaye border on April 16, 1938. He is also informed that a new membership certificate will be sent to him, as he was a member of the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists, as a foreign correspondent, since March 22, 1934 (CARVALHO, 1989, p. 84).

2.4 – CARDOZO, Mário de Vasconcellos

2.4.1 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated December 13, 1932 [inv. no. 1974/001/828.1]

13/XII/32

Exmo. Snr. Capitão

Mário de Vasconcellos Cardozo

Guimarães

Mi distinguido amigo y colega:

Un tanto ibérico, esto es, retrasado, cumpla mi promesa de enviar algo para el homenaje al ilustre Martins Sarmiento. Le adjunto un trabajillo sobre estelas-casas y pedras formosas, avance parcial de una gran mono-

grafía que preparo para ser publicada aquí en Madrid. He pretendido escribir en ‘portugués’ para que fuese más fácil la traducción, mas me he tenido que dar por vencido pues resultaba fantástico. Espero que Vds. tendran la amabilidad de verter mi original al portugués, ya que es mi deseo se publique en el idioma del Homenajeado.

Respecto a ilustraciones, deseo, pues es el minimum se reproduzcan las figs. 3 y 5 de su bello trabajo sobre a nova Pedra Formosa, que serán mis figs. 1, 2 y 3. Si fuése posible convendría su Fig. 4. Además de esto le envío 6 estelas más suficientes a orientar en el problema. En total serían 9 o 10 figs. Como no es cosa de recortar el ejemplar que tengo de a nova Pedra Formosa, y mas pensando que acaso se puedan utilizar los clichés de su trabajo, no envío tales grabados. El pie de las figs. 10 lo pondré a las pruebas.

Mucho me gustaría saber su opinión sobre la solución y el problema que brevemente planteo. A la vez le ruego tenga la amabilidad de proporcionarme un ejemplar de su trabajo sobre la vieja P. F. que no tengo y me es muy necesario.

(...)

Comments

In this letter, Martínez Santa-Olalla states that he sent the original of his contribution for the volume in homage to Martins Sarmiento, which the Martins Sarmiento Society, under Mário Cardozo’s coordination, published in 1933, on the centenary of the birth of the illustrious author from Guimarães. Martínez Santa-Olalla’s contribution was indeed included in this volume (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1933). The study, titled “Monumentos funerarios célticos. As ‘pedras formosas’ e as estelas em forma de casa”, follows the opinion already expressed by the addressee in two previous works dedicated to monuments he considered funerary and featured ‘stelae’. The first one concerns the famous inscribed monolith known as ‘Estela Formosa’, recovered from the Citânia de Briteiros in the 18th century and presently preserved in the Museu da Sociedade Martins Sarmiento. Several authors have discussed the meaning of this monument. Up to a certain point, it was interpreted as a funerary stela (CARDOZO, 1929), as referred to by Martínez Santa-Olalla. And not even the 1930 excavation of a second monument of the same type, integrated in a complete building from the same settlement, i.e. a monolith still *in situ*, changed that interpretation (CARDOZO, 1930). Martínez Santa-Olalla also refers to this study, also advocating a funerary interpretation, which therefore remained unaltered during the following decades (CARDOZO, 1965). It was not until the 1970s that the careful excavation of a similar architectural unit at the Citânia de Sanfins demonstrated an association with water and with intense and prolonged coal combustions related to water heating. Based on such evidence, it was finally possible to change the functional interpretation of these finds as funerary monuments – to which Martínez Santa-Olalla’s paper published in the volume in homage to Martins Sarmiento strongly contributed – and acknowledge their true domestic functions as public baths (ALMEIDA, 1974; SILVA, 2007, p. 66).

2.4.2 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated January 30, 1935 [inv. no. 1974/001/73?? – JMSO/3-75.1 and 2]

30/I/35

Mi querido amigo:

No hace todavía cinco horas que le hemos propuesto a V. y al amigo do Paço[,] Obermaier y yo[,] para socios numerarios de la Sociedad de Antropología segun sus deseos. Tambien supongo, si es verdad lo de sonar el oído derecho, cuando se habla de una persona, le habrá sonado, pues en nuestro ‘petit comité’ (Pérez

de Barradas, Obermaier, Maura y yo) hablando de planes futuros de la Sociedad, hemos contado con la necesidad de que algún día venga Vd. a darnos una conferencia.

Ahora comenzamos una nueva era en nuestra Sociedad, la revista, conservando su formato, cambiará materialmente y intelectualmente. Yo tengo la Secretaría y estoy dispuesto a lograr algo decoroso internacionalmente o dejar la cosa. Por ello cuento mi querido y viejo amigo, y con V, léase el nombre de los buenos amigos portugueses, con su colaboración asidua, ayuda eficacísima para borrar esas fronteras absurdas de orden científico. Así que puede ir V preparando alguna cosa para nosotros. Páginas e ilustraciones pueden tener en abundancia.

La cuestión del Paleolítico la he tocado estos días en mi curso, bajo un punto de vista, único en la actualidad posible, un tanto revolucionario. Breuil, Koslowski, Mehghin (sic) y Pérez de Barradas están a la orden del día. Hoy terminé dando un gran cuadro cronológico con un apartado importante para lo 'clásico' (por qué no honrar la antigüedad e historia de la ciencia?). Castillo es un escollo. Mas y si se revisase in situ el testigo del yacimiento?

El trabajo del pobre Serpa Pinto lo conozco.

Es lástima que vayan los materiales de Estremoz al Museu Etnológico, pues en muchos años no se podrá utilizar. Es un Museo irritante, con ese estatuto bárbaro y estúpido a la vez de que las primicias sean para publicadas por el establecimiento. Que entenderan por primicias. Buena estaba la Ciencia si eso rigiese en todos los museos.

Bueno amigo mío. No olvide que en la Sociedad contamos con trabajos suyos y de los otros amigos. En la Prehistoria no teníamos esas fronteras: Así que quedo aguardando su trabajo sobre si les interesa o conviene publicar en nuestra bibliografía alguna recensión envíenla.

Un pequeño favor quiero pedirle. Hace días vi al Alcalde de Madrid para hacerle ver la necesidad que hay de impulsar el Museo Prehistórico y la publicación del Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña. Como resultas se entusiasmó e hizo unas declaraciones fantásticas a la prensa. Ahora convendría que la Ass. de Arqueólogos Portugueses le pusiese una carta muy llena de términos huecos diciendo saber con alegría el proyecto de ampliación, mejoramiento de su Museo y normalización del Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña. Con esta carta alabando la vanidad del Alcalde y la Ciudad nos prestarían un gran servicio. A la vez pueden pedir Vda. que les envíen los 'valiosos' Anuarios ya publicados para la Asociación. Si puede V lograr una carta semejante nos prestarían un gran servicio con ello.

Sabe es suyo siempre buen amigo
(unsigned)

Comments

The interest of this letter is that it reveals, in a very clear way, Martínez Santa-Olalla's thoughts regarding Manuel Heleno and the way he managed 'his' museum, considering that everything that went in there was sentenced to not being studied for many years. On the other hand, the signee also negatively stresses the requirement, which he considers 'stupid', that publications with relevant archaeological novelties should be primarily published in the museum's scientific journal, *O Arqueólogo Português*, given the evident difficulties of this journal in keeping acceptable publication deadlines. These considerations refer in particular to the admission into the Museu Etnológico of various golden items from Estremoz. These were a diadem made from plain hammered gold leaf and an earring or pendant, also made from plain hammered gold (ARMBRUSTER & PARREIRA, 1993, pp. 42 and 158), acquired by Manuel Heleno from a goldsmith and originating from the

surroundings of Estermoz (Alentejo) (HELENO, 1942, p. 458). Such objects, barely mentioned by Heleno, were only fully studied much later, confirming the fears of Martínez Santa-Olalla, actually shared by the vast majority of the contemporaneous Portuguese archaeologists, whose Director only rarely allowed the publication by third parties of the collections held in his custody. Obviously, there were exceptions, e.g. the remarkable Tesouro do Álamo (Moura), which was deposited in the aforementioned museum around the same time, giving rise to an incident with Afonso do Paço and Eugénio Jalhay and an acrimonious relationship with the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists, which sought to secure the safeguarding of the said items by other means. Indeed, Eugénio Jalhay published a preliminary note on this remarkable assemblage as early as 1931 (JALHAY, 1931), preceding Heleno's more in-depth study. Heleno's response was therefore the publication of an excellent contribution to the knowledge of prehistoric jewellery in Portugal (HELENO, 1935), a subject of great interest to the addressee of this letter, and one of the rare exhaustive studies written by the Director of the by then called 'Museu de Belém'.

Another interesting aspect of this letter is the announcement of the reorganization of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, including the republishing of its *Actas y Memorias*, for which Martínez Santa-Olalla counted on the collaboration of Mário Cardozo.

Lastly, the request for the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists to express its support for resuming the publication of the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña* – a request for which Mário Cardozo could only be an intermediary, since he was not involved in the direction of the Association – is interesting, as it attests to the good relations between Martínez Santa-Olalla and the head of the *Anuario*, Pérez de Barradas. And, on the other hand, it also proves the good relations between the republican Mayor of Madrid (Rafael Salazar Alonso) and Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was later recognised as a sympathiser of National Socialist Germany (MEDEROS MARTÍN & ESCRIBANO COBO, 2011, p. 210-211).

After the first issue of this important scientific journal was published in 1930 (Fig. 5), only two more issues followed, one concerning the years 1931-1932, published in 1932, and the last one concerning the years 1933 to 1935, published already in 1936, after the publication was discontinued in the same year due to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Thus, the invitation addressed by Martínez Santa-Olalla to Mário Cardozo, as well as to other Portuguese archaeologists, as we shall see in the sequels of this correspondence, could not be materialised. The only Portuguese contribution published in this last issue was A. A. Mendes Corrêa's study on the *campos de urnas* [urn fields] of Alpiarça.

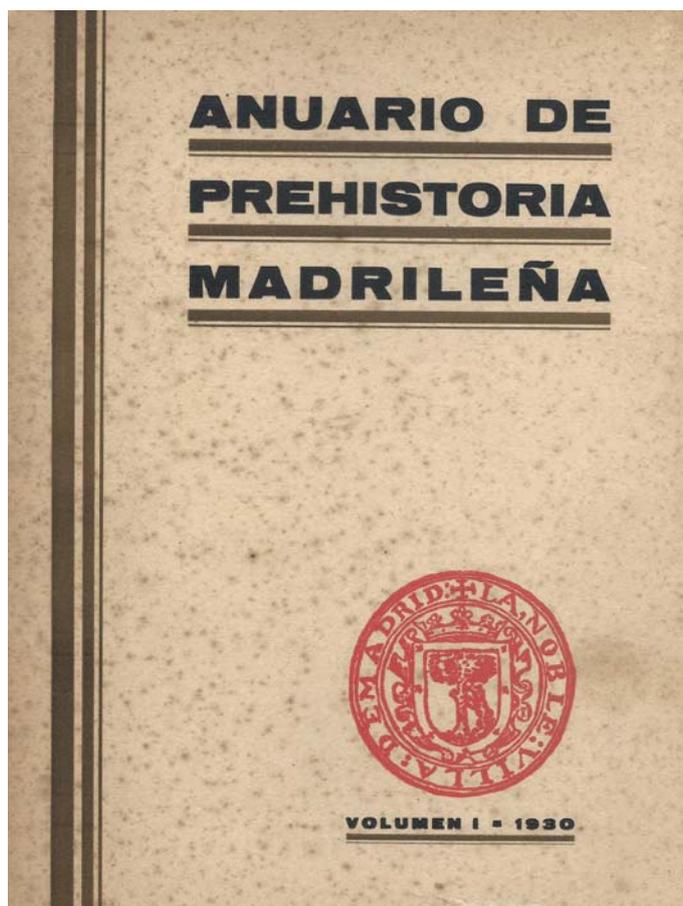


Fig. 5 – Cover of the first volume of the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña* series (Madrid, 1930). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

Yet another interesting question addressed in this letter concerns the negative opinion about the results obtained in the excavations of El Castillo cave (Cantabria), directed by Hugo Obermaier. The excavations conducted before the outbreak of World War I demonstrated the exceptional archaeological significance of this cave, famous for its Palaeolithic rock art (ALCALDE DEL RIO, BREUIL & SIERRA, 1912). The latter was published in the meantime, unlike the results of the excavations, which were not properly published (MEDEROS MARTÍN, 2010/2011). Such a situation justifies Martínez Santa-Olalla's claim that at least a representative sample section could be used to clarify the archaeological evidence still potentially preserved at the site.

2.4.3 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated February 12, 1935 [inv. no. 1974/001/723]

12/II/35

Exmo. Snr. Mario Cardozo

Mi distinguido amigo:

Muy agradecido quedo a su carta recibida hoy y a la recensión tan amable que me dedica en los Anales de Porto. Ha sido realmente amabilísimo el que V se haya tomado la molestia de hacer una recensión tan amplia y completa. Mil gracias.

De Homenagem Martins Sarmiento sale pronto una recensión mía de que recibirá ejemplares.

Sobre el Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña lo mejor es lo siguiente: Escriba al Exmo. Sr. Dn. Rafael Salazar Alonso, Alcalde de Madrid, una carta llena de toda esa literatura vana, tan grata a los oídos, alabando la obra soberbia del Ayuntamiento poseedor de una de las colecciones arqueológicas mejores del Mundo. Alaba la maravilla del Anuario y pide que se los envíen para Guimaraes, pues una publicación de tan extraordinario valor científico la precisan Vds. con carácter urgente. Con una carta con algunas palabras huecas como las que yo digo, recibirá V. gratuitamente los volúmenes publicados y le dará una gran alegría al alcalde. Estaría muy bien le enviase V como regalo un tomo del Homenagem.

Ahora mi querido e ilustre colega quiero pedirle una cosa. La Sociedad Española de Antropología está ahora en nuestras manos y la hemos cambiado totalmente. La publicación saldrá ahora regularmente, en una edición cuidada y hasta lujosa y con una colaboración selecta, a partir del primer número del año 35. Tendremos todos (Barradas, Obermaier, etc.) mucho gusto en contar con su colaboración, bien con algún trabajo original y bien ilustrado, o bien para una sección nueva llamada NOTICIARIO, en la que habrá cosas de un máximo de dos páginas y una lámina fuera de texto o algunas figuras en el texto. Esta sección es adecuada para pequeñas notas descriptivas, de nuevos hallazgos, excavaciones, puntos de vista, interpretaciones, etc. Tales noticias pueden tener hasta incluso solo algunos renglones de extensión. Para el NOTICIARIO del primer número tengo una serie de firmas selectas y desearía algo por muy pequeño que fuese para ese primer número. Para números sucesivos creo nos honrara con trabajos, extensos, pequeñas notas o recensiones para la sección de bibliografía. No olvide que con gusto veremos su firma.

Por si le interesa a V. e a algún amigo o entidad de su círculo de relaciones le diré que la Sociedad de Antropología sigue con sus cuotas anuales de 12 pts. que dan derecho a un tomo de sus Actas y Memorias. Con gusto veríamos ensancharse en Portugal el número de nuestros consocios para imprimirla cada vez un carácter mas ibérico. Últimamente pidieron ingresar los Srs. Jalhay y do Paço.

Sabe es suyo afmo. amigo

(unsigned)

Comments

This letter follows up on previously addressed matters, such as the invitation to Mario Cardozo to publish original contributions in the renewed *Actas y Memorias* of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, of which Martínez Santa-Olalla was a prominent figure, having been elected Secretary in 1935. Martínez Santa-Olalla encouraged Mario Cardozo to become a member, mentioning the membership of other Portuguese colleagues. Presumably, the volume in homage to Martins Sarmiento, printed in 1933, had already been published by then, and Martínez Santa-Olalla promised a recension of this publication, in return for the one his correspondent apparently wrote on the subject of a text published by the former in the *Anais da Faculdade de Ciências do Porto*. Martínez Santa-Olalla reiterates his recommendation of sending the Mayor of Madrid a letter praising the importance of the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*, so that the publication of this important archaeological journal could be continued. In fact, as mentioned above, the last issue of this journal was published in 1936, the year of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

2.4.4 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated February 27, 1935 [inv. no. 1974/001/713 – JMSO/3-52]

27/II/35

Exmo. Snr. Mario Cardozo

Mi distinguido y buen amigo:

Hoy en la sesión de la Soc. de Antropología hemos tenido el gusto presentar a V. como miembro de la Sociedad. Su cheque que agradezco en nombre de la Sociedad ha sido entregado al Tesorero.

Su noticia puede entregarla cuando quiera. El original para el primer fascículo debe quedar entregado para el 20 de marzo con objeto de tener en número en la calle a fines de abril. Si para este número no queda la cosa hecha puede ir en le próximo. De ahora para siempre queda hecha la invitación a que colabore en nuestra revista, de modo que cuando tenga interés en algo o lo envía V. sin más explicaciones o me avisa antes para darle seguridad en que fascículo va con exactitud. Las fechas que me he fijado para aparecer los tres cuadernos son: Fines de abril, fines de septiembre y principios de enero.

Con muchísimo gusto he vuelto a leer detenidamente su grata recensión de mi libro de Herrera.

Sabe es suyo afmo. buen amigo q. e. s. m.

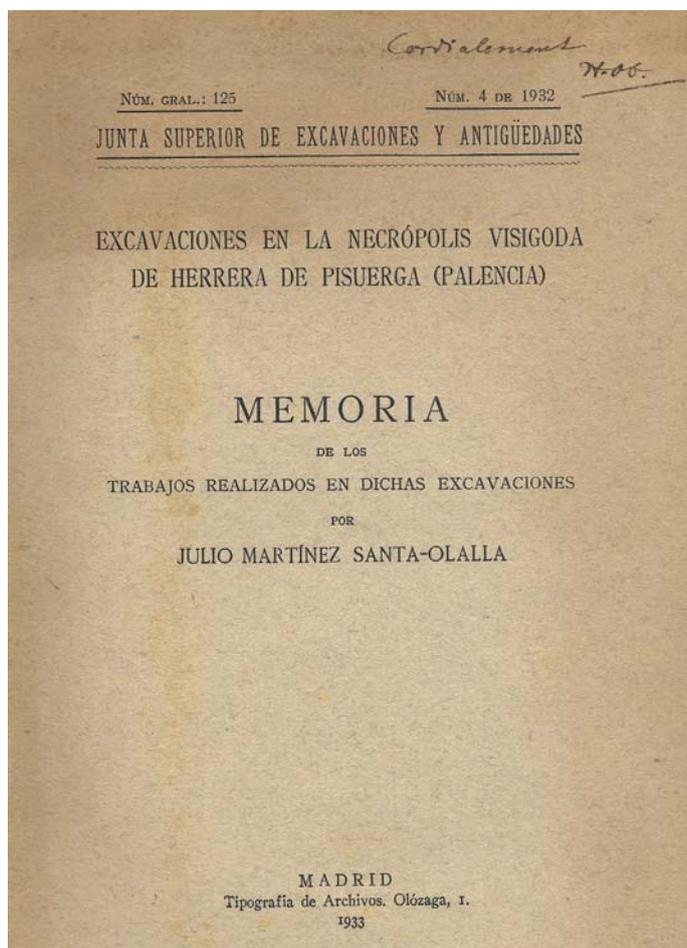


Fig. 6 – Cover of the report on the Visigothic necropolis of Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia) (Madrid, 1933). Copy sent by Hugo Obermaier to Manuel Heleno. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

Comments

This letter confirms Mário Cardozo's membership of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, notifying him of the publication of three annual issues, and thanking him once again for his aforementioned recension in the *Anais da Faculdade de Ciências do Porto*, apparently much appreciated by Martínez Santa-Olalla. This regards a remarkable monograph concerning the excavations of the Visigoth necropolis of Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia), published in Madrid by the Higher Board of Excavations and Antiquities in 1933 (Fig. 6).

2.4.5 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated May 7, 1951 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/17002.1 and 2 – JMSO/48-93]

7-V-51

Excmo. Sr. Mario Cardoso

Quinta da Atougia

Guimarães

Mi distinguido y admirado amigo:

Supongo ya han sido rellenadas según mis órdenes, todas las lagunas que había en su colección de 'Informes y Memorias' y 'Acta Arqueológica Hispánica', y si algo faltara, en su día lo recibirá.

Estoy realmente avergonzado de lo mal que he quedado con Vds., pues era mi firme propósito publicar in extenso todo cuanto tengo sobre Apenha de Guimarães (sic); como Vd. sabe mandé hacer y tengo una serie magnífica de dibujos con excelentes reconstrucciones que, incluso sería un material excesivo, puesto que llevaría muchísimas páginas y muchísimas láminas, aparte de fotografías, unas facilitadas por Vd. y otras hechas sobre los fragmentos que tan amablemente nos regalaron. Este era mi propósito, mas incesantemente nuevos trabajos y nuevas obligaciones, con un sacrificio y pérdida de tiempo extraordinario, en beneficio de todos menos de mí persona, me hacen tener mi trabajo personal abandonado; no es fácil o mejor, agradable la pérdida de tiempo a que me veo obligado para que puedan trabajar en España ese centenar y medio de Comisarios de Excavaciones, con unos medios miserables y menguados, incluso teniendo que luchar contra la egolatría de la media docena, que en realidad ni a eso llegan, de profesionales intransigentes, endiosados, que creen que nadie mas que ellos tienen derecho al trabajo ni saben trabajar. Por cierto que con referencia a ese trabajo de Apenha, sería conveniente utilizar los cajones que me dijeron en Guimarães había cerrados y llenos de cerámica, donde posiblemente habría mas formas y tipos de vasos, especialmente en los lisos o con otra técnica decorativa. ¿Abrieron los cajones ya, se sabe lo que hay en ellos?; por otro lado me hubiera gustado haber dado ese trabajo completo con el que coinciden las ideas de mi discípulo Mac White, en cuya tesis se habla de ello y coincide también el punto de vista de Savory.

No sé si sabrá Vd. que a propuesta mía se ha acordado celebrar el III Congreso arqueológico Nacional en Galicia y mucho celebraré el que Portugal no esté ausente en dicho Congreso o esté representado por personas meritísimas pero de escaso relieve científico y social en su querido país. A mí me gustaría que a este Congreso se le pudiera dar un carácter hondamente científico, en que los problemas, sobre todo del bronce mediterráneo, con sus mamoaes y grabados rupestres y el subsiguiente atlántico, tan importante y transcendental en su historia europea, así como su hierro céltico, pudieran ser estudiados con profundidad y con unos puntos de vista renovados, conforme se hace en mi escuela y por mis discípulos, que como Vd. sabe, se aceptan en todo el mundo por las mas altas autoridades: Childe, Laviosa Zambotti, Daniel, etc., etc., ya que de no hacerlo así, seguiremos en esa Arqueología arqueológica, y perdón la redundancia, de la que por lo visto no nos vamos a

redimir. Sobre este Congreso mucho le agradecería si Vd. lo ve con simpatía y cree vale la pena de pensar y molestarse en él, que me comunicase sus deseos y posibles proyectos. A mí no me desagradaría nada el que estos congresos, que se llaman nacionales, pasasen a ser peninsulares o hispánicos, pues es peregrino y ridículo en fin de cuentas y anticientífico el que Portugal esté excluido en virtud de un hecho político que nada tiene que ver con la Historia Primitiva, puesto que es posterior en muchísimos siglos y miles de años. A mí me gustaría que estos congresos fuesen efectivamente hispánicos o peninsulares y que únicamente por una razón de kilómetros cuadrados y densidad de población, se celebrasen por ejemplo en Portugal cada segundo o tercer congreso.

Siempre suyo buen amigo s. s.

q. e. s. m.

(unsigned)

Comments

By the time he wrote this letter, Martínez Santa-Olalla was the Spanish Commissioner General of Archaeological Excavations. His influential power, and even the power to intervene directly in the management of Spanish archaeology, was effective, as can be seen from the outburst that he could not repress concerning the management of interests and protagonisms, especially among those who could be considered his equals. In addition to this effective power he also had the prestige resulting from his chair at the University of Madrid, the Seminar of Primitive History of Man, with the corresponding capacity to mobilise students and followers. This multifaceted and complex situation explains the intensity of Martínez Santa-Olalla's intervention in Spanish archaeology in the 1950s.

Such power is substantiated in this letter by the commitment of supplementing the Martins Sarmiento Society's library with any number of copies of the archaeological series published under his patronage and, on the other hand, by the interest he showed in publishing large monographs on outstanding archaeological sites, e.g. the Penha site, in Guimarães. He mistakenly ascribed this site to the Atlantic Bronze Age, a view shared by then by Eoin Mac White, whose PhD was supervised by Santa-Olalla and published in 1951 under the title *Estudios sobre las relaciones atlánticas de la Península Hispánica en la Edad del Bronce* (Mac WHITE, 1951) (Fig. 7). Indeed, the ascription of this site to the Chalcolithic only occurred much later (JORGE, 1986).

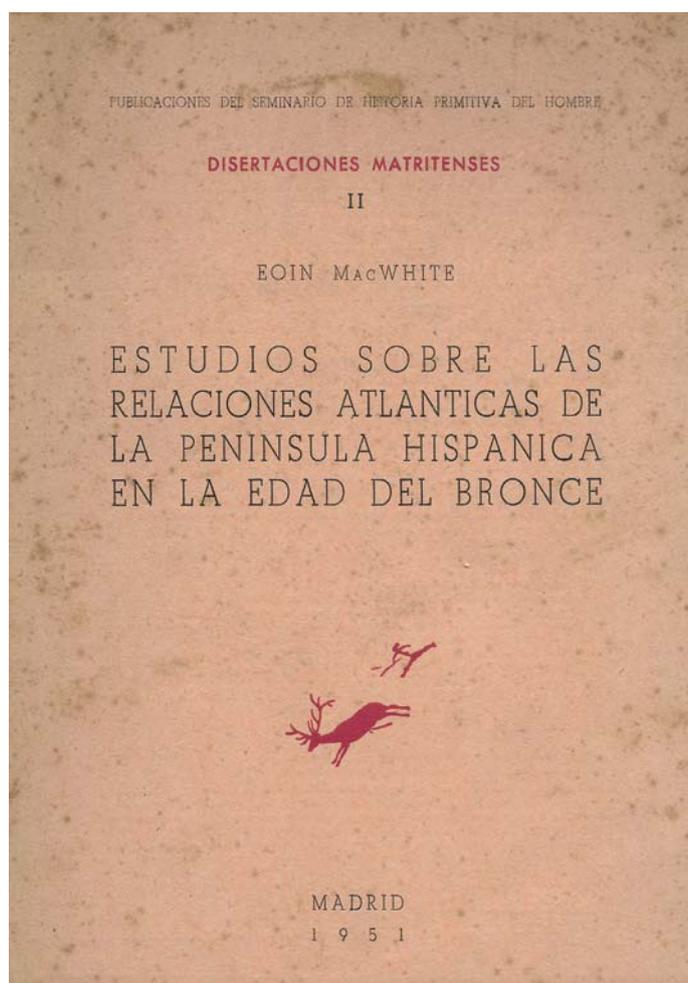


Fig. 7 – Cover of Eoin MacWhite's PhD thesis, completed under the supervision of Martínez Santa-Olalla in 1947 (Madrid, 1951). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

This situation was, however, independent from the sequence defined for the Iberian prehistoric cultures by Martínez Santa-Olalla, who considered that the Chalcolithic (or Copper Age) was the beginning of the Bronze Age (which he referred to as Mediterranean Bronze I), a concept devoid of any archaeological basis, since the coeval metallurgy was exclusively based on copper. This chronological proposal was first presented in 1941, in his well-known study *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Hispanica* printed shortly afterwards, in a 1946 stand-alone edition (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA, 1941, 1946). The Mediterranean Bronze I was followed by Phase II, corresponding to the El Argar Culture, which preceded the Atlantic Bronze Age at around 1300 BC. Presently, Atlantic Bronze Age is the only term still in use, as evidenced by the numerous tin alloy metallic productions (sometimes combined with lead) used in the manufacture of metallic artefacts of well-established typologies.

The second part of the letter concerns the 3rd National Archaeological Congress, held in 1953 in Galicia. As was Martínez Santa-Olalla's wish, such a gathering should bring together the most relevant Portuguese archaeologists of the time, which was largely the case, judging from the papers published in the corresponding proceedings. In Portugal, the congressmen visited Guimarães, where they were received at the Martins Sarmiento Society, directed by Mário Cardozo, visiting the museum and the Citânia de Briteiros on July 24, 1953; a work session was held at the Society on the same day. The 1953 issue of the *Revista de Guimarães* included an extensive and detailed report of the congressmen's visit to Guimarães, during which Mário Cardozo gave his paper *Alguns problemas da Idade do Ferro no Norte de Portugal* fully published in the same issue, followed by the list of congressmen who visited the city of Guimarães, after a study session held in Braga on the previous day, July 23, 1953, and a visit to a custom exhibition evoking *Bracara Augusta*.

The prospect of turning these congresses into gatherings of peninsular scope was very interesting, based on the assumption that every second or third congress would take place in Portugal, which never really happened. It took until 1993, i.e. 40 years of waiting, for the 1st *Congress of Peninsular Archaeology* to be held in Oporto, followed, in 1996, by the second, in Zaragoza (Spain), and by the third, in Vila Real (Portugal), in 1999. The last of these congresses was held in Faro in 2005; the lack of continuity cannot be fully explained, given the considerable scientific interest and attendance observed in all of them.

2.4.6 – Three-page typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Sociedade Martins Sarmiento – Guimarães’, dated May 26, 1951 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/16998.1 t0 3] (Fig. 8)

Guimarães (Portugal)

26-V-1951

Exm^o Senhor

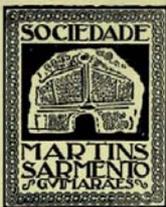
Prof. Dr. Júlio Martinez Santa-Olalla

Madrid

Meu prezado e ilustre Amigo:

Foi com a maior satisfação que recebi a carta de V.^a Ex.^a, datada de 7 do corrente, tanto mais que já ha muito tempo não tinha tido o prazer das suas notícias. Com muito gosto vou responder-lhe, seguindo nesta carta a ordem dos assuntos a que na sua se refere:

Publicações da Comisaria – Por especial favor de V.^a Ex.^a recebemos, tanto a Biblioteca da Sociedade Martins Sarmiento, como eu próprio, as magníficas publicações que pedi, e em devido tempo agradei. Conforme nessa ocasião informei, ficaram ainda a faltar-me os tomos 16, 18 e 19 dos **Informes y Memorias**,



SOCIEDADE MARTINS SARMENTO — GUIMARÃES —

Instituição fundada em 1882. Promotora da Instrução Popular no Concelho de Guimarães. Louvada em Portarias de 20-11-1882, 8-3-1901 e 9-2-1940. Considerada de Utilidade Pública, por D. de 30-12-1926. Condecorada, em 25-5-1931, com o Grande Oficialato da Ordem de Senfago de Espada. Biblioteca Pública e Museu de Arqueologia. Estações Arqueológicas de Sabroso e de Citânia de Briteiros.
— Órgão cultural: Revista de Guimarães. Fundada em 1884. —

arqueólogos portugueses se unissem aos galegos, para apresentarmos, juntos, "uma frente sólida". Duvido, porém, muito da solidez dessa frente, por parte dos portugueses, que não têm concorrido, como aliás deviam, a esses Congressos, iniciados no Sudeste, facto que V^aEx^a já havia notado, quando, num deles, afirmou, se bem me recordo, que os portugueses e espanhóis estavam de costas voltadas.

Veremos, todavia, o que será possível conseguir. Eu já lembrei ao Cuevillas a oportunidade de, nessa ocasião, os Congressistas realizarem uma excursão ao Norte de Portugal, com uma visita à Citânia de Briteiros, protótipo dos castros desta região nortenha.

Parece-me que, para estimular os nossos estudiosos, deveriam estes receber convites especiais, para colaborar em nesse Congresso, enviados pela Comissão organizadora, e interessar neste assunto o nosso Ministério da Educação Nacional, as Universidades, Museus, Academias, etc., por intermédio das correspondentes entidades oficiais espanholas. Se V^aEx^a quizer, poderá enviar-me qualquer projecto ou sugestão acerca da colaboração portuguesa, dirigido ao Presidente da 2^a Sub-Secção (Escavações, Antiguidades e Numismática) da 6^a Secção da Junta Nacional de Educação (Lisboa), que eu próprio ali apresentaria em seu nome, numa das sessões, visto que faço parte desse organismo oficial, na qualidade de vogal.

Também poderei, se quizer, enviar-lhe uma lista, tão completa quanto possível, dos nomes e endereços dos estudiosos portugueses que se dedicam à Arqueologia, Etnografia, Antropologia, Epigrafia e Numismática, e que infelizmente não são muitos, para que os confrades espanhóis insistissem pela sua adesão e comparência no Congresso, facilitando o mais possível a nossa deslocação a Espanha, pois, como sabe, nos tempos de hoje, é um problema de solução difícil, sob o ponto de vista económico.

A sua ideia de converter estes Congressos de "nacionais" em "peninsulares" ou "hispanicos" também a acho interessante; e sobretudo muito lisongeira para nós, portugueses. Todavia, devo lembrar-lhe que

Fig. 8 - Mário de Vasconcelos Cardozo, three-page typed letter, bearing the stamp 'Sociedade Martins Sarmiento - Guimarães', dated May 26, 1951 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/16998.1 to 3] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

e o tomo II dos **acta Arq. Hispanica**, que muito desejaria possuir também, ficando com a série completa. Agradecia-lhe pois o seu envio.

Todos os volumes contêm magníficos estudos, que muito dignificam a acção da Comisaria General de Escavaciones Arqueológicas, sob o impulso de V.^a Ex.^a, nestes 12 anos de esforço, cujos frutos a Espanha está colhendo (e também Portugal, indirectamente), apesar de todos os entraves e obstáculos que sempre surgem a quem trabalha por simples devoção espiritual. Os resultados da esplêndida orientação de V.^a Ex.^a na Comisaria ficaram bem patentes e demonstrados nessa reunião de Comisarios que V.^a Ex.^a convocou, e na qual se discutiram assuntos de flagrante interesse para a defesa do património arqueológico espanhol, bem como nessa brilhantíssima exposição reveladora da colheita obtida em 'Diez años de Arqueologia'! Com as minhas saudações, receba V.^a Ex.^a os meus sinceros parabens por tão compensadores resultados dos serviços que todos os estudiosos lhe ficam devendo.

Em Portugal existe um organismo semelhante à Comisaria espanhola, que é a Secção de Escavações, Antiguidades e Numismática, da Junta Nacional de Educação. Mas estamos muito longe, infelizmente, de encontrar ali a acção inteligente e criteriosa que V.^a Ex.^a tem desenvolvido na sua Comisaria.

Estação de A Penha (Guimarães) – Lamento, na verdade, que V.^a Ex.^a não tenha podido enviar-nos o prometido estudo sobre essa importante estação arqueológica do Bronze Atlântico, à qual infelizmente os arqueólogos portugueses, que disponham de competência para esse estudo, não têm ligado a devida atenção. O facto de a documentação gráfica do trabalho de V.^a Ex.^a ser abundante não impediria a sua publicação na nossa Revista, pois, felizmente, não nos falta a verba necessária para a sustentação do órgão cultural da Sociedade. Compreendo, todavia, que V.^a Ex.^a não tenha podido dispor de tempo para ultimar esse estudo, que seria para nós excelente, dada a indiscutível competência científica do seu autor.

É minha intenção publicar, entretanto, num dos próximos tomos da 'Revista de Guimarães', pelo menos a tradução do estudo de Savory, **The Atlantic Bronze Age in South-West Europe**, que ele deu em 1949, nos 'Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society', e contem importantes referências à Penha.

Quanto à informação que deram a V.^a Ex.^a, aqui em Guimarães, de que existiam caixotes fechados e cheios de cerâmica da Penha, é menos verdadeira! Não existem; nunca existiram, tais caixotes! O que ha é apenas duplicados de muitos dos fragmentos que se encontram expostos no Museu. Nada mais.

III Congresso Arqueológico Nacional – Já sabia que em 1953 terá lugar, na Galiza, esse Congresso. O que ignorava é que a proposta tivesse partido de V.^a Ex.^a. O nosso confrade Sr. D. Florentino Lopez Cuevillas, que é um dos membros da Comissão Organizadora, na Galiza, já me havia escrito sobre o assunto, sugerindo que os arqueólogos portugueses se unissem aos galegos, para apresentarmos, juntos, 'uma frente sólida'. Duvido, porém, muito da solidez dessa frente, por parte dos portugueses, que não têm concorrido, como aliás deviam, a esses Congressos, iniciados no Sudoeste, facto que V.^a Ex.^a já havia notado, quando, num deles, afirmou, se bem me recordo, que os portugueses e espanhóis estavam de costas voltadas.

Veremos, todavia, o que será possível conseguir. Eu já lembrei ao Cuevillas a oportunidade de, nessa ocasião, os Congressistas realizarem uma excursão ao Norte de Portugal, com uma visita à Citânia de Briteiros, protótipo dos castros desta região nortenha.

Parece-me que, para estimular os nossos estudiosos, deveriam estes receber convites especiais, para colaborar nesse Congresso, enviados pela Comissão organizadora, e interessar neste assunto o nosso Ministério da Educação Nacional, as Universidades, Museus, Academias, etc., por intermédio das correspondentes entidades oficiais espanholas. Se V.^a Ex.^a quizer, poderá enviar-me qualquer projecto ou sugestão acerca da colaboração portuguesa, dirigido ao Presidente da 2.^a Sub-Secção (Escavações, Antiguidades e Numismática) da

6.^a Secção da Junta Nacional de Educação (Lisboa), que eu próprio ali apresentaria em seu nome, numa das sessões, visto que faço parte desse organismo oficial, na qualidade de vogal...

Também poderei, se quiser, enviar-lhe uma lista, tão completa quanto possível, dos nomes e endereços dos estudiosos portugueses que se dedicam à Arqueologia, Etnografia, Antropologia, Epigrafia e Numismática, e que infelizmente não são muitos, para que os confrades espanhóis insistissem pela sua adesão e comparência no Congresso, facilitando o mais possível a nossa deslocação a Espanha, pois, como sabe, nos tempos de hoje, é um problema de solução difícil, sob o ponto de vista económico.

A sua ideia de converter estes Congressos de 'nacionais' em 'peninsulares' ou 'hispânicos' também a acho interessante; e sobretudo muito lisonjeira para nós, portugueses. Todavia, devo lembrar-lhe que Portugal está longe de ter um grupo de cientistas e cultores da Arqueologia semelhante àquele que hoje tanto honra a Espanha!

E por hoje aqui termino, pois esta carta já vai demasiado extensa. Estimarei continuar a receber as suas prezadas notícias, e peço-lhe me creia sempre seu sincero admirador e grato amigo.

Mário Cardozo (signature)

Comments

This long answer from Mario Cardozo to Martínez Santa-Olalla's letter broke apparently a 16-year epistolary silence. Cardozo clarifies the situation regarding the Penha site findings, by then regarded as belonging to the Atlantic Bronze Age, an opinion reiterated by H. N. Savory in one of his papers, whose translation was indeed published in the *Revista de Guimarães*, as mentioned in this letter, in the 1951 volume 61(3/4).

Mário Cardozo's reservations about the ability of Portuguese archaeologists to assert themselves at the time are worth noting, particularly when compared with their Spanish counterparts: indeed, Portuguese archaeology was at a much more backward stage, largely due to the lack of research dynamics that only universities with an effective and structured teaching of the various aspects of archaeology could ensure, besides the differences in scale that characterize both Iberian countries. By then, and in contrast to the diversity of Spanish universities, in Portugal Prehistory was only taught at the University of Lisbon (CARDOSO, 2013), along with the generic course of Archaeology, which also had no equivalent at the other two Portuguese universities (Coimbra and Oporto) where the teaching of Archaeology was incipient, centred on Art History and sometimes referred to as 'Artistic Archaeology'. After all, the scarce archaeological research carried out in Portugal in the 1950s, whose quality was probably no different from what was done in Spain, was limited to a little more than a dozen archaeologists, most of whom lacked the basic means to carry out their tasks. It was, therefore, only through remarkable efforts, which are worth mentioning, that archaeology asserted itself, without discrediting any comparisons with what was done in the neighbouring country. Actually, Portuguese archaeology was an almost exclusively amateur activity, in the best sense of the expression. For many years, this was the way archaeological research was carried out in Portugal and it ensured that Portugal was represented at the various international gatherings. One can imagine the difficulties arising from the absence of structures that would grant the required support and funding. It was with these difficulties in mind that Mário Cardozo suggested, on behalf of the organizers of the 3rd National Archaeological Congress, that official invitations be sent to the most relevant Portuguese archaeologists, so as to lend credibility to the request for grants for registration and travel to Spain. To this end, Mário Cardozo, invoking his position as a member of the National Education Board, was willing to organize a list of the most relevant Portuguese archaeologists so that they would be better qualified to apply for grants from official institutions, in this case essentially limited

to the Institute for High Culture. Indeed, and as a result of these efforts, the most relevant Portuguese archaeologists were enrolled in the congress and their contributions were later published in the respective proceedings. What a contrast with the current situation, in which archaeological research units, established within universities, do not normally face any funding difficulties in ensuring their researchers' attendance of international scientific meetings, even if they have not prepared any specific contributions. Thanks to the support of local entities, namely the City Councils of Braga and Guimarães, as well as the Martins Sarmiento Society, the visit of the congress participants to the North of Portugal was an absolute success.

2.5 – CORRÊA, António Augusto Mendes

2.5.1 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated October 23, 1946 [not inventoried]

23 de Outubro de 1946

Excmo. Sr. A. A. Mendes Correa

Catedrático de la Universidad de Oporto

Mi querido amigo:

Don Juan Alvarez Delgado, Catedrático de la Universidad de La Laguna y Miembro del Comité de la CIAO en Canarias, me propone en relación con la participación de diversos africanistas canarios en el Congreso de Bisao, lo siguiente:

Que el buque que salga de Portugal para trasladar a los portugueses y acaso a los españoles peninsulares a Bisao, pare en Canarias organizándose allí un programa de visitas de estudio aunque fuese rápido y aprovechando esta ocasión para que se incorporasen los canarios que podrían luego regresar en el mismo barco. Sería de desear según dice dicho Sr. y D. Elías Serra Rafols, Rector de la misma Universidad, que el buque tocara en las dos islas mayores Tenerife y Gran Canaria tanto porque esta visita interesaría a los Congresistas como para facilitar así la incorporación de los canarios y de otro modo no podrían trasladarse a Bisao.

Como considero de interés esta iniciativa se la transmito a Vd. para que vea si es posible acceder a ella.

Esperando con todo interés sus noticias, sabe es suyo buen amigo

(followed by a list of people registered for the 2nd CIAO congress)

2.5.2 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated October 28, 1946 [not inventoried]

28 de Octubre de 1946

Excmo. Sr. Dr. A. A. Mendes Correa

Presidente del Comité Organizador Portugués y Delegado de Portugal en el Comité Internacional de la CIAO:

Oporto

Muy distinguido Sr. colega:

Vista su comunicación de 26 de septiembre de 1946, debo manifestarle en primer lugar que es para mí un motivo de especial satisfacción el ver la feliz iniciativa del Gobierno Portugués y especialmente del Excmo. Sr. Ministro de Colonias, al recabar para Portugal el honor de celebrar en Bisao la segunda Reunión de la CIAO.

Igualmente tengo el honor como Miembro Español del Comité Permanente de la CIAO comunicarle mi adhesión y promesa de asistencia al 2.º Congreso Internacional de Africanistas Occidentales en Bisao, Guinea Portuguesa, que deberá tener lugar del 8 al 14 de febrero de 1947.

Daré cuenta a mis colegas de la comunicación que me ha sido dirigida, a los efectos oportunos.

Mis comunicaciones al Congreso versarán sobre 'La Edad del Aguerguer de Río de Oro y sus industrias cuaternarias', 'Neolítico de Fernando Poo' y 'La Sociedad secreta el M'bueti'.

Suyo affmo. Amigo y colega q. e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla

Comments

Following preparations in 1944, the 1st Conférence Internationale des Africanistes de l'Ouest [CIAO] was held in Dakar in January 19-25, 1945, organised by Théodor Monod and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, bringing together representatives of the main Allied countries. France was represented by Auguste Chevalier from Paris and the United Kingdom by C. Daryll Forde of the University College London and Director of the International African Institute. Martínez Santa-Olalla played a notable role in this congress, as he was one of the three vice-presidents, along with Forde and Monod, gave the closing lecture and was appointed as the representative of Spain. In addition and as proposed by MSO, Portugal had been invited to the new congress and A.A. Mendes Corrêa, from the University of Porto, was appointed as the Portuguese representative.

Once Martínez Santa-Olalla returned to Spain, his main objective was, as the Spanish representative on the International Committee of the International Conference of Western Africanists, the creation of a Spanish West Africa Committee chaired by himself, with J. San Valero as Secretary General and the Director General of Morocco and the Colonies, J. Díaz de Villegas, Eduardo and Francisco Hernández-Pacheco, E. Guinea López, S. Montero Díaz, J. de la Villa y Sanz, E. Morales Agacino and T. García Figueras as members. Martínez Santa-Olalla's main task was the drafting of a regulation and its transformation into the Institute of African Studies, which was subsequently discussed by the rest of the commission.

The second objective was trying to organise the 3rd International Conference of Western Africanists in Spain, a proposal that Martínez Santa-Olalla had put forward at the Dakar congress and which had been accepted in principle. This idea had the approval of Elías Serra Ràfols, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities since 1940, who had just been appointed Rector of the University of La Laguna in 1945, which he had joined as Full Professor of Spanish History since 1926. E. Serra Ràfols was in charge of setting up a Canary Islands section of the Spanish Committee for West Africa, both in Tenerife and in Las Palmas, with the participation of P. Hernández Benítez, D. Macías Martín and A. Torrent Reina.

The Dakar conference brought Martínez Santa-Olalla international prominence in the field of archaeology for the first time since the end of the Civil War, as he was only really known in Germany for his stay in Bonn and his studies on the Visigoths. Paradoxically, he had also achieved this within the group of the Allied countries. This is why he soon planned his First Paleoethnological and Ethnological Expedition to Spanish Guinea, which was carried out exclusively by Martínez Santa-Olalla and Sáez Martín between July and August 1946, following the interest aroused by these regions at the Dakar congress, and the Portuguese announcement that they were to hold the next conference in Bissau, in Portuguese Guinea, in February 1947. Immediately afterwards, he carried out the Second Paleoethnological Expedition to the Spanish Sahara, between September and October 1946, in which only Martínez Santa-Olalla and Sáez Martín took part, accompanied by Lieutenant J.

Erola, of the Río del Oro Nomad Group, travelling by camel from El Argub-Pozo de Tagschtent to Tichla, and flying back on a military plane.

However, the political changes required by the course of the Second World War ended up affecting him directly due to the problems he began to experience in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, starting with the appointment of Alberto Martín Artajo y Álvarez as Minister on July 20, 1945. Not only did this involve the appointment of a member of the National Catholic Association of Propagandists, to which Ibáñez Martín, the Minister of National Education, already belonged, but at the same time the position of Minister of the National Movement or Secretary General of the Traditionalist Spanish Falange and JONS was left vacant in the Council of Ministers, resulting in the dismissal of his best friend and main supporter of his initiatives, the Falangist José Luis de Arrese.

In 1944, the demise of the Director General of Morocco and the Colonies and former Governor General in Guinea, Juan Fontán y Lobé, a honorary member of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory since 1943, entailed his replacement by José Díaz de Villegas around November 1944. The new Director General, who became a member of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory in December 1944, was not only the institutional creator of the Institute of African Studies, of which he was appointed Director, but also authorised much of the archaeological research conducted in Morocco and the Sahara. The replacement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in June 1945 heralded significant changes for the following year concerning the people who represented Spain abroad. The announced holding of two Africanist congresses at the beginning of 1947 ended up revealing the lack of harmony between the Institute of African Studies and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Martínez Santa-Olalla.

Martínez Santa-Olalla saw the problem coming at the end of 1946 when he was not allowed to leave Spain by the Ministry of National Education, which referred him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as he told Epifanio Fortuny in a letter written in November (JMSO, 15-11-1946). He tried to reach the highest authorities and requested an audience with General Franco on December 7, 1946, which was not granted.

In January 1947 the 1st Pan-African Congress of Prehistory was to be held in Nairobi (Kenya), organised by L.S.B. Leakey, who had addressed invitations to the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, the Seminar of Primitive History of Man and the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations, and all three institutions appointed Martínez Santa-Olalla as their representative. After planning his journey together with the Baron of Esponellá, the Provincial Commissioner of Archaeological Excavations of Barcelona, he wanted to visit the main museums of Egypt and Sudan. However, he was finally unable to travel and, in the Proceedings of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, Martínez Santa-Olalla stated that “there had been a Spaniard, Professor Pericot, who had no knowledge of the congress and had not been invited to it, although he was nevertheless sent at the last minute to represent the Institute of African Studies, which had not been invited either. The appointment of this gentleman, in such an abnormal and regrettable way, caused the agreed upon and invited representatives to be unable to leave”, as the grant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was allocated to Pericot. The member of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, José María Cordero Torres, directly accused “the Director of the Institute of African Studies, of being responsible for and the source of these regrettable incidents”.

A month later, in February 1947, the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists, organised by the Colonial Research Board, was going to be held in Bissau (Portuguese Guinea). The lack of a visa from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the members of the Seminar of Primitive History, who withdrew their papers, and the lack of English participation caused the conference to be delayed until the autumn of 1947. Furthermore, in January 1947 Francisco Hernández-Pacheco, professor at the University of Madrid and one

of the members of the Institute of African Studies, applied to represent the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. The institution informed him that Martínez Santa-Olalla was the Spanish representative in the International Committee of the International Conference of Western Africanists. Moreover, the Society proposed Julián de la Villa y Sánchez, a Professor of Medicine at the Central University of Madrid and President of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, and Juan Álvarez Delgado, Professor of Classical Philology at the University of La Laguna and Provincial Commissioner of Excavations of the Province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, to manage the organisation of the third congress in the Canary Islands.

Hernández-Pacheco himself had personally visited Martínez Santa-Olalla at his home in January 1947 to give him explanations for his application to represent Spain at the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists, with ‘unconvincing’ arguments, as Martínez Santa-Olalla told Álvarez Delgado (FLDC [Fondo Luis Diego Cuscoy], 25-1-1947), and on the same day he submitted his application for official representation to the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory.

Yet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory that it was impossible to grant more subsidies because there were already two designated representatives, F. Hernández-Pacheco and the Conde de Castillofiel, the stamp tax inspector at Santa Isabel de Fernando Poo. In October 1947, Martínez Santa-Olalla gave up the conflict and proposed that the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory appoint another representative “because he had not been authorised to leave Spain”, according to his own words in the Society’s proceedings. Despite his non-attendance and the fact that he missed the possibility of holding the third congress in the Canary Islands, it was also a small personal triumph for him as he was re-elected as a member of the Standing Committee of the International Conference of Western Africanists (MEDEROS, 2003-04, p. 35-38; MEDEROS & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 182-188).

2.6 – FERREIRA, Octávio da Veiga (arquivo OVF/JLC)

2.6.1 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘El Comisario General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas’. Joao Luis Cardoso’s archive (Fig. 9)

Saluda

Al Sr. Octavio Ferreira, para felicitarle por su interesante publicación y agradecerle su amable envío, al propio tiempo que le significa que sus hallazgos de Esgravatadoiro son típicos de la cultura iberosahariana y pertenecen al Bronce Mediterráneo I, en manera alguna al neolítico y menos a lo que antiguamente llamaban “eneolítico” concepto equivoco de debe desaparecer por anticuado y anticientífico de la nomenclatura, que solo como residual aparece en gentes poco informadas.

Igualmente vista su amable tarjeta le hago saber que la vieja cronología del Prof. Bosch Gimpera, repetida por Pericot a que se refiere en su página 95 es ciertamente falsa y nadie la aceptamos ya.

Con mis mejores votos por el éxito de futuros trabajos y publicaciones

The printed parts of this letter are indicated in italic below:

Julio Martínez Santa Olalla

Aprovecha gustoso esta ocasión para reiterarle el testimonio de su consideración más distinguida.

Madrid 8 de octubre de 1947

Serrano 41

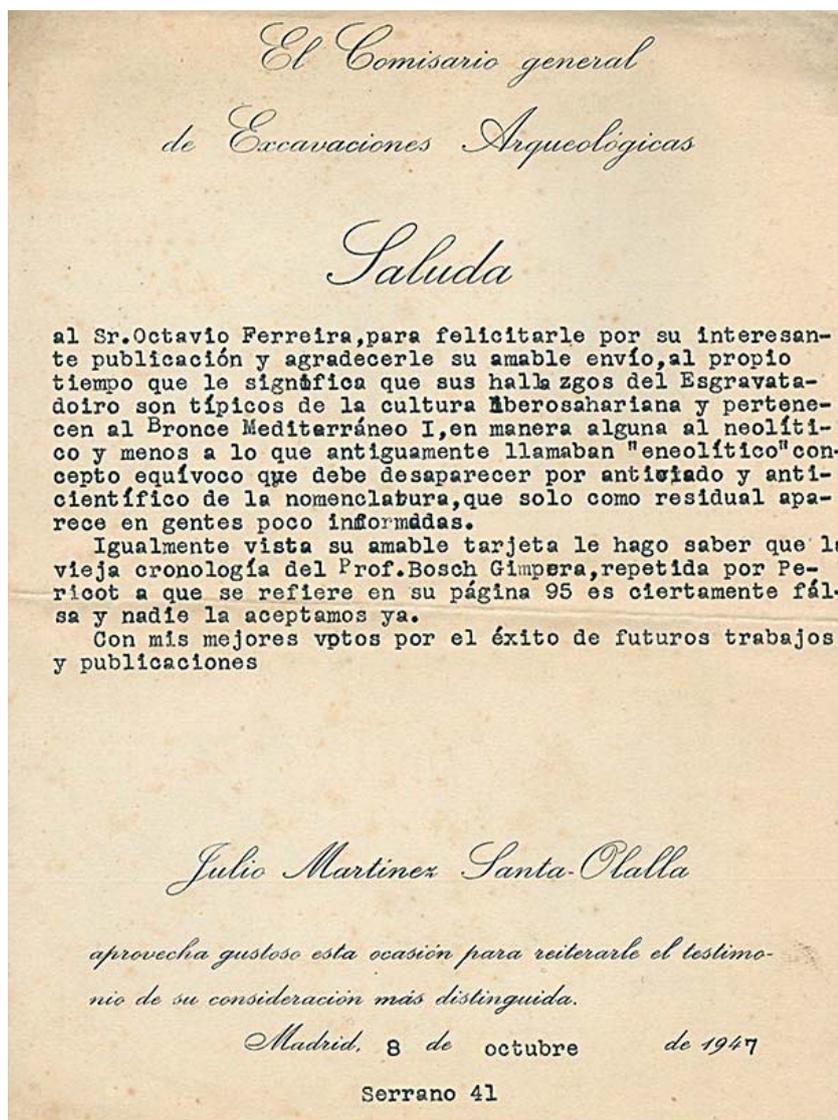


Fig. 9 - Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. Letter bearing the stamp 'El Comisario General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas'. Octavio da Veiga Ferreira/João Luís Cardoso's archive.

Comments

Martínez Santa-Olalla acknowledges and thanks the receipt of a publication issued the previous year, concerning the Neolithic necropolis of Buço Preto or Esgravatadoiro (Monchique), subsequently included in a study on the remarkable funerary complex identified and excavated in this region of the Algarve (FORMOSINHO, FERREIRA & VIANA, 1953, Est. IX). This is a necropolis made up of five cist tombs with Neolithic implements (Fig. 10). This classification was contrary to the phasing and terminology postulated by Martínez Santa-Olalla, as opposed to the proposals of Pedro Bosch Gimpera and his disciple Luis Pericot. Martínez Santa-Olalla never missed an opportunity to criticize all those who followed different criteria, as was the case of Veiga Ferreira, according to the document transcribed above and the corresponding comments.

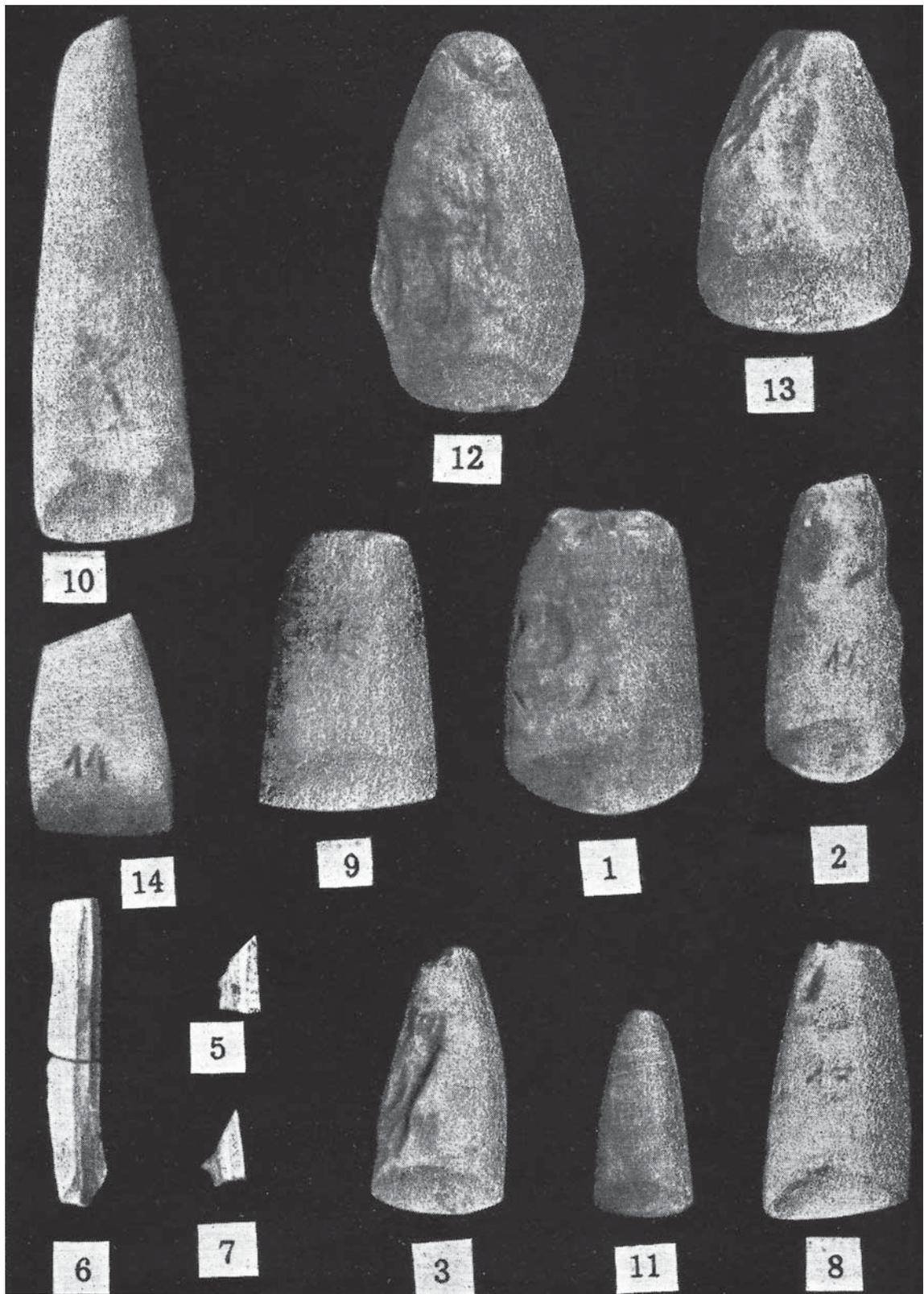


Fig. 10 – Materials recovered from the Buço Preto or Esgravatadoiro necropolis, Monchique (in FORMOSINHO, FERREIRA & VIANA, 1953, Est. IX). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

This thank-you letter thus displays a clearly imperative tone, leaving no room for doubt as to the opinion that Martínez Santa-Olalla had of scientific views different from his own and which, in the end, were more successful because they were based on sound archaeological principles. It was perhaps for this reason, and due to the impertinent tone of the letter, that Veiga Ferreira never replied. As a matter of fact, it was almost a true declaration of faith on the part of Martínez Santa-Olalla, which will be commented in detail further on, apropos the analogous objection made by Martínez Santa-Olalla to Carlos Teixeira, who followed the same terminology as O. da Veiga Ferreira, as will be discussed further on (see the correspondence with Carlos Teixeira). This letter received by O. da Veiga Ferreira has been previously published and discussed (CARDOSO, 2008, p. 398, 670). On the other hand, the dedications of several offprints sent by Bosch Gimpera and Pericot to Veiga Ferreira show that they were on good terms with each other.

2.7 – HELENO, Manuel Domingues

2.7.1 – Typed letter, bearing the legend ‘PROF. DR. J. MARTINEZ SANTA-OLALLA / MADRID – VIII / ANDRES MELLADO, 21’, dated November 22, 1933 APMH/5/1/668/1 (Fig. 11)

Exmo. Snr. Dr.

Manuel Domingues Heleno Junior

Muy distinguido sr. mio y respetable colega:

Mi compañero el Sr. Obermaier, que me encarga un saludo afectuoso para Vd., ha tenido la bondad de comunicarme su dirección. El objeto de molestarle a Vd. es para rogarle tenga la amabilidad de facilitarme unas fotografías que preciso para un trabajo, que debe entrar enseguida en prensa, de algunas piezas conservadas en el Museu de Belem.

Las piezas en cuestión son los dos broches de cinturón de oro visigóticos procedentes de Beja y uno de tipo semejante, que con la procedencia vaga de Galicia se guarda en el mismo Museo. Estas piezas son las de las figs. 297-299 y 301 de N. Aberg, *Die Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Uppsala, Leipzig, Paris, 1922.

Aprovecho esta ocasión para rogarle tenga a bien decirme que otras piezas (broches de cinturón y fíbulas especialmente) visigodas se guardan en ese Museo y si es posible me comunique fotos de ellas.

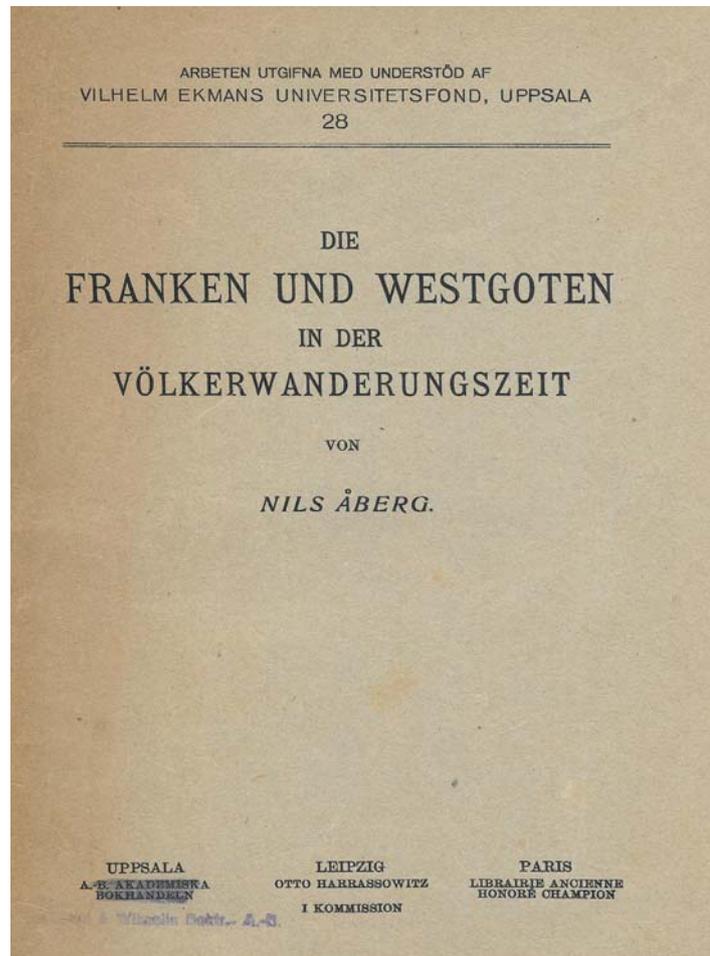


Fig. 11 – Cover of Nils Aberg’s book featuring, for the first time, the two Visigoth golden belt clasps from Beja, set with semi-precious stones (ABERG, 1922, p. 207, Abb. 299). JLC’s own exemplar and photo.

Lamento enormemente haber tenido que molestarle a Vd. con esta petición, por lo que le pido mil perdones y aprovecho gustoso la ocasión para ofrecerme de Vd. atto.s.s.q.l.e.l.m.

Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This request was apparently not granted by Manuel Heleno. In fact, in 1934 the signee published a small synthesis study titled *Esquema de la Arqueología Visigoda* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA, 1934), where he reproduces not the photos he had requested, but the drawings previously published by Nils Aberg in the publication he refers to (Fig. 12). The corresponding separate was sent along with a letter, dated December 22 1945, which will be transcribed further on.

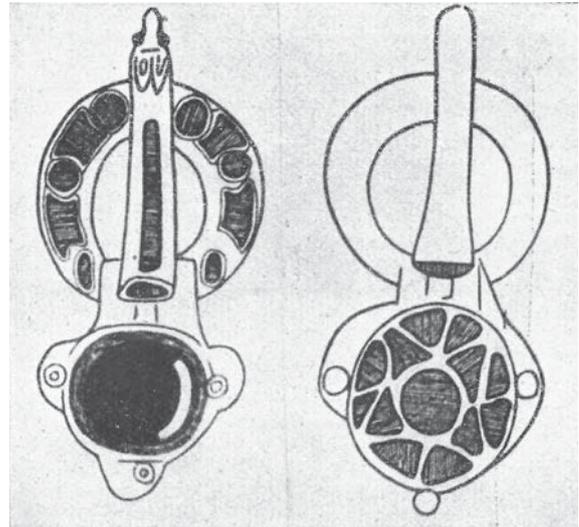


Fig. 12 – Visigoth golden belt buckles set with semi-precious stones, from Beja. After MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1934, Fig. 1, reproducing the same figures previously published by Nils Aberg (ABERG, 1922, p.207, Abb. 299). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

2.7.2 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp and legend 'SEMINARIO DE HISTORIA / PRIMITIVA DEL HOMBRE / FACULTAD DE FILOSOFIA Y LETRAS / CIUDAD UNIVERSITARIA – MADRID', dated February 10, 1944 APMH/5/1/668/2-2/2

Excmo. Sr. Profesor Dr. Heleno
Director del Museo Etnológico Portugués
Lisboa

Mi distinguido amigo y querido compañero:

Reconstruida la Ciudad Universitaria que tanto había padecido por ser frente de guerra durante tres años, se reanudan las labores de reconstrucción del Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre cuya Biblioteca y Colecciones se perdieron totalmente como consecuencia de nuestra guerra contra el comunismo.

Con este motivo es para mi un honor dirigirme a Vd. con el ruego de que contribuya, con separatas y ejemplares de sus publicaciones duplicados en su Biblioteca, a esta empresa científica de facilitar la formación de la juventud universitaria y de reconstrucción de este Seminario.

Por insignificante que pueda parecerle su posible contribución será para nosotros una preciable como demostrativa de una solidaridad en el campo de las ideas y de la civilización y por otro porque por pequeña que pueda parecerle, será para nosotros valiosísima ya que el Seminario ha de reconstruirse y reorganizarse de la nada. Fotografías o gráficos de Prehistoria y Arqueología son igualmente utilísimos para nuestros fines sobre todo si llevan las debidas notas de identificación.

Si deseara acudir a nuestro llamamiento de corresponder a nuestra tarea, puede remitir sus envíos bien por conducto diplomático o por correo ordinario a Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre de la Universidad. Ciudad Universitaria. Madrid.

Con este motivo se reitera suyo affmo. Colega y amigo que muy agradecido e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

Actually, the Ciudad Universitaria campus buildings were badly damaged during the fighting between the two sides during the conquest of Madrid, and the documentation stored in the premises occupied by the Seminar of Primitive History of Man was totally lost. Hence the understandable appeal for the library and other documentation to be restored as quickly as possible, with the help of international aid.

2.7.3 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLOGICAS’, dated April 29, 1944

Madrid 29 de Abril de 1944 APMH/5/1/668/3-2/2

Excmo. Sr. Prof. Dr. Manuel Heleno

Director del Museo Etnológico

Rua de Artilharia, 116

Lisboa

Mi distinguido amigo y colega:

Debo agradecerle a mi regreso a Madrid la amabilidad que tuvo de mostrarme su sala del tesoro y sus hallazgos personales que constituyen una colección magnífica y valiosa que lamento no haber podido ver con toda calma.

Igualmente le agradezco su amabilidad remitiéndome los dos volúmenes de Etnos a lo que correspondo con algunas publicaciones españolas que celebraría fuesen de su agrado.

El P. Jalhay me habló de una conversación mantenida con Vd. como consecuencia de mi visita a su sala del tesoro respecto a la cronología que yo di de las joyas del hierro céltico. Con sumo gusto le daré cuantos detalles pueda Vd. desear respecto a mi afirmación y clasificación en la que no tengo la menor duda.

Algunas razones encontrará Vd. en mi nota sobre *El collar de Chao de Lamas* que Vd. cita en “Ethnos” y sobre todo en otro trabajo mío sobre dicho tesoro que redacté en el campo de concentración en Francia y del cual procuraré ver si logro algún ejemplar pues no tengo ya ninguno disponible. También las razones generales y de tipo doctrinal las puede encontrar Vd. en el *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península hispánica* que publiqué en la *Corona de Estudios* dedicada por la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria a sus Mártires (Fig. 13).

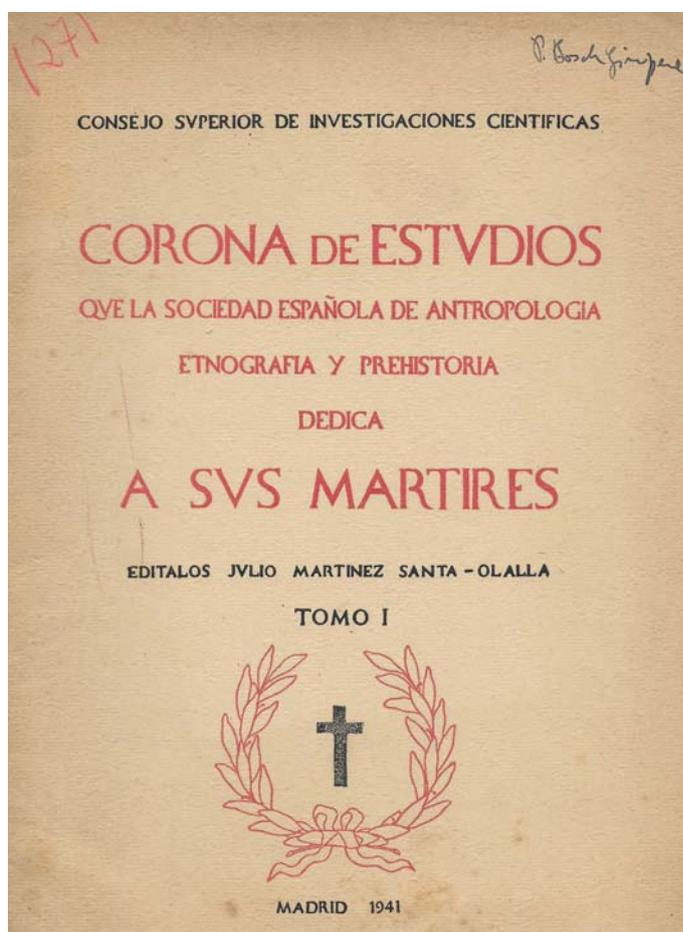


Fig. 13 – Cover of the separate of the first edition of the *Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Hispánica*, published in the ‘Corona de Estudios’ dedicated by the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and History to its martyrs (Madrid, 1941). This copy was meant as a gift to Pedro Bosch Gimpera, according to Martínez Santa-Olalla’s autograph manuscript, which was never sent but was subsequently forwarded by its author to A. A. Mendes Corrêa. JLC’s own exemplar and photo.

Le agradeceré que sobre este particular me diga cuales son sus dudas pues yo con mucho gusto trataré de satisfacerle, es mas celebraría mucho el tener que ocuparme de este asunto ya que ello sería ocasión de intensificar nuestras relaciones tras este primer contacto personal.

Con este motivo se reitera suyo affmo s. s. q. e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This letter was written after Martínez Santa-Olalla's stay in Portugal in April 1944 (CARVALHO, 1989), during which he had the opportunity to visit the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (then called Museu Etnológico do Dr. Leite de Vasconcelos). The item concerned here is related to a study that Martínez Santa-Olalla published in 1940 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1940 a), following a request addressed to Eugénio Jalhay, and never answered, to write, in 1931, a recension of Juan Cabré's study of the same assemblage, for the *Anuario de Prehistória Madrileña* (see the correspondence with Eugénio Jalhay, letter 2.8.1). Manuel Heleno ascribed this assemblage to the second Iron Age – La Tène Period (HELENO, 1935, p. 244). J. Martínez Santa Olalla expresses his disagreement, relying on his own terminology, i.e. *Ferro Céltico I* and *Ferro Céltico II* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946, p. 87 ff.) which, as we know, did not succeed.

2.7.4 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLOGICAS', dated February 23, 1945

Madrid 23 de Febrero de 1945 APMH/5/1/668/4-2/3 (Fig. 14)

Excmo. Sr. Manuel Heleno

Director del Museo Leite de Vasconcelos

Belem

Mi querido amigo y colega:

A mi regreso a España me es muy grato reiterarle mi agradecimiento por sus atenciones, lo que no he hecho antes por haberme encontrado un gran trabajo acumulado.

Una vez más le envío mi más vivo agradecimiento por las publicaciones que tan amablemente me remitió al Hotel.

Creo estarán en su poder las publicaciones que hace unos días le he enviado.

Ya sabe con cuanto gusto estoy a su disposición para todo y con cuanto gusto también le reitero mi promesa de dar una conferencia en su Facultad de la Universidad de Lisboa.

Reiterándole mi agradecimiento, reciba con el mayor afecto un saludo de su buen amigo y colega

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

2.7.5 – Handwritten letter draft, without stamp, dated March 25, 1945 APMH/5/1/668/4-3/3 (Fig. 15)

Exm.º (...) Santa Olalla, meu prezado colega e Ami (...)

Com muitos cumprimentos venho agradecer os valiosos trabalhos que teve a amabilidade de me enviar.

Todos eles me despertaram grande interesse mas permito-me especialmente (...) a Corona de Estudos e o seu neol. antigo.



EL COMISARIO GENERAL
DE
EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS

Madrid 23 de Febrero de 1945
Serrano, 41

Excmo. Sr. Manuel Heleno
Director del Museo Leite de Vasconcelos
Belem

Mi querido amigo y colega:

A mi regreso a España me
es muy grato reiterarle mi agradecimiento por sus
atenciones, lo que no he hecho antes por haberme
encontrado un gran trabajo acumulado.

Una vez más le envío mi
más vivo agradecimiento por las publicaciones que
tan amablemente me remitió al Hotel.

Creo estarán en su po-
der las publicaciones que hace unos días le he envia-
do.

Ya sabe con cuanto gus-
to estoy a su disposición para todo y con cuanto gus-
to también le reitero mi promesa de dar una confe-
rencia en su Facultad de la Universidad de Lisboa.

Reiterándole mi agra-
decimiento, reciba con el mayor afecto un saludo de
su buen amigo y colega,

Fig. 14 - Martínez Santa-Olalla. Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'EL COMISARIO GENERAL /DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS', dated February 23, 1945. APMH/5/1/668/4-2/3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia.

to the hotel where Martínez Santa-Olalla was staying in Lisbon, in April 1944. Just as the latter commented on the cultural integration of the Chão de Lamas assemblage, Manuel Heleno also takes a discordant stance on the contextualisation of remains from several periods recovered in Portuguese territory. The references to the presence of macrolithic industries (referred to as *Languedocense* and *Grimaldense*) are particularly interesting, associated to the typical Solutrean types, in the region of Rio Maior. The same can be said regarding the clear assumption of a primitive megalithic cluster in Alentejo, which Heleno identified as a result of his research carried out mainly during the 1930s and which he hoped to publish in due course, although this never really happened.

2.7.6 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLOGICAS’, dated October 3, 1945 APMH/5/1/668/5-2/2

Madrid 3 de Octubre de 1945

Serrano, 41

Excmo. Sr. Manuel Heleno

Dr. del Museo Leite de Vasconcelos

Belem

Mi distinguido amigo y querido colega:

A mi regreso del Senegal fue Vd. tan amable que me invitó a dar una conferencia en la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad de Lisboa, invitación gratísima que recibí con sumo gusto. Quedamos en que cuanto llegase la fecha oportuna le avisaría para que tuviese a bien la Facultad cursar la invitación oficialmente a fin de obtener el necesario permiso para hacer el viaje a Lisboa.

En su vista le ruego que tenga la amabilidad de mandar hacer dicha invitación para ver si dentro de unas semanas puedo ir a Lisboa. Yo le agradecería muchísimo me comunicase si sería posible durante mi permanencia en Lisboa poder estudiar algunos de sus maravillosos hallazgos del Museo de Belem que me interesa sobremanera para problemas del neolítico hispano mauritano, ibero sahariano, así como ciertos hallazgos antiguos en su mayoría del tiempo del Dr. Leite del bronce atlántico.

En la próxima primavera vamos a celebrar en Málaga nuestro primer Congreso de Comisarios de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de España y deseamos invitar a algunos colegas extranjeros entre ellos Vd., de modo que le ruego que si en principio está conforme con ello me diga en que forma sería la mas adecuada para lograr pasase esos días con nosotros.

Sabe es suyo siempre buen amigo y colega q. e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This letter clarifies the reasons for the intended visit of Martínez Santa-Olalla to Portugal in the autumn of 1945 which, in fact occurred, but in January 1945, as can be read in a note published in 1946 by Mendes Corrêa (CORRÊA, 1945/1946). There are no evidence of any visit of Martínez Santa-Olalla to Lisbon during the autumn of the same year. Indeed, it was Manuel Heleno's practice to sporadically invite carefully identified and selected foreign colleagues to visit the Museu Etnológico, thus benefiting from their specialized and qualified views on the museum's collection, justifying such invitations through the lectures to be given by them at the Faculty of Humanities. Conversely, in his capacity as Commissioner General of Archaeological

Excavations, Martínez Santa-Olalla invited Heleno to attend the Congress of Regional Commissioners that he intended to hold in Málaga in April 1946. To this end all the Provincial and Local Commissioners were notified in September 1945 (DÍAZ ANDREU & RAMÍREZ, 2001, p. 338). Actually, the first meeting of this nature only officially took place in 1950, although the attempt to hold it in Malaga in 1946 was real, given the presence in this city of two individuals very close to Martínez Santa-Olalla, Commissioner Simeón Giménez Reyna, a pharmacist, and Juan Temboury, besides some others, close to the Civil Governor Manuel García del Olmo, who had an interest in Archaeology. This accounts for the conservation of the dolmens of Antequera since 1940 and the location of the La Pileta cave in 1942, which, among other initiatives, supported the creation of the Museo de la Alcazaba, in Málaga.

2.7.7 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLOGICAS’, dated December 22, 1945. Joao Luis Cardoso’s archive (Fig. 16)

Exmo. Sr. Prof. Heleno
Director del Museo de Belem
Mi querido amigo y compañero:

Toda una serie de ininterrumpida de viajes, hoy por ejemplo acabo de llegar de Cataluña, me ha impedido el escribir a Vd. y deseaba hacerlo para saber más o menos en que fecha podría ir yo a dar esa conferencia a que Vd. y su Universidad de Lisboa me han invitado amablemente. Yo creo será a fines de invierno o principios de primavera y mi deseo como le comuniqué es permanecer largamente en Portugal, por cierto que me sería indispensable el que el Rector de la Universidad de Lisboa hiciese la invitación para esa conferencia oficialmente entregándola al Sr. Embajador de España en Lisboa. Este requisito pequeño tiene su importancia grande, como le explicaré de palabra. Al ir a dar la conferencia a Lisboa celebraré mucho el poder con Vd. ver, e incluso excavaciones, algún sepulcro megalítico de Alentejo.

Dentro de dos ó tres días marcha a pasar varias semanas a Portugal mi discípulo Sr. Eoin Mac White de nacionalidad irlandesa, quien está haciendo conmigo su tesis doctoral sobre el Bronce Atlántico. Yo le agradeceré muy de veras como si se tratase de mi mismo, puesto que es un discípulo que hace su tesis doctoral conmigo, tenga la bondad de darle cuantas facilidades sean posibles en el estudio (sic) y conocimiento de sus maravillosas colecciones del Museo de Belem.

Muy agradecido y deseándole una felices Pascuas y un felicísimo Año Nuevo, sabe puede disponer siempre como guste de su affmo. amigo

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This letter shows that the intended visit of Martínez Santa-Olalla to Portugal in the end of 1945 did not happen. Actually, besides his primary justification, which was giving a lecture at the University of Lisbon, for which he felt he had to be formally invited by the Rector, Martínez Santa-Olalla intended to stay in Portugal for a long period of time, taking advantage of his relationship with Manuel Heleno, namely for the excavation of an Alentejo dolmen, from among the hundreds that his guest was directly acquainted with. Knowing that Manuel Heleno was a reserved person and not very open to sharing the information he possessed, this programme may have seemed excessive, which explains why it never happened. As for the support requested for his disciple Eoin Mac White for the study of the collections of the museum directed by Manuel Heleno, in

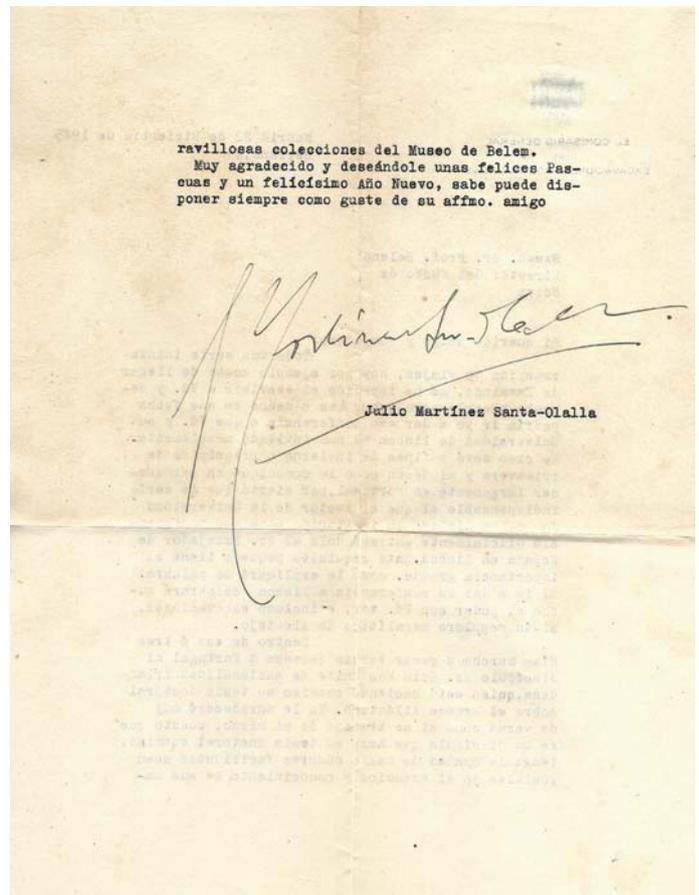
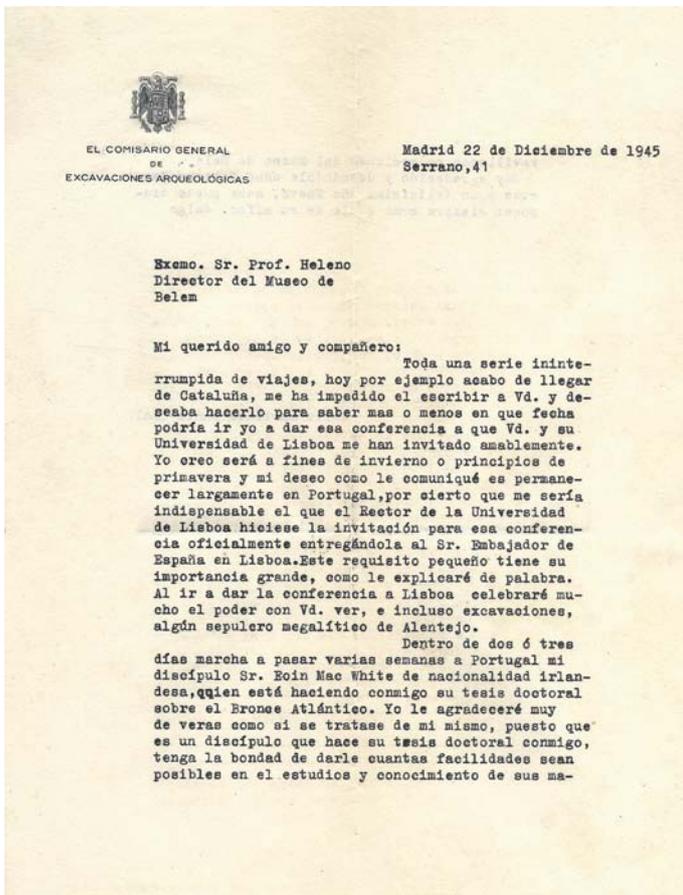


Fig. 16 – Martínez Santa-Olalla. Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS', dated December 22, 1945. João Luís Cardoso's archive. This letter was inside the paper "Esqema de la arqueología visigoda" published by Martínez Santa-Olalla in 1934 (see Fig. 12 and Fig. 51).

the scope of Mac White's PhD programme, defended at the Complutense University of Madrid on March 15, 1947, the latter was given the opportunity to do so, as can be concluded from the numerous photographs of many and diverse materials belonging to the collections of the Museum and published in the aforementioned doctoral thesis (Mac WHITE, 1951) (see Fig. 7), despite the fact that neither the museum nor its director are mentioned in the acknowledgements included in the foreword written by Martínez Santa-Olalla.

2.7.8 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS', dated June 13, 1947 APMH/5/1/668/6-2/2 (Fig. 17)

Excmo. Sr. Dr. Prof. Manuel Heleno
 Universidade
 Lisboa

Mi querido amigo y colega:

Mucho le agradecería tuviese la amabilidad de facilitarme unas fotografías que preciso para un trabajo, de objetos publicados por Vd. en el tomo I de 'ETHNOS'.

Se trata, por un lado, de su Lámina I, Fig. 14, objetos de Cova da Moura; y por otro de las fotografías correspondientes a las Láminas VII a VIII. Especial urgencia tendría en el brazaete de Guimarães.



EL COMISARIO GENERAL
DE
EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS

Madrid 13-VI-1947
Serrano, 41

Excmo. Sr. Dr. Prof. Manuel Heleno
Universidade
LISBOA

Mi querido amigo y colega:

Mucho le agradecería tuviese la anabilidad de facilitarme unas fotografías que preciso para un trabajo, de objetos publicados por Vd. en el tomo I de "ETHNOS".

Se trata, por un lado, de su Lámina I, fig. 14, objetos de Cova da Moura; y por otro de las fotografías correspondientes a las Láminas VII a VIII. Especial urgencia tendría en el brazalete de Guimarães.

Las fotografías me interesarían en el tamaño 13 x 18 o mejor aún 18 x 24. Le quedaría muy agradecido si pudiera prestarme tan señalado servicio haciéndome pasar también la nota de los gastos ocasionados.

Supongo habrá recibido las últimas publicaciones de la Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas volúmenes 11 y 12.

En espera de sus noticias y agradeciéndole de antemano cuanto haga por facilitarme las fotografías publicadas por Vd., se reitera siempre suyo affmo. amigo, s.s. y colega q.e.s.m.

Martín Santa-Olalla

Fig. 17 - Martínez Santa-Olalla. Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLÓGICAS', dated June 13, 1947. APMH/5/1/668/6-2/2. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia.

Las fotografías me interesarían en el tamaño 13x18 o mejor aún 18x24. Le quedaría muy agradecido si pudiera prestarme tan señalado servicio haciéndome pasar también la nota de los gastos ocasionados.

Supongo habrá recibido las últimas publicaciones de la Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas volúmenes 11 y 12.

En espera de sus noticias y agradeciéndole de antemano cuanto haga por facilitarme las fotografías publicadas por Vd., se reitera siempre suyo affmo. amigo, s. s. y colega q. e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

2.7.9 – Typed card, without stamp, dated May 5, 1948 APMH/5/1/668/7

A: Excmo. Sr. Manuel Heleno

Museo Leite de Vasconcelos.

Belem

Muy distinguido amigo:

Hace algún tiempo tuve el gusto de remitirle a Vd. una tarjeta de inscripción para el Congreso Arqueológico de Elche.

Recibida ahora la 2.^a Circular del mismo, por la que se da el caso singular de quitarse a los posibles congresistas expresamente la libertad de decisión en torno a los problemas de organización y marcha de tales congresos, le comunico que caso de pensar asistir, habida cuenta naturalmente de ésta cláusula, deberá enviar su adhesión al mismo directamente puesto que yo no he de asistir a un congreso limitado de antemano.

Sabe es suyo affmo.

Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

The loss of control over the 4th Archaeological Congress of Southeastern Spain (Elche, 1948) led Martínez Santa-Olalla to point out to Manuel Heleno that he was not going to “attend a congress that was limited beforehand”. His absence contributed to revealing the clash of competence and disagreement of the professors of archaeology in relation to the assignment of excavation funds, which was controlled by the Commissariat General of Excavations (see Chapter 1 of this study). This culminated in the proposal submitted by Alberto del Castillo Yurrita, before the president of the congress and Director General of Fine Arts, the Marqués de Lozoya, and addressed to Minister Ibáñez Martín, but there was no official reply. This proposal was reaffirmed by Castillo Yurrita at the 5th Archaeological Congress of Southeastern Spain and 1st National Archaeological Congress, held in April 1949, where a reform of the excavation policy hitherto developed was once more approved, in the conclusions of the congress.

2.7.10 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘SEMINARIO DE HISTORIA PRIMITIVA DEL HOMBRE / SERRANO, 41 / MADRID / DIRECTOR: / PROF. DR. JULIO MARTINEZ SANTA-OLALLA’, dated MAY 28, 1948 APMH/5/1/668/8-2/4 (Fig. 18)

Excmo. Sr. Prof. Manuel Heleno.

Director del Museo Leite de Vasconcelos.

LISBOA (Belem).

Mi querido amigo y compañero:

Mucho le agradecería que tuviese la amabilidad de facilitarme las fotografías originales de los pendientes de oro del Hipogeo de Ermegeira que publica Vd. en su precioso trabajo de la revista Ethnos y que necesito para un trabajo mío.

Tengo entendido que va Vd. a reanudar la publicación de Arqueólogo Portugués, no sabe cuanto lo celebro pues en Portugal desdichadamente, se echa de menos la existencia de una revista que de manera permanente y especial se ocupe de nuestra especialidad. Si ello es así ya sabe puede contar con la ayuda y colaboración incondicional nuestra para todo cuanto precise.

¿Y el tomo 3º de Ethnos se ha distribuido ya?, mucho le agradecería en caso afirmativo que me mandase un ejemplar del mismo. Ya que estoy en el capítulo de ruegos deseo hacerle saber que en el Seminario recibirían con mucho gusto los tomos antiguos de Ethnos que no tenemos, ya que tan solo disponemos de los ejemplares míos personales que Vd. me facilito hace algunos años.

En el supuesto de que Arqueólogo Portugués salga, desearía yo preguntar si sería posible estudiar yo algunos conjuntos de excavaciones antiguas de su Museo, para dar de ello una primera publicación en la revista de Vds. y poder disponer así para más tarde de dicho material.

Supongo ira Vd. recibiendo normalmente todas nuestras publicaciones y mucho le agradecería, que en correspondencia a las que la Comisaría se envían, nos mandase Vd. Ethnos y las tiradas aparte de sus trabajos.

En espera de sus noticias queda siempre suyo

Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

2.7.11 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated June 18, 1948 APMH/5/1/668/8-3/4 and 4/4

Exmo. Sr. Prof. Dr. Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla
Director do Seminário de História Primitiva del Hombre.
Serrano, 41

Madrid

Meu prezado Amigo e Colega:

Por motivo das obras de restauro do edificio dos Jerónimos, onde funciona o Museu Etnológico, o arquivo dêste teve de ser encaixotado e as joias encerradas em cofres.

Por êsse motivo não posso enviar-lhe já as fotografias dos brincos da Ermegeira, mas fá-lo-hei logo que me seja possível.

Estou, realmente, trabalhando para lançar uma nova série de **O Arqueólogo Português**, e a par dêle monografias sôbre os ramos científicos de que se ocupa o Museu.

Da série 'Arqueologia' poderei mesmo indicar-lhe os primeiros números:

I – A anta das Cabeças

II – A **villa** romana de Tôrre de Palma

III – Ourivesaria Lusitana (publicação das joias do Museu)

IV – Dolmenes de Montemor-o-Novo

V – Estudos sôbre o Paleolítico Superior Português

VI – Os abrigos e grutas de Rio Maior

O primeiro é da autoria do Dr. Georg Leisner, e os outros da minha. Tudo, afinal, dependerá da minha saude.



SEMINARIO DE HISTORIA PRIMITIVA DEL HOMBRE

SERRANO. 41

MADRID 28 de mayo de 1948.

DIRECTOR:
PROF. DR. JULIO MARTINEZ SANTA - OLALLA

Excmo. Sr. Prof. Manuel Heleno.
Director del Museo Leite de Vasconcelos.
LISBOA (Belem).

Mi querido amigo y compañero:

Mucho le agradecería que tuviese la amabilidad de facilitarme las fotografías originales de los pendientes de oro del Hipogeo de Ermegeira que publica Vd. en su precioso trabajo de la revista Ethnos y que necesito para un trabajo mío.

Tengo entendido que va Vd. a reanudar la publicación de "Arqueólogo Portugués" no sabe cuanto lo celebro pues en Portugal desdichadamente, se echa de menos la existencia de una revista que de manera permanente y especial se ocupe de nuestra especialidad. Si ello es así ya sabe puede contar con la ayuda y colaboración incondicional nuestra para todo cuanto precise.

¿Y el tomo 3º de Ethnos se ha distribuido ya?, mucho le agradecería en caso afirmativo que me mandase un ejemplar del mismo. Ya que estoy en el capítulo de ruegos deseo hacerle saber que en el Seminario recibirían con mucho gusto los tomos antiguos de Ethnos que no tenemos, ya que tan solo disponemos de los ejemplares míos personales que Vd. me facilitó hace algunos años.

En el supuesto de que Arqueólogo Portugués salga, desearía yo preguntar si sería posible estudiar yo algunos conjuntos de excavaciones antiguas de su Museo, para dar de ello una primera publicación en la revista de Vds. y poder disponer así para más tarde de dicho material.

Supongo ira Vd. recibiendo normalmente todas nuestras publicaciones y mucho le agradecería, que en correspondencia a las que de la Comisaría se envían, nos mandase Vd. Ethnos y las tiradas a parte de sus trabajos.

En espera de sus noticias
quedo siempre suyo

Manuel Santa-Olalla

Fig. 18 - Martínez Santa-Olalla. Typed letter, bearing the stamp 'SEMINARIO DE HISTORIA PRIMITIVA DEL HOMBRE / SERRANO, 41 / MADRID / DIRECTOR: / PROF. DR. JULIO MARTINEZ SANTA-OLALLA', dated May 28, 1948. APMH/5/1/668/8-2/4. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia.

Claro que a sua valiosa colaboração será sempre desejada e apreciada. Como vem brevemente a Portugal, falaremos então sôbre ela pormenorizadamente.

O tomo III da **Ethnos** está pronto. Logo que se inicie a distribuição, enviar-lho-hemos.

O vosso Seminário já deve ter recebido os volumes anteriores que há dias lhe foram enviados.

Disponha, caro Colega, do que o sauda:

(signature)

Lisboa, 18 de Junho de 1948

Comments

Manuel Heleno justifies the delay in sending the photographs of the earrings from the Ermegeira artificial cave (Torres Vedras) but says nothing about the other requested photographs of gold jewellery, so it is likely that he did supply them. Concerning the ambitious publishing plan of the museum he directed, involving the creation of a monographic series along with the reactivation of the journal *O Arqueólogo Português*, the solution eventually found was different from what had been announced. Hence, to combine both series, he decided to increase the size of the journal, in order to enable the publication of monographic papers of significant length and with better graphics. This is the case of issues I and II, the former published in the first volume of the New Series of the journal (1951), the latter only appearing in 1962, in its fourth volume. The remaining monographic studies, despite their scientific relevance, and the finds available for their elaboration, were never published, but this was not due to health reasons.

Regarding the other matters addressed in Martínez Santa Olalla's letter, the third volume of the journal *Ethnos*, a rather thick one, was published in 1948, as announced in Manuel Heleno's reply, dated June 18, 1948. The first volume of the New Series of *O Arqueólogo Português* was published in 1951. However, neither this nor any other issue included any contributions from Martínez Santa-Olalla, probably because Manuel Heleno did not grant him the support he wanted for studying the collections of the "Museu de Belém". Actually, Martínez Santa-Olalla's interest in collaborating with *O Arqueólogo Português* was certainly expressed to

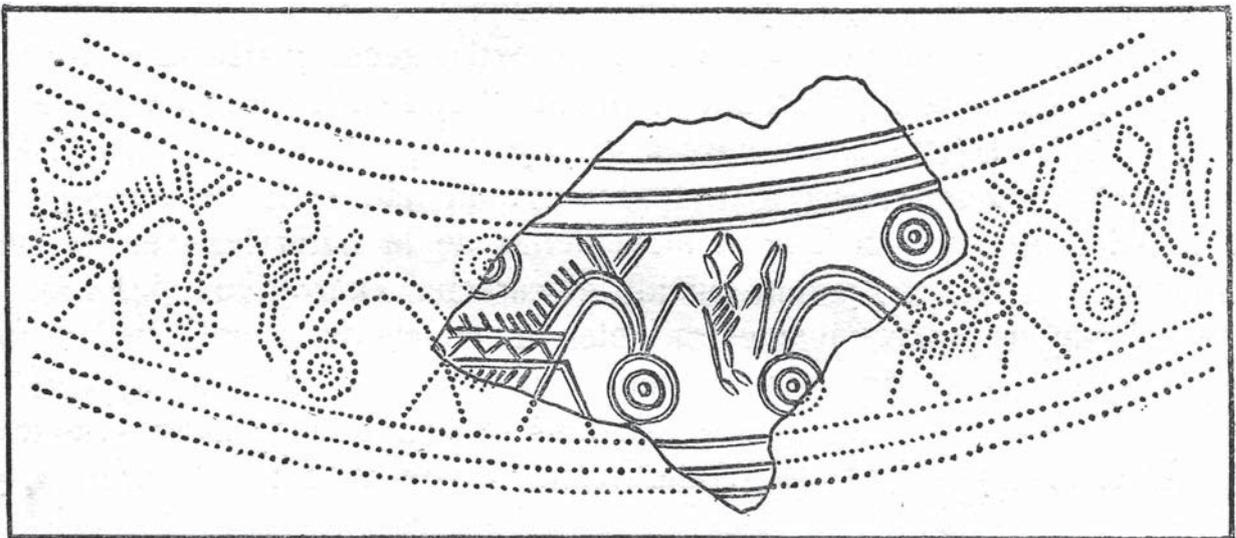


Fig. 19 – Fragment of a 2nd - Celtic - Iron Age vase found at Castelo de Faria, displaying a knight and his mount, published by the author of the letter (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1948). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

other Portuguese journals as well. This explains why he only published a single paper in Portugal, besides the one published in the volume in homage to Martins Sarmiento, as previously mentioned (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1933). This is an interesting study on a decorated fragment of a closed Iron Age vessel, recovered from Castelo de Faria, in Barcelos (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1948) (Fig. 19), published in a journal directed by J. Sellés Paes de Villas-Bôas, collaborator of Martínez Santa-Olalla in Portugal, referred to in the comments regarding the letter sent to Carlos Teixeira, included hereafter.

2.7.12 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘EL COMISARIO GENERAL / DE / EXCAVACIONES ARQUEOLOGICAS’, dated February 21, 1956 APMH/5/1/668/9

Prof. Manuel Heleno
Director do Museu Etnológico do
Dr. Leite de Vasconcellos
(edificio des Jerónimos)
LISBOA

Muy distinguido colega y querido amigo:

Agradezco, en lo que vale su delicada atención en remitirme el primer volumen de *O Arqueólogo Português*, cuya nueva serie llega hoy a mis manos.

Para nosotros los que conocemos y apreciamos la obra del insigne maestro Leite de Vasconcellos, es motivo del mayor placer y de la mayor satisfacción, ver perpetuada su memoria, en forma tan eficaz y viviente, como es reanudar la publicación de su famosa y memorable revista.

Le ruego que todo envío de publicaciones a mi nombre no lo remita al apartado 1039, sino a Serrano, 41, para evitar posibles confusiones de lo particular con lo oficial.

Aprovecho esta ocasión para preguntarle si no sería posible recibir el tercer volumen de *Ethnos* que, según ciertas citas bibliográficas, debe estar publicado hace años. Le quedaría muy agradecido para completar la serie de los dos volúmenes que, tan amablemente, me ofreció Vd., con ocasión de un viaje a Lisboa.

Por mi parte, tengo el placer de remitirle hoy, como homenaje mio personal, el volumen recientemente aparecido, del *Noticiero Arqueológico Hispánico*.

Tanto la revista *Ethnos* como la nueva serie de *O arqueólogos Português*, serían recibidos con el mayor agrado y provecho en la Comisaría General, Apartado 1039. – En el Seminario de Historia Primitiva, Serrano, 41. – y en la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria, Apartado 1014 y, mucho le agradeceré cuanto pueda hacer por favorecer a estas entidades con sus envíos.

Felicitándole por la nueva serie de publicaciones iniciadas, se reitera siempre suyo afmo., s. s.

Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This thank-you letter, dated 1956, concerns the receipt of the first volume of the New Series of *O Arqueólogo Português*, published in 1951, which shows a clear delay, also noted in the mailing of the third volume of *Ethnos*, already requested in a 1948 letter. This situation can be explained by Manuel Heleno's lack of timely response to many of the requests he received. Hence, it is likely that Martínez Santa-Olalla's request for three copies of these publications was never granted.

2.8 – JALHAY, Padre Eugénio

2.8.1 – CTyped letter, without stamp, dated November 21, 1931 [inv. no. 1974/001/903.1 – JMSO/3 – 240]

J. Martínez Santa-Olalla
Valladolid, Plaza del Museo 4
21-XI-31

R. P. Eugenio Jalhay
Colegio del Pasaje
Mi querido P. Jalhay:

Como ve por la presente aún estoy entre el número de los mortales, aquí me tiene sin saber adonde dirigirla esta. No tengo aquí mi archivo y no sé si V. está en Braga, en Lisboa o donde. Por eso a La Guardia ya y supongo llegará a sus manos.

El motivo de mi ‘resurrección’ es el siguiente: Al fin creo saldrá el Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña, vol. II. Llevamos la cosa ya muy adelantada. Pronto se compondrá ya parte. Saldrá más variado e internacional que el primero y desde luego muy interesante.

V. que es tan amable – sí señor! de lo contrario no me hubiese aguantado las latas que en Poza y después aun le dí, me perdonará que haya dispuesto de su propia persona en la siguiente forma: Yo le he atribuido a Vd. unas recensiones que necesitamos para el Anuario y que son, las del trabajo de Cabré sobre el tesoro de Chao das Lamas, y de Pérez de Barradas Un nuevo yacimiento paleolítico de la zona de las Delicias y del mismo Los dólmenes en España. Estos dos últimos se los envío por correo aparte con esta misma fecha.

Como no tengo a mano su trabajo sobre las joyas prehistóricas le agradeceré en calidad de préstamo si es preciso me envíe un ejemplar pues debo hacer la recensión. La recensión de todo lo que hay sobre Asturiense la hago yo así que espero todo lo aparecido desde 1929 inclusive.

Pongo en su conocimiento que he comenzado mi bibliografía de la Península Ibérica a partir de 1930 inclusive así que no deje de mandarme nunca todo. También le agradeceré que a sus compañeros lusos si tiene ocasión les haga saber esto y les de mi dirección pues en interés de todos va el que tenga yo todo lo que salga.

Una recensión que deseamos de V. es la de mi nota en IPEK Neue bronzezeitliche Felsbilder in Galizien que son sus grabados y que V. ya tiene.

Este verano excavé dos necrópolis visigóticas interesantísimas. Una de ellas sobre todo me ha proporcionado hallazgos magníficos.

En espera de sus prontas noticias y contando con su valiosa cooperación, que espero sea algo mas de lo pedido y haga V. alguna otra cosa de Portugal o Galicia de los años 29 y 30, sabe le quiere su buen amigo y discípulo de los tiempos heroicos de Poza.

(unsigned)

Comments

The addressee of this long letter was a Jesuit priest who, given the banning of the order from Portugal following the establishment of the Republic, settled in the college that the Jesuit Order maintained at La Guardia in Galicia, on the right bank of the Minho River. From there he tried to extend his influence over the neighbouring country, especially by training Portuguese priests. On the other hand, before the Spanish Civil War Father E. Jalhay, along with Father P. Silva, staying at the Jesuit monastery of Santa María de Oia (Pontevedra), discovered some 150 rock art sites around Oia, Mougás, Pedornes and Viladesuso (JALHAY,

1926, 1927-29, 1931 and 1932). This was the address to which Martínez Santa-Olalla sent this letter, as he was unaware of any other, more up-to-date address at the time. The tone of the letter reveals the great trust between the two archaeologists, cemented, as Martínez Santa-Olalla states, by those “heroic times of Poza”. Poza de la Sal (Burgos) was the birthplace of both his father and mother, so he would certainly have childhood and youth memories from a time that was decisive in the formation of his personality, in which Eugénio Jalhay had an unquestionable influence, as can be seen in the intimist expression used here. Perhaps Jalhay’s influence as a priest and teacher at the Colegio de La Guardia reached the Poza region and thus played a part in the formation of the young Martínez Santa-Olalla. In fact, Santa-Olalla himself later declared, in a letter addressed to Afonso do Paço, dated March 13, 1954 and transcribed below in relation to Paço’s obituary note dedicated to found room in your study to mention that boy who, in Oña and Poza de la Sal, more than thirty years ago, received from Father Jalhay the warmth of a friendship never belied and the treasure of his wisdom and teaching, so that that boy can have the satisfaction and honour of saying that he is one of Father Jalhay’s disciples, as you said’. Thus, it can certainly be concluded that both met around 1921, coinciding with Eugénio Jalhay’s stay in Galicia, for the reasons mentioned above. To confirm this conclusion, it is important to bear in mind an excerpt from a letter that Eugénio Jalhay sent to Joaquim Fontes, on April 1, 1925, where he states, regarding a critique by Martínez Santa-Olalla of an article published by the Portuguese archaeologist about the industries of Camposancos (La Guardia), the first ever found on the west coast of Galicia and attributed by him to the Palaeolithic (FONTES, 1925), the following: “I saw, of course, the criticism of Dom Julio Martinez on your paper on Camposancos, in Bosch Gimpera’s *Buttleiti*. It really annoyed me, and I didn’t expect such a tasteless thing from a young man, who, as it turns out, I initiated in prehistory, in Burgos. He’s about 20 now, and he’s really a great talent. He was a disciple of Obermaier and Bosch. But he’s rather hasty (...)” (CARDOSO, 2006, p. 213, 214).

The letter also deals with other interesting matters: besides the request for the addressee to prepare several recensions for the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*, of which Martínez Santa-Olalla was one of the main promoters, among which one concerning Juan Cabré’s study on the Chão de Lamas treasure, published in 1927 in the *Actas y Memorias* of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. And also on two other articles by Pérez de Barradas, one on Palaeolithic industries, related to the pioneering studies of macrolithic industries with Asturian characteristics in Portugal, and another on dolmens. However, none of the requested recensions were published in the aforementioned volume.

Another request from Martínez Santa-Olalla concerned the recension he wanted Jalhay to write on a paper on Galician-Portuguese rock art, written by Martínez Santa-Olalla – which clearly shows the high regard he had for his former mentor – and published in the prestigious German journal IPEK. It was written in German and corresponds to the phase of scientific training of its author, then living in Bonn, Germany. This recension, like the previous ones, was not published, at least not in the aforementioned volume of the *Anuario*.

We would further mention the two Visigoth necropolises excavated by the signee in 1931, Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia) and Daganzo de Arriba (Madrid), which were mentioned in the letter and later originated remarkable monographs (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1933 a and 1936) (see Fig. 6).

Finally, it is worth noting that Santa-Olalla intended to carry out a systematic survey of the peninsular archaeological bibliography, faithful to the idea he always advocated of an integrated analysis of the whole of the aforementioned territory. This could be achieved by requesting the forwarding of all the papers published by his correspondents, which would enable him to establish, in a short time, a substantial Iberian bibliographical collection.

2.8.2 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated April 19, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1249.1 – ASO/5 – 131]
(Fig. 20)

Rua Mestre António Taborda, 14
Lisboa, 19 de Abril de 1938
Meu querido Amigo

Acabo de receber do Prof. Mendes Corrêa a boa noticia de que o meu Amigo se encontra são e salvo em França. Fui logo agradecer a Deus Nosso Senhor este tão grande benefício, e ao mesmo tempo encomendar a alma do querido António que eu tive o gosto de conhecer ainda em Oña. Pela cópia da sua carta não fico a saber ao certo se os seus bons Pais estão salvos também. Quando puder, dê-me notícias, de todos e de cada um, e creia que os fico a encomendar todos a Deus.

Quanto tinha que lhe dizer! Demos aqui em Lisboa inúmeras voltas para ver se o podíamos tirar daquele inferno de Madrid. As últimas diligências foram feitas com Gil Robles que o conhece ao menos de nome.

Lamento profundamente a destruição de todos os seus elementos de trabalho. Que selvageria! Pode o meu Amigo contar com todas as separatas que eu ainda tiver das minhas coisas. O Tenente Afonso do Paço anda a envidar esforços para o compensarmos em parte dessa perda. Depois da vitória, o meu Amigo há-de vir a Portugal. Havemos de lhe preparar essa viagem. Agora só um pensamento nos deve preocupar: acabar com aqueles selvagens que ainda tem veleidades de triunfar, e trabalhar quanto nos fôr possível para salvar os amigos que ainda por lá estejam.

Belgia, já bastante cansado. Eu ainda tenho esperanças de voltar um dia à sua casa de la Sal para rezar uma Salve diante da Virgem de Pedrajas. Tempo que já lá vai e que tantas saudades me deixaram!

Querido Júlio, desejava imenso saber como se encontra. Por meio do Conde Biguon soube que o Júlio estava muito doente em Madrid. Como lhe terá custado a viragem para aí! Julgávamos ao princípio que tendo ido ao Congresso de Oslo já lá teria ficado, como sucedeu ao Prof. Obermaier. Pobre Júlio, quanto terá sofrido!

Como amigos e como sacerdote continuo a encomendar a Deus o Júlio e a todos os seus. No meio de tão grandes tribulações, beijemos a mão de Deus que não deixa de ser pai. Quero crer que todos esses sofrimentos em vez de o alhearem de Deus, o tenham feito aproximar mais dele. Que Ele nos dê depressa a vitória e o triunfo tão desejado!

Um grande abraço, querido Júlio, do
Amigo de sempre
Eugénio Jalhay &f.

Arriba España!

Fig. 20 – Eugénio Jalhay. Last part of a handwritten letter, dated April 19, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1249.1 – JMSO/5 – 131]
(Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

(...) Bélgica, já bastante cansado. Eu ainda tenho esperanças de voltar um dia à sua Poza de la Sal para rezar uma Salve diante da Virgem de Pedrajas. Tempos que já lá vão e que tantas saudades me deixaram!

Querido Julio, desejava imenso saber como se encontra. Por meio do Conde Bégouen soubemos aqui que o Júlio estava muito doente em Madrid. Como lhe terá custado a viagem para aí! Julgávamos ao princípio que tendo ido ao Congresso de Oslo por lá tinha ficado, como sucedeu ao Prof. Obermaier. Pobre Julio, quanto terá sofrido!

Como amigo e como sacerdote continuo a encomendar a Deus o Julio e a todos os seus. No meio de tão grandes tribulações, beijemos a mão de Deus que não deixa de ser pai. Quero crer que todos esses sofrimentos em vez de o alhearem de Deus, o tenham feito aproximar mais dêle. Que ele nos dê depressa a vitória e o triunfo tão desejado!

Um grande abraço, querido Júlio, do

Amigo de sempre

P.^e Eugénio Jalhay S.J. (signature)

Arriba España!

Comments

This letter shows the emotional and spiritual closeness of Eugénio Jalhay and Martínez Santa-Olalla, attesting to the relationship between them in the land where the latter lived his adolescence and early adulthood, at the beginning of the 1920s. It also highlights the position of the author of the letter concerning the outcome of the Spanish Civil War, as would be expected since he was a Catholic priest, ending with the Francoist slogan 'Arriba España!'.

On the day this letter was written, Martínez Santa-Olalla had already been handed over to the Francoist government authorities, based in Burgos, at the Hendaye French-Spanish border on April 16, 1938, which did not prevent this letter from being subsequently handed over to him, certainly after having been sent back to Spain by the French authorities.

The Congress of the International Union of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences met in Oslo in 1936. The fact that, since that date, no news had been received in Portugal from Martínez Santa-Olalla is meaningful, to the point of admitting that he might have remained in Norway, given the dangers he would have faced in Spain, as indeed happened.

The mention of Belgium in the letter indicates that Jalhay would have travelled there, probably to visit some family members who still lived there, since he certainly lived in Portugal on a regular basis. The sender's address corresponds to the headquarters of the journal *Brotéria*, a periodical of a varied and informative scientific nature, published by the Jesuitic Order in Portugal.

2.8.3 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated July 19, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1246 (1) – JMSO/5-128]

Lisboa, 19 de Julho de 1938

Meu querido Amigo

Escrevi-lhe há dias para aí, a comunicar-lhe a minha próxima passagem por Burgos. Com efeito no domingo 24 do corrente parto para Paris e Bruxelas, aonde vou estudar a época do Bronze nos museus de lá, antes de começar aqui em Portugal no mês de Agosto umas escavações num castro eneolítico (Vila Nova de S. Pedro) com o amigo Tenente Paço. À ida vou directamente sem parar em Espanha. À volta é que espero parar aí uns dois ou três dias, lá para 7 ou 8 de Agosto. Fico na residência dos PP. jesuitas, Sta. Águeda, (???) lá irei bater

à sua porta, Concepción 9, porque, além de ver e abraçar o meu amigo, queria ter o gosto de cumprimentar seus pais, e irmãos. Se me quiser escrever para Bruxelas, onde estarei já no dia 26 à tarde, a minha direcção é:

Collège Saint Michel
Boulevard Saint Michel, 24
Bruselas

Quero crer que esteja melhor de saúde e assim o peço a Deus. Cumprimentos a seus Pais e irmãos.

Abraça-o o amigo de sempre
Eugénio Jalhay S.J. (signature)

Comments

This letter seems to be a follow-up to the previous one, referring again to the illness that afflicted Martínez Santa-Olalla, perhaps as a consequence of his internment in French concentration camps, before being handed over to the Spanish authorities at the Hendaye border on April 16, 1938. Once again, the affective closeness existing between both becomes evident.

It is interesting to notice that the writing of this letter preceded by a few days the beginning of Jalhay and Paço's first excavation field season at Vila Nova de São Pedro. The involvement of the former with this remarkable archaeological site only ended with his death. His heart condition, which ultimately caused his demise, has been related to the physical and psychological exhaustion of the successive excavation field seasons carried out annually both at Vila Nova de São Pedro and at the Citânia de Sanfins, and, as indicated by his closest companion (PAÇO, 1951, p. 61), eventually culminated in his death, on November 25th, 1950.

2.8.4 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated September 2, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1248(1) – JMSO/5-130] (Fig. 21)

Vila Nova de S. Pedro (Azambuja)
2 de Setembro de 1938
Caro amigo

Dêste castro eneolítico, **que não tem nada de ferro**, lhe mandamos um abraço afectuoso. O nosso amigo tem sido muito lembrado nestas escavações interessantes, que muita luz hão de dar para o estabelecimento da cronologia do eneolítico...

Estaremos aqui até ao dia 10.

Com muitas saudades para seu bom Pai e irmãos e desejando prontas melhoras para sua Mãe,

Amigos m.^{to} dedicados

Afonso do Paço (signature)

Eugénio Jalhay (signature)

Comments

It is important to say that the results of the first excavation field season at Vila Nova de São Pedro, conducted in 1937, were promptly published along with the results of this second season, held in September 1938, in the journal *Brotéria*, the scientific organ of the Jesuitic Order, to which Eugénio Jalhay belonged (JALHAY & PAÇO, 1939) (Fig. 22), highlighting the importance of this archaeological site right from the start, as rightly emphasised by the two subscribers of the missive.

Vila Nova de S. Pedro (Azambuja)
2 de Setembro de 1938

Caro Amigo

ASO/5-130
1974/001/1248(1)

Deste castro eneolítico, que
nasceu nada de ferro, lhe manda-
mos um abraço afectuoso. O nosso
amigo tem sido muito lembrado
nestas escavações interessantes que um-
ta luz há de dar para o estabeleci-
mento da cronologia do eneolítico...

Estaremos aqui até ao dia 10.
Com muitas saudações
para seu bom pai e irmãos e desejando
prontas melhoras para sua mãe,
Amigo muito dedicado

Afonso do Paço
Eugénio Jalhay

Fig. 21 – Eugénio Jalhay. Handwritten letter, dated September 2, 1938, also signed by Afonso do Paço and sent from Vila Nova de São Pedro [inv. no. 1974/001/1248(1) – JMSO/5-130] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

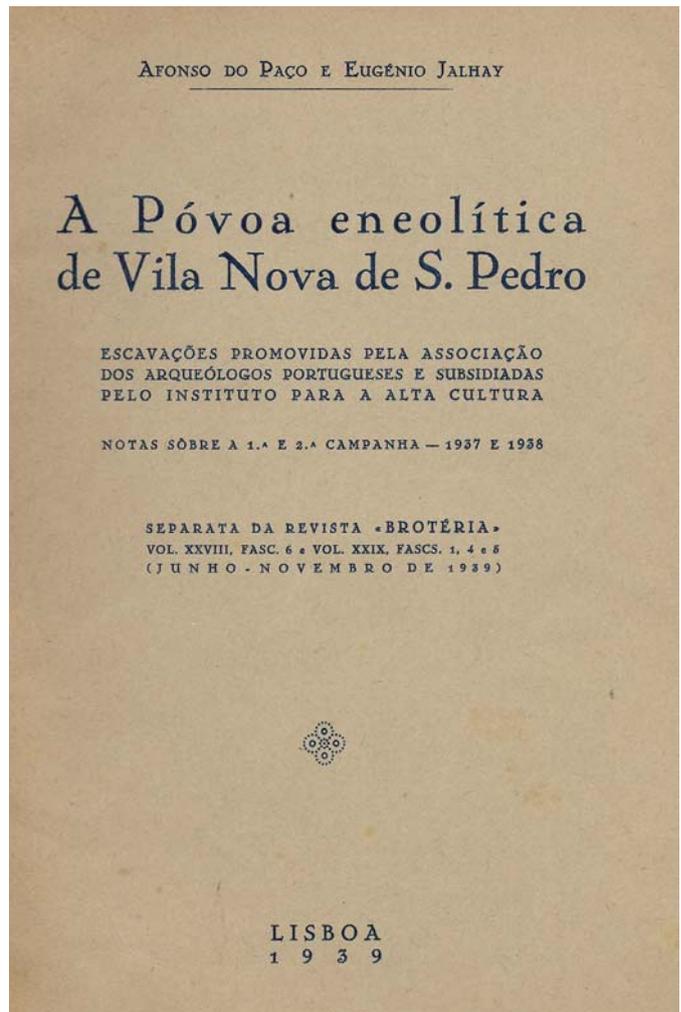


Fig. 22 – Cover of the paper concerning the publication of the results of the first and second excavation field seasons conducted at Vila Nova de São Pedro (JALHAY & PAÇO, 1939). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

2.9 – PAÇO, Manuel Afonso do

2.9.1 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated April 12, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1345 (1 and 2) – JMSO/5-227] (Fig. 23)

Meu muito prezado Amigo
Estoril
12/4/38

Por intermédio do professor Mendes Corrêa recebi cópia da sua carta que muito agradeço e que nos veio dar alegria por ao menos o sabermos livre do inferno vermelho. De há muito que do meu amigo só sabíamos notícias imprecisas e creio que ninguém teve aqui conhecimento da carta que diz ter enviado por intermédio da embaixada do Brazil. Eu pelo menos, que tenho sido o elemento de ligação entre os amigos de Lisboa, Porto, Guimarães e Galiza (Cuevillas, Bouza-Brey etc.) de nada tive conhecimento.

A50/5-227
1974/001/1345(1)

Meu muito querido Amigo

Estoril
12/4/38

Por intermédio do professor Mendes Correia recebi cópia da sua carta que muito agradeço e que nos veio dar alegria por os meus e sabermos livres do inferno vermelho. De há muito que do meu amigo só sabíamos notícias imprecisas e creio que ninguém teve aqui conhecimento da carta que ~~de~~ ter enviado por intermédio da embaixada do Brasil. Eu pelo menos, que tenho sido o elemento de ligação entre os amigos de Lisboa, Porto, Guimarães e Galiza (Cuevillas, Boura-Bry etc.) de nada tive conhecimento.

Há tempos o prof. Obermaier disse-me em carta da Suíça que o meu amigo estava felizmente vivo na embaixada de França, o que nos veio alegrar pois pouco antes correra que estava numa prisão vermelha de Madri e muito doente, notícia esta que me deu Cuevillas e que me levou a procurar Gil Robles, que vive aqui próximo de Lisboa (Estoril) para se tentar a sua troca com outro prisioneiro, tentando assim libertá-lo do carcere.

Gil Robles atendeu-me bem, disse-me que conhecia o meu amigo, mas poucas esperanças manifestou quanto à troca por não serem os vermelhos pessoas de palavra.

Fig. 23 - Afonso do Paço. Handwritten letter, dated April 12, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1345 (1 and 2) - JMSO/5-227] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Há tempos o prof. Obermaier disse-me em carta da Suíça que o meu amigo estava felizmente vivo na embaixada de França, o que nos veio alegrar pois pouco antes correra que estava numa prisão vermelha de Madrid e muito doente, notícia esta que me dera Cuevillas e que me levou a procurar Gil Robles, que vive aqui próximo de Lisboa (Estoril) para se tentar a sua troca com outro prisioneiro, tentando assim libertá-lo do cárcere.

Gil Robles atendeu-me bem, disse-me que conhecia o meu amigo, mas poucas esperanças manifestou quanto à sua troca por não serem os vermelhos pessoas de palavra.

Pouco depois da tomada das Astúrias soubemos notícias do Conde de la Vega e novamente suas, constando-nos então que estando na embaixada de França os amigos franceses estavam tentando salva-lo o que me foi comunicado por um jovem arqueólogo inglês que esteve em Portugal e no sul de França em estudos de arqueologia.

Creia que sinto de todo o coração a irreparável perda que sofreu, quer nos seus livros e verbetes, quer nas pessoas de sua família. Eu que estive prisioneiro de guerra na Alemanha sei o que custa a vida num campo de concentração, cheia de misérias, falta de conforto e higiene. Espero porém que em breve possa regressar à Espanha de Franco e recomeçar a sua vida à sombra da bandeira vermelha e ouro.

Hoje mesmo vou à Associação dos Arqueólogos para lhe enviarem o seu bilhete de identidade e passarem um novo diploma de sócio. Como porém este é volumoso só lho enviarei para Espanha, quando regressar, a não ser que o meu amigo me dê ordem em contrário.

(...).

Comments

This letter, written a few days before the liberation of Martínez Santa-Olalla at the Hendaye border, on April 16, 1938, is highly interesting because it reveals how little information was available in Portugal concerning the ongoing Civil War and all the events related to it. Actually, the evolution of the events as they are described by Afonso do Paço, in such an inaccurate and imprecise manner, had outlines that are well known today: following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was a Falange militant, took refuge at the French Embassy in Madrid, before moving to the La Morisca concentration camp, in Port-Vendres (Rosellón, Eastern Pyrenees, France), after a short stay in Barcelona; subsequently, on March 21, 1938, he moved to the Chomérac concentration camp (Ardèche, France). The letter he addressed to Raymond Lantier was sent by the latter to Hugo Obermaier, causing him considerable and understandable distress. Obermaier was the director of Martínez Santa-Olalla's PhD thesis, defended at the Central University of Madrid in 1932. In view of the information thus received, this eminent archaeologist managed, with the help of Raymond Lantier and others, to obtain the release of Martínez Santa Olalla in Hendaye on April 16, 1938, from where he went to Vitoria (Álava), to present himself at the headquarters of the Francoist Ministry of National Education.

In Portugal, Santa Olalla's friends followed the situation, albeit imprecisely, with many gaps; Martínez Santa-Olalla was handed over to the Francoist authorities a mere four days after this letter was written. Anyway, this shows Afonso do Paço's strong commitment, to the point of having sought and managed to talk to José María Gil Robles, who was then a resident in Estoril, so that he would assist in the liberation of Martínez Santa-Ollala, although to no avail. Indeed, Gil Robles replied that the Republicans (referred to as 'reds' by Afonso do Paço) could not be trusted. Actually, the path of this Spanish politician is a rather winding one: having been the Minister of War in the Republican government, following the electoral victory of the Popular Front in February 1936, he became the leader of the parliamentary opposition. After the assassination of Calvo Sotelo

in July 1936, Gil Robles sought refuge in France, from where he was deported, and was finally admitted to Portugal, where he lived until his return to Spain in 1953. His political influence in the 1938 Francoist government was very limited.

Apart from referring to Martínez Santa-Olalla's relatives, like his brother Antonio, as previously mentioned, the letter also expresses regret for the loss of the scientific documentation that Martínez Santa-Olalla kept in Madrid, due to the terrible confrontations that took place in the city, until it was seized by the Francoist army at the end of the war.

Finally, it is interesting to note the comments regarding the internment of Martínez Santa-Olalla in French concentration camps. Afonso do Paço knew this situation quite well, and perhaps much worse, as he was taken prisoner by the German army on April 9, 1918, in the aftermath of the Battle of La Lys. The hardships he experienced both on the battlefield and later, in the prisoner camps in Germany to which he was taken, are detailed and genuinely described in the first person in a text undeservedly forgotten (PAÇO, 1929), which has recently been studied by one of the authors (CARDOSO, 2018).

2.9.2 – Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Afonso do Paço / Rua da Escola de Medicina Veterinaria, 11, 3º – Lisboa / Telef. 4 7833', dated September 14, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1347 (1) – JMSO/5-229]

Lisboa 14/9/38

Meu querido amigo

Agradeço muito reconhecido a sua carta, recebida há dias quando ainda em plenas escavações com o Sr. P.^e Jalhay.

Estas terminaram, e ao recolher a Lisboa apresso-me a responder à sua amavel carta e dizer-lhe que com muito gosto aceitamos a nomeação que deseja fazer para a Sociedade Hispanica de Arqueologia, a quem desejamos um futuro cheio das maiores prosperidades, próprio dos dias de glória da nova Espanha de Franco.

(...) (uncomplete letter)

Comments

We have not been able to ascertain anything about the existence of this society; in practical terms it was nothing more than an intention on Martínez Santa-Olalla's part. It is not unlikely that he refers to the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory. Martínez Santa-Olalla once again became its Secretary in 1939, a position he held before the outbreak of the Civil War, having actually published an important study on the excavations conducted at Vila Nova de São Pedro (JALHAY & PAÇO, 1945) in this society's scientific organ (Fig. 24). We would also highlight Afonso do Paço's warm salute to the regime that had just won the Spanish Civil War.

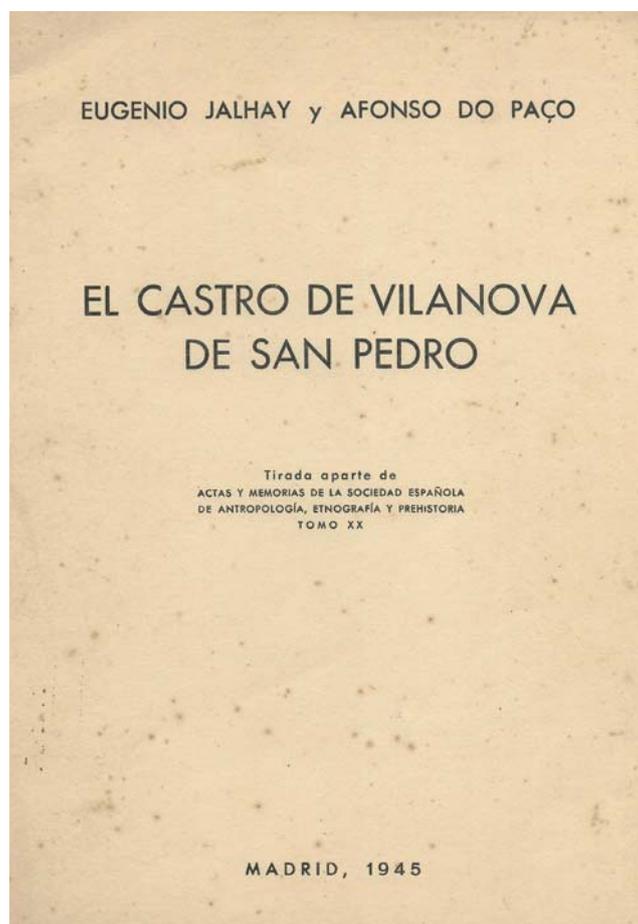


Fig. 24 – Cover of the paper published in 1945 in the *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria* by Afonso do Paço and Eugénio Jalhay. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

2.9.3 – Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp ‘Afonso do Paço / Avenida da Republica, 15, 5° / Lisboa / Telef. 4 7833’, dated June 15, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15557] (Fig. 25)

Lisboa 15-6-53

Meu querido amigo:

Não imagina quanto me penhorou, ao regressar a Lisboa depois de uns dias de ausência no Norte do país, as suas tão amáveis cartas de 28 de Maio e 2 do corrente, bem como o programa do Curso de Granada.

Infelizmente para mim, a promoção ao posto de Tenente Coronel, complicou-me de tal maneira a vida, que dificilmente me permitirá ter tempo para fazer as escavações, de Vila Nova de S. Pedro e Sanfins, quanto mais tomar parte no seu curso, coisa que, creia-o sinceramente, muitíssimo me agradaria, pelos ensinamentos que nele se colherão, além do contacto com amigos muito dedicados.

Agradeço muito reconhecido a sua atenção em querer convidar-me por intermédio dos organismos oficiais, mas a minha situação, puramente militar, não se compadece com a arqueologia, coisa que para mim oficialmente não existe.

Creia que sempre gostava de saber o que faziam os nossos organismos oficiais, se lhes aparecesse o seu convite! Eram capazes de o guardar e mandar um outro, apesar de dirigido em meu nome. Estava mesmo tentado a pedir-lhe que experimentasse.

Um abraço amigo e m.^{to} agradecido de
Afonso do Paço (signature)

Comments

This letter breaks a fifteen-year epistolary silence between the two correspondents. It concerns the reply to a formal invitation that Martínez Santa-Olalla intended to send to Afonso do Paço to take part in a course on Field Archaeology that Martínez Santa-Olalla planned to hold in Granada. It is not known whether Paço was meant to collaborate as a lecturer or as a mere participant. Be that as it may, Afonso do Paço's reply is significant, stating that his military responsibilities as a lieutenant-colonel, the rank to which he had been promoted, prevented him from accepting the invitation, as he could not officially take on any occupation besides his military duties, even because archaeology did not officially exist as a career in Portugal. This straightforward answer strengthens what has already been mentioned (CARDOSO & RIBEIRO, 2013, p. 766) regarding the alleged privileged situation enjoyed by Afonso do Paço in relation to the political situation that be. In fact, his letter significantly ends with an ironic vent, revealing his estrangement from the military hierarchy.

2.9.4 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated March 13, 1954 [not inventoried]

13 de Marzo de 1.954

Excmo. Sr. Alfonso do Paço

Avda. da República, 15

Lisboa

Mi querido y buen amigo:

Acabo de recibir y he leído inmediatamente con la mayor avidez, la extensa bibliografía de mi inolvidable amigo y maestro Jalhay, que me ha producido la más vivísima satisfacción por un lado, porque veo que todavía en este mundo sovietizado (con perdón de los jerarcas), hay personas que hacen de la amistad un culto y que no dejan pasar la ocasión de patentizar el cariño tenido a un amigo y la admiración que a él se le debe como trabajador.

Lisboa 15-6-53 ^{FD-1974/1/15557}

AFONSO DO PAÇO

AVENIDA DA REPÚBLICA, 15, 5.º
LISBOA
TELEF. 4 7833

Meu querido Amigo:

Como imagina quanto me penhorou, ao regressar a Lisboa depois de uns dias de ausência no Norte do país, as suas tão amáveis cartas de 28 de maio e 2 de corrente, bem como o programa do curso de Gravada.

Infelizmente para mim, a promoção ao posto de Tenente coronel, complicou-me de tal maneira a vida, que dificilmente me permitirá ter tempo para fazer as escavações, de Vila Verde de S. Pedro e Saufim, quanto mais tomar parte no seu curso, coisa que, creia-o sinceramente, muitíssimo me agradaria, pelos ensinamentos que nele se colherão, além do contacto com amigos muito dedicados.

Agradeço muito reconhecido a sua atenção em querer convidar-me por intermédio dos organismos oficiais, mas a minha situação, puramente militar, não se compadece com a arqueologia, coisa que para mim oficialmente não existe.

Creia que sempre gostava de saber o que faziam os novos organismos oficiais, se lhes aparecesse o seu convite! Não capazes de o guardar e mandar um outro, apesar de desajustado em meu nome.

Entava mesmo tentado a pedir-lhe que experimentasse. Um abraço amigo e muito agradecido de Afonso do Paço

Fig. 25 - Afonso do Paço. Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Afonso do Paço / Avenida da República, 15, 5º / Lisbon / Telef. 4 7833', dated June 15, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15557] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Le felicito muy sinceramente por la obra que Vd. ha realizado llena de las mejores virtudes y de los mejores sentimientos.

Personalmente, he sentido una alegría inmensa al ver que ha tenido Vd. sitio en su trabajo para mencionar aquél chico que en Oña y Poza de la Sal, hace mas de treinta años, recibió del Padre Jalhay el calor de una amistad nunca desmentida y el tesoro de su sabiduría y de su enseñanza, haciendo que aquél chico pueda tener la satisfacción y el honor de decir que es único de los discípulos del Padre Jalhay, como Vd. afirma.

No deja de ser significativo el contrastar las cualidades y calidades en la misma publicación de su trabajo y, del otro que el Sr. Mendes Correa dedica todo dialéctica y, llamemos política, a la memoria del mismo amigo inolvidable.

Le repito muy efusivamente mi felicitación por esta obra que yo pondré a mis discípulos del Seminario como modelo de lealtad y amistad, de justicia y de hombría.

No quiero terminar sin hacer mias sus palabras al cerrar su trabajo sobre la situación de la arqueología en Portugal y el desinterés oficial por la misma.

En Portugal, mas que en sitio alguno, merece en bien de la patria y de la ciencia, el que como el Padre Jalhay y Vd. pusieran todo su esfuerzo al levantamiento espiritual en este campo de su país donde el panorama universitario y científico oficial es tan desolador.

Reciba un fuerte abrazo de su siempre buen amigo

Comments

This gratitude reflects the importance given by Martínez Santa-Olalla to a selflessly established friendship like the fellowship that united Paço and Jalhay, opportunely referring to the difference in style noted between the former's text (PAÇO, 1951) and the one written by Mendes Corrêa on the same occasion (CORRÊA, 1951). Actually, both the missive and the referred study show, once again, the penury of the archaeological activity in Portugal in the mid-1950s, only balanced by the genuine and indefinable enthusiasm that moved people like Jalhay and Paço, among other archaeologists of their time, such as Veiga Ferreira and Abel Viana. In order to produce quality work that was by no means inferior to that of their Spanish colleagues, all of them had to face difficulties that are hard to imagine nowadays, just for the purely intellectual and indefinable pleasure of discovering and producing knowledge, without any lucrative purposes.

We would also stress Martínez Santa-Olalla's genuine and touching confession of how much he owed to Eugénio Jalhay, since the times when he met him, still at a very young age, in his hometown. Indeed, Santa-Olalla received Jalhay's attention and support during his first steps in archaeology

2.9.5 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated December 13, 1954 [not inventoried]

13 de Diciembre de 1.954
Excmo. Sr. Alfonso do Paço
Tenente-Coronel
Av. da República, 15, 5º
Lisboa
Mi querido y buen amigo:

Le agradezco mucho su vivo interés en procurarnos los trabajos de los suevos. Es increíble la dificultad que hay para hacerse con los libros portugueses. Antes de molestarle a Vd. lo pedí a varias librerías aquí, sin

resultado. En cuanto a lograr las cosas por cambio, con Portugal, no es posible tampoco, incluso tenemos una triste experiencia (Universidad de Coimbra, por ejemplo).

Le agradezco, también mucho, las Separatas que acabo de recibir, testimonio fiel de su dedicación al trabajo científico y de su actividad y fino espíritu. Muchas gracias.

Mucho le agradecería que no echara en olvido ni al Seminario ni a la Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas que, con gusto reciben siempre todos sus trabajos para nosotros tan valiosos y tan apreciados. Próximamente recibirá Vd. toda una serie de publicaciones que la Comisaría General lanzará simultáneamente.

Por correo aparte, me permito enviarle una serie de tarjetas de suscripción a los Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva, por si fuera tan amable de, entre sus amistades y organismos científicos interesados en nuestros estudios, en particular, procurarnos algunos suscritores que para nosotros son tan preciosos pues, como Vd. y todos saben, nuestro Seminario de Historia Primitiva, como organismo autónomo y libre, carece de presupuesto ni ayuda oficial de ningún género; por lo que debe vivir de sus suscritores y amigos, el déficit enorme que solemos tener, debo enjugarlo yo, personalmente. Si nuestros suscritores aumentaran en la cuantía deseada, podría, también aumentar grandemente los volúmenes de publicaciones ya que son muchas e importantes los originales que quedan sin publicar o debemos canalizar hacia otras publicaciones. Perdone esta molestia que, espero no tome a mal sino todo lo contrario, como una muestra de confianza y estima.

La UNESCO me ha encargado la historia de España hasta la invasión árabe, trabajo que ha de servir de base al capítulo correspondiente a la Historia del mundo, Como Vd. sabe, es la primera vez que la UNESCO hace un encargo de este tipo a un peninsular, por lo que le ruego que si tiene alguna información o cualquier otra cosa que hacerme, la recibiré con sumo gusto pues, sería mi más vivo interés (...) (uncomplete letter).

Comments

Martínez Santa-Olalla's request for papers on the Suevo published in Portugal, some of which he certainly already knew, was related to the study of the Iberian Germanic populations since the beginning of the 1930s, when, as he rightly says, the subject was almost ignored by the research that was being conducted in Portugal at the time. This effort is embodied in many publications and in the overview published as early as 1934 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA, 1934). The political connotations attached to this subject are indeed justified, particularly after the rise to power of the National Socialist regime in Germany, a time when publications on the Visigoth Iberian populations became more visible. It is no coincidence that as early as 1934 a remarkable paper was published by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, *Die Grabfunde aus dem Spanischen Westgotenreich* by Hans Zeiss. This trend was in fact embodied in Gustav Kossina's 1929 publication *Origin and spread of the Germanic peoples in prehistoric and historical times*, of which Santa-Olalla wrote a praiseworthy review in 1931, still during his stay in Germany. During the post-war period, the latter kept an obvious interest in the subject, which justified the request made in this letter, proof that such motivation was not, in his case, motivated only by political reasons.

Martínez Santa-Olalla's commitment to his activity as an archaeologist and as a trainer of archaeologists went so far as using the funds of the Seminar of Primitive History of Man to pay for the publication of its *Cuadernos*, since, as an independent institution, after the formal separation with the University of Madrid (see chapter 1), it depended on the sales and subscriptions of the publications, which was why he sought support from Afonso do Paço.

Finally, Martínez Santa-Olalla's prestige was apparently reaffirmed in the mid-1950s by the UNESCO invitation he refers to: contributing to the publication of a History of Spain up to the Arab invasion; this is

why he asked and thanked Afonso do Paço for any information that might be of interest. But Martínez Santa Olalla's collaboration in this editorial project, however, never really happened. UNESCO ended up publishing a History of Humanity, which may be the publication referred to by him, but the division of the chapters is different, because these are not chapters from Prehistory up to the Arab conquest, but rather divided into three volumes. Nevertheless, it is possible that Martínez Santa-Olalla was contacted at an early stage, but UNESCO may have changed its mind later on. The person who had strong connections at UNESCO was Bosch Gimpera, who probably handed over the editorial task to Luis Pericot, who had a good capacity for synthesis. There was a preparatory meeting in 1950 in Paris, concerning the History of Humanity, which was attended by Bosch Gimpera, (GRACIA, 2011, Fig. 29); the committee was composed of C.K. Zurayk, J. Huxley, P.B. Carneiro, I. Torres Bordet, R.E. Turner, C.J. Burckhardt, J. Thomas, S. Zavala, C. Moraze, M. Paz and the Portuguese Armando Cortesão, who left UNESCO in 1952 to become a professor at the University of Coimbra.

2.9.6 – Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Afonso do Paco / Avenida da Republica, 15, 5º / Lisboa / Telef. 4 7833', dated April 5, 1955 [not inventoried]

Lisboa 5-4-955

Meu querido amigo:

Não sei como apresentar-me com a carta de hoje. Espero, porém, que nesta ocasião de Semana Santa as minhas culpas sejam perdoadas e acredite sempre na minha bem sincera amizade.

Difícil, se não impossível, obter subscritores para os Cuadernos.

O único arqueólogo com posição oficial e ganhando dinheiro com a arqueologia em Portugal, é Heleno. Só se ele fizer assinatura para a Biblioteca do Museu de Belém, do que duvido.

Dos restantes, ninguém tem dinheiro para comprar coisas de arqueologia. Somos como os cristãos de Roma lançados às feras. Só tinham esperanças no seu Deus. Nós também só esperamos dos amigos de fóra de Portugal. Não da **religião** oficial do

(...) (uncomplete letter)

Comments

This letter does not require any additional comments to those already made concerning the state of material and human shortage that characterised Portuguese post-war archaeology, as opposed to what happened in Spain.

2.9.7 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated July 1, 1957 [unreadable inv. no.]

Serrano, 41

Madrid – 1 de julio de 1957

Excmo. Sr. D. Afonso do Paço

Avda. da República, 15

Lisboa

Mi querido y buen amigo:

He recibido su amable envío de separatas, que inmediatamente leí, sobre todo la que se refiere a Vila Nova de San Pedro. Debo agradecerle que en su artículo sobre el Congreso Internacional de Ciencias prehistóricas de Madrid, no haya prosperado en Vds., el 'espíritu' que puso sordina a mi propuesta sobre Vila Nova, que Childe firmó (curioso modo de entender el liberalismo y respecto a opiniones ajenas frente a un marxista

como Childe y un fascista como yo) en tal forma que Vd. ha tenido la hombría, ahora ya va resultando cosa heroica, de contar la verdad de cómo ha sucedido ciertas cosas, pues al leer ahora la recepción que ofrecí a los congresistas en nuestro Seminario de Historia Primitiva, veo, que fué verdad la recepción y las miles de pesetas que me costó obsequiarles, puesto que era un obsequio mío personal, en mi propio Seminario.... Le agradezco, repito, mucho esto, así como la referencia a nuestra fracasada propuesta sobre Vila Nova.

Abundando en estos principios de amistad, y de verdad, debo decirle que leo con la más honda sorpresa en la pag. 224, de su tirada aparte en alemán, sobre Vila Nova, un juicio, puramente teórico y a que no da base el cuidado, poco común entre nosotros peninsulares, puesto por el Sr. Esteve Guerrero, sobre los dos estratos que Vd. y su colaborador sospechan en el nivel del I Bronce Mediterráneo de Mesas de Asta. Es, repito, pura teorización por el momento sin base.

Honda sorpresa, por lo que tiene de inexacta, es la nota 9 de dicha pág., sobre la cerámica esgrafiada o con decoración pulida, que el Sr. Esteve puso de relieve en su interés documental y que yo tuve buen cuidado de destacar en forma extraordinaria dando la gran lámina 8 de la publicación que citan. Mi sorpresa sube de punto, cuando recuerdo, que hace muchos años, en aquellos tiempos cordiales de mis idas a Portugal en el Museo de Dirección de Estudios Geológicos, descubrí e identifiqué, cerámicas de esta especie que habían pasado desapercibidas, y le hice presente a Vd. el interés documental enorme para mis ideas sobre las relaciones orientales. Años más tarde, en 1946, al dar la segunda edición de mi Esquema Paletnológico, tuve buen cuidado de (ya que el texto de 1939 quedaba inalterado) dar en mi lámina 20, junto a cerámicas mordidas, pulidas y pintadas, las cerámicas esgrafiadas. Más tarde, en 1947, en el trabajo de Sáez Martín y mío, sobre los 'Orígenes Anatolioegeos y Orientales del Bronce Mediterráneo Hispánico' con todas claridad y precisión me refiero a la cerámica esgrafiada o de adorno pulido, cuya problemática y documentación queda claramente expuesta en la nota 37. En algunos otros trabajos breves e insignificantes, como todos los míos, guardaba bien patente lo que había visto, las cerámicas y saber cuales eran los problemas, y ahora parecen descubrirlo Vds.

Childe sobre mi documentación personal se ha referido a ella; los Leisner en toda la bibliografía oriental y africana que utilizaron para sus 'Antas de Reguengos' (que por cierto en ningún lugar dicen que sea mi bibliografía, puesta en dos semanas a su servicio en mi propia casa) pudieron ver también y conocer estas cerámicas y su problemática. Finalmente, por no citar más ejemplos, Pía Laviosa Zambotti, en su excepcional libro 'España e Italia antes de los romanos', publicado por el Seminario de Historia Primitiva, en la 1.^a y 2.^a edición y de la que hay traducción italiana, se refiere igualmente en especie cerámica y a todos los que Sáez Martín y yo, ennumeramos en nuestros orígenes anatolioegeos.

Supongo, querido amigo, no le molestará lo más mínimo lo que personalmente le llame la atención sobre la inexactitud a que vengo refiriéndome y que puede Vd. comprobar con las referencias que le doy.

Leyendo sus observaciones en el mismo trabajo, sobre técnica constructiva, la existencia de argamasa, etc., quiero recordar que hace muchos años a Vd. y al P. Jalhay les dí los paralelos sobre esta técnica, sobre su ficha y su naturaleza exacta, como problema resuelto para nuestro bronce I o eneolítico como Vd. se obstina en llamar, siguiendo a mi querido maestro Bosch Gimpera cuya consideración de mis puntos de vista aclaran su valor y alcance (pues es indudable la mella que le ha hecho y el terreno que (¿???) cedido). Perdona tan larga carta basada en nuestra amistad y lealtad, más como el problema de Vila Nova para mí es muy importante e incluso no me causa sorpresa, a tomar las excavaciones otro rumbo, con sus nuevos hallazgos, es posible que algún día me ocupe en un trabajo sobre los puntos de vista que tengo, algunos expuestos fragmentariamente.

¿Sería posible tener algunos ejemplares más de su IV Congreso Internacional y de Vila Nova?

Mil gracias y sabe suyo siempre buen amigo
(unsigned)

Comments

This long letter addresses scientific subjects of great interest, whose discussion spanned the following decades. Starting with Martínez Santa-Olalla's intervention at the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences held in Madrid in 1954, whose transcription is presented below, the author of the letter thanks Afonso do Paço for fully transcribing the paper he gave at the congress, emphasizing the exceptional archaeological importance of the Vila Nova de São Pedro settlement (PAÇO, 1956) (Fig. 26). Apparently, this initiative had no consequences, although it was supported by Childe, Breuil, Pigott, O'Riordain and Maluquer de Motes, among others (op. cit., p. 223), all or almost all of whom were familiar with the archaeological site. Martínez Santa-Olalla's ironic comment regarding the fact that a Marxist (Gordon Childe) and himself (a self-styled Fascist) have converged towards the same end, for purely scientific reasons, despite the fact that this extraordinary but desirable situation in science has done nothing to raise the awareness of the Portuguese authorities...

Martínez Santa-Olalla continues, commenting on the reception he offered to the congressmen, paid for with funds from the Seminar of Primitive History of Man, which, as mentioned above, at that time, was an organization he directed, and whose operation depended solely on the income obtained from the sale of the publications he edited.

Next, the letter refers to another publication, in a German journal, about the Vila Nova de São Pedro excavations (PACO & SANGMEISTER, 1956) (Fig. 27). The fact that Martínez Santa-Olalla refers to the first author of the article, E. Sangmeister, as "su colaborador" [lit. your collaborator], seems to indicate that they were not on good terms. The paper mentions the famous Chalcolithic ceramics decorated with burnished grooves, namely the characteristic *copos canelados* or fluted ware of the Early Chalcolithic of Extremadura (CARDOSO, 2007) identified for the first time in stratigraphy at Vila Nova de São Pedro, in the basal layer underlying the foundation of the so-called central fortification, which was duly announced and published in Spain (PAÇO, 1958) (Fig. 28). Yet, Afonso do Paço already refers to these productions in the aforementioned report of the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, held in Madrid in 1954, dated May 1954 and only published in 1956 (PAÇO, 1956). These objects were then shown to dozens of congressmen, on the assumption that "They were not produced by the people who inhabited Vila Nova and therefore only attest to contacts with people of a much higher civilisation, before they settled there" (PAÇO, 1956, p. 236).

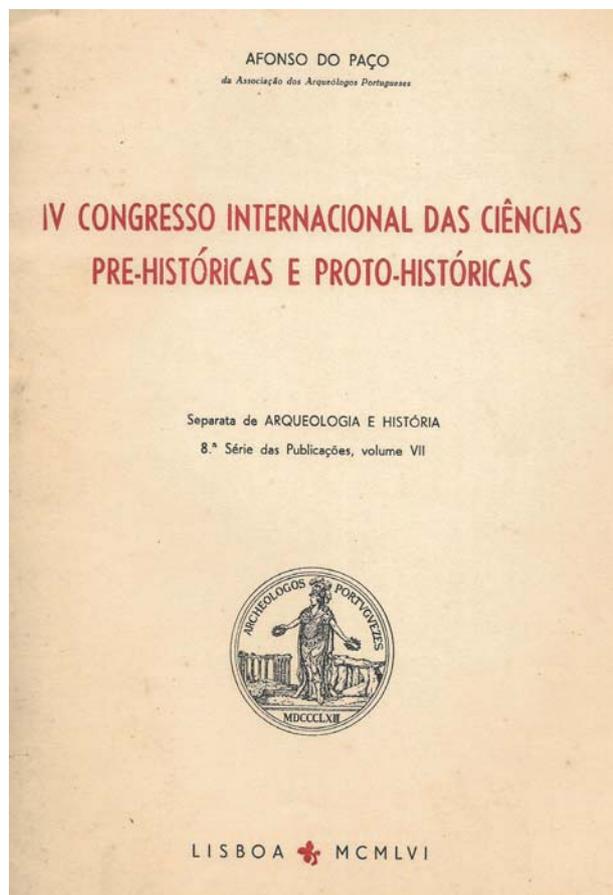


Fig. 26 – Cover of the Afonso do Paço's paper published in 1956 regarding the activities in which he took part in Madrid, two years earlier, during the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

Sonderdruck
aus *Germania* 34, 1956, Heft 3/4

Von Paço

Vila Nova de S. Pedro eine befestigte Siedlung der Kupferzeit in Portugal

Von Afonso do Paço, Lissabon, und Edward Sangmeister, Freiburg i. Br.

Vom 1. bis 15. September 1955 wurde im Castro von Vila Nova de S. Pedro in Portugal die 19. Ausgrabungskampagne unter Leitung von Oberstleutnant Afonso do Paço durchgeführt, an der ich auf seine freundliche Einladung hin

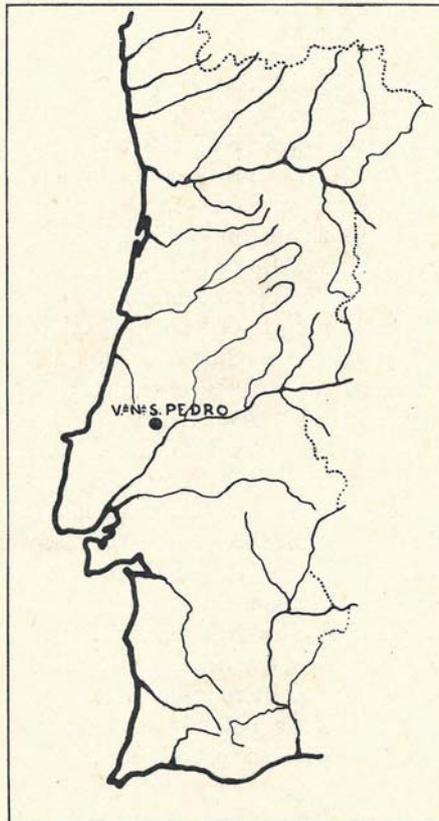


Abb. 1. Lageskizze des Castro Vila Nova de S. Pedro.

teilnehmen konnte. Da die Berichte über frühere Grabungen in Deutschland wenig bekannt zu sein scheinen, andererseits aber die Bedeutung des Platzes für die Kenntnis des Aeneolithikums eine ganz besondere ist und schließlich die Ergebnisse der diesjährigen Grabung außergewöhnlich sind, schien es uns geboten, eine auch weiteren Kreisen zugängliche Vorlage zu besorgen. Es soll daher gleichzeitig ein portugiesischer und ein deutscher Bericht erscheinen, in denen die gemeinsamen Erkenntnisse niedergelegt sind.

Fig. 27 – Cover of the paper published with Edward Sangmeister in the journal *Germania* in 1956, providing the first account of the importance of Vila Nova de São Pedro's internal fortifications. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

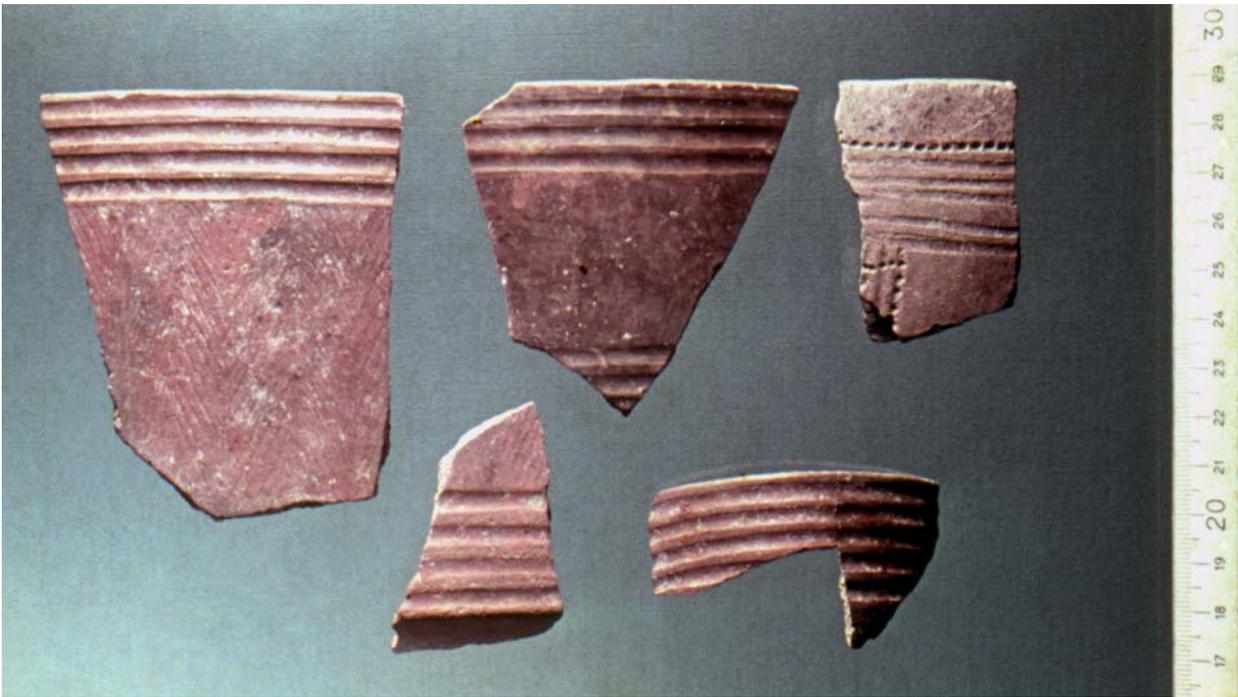


Fig. 28 – Some examples of typical Early Chalcolithic fluted wares (*copsos* and *tacas*).
Items published by Afonso do Paço (PAÇO, 1958). O. da Veiga Ferreira/João Luís Cardoso's archive.

What Martínez Santa-Olalla reproached Afonso do Paço for was the fact that he had not taken the care to refer to the former's papers published before 1956, in which he already pointed out the importance of those ceramics, in order to underline their oriental and Mediterranean origin, with scientific priority over the statements made in Paço's paper.

As a matter of fact, Martínez Santa-Olalla goes as far as drawing Afonso do Paço's attention to the fact that he had previously stressed the importance of some of these fragments, which he identified for the first time, probably in April 1944, during his visit to Portugal (CARVALHO, 1989, p. 98), in the Archaeology gallery of LNEG's Museu Geológico. These were perhaps the finds exhumed in the Vimeiro cave, only later published (ZBYSZEWSKI & VIANA, 1949), along with items from the Monge *tholos*, in the Sintra mountain, recovered under Carlos Ribeiro's supervision and resulting from the reuse of this tomb. These objects, at the time mistakenly ascribed to the Chalcolithic (or belonging to Santa Olalla's Mediterranean Bronze I), were in fact considered by him as evidence of relations with the Eastern Mediterranean, as early as 1947, in the paper he quotes in his letter (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA & SÁEZ MARTÍN, 1947) (Fig. 29).

This was arguably also evidenced by the decorated ceramics recovered at Mesas de Asta, published by Manuel Esteve Guerrero (ESTEVE GUERRERO, 1945) (Fig. 30), which Martínez Santa-Olalla rightly highlights in this letter (Fig. 31); some of these objects had been illustrated in his *Esquema Paleolítico* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA, 1946, Est. 20) (Fig. 32).

Martínez Santa-Olalla's indignation was based on the assumption that these ceramics belonged to his Mediterranean Bronze I (equivalent to the Chalcolithic), and were therefore coeval with the fluted ceramics from Vila Nova de São Pedro, whose relations with the Eastern Mediterranean were also highlighted. In fact, at the time this letter was written, they had not been separately identified, a situation that persisted until the 1960's. As recently as 1961, in an article originally written in German, titled "Eneolithic vases with interior decoration", both productions – Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Age – were mixed up (LEISNER, 1961, Abb. 7) (Fig. 33). The

Late Bronze Age finds that the author ascribed to the Chalcolithic include those recovered and published by M. Esteve Guerrero at the settlement of Mesas de Asta, whose ascription to Late Bronze Age leaves no doubt, as evidenced by the examples illustrated in Fig. 8 of the this publication (ESTEVE GUERRERO, 1945), which Santa Olalla points out in his missive: “and which I took good care to highlight outstandingly given the large plate 8 of the publication you quote from” (see Fig. 31).

In short, the invocation of oriental parallels for these ceramics was, as we know today, a false question, whether they dated from the Chalcolithic or the Late Bronze Age. It is worth mentioning that the excavation of Lapa do Fumo (Sesimbra) was decisive for distinguishing them, as the more recent ones were stratigraphically isolated and were initially designated as ‘ceramics with coloured decorations’ (SERRÃO, 1959), a clear influence of their counterparts from Mesas de Asta, of the same age, then designated as “painted ceramics” or “reticulated”, or even “sgraffito” or “with polished decoration”, in the terms of the above missive.

Martínez Santa-Olalla also considers Sangmeister and Paço’s admission of the existence of two distinct occupations at Mesas de Asta to be mere speculation, contrary to the admission made by the excavator and by himself, as sponsor of the respective publication, produced under the auspices of the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations, which he directed. In fact, if we look at the types of ceramics illustrated, none of

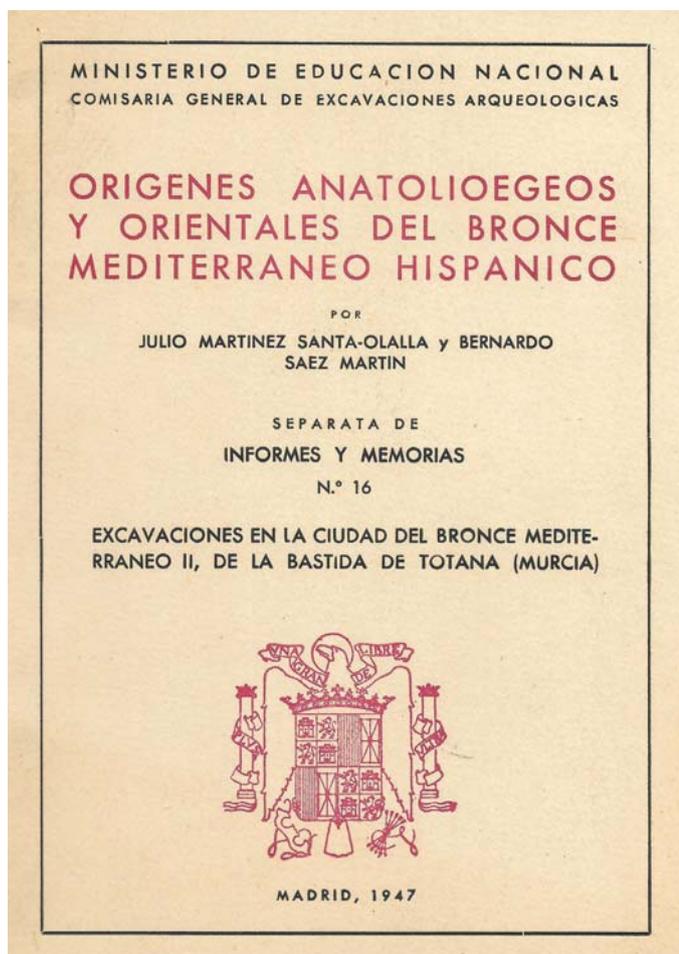


Fig. 29 – Cover of the paper in which Martínez Santa-Olalla and B. Saez Martín advocated, in 1947, the existence of cultural relations between the Anatolian Peninsula and the Iberian Peninsula during the Chalcolithic. JLC’s own exemplar and photo.

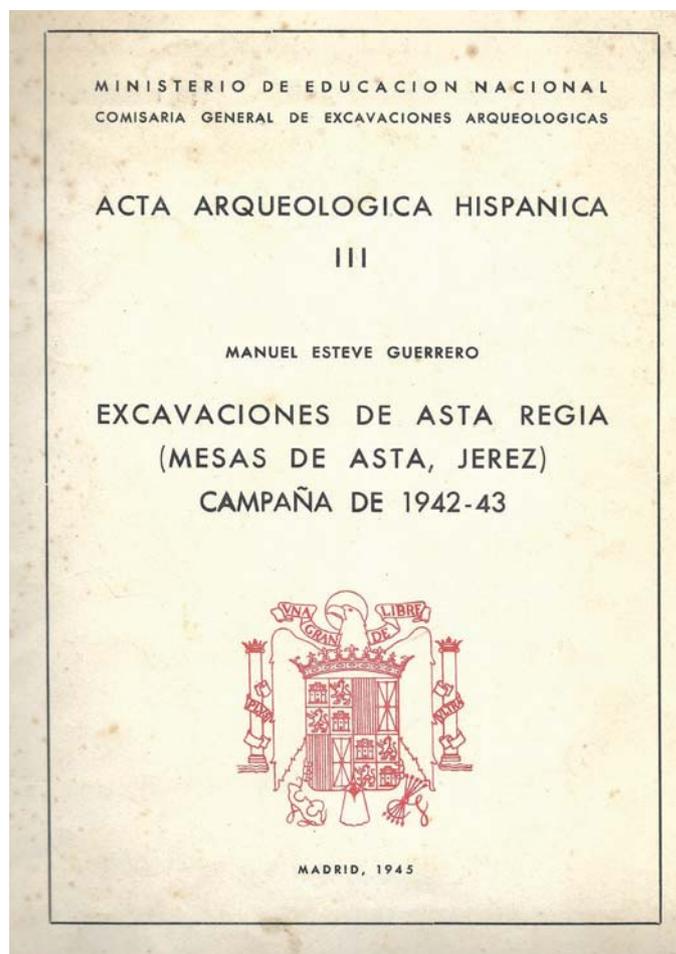


Fig. 30 – Cover of the book published by the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations in 1945, concerning the Mesas de Asta site. JLC’s own exemplar and photo.

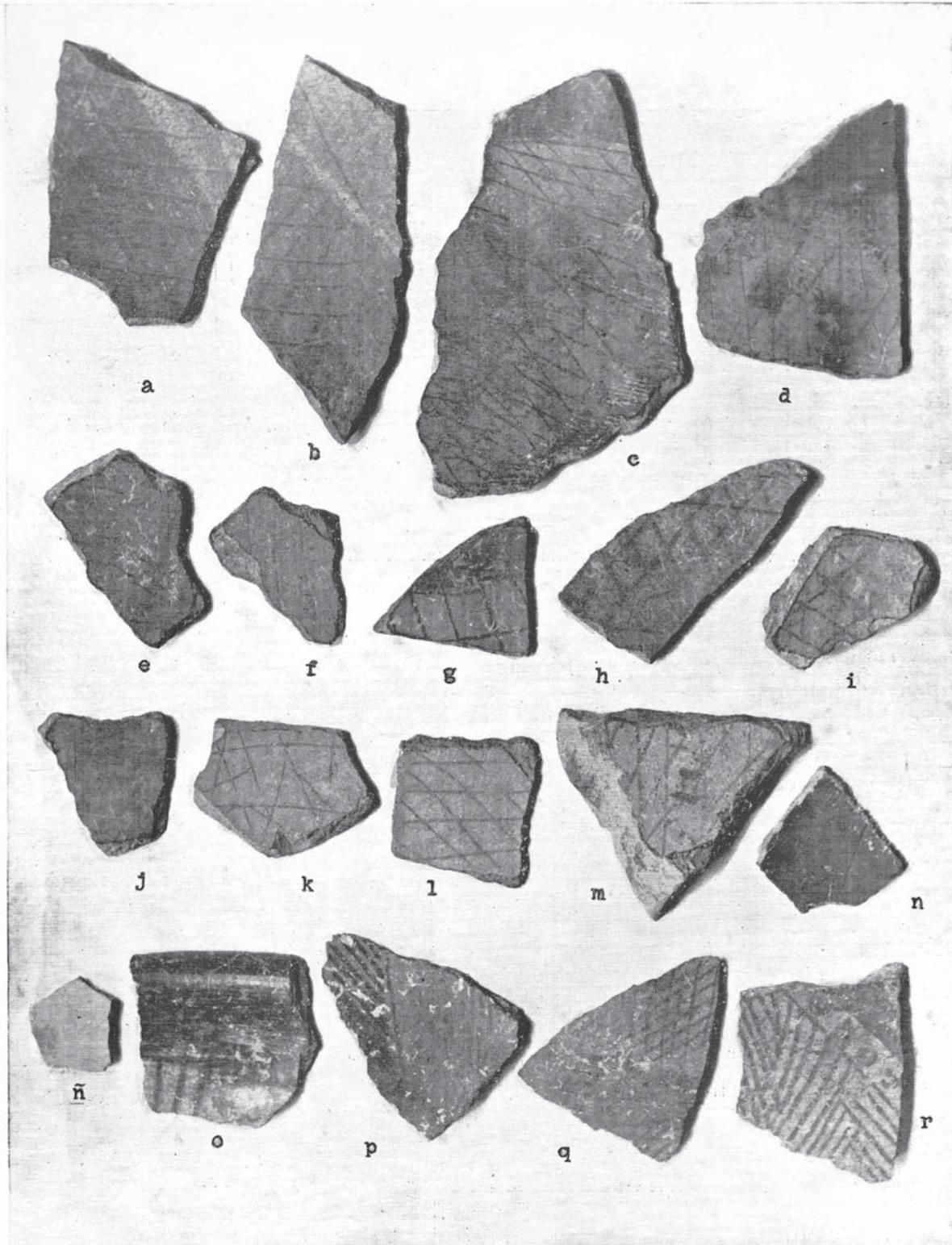
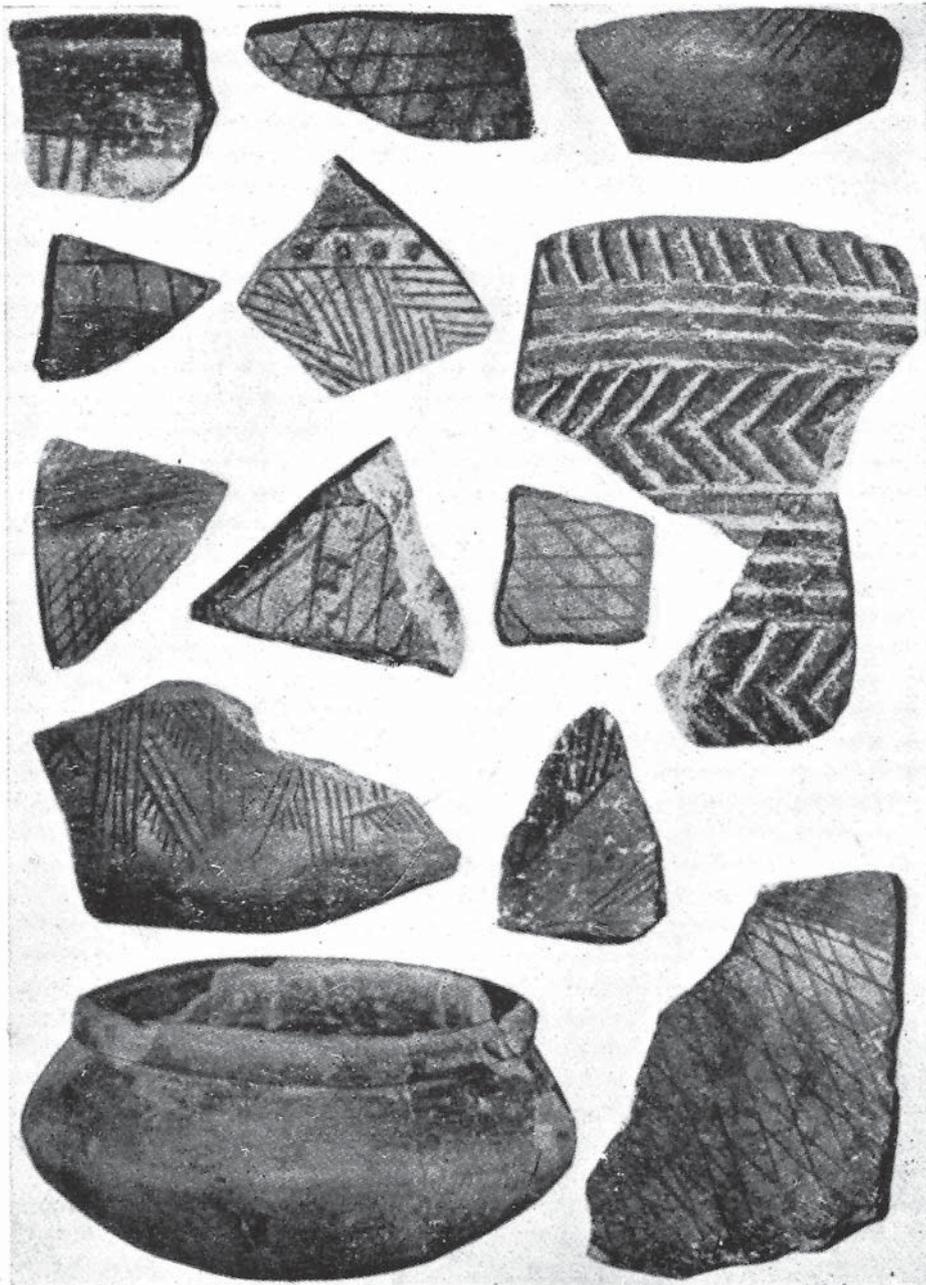


Fig. 31 - Typical Late Bronze Age "retícula bruñida" ceramic productions recovered in the Mesas de Asta excavations (ESTEVE GUERREO, 1945, Lám. VIII), at the time ascribed to Chalcolithic by Martínez Santa-Olalla. JLC's own exemplar and photo.



BRONCE MEDITERRÁNEO I
Cerámicas iberosaharianas.

Fig. 32 - Typical Late Bronze Age "retícula bruñida" and other ceramic productions, at the time ascribed to Chalcolithic (Mediterranean Bronze I) by Martínez Santa-Olalla and illustrated by him (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946, Est. 20). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

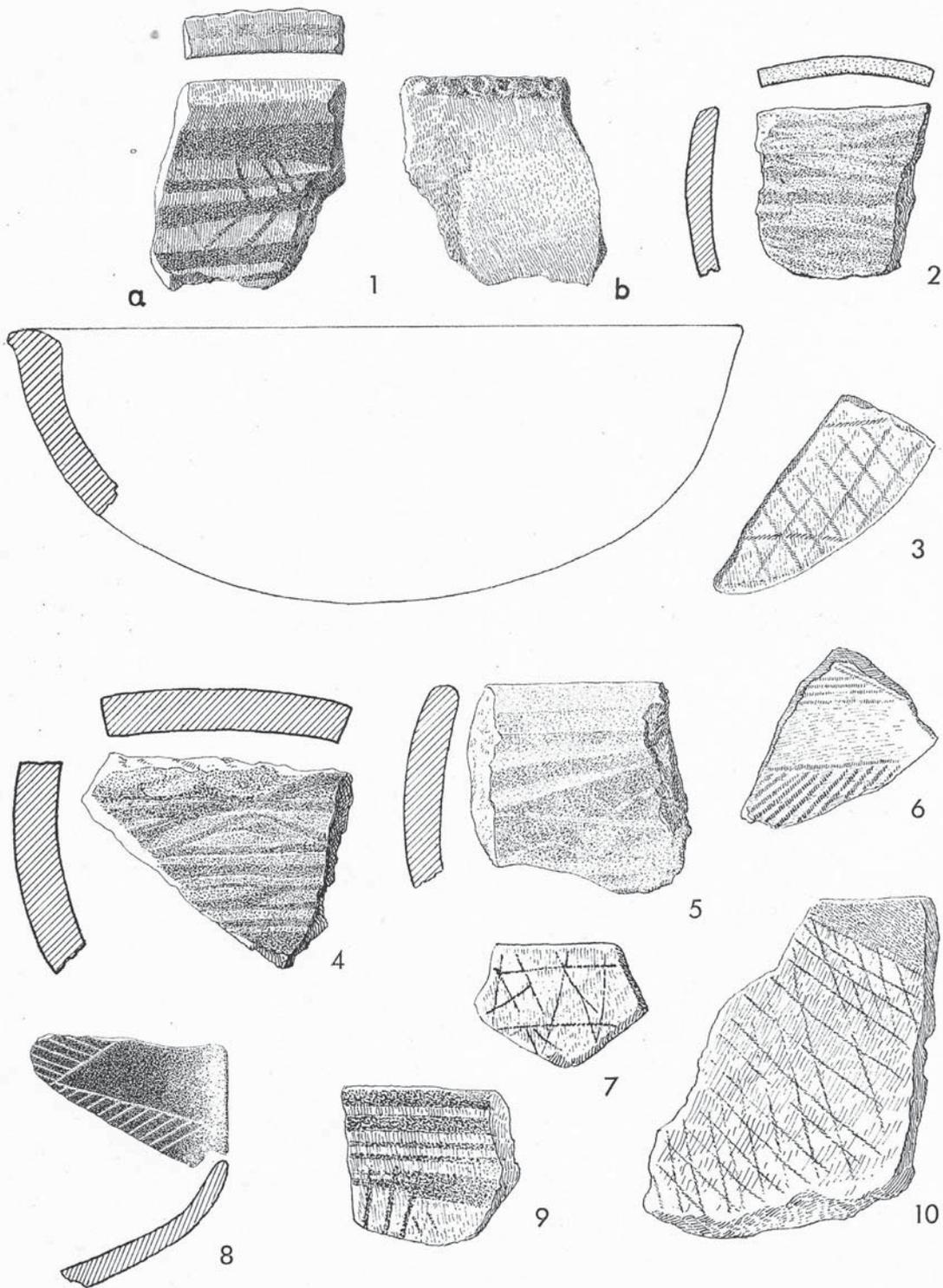


Abb. 7 1 Povoada das Salemas, a Innenwand, b Außenwand — 2, 4, 5 Montes Claros —
3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 Mesas de Asta. 2 : 3

Fig. 33 - Typical Late Bronze Age 'burnished decorations' productions, mistakenly ascribed to Chalcolithic and illustrated by Vera Leisner, along with true Chalcolithic productions (LEISNER, 1961, Abb. 7), as previously envisaged by Martínez Santa-Olalla. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

them are indicative a period other than Late Bronze Age, although some of the lithic artefacts, namely the flint blades, suggest an earlier period. This long letter and the scientific questions it strongly raises in relation to Vila Nova de São Pedro show the importance he attributed to this station, so well evidenced in the text he wrote at the time of the 1954 Madrid Congress. Antecedents can also be found in some of his other texts, resulting from interviews to the Portuguese press during his journey to Portugal. We would highlight the following sentence, from an interview to *Diário da Manhã*, on the April 22, 1944: “Nowadays one cannot write a simple archaeology manual in Europe without mentioning Vila Nova de São Pedro” (in CARVALHO, 1989, p. 126).

2.9.8 – Handwritten document, without stamp, undated (1954) [not inventoried]

This document corresponds to the draft of a statement, requested from Martínez Santa-Olalla by Afonso do Paço, concerning the scientific importance of the Chalcolithic fortified settlement of Vila Nova de São Pedro, the subject of his communication to the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, held in Madrid in 1954. It was published by Afonso do Paço in his report on this meeting (PAÇO, 1956, pp. 223, 224) (Fig. 34).

El mundo científico internacional, a lo largo de quince años, ha venido teniendo noticias por las publicaciones del inolvidable Padre Eugénio Jalhay y el Sr. Afonso do Paço, de las excavaciones en Vila Nova de S. Pedro, que tienen el mas alto interés, histórico y documental, no solo para la historia portuguesa sino para la Historia universal, especialmente del mediterráneo y Proximo Oriente y Países Atlanticos europeos.

El IV Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Prehistoricas y Protohistoricas, ha tenido la viva satisfacción de oír una comunicación del Sr. do Paço, sobre los últimos resultados obtenidos.

Ante la importancia transcendental del yacimiento y, para conocimiento y orgullo de las Autoridades Portuguesas, se hace constar la felicitación de la Sección V del IV Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Prehistoricas e Protohistoricas, al Sr. do Paço y a señorita Costa Arthur y se encarece a la nación portuguesa la importancia fundamental de Vila Nova de S. Pedro y la esperanza que tienen de que para dichas excavaciones, reciban sus directores todo el apoyo moral y material necesario para realizar la campaña con regularidad, para restaurar los hallazgos, para conservar cuantos estudios técnicos complementares sean necesarios, bien en Portugal o en el extranjero'

El Presidente de la Sección

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla (signature)

Comments

This statement is understandable in the context of coeval Portuguese archaeological research: in the absence of international references regarding the worth of the studies presented and published, this type of written statements, made by prestigious archaeologists, had a real importance in the appraisal of the merit of requests for financial support, which, when granted, were always scarce and insufficient, as can be seen in the documents already published (RIBEIRO & CARDOSO, 2013; CARDOSO & RIBEIRO, 2013). This situation completely contradicts the perspective resulting from a superficial analysis, tainted with prejudice, of some archaeologists who have worked on the History of Portuguese Archaeology, and which made Afonso do Paço one of the Portuguese archaeologists who benefited from the Estado Novo, due to his political connections (LILLIOS, 1996). Such privileged relations never existed, and, in any case, they never had any material consequences capable of placing Afonso do Paço in the position of a beneficiary of the then ruling regime. On the

" El mundo científico internacional, a lo largo de quince años, ha venido teniendo noticias por las publicaciones del inolvidable Padre Eugenio Galhoy y el Sr. Afonso do Paço, de las excavaciones en Vila Nova de S. Pedro, que tienen el mas alto interés histórico y documental, no solo para la historia portuguesa sino para la Historia universal, especialmente del Mediterráneo y Próximo Oriente y Países Atlánticos europeos.

El IV Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Prehistóricas y Protohistóricas, ha tenido la viva satisfacción de oír una comunicación del Sr. do Paço, sobre los últimos resultados obtenidos.

Ante la importancia trascendental del yacimiento y, para conocimiento y orgullo de las Autoridades Portuguesas, se hace constar la felicitación de la Section V del IV Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Prehistóricas e Protohistóricas, al Sr. do Paço y a senoreta Costa Arthur y, se manifiesta a la nación portuguesa la importancia fundamental de Vila Nova de S. Pedro y la esperanza que tenemos de que para dichas excavaciones, reciban sus directores todo el apoyo moral y material necesario para realizar la campaña con regularidad, para restaurar los hallazgos, para conservar los monumentos y, para analizar y hacer cuantos estudios técnicos complementares sean necesarios, bien en Portugal o en el extranjero "

El Presidente de la Sección

(1) Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla

Fig. 34 - Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. Handwritten document, without stamp, undated (1954) [not inventoried]. This is Santa-Olalla's original document approved at the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (Madrid, 1954) and subsequently published by Afonso do Paço (PAÇO, 1956).

contrary, one can conclude that sheer efforts were required every year to ensure the minimum material support that would make it possible to continue working, in this case in Vila Nova de São Pedro.

In fact, Afonso do Paço never tired of reporting, at international level, the results obtained in the annual excavations conducted at Vila Nova de São Pedro. In 1954 he gave, among others, a paper on the subject of metallurgy during the 4th session of the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, in Madrid (PAÇO & ARTHUR, 1956), thus drawing the attention of major archaeologists who by then visited this remarkable archaeological site (CARDOSO & RIBEIRO, 2013). Indeed, it was doubtless due to such efforts that the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory published an extensive study on Vila Nova de São Pedro, as early as 1945, in the aforementioned journal boosted by the enthusiasm of Martínez Santa-Olalla (JALHAY & PAÇO, 1945), actually following the invitation of the latter, who, as secretary of this Society, had an influence on the choice of the papers to be published in its periodical organ. Moreover, his importance in this society explains the volume in his homage that the same society offered him, edited in three volumes, corresponding to the years 1947 (21), 1947 (22) and 1948 (23) of its *Actas y Memorias* (Fig. 35).

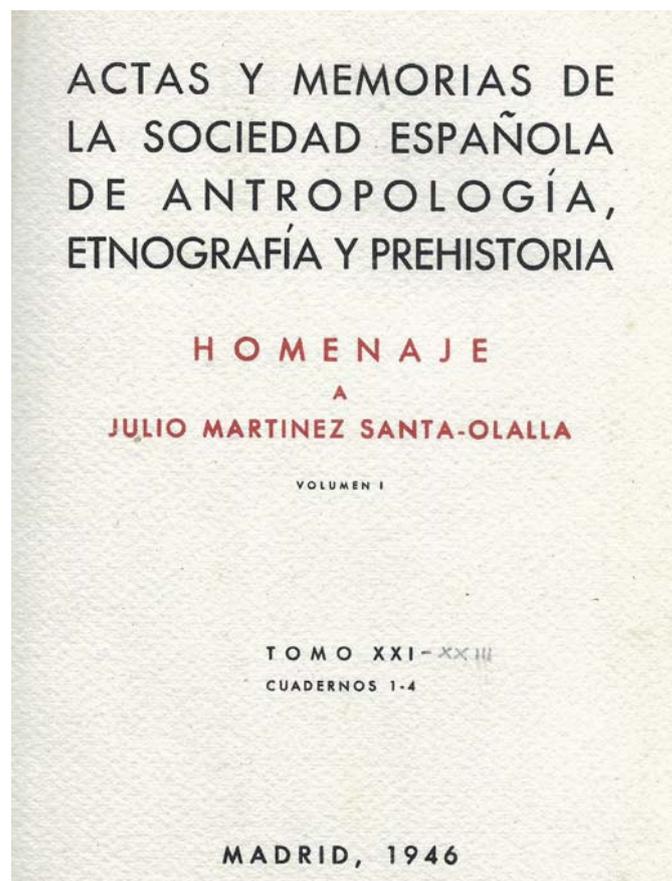


Fig. 35 – Cover of the first of the three volumes of the *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria* published between 1947 and 1949 in homage to Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, revealing the high regard accorded to his presence and collaboration. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

2.10 – PINTO, Rui de Serpa

Typed letter, without stamp, dated February 21, 1931 [inv. no. 1974/001/904.1 – JMSO/3-241] (Fig. 36)

J. Martínez Santa-Olalla

Valladolid, Plaza del Museo 4

21-II-31

Exmo. Sr. Dr. Ruy Corrêa de Serpa Pinto

Porto

Mi distinguido colega:

En primer lugar perdón por todo lo que a renglón seguido le voy a pedir:

Tenemos en preparación el segundo vol. del Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña que deseamos salga enseguida, y para él necesitamos una serie de cosas (Fig. 37). En primer lugar algunas recensiones que nos haga V. de cosas portuguesas aparecidas en 1929 o 1930. Elija V. lo que le parezca y tenga la amabilidad de comunicármelo para que sepa con que podemos contar. Si le interesa alguna cosa no portuguesa diga cual es para reservarsela.

1974/1/904.2

Mucho le agradeceré que de ahora en adelante me envíe todo lo que publique pues a partir de 1930 he de hacer ahora una bibliografía completa de lo aparecido en la Península. Así que le agradeceré que si tiene ocasión lo haga saber a los colegas lusitanos, ya que en interés de todos re unda. Las épocas que abarcaré son desde el Paleolítico en su mas amplio sentido hasta la invasion arabe.

Ha publicado algo ultimamente el prof. Mendes Corrêa?

Perdone tanta molestia y sabe puede disponer como guste de su afmo.s.sy companero q.l.e.l.m.

P.S. Por correo aparte le envio una separata de Pérez de Barradas, La colección prehistórica de retondo de la cual desearia una recension para el Anuario.

Fig. 36 - From Martínez Santa-Olalla to Rui de Serpa Pinto. Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated November 21, 1931 [inv. no. 1974/001/904.1 - JMSO/3-241] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Para el 2 vol. del Anuario haré yo la Bibliografía del Asturiense, así que le agradeceré me envíe todo lo que haya publicado con posterioridad a *O Asturiense em Portugal*. Igualmente deseo si es posible me envíe todos sus trabajos, ya que excepto *O Asturiense em Portugal*, Bibl. Mendes C., Petroglifos de Sabroso (sic) no tengo nada.

Podría V. hacer saber al Sr. Viana (Abel) el deseo que tengo de sus trabajos? No conozco su dirección y no puedo hacerlo personalmente.

Mucho le agradeceré que de ahora en adelante me envíe todo lo que publique pues a partir de 1930 he de hacer ahora una bibliografía completa de lo aparecido en la Península. Así que le agradeceré que si tiene ocasión lo haga saber a los colegas lusitanos, ya que en interés de todos redundaría. Las épocas que abarcaré son desde el Paleolítico en su más amplio sentido hasta la invasión árabe.

Ha publicado algo últimamente el Prof. Mendes Corrêa?

Perdone tanta molestia y sabe puede disponer como guste de su afmo. s. sy (sic) compañero q. l. e. l. m.

(unsigned)

P.S. Por correo aparte le envío una separata de Pérez de Barradas, La colección prehistórica de Rotondo de la cual desearía una recensión para el Anuario.

Comments

It was Martínez Santa-Olalla's concern, as can be seen in this and other letters sent to several Portuguese archaeologists, such as Eugénio Jalhay, both dated the same day, to undertake a survey of the archaeological literature published annually in the Iberian Peninsula, dealing with sites and subjects from the Palaeolithic to the Arab invasion. Thus, he asks the addressees to forward this request to all archaeologists he was acquainted with. The results of this initiative are not known, but at least one of them has been achieved: Martínez Santa-Olalla was given a considerable number of papers, which would otherwise have been difficult to assemble.

Another request from Martínez Santa-Olalla was obtaining scientific contributions from several Portuguese archaeologists, mainly recensions, for the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*, of which he was a collaborator (his name appears in the publication as such).

Likewise, he asks Serpa Pinto to send him the scientific literature on the "Asturian" in Portugal, in order to include a bibliographic recension in the same issue of this journal; this, however, never happened. On the other hand, the request addressed to Serpa Pinto to ensure a recension of the article published by the Director of the journal, José Pérez de Barradas, was accepted and this contribution was indeed published in the aforemen-

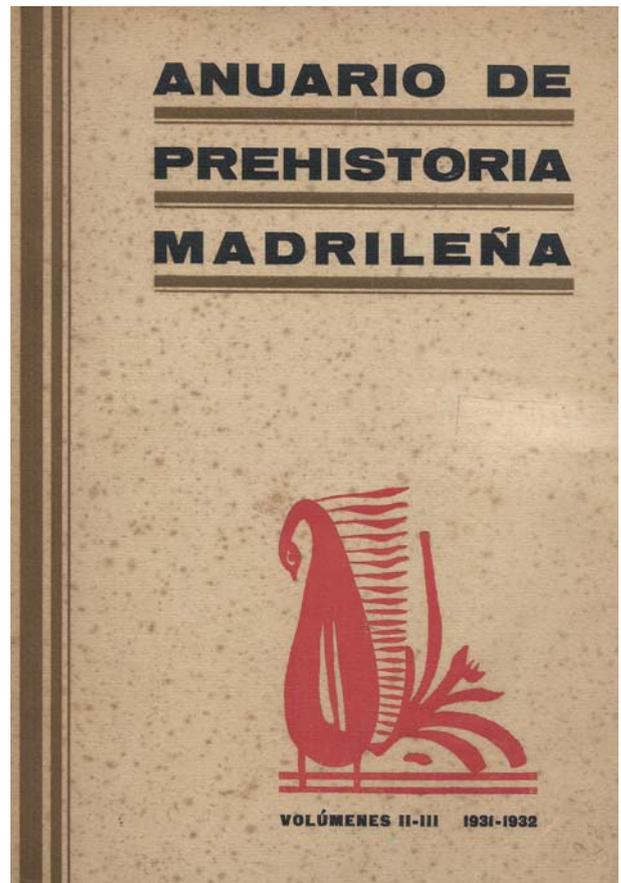


Fig. 37 – Cover of the second and third volumes of the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña* (1931/1932). This publication was directed by José Pérez de Barradas, with Martínez Santa Olalla taking responsibilities as a collaborator. JLC's own exemplar and photo.

tioned issue. It can therefore be concluded that Serpa Pinto would have reacted positively to these requests, as was his style, while the same cannot not be said of the only commitment on the part of Martínez Santa-Olalla.

2.11 – RAU, Virgínia Roberts

2.11.1 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated May 9, 1944 [not inventoried]

Madrid 9 de Mayo de 1944

Serrano, 41

Excma. Sr.a Virginia Rau

Conservadora del Museo de Belem

Mi distinguida amiga y colega:

Desde Madrid es mi gratísimo deber el enviarle a Vd. un saludo y agradecerle las atenciones para con nosotros tanto en Muge en casa de la Marquesa de Cadaval, como después en Lisboa.

Según la la prometí (sic) en Muge tengo el gusto de remitirle algunas publicaciones que espero le sean de utilidad.

Con este motivo se reitera y queda completamente a su disposición suyo affmo. colega y amigo q. e. s. m.

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla

Comments

Virgínia Rau was an eminent historian specializing in Portuguese Middle Ages. She was a Full Professor at the University of Lisbon, where she undertook a brilliant teaching career, enhanced by her personal research, while providing research opportunities to her students and disciples, duly framed by the centre of which she was the director for many years, and by a journal that achieved international prestige, due to the quality of the published papers. However, the early days of her professional path were dedicated to Prehistory, and one may conclude that, if she did not follow this path throughout her scientific life, it was in large part due to reasons beyond her control (MELO & CARDOSO, 2015). Indeed, at the time of completing her Degree in History, the position of Professor of Archaeology at the Faculty of Humanities was held by Prof. Manuel Heleno, who only much later, in the 1950s, fostered the hiring of an assistant, following the creation of a second curricular unit in this field, called Prehistory, which was added to the previously existing one, simply called Archaeology (CARDOSO, 2013). On the other hand, the work capacity, the commitment, the autonomy and the spirit of initiative of Virgínia Rau were qualities that did not recommend her to be placed in a position under a suspicious and centralist personality such as Manuel Heleno, who, however, always supported her in her scientific path, as long as it was developed in another direction, as indeed happened.

This letter concerns precisely the time when Archaeology attracted Virgínia Rau, and particularly the Palaeolithic industries, which justifies her contacts with Martínez Santa-Olalla, in the scope of her other similar initiatives. It is very likely that the purpose of Martínez Santa-Olalla's was to obtain the future collaboration of Virgínia Rau, also particularly interested in such industries, to which she dedicated interesting papers, all of them published around that time (RAU, 1944; ZBYSZEWSKI et al., 1945/1946; RAU, 1948; RAU & ZBYSZEWSKI, 1946, 1949). In this case, there was a visit to the Mesolithic shell middens of Muge, along with major Palaeolithic sites, of the quaternary terraces of the left bank of the Tagus River (BREUIL & ZBYSZEWSKI, 1945), also of great interest to Martínez Santa-Olalla. In fact, he visited Alpiarça and the quaternary fluvio-marine deposits of the left bank of the river tagus only one month before the writing of this



Fig. 38 – On the terraces with Palaeolithic industries of the left bank of the Tagus, in the region of Alpiarça (14 April 1944). From left to right: Afonso do Paço, Bernardo Sáez Martín, Baltasar de Castro, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla and Maxime Vaultier. Georges Zbyszewski's archive (Lisboa).



Fig. 39 – In Muge, welcomed by the Marchioness of Cadaval. From left to right: José Cadete (a baker in Muge who recovered Palaeolithic materials in his spare time), Maxime Vaultier, Baltasar de Castro, an unidentified lady, the Marchioness of Cadaval, Virginia Rau, Afonso do Paço, an unidentified lady, Martínez Santa-Olalla and Father Eugénio Jalhay. (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

missive, documented by several field photos, but none of them accompanied by Virginia Rau (Fig. 38). Only one photo are known with Rau, Martínez Santa-Olalla and the Marquis of Cadaval obtained in a different occasion (Fig. 39), during the visit of the Spanish archaeologist to Portugal in April 1944.

2.11.2 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated May 14, 1947 [not inventoried]

14-V-1947

Excma. Sra. Dra. Virginia Rau

75 Av. da Republica

LISBOA

Mi querida amiga y colega:

No sabe Vd. cuanto le agradezco su amabilísima carta tan llena de simpatía como no puede ser mas, y justificándose de forma tan satisfactoria por el ‘desprecio’ que me he hecho por mi felicitación del Doctorado. Ya se que Vd. es incapaz, no conmigo, sino con nadie de tener la menor desatención.

Que es de su vida y sus trabajos? Pasaron ya las contrariedades del disgusto del Doctorado? (por cierto que en realidad no se en que ha consistido este disgusto). No se desanime Vd., puesto que aparte de su gran optimismo y simpatía, tiene Vd. el talento que todavía no ha tenido ningún universitario portugués de nuestra profesión, y Vd. puede hacer una obra valiosa, sobre todo cuando por su independencia personal y social no necesitara jamás doblegarse ante tantas cosas como la vida impone.

Qué cuando voy a Portugal? Supongo que en bastante tiempo no, puesto que a mí, por indeseable y mala persona, no me dejan salir de España ni siquiera de la península. Ahora los únicos que pueden salir y entrar son mis colegas en el poder. Ellos son los sabios oficiales, y no los idiotas como yo, que no podemos ir a ningún sitio. Ya que no puedo ir yo a Portugal, cosa que me agradaría mucho, no deje Vd. de venir a pasar una temporada cuando hagamos alguna excavación, si es que para entonces no me han puesto a la sombra (esto quiere decir en la cárcel) como han pedido algunos compañeros míos con ocasión de los líos de la CIAO, y para seguridad del Régimen.

Es consolador ver la simpatía amistosa que rebosa su carta y la que con frecuencia me testimonian colegas extranjeros y muchos españoles que trabajan con fé y entusiasmo y buena voluntad y que nada tienen que ver con ese juego de ventaja que algunos realizan, con los resortes políticos.

A los buenos amigos de ésa, que creo que tengo algunos y que alguna vez hablaran bien de mí, un afectuoso saludo y Vd. sabe que puede disponer siempre como guste de su buen amigo, colega y admirador.

Comments

Firstly, it is quite interesting to notice the difficulties in Martínez Santa-Olalla’s relationships with his Spanish colleagues, in mid-1947, namely those who participated in the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists (CIAO), held in Bissau, to the point of reporting that some of them wanted him to be imprisoned, which seems to be a plain exaggeration (see Chapter 1 of this paper). And even though he stated that he was prevented from leaving Spain, this was due to scientific limitations, defined by their colleagues, related to the official Spanish representation in the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists (CIAO), as previously mentioned regarding his correspondence with Mendes Corrêa. However, we would stress that also in 1947 Martínez Santa-Olalla had the opportunity to travel to Lisbon accompanied by his students of the Seminar of Primitive History of Man, after having obtained the required authorization, on January 24, 1947. He gave a

lecture on *The Visigoths in the Iberian Peninsula*, in Beja. Incidentally, the importance of the Visigoth presence in this region had long been known to him and he had illustrated many years before two golden belt clasps set with semi-precious stones, originating from the same region (MARTÍNEZ SANTA OLALLA, 1934). Thus, it is probable that this outburst, made in mid-1947, was more of a protest against a loss of effective power, due to the opposition of the majority of his colleagues; however he maintained his important functions as Spanish Commissioner General of Archaeological Excavations.

This letter is also interesting as it proves his capacity to evaluate Virginia Rau's merits, by recognizing her scientific talent and her autonomy, lacked by others. This autonomy was in fact enabled by her financial and social situation, which Rau always knew how to use to her advantage (MELO & CARDOSO, 2015). The reference to undefined "grief" resulting from her PhD is also interesting. There is nothing to substantiate such allusion. Virginia Rau's PhD was obtained after three days of exams, between January 29 and February 3, 1947. The thesis she defended, titled *Sesmarias Medievais Portuguesas*, was unanimously approved by the panel (op. cit., p. 514). There is, therefore, no evidence of any incident, quite the contrary, except for the fact that as soon as she was offered a position as First Assistant the following day, she gave up teaching at the University of Lisbon, a situation she chose to maintain until 1951 in order to fully focus on research (op. cit., p. 514). Actually, it was a matter of putting her financial situation to good use, as already noted by Martínez Santa-Olalla.

In short, this letter reveals the existence of mutual trust, regard and friendship, both correspondents sharing the enthusiasm and enjoyment of research.

2.11.3 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated May 19, 1947 [not inventoried]

19-V-1947

Srta. Virginia Rau

75, Av. da Republica

LISBOA

Mi querida amiga:

Mi enhorabuena y mis gracias mas expresivas por el amable envio de sus SESMARIAS MEDIEVAES PORTUGUESAS que con gusto y cariño leeré, no sólo por lo mucho que puedo aprender en sus páginas, sino por el afecto y la satisfacción que me proporcione su lectura tratándose de una persona tan inteligente y tan buena amiga como Vd.

Aunque ignoro sus relaciones o falta de ellas con el Museo Etnologico Portugués, le agradecería mucho, si es que a él tiene acceso, me ayudase un poco en mi colación de elementos de trabajo para la HISTORIA PRIMITIVA DE LA AGRICULTURA en nuestra península. En el Museo Etnologico habrá seguramente de aquellas simientes carbonizadas que se encuentran en Lapa de Rotura, en Outeiro da Assenta y en tantos lugares y yacimientos primitivos. Me interesan no solo los frutos y simientes, sino también las maderas, aunque sean en forma de minúsculos carbones. Por cierto que en Muge, en el conchero que juntos visitamos en aquella inolvidable tarde, habían abundantes cenizas y carbones de los que tal vez no le fuese a Vd. difícil lograr muestras lo mas abundantes posible.

En espera de sus noticias y agradecido de antemano por todo cuanto haga por facilitarme esta información, sabe puede disponer siempre como gusto de su buen amigo, colega y admirador q. e. s. m.

(unsigned)

Comments

Virginia Rau's gift of a copy of her doctoral thesis shows her regard for Martínez Santa-Olalla. The latter takes advantage of this situation and asks her to send him samples of seeds and charcoal from the sites represented in the Museu Etnológico, directed by Manuel Heleno (certainly for anthracological analysis, which clearly reveals his updated knowledge). Actually, this subject had already been addressed by Martínez Santa-Olalla in the very first issue of the *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*, corresponding to the small monograph titled *Cereales y plantas de la Cultura Ibero-Sahariana en Almizaraque (Almería)* (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946). It is significant that Santa-Olalla did not address the latter, as he should have done, knowing beforehand the probable negative answer he would get. By choosing not to include the director of the Museu Etnológico in this circuit, he was putting Virginia Rau in a compromising situation, which he should be the first to avoid. Likewise, requesting her to go to Muge to collect similar samples to be studied and published by him, a study that was never completed, also shows his failure to comply with the deontological and scientific rules that he should have been the first to abide by, given his official position in Spanish Archaeology.

This request reveals Martínez Santa-Olalla's awareness of the difficulty for any Portuguese archaeologist among his oldest connections to answer affirmatively to these requests. Thus, he took advantage of the presumable availability and complicity of Virginia Rau, less involved in the archaeological procedures. It is not known what steps she may have taken, but it is not unlikely that she did not comply with these requests, as could be expected.

2.11.4 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated January 8, 1949 [not inventoried]

Serrano, 41

Madrid, 8 de Enero de 1949

Excma. Sra. Virginia Rau

Avda. Republica, 75

Lisboa

Mi querida y buena amiga:

Recibo sus letras que me apresuro a contestar y desde luego con sumo gusto prepararemos para el Congreso de Portugal algunas comunicaciones, a sabiendas desde luego de que no nos han de dejar salir de España, ni habremos de tener facilidad de ningún género. La otra dificultad está para enviar nuestras comunicaciones el que nos han denegado las divisas para poder pagar las cuotas de los congresistas que en principio habíamos de hacer las comunicaciones. Para este Congreso no sé si la dije que habíamos pensado llevar para hacer una pequeña exposición unas colecciones de cuaternario del Manzanares que permitieran ver como se plantean y cuál es el estado de los problemas del hombre fósil en el valle del Manzanares.

Me alegra que vuelva Vd. a tranquilizarme sobre la documentación que yo la entregué referente al triste asunto Nairobi-Bisau. A ver si ahora me explico bien. Yo deseo fervientemente que esa documentación que la entregué tenga la publicidad máxima y que la vean cuanta más gente mejor, sobre todo en Portugal, país que tan pésimamente ha quedado conmigo y no ciertamente por culpa de los portugueses; sino de uno o todo lo más dos. Mi mayor satisfacción sería ver estos documentos publicados y yo acaricio la idea de que en el momento que ello sea posible se publiquen, pues es un caso edificante de honestidad científica y de caballerosidad individual. El que apareciese en la cubierta de uno de los documentos el nombre Mendes Correa no quería decir que se los enviase Vd. En dicho documento aparecía el referido nombre porque pertenecía a una

carpeta que en su día iba destinada a dicho profesor, pero que luego, al conocer su actuación, estaba demás el mandársela. No obstante, le puede decir que todos, absolutamente todos los documentos que Vd. tiene y muchos más, los he mandado yo al Sr. Mendes Correa. Si Vd. le mandaba estos documentos ahora podrían ser mal interpretados en su significación y eso es todo. ¿Me he explicado bien? Délos Vd. toda la publicidad, que yo se lo agradezco muy de veras.

Con el afecto de siempre, suyo buen amigo y admirador,
(unsigned)

Comments

This letter deals with two very different situations, both related to scientific meetings. The first concerns the invitation sent to Martínez Santa-Olalla to participate in the International Congress of Geography held in Portugal in 1949, in which he played an important role. It is known that the invitee did not attend, on the previously mentioned grounds of lack of financial support for travel and registration fees. Indeed, it is well-known that in the previous year the difficulties in obtaining foreign currency were real, and the Spanish Institute of Foreign Currency denied the request concerning a travel to Portugal with students from the University of Madrid. The other meeting addressed in the missive had already been the object of previous observations, concerning the 2nd International Conference of Western Africanists, held in Bissau in February 1947. Martínez Santa-Olalla had already complained about the animosity towards him, as stated in comments to the letters sent to Mendes Corrêa and also to Virginia Rau. He now includes among his alleged detractors some Portuguese participants, actually only “one or two”, although he does not name them. He intended to mobilise Virginia Rau to publicise as much as possible the documentation that would apparently compromise some and exalt others; this documentation had already been disclosed to Mendes Corrêa, one of the organisers of the meeting. One cannot understand why he wanted to involve Virginia Rau in an issue that did not concern her, unless she was the only colleague who, in his opinion, was willing to take on such a task. Once again, we can see the lack of confidence in the availability and commitment of the Portuguese archaeologists with whom he was in closer personal contact, such as Eugénio Jalhay, Afonso do Paço or even Abel Viana, to ensure the intended dissemination, which as far as we know never occurred; the fate of the said documents is also unknown. Virginia Rau, as she usually did, did not fail to give him a direct and unequivocal answer, but that did not affect their good relationship.

2.11.5 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Universidade de Lisboa / Faculdade de Letras’, dated July 11, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15589.1] (Fig. 40)

Lisboa, 11 de Julho de 1953
Exmo. Sr. Prof. D. Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla
Digmo. Comissário Geral de Escavações Arqueológicas
Apartado 1.039

Madrid

Espanha.

Meu muito prezado Colega e Amigo:

Por motivos alheios à minha vontade só hoje me é possível responder à sua amavel carta de 28 de Maio p. p., e ao convite que por ela me transmite para assistir ao Primeiro Curso Internacional de Arqueologia de

Campo, a realizar em Granada no proximo mês de Setembro. Pela sua cativante amabilidade e pela cordial camaradagem que me testemunha, venho apresentar-lhe os meus mais sinceros agradecimentos e protestos de afectuoso reconhecimento.

Infelizmente, razões de ordem privada e a necessidade de ultimar trabalhos de história que tenho em curso, e que só durante as férias me é dado fazer, impedem-me de aceitar o vosso grato convite.

Bem que em pessoa não possa acompanhar o vosso Primeiro Curso Internacional, em espírito estarei entre vós, nessa tentativa magnifica bem digna do grande Arqueologo que superiormente dirige a Comissaria de Escavações Arqueológicas de Espanha.

Raras vezes e em bem poucos países seria possivel empreender tão completas e interessantes excavações. Mais uma vez a Espanha se mostra no primeiro plano dos estudos e empreendimentos arqueológicos do Mundo. Desde já lhe apresento as minhas felicitações e auguro-lhe todos os triunfos científicos para essas jornadas de campo, que, estou certa, ficarão celebres nos anais dos estudos arqueológicos europeus.

Com os meus votos mais cordiais, e renovando os meus agradecimentos, creia-me sempre colega e amiga dedicada e admiradora grata

Virginia Rau (signature)

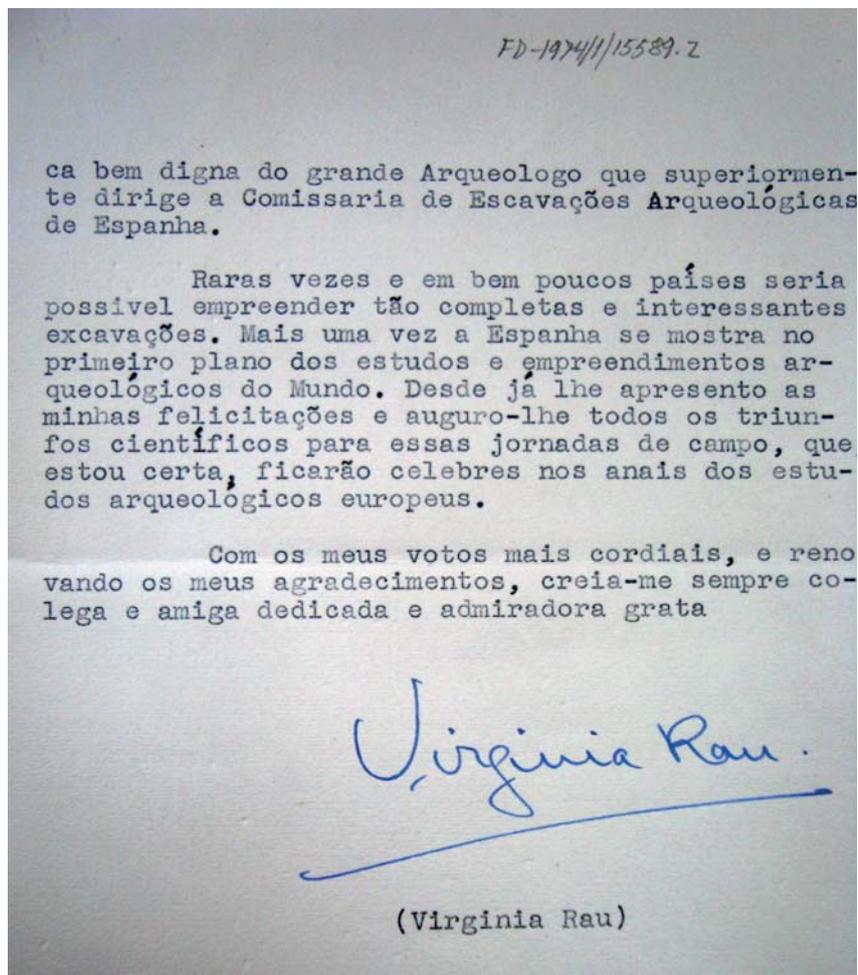


Fig. 40 – Virginia Rau. 2nd page of a typed letter, bearing the stamp 'Universidade de Lisboa / Faculdade de Letras', signed, dated July 11, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15589.1] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Comments

Virgínia Rau thanks the invitation addressed to her to attend the course sponsored by Martínez Santa-Olalla in Granada, an invitation also addressed by the latter to at least another Portuguese, Afonso do Paço. Still, this thank-you letter is merely formal, and this is emphasised by the emphatically used, somewhat excessive and redundant adjectives. It was the last letter sent by Rau to Martínez Santa-Olalla, according to the material that could be accessed, ending a series of requests by Santa-Olalla that could hardly get the kind of answer he was expecting.

The 1st International Course on Field Archaeology, a very ambitious project, was held in Granada, the birthplace of the Director General of Fine Arts, Antonio Gallego Burín, who inaugurated the course, and involved the simultaneous excavation of four sites during September, 1953: the Chalcolithic settlement of Los Castillejos de Montefrío by Vicente Ruiz Argilés; a megalith of Montefrío by Albert Egges van Giffen, a Dutch; the Bronze Age settlement of Cerro de la Encina de Monachil by Carlos Posac Mon; the Ibero-Roman city of Cerro Cepedo de Baza by Francisco Presedo Velo and Josefina Enguaras, who also specifically received another 30,000 pesetas, and a tomb in the town of Sexi in Almuñécar by José de Calasanz Serra Ráfols. These sites were visited during the course, in the second half of September. The aim was to improve the excavation techniques of a limited number of participating archaeological commissioners, some of which were close to Martínez Santa-Olalla. Another objective was the contact between the commissioners and renowned foreign researchers such as the Welshman Glyn Edmund Daniel, Professor of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge and an expert in aerial photography; the Irishman Sean Patrick Ó Ríordáin, Professor of Celtic Archaeology at the University College Dublin since 1943; Pia Laviosa Zambotti, Professor of Palaethnology at the University of Milan; Carl-Alex Althin and Ernest Sprockhoff. The idea was to imitate a model that had been successful since the beginning of the Ampurias courses in 1947, to which Martínez Santa-Olalla was never invited (MEDEROS MARTÍN & ESCRIBANO, 2011, p. 332).

2.12 – SANTOS JÚNIOR, Joaquim Rodrigues dos

Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Universidade do Porto / Faculdade de Ciências / Instituto de Antropologia', dated April 9, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1378 – JMSO/5-260] (Fig. 41)

Porto, 9 de Abril de 1938

Exmo Snr. Prof. Santa-Olalla e

Meu Prezado Confrade

O seu bilhete hontem chegado, para o meu director e Amigo o Prof. Doutor Mendes Corrêa, se por um lado nos deu a agradavel notícia de que ainda vive, pois, por falta de notícias receavamos que a horda miseravel dos miseraveis vermelhos o tivessem assassinado como fez a tantas centenas ou milhares de espanhois, por outro lado encheu-nos de horror pelo que nele nos conta.

Lamento do coração as perseguições ignominiosas que os bandidos sem Pátria, sem Deus e sem Lei exerceram sôbre as pessoas de sua família.

Igualmente lamento a perda inestimavel da sua biblioteca, dos seus trabalhos, arquivo da Sociedade de Antropologia, etc. Tudo porém se remedeia de qualquer forma, desde que Deus lhe deu vida. Oxalá tenha sempre saúde, para com as qualidades de inteligência e saber que Santa-Olalla possui, possa dar-nos amanhã excelentes trabalhos em continuação dos ótimos já publicados.



UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS
INSTITUTO DE ANTROPOLOGIA

ASO/5-260
1974/001/1378
Porto, 9 de Abril de 1938

Ex^{mo} Sr. Prof. Santa-Blalla e
seu Prezado Confrade

O seu bilhete hontem chegado, para o meu Director e Amigo o Prof. Doutor Mendes Correia, se por um lado nos deu a agradável noticia de que ainda vive, pois, por falta de noticias receava-mos ^{que} a horda miseravel dos miseraveis vermelhos o tivessem assassinado como fez a tantas centenas ou milhares de espanhols, por outro lado encheu-nos de horror pelo que nelle nos conta.

Lamento do coração as perseguições ignominiosas que os bandidos sem Pátria, sem Deus e sem Cei exerceram sobre as pessoas de sua familia.

Igualmente lamento a perda inestimavel da sua biblioteca, dos seus trabalhos, arquivo da Sociedade de Antropologia, etc. Tudo porém se remedieia de qualquer forma, desde que seus lhe deu vida. Oxalá tenha sempre saude, para com as qualidades de intelligência e saber que Santa-Blalla possui, possa dar-nos amantissimos excelentes trabalhos em continuacão dos ótimos já publicados.

Dentro de pouco, esmagada ~~o~~ a canalha comunista uma Espanha grande ressurgirá. Nela e para ela, com a sua intelligência e o seu saber Santa-Blalla ha-de trabalhar, contribuindo com o seu esforço e dedicacão para o estudo da arqueologia peninsular.

Coracão ao alto meu pobre amigo, a quem a desgraça tão de perto tem rondado, coração ao alto meu nobre amigo, deve estar próximo o fim da tragedia sangrenta.

Fazendo os mais ardentes votos pela sua saude, lhe envio um grande abraço amigo com um entusiasmo "Viva Espanha" - "Viva Portugal" Santos J^o

Fig. 41 - J. R. dos Santos Júnior. Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Universidade do Porto / Faculdade de Ciências / Instituto de Antropologia', dated April 9, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1378 - JMSO/5-260] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Dentro de pouco, esmagada a canalha comunista uma Espanha Grande ressurgirá. Nela e para ela, com a sua inteligência e o seu saber Santa-Olalla ha-de trabalhar, contribuindo com o seu esforço e dedicação para o estudo da arqueologia peninsular.

Coração ao alto meu pobre amigo, a quem a desgraça tão de perto tem rondado, coração ao alto meu nobre amigo, deve estar próximo o fim da tragédia sangrenta.

Fazendo os mais ardentes votos pela sua saúde, lhe envio um grande abraço amigo com um entusiastico *Viva Espanha – Viva Portugal*

Santos J.^{or} (signature)

Comments

This letter was sent in reply to another one, addressed by Martínez Santa-Olalla to Mendes Corrêa, certainly dated March 1938, which leads us to conclude that it was written in France, before being handed over to the Spanish authorities, on April 16, 1938, at the Hendaye border. Santa-Olalla narrates the grief and losses he suffered, as he did with other Portuguese colleagues, such as Afonso do Paço (see the correspondence transcribed above and corresponding comments). Santos Júnior's anti-communist spirit is evident, and he hastened to reply to Santa-Olalla, regardless of the fact that the addressee of this letter, to whom he was then an assistant, might also do so, thus showing straight away part of his state of mind and solidarity, which was only natural as regards someone who had lost everything or nearly everything.

2.12.1 – Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto', dated June 11, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15649.1 and 2] (Fig. 42)

Porto, 11 Junho 1953

Prof. Santa-Olalla e

Meu ilustre colega e amigo

Recebida a carta de 28 de Maio. Precisamente nesse dia fiz eu em Lisboa uma conferência na Escola Superior Colonial.

Agora com o fim do ano escolar e a preparação do serviço de exames tenho tido muito que fazer. Por isso só hoje respondo à sua carta amiga.

Acresce a circunstancia de ha uns meses me terem entregue a regência da cadeira de Antropologia. Não me falta que fazer. Eu teria muito prazer em tomar parte nas escavações de que fala na sua carta. Para mim seria uma grande lição.

Respondendo à alínea a) direi que só desejaria assistir ao curso de 15 a 30 de Set^o.

Tenho projectado ir ao Congresso de Oviedo que está marcado p^a os últimos dias de Setembro.

Quanto à alínea b) direi que se o convite for feito por intermédio do Instituto de Alta Cultura e talvez do Reitor da minha Universidade, é possível que eu consiga autorização e verba para a minha ida.

Com o serviço de exames suponho que em 18 de Julho não poderei ir a Granada e acompanhar o Congresso na sua digressão pela Galiza.

Uma pergunta: Diga-me se depois da Galiza vem ao Porto na excursão que no fim do Congresso aqui vem, com passagem por Guimarães e Braga. Estimava saber se vem cá nessa altura para preparar a minha vida e recebê-lo como merece.

Desejando-lhe excelente lhe envia cumprimentos o colega e amigo

Santos J.^{or} (signature)



FD-1974/1/15649.1

Porto, 11 Junho 1953

Prof. Santa-blalla e
meu illustre colega e amigo

Recebida a carta de 28 de Maio. Precisamente nesse dia fiz eu em Lisboa uma conferência na Escola Superior Colonial.

Agora com o fim do ano escolar e a preparação do serviço de exames tenho tido muito que fazer. Por isso só hoje respondo à sua carta amiga.

Acresce a circunstância de há uns meses me terem entregue a regência da cadeira de Antropologia. Não me falta que fazer.

Eu teria muito prazer em tomar parte nas escavações de que fala na sua carta. Para mim seria uma grande lição.

Respondendo à alínea a) disse que só poderia assistir ao curso de 15 a 30 de Set.
Tenho projectado ir ao Congresso de Oporto que está marcado p.^o os últimos dias de Setembro.

Quanto à alínea b) disse que se o convite for feito por intermédio do Instituto

Fig. 42 - J. R. dos Santos Júnior. Handwritten letter, bearing the stamp 'Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto', dated June 11, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15649.1 and 2] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

Comments

This is a reply to a letter from Martínez Santa-Olalla dealing with a question he also posed to two other Portuguese colleagues, i.e. the invitation addressed to Afonso do Paço and Virgínia Rau to participate in a course on Field Archaeology held in Granada in the summer of 1953 (see Comments to the letter of Virgínia Rau dated from 11/7/1953); both of them declined the invitation. As for Santos Júnior, he states that he would be able to attend the course between September 15 and 30, although he subsequently adds that he could not be in Granada on July 18 due to exams. The following letter will clarify this situation, with Santos Júnior stating that he would be available, provided he obtained authorisation and funding from the University of Oporto. Finally, regarding the 3rd National Archaeological Congress, held in Galicia in 1953, in which Martínez Santa-Olalla was involved, Santos Junior states that he will not be able to attend either. Notwithstanding, he was ready to receive the congressmen who would be travelling to Portugal on the post-congress excursion and was available to welcome Martínez Santa-Olalla personally, should he also accompany the congressmen. This question is addressed again in the following letter, which is more clarifying in this respect.

2.12.2 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto’, dated June 29, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15647]

INSTITUTO DE ANTROPOLOGIA DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

Porto 29 de Junho de 1953

Prof. Santa Olalla e meu Ilustre Colega e bom Amigo

Estive ontem em Guimarães com o Prof. Mendes Corrêa para tratar da organização da visita dos arqueólogos espanhóis a quando do Congresso da Galiza. Ali tivemos larga conversa com o Coronel Mário Cardoso:

A Sociedade Martins Sarmiento far-vos-á uma brilhante e amiga recepção, como bem merecem os nossos amigos e colegas espanhóis.

O Prof. Mendes Corrêa dentro de poucos dias comunicará, o que está combinado quanto ao programa em Portugal, à Secretaria do vosso Congresso.

Estimava saber se teremos o prazer da sua visita, pois queria ver se podia ter o prazer de o ver pelo menos a tomar uma refeição na minha casa com mais algum ou alguns amigos nossos que venham também.

Ontem, como lhe disse, estive em Guimarães.

O Coronel Mário Cardozo está na disposição de tomar parte do I.º Curso Internacional de Arqueologia de Campo em Granada. Eu, conforme lhe disse já, também tinha muito prazer de ir trabalhar convosco.

Tanto eu como o Coronel Mário Cardozo temos o apoio do prof. Mendes Corrêa de modo que é bem possível que oficialmente se possa conseguir a nossa ida.

Para isso seria conveniente que a Secretaria do I.º Curso Internacional de Arq. de Campo fizesse uma espécie de convite por intermédio do Ministério da Educação Nacional que poderia ser dirigido a

JUNTA DE ESCAVAÇÕES – Ministério da Educação Nacional

LISBOA

Outro officio, ou cópia do enviado à Junta das Escavações convinha que fosse dirigido ao

INSTITUTO DE ALTA CULTURA – Praça do Principe Real

LISBOA

Desta forma estou que se conseguirá disposição oficial para a nossa ida. Daí, isto é, de Granada, seguiremos para Oviedo.

O Coronel Mário Cardoso envia-lhe cumprimentos.

Não sei se já lhe disse que ha uns 3 meses o Conselho da minha Faculdade me entregou a Cadeira de Antropologia, que venho regendo desde Abril.

Precisamos de estudar a forma de nas férias permutarmos alunos.

Se o meu amigo vier ao Porto, a Braga e Guimarães, ou eu ainda puder ir à Galiza, o que é pouco provável por causa do serviço de exames, havemos de conversar sobre este assunto.

Um grande abraço do colega e amigo

Santos Júnior (signature)

Comments

The tone of this letter clarifies some of the aspects addressed by Santos Júnior in the previous one. Indeed, he confirms his interest in participating, along with Mário Cardozo, in the Granada course sponsored by Martínez Santa-Olalla, attending during the second half of September, to go on from there to the Oviedo Congress. This was the 22nd *Luso-Spanish Congress for the Progress of Sciences*, held in 1953 in the city of Oviedo (Asturias) between September 27 and October 4. In order to do so, it would be necessary to obtain funding for the travel, and administrative instructions were provided to that effect. Since the respective proceedings have not been published, it is not possible to assess the Portuguese participation, namely in the field of Archaeology.

Regarding the participation in the works to be carried out in Galicia within the scope of the 3rd National Archaeological Congress, held in July 1953, Santos Júnior confirms his difficulties in attending due to exam duties in July, although stressing his commitment to welcome the congressmen that would subsequently come to Portugal. This commitment was shared by Mário Cardozo, through the adequate welcome intended to distinguish the congressmen on their visit to Guimarães, which in fact happened, as stated in a previous comment on the correspondence exchanged with Mário Cardozo. To this end, he would liaise with Mendes Corrêa, who was in fact the coordinator of the programme of activities to be held in Portugal in the scope of the said congress.

2.12.3 – Typed letter, bearing the stamp ‘Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade do Porto’, dated August 18, 1953 [inv. no. FD-1974/1/15633]

18 de Agosto de 1953

Prof. Martinez Santa-Olalla e meu

Prezado Colega e Amigo

Tive pena de o não ter visto no Porto a quando da visita dos Congressistas do III Congresso Espanhol de Arqueologia. A minha Universidade recebeu galhardamente os nossos amigos espanhóis. Eu tive o prazer de ver em visita ao Instituto de Antropologia, e seu Museu, um esplêndido grupo de arqueólogos, e entre eles alguns bons amigos que muito prezo e admiro. Repito só foi pena não o ter visto também a si nesse dia conosco.

Desde fins de Julho que tenho passado nada bem com reumatismo. Nos últimos 10 dias muito mal. Levantei-me hoje a primeira vez depois de 5 dias de cama sem poder dar passada. Atrazou-se-me a vida uns 8 a 10 dias. Tenho de ir fazer umas escavações a Picote (Miranda do Douro) onde apareceu um ‘berrão’ de granito em ‘su sitio’. Apareceu no meio duma camara circular com um corredor de alguns metros de comprimento.

Não sei se poderei fazer as escavações, que não devo poder iniciar antes dos primeiros dias de Setembro, a tempo de poder ir a Granada. Se não puder ir, bem pena tenho. Tinha tudo destinado nesse sentido e em 26 seguiria para Oviedo.

De qualquer modo é tão grande o interesse que tenho por ir tomar parte no curso de arqueologia de campo que farei todo o possível para estar em Granada convosco nesses dias, que serão de esplêndido convívio intelectual e de muito proveito.

Por enquanto porém nada posso dizer, nem sim nem não. Desde Abril que me foi entregue a regência da cátedra de Antropologia. O Prof. Mendes Corrêa seguiu no dia 31 de Julho para Madagascar e dali seguiria para Timor, onde começa este ano a trabalhar a Missão Antropológica de Timor. Está em impressão um fascículo dos trabalhos da Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia, de modo que não me falta que fazer.

Desejando-lhe excelente saúde lhe envia um abraço o colega e amigo

Santos Júnior (signature)

Comments

This letter gives an account of the success of the post-congress excursion to Portugal attended by the participants in the 3rd National Archaeological Congress held in Galicia in July 1953, which gathered a remarkable number of attendants, both in Guimarães and in Oporto, whose numbers and identities were published in the *Revista de Guimarães* (see comments on the correspondence with Mário Cardozo). On the other hand, as opposed to what he had decided in his previous letter, his participation in the course promoted by Martínez Santa-Olalla in Granada might not be possible, due to the identification of a *berrão* still in its original location, associated with structures whose archaeological exploration would be of the utmost interest. As a matter of fact, this excavation, conducted in 1952 at Cortinha do Puio (Miranda do Douro municipality) by J. R. dos Santos Júnior, resulted in the identification of a *berrão*, presently known as ‘Berrão de Picote’ (SANTOS JÚNIOR, 1975, p. 428), still in its original place of worship, inside a circular enclosure accessed by a corridor, both delimited by masonry walls.

We would also mention the obvious importance Santos Júnior attached to being awarded the course in Anthropology, at the Faculty of Sciences of Oporto, as this is the third time he mentions it in his correspondence. Finally, it is worth mentioning Mendes Corrêa’s expedition to Madagascar, and then to Timor, to begin the sequence of anthropological and archaeological studies that he and his team dedicated to this overseas territory.

2.13 – TEIXEIRA, Carlos

2.13.1 – Typed letter, without stamp, dated September 11, 1950 [not inventoried] (Fig. 43)

Serrano, 41
Madrid, 11-IX-50
Excmo. Sr. Prof. Dr. Carlos Teixeira
Pensao Astoria
Rua Braamcamp, 10, 3º
LISBOA

Mi querido amigo:

Ha recibido su trabajo en colaboración con Mendes Correa que le agradezco muy de veras y que me ha interesado vivamente, pues es el documento mas puro hasta la fecha, no es absolutamente del bronce

Serrano, 41
Madrid, 11-IX-50

Excmo. Sr. Prof. Dr. Carlos Teixeira
Pensao Astoria
Rua Braamcamp, 10, 3º
LISBOA

Mi querido amigo:

Ha recibido su trabajo en colaboración con Mendes Correa que le agradezco muy de veras y que me ha interesado vivamente, pues es el documento mas puro hasta la fecha, no es absolutamente del bronce I mediterráneo mas puro en una comarca en que no cabría pensar ya en tal pureza; ningunos de los elementos típicos faltan y salvo el empobrecimiento natural del medio, podría ser perfectamente el nivel III-IV de Tabernas, en Almería (que excava nuestro Seminario). Es una documentación precisa y del más subido valor histórico y cronológico. Por cierto: ¿por qué no renuncian Vds. de una vez para siempre del término "eneolítico" o fundamentan de una manera conveniente el empleo de tal expresión?. El pomposo acuerdo del Congreso de Almería es una desvergonzada aplicación de mi cronología y sistema, queriendo hacerla pasar como obra de los sabios allí reunidos.....

Muy interesante es la lámina que Vd. da de descubrimientos anteriores conservados en Coimbra, en que aparece ese tan rico y variado conjunto, también rigurosamente típico del neolítico hispano-mauritano, que viene a demostrar una vez más, la falsedad de las antiguas clasificaciones con sus dogmas ya caducados?. ¿Habría modo de lograr aunque solo fuese en préstamo la fotografía original que ha servido para hacer la lámina de la cerámica hispanomauritana?, ¿Sería posible obtener una parte del trabajo de nuestro malogrado amigo Virgilio Correia sobre tales hallazgos?. Mucho se lo agradecería.

¿Que es de un joven estudiante que había descubierto un yacimiento muy rico y típico del I bronce mediterráneo, que dijo ser amigo suyo?. Le escribí una larguísima carta clasificando y dándole mi opinión sobre el yacimiento y fué tan amable que dió la callada por respuesta a pesar de preguntármelo y si mal no recuerdo de pedirle una nota para publicarla nosotros aquí.

Le reitero todo mi agradecimiento por su precioso envío y sabe siempre muy buen amigo y colega

q.e.s.m.

Fig. 43 - From Martínez Santa-Olalla to Carlos Teixeira. Typed letter, without stamp, dated September 11, 1950 [not inventoried] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

I mediterráneo mas puro en una comarca en que no cabría pensar ya en tal pureza; ningunos (sic) de los elementos típicos faltan y salvo el empobrecimiento natural del medio, podría ser perfectamente el nivel III-IV de Tabernas, en Almería (que excava nuestro Seminario). Es una documentación precisa y del más subido valor histórico y cronológico. Por cierto: ¿por qué no renuncian Vds. de una vez para siempre del término 'eneolítico' o fundamentan de una manera conveniente el empleo de tal expresión?. El pomposo acuerdo del Congreso de Almería es una desvergonzada aplicación de mi cronología y sistema, queriendo hacerla pasar como obra de los sabios allí reunidos.....

Muy interesante es la lámina que Vd. da de descubrimientos anteriores conservados en Coimbra, en que aparece ese tan rico y variado conjunto, también rigurosamente típico del neolítico hispano-mauritano, que viene a demostrar una vez más, la falsedad de las antiguas clasificaciones con sus dogmas ya caducados?.

¿Habría modo de lograr aunque solo fuese en préstamo la fotografía original que ha servido para hacer la lámina de la cerámica hispanomauritana?, ¿Sería posible obtener una parte del trabajo de nuestro malogrado amigo Virgilio Correia sobre tales hallazgos?. Mucho se lo agradecería.

¿Qué es de un joven estudiante que había descubierto un yacimiento muy rico y típico del I bronce mediterráneo, que dijo ser amigo suyo?. Le escribí una larguísima carta clasificando y dándole mi opinión sobre el yacimiento y fue tan amable que dio la callada por respuesta a pesar de preguntármelo y si mal no recuerdo de pedirle una nota para publicarla nosotros aquí.

Le reitero todo mi agradecimiento por su precioso envío y sabe siempre suyo buen amigo y colega

q. e. s. m.

(unsigned)

Comments

Martínez Santa Olalla is referring to the monograph on the caves of Eira Pedrinha (Condeixa), published in 1949 by Mendes Corrêa and Carlos Teixeira, the former focusing on the anthropological study of the exhumed assemblage and the latter on the respective archaeological research. Actually, the most outstanding archaeological remains were the remarkable set of Early Neolithic decorated ceramics, chiefly characterized by impressed and plastic decorations (CORRÊA & TEIXEIRA, 1949, Fig. 9), which was requested by Martínez Santa-Olalla, since, in his view, it was the purest cultural expression of his “Neolítico Hispano-Mauritano”. Such materials were sold on several occasions to Virgilio Correia, already deceased at the time of writing, and originate from various sites, other than the one explored by Carlos Teixeira in 1945, i.e. a later necropolis, as indicated by the typology of the abundant Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains recovered, the latter including Bell Beaker vessels. For this reason, Martínez Santa-Olalla ascribed them to his Mediterranean Bronze I, reproaching Carlos Teixeira for not following his nomenclature, which was widely published in his 1946 *Esquema Paletnológico*. In this regard, he strongly criticises the proposal for the phasing of these periods approved at the 1st National Archaeological Congress, held in 1949 in Almería, which in fact coincides exactly with the one he had previously presented, although his name is not mentioned, which can be partly explained by the fact that he did not attend the congress. This is actually a deeper issue, as the disagreements that separated him from the majority of the most prominent Spanish archaeologists attending the Congress, where they approved the motion that displeased him so much, but which revealed an unexpected harmony with his own phasing and terminology, were long-standing. His displeasure resulted, therefore, from their not having had the manliness of mentioning the inspirer. The following passage concerning this subject is taken from the proceedings of the closing session (Actas, 1950, p. 24): *It is the understanding of the commission that in the present state of our knowledge it would be risky to define more than three major stages for our Bronze Age, beginning with the appearance of metal and ending when the Iberian peninsula was invaded by the people of the urn fields, a time when iron must already have been known, even if it was little used.*

These three stages would be called Bronze I, II and III. Bronze II is intended to cover the whole of the so-called Argaric culture. Bronze I is the equivalent of what has been called Eneolithic, and while recognising the advantages of the latter term, in order to bring the Spanish system in line with what has been generally accepted for Europe, it shall be replaced.

This long transcript shows, in fact, the total coincidence of the criteria approved in Almería with those previously advocated by Martínez Santa-Olalla. Indeed, due to evident contradictions and insufficiencies, such as the total absence of bronze alloys in Bronze I, this terminology was abandoned. Actually, bronze alloys are not even used during Bronze II, being them restricted to the El Argar culture only, according to their original definition; thus, this terminology had no practical application, and soon fell into oblivion, only Bronze III can be admitted as equivalent of the Late Bronze Age.

The young archaeologist whose name is not bymentioned in the letter was surely O. da Veiga Ferreira. The latter had sent a copy of his study on the Buço Preto or Esgravatadoiro necropolis to Martínez Santa-Olalla, in 1947, which he thanked in unusual terms, as transcribed and commented above. Later on, the latter must have written Martínez Santa-Olalla a letter, informing him, among other unknown matters, since this document has not been located so far, of the identification of an important Neolithic or Chalcolithic site, about which Martínez Santa-Olalla gave him abundant information, but he never received a reply from Veiga Ferreira, as he declares in this letter. The documentary research we carried out enabled identifying this site as the Chalcolithic settlement of Penha Verde, in Sintra, which, according to the recovered remains, fits in the Mediterranean Bronze Age I of Martínez Santa-Olalla's nomenclature. Indeed, one can read the following in the first publication on Penha Verde: *In 1949 we were informed by our friend Maxime Vaultier that Mr. Manuel da Silva Claro had collected numerous ceramics and prehistoric instruments on the slopes of the hill situated about 300 metres SSE of the Dom João de Castro chapel, where there is a number of granite quarries* (ZBYSZEWSKI & FERREIRA, 1958, p. 37). Actually, the site proved to be of great importance, being extraordinarily rich in archaeological remains associated with several dwelling structures excavated in the 1950s (CARDOSO, 2010/2011). It is not surprising, therefore, that Martínez Santa-Olalla showed great interest in what he had seen, thus inviting the 'young student' to publish a piece of news in his *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva del Hombre*, but Veiga Ferreira did not reply. It is unknown whether Carlos Teixeira ever clarified Martínez Santa-Olalla in this respect. Probably not, because about a month later, on November 13 of the same year, a handwritten letter, already published, was addressed to Veiga Ferreira by Joaquim Sellés Paes de Villas-Bôas (CARDOSO, 2008, p. 620, 621), encouraging Veiga Ferreira to answer Martínez Santa-Olalla, by sending him the referred piece of news for publication, obtaining in return remarkable benefits from that collaboration, in terms that leave no doubt as to the task he had received from Martínez Santa-Olalla, once more in intimidating terms: *if in fact you want to make science – and not just make a name for yourself – do not lose contact with Prof. Santa-Olalla. It is clear that for the Council [CSIC] he becomes a felon but his scientific level is unparalleled*. This statement made by Joaquim Sellés Paes de Villas-Bôas in the name of Martínez Santa-Olalla, reveals clearly the unease that existed at the end of the 1940s between the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations directed by him and the Spanish National Research Council, where other colleagues were pontificating, and therefore deserves a thorough comment.

José Ibáñez Martín, a former deputy of the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights in 1933 and linked to the National Catholic Association of Propagandists, was appointed Minister of Education on October 10, 1939. The creation of the National Research Council at the end of 1939 was under control of Catholic sectors, particularly Opus Dei, which sought a scientific relaunch of the former Board for the Extension of Studies, within the appropriate ideological channels of the post-civil war period, freeing it from the influence of the Free Institution of Education, under the presidency of José Ibáñez Martín and the secretariat of José María Albareda, a member of Opus Dei since 1937.

The new minister appointed the Segovian Juan Contreras y López de Ayala, Marquis of Lozoya, as the new Director General of Fine Arts. Contreras also belonged to the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights and had been Deputy Commissioner General for the Defence of National Artistic Heritage during the Civil War, and acting Director General, alongside the minister, until 1951. On the other hand, Ibáñez Martín and Albareda assigned the direction of the Diego de Velázquez Institute of Art and Archaeology to the Marquis of Lozoya, with Cayetano de Mergelina as deputy director, while Diego Angulo Iñiguez initially acted as secretary. The Marquis of Lozoya was also Full Professor of History of Latin American Art at the University of Madrid from 1946 onwards. Thus, he was a colleague of Martínez Santa-Olalla at the faculty.

It was the Marqués de Lozoya himself who initially appointed Martínez Santa-Olalla (OLMOS, 1993, p. 48-49) as head of the Section of Iron Age and Roman Hispania Archaeology. However, the Coordinator and Secretary of the CSIC, Father José María Albareda, soon ended up carrying out a restructuring of the Diego Velázquez Institute as the Centre of Historical Studies, which led to the departure of Martínez Santa-Olalla, who was not very akin to Albareda's views.

The conflict initially arose in the Anthropology section, where the journal was renamed *Atlantis. Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria y Museo Etnológico Nacional*, so that it would be the mouthpiece of both the society and the Museo Etnológico Nacional, which ended up being integrated into the Bernardino de Sahagún Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology of the CSIC, created in 1941. Nevertheless, Father Albareda and the Marquis of Lozoya considered that articles on prehistory could not be published in *Atlantis* because the *Archivo Español de Arqueología* already existed, and the first issue, no. 15 of 1936-40 had four papers on archaeology out of a total of seven, and eight short pieces of news on prehistory or archaeology out of 14 contributions to the news section. When the society rejected the ultimatum of the president of the CSIC, the Marquis of Lozoya, he resigned as an executive member of the S.E.A.E.P., which he had joined in 1935, supported by members Martínez Santa-Olalla and Pérez de Barradas, and it was agreed to split the two societies (MEDEROS, 2003-04, p. 22).

The tension is well reflected in the harsh and ironic recension that Martínez Santa-Olalla (1941) wrote on the book *Carta Arqueológica de España: Soria* written by Blas Taracena, highlighting many of its shortcomings such as the lack of a map with the findings, the elimination of Bosch Gimpera's quotes, as he had gone into exile, or from Martínez Santa-Olalla himself, his lack of knowledge of languages such as German or English, which is revealed in multiple errors and secondary quotations, etc. This review marks the beginning of a strong personal and institutional confrontation between Blas Taracena, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional since March 4, 1940, and Martínez Santa-Olalla, Commissioner General of Archaeological Excavations.

In 1943 the Diego de Velázquez Institute of Art and Archaeology was restructured, Diego Angulo became the director, Blas Taracena was appointed secretary and Antonio García y Bellido was appointed director of the *Archivo Español de Arqueología*. The former Director, the Marquis of Lozoya, was busy enough with the Directorate of Fine Arts; the Deputy Director, Cayetano de Mergelina, with the rectorship of the University of Valladolid, and Diego Angulo needed to relieve himself of work to take on more responsibility for the *Archivo Español de Arte*, whose direction he ended up taking over in 1949.

In 1950, Blas Taracena was still the secretary of the Velázquez Institute of Art and Archaeology of the CSIC, before he died prematurely on February 1, 1951. His demise facilitated the creation of the Rodrigo Caro Institute of Prehistory and Archaeology on May 5, 1951, with García y Bellido as Director and Almagro Basch as Deputy Director.

2.14 – VIANA, Abel

2.14.1 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated June 10, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1414 (1 and 2) – JMSO/5-296] (Fig. 44)

Remete: Abel Viana, director do districto Escolar em Faro

Estrada da Circunvalação.

Portugal

Faro, 10 de Junho de 1938

Ex.^{mo} Snr. Prof. Julio Martinez de Santa-Olalla:

O meu bom amigo, Tenente Afonso do Paço, dá-me, de Lisboa, a gratíssima notícia do reaparecimento de V.Ex.^{cia}, dessa verdadeira e feliz ressurreição, porque eu já o supunha para sempre sepultado no inferno da ‘Espanha Vermelha’. Falta-me, agora, saber o que é feito de D. Juan Cabré e do Snr. Conde de la Vega del Sella. Se outras narrativas não bastassem, possa dar uma ideia da trágica situação em que se encontravam, e tantos ainda hoje se encontram, sujeitos ao mais espantoso regime de maldade que ainda se viu em todos os tempos, bastariam os quadros esboçados por Fernandez Flores, nas páginas do ‘Diário de Notícias’. Ainda há poucas semanas, escrevendo eu um trabalho para o boletim do Instituto Português de Arqueologia, História e Etnografia, a propósito da cerâmica de um **castro** que estudei, reli as lições de V.^a Ex.^{cia}, publicadas no ‘Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña’, e mais uma vez pensava no destino que V.^a Ex.^{cia} houvera sofrido.

Neste momento, alegro-me em saber que se encontra na histórica e heróica Burgos, legítima capital da salvação e do ressurgimento de Espanha, da verdadeira Espanha, e decerto entre braços amigos que procurarão ajudá-lo a reconfortar-se das felizmente passadas vicissitudes.

Aí está V.^a Ex.^{cia}, junto do glorioso General Franco, pronto a prosseguir em seus trabalhos beneméritos. Daqui sinceramente o felicito e respeitosamente o saúdo. O Tenente Afonso do Paço informa-me de que incendiaram a casa de V.^a Ex.^{cia}; em Madrid, e com ela a biblioteca de V.^a Ex.^{cia}; convida-me a remeter a V.^a Ex.^{cia} alguns exemplares dos humildes trabalhos que eu tenho publicado. Assim o farei, com o mais vivo contentamento, só empanado pelas razões que motivam a oferta. Desejo mandar a V.^a Ex.^{cia} os exemplares que puder, das **separatas** dos meus desvaliosos estudos. Por isso, envio esta carta, um pouco ao acaso, e rogo a V.^a Ex.^{cia} me escreva o mais depressa possível, a informar-me da morada de V.^a Ex.^{cia} (rua e número), em Burgos. Acha-se nessa cidade, como representante diplomático de Portugal, o Ex.^{mo} Snr. Dr. Teotónio Pereira, ilustre homem de estado e meu companheiro no voluntariado da Legião Portuguesa. A ida de S. Ex.^{cia} para Burgos foi, para mim, humilde soldado raso da *Legião Portuguesa*, um dos mais consoladores factos da guerra de Espanha. Viva Portugal! Viva Franco, Viva a Espanha! Vivam a liberdade, a civilização e a dignidade do homem! E viva Salazar, o homem que tem sabido **ver e falar**, não só com olhos leais e bôca de verdade, mas também com suprema inteligência do coração humaníssimo, de verdadeiro cristão!

Aguarda a resposta de V. Ex.^{cia} de que é, de V.^a Ex.^{cia}, Obd.^o V.^or e admirador,
Abel Viana (signature)

Comments

It is clear from the date of this letter that Abel Viana only tardily became aware of Martínez Santa-Olalla's situation, who had been handed over by the French government to the Nationalist forces on April 16, 1938, in Hendaye, after being liberated from the Chomérac (Ardèche) concentration camp. It was Afonso do Paço who informed him of this fact, when he asked him to send Martínez Santa-Olalla some separates of his papers,

Fmo, 10 de Junho de 1938.

AS/5-296
1974/001/1414(1)

Exmo. Sr. Prof. Julio Martínez de Santa-Olalla:

O meu bom amigo, Tenente Afonso do Paço, dá-me de Lisboa, a gratíssima notícia do reaparecimento de V. Ex.^{ca}; dema verdadeira e feliz ressurreição, porque eu já o supunha para sempre sepultado no inferno da "Espanta-nemetha". Falta-me, agora, saber o que é deit' de D. Juan Cabré e do Sr. Emde de la Vega del Selha. Se outras narrações me bastassem, para dar uma ideia da trágica situação em que se encontravam, e tanto ainda hoje se encontram, sujeitos ao mais espantoso regime de maldade que ainda se viu em todos os tempos, bastariam os quadros esboçados por Fernandez Flores, nas páginas do "Diário de Notícias". Ainda há poucas semanas, recordei eu um trabalho para o boletim do Instituto Português de Arqueologia, História e Ethnographia, a propósito da existência de um castro que estudei, nos locais de V. Ex.^{ca}; publicadas no "Anuário de Historia Medieval", e mais uma vez pensava no destino que V. Ex.^{ca} houvera sofrido neste momento, alegrava eu saber que se eu

Yvonne: Abel Viana, Director do Instituto de Estudos de
História da Universidade.

Fazio

Portugal

Fig. 44 - Abel Viana. Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated June 10, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1414 (1 and 2) - JMSO/5-296] (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

given the destruction of the latter's library and personal archive at his Madrid home, and also at the University of Madrid, during the Civil War.

It is worth noting the strong commitment of Abel Viana regarding the victory of Francisco Franco, of whom he confessed in this letter to be an unquestionable follower, as well as of Salazar; in fact he was a member of the Portuguese Legion. Viana also mentions the Chargé d'Affaires of Portugal at the time, Pedro Theotónio Pereira, as his political fellow and a person of high intellectual standing. Actually, Portugal never appointed an ambassador during the Spanish Civil War, having recognised the Burgos government only after the United Kingdom did so. Shortly after this recognition, Pedro Theotónio Pereira was appointed Ambassador to Madrid on May 20, 1938, and presented his credentials to Francisco Franco on June 20, 1938. Thus, when this letter was written, on June 10, 1938, Abel Viana was not yet aware of this situation.

The letter also mentions two other remarkable Spanish archaeologists, about whom Abel Viana knew nothing at that time: Juan Cabré and the Count de la Vega del Sella.

Furthermore, there is also a reference to a paper written by Abel Viana about *castreja* [pre-Roman] ceramics, which was intended for publication but was never published in the journal *Ethnos*, directed by Manuel Heleno.

In broad terms, the tone of this letter reveals the personality of Abel Viana, strong and committed, able to embrace causes and make them his own, with as much enthusiasm as with the dauntless posture he always maintained throughout his life, of an unbreakable and unselfish dedication to Archaeology (CARDOSO, 2015).

2.14.2 – Handwritten letter, without stamp, dated June 29, 1938 [inv. no. 1974/001/1415 (1 to 4)]

Exc.^{mo} Senhor Professor

Dr. Julio Martinez Santa-Olalla:

A carta de V.^a Ex.^{cia}, hoje recebida, constitui absoluta confirmação da feliz notícia que me foi dada pelo meu amigo Tenente Afonso do Paço. Nada tem V.^a Ex.^{cia}, que agradecer, nem a oferta dos exemplares dos meus humildes trabalhos, nem os meus sinceros cumprimentos por vê-lo a são e salvo, nem os meus protestos de simpatia pela gloriosa Espanha de sempre, hoje baluarte decisivamente vitorioso na luta contra o bolchevismo anti-humano, anti-civilizador. Todos os meus regosijos e aplausos a êste respeito não são mais que manifestação de sentimentos que devo a mim próprio.

Pelo correio de hoje, remeto a V.^a Ex.^{cia} exemplares de algumas **separatas** minhas. Em breve, terei o prazer de enviar a V.^a Ex.^{cia} mais algumas coisas, aliás insignificantes, que actualmente se encontram no prelo.

Há um estudo, respeitante à cerâmica 'castreja', estudo que apresentei ao 'Instituto Português de Arqueologia, História e Etnografia' mas, em vista da morosidade em que decorre a publicação de escritos desta natureza, só daqui a um ano, pelo menos, o poderei ver trasladado a letra impressa. Nesse estudo cito a V.^a Ex.^{cia}, relativamente a um artigo por V.^a Ex.^{cia} publicado no 'Anuário de Prehistoria Madrileña'.

Fico pesaroso, pelo que V.^a Ex.^{cia} me diz de Cabré! Mas, será possível? Cabré era homem religioso; nada o inculcava como espírito tendente a aceitar e perfilhar as extraordinárias doutrinas de Moscovo!

Que haverá, na verdade? Essa feliz e providencial mas cruelíssima guerra deverá ter gerado espantosas tragédias.

Quantos e quantos, debaixo das hordas chacinadoras, organizadas pela crueldade soviética de Madrid-Valência-Barcelona, não se terão visto na necessidade de fingir, para salvarem a própria vida e a dos seus, e até para salvarem, também, institutos que se formavam paciente e longamente, à custa de infinitos trabalhos e constantes dedicações! A quantas atitudes simuladas não deverão sujeitar-se – e com que espantosa

coragem! – alguns que tentem conservar ilesas, das multidões ignavas e ferozes na imposição de seus errados conceitos e criminosos propósitos, bibliotecas, museus e outros preciosos repositórios da nossa cultura, da nossa incomparável civilização?

Deus permita que seja êste o caso de D. Juan Cabré e que a verdade se patenteie com proveito para todos nós! A guerra, ainda mesmo quando guerra-santa, é coisa horrível, sobretudo para os que não podem buscar salvação nas fileiras a que espiritualmente pertencem. Uma coisa é lutar heróicamente e arriscar a vida, ou mesmo sacrificá-la definitivamente, pelo verdadeiro ideal nutrido, outra é suportar terrores e pavores, e humilhantes fingimentos, nas fileiras dos próprios inimigos. Em suma, o futuro nos esclarecerá quanto à verdadeira situação de D. Juan Cabré.

Oxalá se esmague de vez o monstro moscovita, de modo que os homens possam regressar tranquilamente ao trabalho material e intelectual, naquela paz dos homens de boa-vontade que o Divino Cristo preconizou!

É V.^a Ex.^{cia} a primeira pessoa que me dá seguras notícias do salvamento do Ill.mo Conde de la-Vega del Sella. Ainda bem que o ilustre cientista escapou da fúria assassina! Não suponha V.^a Ex.^{cia} que tenho relações pessoais, de intimidade, com o Ex.^{mo} Sr. Dr. Teotónio Pereira. Estive com êle, uma vez em Olhão, outra em Portimão, no Algarve, mas não foi contacto suficiente para Sua Ex.^{cia} fixar, segundo julgo, nem a minha pessoa nem sequer o meu nome.

Êle é meu camarada, porque é meu irmão português, e porque é legionário, soldado voluntário da Pátria, eu como soldado raso, êle talvez no pôsto de oficial, mas ambos igualados no mesmo espírito de patriotismo e de sacrifício. Eu é que lhe vou seguindo, atentamente, a gloriosa carreira de diplomata, e apreciando seus dotes e seus serviços pela Nação. É, indubitavelmente, um talentoso e um bondoso discípulo de Salazar. Feliz escolha foi essa, que o levou como nosso representante na verdadeira Espanha. E é de notar que, fazendo o Dr. Teotónio Pereira tanta falta entre nós, como criador e executor do sistema corporativo que caracteriza a nossa tradicional organização social, houve que dispensá-lo dessa importantíssima tarefa, para lhe dar o encargo da nossa representação oficial na Espanha Nacionalista.

V.^a Ex.^a ao falar com êle colherá a impressão do (????) homem de estado e grande português.

De V.^a Ex.^{cia}, com sincero afecto e respeitadamente, me subscrevo, (????), V. Ex.^{cia} e admirador,
Faro, 29 de Junho de 1938 – dia do Claviculário Celeste.

Abel Viana (signature)

Comments

This letter, dated June 29, 1938, was written only nine days after Pedro Theotónio Pereira had presented his credentials as ambassador, a fact that Abel Viana appreciates, while informing that he did not know the diplomat personally and his relationship with him was only spiritual, since, according to him, both were united by the same nationalist and patriotic feeling.

Regarding the comments about Juan Cabré, it is well-known that there were serious disputes between him and Henri Breuil (CARDOSO, 2006, p. 198; HUREL, 2011), due to the conflict between Breuil and the Marquis of Cerralbo (MAIER ALLENDE, 2006; JIMÉNEZ SANZ & GARCÍA SOTO-MATEOS, 2006; MEDEROS, 2011-2012, p. 242-244). Cabré naturally sided with his patron, which earned him the position of Director of the Museo Cerralbo, established when the Marquis died in 1922, a position he held until 1939, after the end of the Spanish Civil War. Being, like the Marquis of Cerralbo, a Carlist militant of conservative ideology, it is contradictory that he adopted anti-Franco ideals, as apparently revealed in this letter. Actually, he continued to hold important positions after the Civil War, such as head of the Prehistory section of the Diego de Velázquez

Institute, and in 1942 he was appointed Preparator of the *Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, following a competitive examination (DÍAZ-ANDREU, MORA RODRÍGUEZ & CORTADELLA MORRAL, 2009). With regard to the situation of the Count de la Vega del Sella, this distinguished archaeologist and his family were indeed hard hit by the Civil War, and he never published anything afterwards, confirming the decline in this field of studies that was clearly observed from the early 1930s onwards (ANDUJAR POLO, 1956).

We would also mention the peculiar way of explaining that this letter was written on Saint Peter's Day, which is a rather uncommon idiosyncrasy in Abel Viana, as his straightforward way to deal with all issues contrasts with the use of such an expression of "erudition".

3 – FINAL REMARKS

Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla showed a special interest in archaeology since he was a high school student, taking part in regular visits to archaeological sites, especially in Burgos, where he regularly met Father Jalhay, and in Menorca. Due to the constant reassignments of his father, the future General Martínez Herrera, he attended his first university academic year in 1923-24 at the Central University of Madrid, where he met Hugo Obermaier. The following year (1924-25), he attended his second year in Barcelona, where he was a student of Pedro Bosch Gimpera; these were the two best Spanish prehistorians at the time. Following his graduation, and recommended by both of them, he obtained a four-year lectureship in Spanish at the University of Bonn (Germany) between April 1927 and July 1931, a stay that provided him with an international education that was unusual back then. At the same time, he experienced the rise of Nazism and was strongly influenced by the Indo-European theories of Gustaf Kossinna. Although he was more interested in prehistory, but aware of the German interest in the expansion of the Germanic peoples, when he began his first excavations at the age of 26, in 1931-33, he did so at the Visigoth necropolis of Herrera del río Pisuerga (Palencia). Upon his return to Spain, he became Hugo Obermaier's assistant between 1931-32 at the Central University of Madrid, rising to Assistant Professor between 1932-36 and extending his network of relations as secretary of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory since 1935 and coordinating the reviews section of the *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*. This path culminated in March 1936, when he obtained the Chair of Archaeology of the University of Santiago de Compostela at the age of 30.

Without the outbreak of the Civil War, he would certainly have had a sound scientific career, probably returning to Madrid, which he was reluctant to leave in 1936, to take up his professorship. However, the end of the war accelerated his career when his two patrons went into exile, leaving the chairs in Madrid and Barcelona vacant. Hugo Obermaier went to Switzerland, as he had already resigned his Berlin professorship in 1932 to remain in Madrid in view of the Nazi penetration of German universities, and Bosch Gimpera initially went to the United Kingdom. Martínez Santa-Olalla's Falangist militancy, the shooting of his brother by the Republicans, being the son of a Nationalist army officer, having been imprisoned in Madrid in 1936 and later taking refuge in the French embassy in 1937, were all factors that confirmed him as a professor aligned with the Nationalist cause, which led to his appointment in the summer of 1938 as Subsecretary of the Ministry of National Education. This position in the Burgos government allowed him to propose and achieve in March 1939, still during the war, the creation of a version of the Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, which he called the National and Imperial Archaeological Institute, an initial objective that was finally scaled down to the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations. This agency, which inherited the competences of the Higher Board of Excavations and Antiquities, controlled the archaeological excavations in Spain

between 1939 and 1955. At the same time, he held the Chair of Primitive History of Man at the University of Madrid between 1939-54.

The call for candidates and the loss of the chair in November 1954 and his dismissal as Commissioner General in December 1955, when the Commissariat General of Excavations was suppressed, marked the beginning of his institutional decline. This forced him to move away from Madrid, first to the Chair of Art History at the University of Zaragoza in September 1955 and then to the Chair of Ethnology and Prehistory in Valencia in February 1958, while focusing on the excavations of the Roman city of Carteia between 1952-61 (Cádiz). The Commissariat General was replaced by an Advisory Board of Archaeological Excavations, which already included the twelve professors of Prehistory and Archaeology, although Martínez Santa-Olalla managed to retain a position as Chief Inspector General and Vice-President of the Advisory Board, which still allowed him to control its extensive network of provincial and local commissaries.

From a scientific point of view, his decline had begun a decade earlier, absorbed by the bureaucracy of the Commissariat General of Archaeological Excavations, having published his last book on the first field seasons at the Argaric site of La Bastida de Totana (Murcia) in 1947. His last article exceeding 10 pages was published in 1947 and his last participation in a scientific congress happened in 1946, the final outcome of 10 years without any updating, since the outbreak of the war. Nevertheless, he conducted regular fieldwork between 1941-46, particularly in Morocco and the Western Sahara, until the victory of the Allied countries led the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to withdraw their support. He therefore focused his excavations on the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age of the Iberian southeast until 1953, particularly at La Bastida and Terrera Ventura (Almería), while maintaining his Africanist interests through fieldwork carried out in the Canary Islands until 1948.

Martínez Santa-Olalla's relationship with the leading Portuguese archaeologists of his time, between 1930 and 1950, his main period of activity, was marked by the complex political situation in Europe before the middle of the 20th century, namely the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and World War II (1939-1945), with severe post-war economic and political crises that made international contacts difficult. On the other hand, the preserved correspondence was affected by Martínez Santa-Olalla's own circumstances: he lived in Bonn for several years (1927-1931), moved to France in 1938 and was interned in several concentration camps. Sometimes his personal correspondence does not include the original letters, but copies or drafts of the sent correspondence, which means that what is available is a fragmentary but very relevant sample of his personal and professional relations with Portuguese archaeologists. Given this context, there are several aspects worth highlighting in these contacts:

- 1) His global vision of the prehistory of the Iberian Peninsula, on a peninsular scale, overcoming provincial and local frameworks, unlike many of his counterparts, so that Portugal was an important part of his approach and required reading the literature produced by Portuguese archaeologists. This point of view is also reflected when he advocated, in a 1951 letter to Mário Cardozo, the need to hold joint congresses on a peninsular level, with every third meeting being held in Portugal.

- 2) There was a very early relationship with Portuguese colleagues, beginning with the Jesuit Father Eugenio Jalhay when he was working in Spain, at least from 1921 onwards, and that was undoubtedly at the origin of his affirmation as an archaeologist, when he was still living in his native village of Poza de la Sal (Burgos), which helped him to pay attention to Portuguese research from an early stage. It cannot be said that these contacts with Portugal were linked to his position as Commissioner General of Excavations in Spain from 1939 onwards, as he joined the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists in March 1934 and the Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology in June 1938. Later on, in 1944, this institutional connec-

tion to Portuguese Archaeology was strengthened with his election as a correspondent member of the prestigious Martins Sarmiento Society, of Guimarães. He also wanted to put this collaboration into practice by inviting Afonso do Paço, Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior and Virgínia Rau, who were ultimately unable to attend, to take part in the excavations carried out during the 1st International Course on Field Archaeology, held in Granada in 1953.

3) He shows a clear interest in two periods of Portuguese prehistory, the Chalcolithic, which he refers to as Bronze I, following the contemporaneous Anatolian terminology, Early Bronze Age I-III, in line with his hypothesis concerning the *Anatolian-Aegean and Eastern Origins of the Spanish Mediterranean Bronze Age*, following the end of Uruk or Final Chalcolithic 4 -5, in 3100 BC; and in a period that he was the first to reassess, the Atlantic Late Bronze Age, whose analysis is impossible without an adequate assessment of the Portuguese record. His personal relationship since his period of formation as an archaeologist with Father Jalhay allowed him to follow-up the excavations of Vila Nova de São Pedro from the beginning and whose results he tried to confirm in the Iberian southeast through several field seasons conducted at Terrera Ventura (Tabernas, Almería) and in specific testing at Almizaraque (Cuevas del Almazora, Almería) or at the 'fortín 5' of Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería).

The importance he attributed to this remarkable fortification of the Western Iberian Peninsula led him to write a manifesto for its protection and enhancement, along with his friend Afonso do Paço, which was presented to the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, held in Madrid in 1954, in which he played an important role. Although this manifesto did not have any effect on the Portuguese authorities, as would have been expected, it gathered support from many other important congressmen, including the eminent Marxist archaeologist V. Gordon Childe, as he ironically refers, given his political path that left no doubt in anyone's mind. In fact, scientific production can prove to be independent of the political choices of its authors.

Regarding the Atlantic Bronze Age, he supervised his student, the Irishman Eoin MacWhite, who made important contributions in his PhD thesis, although the latter eventually turned to the diplomatic sphere, to which his father belonged, becoming Irish Ambassador to Australia and Holland, and his work was not continued. Concerning the Late Bronze Age, one aspect in which Martínez Santa-Olalla showed special interest was goldsmithing, right from the beginning with regard to the Estremoz bracelet, and later on the Guimarães bracelet or the Chalcolithic gold pendants from the Ermegeira hypogeum. He was also very interested in the treasure room of the Museu Etnológico do Dr. Leite de Vasconcelos, in Lisbon, which he was able to visit in April 1944. But access to the study of the objects depended on Manuel Heleno, who was very reserved when it came to the collections. On the other hand, Heleno himself was planning to write a monograph on Lusitanian goldsmithing, as he pointed out in a 1948 letter to Martínez Santa-Olalla, but he never actually wrote it.

Finally, he was also interested in the Visigoth and Suevian presence in Portugal as part of his research on the Germanic invasions, which was the subject of his research that most interested Nazi Germany, and even the SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler wanted to visit his excavation of the Visigoth necropolis of Castiltierra (Segovia) in 1941.

4) Yet another element worth highlighting is the ideological proximity that, due to its Falangist positions and support of Nazi Germany, had its counterpart in Portuguese colleagues with a conservative and Christian ideology such as Abel Viana, Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior, António Machado de Faria de Pina Cabral, Afonso do Paço or even Father Jalhay, S.J., with his 1938 *Arriba España!*

5) His good relationship with Portuguese women archaeologists, such as Maria de Lourdes Costa Arthur or Virgínia Rau, is also worth mentioning. As a matter of fact, Martínez Santa-Olalla also had good relations with other international researchers whose work he supported and published, such as Miriam Astruc, from a French Jewish family, Pia -Laviosa- Zambotti from Italy, or Ilse Schwidetsky from Germany.

6) A common feature of this post-war period was the lack of resources and professionals in both countries, perhaps more acute in Portugal, due to the smaller number of universities and museums and consequently to an officially weaker and more centralized archaeological research. In Spain, centralization took place through the Comissariat General of Archaeological Excavations, directed by Martínez Santa-Olalla, with remarkable power and autonomy throughout the 1940s, specially in the first half before the end of the Second World War. It was only from the beginning of the 1950 decade onwards, following the creation and reinforcement of the Higher Council of Scientific Research (CSIC) since 1939, both agencies being subordinated to the Ministry of National Education, that Martínez Santa-Olalla started to have difficulties in affirming himself, since a good part of the most important university professors of archaeology did not agree with his principles of action. Even so, and due to fieldwork and publication, archaeological research was relatively polarised in the universities, some of which regularly published prestigious archaeological journals. In Portugal the situation was much more vulnerable: officially, the National Board of Education was the agency that supervised archaeological activity in Portugal, as a consulting entity of the Ministry of National Education, which regulated the archaeological activity. But its financial resources were much more limited and archaeologists tried to overcome this shortage by resorting to other possible sources of funding, especially the Directorate General of National Buildings and Monuments, which occasionally supported a few archaeological excavations, e.g. at Vila Nova de São Pedro and Conimbriga. Right where the two Full Professors who combined university teaching and the direction of institutions associated to the respective Universities: Manuel Heleno, in Lisbon, directing the Museu Etnológico Português, attached to the Faculty of Humanities of Lisbon, and to which Virginia Rau was related, and António Mendes Corrêa and his assistant J. R. dos Santos Júnior, in Oporto, in the scope of the Institute of Anthropology, annexed to the Faculty of Sciences of Oporto and, afterwards, of the Centre of Peninsular Ethnological Studies, financed by the Institute for High Culture. All of them kept a correspondence with Martínez Santa-Olalla, although it has only been possible to access one letter from Mendes Corrêa within the set kept at the Museo de San Isidro.

Outside these two restricted university circles, only two public services undertook activities of a continuous nature and on the basis of initiatives resulting from their own competences in archaeology: the first is the University of Coimbra, where only Virgílio Correia regularly devoted himself to archaeology, through the excavation campaigns he conducted in the Roman city of Conímbriga, where he was preceded by Amorim Girão, whose most important work in the field of archaeology, titled 'As Antiguidades pré-históricas de Lafões', published in 1921, heralded a long and prestigious career as geographer and university professor. It is quite interesting to note that, during his stay in Coimbra (Fig. 45), Santa-Olalla gave a lecture at the University, which was attended by the two aforementioned professors, as we shall see further on.

From the beginning of the 1940s onwards another institution devoted to the study of prehistoric archaeology appeared in Portugal, the Geological Service of Portugal (SGP), with a long tradition in this research field. The contributions of Henri Breuil, during his stay in Portugal, between April 1941 and November 1942, were very relevant for the said archaeological activity. A visit to the archaeology gallery of the SGP museum was an absolute must, and Martínez Santa-Olalla knew it well, as can be seen in the letter sent to Afonso do Paço on July 1, 1957, which is important because it shows that, despite the setbacks in his career as an



Fig. 45 – Júlio Martínez de Santa-Olalla photographed in Coimbra, in rua da Couraça da Estrela, near the former building of the Civil Government of Coimbra overlooking the Mondego River, on April 19, 1944, when he gave his lecture at the Faculty of Humanities of Coimbra, chaired by Aristides de Amorim Girão (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro) and a present-day photograph of the same spot (photo by Raquel Vilaça).

archaeologist, he remained firm in his scientific convictions and committed to defending them, in this case along with one of his best Portuguese friends.

In any case, the archaeological research carried out in Portugal during the period covered by the correspondence published herein was essentially based on the work of isolated individuals, using only their own resources, or alternatively organised around private associations, the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists, in Lisbon, and the Martins Sarmiento Society, in Guimarães, being the most important ones, as clearly demonstrated by the letters to and from Afonso do Paço and Eugénio Jalhay, in the first case, and Mário Cardozo, in the second case. The representatives of both societies also had seats in the supervisory body of Portuguese archaeological activity. In this context, it is important to note that all of them maintained close contacts with Martínez Santa-Olalla, also interacting among themselves, as evidenced by the photographs taken during the visit to the city of Guimarães and the Citânia de Sanfins, in April 1944, where they socialised with members of the board of directors of both institutions (Fig. 46). Manuel Heleno was left out of this tour. As director of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, he had always maintained tense and difficult relations with both institutions. Martínez Santa-Olalla knew this and, in a letter to Mário Cardozo dated January 30, 1935, he does not hesitate in expressing his disagreement with the centralist policy practiced by the Museu Etnológico under Manuel

Heleno's direction: 'It is an irritating museum, with this barbaric and stupid statute that forces the novelties to be published by the establishment. I wonder what they mean by novelties. Where would science be if this were the case in all museums'.

This situation was the remnant of the legislation that had been in force until very recently, and that determined the priority of the aforementioned museum to intervene in archaeological explorations resulting from random finds. However, this legislation had been repudiated by all the most prominent Portuguese archaeologists, in a statement presented to the Minister of Education, on May 23, 1932, which produced the desired effects. Indeed, the competences previously assigned to the Museu Etnológico were transferred to a collegial body created by the Decreto-Lei no. 23 125, of October 12, 1933. This new body included representatives of all the most relevant institutions that conducted archaeological research, and also the director of the Museu Etnológico but only as a voting member (CARDOSO, 1999). Thus, the previous privileges were lost, but the director of the Museu Etnológico was still competent to intervene in the acquisition of archaeological remains and in the management of their study. Such remains could be left without studying for an undetermined period of time, as was the case of the golden jewels of Estremoz, the reason for Martínez Santa-Olalla's outburst in the letter to Mário Cardozo.



Fig. 46 – At the baths identified in the Citânia de Briteiros during the 1930 excavations; this photo was taken during a visit on April 21, 1944. From left to right, below: Alberto Vieira Braga (from the board of the Martins Sarmiento Society), Joaquim Sellès Paes de Villas Boas (from the Alcaldes de Faria Group, a friend and collaborator of Martínez Santa-Olalla), an unidentified individual, Father Eugénio Jalhay and Eduardo d'Almeida (President of the Martins Sarmiento Society). Above: Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos Júnior, Baltasar de Castro and Martínez Santa-Olalla (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

There were few archaeologists left outside the relatively closed circle of those institutionally framed by civil society organisations with competences in this field: this was the case of Carlos Teixeira, who, at the date of the letter sent by Martínez Santa-Olalla, had just been appointed Full Professor of Geology at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon. Afterwards, Teixeira's conduction of archaeological research became residual, after having acquired an important role, which did not prevent the publication of the important monograph on the Neolithic and Chalcolithic necropolis identified in the cave of Eira Pedrinha (Condeixa-a-Nova), the subject of a long letter from the Spanish archaeologist. Another archaeologist who was then in the same circumstances was Abel Viana, who at the time of his correspondence with his Spanish counterpart, was living in Faro, working as a primary school teacher. By then, Viana was not connected to any archaeological structure that could officially support his activity, although he already had a considerable archaeological curriculum, which would be enhanced a short time later following his transfer to Beja.

7) It is in this context that one can perceive the importance of Martínez Santa-Olalla's journey to Portugal, in April 1944, when he had the opportunity to meet and in some cases get to know personally many of his former correspondents, who felt empowered by their interactions with Santa-Olalla. Indeed, the by then Full Professor of the University of Madrid held the important position of Commissioner General of Archaeological Excavations, and was also the founder and director of the Seminar of Early History of Man, at the time attached to the University of Madrid, which gave him remarkable power, both in terms of archaeological heritage management, and in the assignment of essential funds for field and desk work, as well as in attracting students who could later follow a career in the field of archaeology. This situation was to change at the end of the 1940s, as he was gradually challenged by some of his colleagues, with whom he had to compete directly. Proof of this unease is his reaction to the administrative and financial difficulties raised over his participation in the 2nd Congress of the Conférence Internationale des Africanistes de l'Ouest (CIAO), held in Bissau in 1947, impressively reported in his correspondence with Mendes Corrêa and Virgínia Rau. These difficulties continued in 1949, when the 5th Archaeological Congress of the Southeast was held in Almeria, as expressed in letters addressed to Carlos Teixeira and O. da Veiga Ferreira. This situation persisted, even more evidently, throughout the 1950s, and is reflected in the correspondence published herein. This is what can be inferred from a letter sent to Afonso do Paço thanking him for the impartial manner in which he reported the reception, at the premises of the Seminar of Early History of Man, of the participants of the 4th International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Sciences, held in Madrid in 1954; it is to be understood that his actions met with some reservations on the part of his opponents, as mentioned in this letter

Martínez Santa-Olalla's visit to Portugal in 1944 corresponded, therefore, to the final phase of his full capacity of intervention as a professor, and as a leader, still noticeable when he visited Portugal again in 1947. Both were important opportunities for Martínez Santa-Olalla to demonstrate in Spain the prestige he enjoyed in the eyes of the Portuguese authorities, who welcomed him with the greatest deference, thus enhancing his image and prestige in his own country. This is proven by the permanent assistance he received on his tour of central and northern Portugal, always accompanied by the Director-General of National Buildings and Monuments, architect Baltasar de Castro, as can be seen in the attached set of photographs, nearly all of which are being published herein for the first time.

Thanks to newspapers that daily or almost daily published the activities or interventions of Martínez Santa-Olalla during his journey in Portugal, between April 13 and 27, 1944, along with other informations, carefully compiled (CARVALHO, 1989), it has been possible to follow his presence in Portugal, accompanied by Bernardo Sáez Martín, an archaeologist and his collaborator in the Seminar of Primitive History of Man. Thus,

on the day of his arrival, and on the following day (April 13 and 14) he visited the artificial caves of Quinta do Anjo, Palmela (Fig. 47) and left for Muge, where he was welcomed by the Marchioness of Cadaval, who hosted him (Fig. 39). There, he visited the local shell middens, the Palaeolithic sites of Alpiarça (Fig. 38) and the settlement of Vila Nova de São Pedro, and was photographed in a nearby Ribatejo village, while resupplying provisions (Fig. 48). The following day he visited the museums of the Geological Services of Portugal and of the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists, in the old Convent of Carmo, both in Lisbon. On the 16th, he toured the surroundings of Lisbon; photographic records show him at the artificial caves of Alapraia, Cascais (Fig. 49) and at the Alto do Cidreira site, Cascais (Fig. 50). On the 17th, he stayed in Lisbon, visiting the Museu Etnológico, where he was oddly not received by Manuel Heleno, but by the curator Luiz Chaves and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, where he was welcomed by its Director João Couto. On the 18th he left for Coimbra, where he gave a lecture the following day at the Faculty of Humanities, chaired by Aristides de Amorim Girão and attended by Virgílio Correia (Fig. 45). The subject of the lecture was one that he had been researching for a long time: 'A indo-europeização da Península Ibérica à volta de mil anos a.C.'. On April 20 he continued his journey northwards, giving another lecture at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Oporto, titled "Os Visigodos na Península Ibérica segundo a Arqueologia", which was reported in the news published at the time (CORRÊA, 1945/1946, p. 250) as having been given on April 22. This subject was very dear to Martínez Santa-Olalla, who had been studying it since the beginning of the previous decade, as evidenced by his two 1934 syntheses (Fig. 51) (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1934 a; 1934 b), inspired and motivated by more comprehensive works, particularly Hans Zeiss' study (ZEISS, 1934) (Fig. 52), following the political importance granted by the German government to the study of this subject. The arrival in Guimarães happened on the 21st, visiting the Citânia de Briteiros, where a group photograph was taken near the pre-Roman baths, identified in the 1930 excavations by Mário Cardozo, and which had been mistakenly classified as a funerary monument for many years (Fig. 46). He was received in Guimarães by the board of the Martins Sarmiento Society, with whom he was also photographed near the monument to Francisco Martins Sarmiento (Fig. 46), and was raised to a corresponding member of this society, as mentioned above.

He returned to Lisbon on April 22 and visited the city during the following day. After visiting Alenquer and its museum, on the 24th, he gave a lecture, on the 25th, at the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists on the applications of aerial photography in archaeology. On the 26th, he returned to the Museu Etnológico where he was received by Manuel Heleno, and, finally, on the 27th, he returned to Madrid.

To sum up, this visit of Martínez Santa-Olalla to Portugal was the most important of all. He had been in Portugal before, as shown by the fact that he was already a member of the Association of Portuguese Archaeologists, whose diploma was lost during the Spanish Civil War, and the then Secretary General of the Association, Dr. Machado de Faria, promised, on April 12, 1938, to send another copy.

There is a reference to another short journey to Portugal in January 1945, on his return from the 1st CIAO Conference, Conférence Internationale des Africanistes de l'Ouest, held in Dakar between January 19 and 25, 1945. This information, provided by Mendes Corrêa (CORRÊA, 1945/1946, p. 256) is corroborated by his signature on a sheet of paper bearing the stamp of the Hotel Palácio, in Estoril, glued into the visitors' book of the Museu Condes de Castro Guimarães and dated February 4, 1945.

After having lost the possibility of coming to Portugal in early 1946, as was his wish, expressed in his letters of October 3 and December 22, 1945 to Manuel Heleno, he only returned to Portugal in 1947, to give a lecture in Beja, on Visigoth jewellery, but his visit was certainly not limited to this initiative only. Information is scarce so it is not advisable to accept this possibility without any doubt.



Fig. 47 – Inside the chamber of artificial cave no. 1 of Casal do Pardo, Quinta do Anjo, Palmela, during a visit on April 14, 1944. From left to right, Maxime Vaultier, Afonso do Paço, Martínez Santa-Olalla and Bernardo Sáez Martín (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

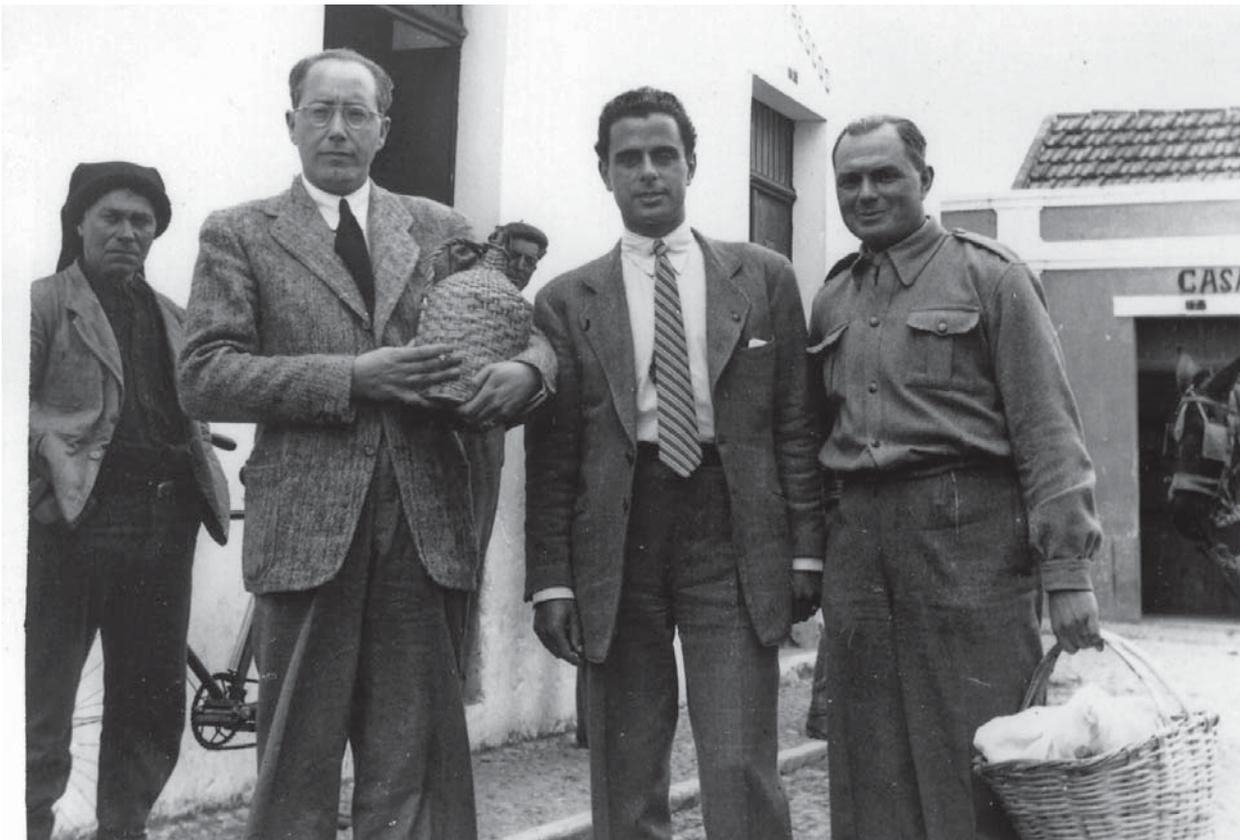


Fig. 48 – On the way to Vila Nova de São Pedro, during a visit on April 14, 1944. Resupplying provisions. From left to right: Martínez Santa-Olalla, Bernardo Sáez Martín and Afonso do Paço (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).



Fig. 49 – Above: Martínez Santa-Olalla with Bernardo Sáez Martín, in the vestibule of artificial cave no. 4 of Alapraia (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro). Below: Martínez Santa-Olalla in the passage connecting the chamber to the vestibule of the same artificial cave, visited on April 16, 1944 (in CARDOSO, 2019, Fig. 5, photo courtesy of José d'Encarnação).



Fig. 50 – At Alto do Cidreira, Cascais, on April 16, 1944. From left to right: Afonso do Paço, Bernardo Sáez Martín, an unidentified individual, Father Eugénio Jalhay, Baltasar de Castro, Martínez Santa-Olalla, an unidentified individual and Abreu Nunes (photo courtesy of José d'Encarnação).

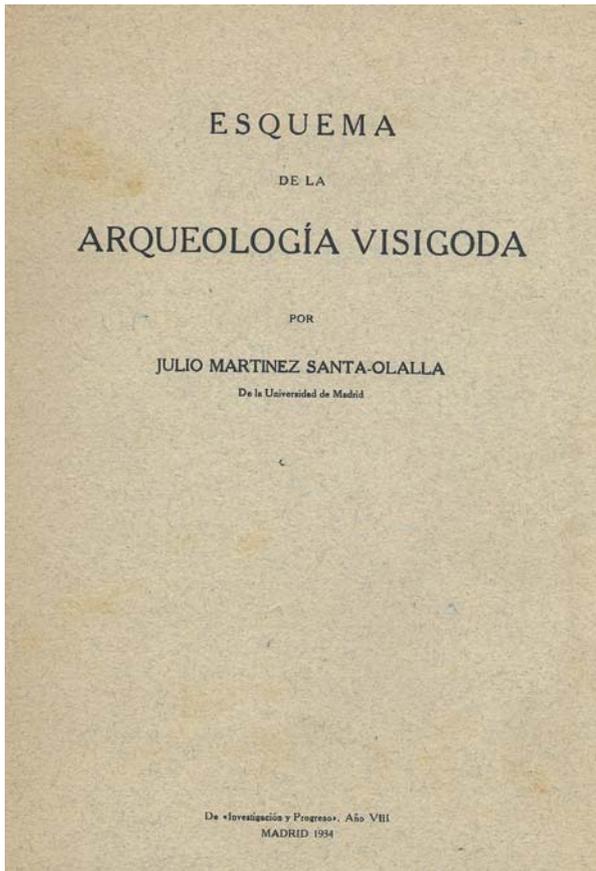


Fig. 51 – Cover of the paper of one of Santa-Olalla's overviews on the Visigoth presence in the Iberian Peninsula (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1934 b). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

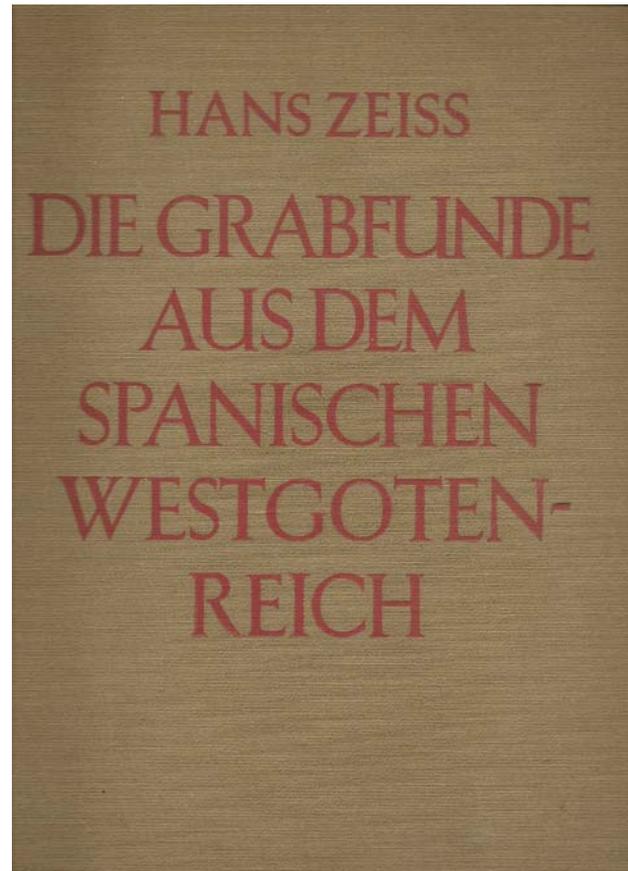


Fig. 52 – Cover of Hans Zeiss' book on the Germanic presence in the Iberian Peninsula (ZEISS, 1934). JLC's own exemplar and photo.

In any case, one can conclude that Portuguese archaeologists always welcomed him in an extraordinarily cordial way, sharing unconditional solidarity and the same ideology, so clearly expressed from the moment they became aware of his handover to the nationalist authorities at the Hendaye border, on April 16, 1938. This cordiality was maintained throughout the following years, and he even tried to increase the number of his Portuguese supporters, as was the case of O. da Veiga Ferreira, to whom Santa-Olalla sent autographed studies (Fig. 53), in exchange for others he had received, although without success, since the intended collaboration was never established.

There is no doubt that he felt among friends in Portugal, as he would hardly have felt in Spain, free of the conventions and limitations that were permanently imposed on him by his hierarchical position, as some of the images recorded at the time clearly show (Fig. 54).

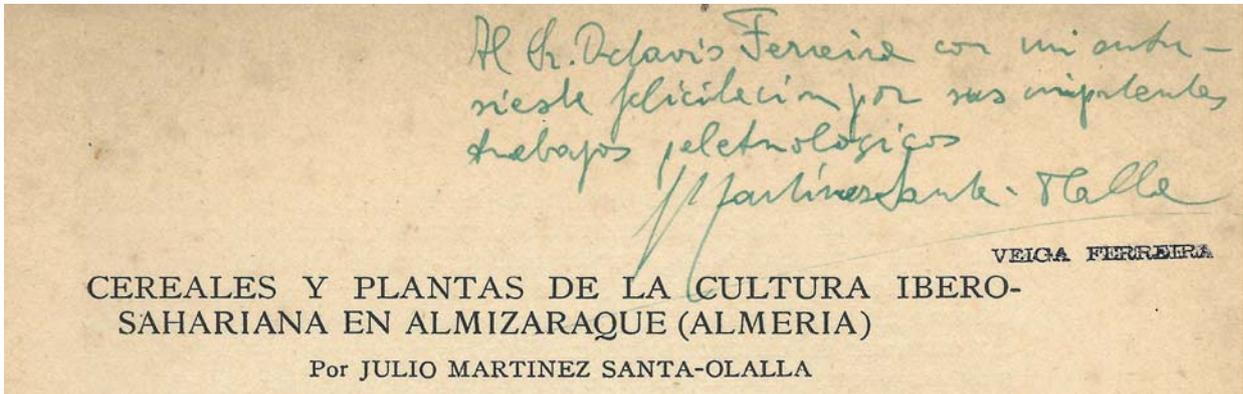


Fig. 53 – Dedication to O. da Veiga Ferreira on a study published in 1946 (MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, 1946 b). JLC's own exemplar and photo.



Fig. 54 – In Alenquer, on April 24th 1944, with Hipólito da Costa Cabaço (second from the left, standing and flanked by Baltasar de Castro and Eugénio Jalhay, while Martínez Santa-Olalla is sitting leisurely on the floor, flanked by Afonso do Paço, on his left (Fondo JMSO/Museo de San Isidro).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank, in Spain, Salvador Quero Castro, Eduardo Salas Vázquez, Virginia Salamanques Pérez and Alberto González Alonso for granting us access to the *Fondo Documental Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla* (JMSO) at the *Museo de San Isidro*. We would also like to thank Daniel Gozalbo from the *Archivo General de la Administración* (AGA), Aurora Ladero from the *Archivo del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (AMAN) and Susana Donoso and Isabel Palomero from the *Archivo General de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* (AGUCM). Rubí Sanz Gamo clarified details of Martínez Santa-Olalla's death. Juan Blánquez provided us with digitised photos of Martínez Santa-Olalla in Portugal, from the Fondo JMSO. The present work was conducted in the scope of UAM's *Grupo de Investigación on historiographic studies Hum F-003*, directed by J. Blánquez.

In Portugal, we would like to thank José Carlos Henrique for transcribing all the correspondence, which was subsequently revised by one of us, as well as Armando de Lucena who translated the whole article, excepting the letters, which keep their original spelling. We would further thank the Director of the *Museu Nacional de Arqueologia*, António Carvalho, for authorizing the study and publication of the original letters kept in MNA's *Arquivo Histórico Manuel Heleno* (AHMH), as well as Lúcia Cristina Coito for her support in achieving this goal. Raquel Vilaça provided a photo of the same place where Martínez Santa-Olalla was photographed in Coimbra in April 1944, João Paulo Zbyszewski provided a photo from the Georges Zbyszewski's archive and Ana Ávila de Melo helped in the identification of the places and individuals portrayed in the photos published herein. This paper was prepared in the scope of the *Grupo de Trabalho History of Archaeological Science*, directed by one of the authors (J.L.C.) at ICAREHB (Universidade do Algarve), and also benefitted from the technical and financial support of the Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, through the *Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras*.

REFERENCES

- ÅBERG, N. (1922) – *Die Franken und westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Uppsala: A.-B. Aksdemiska Bokhandeln.
- ACTAS, 1950 – Memoria de Secretaría. In *Crónica del I Congreso Nacional de Arqueología y del*. Cartagena: Papelería Española, p. 9-32.
- ALCALDE del RIO, E.; BREUIL, H. & SIERRA, L. (1912) – *Les cavernes de la région cantabrique (Espagne)*. Monaco: Imprimerie V. A. Chêne.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1940) – El hallazgo de la Ría de Huelva y el Final de la Edad del Bronce en el Occidente de Europa. *Ampurias*, 2, p. 85-143.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1941) – *Introducción a la arqueología. Las culturas prehistóricas europeas*. Barcelona: Apolo.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1946) – *Prehistoria del Norte de África y del Sahara Español*. Barcelona: Instituto de Estudios Africanos del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1947a) – El Paleolítico Español. In R. Menéndez Pidal (coord.) – *Historia de España*. Tomo I. *España Protohistórica*. Volumen I. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, p. 245-485.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1947b) – Arte Prehistórico. *Ars Hispaniae*. I. Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, p. 11-133.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1951) – *Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias*. Barcelona: Monografías Ampuritanas, I. Diputación Provincial de Barcelona-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1952a) – La invasión céltica en España. In R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (coord.) *Historia de España*. Tomo I. *España Protohistórica*. Volumen II. *La España de las invasiones célticas y el mundo de las colonizaciones*. In M. ALMAGRO BASCH & A. GARCIA y BELLIDO (eds.) *La Protohistoria*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, p. 1-278.

- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1952b) – *El covacho con pinturas rupestres de Cogul (Lérida)*. Lérida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses.
- ALMAGRO BASCH, M. (1952c) – *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas*. Madrid: Monografias Ampuritanas, II. Diputación Provincial de Barcelona-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- ALMEIDA, C. A. Ferreira de (1974) – O monumento com forno de Sanfins e as escavações de 1973. *3.º Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia (Porto, 1973)*. Actas. Porto: Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1, p. 149-172.
- ANDUJAR POLO, M.ª D. (1956) – Nota bio-bibliográfica. *Libro Homenaje al Conde de la Vega del Sella*. Oviedo: Servicio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas, p. V-VII.
- ARMBRUSTER, B. & PARREIRA, R. (1995) – *Inventário do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Coleção de ourivesaria. 1.º volume. Do Calcolítico à Idade do Bronze*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus.
- BOSCH GIMPERA, P. (1950) – Una guerra entre cartagineses y griegos en España. La ignorada batalla de Artemision. Madrid. *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*, 5 (1), p. 45-55.
- BOSCH GIMPERA, P. (1980) – *Memòries*. Barcelona: Biografies i Memòries, 5. Edicions 62.
- BREUIL, H. & ZBYSZEWSKI, G. (1945) – *Contribution à l'étude des industries paléolithiques du Portugal et de leurs rapports avec la Géologie du Quaternaire. Les principaux gisements des plages quaternaires du littoral d'Estremadura et des terrasses fluviales de la basse vallée du Tage*. Comunicações dos Serviços Geológicos de Portugal. Lisboa. 26, 662 p.
- CARBALLO, J. & GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, J. (1952) – Algunos objetos inéditos de la cueva de 'El Pendo'. *Ampurias*, 14, p. 37-48.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (1999) – O Professor Mendes Corrêa e a Arqueologia Portuguesa. *Al-Madan*. Almada. Série II, 8, p. 156.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2006) Arqueólogos portugueses nas Astúrias nos inícios do século XX. Uma contribuição para a História da Arqueologia peninsular. *Colóquio "Astúrias e Portugal. Relações históricas e culturais"* (Lisboa, 2005). Actas. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História: 191-233.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2007) – As cerâmicas decoradas pré-campaniformes do povoado pré-histórico de Leceia: suas características e distribuição estratigráfica. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 14, p. 9-276.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2008) – Correspondência seleccionada enviada a O. da Veiga Ferreira: cinquenta anos de actividade arqueológica (1946-1995). Homenagem a Octávio da Veiga Ferreira. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 16, p. 383-751
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2010/2011) – O povoado calcolítico da Penha Verde (Sintra). *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 18, p. 467-552.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2013) – 2. O Professor de Arqueologia e de Pré-História (1923-1964). In Cardoso, J. L. (ed.), *Manuel Heleno pioneiro do ensino e da investigação arqueológica em Portugal (1923-1964)*. Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia/Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p. 17-28.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2014) – Abel Viana (1896-1964): uma vida de arqueólogo. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 21, p. 475-510.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2018) – Manuel Afonso do Paço (1895-1968), um arqueólogo no campo da batalha de La Lys (9 de Abril de 1918). *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 24, p. 541-550.
- CARDOSO, J. L. (2019) – Para a História das investigações pré-históricas em Cascais: um breve ensaio, lembrando João Cabral. In *Dos Patrimónios de Cascais. Homenagem a João Cabral*. Cascais: Associação Cultural de Cascais, p. 49-83.
- CARDOSO, J. L. & RIBEIRO, M. (2013) – Afonso do Paço e as escavações de Vila Nova de São Pedro (1937-1967): os contributos científicos possíveis e sua projecção internacional. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Oeiras. 20 (2013), p. 755-770.

- CARDOZO, M. (1928/1929) – A Pedra Formosa. *Revista de Guimarães*. Guimarães. (38 (3/4), p. 139-152; 39 (1/2), p. 87-102.
- CARDOZO, M. (1931/1932) – A última descoberta arqueológica na citânia de Briteiros e a interpretação da Pedra Formosa. *Revista de Guimarães*. Guimarães. 41 (1/2), p. 55-60; 41(3) , p. 201-209; 41 (4), p. 250-260; 42 (1/2), p. 7-25; 42 (3/4), p. 127-139,
- CARDOZO, M. (1965) – *Citânia de Briteiros e castro de Sabroso. Notícia descritiva para servir de guia ao visitante*. Guimarães: Sociedade Martins Sarmento.
- CARRERA, E. de & MARTÍN FLORES, A. (2002) – José Pérez de Barradas. Una biografía intelectual. 1897, Cádiz-1981, Madrid: *Bifaces y elefantes. La investigación del Paleolítico Inferior en Madrid. Zona Arqueológica*, 1, p. 108-147.
- CARTAILHAC, E. (1892) – *Monuments primitifs des Iles Baléares*. Toulouse: Librairie Édouard Privat.
- CARVALHO, A. (1989) – Para a história da Arqueologia em Portugal. O livro de visitantes da Junta de Turismo de Cascais. *Arquivo de Cascais*. Cascais. 8, p. 75-150.
- CORRÊA, A. A. Mendes (1951) – Reverendo P. Eugénio Jalhay, S. J. *Arqueologia e História*. Lisboa. 8.^a série, 5, p. 67-82.
- CORRÊA, A. Mendes & TEIXEIRA, C. (1949) – *A jazida pré-histórica de Eira Pedrinha (Condeixa)*. Lisboa: Serviços Geológicos de Portugal.
- DÍAZ ANDREU, M. & RAMÍREZ, M. E. (2001) – La Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas (1939-1955). La administración del patrimonio arqueológico en España durante la primera etapa de la dictadura franquista. *Complutum*. Madrid. 12, p. 325-343.
- DÍAZ ANDREU, M.; MORA RODRÍGUEZ, G. & CORTADELLA MORRAL, J., coords. (2009) – *Diccionario Histórico de la Arqueología en España*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia.
- ESTEVE GUERRERO, M. (1945) – *Excavaciones de Asta Regia (Mesas de Asta, Jerez) campaña de 1942-43*. Acta Arqueologica Hispanica. 3. Madrid: Comisaria General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas.
- FONTES, J. (1925) – Estação paleolítica de Camposancos (Pontevedra-Espanha). *Brotéria*. Caminha. 2.^a série, 1 (1), p. 7-16.
- FORMOSINHO, J.; FERREIRA, O. Da Veiga & VIANA, A. (1953/1954) – Estudos arqueológicos nas Caldas de Monchique. *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto. 14 (1/4), p. 66-225.
- GARCÍA SANTOS, J. C. (2008) – Una encrucijada en el mundo de la Prehistoria española. La oposición a la Cátedra de Historia Primitiva del Hombre de 1954. *Revista de Historiografía*. 9, p. 146-166.
- GÓMEZ TABANERA, J. M. (1985) – Sesenta años después: unas palabras de introducción a la reimpresión de ‘El Hombre Fósil’ de Hugo Obermaier. In H. Obermaier, *El Hombre Fósil*. Madrid-Gijón: Ediciones Istmo-Colegio Universitario, 3, p. 05-019.
- GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, J. (1980) – *El yacimiento de la Cueva de ‘El Pendo’ (Excavaciones 1953-57)*. Madrid: Instituto Español de Prehistoria del C.S.I.C. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, 17.
- GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-PAZ, S. (1930/1993) – *O Colexio de San Clemente de Pasantes de Compostela*. Santiago de Compostela: Consorcio de Santiago-Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.
- GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA-PAZ, S. (1933) – Noticia de las exploraciones arqueológicas en los castros de Borneiro y Baroña”. *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago*, 17 (1), p. 323-351.
- GRACIA ALONSO, F. (2009) – *La arqueología durante el primer franquismo (1939-1956)*. Barcelona: Bellaterra Arqueología.
- GRACIA ALONSO, F. (2012) – *Arqueologia i política. La gestió de Martín Almagro Basch al capdavant del Museu Arqueològic Provincial de Barcelona (1939-1962)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- GRACIA ALONSO, F.; FULLOLA, J. M.^a & VILANOVA, F. (2003) – *58 anys i 7 dies. Correspondència de Pere Bosch Gimpera a Lluís Pericot (1919-1974)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.

- HELENO, M. (1935) – Jóias pré-romanas. *Ethnos*. Lisboa. 1, p. 229-257.
- HELENO, M. (1942) – Gruta artificial da Ermegeira. *Ethnos*. Lisboa. 2, p. 449-459.
- HUREL, A. (2011) – *l'abbé Breuil un préhistorien dans le siècle*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- JALHAY, E. (1926) – Los grabados rupestres del extremo Sudoeste de Galicia. Alrededores de Oia. Provincia de Pontevedra. *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Orense*. Orense. 7 (167), p. 373-385.
- JALHAY, E. (1927-29) – Algunos ejemplares del arte rupestre en los alrededores de Oia. Pontevedra, *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Orense*. Orense. 8 (184), p. 305-312.
- JALHAY, E. (1931 a) – Nuevas manifestaciones de arte rupestre del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica, *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos de Orense*. Orense. 9 (199), p. 225-235.
- JALHAY, E. (1931 b) – O tesouro do Álamo (Moura, Alentejo). *Brotéria*. Lisboa. 12 (1), p. 35.
- JALHAY, E. (1932) – Novas descobertas prehistóricas no Sudoeste de Galicia e Norte de Portugal, XIII *Congreso de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias-VI Congresso da Associação Portuguesa para o Progresso das Ciências* (Lisboa 1932). Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Huelves y Cia.
- JALHAY, E. & PAÇO, A. do (1939) – A póvoa eneolítica de Vila Nova de S. Pedro. Notas sobre a 1.^a e 2.^a campanha de escavações – 1937 e 1938. *Brotéria*. Lisboa. 26 (6), p. 686-694; 29 (1), p. 86-99; 29 (4), p. 325-338; 29 (5), p. 428-435.
- JALHAY, E. & PAÇO, A. do (1945) – El castro de Vilanova de San Pedro. *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*. Madrid. 20 (1-4), p. 55-141.
- JIMÉNEZ SANZ, C. & GARCÍA-SOTO MATEOS, E. (2006) – Juan Cabré, Enrique de Aguilera y el Museo Cerralbo: apuntes sobre una relación científica y humana intemporal. In BLÁNQUEZ PÉREZ, J. & RODRÍGUEZ NUERE, B., ed., *El arqueólogo Juan Cabré (1882-1947) La fotografía como técnica documental*. Murcia: Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia, p. 89-104.
- JORGE, S. O. (1996) – *Povoados da Pré-História recente da região de Chaves-V.ª P.ª de Aguiar*. 2 volumes. Porto: Instituto de Arqueologia da Faculdade de Letras do Porto.
- KOSSINNA, G. (1921) – *Die Indogermanen: ein Abriss*. Leipzig: Mannus Bibliothek, 26. C. Kabitzsch.
- KOSSINNA, G. (1929) – *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*. Leipzig: Mannus Bibliothek. C. Kabitzsch.
- LEISNER, V. (1961) – Vasos eneolíticos decorados no interior. *Revista de Guimarães*. Guimarães. 71 (3/4), p. 407-428.
- MacWHITE, E. (1951) – *Estudios sobre las relaciones atlánticas de la Península Hispanica en la Edad del Bronce*. Madrid: Publicaciones del Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre.
- MAIER ALLENDE, J. (2006) – Juan Cabré y su entorno científico e intelectual. In BLÁNQUEZ PÉREZ, J. & RODRÍGUEZ NUERE, B., ed., *El arqueólogo Juan Cabré (1882-1947) La fotografía como técnica documental*. Murcia: Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia, p. 71-88.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1921) – Investigaciones arqueológicas. Las minas de Flavia Augusta. *El Castellano*, Burgos, nº 6546.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1924a) – La cerámica pintada ibérica en Menorca. *Revista Menorca*, 23, p. 121-129.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1924b) – A propósito de un cráneo trepanado de mi colección. *Revista Menorca*, 23, p. 147-151.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1924c) – Nuevo descubrimiento romano en Menorca. *Revista Menorca*, 23, p. 184-190.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1924d) – La naveta occidental de Biniach y el estudio antropológico de algunos restos humanos por el Dr. Aranzadi. *Revista Menorca*, 23, p. 195-205.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1925a) – Prehistoria Burgalesa. Paleolítico. *Butlletí de la Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnografia i Prehistoria*, 3, p. 147-172.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1925b) – La Bureba romana. *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Burgos*, 1, p. 248-255 y 276-284.

- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1926a) – Prehistoria Burgalesa. Neolítico y Eneolítico. *Butlletí de la Associació Catalana d'Antropologia, Etnografia i Prehistoria*, 4, p. 85-109.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1926b) – Orígenes de Valladolid. *Notas de Prehistoria Vallisoletana*, 11, p. 12.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1929a) – El principio del arte en la provincia de Burgos. El arte paleolítico. *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Burgos*, 2, p. 110-113.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1929b) – La prehistoria de las Baleares y el estado actual de su conocimiento. *Revista Menorca*, 24, p. 358-364.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1929c) – Neue bronzezeitliche Felsbilder in Galizien (Spanien). *Jpek-Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnografische Kunst*, 5, p. 35-45.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1929d) – Ein neuer Kommandostab aus der Cueva del Pendo (Santander, Spanien). *Jpek-Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnografische Kunst*, 5, p. 99-100.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1931) – Sobre algunos hallazgos de bronce visigóticos en España. *Jpek-Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnografische Kunst*, 7, p. 57-60.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1932) – Sobre como usaron la fibula los visigodos. *Investigación y Progreso*. Madrid. 6, p. 178-180.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1933b) – Monumentos funerarios célticos. As “pedras formosas” e as estelas em forma de casa. *Homenagem a Martins Sarmiento Miscelânea de estudos em honra do investigador vimaranense no centenário do seu nascimento (1833-1933)*. Guimarães: Sociedade Martins Sarmiento, p. 226-235.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1933-35) – El cementerio visigodo de Madrid (capital). *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*. Madrid. 4-6, p. 165-174.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1933a) – *Excavaciones en la necrópolis visigoda de Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia)*. Madrid: Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1933b) – Zur Tragweise der Bügelfibel bei den Westgote. *Germania*, 17, p. 47-50.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1934a) – Notas para un ensayo de sistematización de la arqueología visigoda en España. Períodos godos y visigodos. *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*. Madrid. 10 (29), p. 139-176.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1934b) – Esquema de la arqueología visigoda. *Investigación y Progreso*. Madrid. 8 (4), p. 103-109.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1935) – Elementos para un estudio de la cultura de los talayots en Menorca. *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*. Madrid. 14 (1), p. 5-66.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1936a) – El cementerio visigodo de Madrid capital. *Anuario de Prehistoria Madrileña*. Madrid. 4-6, p. 167-174.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1936b) – Westgotische Adlerfibeln aus Spanien. *Germania*, 20, p. 47-52.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1936c) – The Cyclopean Walls at Tarragona. *Antiquity*, 10, p. 72-77.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1937) – L'état actuel de l'archéologie dans l'Île de Minorque. *Commission Internationale pour la Préhistoire de la Méditerranée occidentale* (Barcelona, 1935). Barcelona: Musée d'Archéologie de Catalogne, p. 25-28.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1940a) – El collar de Chão de Lamas, provincia de Beira. *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, Letras, 1, p. 112-121.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1940b) – Nuevas fibulas aquiliformes hispanovisigodas. *Archivo Español de Arqueología*. Madrid. 14 (41), p. 33-54.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1941a) – Esquema paleontológico de la Península hispánica. In J. MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA (ed.), *Corona de Estudios que la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnología y Prehistoria dedica a sus mártires*. I. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p. 141-166.

- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1941b) – Recensión de B. Taracena Aguirre, *Carta Arqueológica de España*, Soria. Madrid, 1941”. *Atlantis. Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*. Madrid. 16 (3-4): 506-513.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1941c) – Joyas visigodas falsas en el Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona. *Atlantis. Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*. Madrid. 16 (1-2), p. 192-193.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1942) – Escondrijo de la Edad del Bronce Atlántico en Huerta de Arriba (Burgos). *Atlantis. Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*. Madrid. 17, p. 127-164.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1946 a) – *Esquema paleontológico de la Península hispánica*. Madrid: Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1946 b) – Cereales y plantas de la Cultura Ibero-Sahariana en Almizaraque (Almería). *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva*. Madrid. Año 1, n.º 1, 11 p.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1947) – Obras maestras hispánicas de la cerámica de estilo campaniforme. *Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva del Hombre*. Madrid. 2 (2), p. 65-94.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1948) – El fragmento cerámico céltico. *Boletim do Grupo Alcades de Faria*. Barcelos. 1, p. 21-28.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1950) – La indoeuropeización de España. *Homenaje a Don Luis de Hoyos Sáinz*. II. Madrid: Gráficas Valera, p. 378-387.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1951) – El Crannog de la laguna de Acequión en la provincia de Albacete. *Anales del Seminario de Historia y Arqueología de Albacete*, 1, p. 5-12.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1952) – Las murallas ciclópeas de Tarragona. *Real Sociedad Arqueológica de Tarragona*, 3, p. 1-5.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1971) – *Catálogo de la Exposición de Antigüedades Persas*. Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Madrid.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1978) – *Historia del Arte y de la Cultura*. Salamanca-Madrid: Gráficas Europa.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. (1995) – Estudio de Prehistoria Burgalesa III. Edad del Bronce. In R. CASTELO, L.M. CARDITO, I. PANIZO & I. RODRÍGUEZ CASANOVA, *Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. Crónicas de la cultura arqueológica española*. Madrid: Stock Cero, p. 93-98.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J. & SAEZ MARTÍN, B. (1947) – Orígenes anatolioegeos y orientales del Bronce Mediterráneo Hispanico. *Informes y Memorias*. Madrid. 16, p. 121-158.
- MARTÍNEZ SANTA-OLALLA, J.; SÁEZ, B.; POSAC, C. F.; SOPRANIS, J. A. & VAL, E. del (1947) – *Excavaciones en la ciudad del Bronce Mediterráneo II, de la Bastida de Totana (Murcia)*. Madrid: Informes y Memorias, 16.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. (2003-04) – Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla y la interpretación ariana de la Prehistoria de España (1939-1949). *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, 69-70, p. 13-55.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. (2010) – Cayetano de Mergelina, Catedrático de Arqueología y Director del Museo Arqueológico Nacional. *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arqueología*, 76, p. 179-212.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. (2012) – El periplo académico de Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla en la década de los cincuenta. In L. ROLDÁN & J. BLÁNQUEZ (eds.) – *Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla y el descubrimiento arqueológico de Carteia (1953-1961)* (Cádiz-Huelva-Madrid, 2012). Madrid: Ediciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, p. 68-81.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. (2017) – Martín Almagro Basch, un balance de su trayectoria científica (1934-1984). *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*. Madrid. 43, p. 251-289.
- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. (2019) – Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Joan Flaquer i la prehistòria de Menorca (1922-1957). In C. DESEL (ed.) – *Joan Flaquer i l'enigma dels 400 vasos. 50 ans d'arqueologia menorquina (1910-1960)*. Maó: Museu de Menorca, p. 110-121, 252-259, 307-314.

- MEDEROS MARTÍN, A. & ESCRIBANO COBO, G. (2011) – *Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Luis Diego Cuscoy y la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de las Canarias Occidentales (1939-1955)*. Sevilla-Tenerife: Canarias Arqueológica Monografías, 5. Museo Arqueológico de Tenerife.
- MOURE ROMANILLO, A. (1996) – Hugo Obermaier, la institucionalización de las investigaciones y la integración de los estudios de prehistoria en la universidad española. In A. MOURE (ed.) – ‘*El Hombre Fossil*’. 80 años después. *Volumen conmemorativo del 50 aniversario de la muerte de Hugo Obermaier*. Gijón-Santander: Universidad de Cantabria-Fundación Marcelino Botín, p. 17-50.
- OLMOS ROMERA, R. (1993): “Historiografía de las primeras cartas arqueológicas en España”. En A. JIMENO, J. M. del VAL y J. J. FERNÁNDEZ (eds.): *Inventarios y Cartas Arqueológicas. Homenaje a Blas Taracena* (Soria, 1991). Junta de Castilla y León. Valladolid: 45-56.
- ORTEGA, A. I. & QUERO, S. (2002) – Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla. 1905, Burgos-12 Febrero de 1972, Madrid. *Bifaces y elefantes. La investigación del Paleolítico Inferior en Madrid. Zona Arqueológica*. Madrid. 1, p. 194-213.
- PAÇO, A. do (1929) – *Cartas às Madrinhas de Guerra*. Porto: Edição de Maranus.
- PAÇO, A. do (1951) – Padre Eugénio Jalhay. *Arqueologia e História*. Lisboa. 8.ª Série, 5, p. 29-66.
- PAÇO, A. do (1956) – 4.º Congresso Internacional das Ciências Pré-Históricas e Proto-Históricas. *Arqueologia e História*. Lisboa. 8.ª série, 7, p. 211-237.
- PAÇO, A. do (1959) – Castro de Vila Nova de S. Pedro. XI – Nota sobre un tipo de cerámica del estrato Vila Nova I. *Ampurias*. Barcelona. 21, p. 252-260.
- PAÇO, A. do & ARTHUR, M. L. C. (1956) – Castro de Vila Nova de S. Pedro. Le problème de la metallurgie. 4.º *Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Prehistoricas y Protohistoricas (Madrid, 1954)*. Actas. Zaragoza: Librería General, p. 535-542.
- PAÇO, A. do & SANGMEISTER, E. (1956) – Eine befestigte Siedlung der Kupferzeit in Portugal. *Germania*. Berlim. 34 (3/4), p. 212-230.
- PASAMAR, G. & PEIRÓ, I. (2002) – *Diccionario Akal de Historiadores españoles contemporáneos (1840-1980)*. Madrid: Akal.
- PERICOT GARCÍA, L. (1963) – La escuela arqueológica barcelonesa. II *Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular (Barcelona, 1962)*. Barcelona: Instituto de Arqueología y Prehistoria. Universidad de Barcelona, p. xviii-xxviii.
- QUERO CASTRO, S. (1994) – Excavación del elefante de Orcasitas (Madrid). *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas*. Madrid. 9, p. 11-16.
- QUERO CASTRO, S. (1995-96) – Cuarenta años de historia del Instituto Arqueológico Municipal. *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología Madrileñas*. Madrid. 10, p. 193-200.
- RIBEIRO, M. & CARDOSO, J. L. (2013) – Três décadas de escavações em Vila Nova de São Pedro (1937-1967). *Arqueologia em Portugal. 150 anos*. Lisboa: Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses (2013), p. 39-47.
- SÁNCHEZ GÓMEZ, L. A. (2001) – Etnología y Prehistoria en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Crónica de una desigual vinculación (1922-2000). *Complutum*. Madrid. 12, p. 249-272.
- SANTOS JÚNIOR, J. R. (1975) – A cultura dos berrões no Nordeste de Portugal. *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto. 22 (4), p. 353-516.
- SERRÃO, E. C. (1959) – Cerâmica com ornatos a cores da Lapa do Fumo (Sesimbra). *1.º Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia (Lisboa, 1958)*. Actas e Memórias. Lisboa: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1, p. 337-359.
- SILVA, A. C. Ferreira da (2007) – *A Cultura Castreja no Noroeste de Portugal*. 2.ª edição. Paços de Ferreira: Câmara Municipal de Paços de Ferreira.
- TRIMBORN, H. (1929) – *Die Methode der Ethnologischen Rechtsforschung*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke.
- ZBYSZEWSKI, G. & FERREIRA, O. da Veiga (1958) – Estação pré-histórica da Penha Verde (Sintra). *Comunicações dos Serviços Geológicos de Portugal*. Lisboa. 39, p. 37-60.
- ZBYSZEWSKI, G. & VIANA, A. (1949) – Grutas de Maceira (Vimeiro). *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*. Porto. 12 (1/2), p. 114-125.