Recorriendo la Memoria
Touring Memory

Edited by

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Introduction / Introducción

Touring Memory – Recorriendo la Memoria

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During the JIA 2009 I had the opportunity to co-organize (with David García from UAB) a session devoted to Memory and Archaeology. Although it was a great success, mostly thanks to the rich discussion we enjoyed after the papers, we could not have all the ones we expected due to different circumstances.

This volume compiles these and other contributions with the scope that the elapsed time has given. The thread of the contributions focuses on two concepts: Memory and Archaeology (as the title points out).

The word "Memory" refers to the past, our individual memories and the collective ones. "Wander around memory" (Recorrer la memoria) is a Spanish phrase that means "to think in order to remember what happened". Now that retrieving (historical) memory is changing from being a commitment to being a fashion, it is more needed to "wander around memory" to set our position as professionals in archaeology.

All the contributions in this volume share a common idea: the analysis of "memories" generated from conflict. Too frequently, collective memory brews around different traumatic events framed in armed conflicts. Conflict generates memory, but memory generates conflict too, feeding a vicious circle manifested in some of the processes to retrieve historical memory that are still open today.

There is a series of contributions in this volume that analyse the implications between memory and archaeology, mainly focusing on the Spanish experience (Civil War and Franco's dictatorship), but also on other experiences besides the Second World War.

This route starts in Chile and Argentina. First of all, Carlos Carrasco tries to show us the valuable inputs of archaeology in the process to retrieve the memory lost during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile (1973-1990). As one of the most recent events that will be analysed in this volume, the participation of archaeologists in Chile has been fundamental, not only for the families of the repressed, but also for the prosecution of the military dictatorship. Crossing the border to Argentina, Soledad Biasatti and Gonzalo Compañy come with a reflexion about our position as archaeologists from the study of clandestine detention centres in the times of the Junta Militar (1976-1983).

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, Jin Soo Park takes us to Korea and the building of a new national identity in which the Japanese occupation is 'forgotten'. The controversy of using archaeology as a tool for identity building faces now the planning of Korean national museums.

Finally we arrive to Europe, were recent conflicts keep open wounds in several countries. Firstly, Kristina Penezić and Jovana Tripković approach ethnic conflict in postwar Balkans with the Serbian example. The emergence of new ethnic identities after a conflict that dismembered completely former Yugoslavia, makes archaeology face the challenge of setting up an identity away from resentment and ultranationalism.

Then, ariving to the Iberian Peninsule, Sergio Gomes anlayzes, from an anthropological point of view, the ideologic indoctrination processes in Italy and Portugal during their respective regimes.

As an introduction to the remembrance process occurred in Spain especially during the last years, Ignacio Fernandez's contribution analyzes the last decade of events around the retrieving of the historical memory and the new conflict that this has generated in the country due to the reinterpretation of a past lived by most of the population. Laura Muñoz and Francisco Javier García present the case of Llerena (Badajoz, Spain), where archaeology helps to recover more than bodies, the memory of the repressed. But this retrieving of

memory does not meet yet some of the basic requirements that have already been got in other countries. Juan Montero analyzes how, besides laws and protocols, exhumations do not complete the restitution process from a legal point of view. As part of the protocols, physical anthropology has become an essential tool for the recovery of the bodies. Alba Aran, David García and Iván Sánchez analyze the contributions of this discipline for the excavation of mass graves while they ponder the situation of archaeologists in a process that, beyond research, has strong social implications.

But the retrieve of memory in Spain is not limited to the exhumation of mass graves of the repressed. It goes beyond. There are several projects currently taking place for the study of historical landscapes of the war and the repression. The last two contributions focus more in this aspect. Firstly, Verónica García and Pascual Ortega analyze the 'destruction of memory' form one of the most emblematic places for Francoise repression, Carabanchel prison (Madrid, Spain), which was recently demolished even though the strong social claim for its preservation. And to finish, Beatriz del Mazo brings an analysis of contemporary amateur photography about the war, highlighting that the conflict s still alive and photography is an exceptional resource for the study of collective memory.

The present volume contains an interesting set of contributions that offer a wide scope of ideas and points of view about the concepts of Memory and Archaeology. This is only small sample of all the processes that took, or are taking place, all around the world. However, it is a representative sample, not maybe in quantity but in the variety of approaches to the topic.

Finally, I cannot finish this introduction without thanking everyone involved in this volume for their commitment and support. I am personally satisfied with the result of the present volume and I am sure it will be a major contribution to the subject.

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Durante el pasado JIA 2009 tuve la oportunidad de co-organizar (con David García, de la UAB) una sesión dedicada a los conceptos de Memoria y Arqueología. Si bien la sesión resultó un auténtico éxito, sobre todo gracias al enriquecedor debate que sucedió a las comunicaciones, éstas quedaron mermadas por las circunstancias y no contamos con toda la variedad que teníamos prevista.

El presente volumen recoge esas y otras colaboraciones con la reflexión a la que ha dado oportunidad el tiempo transcurrido. Y el hilo conductor de las participaciones gira en torno a dos conceptos: Memoria y Arqueología (como el propio título bien indica).

La palabra "Memoria" alude al pasado, a nuestros recuerdos individuales y colectivos. Recorrer la memoria, es una locución verbal que significa "reflexionar para acordarse de lo que pasó". Y en estos tiempos en los que recuperar la memoria (histórica) está pasando de ser un compromiso a ser una moda, resulta cada vez más conveniente hacer un recorrido por la memoria que nos sitúe en nuestra posición como profesionales de la arqueología.

Una nota común que comparten todas las contribuciones del presente volumen es el análisis de una serie de "memorias" generadas desde el conflicto. Con demasiada frecuencia, la memoria colectiva se gesta en torno a hechos traumáticos que suelen relacionarse con conflictos armados de distinta índole. El conflicto genera memoria, pero la memoria también genera conflicto, alimentando un círculo vicioso que se manifiesta en muchos de los procesos de recuperación de la memoria que permanecen abiertos hoy en día.

A continuación, se presentan una serie de contribuciones que analizan la implicación que existe entre arqueología y memoria, principalmente con el caso español (Guerra Civil y dictadura) pero también con experiencias en otros países sin la repercusión de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

El recorrido comienza en Chile y Argentina. En primer lugar, Carlos Carrasco nos presenta una visión de las aportaciones de la arqueología a la recuperación de la memoria perdida durante la dictadura de Pinochet en Chile (1973-1990). Como uno de los casos más recientes que se analizarán en el presente volumen, la aportación de la arqueología en el proceso de recuperación de la memoria en Chile ha sido fundamental, no solo para las familias de los represaliados, sino también para el enjuiciamiento de la dictadura militar. Cruzando la frontera hacia Argentina, Soledad Biasatti y Gonzalo Compañy nos presentan una reflexión

sobre la posición del arqueólogo en la recuperación de la memoria histórica a través del estudio de centros clandestinos de detención de la Junta Militar (1976-1983).

Cruzando el Pacífico, Jin Soo Park nos traslada a Corea y el problema que se presenta al intentar construir una memoria propia en la que se elimina la influencia de la ocupación japonesa. El uso de la arqueología como herramienta para la construcción de la identidad nacional, resulta peligroso y los museos coreanos se encuentran hoy ante esa encrucijada.

Así llegamos a Europa, donde los conflictos recientes mantienen heridas abiertas en muchos países. En primer lugar, Kristina Penezić y Jovana Tripković se acercan a los problemas étnicos en los Balcanes con el caso de Serbia. El surgimiento de nuevas identidades étnicas tras un conflicto que desmembró por completo la antigua Yugoslavia, pone a la arqueología ante el reto de conseguir forjar una memoria alejada del resentimiento y el ultranacionalismo.

Por su parte, acercándonos a la Península Ibérica, Sergio Gomes analiza desde el punto de vista antropológico los procesos de adoctrinamiento ideológico en Italia y Portugal durante sus respectivos regímenes fascistas.

Como introducción al proceso que ha generado la recuperación de la Memoria Histórica en España, el trabajo de Ignacio Fernández analiza el transcurso de los acontecimientos durante la última década y el nuevo conflicto creado en el país con la relectura de un pasado vivido por la mayoría de población. Laura Muñoz y Francisco Javier García exponen el caso concreto de la localidad de Llerena (Badajoz, España) donde la arqueología permite recuperar la memoria de los represaliados. Pero esta recuperación de la memoria sigue sin cumplir con algunos de los requisitos básicos que se han conseguido en otros procesos fuera de España y así Juan Montero analiza cómo, a pesar de leyes y protocolos, las exhumaciones no terminan de completar ese proceso de restitución desde el punto de vista jurídico. Como parte de los protocolos, la antropología física se ha convertido en una herramienta esencial en la recuperación de cuerpos. Alba Aran, David García e Iván Sánchez analizan las aportaciones de esta disciplina a la excavación de fosas además de reflexionar sobre la posición del arqueólogo en todo el proceso, que más allá de la investigación, tiene unas fuertes implicaciones sociales.

Pero la recuperación de la memoria en España desde la arqueología no se ciñe (o no debería ceñirse) solo a la exhumación de los restos de los represaliados, sino que puede ir más allá. Hoy existen varios proyectos analizando paisajes históricos de la guerra y la represión. Los dos últimos trabajos se dirigen hacia ese ámbito.

En primer lugar, Verónica García y Pascual Ortega analizan la "destrucción de la memoria" desde uno de los lugares más emblemáticos de la represión franquista, la cárcel de Carabanchel (Madrid, España), que fue recientemente demolida a pesar del clamor popular por su conservación. Y por último, Beatriz del Mazo nos presenta un análisis de la fotografía contemporánea amateur sobre la guerra, poniendo de manifiesto que el conflicto sigue vivo y que la fotografía representa un recurso excepcional para el estudio de la memoria colectiva.

En definitiva, contamos con un interesante conjunto de trabajos que ofrecen un amplio espectro de ideas y puntos de vista en torno a los conceptos de Memoria y Arqueología. Por supuesto, esto es solo un pequeño ejemplo de todos los procesos que se han llevado o se están llevando a cabo a lo largo y ancho del mundo. Sin embargo, se trata de una muestra representativa, no ya en la cantidad, sino en la variedad de aproximaciones al tema.

Finalmente, no puedo terminar esta introducción sin agradecer a todas las personas que han participado su esfuerzo y apoyo. Personalmente estoy contento con el resultado de este volumen y estoy seguro de que representará una aportación importante al tema.

CHAPTER 5

CULTURA MATERIAL E IDEOLOGÍA: CONSTRUYENDO "IDENTIDAD DE LAS COSAS ETERNAS" BAJO LAS DICTADURAS FASCISTAS DE ITALIA Y PORTUGAL

MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY: CONSTRUCTING "IDENTITY OF TIMELESS THINGS" UNDER ITALIAN AND PORTUGUESE FASCIST DICTATORSHIPS

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Abstract: In the period between the wars, two dictatorial regimes of a traditionalistic right wing became powerful in Italy and Portugal. These dictatorships held Nationalism to be their main ideological source, and they were intent on defending national values by promoting a National Identity that was presented as the authentic way of being Italian or Portuguese. This is a comparative analysis of the National Identities promoted within these two political projects. Concepts of National Identity provided people with a whole new way of being part of the Nation, embodying a moral attitude where it seemed that people could find the answers to all their questions. In this article, I analyse some official documents (speeches and posters of political propaganda) relevant to this question, and discuss how ideology is reflected in the regime's discourse and material culture.

Keywords: Fascism, Estado Novo, Romanità, Reaportuguesamento; Ideology; National Identity.

Resumen: En el periodo de entreguerras, dos regimenes dictatoriales de la derecha más tradicional se hicieron Fuertes en Italia y Portugal. Estas dictaduras hicieron del nacionalismo su principal fuente ideológica y trataron de defender los valores nacionales con la promoción de una identidad nacional presentada como la forma auténtica de ser portugués e italiano. Este trabajo presenta un análisis comparativo de las identidades nacionales promovidas por ambos regimenes. Los distintos conceptos que conformaban la identidad nacional de ambos países, ofrecían a la gente una nueva forma de ser parte de la nación, conformando una serie de actitudes morales que parecían responder a todas sus necesidades. En el presente artículo se analizan varios documentos oficiales (discursos y carteles de propaganda política) de relevancia para esta cuestión. Así mismo, se discute como la ideología se refleja en el discurso del régimen y la cultura material.

Palabras Clave: Fascismo, Estado Novo, Romanità, Reaportuguesamento, Ideología, Identidad Nacional.

1. Introduction

In this article, I aim to discuss how material culture was used, during Fascism in Italy and *Estado Novo* in Portugal, in the production of the regimes' discourses on National Identity[1]. In order to do this, I will use several items of 1920s and 1930s propaganda such as speeches and images. I will consider three main aspects of these dictatorships ideologies: the internal organization based on a corporative model, the international relationships based on the imperialist colonial policy, and the leadership's cult. By selecting these three themes, I aim to demonstrate how each created links with several national elements in order to legitimatize their projects, and how National Identity was called upon in their making. I will argue that although National Identity is reflected in all of the policies, we might find a closer relationship between the policies of internal organization and the selection of elements that acted as

sources of that identity's essence: between the colonial policies and the history of Italian and Portuguese ancient Empires, and between the leadership's cult and the kind of citizenship suggested by the National Identity for each country under these dictatorships. With these connections in mind, I intend to explore how ideology and political projects interact in the study of several subjects, arguing that political interests have implications in how scholars have managed their research.

2. *Romanità* and *Portugalidade* and Mussolini and Salazar's ideology and political projects

By comparing the Nationalism of Fascism in Italy and of *Estado Novo* in Portugal, I choose to emphasize the following aspects on the way the Nation and life were conceptualized: the existence of Nation as a natural element that arises from cultural unity and the right to self-determination of communities; a cyclic vision of a national past composed of moments of degeneration and flourishing; a national culture and spirit as an essence around which the Nations' forces gravitate and achieve

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[1]   This article continues a discussion about the way National Identity was constructed under these regimes (Gomes 2010). In that article I argued that we could see it as a construction linking concepts as "Cyclic Theory of History", "cultural essentialism" and "Nation as an organic entity".

their fate; and, lastly, the "mythological" way – or the mission to accomplish it – in which the political discourse re-equates these elements in light of the projects that it aims to achieve. This conceptualization of the Nation allowed the development of a discourse in which the idea of Nation was used in a way that Hannah Arendt has called the tyranny of logic (2004 [1948]: 626). The Nation was taken as the principle by which to explain everything, and all actions or materials were to be interpreted in terms of the Nation itself. It follows that National Identity was not juridical or cultural, but rather an individual way of being. In this sense, the Nation becomes a horizon of meaning in which materials and people engage and live their lives. In order to develop these ideas, in the following sections I will discuss how Mussolini and Salazar used a knowledge of material culture to legitimize their policies.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION POLICY, THE NATION'S ESSENCE AND A CYCLIC VISION OF A NATIONAL PAST

Rome and Roman ruins as the main source of romanità

In the discourse on National Identity during the fascist period the *romanità* arises as a synopsis of a whole slur of values, as a model for the organization of society, and of historical examples of the Italian ideal. At the core of this concept resides the *virtus romana*, that is, a moral attitude where the collective interest overpowers individual interests in defending justice and order, as well as the courage and the duty of undertaking a universal civilizing mission (Visser, ibid.:13-14). The cult of *romanità* precedes fascism, as it was used to legitimize the colonial aspirations in the Mediterranean ever since the end of the nineteenth century (ibid.: 7; Altekamp, 2004: 57-60). Such political interest has to do with the popularity of these elements in social memory, and is expressed not only in the numerous institutions and scholars devoted to its study, but also in the fact that it constitutes one of the key elements of school learning (Visser, ibid.: 6). Thus, its adoption by fascism is in part due to its roots in the Italian society of the twenties, with its promotion constituting a way to ensure cohesion between the multiplicity of interests and the adhesion of the masses to the movement (ibid.: 10). At the same time, the corporation policies promoted by the fascist government were inspired by *romanità* and were used as a metaphor for its purposes.

Rome, and its Roman ruins, were taken as scenarios where people could experience the *virtus romana*. This emphasis on *romanità,* and the idea that ancient ruins could act as its source, were accompanied by a relevant investment in these elements. Gentile argues that Rome constitutes one of the pillars of fascist symbology (ibid.). In fact, as Mussolini proclaimed:

> *The entire practice of Latin virtue is here in front of me. It represents a heritage, which I try to make use of; and its nature never changes. It is out there, eternal – Rome (quoted by Gentile, ibid.: 245).*

The ruins of the Roman city were excavated, restored and inserted in a town planning that articulated these old elements of *romanità* with the new buildings of the regime, and the commemorative calendar (Schnapp, 1996; Ghirado, 1996). As Marc Guillaume refers,

> *in Civilization and its Discontents, Freud had fun to imagine a Rome overloaded with all their excessive monuments (…). The policy of Mussolini seeks to materialize the opposite image of a Rome presenting only one layer of its past, having squeezed the time between its present and a caricature image of its antiquity (ibid. :142).*

This juxtaposition of Roman Italy, namely that of Augustus' time, with Fascist Italy is also expressed in the simultaneous inauguration of the *Mostra Augustea della Romanità* and *Mostra della Rivolutione Fascista*. Such exhibitions had the purpose of exalting the values of the *romanità* and historically justifying the rise of fascism as a warranty in rendering the glories of the past (Díaz-Andreu, 2003: 40). The revitalization of Roman ruins took place thoughout the entire spatial extent of Italian influence: in Albania (Gilkes, 2004), Egypt (Begg, 2004) and Libya (Altekamp: 2004, Munzi: 2004), archaeological missions were carried out to study and to valorise the ruins of the old Roman Empire. As Altekamp argued, the "restoration to life" of the cities in the Tripolitanian coast acted as a sort of corrective action that sought to bring attention to the Italian sovereignty (ibid. 60-61).

In the context of the multiple examples of this correlation between the Roman world and the political project of the Fascist regime, one should note the *Via dell'Impero* in Rome, built for the celebration of the tenth birthday of the regime's establishment. This avenue placed emblematic buildings in the history of Rome such as the *Pallazzo Venezia* (where Mussolini had his office), the Basilica of Maxentius, the Vitor Emanuel's Monument, the Coliseum and Constantine's Arch, in relation to each other. As Heather Hyde Minor explain,

> *by creating a ritual space in the centre of ancient Rome, and by using that space for the re-enactment of the March, Mussolini was saturating the whole ritual with historical, and explicitly imperial, grandeur. Further, by marching on, over and around the material remains of the Roman empire, he was asserting a palpable connection between his own empire and the ancient one, and providing a historical legitimization for his regime's adoption of imperial rhetoric (1999: 153).*

Countryside habits, Nation's History and Catholicism as sources of portugalidade

The discourse of the *Estado Novo* on National Identity emphasised the traditions and habits of the Portuguese people. Such aspects relate to a form of rural life, unaffected by external influences, and where the roots of the national

soul were seen to lie. Rural life was characterized by the regime as a simple life, where people lived under the community's rules and values (in terms of work, family, homeland and religion), and focused on this kind of scenario to promote an idea of an internal, peaceful and harmonious coexistence (Cunha, ibid.: 30-34; Melo, 2001: 46-50). It should be pointed out that the myth of the village in the *Estado Novo* is similar to that of Rome for fascism, that is, as the source of the essence of the National Identity. In this sense, the regime put into practice a series of preservation measures and the promotion of popular culture - known as the *Politics of the Spirit*, among which we may highlight the contest to find "The Most Portuguese Village in Portugal". This award, won by Monsanto (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco), was described by the Minister of the National Propaganda António Ferro:

> *This contest (...) it is worth, above all, for the excuse that gives us of diving in the Portuguese land, of pulling some of their secrets, finding, here and there, hidden among the rocks, in the high of the mountains or in the heart of the valleys, the source of the race (quoted by Melo, ibid.: 221)*

Thus, the village and rural life are taken to be a part of National Identity, being interpreted as the source of the essence of the Nation or, in António Ferro's words, the "source of the race". In that sense, just as the *romanità* constitutes the element by which the Fascist ideology emerges, the values of the Portuguese traditionalism are the element of inspiration for the corporation, authoritarian and moralist politics of the *Estado Novo* (Cunha, ibid.; Melo, ibid.). So, it was in this discourse that *Estado Novo* legitimated its politics of *reaportuguesamento* of Portugal. These are the values that, according to the regime, needed to be promoted in order to save the Nation from degeneration.

Figure 1 synthesizes the idea that lies at the heart of the National Identity's dynamics carried out by the regime. It is a poster connected with the *reaportuguesamento* policy, corresponding to "Salazar's Lesson". In the left corner the

Figure 1 Political flyer
Source: Reproduced courtesy of www.oliveirasalazar.org

message "God, Homeland, Family - the national education trinity" informs us of the values that people should concern themselves with. The image illustrates that trinity in a very simple way: the rural family is the symbol of traditionalism and Portuguese specificity, so it may be interpreted as a metaphor of the national family; the home-made altar near the door invokes God and the universal vocation that sustains the colonial empire; and the castle, seen through the window, with the national flag hoisted, represents the Nation - *Estado Novo* - that allows the materialization and the expansion of Portuguese singularity in the world through time.

Just as Italian fascism had privileged the Roman period in the construction of its National Identity, Salazarism also focused its attention on particular national historic episodes. The Exhibition of the Portuguese World in 1940 would be the synthesis par excellence of the instrumentalization of history by the *Estado Novo*. The organization of the exhibition was accompanied by the restoration of several national monuments by the *Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* (Department of National Buildings and Monuments). This institution was created in 1929 with the purpose of gathering together the many pre-existing state services that were concerned with the preservation and restoration of buildings and national monuments. This institution worked in several ways towards the commemoration of the regime. It started with the commemoration of Year X of the National Revolution (1936) and then, from 1938, it was highly subsidized for the commemoration of the VIII Centenary of Portugal's Foundation and the III Centenary of the Restoration of the National Independence in 1940 – the year of The Exhibition of the Portuguese World. In these years, under the established coordination of Salazar, with Duarte Pacheco as head of the Ministry of the Public Works, Baltazar de Castro as head of the Service of Monuments, and Raul Lino as head of the Partition of Studies and Works of Monuments and responsible for the arrangement of the National Palaces, 180 restorations were made. (Fabião, 1996; Neto, 1999; Rodrigues, 1999).

The exhibition of 1940 presented three main thematic groups: History, Metropolitan Ethnography and Colonial Ethnography which, as pointed out before, was explained as the result of the universal vocation which Portuguese people had and as a symbol of the union and greatness of the Nation. This exhibition also celebrated the antiquity of this universal project. The commemorative pretext was eight hundred years of nationality and three hundred years of the Re-establishment of Independence. The logic of the discourse that the pavilions offered was the historical and ethnographic legitimacy of the regime's ideology. Thus, since it was during the spirit of the Crusades that the Nation was formed, it was on the mission for the expansion of Christian faith and how the territory was enlarged during the Discoveries; the unity that arose from that battle – the Nation – and which was the main reason for the fight for independence against the Spanish crown in 1640, and the defence of this legacy was the argument used by

Estado Novo to make a link with the past. So, this "holly battle" discourse served as a legitimizing element for the authoritarian leaders of the regime, and that was used by the regime to promote itself as the new *Golden Age* of the Nation. In fact, the *Estado Novo* policy "tries to show itself less as coercion forces than as paternalistic action: what is in cause is not the indiscriminate action of who governs, but the prosecution of the only legitimate policy - the one that will allow them to achieve again the fate that disastrous historical circumstances had made them lose"(Cunha, ibid.: 113-114).

Cultural essences, political propaganda and the development of scientific subjects

In the Italian case, *romanitá* was used in a monolithic way to support all kinds of political projects (Días-Andreu, 2003:35). In fact, as we will see in the following sub-section, the Roman world had been used as a source of legitimization for all kinds of politic projects. In the Portuguese case, a Nation's essence was summoned through the countryside habits from several historical periods, such as the Foundation of the Nation and the Discoveries, trying to create an idea of a robbed spirit which defines *portugalidade*. This complex web of interpretations of the Past, and of national culture, would have repercussions in the development of the different disciplines in each of the countries that study these subjects. Unlike the Italian case, where archaeology benefited from Mussolini's interest in the *romanità*, in Portugal, archaeology would go through a period of stagnation (Jorge, Jorge, 1996), whereas ethnography and history would have larger investment. It should be noted that the restoration made by *Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* did not pay much attention to any kind of archaeological investigation of the monuments, in fact the working teams were made of architects and engineers, and they were more concerned with urban questions. Even when a discipline was of interest to the regime, the scientific research was always made political. As Altekamp argues with the Italian colonial archaeology in Libya, in spite of the countless innovations that archaeology had experimented with in the interwar period, with Fascism, methodological concerns were substituted by the single concern of inserting archaeology into the dynamics of propaganda (ibid.).

This last aspect is very important, as these regimes allowed unprecedented diffusion of a series of elements that had traditionally been only for the knowledge of higher social classes. The political propaganda, and regular commemorations, brought to the public domain many erudite elements whose access had previously been banned to the popular layers of the population. Evidently, in spite of the advantages of this phenomenon, it should be noted that this does not excuse the whole process of manipulation of knowledge and people. The process of democratization of knowledge that this may suggest, is to a certain extent an illusion, because it is obvious that what the regime wanted was to control the national community. In other words, by contributing to the citizens' formation, giving them a formation based upon a discourse on National Identity, the state was constructing a system of significances which in turn gave them control. National Identity was connected to a political control of all cultural and social forms of expression, a kind of counter-power that the regime needed to manipulate – through its ability to silence, exclude, distort or integrate – and to ensure its maintenance.

THE COLONIAL POLICY, THE ANCIENT EMPIRE AND THE UNIVERSAL FATE OF THE NATION

Italy's Colonial Policy and the Roman Civilizing Mission

In the last sub-section, I referred to the construction of *Via dell'Impero* as one of the most expressive works concerning the juxtaposition of fascist and Roman Italy. Regarding Italian colonial policy and its legitimization strategies, there are other urban elements that should be noted. In fact, the connection between the Roman Empire and fascist imperialism became even more explicit when on April 21st, 1934, at the time of the celebrations of the foundation of Rome and of the *Festa del Lavoro*, four maps on the expansion of the Roman Empire were physically placed on the wall of the Basilica of Maxentius. These maps served to emphasize the imperialistic calling that defined the *romanità*, and a discourse that legitimated Fascist colonial policies. These celebrations preceded the invasion of Ethiopia, and after its annexation, in the celebrations of the March of Rome in 1938, a fifth map was put up on the wall (ibid.: 153-158). This juxtaposition was all the more efficient when one considers its similarity to the cartography that was used in schools, and which guaranteed its easy assimilation by the population. The addition of the fifth map to the sequence was not just a linear outline of the legitimization of the regime, but also an addition to the social imaginary and the idea of an ever-expanding growth of a Roman-Italian regime. With this purpose, it is also worth emphasizing the role of the social imaginary as a work and as an instrument for a political project. Selecting its contents, the social imaginary can be put to the state's service as a unifying element that informs reality, and at the same time promotes action, and a given type of behaviour. The social imaginary, as an interpretation and as a scheme of valorisation, promotes the adherence of a system of values and effectively intervenes to help individuals interiorize this scheme, modelling behaviours, capturing energies, and, if the need arises, dragging the popular forces towards a common action (Bazcko, 1985: 311).The fifth map was also circulated throughout Italy by the press. In 1937, in *Itália Imperiale* - a magazine of the newspaper *Popolo d'Italia* - it would appear associated with the statue of the wolf that illustrated the myth of the foundation of Rome, with flags of the Fascist regime and with a speech by Mussolini that invoked the city of Rome and Augustus' Empire. This combination of elements constitutes another example of the synthesis of the National Identity that was constructed by the regime: the city of Rome, the *virtus romana* and the Empire. The establishment of the colonial empire would bring a new element to the National Identity:

Figure 2 Map shown at the 1934 Colonial Exhibition in Porto
At the top: "Portugal is not a small country"
Source: Reproduced courtesy of www.oliveirasalazar.org

racism. The colonial experience, and the similarities with the Nazi regime, would lead the regime in 1937-38 to promulgate anti-indigenous and anti-Semitic laws that sought the defence of the purity of the Italian race. The history of Rome, and the defence of the *romanità*, once again, would be used to legitimize political action. In the editorial of the magazine *La Difesa della Razza*, its director Giorgio Almirante invoked the example of Caracala, accusing him of the fall of the Roman civilization when he allowed marriage among soldiers and indigenous people and attributed citizenship to their descendants (Munzi, ibid.: 80-83). In this way, from colonialism - the imperial mystic's of the *romanità* materialize - a new element of Italian identity emerges: the Italian race. With the *virtus romana* being exclusive to the Italian race, the regime could not allow the mixture of races in the civilizing mission that it was carrying out, this being the only way to guarantee the perpetuation of the *romanità*.

Portuguese Colonial Policy as a Sacred Mission

The imperial calling also constitutes one of the key elements of the Portuguese National Identity promoted by the *Estado Novo*. However, in a different trend to that developed by Mussolini, seeking fundamentally the expansion of the territory, Salazar integrates them into the National Identity to show the greatness of the Nation, and to preserve the

remaining possessions of the old colonial empire. Figure 2 is a map presented in the Colonial Exhibition of 1934 where a juxtaposition between the European continent, and the Colonial Portuguese Empire, is presented in order to demonstrate the territorial greatness of the Nation. This idea is reinforced by the title of the map: "Portugal is not a small country". The scale of the national territory depicted on this map expresses an idea of unity, where discontinuous territories are linked by divine will. In fact, as in the Italian case, Portugal presents a National Identity that rests on a universal calling associated to a civilizing mission. This way, the colonial policy is legitimized by a mystic perspective of the Nation's fate, whose territorial materialization, like in the Italian case, is the Empire. Therefore, the Age of the Discoveries becomes one of the main elements in the regime's propaganda to be used in its discourse about National Identity. However, in evoking this historical period, Portuguese fate or destiny is seen in a mystical way: to be an imperial Nation is not just the expression of a material power but is seen to be something that God bestowed upon Portugal. In fact, the idea of a colonial administration, as a mission that reveals Portugal's place in the world, prevails in the official discourse (Cunha, ibid.: 174).

This parallelism between the Christian religion and the national history is constant in political propaganda. The

Figure 3 Estado Novo's school figure.
Source: Reproduced courtesy of www.oliveirasalazar.org

regime emphasizes a series of myths concerning divine intervention in historical episodes, as well as establishing an intimate bond with the Catholic Church, namely, in the case of the cult of Fátima (Monteiro, Pinto, 2004:60-61). In this sense, the valorisation of the Christian *Reconquista,* and the spirit of the Crusades during the middle ages, constitute the ideal scenery for the narrative of the Foundation of Portugal. In the *Estado Novo*'s speech, the foundation of the Nation is seen in the context of a mission for the expansion of the Christian faith. The personality of Afonso Henriques, the herald of that mission, is seen as an instrument of God, a leader of the warlike group that struggles for the Christian faith and the man that saves the Nation from the individual interests of other feudal Lords (Mattoso, 1992).

In terms of national heroes, the regime also used the legend of *Viriato* and the *Lusitanos*, which argue that the Portuguese Nation has its roots in a pre-Roman scenery. These narratives cultivate an ethnic identity origin different from the other people (Matos 2002: 134; Guerra, Fabião, 1992; Fabião, 1996). However, I must emphasise that, in spite of valorising the Portuguese race, the regime became officially favourable to miscegenation (Monteiro, Pinto, ibid.: 61-62). Figure 3, a school book illustration, represents well this point, in fact the official discourse proclaimed racial variety as synonymous with a Portuguese universal destiny, and defended that, in spite of racial differences, all Portuguese people were equal citizens. Even if the European Portuguese Race would always be a superior one, that helped others find their true place in the Nation, as is shown by the central location being occupied by the European child in the illustration.

Ancient Empires, Colonial Policies and Racial Identity

As seen above, *romanità* and roman ruins were used as tools in fascist policy. Considering its interests in the

Mediterranean region, politicians had recalled the ancient Roman Empire to legitimatize its intentions and they had used these ruins as a material element to mark and bring together the old and new political force in the region. In the Portuguese case, already with colonial possessions, there is shown a historical and divine project which depicts Portugal, not only as a European territory, but also as a Nation understood as a sum of all its territories. It should be pointed out that some historical periods, whose characteristics would be susceptible to be used for the enlargement of the Nation, were silenced. A good example is the megalithic empire that the anthropologist Mendes Corrêa and the archaeologist Manuel Heleno have proposed. These scholars have argued that the national territory is the origin of megalithic architectures and made a connection between this culture and the birth of the Portuguese Nation.[2] This theory could have been used as a legitimizing argument to the imperialist policy, arguing that the Portuguese imperialistic spirit went back to a more distant period. However, the territory to which the Empire is linked was the European continent, and this takes it far from colonial interests. This theory has become popular among scholars, but there seems not to have been any interest whatsoever on the regime's part to make it into an object of political propaganda or source of legitimization (Fabião, 1996: 30-31; Fabião: 1999). In the same sense, pre-medieval elements in Portugal have always been part of an identification system that is based on a regional scale, and in their use as spatial borders for administrative divisions. Once again, megalithic monuments played an important part in these dynamics since place-names such as "Anta" or "Mamoa" are well-known and usually refer to this kind of construction. Consequently, considering several social groups share these elements, the absence of a political interest can be explained by the directions of the imperialist project. In effect, the imperialism of *Estado Novo* focused on the colonies, and the period of the Discoveries, as these two elements were seen as enough to legitimate their project. In fact, giving emphasis to Mendes Corrêa and Manuel Heleno's theories, it would have the disadvantage of including in the history of the Nation a moment of fall. Also, adopting that theory would have implications relating to the isolationist policy that characterizes relationships with other European countries.

Concerning the periods of the empire's decadence, the link between Portugal and Brazil should be mentioned: in the Exhibition of Paris 1937 Portugal presented Brazil among their colonies in spite of this country having acquired independence in 1822, and in the 1940s Exhibition Brazil was the only country which had a single pavilion. The presence of Brazil in the regime's commemorations expressed a connection between the two countries which came about as a consequence of both having a similar

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[2]   It is interesting noting that, for Manuel Heleno, there is a difference between the state and the nation, and the foundation of the first is linked with the Medieval Age and the second one, whose concept is more cultural, would go back to the Megalithic Times.

political regime.[3] However, this is also symptomatic of a strategy of the *Estado Novo* to solve the biggest loss of ancient colonial empire. The invocation of Brazil in these two events and its elevation, in terms of diplomatic and cultural relationships, to a "brother country", can be seen as the compensation, or possible resolution, for the loss of this old colony. In other words, this "brother country" was presented as a land where the Portuguese civilizing mission had triumphed in the creation of a Nation with the same statute as Portugal. This diplomatic scenario would have repercussions at the level of the acceptance of the luso-tropicalism theories of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freire that, when appropriate for the regime, it attributes to the *lusa* race a spontaneous will to miscegenation. Regarding racial policies and their connections with imperialism, it should be pointed out that, in the Italian case, the Decree of Caracala, which had favoured the miscegenation of the races and which had been interpreted as the main cause for the Empire's fall and, was the source of the legitimization of the anti-indigenous and xenophobes laws adopted by Fascism after the annexation of Ethiopia.

THE CULT OF THE LEADERSHIP AND NATIONAL IDENTITY PERFORMANCE

The Cult of Mussolini's leadership

As already discussed, *romanità* was an integral part of fascist ideology, a source of inspiration for the fascist ideology, offering and legitimizing the main characteristics of the regime: a foreign policy based on imperialism (alluding to the Roman Empire), a corporate internal affairs policy (in line with the tradition of an organic vision of state and society), and an authoritarian leader that bears the *virtus romana* (invoking Emperor Augustus) (ibid.: 15). In fact, "the *virtus romana* was considered the quintessence of Roman-Italian civilization, the *romanità*, which had existed continuously throughout European history, including the fascist revolution and Mussolini's leadership" (ibid.: 13-14). In this sense, the political propaganda was able to promote an idea of lineage that established a connection between Mussolini and the ancient heroes of Roman history: Aeneas, Romulus and Augustus. Giulio Quirnino Giglioli, the director of the *Mostra Augustea della Romanità*, argued that Mussolini was a direct descendant of the ancient Romans:

> *your actions are those of the greatest Romans of 2000 years ago… as the name of Romagna, your homeland, shows, its people preserve more than others their unaltered blood and spirit (quoted by Gilkes, 2004: 38).*

Accordingly, Mussolini became representative of the Nation's interest: he was a bearer of the highest values that defined the very soul of the Nation. The heroic status of Mussolini was reinforced by his role in many commemorations of the regime, whose rituals and

Figure 4 Political flyer from the 1940 Exhibition
Source: Reproduced courtesy of www.oliveirasalazar.org

performances made fascism a political religion (Gentile, ibid). Mussolini, like Augustus, was thus the *princeps* and *pontifex maximus* of the new Roman Empire. In fact, Mussolini was a key-element in the fascist movement, as a leader Mussolini had shown himself to be the great man that could do everything: working in his office, participating in the Forum digging, gathering cereal in the fields and, especially, exhibiting his military skills. As Gentile pointed out, *il duce* was a sort of projection of all myths and Mussolinism was a kind of religion (ibid.: 237).

The Cult of Salazar's leadership

To illustrate how Salazar managed his public image, I will analyze a poster exhibited in the 1940s Exhibition (Figure 4). In this image there is clearly a visual and ideological fusion between Salazar and Afonso Henriques. This juxtaposition seeks to create a lineage between the dictator and the Heroes of the Nation. Beside the strong ideological load of the image itself, the poster also presents three messages that reinforce the perspective of the regime on national history, the role of *Estado Novo,* and the figure of Salazar in that history. In the upper left corner it reads "Salazar - Homeland's Saviour", a message that grants Salazar the mission of continuing the work of the founder of

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[3]   Between 1930 and 1945, with Getúlio Vargas ahead of the government, Brazil lived in a dictatorship very similar to the Portuguese also named Estado Novo.

the Nation, combating the elements of instability of the First Republic, and inaugurating a new regeneration phase - the *Estado Novo*. In the shield, a weapon of defence, is written "Everything for the Nation, Nothing against the Nation" as if his authoritarian policies were a shield necessary for the maintenance of the Nation. Finally, at the bottom: "Blissful Homeland that has such children", is an invocation of the filiations' that characterise the spirit that lies behind this type of Nationalism, the citizens are children of the Nation because they carry its essence and are responsible for its growth. Thus, Salazar appears as an exemplary citizen - a hero, heir of the Nation's ancient legacy; an expert of *portugalidade,* who is able to guide the Nation to fulfil its destiny.

Leaders' personalities as examples of National Identity

Salazar's poster is an exception in the dictator's other public appearances. In fact, official propaganda had rarely rendered Salazar's image into this kind of more popular political propaganda. So it enhances the differences between Salazar and Mussolini in their performance as public persons and dictators. Unlike Mussolini, who often made performances in the commemorations of the regime and cultivated a military leader's image (adopting Roman Emperors' typical attitudes, for instance), Salazar had a more reserved attitude, promoting himself as a teacher or an economist that worked in order to stabilize the country (Pinto, 2005: 37). Considering this, we may wonder about the relationship between a dictators' public personality and the kind of policies that they promoted. Mussolini's earlier political career was connected with war affairs (one of the main groups that had supported a fascist movement were those who were discontent with the consequences of the First World War, for example). Therefore, war acted as a scenario where Mussolini could show a different identity, and that he could use as an example to all citizens (Guibernau, ibid.: 101-103). Considering this, emphasis was put on warlike activity in the study of the Roman world, and this point of view reinforces the link between the past and fascist military projects. In the Portuguese case, a war's ideal was also important but it was represented in a different way. Although fascism and Salazarism had shared the legimation of the colonial policy, as a supposedly civilizing mission defined by the essence of national culture, in Italy the metaphor of military battle was emphasized more than in Portugal. The war that Salazar proclaimed was more the Catholic metaphor of the everyday battle to live, like a working day battle to maintain the Nation or the work of a housekeeper dealing with the domestic economy and familiar needs (Martins, 1992). In the same sense, the nation's past and future were seen as part of a Christian duty that people should follow. This is not to argue that this idea was not used by Italian fascism, but in analysing each political project, this difference should be pointed out. Besides, this difference is more expressive during the period of the establishment of these dictatorships (1920s in Italy and 1930s in Portugal) than in other periods. Either way, Mussolini and Salazar's public personalities acted as the example for the National Identity they were promoting.

Mussolini presented himself as a new Roman Emperor acting in all situations that the Nation's affairs demanded, and reinforcing his power in war with the purpose to construct a new Roman world. Salazar acted as the teacher that the Nation needed in order to learn again how "to be Portugal", and he often invoked the housekeeper metaphor to show how politics and citizens should act to construct Portugal, a Nation turned into itself, closed to the world.

3. Conclusion

The idea of National Identity provided a set of values that allowed for the order, the 'necessary order', that established both regimes. Those values triggered the re-interpretation of several aspects of national history and culture that had been selected and ordered to explain the Past, the Present and the Future of the Nation. Italian Fascism and Portuguese Salazarism argued for an essentialist concept of culture, one that provided them with a reference point in which to portray the heterogeneity of the Nation. Arguing that this essence was a source of national prosperity, they linked it with the Golden Ages of the Nation and argued that if people acted like the ancient heroes a new Golden Age would come. Thus, these regimes promoted a cyclic vision of national history. This proposal was based on the political use of several aspects from the Past, which by propaganda (material culture i.e. posters, images in school books, images in newspapers…), were spread through the main groups of the population, and which used monuments and icons as a part of popular culture. Using these events from a glorious past, as scenarios or symbols for its identification and projects, politicians sought to promote themselves as leaders of the Nation who understood its essence and knew how to expand it. In fact, the prosperity of the Nation was closely linked to the Nation's essence, the source from which such prosperity would arise; the Portuguese Nation was understood as a living unity inspired by Divinity and its growth was Divinity's will. This aspect turns the state into a sacred institution that everyone should obey because, by serving its purposes, people would be serving the Divine and ensuring their own salvation in all senses.

I have analysed some of the images (paper images and images on stones) and speeches, which were produced during the 1920s in Italy and the 1930s in Portugal, in order to characterize the National Identity that these regimes constructed. I have attempted to demonstrate that there was a close relationship between what the political leaders emphasized in national culture and the political projects that they wanted to develop. In this sense, I also argued that that political emphasis or interest had conditioned the way scholars managed their research. In Italy, classical archaeology obtained more funding due to a Fascist interest in romanità. In Portugal, despite some government funding for archaeological research (Lilios, 1995, Fabião, ibid.), the political interest focused on historical periods and ethnographic elements allowing an increase in the study of these subjects. In fact, several materials, such as the sequence of maps illustrating the growth of the Roman Empire, that had preceded the establishment of

these regimes' political ideology and projects, acted as the principles that had given them a meaning in the social and cultural context. The relationship between those aspects of ideology and National Identity that I emphasized, illustrate how politicians can act in order to turn academic studies into political tools that could serve their purposes. The relationship between the colonial policies and ancient empires have clearly shown how the same imperialist pretensions can recall different historical episodes to support other racial policies and other representations of those empires. In the same way, a similar type of leadership could be performed, using different themes or aspects of themes from the past, in order to create a certain image of the leader who seeks to establish himself as the example to follow.

In viewing all of these examples, I think that the main point here involves the role of ideology in the production of knowledge. Following Hannah Arendt, ideology (or the tyranny of logic) could act as a construct and make people perceive "reality". By these means, an idea becomes a source for the explanation of life and, consequentially, offers a secure sense of reality (2006[1948]: 626-227). At the core of this, there is a regime of representation which confuses things and its representations (or ideas). This regime brings ideology so close into people's day-to-day worlds that naturalizes ideological constructions. Such a way of being with things, allows the view of things as an essence in a universal and atemporal dimension. To this, we should add the force of utopian discourses that work on people's desire for future happiness. If the representation exercises already emphasize the ubiquity of past materials, by showing it as a "past in the present", utopia takes it directly to the future… erasing its "life in time" and making it timeless. Such a timeless characteristic of things under ideology legitimizes the group who possesses and controls the discourse on it, turning them into eternal keepers of the true values of a community. The State becomes the keeper of the Nation; the political project that is the government of true life. And thus, making it possible to make a community accept and live under an ideology, whilst setting their expectations and life projects.

The importance I gave to "representation" in the last paragraph takes me to a critique made by John Barrett on the "representational model in archaeology"; according to him such a "model treats historical research as a problem of cause and effect, linking the past (as cause) to its present-day record"(1999 [1994]: 87). Within this model, we persist with the emphasis on past materials as ubiquitous realities that allow to travel in time. The diversity of those materials is systematized in order to identify practices and, through those practices, create identities located in time and space whose sum creates a past narrative to be used by any present identity. Present people are understood as heirs, whose inheritance is somewhere to be found in the material. "Past people and their material traces" are taken as raw materials, or as evidence, to be used in any identitarian strategy that seeks to legitimize some action to be taken within a political project. This legitimation is based on the idea of an inheritance that distributes people in a vertical and linear hierarchy, just like the idea of the time-scale that supports it. This means that, once more, representation allows for the detaching of things from their context, allowing its use in all sort of explanations; erasing its singularity and, consequentially, a resistance that could empower people to create a world out of the limits of the one defined by the idea and its explanations; out of an identitarian and metonymic mode for understanding material culture. An experience of things, where rather than focussing on a desperate attempt to control life by turning things into domesticated objects, instead accepts the contingency and bewilderment through which we encounter, engage and produce things in our worlds.

Acknowledgements

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