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EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND TWO BRAZILIAN OFFSPRINGS: CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART HISTORY

Pedro Paulo A. Funari

"Auch die römischen Altertümer fangen mich an zu freuen. Geschichte, Inschriften, Museen, von denen ich sonst nichts wissen mochte. Alles drängt sich heran. Wie mir's in der Naturgeschichte erging, geht es auch hier. Denn an diesen Ort knüpft die ganze Geschichte der Welt an und ich zahle einen zweiten Geburtstag, eine wahre Widergeburt, von dem Tage da ich Rom betrat" (Goethe 1968:153)

INTRODUCTION EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY OUTSIDE EUROPE

Peter Ucko (1995:1) begins his essay entitled "Archaeological Interpretation In a World Context" opposing the European Image of a non-theoretical Classical archaeology in Europe itself and its opposite role in Brazil. As Heinrich Härke (1991:192) emphasises, for Germany as elsewhere in Europe, "Classical archaeology is still dominated by art-historical approaches, which sets it apart from all the other branches of archaeology". The first aim of this paper is to explain to an international audience the mixed results of European Influences in the periphery: indeed, a rather traditional discipline which "actually enacts a conservative politics in several ways" (Rabinowitz 1993:3). Classical archaeology plays a different revolutionary role in Brazil. The second aim is to propose a critical historiography of Brazilian archaeology, treating internal intellectual development of the discipline as directly related to wider external socio-political and institutional contexts (cf. Pinsky 1989:90-91). I hope that this paper will enable both European and Brazilian archaeologists to think anew the complex relationship between developments in peripheral countries and the ever-changing realities of archaeological theory and practice in the Western developed core.

Considering that "there are fundamental links between scholarship and society and that the predominant flow is from society to scholarship" (Bernal 1990,126), we must begin with a brief study of Brazilian society and its history, paying special attention to the constraints of power and to the ideological and cultural assumptions of the research community (cf. Ulin 1994:392). In this context, it will be possible to introduce the main features of Classical Archaeology and Art History in Brazil, emphasizing their origins, changes and influence in the shaping of a critical and internationalist approach to scholarship (Funari 1994a).

BRAZILIAN SOCIETY AND SCHOLARSHIP

The culture of the Brazilian governing and intellectual elites emerged within the broader confines of Western European culture (Hale 1989:225). The whole history of Latin America can be considered as a chapter in the history of the Westernization of the planet (Ianni

1993:1). The ruling classes opposed the barbarians, namely Indians, people of mixed race, blacks and mulattos and even peasants, miners and workers (Ianni 1983:21) to the civilized European upper echelons of society (Vianna 1956:40). Since the inception of the colonization, the main features of social relations in Brazil are the dominance of patronage (Da Matta 1991) and the resulting authoritarian practices (Chauí 1992): "education, merit, quality. those are criteria foreign to our. culture grounded on privilege" (Castro 1991; cf. the analogous Greek case described by Serril 1995).

In this context, it is possible to understand that the participation of Brazilian troops in the Allied forces in Europe (1942-1945) established the basis for the beginning of formal democracy in 1945 and this meant the introduction of peoples' concerns into intellectual discourse. During the democratic period (1945-1964), academic archaeology was created by the leading Brazilian humanist Paulo Duarte, under the direct influence of Paul Rivet and the Musée de l'Homme (Paris, France). Duarte was a human rights activist who brought ethical principles into archaeological practice, borrowing directly from French humanism a new concept: Deontology (Funari 1991:124). In 1952, Duarte established the Prehistory Commission at the Sao Paulo State University, with the aim of creating a graduate degree in Archaeology. He was the first researcher who proposed that Brazilian archaeology should follow international standards of scholarship. The outlook for Brazilian archaeology looked bright but the military coup of April 1964 established up a hard-line right-wing dictatorship (Moraes 1995:86), described by some observers as fascist (Ianni 1967:211). The dictatorship (1964-1985) was actively supported by the United States: as Emmanuel Garot recently remarked (1995:147), "les relations étroites des dirigeants brésiliens avec la Maison Blanche attestent de rôle particulier dévolu à Brasília: celui de gendarme de l'Amérique Latine alors même que le "contaminant" anti-castiste bat sion plein" (cf. Toledo 1985:107-9).

The military were not particularly educated, as Marcel Niedergang recalls (1971:115): "zealous and almost illiterate soldiers went into public libraries, where they took out such books as Stendhal's "Le Rouge et le Noir" (chosen purely for its title) and John XXIII's "Pacem in Terris" (for the comical reason that it was bound in red leather). Soon after the coup, there were thousands of arrests (Alencastro 1994) and the use of torture became pervasive (Ames 1988:169). Repression was also the result of civilian support for the military, notably multinational and local entrepreneurs (Reale Junior 1993). From 1964 to 1968, the clampdown was mostly related to the suppression of formal liberties and, from then on, more violent practices, like expulsion, detention without trial and killing were put into effect (Dunkerley 1994:31-34).

Inside academia, initial censorship was followed by expulsions and repression. Exile befell the leading social and human science scholars, such as Florestan Fernandes, Octavio Ianni, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Emilia Viotti da Costa. Others went to foreign universities and lectured at Yale, Columbia, Toronto, the Sorbonne, Oxford and elsewhere (Mota 1977: 23). This was the result of the reorganization of education in the country, carried out in close contact with the United States authorities and it is thus easy to understand that archaeology would also be directly affected. The humanist and scholarly approach, as proposed by Paulo Duarte, was suppressed by the lack of funds and by the expulsion of Duarte himself from the University in 1969 (Funari 1994b:122- 3). On the other hand, as early as October 1964, Brazilian and U.S. official funds were poured into the training of Brazilian archaeologists by Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers in a programme called PRONAPA. The result was empiricism, absence of methodology and theory, and the predominance of descriptive archaeological reports without any interpretive claims.

The dictatorship did not change the essentially paternalistic features of Brazilian society and tried thus to establish its own patron - client networks (Roniger 1987,75-6). Inside the academic world, even long-standing conservative liberals were being sidelined (and even spied on: cf. Mota 1994). Little room was left to any critical scholarship (Ianni 1978: 239 et passim). In this context, Evans and Meggers formed a close-knit group of collaborators who called themselves "brothers", (originally in Portuguese "irmaos": cf. Meggers 1992) and whose "brotherhood" controlled excavation funds, publications, museum and archaeological posts and limited the spread of any different or foreign perspectives (Funari 1989:61). Jobs and promotion did not depend upon external validation from the heartlands of Europe and North America (cf. Rowlands, unpub. Ms., for an opposite situation in Africa).

Even now, after ten years of civilian rule, the archaeological establishment in Brazil is still dominated by and large by the name people and this is explained by their scientific irrelevance (I): they are ignored outside of the country but nonetheless they control posts thanks to the most traditional and ubiquitous Brazilian social institution: patronage. Younger archaeologists nowadays are realists and do not dare to challenge local patrons in public and even the most independent scholars, usually those who were at least partially educated abroad, cannot afford to oppose the establishment (cf. Durrans 1989:67 on job security in general) . They need funds and fieldwork permits still controlled by a small group of friends. Even so, any minor critical remark is countered by strong retaliatory moves. It is not unusual to find a University President stunned by a fax message asking him for summary dismissal of an archaeologist who dared to disagree with the fax sender. As we are no more under a dictatorship. this in an empty threat. but still it says a lot about mainstream Brazilian archaeology (FIG I).

CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART HISTOIRY: INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

It is in this general context that Classical archaeology would play a revolutionary role in Brazil. Europeans who recall the right-wing, fascist overtones of the discipline would find my contention difficult to swallow. Was it not the leading Italian Classical archaeologist Amadeo Maiuri who actively supported the fascists? The caption of a photograph in G. Maggi's (1974:141) book on Maiuri is worth quoting:

"Benito Mussolini a una massiccia rappresentanza di gerarchi, guidati da Maiuri, visitano a passo di marcia gli scavi di Pompei".

"Benito Mussolini and leading fascist authorities, conducted by Maiuri in their visit to the excavations at Pompei, walking like in a military parade" (cf. Errico & Panto 1985:598. note 29).

However, the methodological renewal of archaeology in Italy would be the result of Marxist classical archaeologists whose links with Maiuri were not hidden (cf. Bandinelli 1970; Carandini 1979; Manacorda 1985). This apparent contradiction should, however, be interpreted in a wider context (cf. Brunneau 1994-5:143 4 et passim). European archaeology in general always establishes close intellectual ties with history and art history and it continues to be historical in orientation (Trigger 1984:295; Trigger: 1989:19; Hodder 1991:

10; Smith 1992: 24) . As a result, European classical archaeologists can be conservative or progressive but they cannot afford to be uneducated.

The importance of learned scholarship for a country like Brazil cannot be underestimated. The main hindrance to the development of scientific research in Brazil is a consequence of the social system grounded upon patronage: mediocrity protected and favoured by political friendship (cf. Fernandes 1966:288, referring to an exchange of ideas with Paulo Duarte: cf. Martins 1995:11). It is thus no surprise that classical studios would be at the root of the most important educational moves in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century. Fernando do Azevedo, the first Brazilian social scientist and educator, was originally a learned Latinist early in the century (Fernandes 1966: 552-559; Piletti 1994:82- 85). In the 1930s, the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters at the University of Sao Paulo would open the academic era in the country and Brazilian lecturers of international renown would be active before the military coup in 1964 (Fernandes 1966:217-279. -This was possible thanks to the academic activities of the Faculty's director, Euripides Simoes de Paulo, a Roman history professor. and a former army officer in the Second World War (2).

In the context of Brazilian patronage-based society, the beginning of Brazilian classical archaeology would inevitably depend on personalities and friendships. Encouraged by Professor Simoes de Paula, Greek language Professor Aubroton, a Frenchman, would send in the early 1960s a young upper-class protege of Professor Simoes de Paula, Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses, to study at the French School at Athens (1961-64; Duarte 1994:174-5); he was in charge of the Hellenistic paintings at Delos. Unfortunately, Meneses paid too much attention to petty politics during the heyday of military rule, being appointed by the President of the University to succeed the expelled humanist Paulo Duarte. Furthermore, Meneses was not interested in training other classical archaeologists and he did not publish his research on Delos. The inception of Classical archaeology was thus affected by patronage and by the dictatorial regime.

The whole academic world suffered from heavy-handed military rule. University Presidents would enforce repression (Fernandes 1976:178-9) and even ordinary lecturers would be tempted to accommodate: "the mediocrity ... (which) ... affected all lecturers and selfish interests ... (which) ... blew up unhindered in all directions" (Fernandes 1986:196). In this context, Haiganuc Sarian would become the actual founding mother of Brazilian Classical Archaeology. Aubroton sent Sarian to the French School in Athens to study Greek Orientalising pottery at Delos (1962-68). Her banner would prove to be revolutionary: learned scholarship and international standards (Sarian 1985-88:213). Four features would characterise Brazilian Classical archaeology: learned scholarship in the actual study of material culture, resulting in an international outlook grounded in pluralism. Sarian would become one of the leading experts in Greek pottery and iconographic studies. For instance, she organised the prestigious *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (cf. Sarian 1986, 1989, inter alios). Her main contribution would be to bring up a whole generation of classical archaeologists (FIGURES 2 - 3).

Foreign classical archaeologists taught regularly in Brazil over the last ten years (3) and Brazilian authors have published many papers in foreign journals in the same period. As classical archaeologists do not depend on patronage to publish abroad and as they are less affected by the local archaeological establishment, their intellectual dependence exerts a revolutionary influence on archaeology in general in Brazil. It is interesting to note that, during the recent "International Conference on Archaeological Theory and Method", held in

Sao Paulo (August 1995), there were nine papers written by Brazilian prehistorians and four keynote speeches by Brazilian classical archaeologists; one must notice that there are less than ten active classical archaeologists in the country. but hundreds of prehistorians.

Turning now to Art History, it was only very recently that it became a scholarly discipline. Traditionally, art studies were carried out in Brazil by interested but otherwise untrained amateurs out of touch with the standards of international scholarship. It is true, however, that, during the dictatorship, when the archaeological establishment was allied with the military or became silent, the struggle for human rights was carried out by the Brazilian Committee for Art History and its leader, Paulo Ferreira Santos (Vasconcelos 1989:174-183; cf. Funari 1994c:2). The same principles mentioned in relation to Classical archaeology apply to the reasons behind the revolutionary role played by art history: learned scholarship, the actual study of material culture, an international outlook and pluralism as a result of in-depth analysis.

Luiz Cesar Marques (1987) published his Ph.D. dissertation on in Paris, entitled "La peinture du Duecento en Italie Centrale" This work has been internationally acclaimed as "sur tous les points de controverse entre erudits, il n'hésita pas a se prononcer" (Laclotte 1987:3). The same comments apply to other monographs and detailed studies on different subjects, ranging from nineteenth century buildings (Colli 1982) to Baroque statuary (Nascimento 1994) and the Vatican Laocoon group (Barbara 1994)(cf. also Moraes 1995). Recently, the publication of a scholarly journal. issued yearly from 1994 was a landmark. For the first time, a scientific journal in both fields of study was independent from traditional patronage networks, enabling papers to be published without any kind of political censorship. As an inter-disciplinary Journal, it deals with both prehistoric and historic subjects, encouraging also theoretical debates about the study of material culture. The "Revista de História da Arte e Arqueologia" is run by an international advisory board and it is one of the few avenues open to critical Brazilian archaeologists.

CONCLUSIONS

Some could argue that classical archaeology and art history are irrelevant to Brazilian society, as they refer to a minority of affluent people some twenty million citizens, while one hundred and thirty million people try to survive. Indeed, the top 20% of Brazil's population earns 20 times as much as the bottom 20% (Michaels 1993) and 63.2 million people (43.85%) earn less than 40 US dollars per month per capita (Hoffman 1994). "Children have now replaced subversives as the main targets of death squads and policemen who routinely beat up, torture and kill children" (Hecht 1994).

Yet "the connections between present and past are much more common, more specific and more direct than most archaeologists accept" (W.Llk 1985:311). Brazilian social imbalances depend directly on patronage and the best way to challenge iniquities is to break up clientship schemes. In this sense, classical archaeology and art history are indeed revolutionary, showing that what is possible for classical archaeologists and art historians is also possible for other scholars and for social agents in general. This is no easy task and independent-minded scholars will always be criticized by 'the good old companions'. We are not friends to all but Diogenes Laertius once remarked that "a friend to all is a friend to none". Furthermore, scholarly revolution is no social revolution. Nonetheless. long-standing cultural reforms are more important than guns to topple a patronage system.

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NOTES

1. One example is enough to judge the irrelevant and parochial character of Brazilian archaeological 'findings': the claim that writing was invented in Brazil thousands of years ago has fortunately been largely ignored outside of the country.
2. The importance of classics in general is also emphasized by the leading modern historical scholar, Pierre Vilar: "non posso lamentarmi di uomini come Carcopino, come Gustave Glotz che sono stati per me grandi maestri" (Cedronio 1990:333). The fact that Professor Simoes de Paula was a retired officer enabled him to protect some intellectuals who were persecuted during the harshest days of military rule in the late 1960s and early 1970s.
3. E.g. Filippo Coarelli, Mireille Corbier, Paul Courbin, Tony Hackens, Ross Holloway, Nicolaus Jalouria, Lilly Kahil, Olivier Picard, Renee Treuil and Rolf Wlnkes.