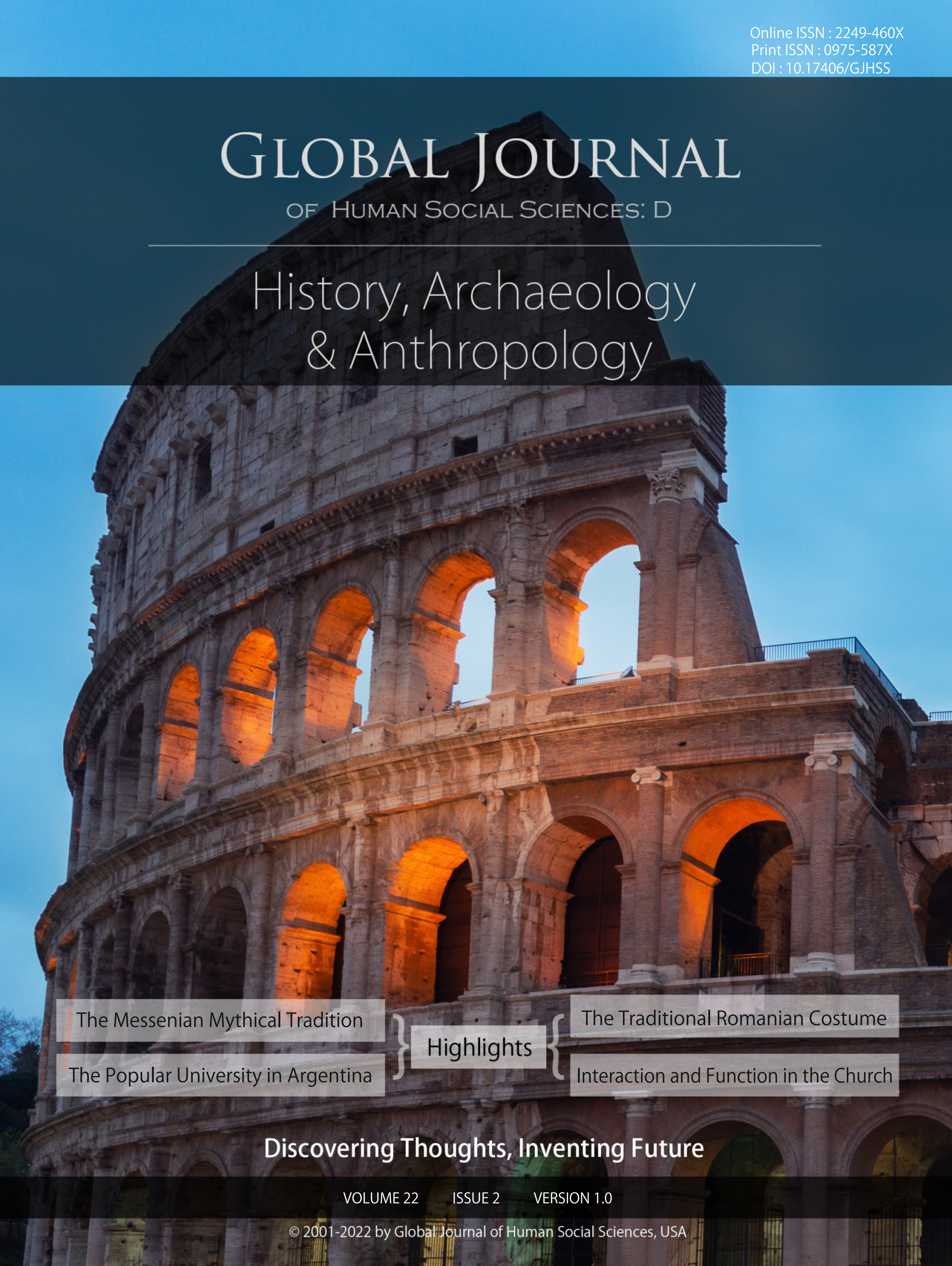
Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: D

History, Archaeology & Anthropology



The Messenian Mythical Tradition

The Popular University in Argentina

Highlights

The Traditional Romanian Costume

Interaction and Function in the Church

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 22 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: D
History, Anthropology & Archaeology

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: D
History, Anthropology & Archaeology

Volume 22 Issue 2 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: *Open Association of Research Society*
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals® Headquarters
945th Concord Streets,
Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals Pvt Ltd
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Excluding Air Parcel Charges):

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional)
250 USD (B/W) & 350 USD (Color)

Editorial Board

Global Journal of Human-Social Science

Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Euripides, *Cresphontes* and the Messenian Mythical Tradition. *1-9*
2. The Reception of Refugees in Chad in the Context of Instability and Asymmetric War (2003 - 2020). *11-21*
3. Inscripciones e Imágenes en El Espacio Eclesial. Interacción y Función en la Iglesia de San Roman de Toledo. *23-31*
4. Defining the Internal Borders of the Empire: Conceptions of Territory during the Process of Independence. Brazil, 1820 Decade. *33-47*
5. Evaluation of the Keys from the Traditional Romanian Costume. *49-55*
6. An Experience of the Popular University in Argentina: Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Popular University of La Boca in 1967. *57-68*
7. Situating India-Africa Partnerships in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. *69-80*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Euripides, *Cresphontes* and the Messenian Mythical Tradition

By Maria de Fátima Silva
University of Coimbra

Abstract- Given the scarcity of information, literary and archaeological, regarding the ancient history of Messenia, the available versions, generally brief and incomplete, are also controversial. The purpose of this article is to focus on Euripides' tragedies, inspired by the myths associated with Messenia. Considering the structural and scenic features that the fragments suggest, we will attempt to underline Euripides' contribution to its political reading and the influence on later versions on the same subject.

Keywords: *return of the heraclids, pausanias, messenian wars, tragic return, anagnorisis, vengeance.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *DDC Code: 292.13 LCC Code: BL781*

EURIPIDESCRESPHONTESANDTHEMESSENANMYTHICALTRADITION

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

RESEARCH | DIVERSITY | ETHICS

Euripides, *Cresphontes* and the Messenian Mythical Tradition

Maria de Fátima Silva

Abstract- Given the scarcity of information, literary and archaeological, regarding the ancient history of Messenia, the available versions, generally brief and incomplete, are also controversial. The purpose of this article is to focus on Euripides' tragedies, inspired by the myths associated with Messenia. Considering the structural and scenic features that the fragments suggest, we will attempt to underline Euripides' contribution to its political reading and the influence on later versions on the same subject.

Keywords: return of the heraclids, pausanias, messenian wars, tragic return, anagnorisis, vengeance.

I. Mythical Origins as a Legitimation of Ancestry and Autonomy of Messenia

The traditions associated with Messenia's past go back to the mythical return of the Heraclids to the Peloponnese.[1] Pausanias 2.18.7 writes: "It was in the reign of Tisamenos that the Heraclids returned to the Peloponnese; they were Temenos and Cresphontes, sons of Aristomachos, and the sons of a third deceased brother, Aristodemos." It was then that, faced with the occupation by the Dorian invaders, the old local courts gave way to a new division of kingdoms between other sovereigns. In accordance with the myth, Temenos stood out as the chief of the Heraclid invasion, who conquered the region and founded the Dorian state of Argos. The vast territory occupied by him and his sons in the north-eastern Peloponnese, including Argos, is known in tradition as the "lot of Temenos" (cf. Pausanias 2.29.5, Ephorus, *FGrHist* 115F 393).[2] In the division of Peloponnesus by the Heraclids, Lacedaemonia fell to Prokles and Eurysthenes, the twin sons of Aristodemos and Messenia to Cresphontes (cf. Pausanias 3.1.5, 4.3.3-5).[3] This distribution, and the interests it involved, did not seem to presage a harmonious future for the territories then shared, Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. Mythical fantasy of etiological characteristics suggests a historical process and justifies an entire vocabulary of toponyms and anthroponyms. The political fluidity of the region, as well as the scarcity of literary and archaeological evidence, led to the emergence of a diversity of variants, but all of them shared one of two goals: 1.either to find an autonomous origin and a political individuality for Messenia, which had been submitted to the power of Lacedaemonia or was within its sphere of influence from a very early stage; 2.or to justify the legitimacy of the Laconian ascendancy over its neighbors. In the words of Luraghi (2008: 3): "This was an impressive effort in the reshaping of the past if there was one."

The submission in which Messenia found itself concerning Laconia from the 8th century BC made its historical course particularly uncertain; Tyrtaeus and Pausanias are, for us, the two most eloquent – among a few - testimonies on a process that would have led a territory, who knows whether previously independent, to find itself captured, for several centuries, by a neighboring authority, until a liberation only consummated in 369 BC. In the year following the Theban victory over the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, there was occasion for the return of the Messenians in exile, for the foundation of the city of Messene and thus for the political independence of the region.[4] At the end of this process, Messenian identity became deeply controversial. Which past can be safely attributed to it? Without reliable ancient traces, whether literary or

Author: CECH – Center for Classical and Humanistic Studies, University of Coimbra. e-mail: fanp13@gmail.com

[1] Cf. Pausanias 4.3.3: "At the end of the war against Troy, when after returning home Nestor died, the invasion of the Dorians and the incursion of the Heraclids, two generations later, drove the descendants of Neleus out of Messenia." Luraghi 2008: 17 underlines that the return of the Heraclids and the division of the Peloponnese between them worked "as a sort of foundational moment in the myth-history of the Peloponnese."

[2] The version that assigned Argolis to Temenos before the lot (*P. Oxy*. 2455, fr.9.10), because he was the eldest son of Aristomachos, was undoubtedly the one used by Euripides in *Temenos* and referred to in *Temenidai.*

[3] Cresphontes' commitment to Messenia certainly had to do with the praised fertility of that territory. In *Temenos* (fr. 727e Kannicht = Strabo 8.5.6), Euripides insists on this characteristic that has become traditional, in a context that in all probability referred to the mythical distribution of the Peloponnese. Those verses elaborate a lengthy comparison between the characteristics of Lacedaemonia and those of Messenia. The aggressive mountains of the former (surrounded by the Taygetos and Parthenios) are matched by the fertility and amenity of the latter's soil. Καλλίκαρπος, "rich in fruit," "fertile" (fr. 727e.7 Kannicht), is the starting point for the description of a territory abundant in pastures and cattle, with a mild climate, irrigated by the Pamisos river. These are the features that made Messenia equally attractive to a possible usurper, according to Euripides, Polyphontes, a Heraclid like Cresphontes, the holder of a territory assigned to him by lot; in Pausanias, the Messenians themselves attributed the desire of the Lacedaemonians for possession of their environment to a, in this case, fatal fertility (4.4.3).

[4] Cf. Pausanias 4.1.3: "Before the battle fought by the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, and the building of the Messene of our time below Ithome, I do not think there was any town of that name."

archaeological, which would consolidate, from a mythical origin, the various stages of the existence of Messenia and would give a detailed account of the conflict which opposed its people to the Lacedaemonians, left room for speculation and fantasy among ancient commentators. But it is consensual that the dominated people were forced either to exile themselves (in Rhegion and Naupactus) or, in the case of those who did not wish to leave their land, to become slaves or helots, now cultivating their fields under Spartan control.[5] Alcock (1999: 333-4) expresses in precise words the polemic generated by the obscurity of testimonies, confronting a school of thought that "argues that the Messenians, under the Spartan rule, inevitably had no history" – and, in this perspective, a narrative like that of Pausanias, Book IV, would be nothing more than pure speculation and the result of the need to invent for those now liberated a history and background –, with those who "argued for the Messenian right, despite the Spartan rule, to possess a sense of their past." This second position tends to detect in the history of Messenia a continuous process and to see in that distant past an identity and a potential for political resistance against a usurper; thus, the Messenians, after returning to their territory, would maintain an unbreakable and coherent link with the past. Despite the scarcity of reliable testimonies, the political connotation was decisive in both readings.

The position of our two main witnesses, Tyrtaeus (7th century BC) and Pausanias (2nd century AD), is opposed. Tyrtaeus, the official poet of Sparta,[6] adopted a position compatible with that bond. He not only urged the Spartans to wage war courageously, but also looked at the consequences of the conflict for the Messenians, who, after years of hard fighting, were forced to abandon their land or submit to the authority of a triumphant conqueror (frs. 5-7 West).[7] Tyrtaeus is thus the author of the first record of the Messenian wars, written in a flattering tone for the Spartans. About the content of his narrative, Brunhara comments (2014: 252): "... the poem is often used by historians to prove the authenticity of the Messenian Wars and has been remembered by scholars of Greek literature as an example of archaic historiographical narrative." Pausanias, on the other hand, sympathetic to a people who, in spite of misfortunes and after being absent for three centuries from their territory (4.27.11), "never abandoned the customs of their land, (...), nor unlearned their Doric language, (...) but always kept its purity."[8] Thus, Auberger (2000: 260) may state on this subject: "Pausanias has created a long fable, in which, with commitment, he has attributed to these kings all the qualities of statesmen and the people the values that make men free and respected in the centuries to come." In other words, the content of the two accounts, which seems to preserve some 'objectivity,' starts from a reverse perspective and expresses itself in a different tone.

Luraghi (2008: 132), after considering literary and archaeological testimonies about Messenia's past, characterizes it as a politically weak region, lacking a population aggregate that could centralize its interests and, therefore, deduces as evident the significant dependence that linked it to neighboring Laconia: "during the periods commonly associated with the birth and development of the Greek city-state, no independent political entity existed in the territory west of the Taygetos and south of the river Neda." It does not mean that a cultural affinity between the populations of this territory did not create in them a feeling of ethnographic autonomy. The idea of the existence, from the 8th century BC onwards, of a warlike youth capable of mobilizing a common defense against increasingly expansive aggression may suggest a starting point for a crescendo of contestation. The heroes and reference values then emerged in the obscure history of the Messenian past. Collard, Cropp, and Lee (2009: 123-4) establish, in an attempt to be more precise about the path of Messenia and its process of liberation and recovery of identity, the following coordinates: "This process may, however, have begun in the 5th C., e.g., after the Messenian rebellion of 465-56 when Athens settled Messenian refugees at Naupactus."[9] This phase

[5] Cf. Thucydides 1.101.2: "Most of the helots were the descendants of the ancient Messenians long since reduced to slavery."

[6] Cf. Pausanias 4.15.6, on the origin of Tyrtaeus and his influence in Sparta: "An oracle from Delphi conveyed to the Lacedaemonians that they should get an Athenian counselor. They then sent a message to the Athenians conveying the oracle and requesting someone to advise them on what to do. The Athenians did not want: neither that the Lacedaemonians should, without further difficulty, take over the best part of the Peloponnese nor that they should disrespect the god. This was the solution they found. There was a certain Tyrtaeus, a schoolmaster, that passed for not being very bright in spirit and was lame in one foot. It was this guy that they sent to Sparta. Arrived there, not only in private for the important people but in groups with as many as he could find, he recited elegies and anapests". See Plato, *Laws* 629[a], Diodorus 8.27.1. In this issue, see Rocha Pereira 2006: 201 writes: "The origin of the latter (Tyrtaeus) is disputed, for the tradition was already divided in antiquity (...). It seems to have more probabilities the Spartan provenance, for, as it has been justly remarked, the Lacedaemonians would not take orders from a foreigner. The poetry of Tyrtaeus is full of orders and exhortations, which the soldiers sang as they marched into battle."

[7] On the possibility that other fragments attributed to Tyrtaeus (19, 23 West) refer to the same theme of the Messenian Wars, see Podlecki 1984: 95-7.

[8] Concerning this crucial aspect of a people's identity - language - Thucydides (3.112.4, 4.3.3, 4.41.2) underlines, during the Peloponnesian War, a similarity between the language of the Messenians and that of the Lacedaemonians which made them indistinct. The similarity could even function as a weapon by preventing the Lacedaemonians from identifying their enemies.

[9] Cf. Thucydides 1.103.3. Settling these exiles in Naupactus, on the Gulf of Corinth, Athens secured a strategic position through radical

is excluded by Pausanias from his account. But other testimonies, such as that of Thucydides, show how, in the conflicts that broke out between Athens and Sparta in the second half of the fifth century BC, Athens treated the case of the Messenians as an argument for anti-Spartan propaganda and used the Messenian exiles as allies against Sparta. Fifth century BC was thus the time when the Spartan occupation of Messenia began to be called into question. Thucydides' perspective, which focused on the interests of Athens and the exploitation of Sparta's enemies, does not explicitly contribute to the knowledge of Messenian history.

In the 4th century BC, Messenia appears more associated with Arcadia, undoubtedly because the latter participated in its liberation after Epaminondas' victory in 369 BC (cf. Pausanias 4.3.8); Harder 1985: 54 underlines: “The story was then adapted to form the ‘ancient history’ of Messenia and the connection with Arcadia was stressed by calling the son of Cresphontes Sr. Aipytos, ancestor of the Aipytidai and deriving his name from the old Arcadian hero Aipytos.”

II. Versions of the Myth after Euripides

Before focusing on the Euripidean productions devoted to this motif, let us look further at later versions and of which the plays of the tragic have also become an antecedent. Harder 1985: 9 affirms: “After Euripides, we find the story of the killing of Cresphontes Sr. and its consequences in several prose-authors, who tend to leave out the ‘dramatic’ details of Euripides’ version and adapt the story to suit propagandistic purposes in the conflict between Sparta and Messenia.” If such versions come from Euripides or other treatments of the myth is a complex matter to clarify. Still perhaps it is not unreasonable to think of some diversity of motifs available within what would already be a tradition, based mainly on local narratives. At least, each new remembrance of the episode contains different intentions.

Considering the few fragments that represent the tragic treatments that Euripides dedicated to the subject 'Messenia', the influence of the poet on the later treatments seems inevitable. One of the tragic features that have left a strong ballast on successive rereadings is the murder of the first Cresphontes. The responsibility that, in *Cresphontes* fr. 448ª.20-2 Kannicht, the dramatic poet attributes to Polyphontes, his victim's brother, accentuates the family dynamic in the murder, increasing a particular type of personal and emotional tension. The version that comes closest to the Euripidean is that of Apollodorus, *Library* 2.8.5, perhaps even a synthesis of the play:

> Cresphontes, after ruling Messenia for a short time, died murdered along with his two sons. Polyphontes then reigned, a member of the Heraclids, who, against her will, took Merope, the wife of the deceased king, as his wife. But he was also murdered. Merope had a son, named Aipytos, whom she gave to her father to raise. When he became a man, he returned secretly, killed Polyphontes, and recovered his father's throne.

Divergences are relevant in the other testimonies, who hold the Messenians responsible for the regicide, and thus accentuate the political aspect of Cresphontes’ death. Thus Isocrates 6.22: “The Messenians reached such a point of impiety that they decided to kill Cresphontes, the founder of the city, the holder of that land, a descendant of Heracles, who had been their lord.” Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70F 116-7 even specifies the reasons for this collective revolt, as if complementing the statement of Isocrates, his master: "Cresphontes gave the Messenians and the Dorians similar rights, which resulted in a conflict.”[10] And Ephorus goes on to say that the conflicts between Messenians continued until the Spartans conquered Messenia. This justification is compatible with that advanced by Pausanias (4.3.7): "But it did not remain for long, because the wealthy citizens rose against Cresphontes for benefiting the people too much, and killed him and the rest of his sons.”

To the murder of Cresphontes, the various testimonies also add, as particularly relevant, the problem of succession. Variations on Euripides' choice in the authors who succeeded him are also suggestive. It is common to all of them that the deceased sovereign had descendants (cf. *Cresphontes* fr. 448ª.23-30), but their fate is controversial. Euripides includes, in the regicide, the murder of the two elder sons of Cresphontes and attributes the survival of the younger one to the prudence of his grandfather and mother, who kept him safe in Arcadia. In this detail, the tragic poet was again underlining family ties and consolidating the protagonism of Merope as a cautious mother and wise woman.

Keeping the family plot on which Euripides' version was based, Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90F 31 tries to reconcile the familiar and political aspects of the story. The Dorians, in this case, were the persecutors, who, after being responsible for the regicide, tried to capture the children. Then, they asked their grandfather, the sovereign of Arcadia, to send them, because their father wanted them back at his court. But Cypselos realized the trap, so he returned only the two eldest and retained the last, Aipytos, who

enemies of Sparta, an advantage that history would prove; cf. also Thucydides 2.9.4, 2.69.1, 2.90.3, 4.41.2.

[10] The testimony of Pausanias follows the same lines (4.3.6): "The ancient Messenians were not driven out by the Dorians; they submitted to the sovereignty of Cresphontes and divided their territory with the Dorians. They accepted these compromises out of distrust of their kings since the descendants of Neleus came from Iolchos”.

had just been born. In this way he saved his life from the treachery of his enemies.

In contrast, other solutions stressed the political sense of rescue exclusively. Isocrates 6.22-3 assumes a pro-Spartan version. He attributes to the persecuted the initiative of the flight and to the Lacedaemonians the role of welcoming those who rushed to take refuge in Sparta. Grateful for the protection granted to them, the descendants of Cresphontes would have voluntarily handed over their land to those willing to protect them. Then the Lacedaemonians invaded Messenia to avenge the victims of the crime, in compliance with a divine oracle from Delphi. In this way, Isocrates legitimized, with the distortion of the mythical version, the Spartan occupation of Messenia, certainly echoing Spartan arguments for the legitimacy of their claim.

Finally, version of Pausanias (4.3.7-8), a great admirer of Messenian superiority, pays great attention to the only surviving son of Cresphontes, designated Aipytos (the same for whom Euripides preferred the name of his father, Cresphontes, and made the protagonist of his play):

> The palace, which Cresphontes himself and his sons were to inhabit, was built in Stenykleros (...) But it did not remain for long because the wealthy citizens rose against him for benefiting the people too much and killed him and the rest of his sons. Aipytos, who as a child was raised by Cypselos, escaped. When he became a man, the Arcadians sent him to Messenia (...) When he became king, Aipytos avenged his father's death and punished those involved in the crime. Eventually, he became sympathetic to the Messenians with kindnesses, and to the people with gifts, and such was the prestige he gained that his descendants, instead of Heraclids, were called Aipytidai.

Even if some divergences from Euripides are evident, such as the direct responsibility for the murder of old Cresphontes, attributed to those for whom the favors granted to the people became inconvenient, there are aspects of confluence which also seem relevant. First of all, "Discord" (cf. fr. 453.10-3 Kannicht) created conditions for political unrest and regicide. As well as the reintegration into the power of his heir, the only surviving son, whom the Arcadians supported in this claim. This seems to have been a mere political process in the tragedy, a moment of significant dramatic effect, being enough to keep the identity of the newcomer hidden. Equally suggestive is the image of the perfect sovereign that the young Cresphontes, following, with greater prudence, the line of his father[11] left among his people. They accepted his authority, and his memory persisted among those who came after him. Generosity towards the people and diplomacy towards the powerful were his traces.

III. Euripidean Readings of the Messenian Myth: Their Dramatic and Political Repercussions

It is likely that by taking the myth of the return of the Heraclids to the Peloponnese and the distribution of the territory among the various invading chieftains as the context for several productions - *Cresphontes*, *Temenos*, and *Temenidai* -, Euripides was responding to contemporary historical events;[12] *Cresphontes*, for example, seems to coincide with the return of some Messenians to their former territory to cooperate with Athens in the occupation of Pylos, against Lacedaemonian interests (425). As far as we know, this was not a theme that had aroused the interest of other tragedians. Euripides, however, must have had earlier sources (the elegies of Tyrtaeus are undoubtedly among them), of which we have not received, in general terms, significant testimonies. The insistence of the poet on the same myth may be indicative of the interest it aroused, which was not unrelated to some historical consonance or exploration. On the other hand, the treatment of the theme from the 5th century BC onwards and the diversity of readings it provided suggest the possible existence of different models with which a kind of dialogue was established.

a) Cresphontes

As far as we know, there were no other tragic treatments of this theme. The lack of previous mentions of some of the participants in the episode, as Euripides elaborates it, allows us to speculate on the responsibility of this poet as the inventor of some aspects of the story. There is, for instance, no earlier mention of a young Cresphontes, a descendant of the first occupant of Messenia, the protagonist of Euripides' play; the name of this younger son of the old Cresphontes and Merope, in later versions of the 4th century BC, is replaced by Aipytos, as in Apollodorus, *Library* 2.8.5 and Pausanias 4.3.6. The names of Polyphontes and Merope, in Euripides' tragedy the usurper of the throne, and the widow forced to marry the murderer, also seem to be a Euripidean novelty.[13]

[11] Auberger 2000: 261 observes the differences that Pausanias accentuates between the two Cresphontes. Although he had initiated a process based on generosity, the first Cresphontes had not had the insight to keep the good graces of the powerful, committed only to favoring the people. The young Cresphontes corrected this excess, distributing kindnesses and gifts to one and another.

[12] Discussing the possible date for the two plays, Luraghi 2008: 53 suggests: "*Temenos* and *Temenids* are difficult to date, but they can hardly be earlier than the peace of Nicias in 421; see Harder 1991: 118 n. 5. It is tempting to connect these tragedies, or at least one of them (…) with the political relations between Athens and Argos between the peace and the Sicilian expedition (…); this would coincide nicely with the popularity of the myth of the division among the Heraclids at Argos in 418 BC suggested by the allusion in Thuc. 5.69.1."

[13] Moreover, we cannot help but be surprised that Polyphontes does not figure in the popular episode of the division of the Peloponnese among the sons of Aristomachos.

It has been noted how, in general terms, between Euripides and the testimonies which succeeded him on this myth, there seems to be a fundamental divergence of intention, resulting from the topics put in evidence: the tragic poet was very keen, as far as the narrowness of the fragments and the evidence of specific motifs allows us to judge, on exploring patterns of dramatic fiction - within the tragic convention of return, trap, recognition – and their potential in theatrical terms; while other testimonies explore above all the political symbolism of the myth, as an argument to legitimize or contest the Lacedaemonian occupation of Messenia. Perhaps a more careful evaluation of the testimonies allows us to speak more of a different proportion using of the two perspectives, rather than an irreconcilable opposition between them. If we consider the intensely politicized character of Euripides' dramatic production in general, it is possible that the poet made use of the mythical origins of Messenia, as an argument in defense of its antiquity and independence, after two centuries of occupation; he thus made himself the spokesman of the anti-Spartan propaganda promoted by Athens. Motives like the autonomy of the peoples and the qualities or vices of those who exercise power permeate Euripides' dramatic proposal. At the same time, some of this poet's options do not fail to influence the accounts that later prose writers dedicated to the history of Greece. Such is the very particular case of Book IV of the *Description of Greece* that Pausanias dedicated to Messenia; it is evident how this book, within the general narrative of Pausanias, has its character, in which the relationship between myth and history, fiction and testimony, tends to balance.

i. *Dramatic elements in Cresphontes*

Reproducing what appears to be a synthesis of Euripides' *Cresphontes* made by Hyginus in his *Fable* 137 may provide a good starting point for our evaluation:

> Polyphontes, king of Messenia, after having murdered Cresphontes, son of Aristomachos, took the power that belonged to him and his wife, Merope. 2. The son, still a child, that she had borne from Cresphontes, his mother, Merope, secretly sent him to a guest of hers in Aetolia:[14] Polyphontes pursued him in every way, promising a reward in gold to anyone who killed him. 3. The latter, when he grew to manhood, decided to avenge the death of his father and brothers. 4. He went to King Polyphontes to claim the gold, saying that he was the murderer of the son of Cresphontes and Merope, Telephontes.[15] 4. The king then ordered him to settle in the guest room until he could investigate him better. When Cresphontes, tired, fell asleep, an old man who acted as a messenger between mother and son came tearfully to Merope, saying that he was not at the guest's house and had disappeared. 5. Convinced that she had her son's murderer in the house, Merope, while he was asleep, penetrated the room with an ax to kill, in her ignorance, her son. But the old man recognized him and prevented his mother from killing him. 6. Realizing that the enemy had allowed her to take revenge, Merope reconciled with Polyphontes. When the king, very happy, was making a sacrifice, the guest, pretending to hurt the victim, killed him and recovered his father's throne.

Given the motifs underlined by Hyginus, concordant to a certain extent with the suggestions given by the fragments preserved, we may begin by highlighting, following the analysis of various scholars, the primary theatrical resources and their harmony not only with specific dramatic preferences of Euripides, but with the tragic tradition in general.

The main thread of the play, consisting essentially of return, recognition, and revenge, corresponds to a pattern that underlies several Euripidean creations, such as *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Electra*, *Ion* and *Helen* and, among the lost productions, *Aegeus* and *Alexander*, to mention only the most visible examples. In all of them, relatives whom fate has torn asunder meet again. There is, therefore, someone who arrives - Orestes, Creusa, Menelaus, Theseus, Paris, respectively - in the skin of an unknown person or under a false identity to exact revenge, heal old wounds that misfortune has left open, and recover his place in the house and the family. It is this, in *Cresphontes*, the role attributed to the protagonist, who, under the guise of having murdered himself, returns to avenge the murder of his father and brothers, and to recover his legitimate rights. The risky position in which he finds himself, as someone whose coming is desired by some but feared by others, places him in the role of the enemy to be slaughtered and determines the need to find allies for his cause. The vital step in the episode presupposes recognition, the famous motif to which tragedy, especially Euripidean tragedy, has greatly impacted. And, as it is well known, the more delayed and postponed it is, the more effective from the dramatic point of view. If the revelation of a long-desired relative or the avenger who is feared every day is reserved for a final moment, in which a weapon is already raised to eliminate the stranger, its impact will be strong. Orestes, faced with the sacrifice that his sister Iphigenia, in Tauris, is already preparing for him, is placed on the verge of death; as well as Ion, faced with the despair of his mother, Creusa, who tries to poison the one she believes to be a bastard of her husband; or Theseus, whom Medea tries to eliminate to safeguard the interests of her son, whom she had borne by the king of Athens, in *Aegeus*; or Hecuba, faced with a strange winner in sporting competitions in which her other sons, princes of Troy, were defeated, in *Alexander.* In *Cresphontes*, Merope is already raising the ax (cf. fr. 456 Kannicht) to eliminate who she thinks is the

[14] This detail had different versions, from Euripides onwards; see fr. 448[a].30 and Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90F 31.

[15] Cresphontes, in Euripides' version. In Apollodorus, *Library* 2.8.5 and *Pausanias* 4.3.6, this son is called Aipytos.

murderer of her son, when, at the last moment, someone recognizes in the guest the same son threatened by maternal rage.[16] It is then the moment to join efforts so that the consummation of the vengeance succeeds. Iphigenia and Electra (*Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Electra*) are precious allies in defense of the rights of the house to which they belong and normality in a family devastated by misfortune; Helen, in the play to which she gives the title, conducts the escape from Egypt and protects her husband from the threat of her suitor, the pharaoh Theoclimenus. Merope, enlightened about the identity of her victim, changes from executioner into an ally and collaborates actively in the vengeance against the usurper of the throne and her bed, Polyphontes.

Despite the diversity of confluences with a specific tragic pattern of Euripides' preference, the particular affinity between the saga of Cresphontes and the life path of Orestes, as traced by the three great tragedians (Aeschylus, *Coephoroi*, Sophocles and Euripides, *Electra*), has still been underlined. There is correspondence in the two myths between: the death of a king (the old Cresphontes / Agamemnon) at the hands of an enemy (Polyphontes / Aegisthus); the exile of the youngest son for his protection (Cresphontes / Orestes); his return to carry out the revenge; the expectation of someone from the house for the return of the avenger (Merope / Electra); the intervention of an old servant, capable of recognizing, in the newcomer, the child once removed and the opportunity for the murder of the usurper when making a sacrifice (Polyphontes/ Aegisthus).

Still, in the dramatic plan, it seems evident in *Cresphontes*, as in a diversity of situations, the relevance of the feminine performance. This option is also another point of confluence with the personality of a poet, Euripides, in whom the contemporary comedy pointed out "the worst enemy of women," only to caricature what was patent as a preference: the attention to the personality of women and to their potential as intelligent and active. Iphigenia, Electra, Helen, Creusa, Medea, and Hecuba are, in the plays where we have underlined manifest similarities with *Cresphontes* in the general conception of the intrigue, figures of dense character, or even fearsome, in their performance. Merope can be included in the same gallery. She is mainly the victim of unsustainable violence, the wife of a sovereign and mother of his dead children, almost all of them killed by the usurper of the throne. Another violence, no less severe, is superimposed, which directly targets the widow: the murderer's harassment, demanding submission to his wishes. Despite the grief and depression this state of affairs may have caused her (cf. fr. 448ª.5 Kannicht, "washed in tears"), Merope dared to kidnap her youngest son from the murderous hands of the new lord of Messenia. These conditions certainly predated the intrigue of the play, but they determine at the outset an emotional charge and a state of mind in the victim of such atrocities. Her situation is not different from that of the Euripidean Clytemnestra, also deprived of her husband and son by Agamemnon's desire for her hand (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1148-1160). When in *Cresphontes* fr. 454 Kannicht - "It is not only to me among mortals that sons have died, / nor am I alone to be deprived of a husband. There are thousands of women / who, like me, have endured the same fate" - Merope recalls that her fate, even if particularly painful, was not unique; other women also experienced it, other Euripidean productions give an argument to her words.

The resignation that the course of life imposed on her could never silence a resentment that only waited for the opportune moment to manifest itself. Perhaps the play reserved, for the problematic relationship between this pair, two *agones*, a first one full of recriminations from Merope, and a second, falsely appeasing, in which vengeance already hovered in the intentions of the offended. This pattern has a famous model in the confrontation between Medea and Jason in Euripides (*Medea* 446-626, 866-975). A possible first *agon* between Merope and Polyphontes would show the courage of the offended woman before the oppressor (fr. 451 Kannicht), under this accusation: "But if, as you say, my husband waited to kill you, / You too should have waited, and let time pass." By these words, Merope seems to refute an argument of self-defense that Polyphontes used to justify the murder of old Cresphontes. Prudence would have ordered Polyphontes to imitate Cresphontes' hesitation in liquidating him, and thus, a crime would have been avoided. The long-awaited hour came when a stranger appeared at the palace to claim from Polyphontes the reward announced for the elimination of the surviving son of old Cresphontes and Merope. Revenge she had not been able to execute on the illegitimate holder of the throne, Polyphontes, gives strength to the arm that rises to strike the guest who proclaims himself the murderer of the last of her sons. Merope accompanies this gesture with words of hatred, ancient and now renewed (fr. 456 Kannicht): "Well (deserved) is this blow that I am going to give you."

All the more emotional, we imagine, is the embrace - permanent in Euripidean recognition - which will have brought mother and son together at last. By this gesture, Merope's attitude evolves from mere impulse to homicidal rationality. She understands that

[16] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1454ª 4, mentions the paradigmatic effect obtained by Euripides with the articulation between death threat and recognition, exemplified by Merope in *Cresphontes*: "The best example is the last one; I refer to the moment when, in *Cresphontes*, Merope prepares to kill her son, and does not kill him, but recognizes him." See also Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1111a 11, in which, about the commission of an involuntary act, it is strange that a son, through ignorance, can be considered an enemy.

the time has come to collaborate in the vengeance against the one truly responsible for so much life-destroying violence. If the queen does not strike the blow, she allies herself with the young Cresphontes to give him victory over the usurper. She seems to be the brain of a trap: pretending resignation, appeasing old hatreds now that, as she says, yet another death has sealed the end of a stage in her life (cf. frs. 449, 454, 455, 458 Kannicht). So that, appeased and confident, Polyphontes offers the flanks to the coup without reaction or defense. Fr. 458 Kannicht may be particularly suggestive: “My fate, / after taking my dearest ones as payment, / has made me prudent." The sense of σοφήν, understood not precisely as "wise or prudent", but also as "skillful,”[17] gives an interesting nuance to the words of Merope, between the message she intends to pass on to her interlocutor and what she has in her mind. Her words are appropriate when vengeance was being prepared against Polyphontes and when Merope dominated the enemy's credulity.

The visibility that the queen would have in the action of the play is more or less consensual. She had a solid and emotional personality, on whose activity some central scenes of the tragedy depended: the attempt to kill her son, the recognition and participation, through deceit, in the usurper’s death.

ii. *Political message in Cresphontes*

After evaluating the thematic and formal strategies that can be guessed at in a production of a Euripidean tone, in line with several of his creations, let us now consider the political message that *Cresphontes* would also contain and which places Euripides among the voices that, directly or indirectly, pondered the experience of Messenia under the overbearing authority of Sparta.[18] The theme of hospitality seems relevant, but mainly that of the exercise of power, in antagonistic versions: the despotic and the humanist. The intervention of the young Cresphontes, who claims, at the cost of his own life, the removal of the tyrant and the liberation of his land, contributes to the political content of the play. Pausanias, in Book IV, dedicates to this motif of the courageous commitment of the Messenian youth to the independence and freedom of their land, in obedience to what seems to be a kind of DNA of which the figure of Aristomenes stands out.

A stichomythic dialogue probably pronounced by the young Cresphontes followed the opening monologue. The young prince returns to his father's court under disguise and at the risk of his life, and receives information about Messenian affairs provided by someone in the intimacy of the house (a servant?). The vague mention of "by deceit" included in what seems to be a set of few words belonging to the initial monologue (fr. 448^{a}.1 Kannicht) had then a clarification (fr. 448^{a}.13-31):

Cresphontes - Is the master of this house aggressive towards foreigners?[19]

? - The one who is still alive, yes, but the one who no longer exists was, with everyone, very amiable.[20]

Cresphontes - Who is he? And the one who no longer lives, tell me next who he is.

? - One of the Heraclids, named Polyphontes, foreigner.

Cresphontes - And the master of the house who is already dead? Who was he?

? - Have you heard of Cresphontes, a member of that same family?

Cresphontes - He who came to colonize this land of Messenia.

[17] Cf. Harder 1985: 120-1.

[18] Naturally, the scarcity of the fragments requires some caution in assessing this aspect. There is some agreement among commentators on the play. Harder 1985: 11: “Here of course the question arises whether Euripides’ play also reflected the discussion on Messenia. The question is hard to answer: all that can be said is that it seems not *a priori* impossible, as the subject was not without topicality in the years when the *Kresphontes* was written. A political undertone of the *Kresphontes* was favoured by E. Schwartz (...). Schwartz believed that the fate of the exiled young Kresphontes, who eventually returned to his country was inspired by the fate of the Messenians, who after the revolution of 464 had been settled in Naupaktos by the Athenians and had been in Pylos since 426.” Luraghi 2008: 62 adds to this hypothesis: “This attitude is consistent with the relations between Athenians and Messenians in the second half of the fifth century, when the Athenians gave Naupaktos as a new homeland to the Messenian rebels who left the Peloponnese, after which the Messenians from Naupaktos were precious allies for the Athenians throughout the Peloponnesian War.”

[19] Harder's proposal 1985: 62, which supposes that these first words of Cresphontes were motivated by something said by his interlocutor, suggesting fears about the welcome to expect as a foreigner, seems accurate. In this case, these would not be the first verses of the dialogue.

[20] Cf. Pausanias 4.3.7, on the reasons for the death of Cresphontes: 'But it did not remain long, because the wealthy citizens rose against Cresphontes for benefiting the people too much and killed him and his remaining sons.' Probably Euripides kept silent on references to the deceit by which Cresphontes would have fulfilled his desire to be lord of Messenia, of which Pausanias gives an account in 4.3.4-5: "It was mainly Teras, son of Autesion, who opposed Cresphontes. Teras was a Theban, a fifth-generation descendant of Polynices, son of Oedipus, who then tutored Aristodemos' children as their uncle on their mother's side. Aristodemos had married a daughter of Autesion named Argia. Cresphontes, however, who wanted the power of Messenia at any price, in combination with Temenos, prepared a draw. Temenos deposited two balls in a bottle filled with water, one for Aristodemos’ sons and the other for Cresphontes. The one whose ball came out first could choose which of the two regions he preferred. Temenos made both balls of earth, but the one for the sons of Aristodemos was dried in the sun, and the one for Cresphontes was boiled in the fire. Therefore, the sons of Aristodemos’ ball fell apart, and Cresphontes, thus drawn by lot, chose Messenia.” About this lot, the variations it underwent from the 5th century BC and its symbolism to justify Laconia's domination of Messenia, cf. Luraghi 2008: 50-1. Euripides, according to the hypothesis of *Temenidai*, like Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70F 115), refers to Oxylos (a fantastic being with three eyes) as the person in charge of the Peloponnesian lottery (*P. Oxy*. 2455, fr. 9.4-8). Apparently, the lot was a strong theme in *Temenos* and *Temenidai* (among the oldest references to this mythical episode are Pindar, *Pythian* 5.69-72, Sophocles, *Ajax* 1283-7). In the first case, it was up to Temenos to conduct the process, suggesting that perhaps, as in Pausanias, he was conspiring in the deceit.

? - After killing him, Polyphontes occupied the palace.

Cresphontes - By violence or by unintentional chance?

? - It was by violence that he mastered it, to become king of this land.

Cresphontes - And the one who died had no children, nor a woman as a wife?

? - Not at all. He had two sons, whom he killed along with their father.

The prologue, therefore, reveals a fundamental antithesis between the dead king and the one now exercising power, that is to say, a legitimate and generous king versus a despotic and violent one. And yet, as between Lacedaemonians and Messenians, both monarchs, who became rivals, had a common ancestor ("One of the Heraclids, named Polyphontes (...); Have you heard of Cresphontes, a member of that same family?", fr. 448a16, 18). At the distance that death has dug, the memory of old Cresphontes is still a mirror from which the image of his antagonist comes out most grotesque. The portrait of Polyphontes that is anticipated here - the one drawn by those who know and observe him, even before he is allowed to confirm it in presence - fulfills the requirements corresponding to those of a true tyrant. And as it is someone under the disguise of a foreigner who makes the question, it is natural that the first trait to be underlined in the tyrant should be his aggressiveness towards the foreigners who come to him as guests. As any barbarian king, Toas of Tauris or Theoclimenus of Egypt, Polyphontes represents a danger for those who come to his palace. The violence that denounces above all insecurity: that which invades someone who, for the crimes committed, may fear the coming of an avenger. The infractions of the new lord of Messenia are many and terrible: political, against the legitimate holder of the throne and his heirs, and also personal, forcing the widow and bereaved mother to submit to his wishes. Ambition is enunciated as the rule that guides Polyphontes. What the Messenian public opinion thinks of their new lord is evident from the words of this servant, direct, ruthless, and firm. The parodos reinforces the same censorship through the voice of a group of old men who, because of their age, establish a link between the past and the present as witnesses to the change in power in Messenia (fr. 448^{a}.77-89):

I cry for this house

Deprived of the only ... of its king

Of old ...

Worthy of many tears.

A sacred, inexpressible reason for my song.

...

Terrible ... of a relative ...

With hands dyed in blood from the death of his children,

That man is also to me guilty of so many evils.

So ... a father's children...

The chorus was probably alluding not only to the murders committed as a penalty for the royal family, but also for himself, as the representative of the Messenian people. He was thus underlining the political dimension of the regicide. The same multiplicative effect of the crimes of Polyphontes was reinforced by a stasimon, configured as a hymn to Peace, associated with the repudiation of the political discord that brought the tyrant to Messenia or that the tyrant produced in Messenia (fr. 452.9-12 Kannicht):[21]

Come, come, my lady, to my city.

The fierce Disorder drive it from our homes,

And the disturbing Discord

That delights in the sharpness of iron.

The Chorus' appeal seems to have in mind a collective peace (consider the political sense of Στάσις, 10) and thus convey the idea of the disturbance that the regicide and the usurper's authority caused in the city, or, before that, the unrest that facilitated the usurper's coup (cf. Pausanias 4.3.7).

The few words that the preserved fragments allow us to hear said by Polyphontes confirm in a bold and egocentric way the accusations that were being directed against him (fr. 452 Kannicht):

What I suffered is what all mortals suffer.

Of loving myself, above all, I am not ashamed.

It seems clear the insecurity he conveys of someone who knows himself guilty of several crimes. But perhaps his words intend to hide his guilt under a cloak of self-defense. In any case, the selfishness he confesses is manifest.

This insecurity is responsible for the blind, credulous manner in which Polyphontes allows himself to be caught in the trap set for him by his victims - Merope and the young Cresphontes. Relieved at what looks like the elimination of an avenger, whom he has bought at a price, and at the unexpected reconciliation with the woman he dominates, the usurper recklessly offers his back to the blow of revenge. A comment of a moral character, which might well close the play, goes to him and to the excesses of his behavior. The coryphaeus (or Merope or Cresphontes), expressing the moral of the story, reflects on the result of the revenge (fr. 459 Kannicht):

The profits that any mortal obtains should be such,

That he never, afterward, should regret them.

[21] The political unrest that troubled Messenia in the era before the Spartan conquest is referred to by Isocrates 6.22, Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70F 116-7 (*vide supra*).

IV. Conclusion

The scarcity of solid testimonies about Messenia's remote past has provided some fantasy among authors who mainly belong to a period after the 4th century BC. The intense conflict that opposed Sparta and Athens during the second half of the 5th century BC and the dominance gained by the Peloponnesian city in Greece during the following decades invited consideration of Sparta's relationship with its neighbors. It is not surprising, therefore, that reading the myths of Messenia in these years has led to mainly political conclusions.

Yet there is good reason to think that behind the late versions, there were sources as far back as the 7th century BC if one considers the poetry of Tyrtaeus and the allusions therein to the Messenian wars.

In this limited flow of testimonies, Euripides will have occupied a decisive place if we think of the insistence with which his tragedy used the Messenian traditions. Although very few fragments have been preserved, it is clear that the myths concerning the southwestern Peloponnese were compatible with the preferences of the Euripidean stage. But it is also predictable that the historical timeliness and political message had made them attractive to the Athenian public of the fifth century BC. To look at the fragments and try to go through the ballast left by them is, despite many limitations, a challenging task.

Bibliography

1. Alcock, S. (1999), "The pseudo-history of Messenia unplugged", *TAPhA* 129: 333-41.
2. Auberger, J. (2000), "Pausanias et le livre IV: une leçon pour l'Empire?", *Phoenix* 54: 255-81.
3. Brunhara, R. (2014), *As elegias de Tirteu. Poesia e performance na Esparta Arcaica.* São Paulo: Humanitas.
4. Harder, A. (1985), *Euripides' Cresphontes and Archelaos.* Leiden: Brill.
5. Luraghi, N. (2008), *The ancient Messenians. Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
6. Podlecki, A. J. (1984), *The early Greek poets and their times.* Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press.
7. Rocha Pereira, M. H. (10 2006), *Estudos de História da Cultura Clássica. I. Cultura Grega.* Lisboa: Gulbenkian.
8. Rodríguez Alcocer, M. M. (2015), "Mesenia: uma identidade creada mediante na alteridade", *Antesteria* 4: 81-99.

This page is intentionally left blank

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Reception of Refugees in Chad in the Context of Instability and Asymmetric War (2003 - 2020)

By Abdoulaye Abakar Kassambara

Université de N'Djaména

Abstract- This study focuses on the massive reception of refugees in Chad in a context of both civil and asymmetric wars. These refugees, mostly coming from Sudan, Central African Republic and to a lesser extent Nigeria, have found refuge in most cases in the border area subject to recurring insecurity. However, the Chadian government and its humanitarian partners, somehow manage to protect and secure the refugee camps. But the massive arrival of asylum seekers has revealed the absence of legal and structural framework to host this population of refugees. The technical and financial support of humanitarian partners has made it possible to innovate in asylum laws and in the setting up of such institutions. This collaboration resulted in an alignment of government policy with that of humanitarian organizations in favor of refugees from the civil war. But the direct involvement of Chad in 2015 in the war against violent Islamism in Nigeria, gave rise a concern of security and stigmatizing approach towards Nigerian refugees assimilated to Boko-haram.

Keywords: refugee, terrorist, status, chad, reception, cohabitation

GJHSS-D Classification: DDC Code: 943.91 LCC Code: DB957

THERECEPTIONOFREFUGEESINCHADINTHECONTEXTOFINSTABILITYANDASYMMETRICWAR20032020

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

The Reception of Refugees in Chad in the Context of Instability and Asymmetric War (2003 - 2020)

L'accueil Des Réfugiés au Tchad Dans le Contexte D'instabilité et de la Guerre Asymétrique (2003 - 2020)

Abdoulaye Abakar Kassambara

Résumé- Cette étude met l'accent sur l'arrivée massive des réfugiés au Tchad, dans un contexte à la fois des guerres civiles et de la guerre asymétrique. Ces réfugiés à majorité soudanais, centrafricains et dans la moindre mesure nigériane, ont trouvé refuge dans la plupart des cas, dans la zone frontalière sujette à l'insécurité récurrente. Toutefois, l'Etat tchadien et ses partenaires humanitaires, parviennent tant bien que mal, à protéger et sécuriser les camps des réfugiés. Mais l'afflux massif de demandeurs d'asile, a révélé l'absence des instruments juridiques et structurels d'accueil de cette population des réfugiés. L'appui technique et financier de partenaires humanitaires, a permis d'innover dans des lois d'asile et dans des organismes d'accueil. Cette collaboration aboutie à un alignement de la politique gouvernementale sur celle des organisations humanitaires à la faveur des réfugiés de la guerre civile. Mais l'implication directe du Tchad en 2015 dans la guerre contre l'islamisme violant au Nigeria, a fait naître une approche sécuritaire et stigmatisante à l'égard des réfugiés nigérians assimilées au Boko-haram. Dès lors, on assiste à une différence de traitement entre de ce qu'on peut appeler désormais « réfugié de la guerre civile » et « réfugié de la guerre asymétrique ». Le premier continue à bénéficier de différents programmes tendant à l'insérer dans le tissu socio-économique local. Tandis que le second, se voit refouler des zones urbaines et confiner dans des camps de réfugiés militarisés aux confins du lac Tchad.

Mots-clés: réfugié, terroriste, statut, tchad, accueil, cohabitation.

Abstract- This study focuses on the massive reception of refugees in Chad in a context of both civil and asymmetric wars. These refugees, mostly coming from Sudan, Central African Republic and to a lesser extent Nigeria, have found refuge in most cases in the border area subject to recurring insecurity. However, the Chadian government and its humanitarian partners, somehow manage to protect and secure the refugee camps. But the massive arrival of asylum seekers has revealed the absence of legal and structural framework to host this population of refugees. The technical and financial support of humanitarian partners has made it possible to innovate in asylum laws and in the setting up of such institutions. This collaboration resulted in an alignment of government policy with that of humanitarian organizations in favor of refugees from the civil war. But the direct involvement of Chad in 2015 in the war against violent Islamism in Nigeria, gave rise a concern of security and stigmatizing approach towards Nigerian refugees assimilated to Boko-haram. Consequently, we are witnessing a difference in treatment between what can now be called "refugee from the civil war" and "refugee from the asymmetric war". The first continues to benefit from various programs aimed at integrating it into the local socio-economic fabric. While the second is being pushed back from urban areas and confined to militarized refugee camps on the borders of Lake Chad.

Keywords: refugee, terrorist, status, chad, reception, cohabitation.

Author: Université de N'Djaména. e-mail: abdoulayeka@hotmail.fr

Introduction

Le Tchad devient une terre de refuge pour certaines populations de pays voisins en conflits armés depuis ces deux dernières décennies, et ce malgré son instabilité récurrente. Cet afflux de réfugiés constitue un défi à la fois humanitaire et sécuritaire multiforme, surtout, avec l'implication directe du Tchad dans la lutte contre l'extrémisme violant. Si la difficulté d'accueil des réfugiés de la guerre civile (Soudan et Centrafrique) se manifestait souvent en termes structurels, institutionnel et, par l'entremêlement des populations, communautaires, celle de la guerre asymétrique (Nigéria) se pose sous angle sécuritaire, rendant la conciliation entre le devoir d'accueil et les impératifs sécuritaires extrêmement difficile. Les infiltrations des éléments de Boko Haram au sein des réfugiés nigérians, avaient suscité de la méfiance et de la suspicion à leur égard. La crainte donc d'une déstabilisation du pays par ce groupe terroriste tourne à l'obsession sécuritaire. En effet, la menace diffuse et imprévisible de cette nouvelle guerre, aggrave l'instabilité au Tchad, qui est confronté d'ailleurs, aux incursion s répétées de groupes armés politico-militaires. Il est à cet effet, cité en exemple de la déliquescence des Etats africains.

C'est dans ce climat d'instabilité périodique que le e pays s'est hissé au rang des pays accueillant le plus de réfugiés au monde par rapport au nombre de sa population. Mais, l'enlisement sans perspective des réfugiés dans des camps, le poids socio-économique de l'accueil et l'arrivée de réfugiés de la guerre asymétrique, constituent le fond du défi de la présence massive des réfugiés au Tchad. Pourtant, ces éléments sont peu étudiés en dépit de leur importance. Toutefois, l'afflux de réfugiés soudanais, centrafricains et nigérians au Tchad au cours des deux dernières décennies a enclenché spontanément d'énormes élans de solidarité de la population hôte, du gouvernement mais aussi de la communauté internationale. Les médias, tout en entretenant la sensation au moment de l'afflux, diffusent des informations importantes sur la condition dramatique de ces réfugiés. Mais, au fur et à mesure que ceux-ci, s'enlisent dans des camps ou dans des sites d'accueil, l'emballement médiatique et l'émotion populaire à leur égard s'estompent et les réfugiés tombent dans l'oubli. L'Etat et quelques-uns de ses partenaires humanitaires nationaux et internationaux, se trouvent souvent bien seuls pour susciter l'urgence humanitaire en faveur de ces réfugiés de longue durée à travers des rapports mensuels, trimestriels et annuels sur les conditions de vie de réfugiés dans leurs différents lieux d'hébergement. Cette masse d'information doublée par celles des médias, constitue des sources primaires importantes pour les chercheurs de tous bords.

Mais, l'abondance des sources sur cette question de réfugiés au Tchad, ne semble pas aiguiser la curiosité des chercheurs car la littérature autour du sort de réfugié, de leur rapport avec la population hôte ainsi que le poids de leur accueil sur le pays, sont peu ou pas étudiés. La littérature sur les conflits armés à l'origine de flux des réfugiés au Tchad est assez abondante. Elle ne cesse d'ailleurs de capter l'attention des chercheurs de tous bords. Mais le sort des réfugiés dans la plupart de ces études, n'est évoqué qu'à titre d'exemple ou bien en termes vagues.

Toutefois, l'inventaire de travaux scientifiques sur les problématiques de réfugiés au Tchad, fait ressortir quelques rares études d'ordre catégoriel. Après l'intéressant travail de Marc André Lagrange (2006) et de celui de Johanne Favre (2007), la recherche scientifique proprement dite sur cette question a semblé figée. Le premier a mis en exergue, la difficulté de cohabitation entre les réfugiés du Darfour et la population hôte de l'Est du Tchad, tandis que le second analyse le bilan mitigé de la sécurisation militaire des réfugiés et déplacés dans l'Est et le Sud du Tchad par une force multinationale comprenant une mission des Nations Unies (la MINURCAT) et une force militaire européenne (l'EUFOR Tchad/RCA). Il a fallu attendre le mémoire de master de Djimadoumgué Tamdjim (2019) sur l'insertion des réfugiés centrafricains dans la région de Goré au Sud du Tchad ainsi que notre travail sur la confusion identitaire des retournés centrafricains au Tchad (Abakar Kassambara A., 2021) pour assister à une relance de la recherche sur le sort des réfugiés au Tchad.

Etant donné l'éloignement relatif dans le temps de deux premières études, qui sont liées au fort moment d'afflux de réfugiés soudanais à l'Est du Tchad et au Nord de la RCA, notre étude doit revisiter la difficulté de la cohabitation, entre la population hôte et les réfugiés à travers l'enlisement de ces derniers dans des camps et l'absence de mécanismes tant structurels qu'institutionnels pour un accueil de longue durée. Elle tente de déterminer l'évolution de la perception populaire à l'égard de la figure des réfugiés par rapport à la nature du conflit et à la volatilité du climat sécuritaire au Tchad. Cette démarche à la fois démonstrative et comparative met en exergue la complexité de gestion de cette présence massive de réfugiés et l'irruption de réfugiés de la guerre asymétrique avec son probable cortège d'infiltration terroriste de Boko Haram dans un pays, où les cycles de conflits, sont d'ailleurs périodiques et récurrents.

Il nous a apparu intéressant d'analyser les différentes politiques des gouvernements et de leurs partenaires humanitaires en matière d'accueil et d'intégration des réfugiés durant ces deux dernières décennies. En ce sens, l'Etat tchadien et la communauté humanitaire tentent de renforcer la cohabitation à travers des initiatives ou de nouveaux concepts tendant à faciliter l'intégration effective des réfugiés soudanais et centrafricains dans leur environnement d'accueil. Mais, l'absence de mécanisme d'accueil pour les réfugiés de la guerre asymétrique avait abouti à des stigmatisations souvent globalisantes et sans aucune nuance. C'est à ce titre que les réfugiés nigérians au Tchad se voient associés à leurs tortionnaires surtout, après la multiplication des attaques terroristes de Boko Haram dans le pays. Dès lors, les réfugiés nigérians sont considérés par une certaine perception populaire et sécuritaire comme la cinquième colonne de Boko Haram.

Il en résulte donc une catégorisation des réfugiés, qui crée de facto une différence de traitement en fonction de la nature du conflit. De sorte que le droit d'asile et de protection se trouve ainsi remis en cause pour la population chassée par le terrorisme. Dans cette dualité de traitement entre « réfugiés de la guerre civile » et « réfugiés de la guerre asymétrique », comment améliorer à la fois, le mécanisme d'accueil des réfugiés de longue durée, et concilier les impératifs sécuritaires avec le droit d'asile pour les réfugiés de l'extrémisme violent ? C'est à partir donc d'ouvrages généraux, de travaux scientifiques, de rapports des organismes humanitaires, de sources médiatiques et de faits vécus que cette étude tente de répondre à ce questionnement. Elle aborde en premier lieu les cycles d'instabilité au Tchad et dans les pays voisins et l'innovation des mécanismes d'accueil des réfugiés. En second lieu, l'étude évoque la politique d'intégration des réfugiés de la guerre civile et la gestion sécuritaire de ceux de la guerre asymétrique. On peut ainsi appréhender le poids de l'afflux des réfugiés au Tchad dans toute sa dimension humanitaire et sécuritaire.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

I. Afflux des Réfugiés dans des Contextes D'instabilité et D'absence des Structures D'accueil

a) *Influx of refugees in contexts of instability and absence of reception structures*

i. *Pays de guerre et d'exode*

Country of war and exodus

Dès les premières années de l'indépendance, le Tchad bascule dans la violence politique. En effet, l'instauration en janvier 1962 du parti unique par le premier président François Tombalbaye et de sa politique autoritaire avaient précipité le pays dans la violence politique. Pourtant, cette nouvelle politique de la concentration du pouvoir était en vogue dans le continent africain car elle est censée cimenter l'union nationale dans les pays africains (Mbainaissem D., 2006). Mais, le climat politique au Tchad s'exacerbe sur fond de la rivalité communautaire et régionaliste, qui aboutit à l'apparition de la rébellion armée. C'est ainsi qu'au cours de congrès à Nyala au Soudan du 19 au 22 juin 1966, fut créé le Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad FROLINAT (Bouquet, C., 1982 : 129). Dès lors, le pays vit au rythme de la violence politique, qui débouche sur un conflit armé long et meurtrier. En effet, les opérations de guérilla et des représailles de l'armée, ont provoqué à l'époque la fuite des dizaines de milliers d'habitants du nord et de l'est vers la Libye et le Soudan. En décembre 1966, le chef traditionnel des Toubous, le Derdé, dut s'exiler en Libye avec un millier de ses partisans (Bouquet C., 1982 : 134).

La violence politique a atteint son paroxysme lorsqu'entre 1979 et 1982, le Tchad sombra dans une guerre civile à connotation communautaire et régionaliste. A ce moment, le pays était au bord de la balkanisation. C'est ainsi que pendant la guerre de neuf mois à N'Djamena de 1979, la quasi-totalité de la population a pris la route de l'exil vers le Cameroun, surtout dans la ville frontalière de Kousseri, qui avait accueilli plus 100 000 réfugiés tchadiens (UNHCR. 2006). A signaler que le nord du Nigeria, avait été aussi une terre de refuge pour des dizaines de milliers de Tchadiens, essentiellement dans la ville de Maïdouguri. On note cependant, un mouvement de déplacement interne de la population à cause de la violence intercommunautaire, qui a éclaté dans la foulée de ce conflit donnant lieu à des replis de population dans leur région d'origine. A ce sujet, entre 70 et 80 mille sudistes avaient été contraints à regagner leurs régions d'origine (Lanne B., 1981: 77).

Après la victoire d'Hissène Habré en juin 1982, le conflit inter-tchadien s'internationalise car les belligérants se font adouber par des puissances étrangères. Les années 1980 sont marquées par des guerres civiles, par un conflit ouvert avec la Libye ainsi que par un régime autoritaire.

Cette victoire n'était que le prélude à de nouvelles divisions et interférences étrangères (Libye, États-Unis, France, Soudan). L'arrivée au pouvoir de son ancien adjoint, Hissène Habré (Gorane), en 1982, était le fruit d'une alliance régionale et internationale contre une Libye expansionniste. Son régime, par sa brutalité, allait se maintenir jusqu'en décembre 1990 grâce à ses soutiens occidentaux et son nationalisme viscéral face aux revendications libyennes (Crisis Group, N°111, 1er juin 2006).

Le régime de H. Habré a eu recours à des répressions massives contre ses opposants en instaurant un système de terreur (Seroussi Julien, 2006). Cependant, à la fin des années 1980, le pays semble renouer avec la stabilité et amorcer le retour des réfugiés civils et des opposants politiques et militaires tels que Cheik Ibini Oumar et le général Kamougué. Le renversement du régime de H. Habré en décembre 1990 par les troupes d'Idriss Deby après plusieurs mois de répression et de combats, avait entrainé un déplacement massif de la population ainsi que leur fuite vers les pays voisins. Malgré la réinstauration du multipartisme, le pays peine à briser les cycles de la violence politique. En effet, le climat politique du Tchad entre 1990 et 2008 est certes rythmé par des élections mais aussi ponctué par les multiples raids de groupes politico-militaires. C'est ainsi que les groupes rebelles sont arrivés à deux reprises dans la ville de N'Djamena en février 2006 et avril 2008. Durant la seconde attaque, la plupart des habitants de N'Djamena se sont déplacés dans des villages aux alentours et quelque 50 000 parmi eux ont trouvé refuge dans la ville camerounaise de Kousseri (Amnesty International, 2008).

Depuis cette dernière attaque, le pays semble retrouver une certaine stabilité mais le spectre d'un nouvel exode ou déplacement hante la population à cause l'incertitude politique. A ce sujet, l'incursion des éléments d'un groupe armé au début février 2019, à partir de la Libye, allait aboutir à un coup d'État n'eût été l'intervention de l'armée française (*Le Monde Afrique*, 13 février 2019). Cet évènement témoigne à la fois de la fragilité de la paix civile au Tchad et de la persistance de la logique de la prise de pouvoir par la force. En dépit de la volatilité de la situation sécuritaire, le Tchad devient ces dernières années, une terre d'accueil pour des centaines de milliers des réfugiés du pays voisin. Ces pays basculent à leur tour dans la violence politique et dans la guerre civile interminable. On assiste dès lors, à la décomposition de certains pays africains, qui deviennent de ce que Lat Soucabé Mbow appelle les *États défaillants* ne contrôlant que la capitale, où la violence des luttes pour le pouvoir engendre des flots des réfugiés (Lat Soucabé Mbow, 2017: 88-92).

C'est ainsi que la région du Darfour, dans l'ouest du pays, se rebelle en 2003 et s'ensuit une guerre civile meurtrière et dramatique. Le drame engendré par ce conflit avait été présenté par certains médias et par des organismes humanitaires comme « génocide et épuration ethnique », qui aurait fait entre 180 000 et 400 000 morts (Jérome Lacroix Leclair et Pierre Pahlavi 2012). Ce cycle de l'instabilité gagne aussi la République Centrafricaine (RCA), qui sombre dans la violence politique profonde et des conflits armés interminables. Ceux-ci atteignent son paroxysme en mars 2013. En effet, le pays a basculé dans une guerre civile totale à connotation religieuse d'une ampleur inédite, entrainant un exode massif de la population centrafricaine vers les pays voisins. A ce sujet, le Tchad a accueilli à la fois, des réfugiés centrafricains mais aussi des ressortissants tchadiens, installés en RCA depuis des lustres dont le nombre est estimé à 300 000 avant la guerre intercommunautaire de décembre 2013 (OCHA, 2014).

Ce cycle de violence gagne aussi le nord du Nigeria mais dans un autre registre transcendant la guerre civile habituelle en Afrique. Il s'inscrit d'ailleurs, dans un vaste phénomène du temps incarné par le « djihadisme international », qui use de la violence extrême pour instaurer un Etat théocratique. La secte Boko Haram a emprunté cette logique et se heurte violement avec l'Etat nigérian. En effet, la répression féroce menée par les autorités nigérianes en 2009, a fait plus de 1000 morts parmi les adeptes ainsi que le chef spirituel de la secte Boko Haram, Mahamat Yusuf (Higazi A., 2013). La secte bascule ainsi dans la clandestinité et mène une guérilla urbaine et rurale d'une violence inouïe entrainant un embrasement de la région septentrionale du pays. En effet, une étude menée en février 2015 fait ressortir qu'entre 2009 et 2013, Boko Haram arrive en troisième position des groupes terroristes opérant dans le monde entier avec 801 attaques vérifiées contre 2 328 pour les talibans en Afghanistan (Kadje D., 2016).

Dans la foulé du printemps arabe, la Libye vit depuis février 2011 au rythme de la guerre civile et devient une source de déstabilisation de l'Afrique subsaharienne. La dislocation de l'Etat libyen a facilité le trafic d'armes dans toute la région saharienne et la Libye devient un entrepôt d'armes à ciel ouvert dans lequel s'approvisionnent des groupes armés politico-militaires tels que les groupes djihadistes agissant dans la zone saharienne:

En 2011, la révolution libyenne redéfinit les règles du jeu. Chefs de milices et trafiquants se servent alors dans les stocks de l'ancien régime, et alimentent à la fois les conflits intra-libyens et régionaux. La ville de Sebha, dans le Fezzan, se transforme bientôt en hub régional du trafic d'armes du fait de sa proximité avec plusieurs entrepôts. (*Jeune Afrique*, 2011).

Ce climat d'instabilité de nature diffuse et souvent inédite, a entrainé une arrivée massive de réfugiés et de ressortissants tchadiens dans le pays.

b) La gestion collégiale des flux de réfugiés et la structuration de l'accueil

i. *Collegial management of refugee flows and the structuring of reception*

Les conflits simultanés et persistants dans les pays voisins débordant à l'intérieur du Tchad, ont provoqué un afflux massif et incessant de réfugiés, de retournés ainsi que de déplacés internes sur le sol tchadien. En effet, le décompte du HCR en date du 20 juin 2018 révèle que le Tchad a accueilli sur plusieurs années un total de 619 440 personnes. Celles-ci, de nationalités différentes, sont placées sous mandat du HCR, dont 450 940 réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile. Il s'agit plus précisément de 331 450 Soudanais, 107 995 Centrafricains, 10 259 Nigérians et 1 236 autres réfugiés de diverses nationalités, soit plus de 3% de la population tchadienne (UNHCR, 2018).

Dans le nombre global pris en charge par le HCR, on dénombre aussi plus de 159 000 déplacés internes. En effet, la persistance de la guerre civile a pour conséquence, l'installation durable et prolongée des réfugiés dans le pays d'accueil. A ce sujet, en décembre 2019, le Tchad compte 451 398 réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile sur son territoire (UNHCR, 2018). On note une baisse de 9% du nombre de réfugiés par rapport à l'estimation de 2013. Dans ces chiffres, les réfugiés soudanais installés dans 12 camps à l'est, sont les plus nombreux avec un taux de 72% de la population refugiée au Tchad. Tandis que, les réfugiés centrafricains installés dans le sud, ne comptent que pour 22% et les autres nationalités représentent 6%. A ce rythme, il faudrait 50 ans pour un retour définitif de ces réfugiés dans leur pays d'origine. On assiste donc à une installation durable et prolongée de réfugiés au Tchad. En outre, le pays a dû faire face au retour massif de ses ressortissants de la RCA dont la plupart étaient installés en Centrafrique depuis plusieurs générations. La plupart d'entre-deux n'ont aucune attache avec le Tchad. Ils sont désignés sous vocable de « retournés de la RCA » dont le nombre s'élève à plus de 100 000 personnes en mars 2016 (Estelle Madjilem, 2016).

Dans un récent document de l'ONU, le nombre des réfugiés et des déplacés ne cesse d'augmenter. En effet, à la fin de 2020, le Tchad compte 917 535 personnes déplacées dont quelque 500 000 réfugiés et 350 000 déplacés internes, et 100 000 Tchadiens de la RCA et de la région du Lac (ONU Info, 2020). Il en ressort ainsi une hausse de nombre des réfugiés à hauteur de 10% par rapport aux chiffres avancés par le HCR en décembre 2018. Il est malaisé de déterminer avec exactitude le nombre des réfugiés, des déplacés ainsi que des retournés. En effet, les sources humanitaires donnent des chiffres contradictoires souvent assez déconcertants. Cela peut toutefois, s'expliquer par le flot incessant des réfugiés, par l'inscription de membres de communautés hôtes comme refugiés, afin de bénéficier de la prise en charge, et par la désertion des camps par les réfugiés. Il découle de ces cas de figure, soit un accroissement du nombre des réfugiés, soit une baisse de leur nombre. Toutefois, le Tchad se trouve parmi les pays qui, accueillent le plus de réfugiés au monde. Les sources humanitaires le placent au quatrième rang mondial, en ce qui concerne l'hébergement des réfugiés, par rapport au nombre d'habitants. Il est classé même premier ou deuxième Etat africain en termes d'accueil des réfugiés avec (28 pour 1 000) après l'Ouganda (32 pour 1000). La France, à titre de comparaison, compte cinq réfugiés pour 1 000 habitants. Pour un PIB 250 fois supérieur (Macé, M., 2020).

Le pays frise ainsi la saturation et tente de gérer le flot incessant des réfugiés conformément à ses engagements internationaux. Mais l'accueil et la gestion de cette masse de réfugiés se heurtent à des difficultés tant structurelles que financières auxquelles le Tchad ne peut faire face seul. Il faut souligner que le Tchad est parmi les pays signataires de la Convention de Genève de 1951 relative au statut des réfugiés et de son protocole de 1967 depuis 1982. Il a ratifié les autres conventions liées aux droits de l'homme (Convention de l'Union Africaine, 1969). A ce titre, le Tchad est dans l'obligation de permettre à toute personne ou groupe de personnes dont la vie ou l'existence est menacée d'entrer sur son sol et de leur assurer accueil et protection. Si les premières aides à l'arrivée des réfugiés sont fournies à la fois par la population et par l'Etat ainsi que par les organismes humanitaires locaux, l'encadrement et la gestion proprement dits des camps de réfugiés au Tchad sont assurés par une équipe multifonctionnelle (UNHCR, UNICEF, ACRA, CSSI, CARE, APLFT, FLM, PAM, AIRD…). Ainsi se fait-il que le gouvernement du Tchad dépassé par l'afflux des réfugiés soudanais, avait déjà remis entièrement en 2004, la gestion et la prise en charge des camps de réfugiés au HCR. Ces camps sont des espaces qui échappent au contrôle direct des autorités tchadiennes et bénéficient d'un statut juridique spécifique (M-A. Lagrange, 2006). Il faut souligner qu'entre septembre 2007 et décembre 2010, la MINURCAT et l'EUFOR se sont efforcées de sécuriser les camps de réfugiés dans l'est du Tchad et nord-est de la Centrafrique. Au bout de trois ans, les forces onusienne et européenne sont parvenues à sécuriser les camps de réfugiés et de déplacés internes, à faciliter l'acheminement d'aides humanitaires et assurer la protection du personnel onusien et ceux des organismes humanitaires. Cependant, la mise en place, en partenariat avec le gouvernement tchadien, d'un Détachement intégré de sécurité (DIS) composé de 850 policiers et gendarmes, constitue le principal acquis de la MINURCAT au Tchad. Celui-ci est chargé d'assurer la protection des civils dans les camps et les zones avoisinantes (Pamphile Sebahara, 2010, p. 6).

En effet, le Tchad ne disposait d'aucun cadre juridique ou lois concernant l'asile au fort moment d'afflux des réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile. Toutefois, la Constitution tchadienne entrée en vigueur depuis 1996, révisée en 2005, traite de manière globale la question relative aux réfugiés, notamment en son article 46 qui dispose que « le droit d'asile est accordé dans les conditions déterminées par la loi » et interdit l'extradition des réfugiés politiques. Toutefois, il fallait attendre le décret du 2 août 2011 pour que le Tchad se dote d'un organe dédié à l'accueil et à la gestion de demandeurs d'asile et de réfugiés dénommé la Commission Nationale d'Accueil, de Réinsertion des Réfugiées et des Rapatrié (CNARR[1]). En effet, cette institution étatique a été créée pour mettre sur pied la politique gouvernementale en matière de protection et d'assistance aux réfugiés et autres personnes concernées par le mandat du HCR. En effet, ces différents organismes nationaux et internationaux sont de partenaires principaux du Gouvernement en matière de gestion et de financement des réfugiés. Leurs actions permettent d'alléger le poids d'accueil et d'aider le Gouvernement à inventer de nouvelles structures d'accueil ainsi des nouvelles législations tendant à améliorer l'environnement des réfugiés : Ainsi, le Tchad s'est engagé en septembre 2016, à travers la Déclaration de New York sur les réfugiés et les migrants à inclure les réfugiés dans la communauté locale et accorder un soutien accru aux communautés d'accueil (UNHCR 2016). Le gouvernement tchadien a mis en place des comités chargés d'appuyer et de suivre les activités humanitaires et de développement en cours. Le Comité Local d'Action (CLA), le Comité Départemental d'Action (CDA) et le Comité Provincial d'Action (CPA) sont ainsi chargés d'accompagner les acteurs humanitaires aux différents niveaux de l'administration tchadienne (GTS, 2019).

En mai 2018, le pays adhère au Cadre d'Action Global pour les Réfugiés (CAGR) dont l'objectif principal n'est que la mise en application de la déclaration de New York. Le CAGR vise à alléger le fardeau résultant de la présence massive et prolongée de réfugiés dans le pays. C'est sous l'impulsion des organismes humanitaires, surtout du HCR, que la loi d'asile est adoptée par le parlement en décembre 2020, puis promulguée à la fin de la même année. Elle définit les conditions d'obtention du statut de réfugié et faire décroître la pression des réfugiés sur le Tchad en assurant leur protection et leur développement dans les zones d'accueil[2]. Il semble que l'Etat tchadien tente de

[1] Cet organisme est créé par le Décret n° 11-839/PR/PM/MAT/11 du 2 août 2011.

[2] Présidence de la République du Tchad, numéro 027/2021 du 31/12/2020

reprendre la main sur la question de réfugiés avec la structuration du mécanisme d'accueil ainsi que par codification de l'accueil des réfugiés. C'est ainsi que la CNARR s'est déployée dans les provinces accueillant les réfugiés afin de permettre, l'identification, l'enregistrement, la détermination et la documentation des réfugiés (UNHCR, 2018). Cependant, cette nouvelle politique se situe par rapport à la stratégie de la communauté humanitaire, surtout du HCR. En effet, ces différentes structures, sont très dépendantes financièrement des organismes humanitaires, dans leur fonctionnement mais aussi dans leurs activités.

Ces différentes structures tentent d'assurer la survie des réfugiés et d'améliorer leur environnement d'accueil en inventant de nouveaux concepts et des lois tendant à prendre en charge à la fois les réfugiés et la communauté hôte. Il s'agit d'amorcer d'une cohabitation pacifique entre les deux communautés et d'amorcer d'une intégration progressive des réfugiés dans la communauté locale. Mais le traitement réservé aux exilés durant ces dernières années tend à connaître une approche catégorielle, distinguant s'il s'agit d'une guerre civile ou d'une guerre asymétrique.

II. Catégorisation des Réfugiés en Fonction de la Nature du Conflit

a) *Categorization of refugees according to the nature of the conflict*

i. *De la cohabitation à l'intégration des réfugiés de la guerre civile*

From cohabitation to the integration of civil war refugees

La nature du conflit semble influencer l'attitude de gouvernement du Tchad, en matière d'accueil des réfugiés. En effet, sa politique vis-à-vis des réfugiés de la guerre civile, est axée sur l'inclusion des réfugiés dans la communauté locale ainsi que leur insertion socio-économique dans le pays. Cette approche s'applique aux réfugiés du Soudan et de la RCA. Les premiers ont été accueillis à l'est depuis février 2003, sur le long des frontières tchado-soudanaises, dans douze camps de réfugiés. Tandis que les seconds ont été installés depuis décembre 2013 et début 2014 dans six camps et dix-sept villages hôtes dans le Sud et à l'intérieur du pays. En effet, la population centrafricaine se réfugie au Tchad dans les différents épisodes d'instabilités en RCA, surtout, entre 2003 et 2005 (Diallo Issagha, 2020). Ces réfugiés semblent toujours susciter de la sympathie de la communauté hôte, malgré quelques incidents sur des points d'eau et des pâturages, surtout, avec les éleveurs peuls (Célian Macé 2018). Il ne s'agirait là que d'une des manifestations de l'éternel conflit éleveur-cultivateur et cela ne témoignerait pas d'un véritable problème de cohabitation avec les réfugiés.

En dépit donc de ces incidents, certains réfugiés parviennent à s'intégrer socialement et économiquement dans leur environnement d'accueil. A titre d'exemple, les réfugiés du site de Gaoui près de N'Djamena, ont installé un *siégaï* (petit marché) à l'entrée du camp, qui devient un véritable carrefour commercial pour les riverains. Ce marché rivalise avec les deux petits marchés d'à côté. En outre, les femmes réfugiées de ce site dominent la commercialisation de la viande fraiche devant l'abattoir de Diguèl à 3 km du camp. Tandis que les hommes s'activent dans la débrouillardise et dans le commerce informel sans beaucoup de succès[3]. Ils parviennent cependant, à s'assimiler parfaitement dans la communauté d'accueil des zones rurales, où les réfugiés obtiennent sans difficulté, des parcelles de terres pour cultiver comme ce fut le cas dans le village de Dilingala au sud du Tchad (Célian Macé, 2018).

Mais, l'insertion de réfugiés soudanais à l'Est du Tchad devient problématique du fait de l'environnement inhospitalier de la région. En effet, plus de 85 % des réfugiés étaient regroupés dans cette zone désertique et sahélienne peu propice à la vie, où le nombre des réfugiés ne cesse d'ailleurs d'augmenter (Favre J., 2007). En effet, leur nombre est passé à 360 000 en juillet 2020. Ce flot de réfugiés dans cette région déshéritée avait créé des déséquilibres, dans le système économique de la population hôte mais aussi des impacts environnementaux. Contrairement à la partie méridionale, l'est du Tchad – dont la population est estimée à 600 000 habitants - est une zone désertique très pauvre en ressources agricoles et hydrauliques et peu propice à accueillir d'importants groupes de population (Commission Européenne, 2004). Ainsi, l'accès aux ressources provoque parfois des tensions entre les villageois et les réfugiés. En fait, la compassion éprouvée au début par la communauté hôte envers les réfugiés se transforme en mécontentement, lorsque ces derniers tentent d'entrer dans la vie active et de s'approvisionner en paille ou bois de chauffe en dehors du camp. On signale ainsi des incidents entre les femmes réfugiées et tchadiennes autour du ramassage du bois de chauffe, qui attise la rivalité entre les deux parties et nourrit des sentiments de rejet et de la xénophobie à l'encontre des réfugiés soudanais (Marc André Lagrange 2006). Aussi est-il que l'accès à la paille pour nourrir les animaux cristallise la tension entre les 14 000 habitants de Breidjing et Tréguine et les 43 000 réfugiés soudanais des camps du même nom de village (North, R., 2005).

Ces ressentiments de la communauté hôte s'expliquent d'abord, par la précarité de leur condition de vie, qui ne cesse d'ailleurs de se dégrader depuis l'intrusion massive de réfugiés dans leur région rognant au passage leurs maigres ressources. Ensuite, l'absence d'un programme d'aide en faveur de la communauté hôte au départ, qui devait alléger le

3

fardeau de l'accueil ainsi que la perte occasionnée par la présence prolongée des réfugiés sur leur terre. Enfin, la prise en charge totale des réfugiés par les organismes humanitaires comme le HCR et leurs immixtions dans les activités locales, font des réfugiés des « nantis » au moment où les autochtones croupissent dans l'indigence. Ils estiment ainsi qu'ils sont moins bien traités que les réfugiés (M-A. Lagrange, 2006).

Cependant, la question de l'accueil de réfugiés n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une instrumentalisation politique et l'opinion publique semble rester compatissante envers les réfugiés. Cette attitude bienveillante peut être attribuée au vécu des Tchadiens, qui ont connu au moins une fois la vie de demandeur d'asile ou de réfugié dans les pays voisins ces quatre dernières décennies. Elle en résulte aussi des liens familiaux, surtout, tout au long de la frontière, où on trouve les mêmes groupes ethniques de deux côtés de la frontière. A titre d'exemple, les Zakawa et Massalite assez majoritaires au l'ouest du Soudan occupent aussi l'est du Tchad et le même cas de figure, on peut l'observer entre le Tchad et la RCA, qui partage les mêmes groupes ethniques tels que les Sara, les Boume et bien d'autres. Les sources humanitaires attribuent d'ailleurs la cohabitation pacifique entre la communauté hôte et les réfugiés à ces liens familiaux très forts (C. Barbière, 2018).

L'enlisement des réfugiés dans les camps et les sites d'accueil doublé par l'absence d'une perspective de retour à court terme, a conduit le gouvernement et ses partenaires humanitaires à adopter une nouvelle stratégie. Celle-ci est axée sur la prise en charge à la fois des réfugiés et de la communauté d'accueil. Il s'agit de transformer les camps de réfugiés existants en villages (« villagisation des camps ») et ceux installés dans la périphérie des villes en quartiers. En effet, l'objectif de ce programme consiste à intégrer les réfugiés au sein des populations d'accueil, à garantir leur accès à des services essentiels tels que la santé et l'éducation (UNHCR Tchad 2018).

En 2018, cette nouvelle politique s'est traduite par l'installation des réfugiés hors camps. C'est ainsi que plus de 20 000 nouveaux réfugiés centrafricains ont été installés ou relocalisés dans les nouveaux sites et villages hôtes. Aussi, 108 établissements (75 écoles primaires et 33 secondaires) sous mandat de HCR ont été officialisés. Ces établissements adoptent désormais le programme scolaire tchadien et accueillent indifféremment les réfugiés et la population hôte. A ce sujet, le Tchad est présenté comme un modèle d'intégration des réfugiés dans le domaine de l'éducation (UNHCR, 2018). Si les différentes structures et initiatives permettent de mieux gérer les réfugiés de la guerre civile, elles semblent inadaptées et inopérantes pour les réfugiés de la guerre anti-terrorisme.

b) Les réfugiés nigérians : de la sympathie à la stigmatisation

i. *Nigerian refugees: from sympathy to stigmatization*

Si le problème de la gestion et de l'accueil des réfugiés soudanais et centrafricains se posait en termes de cohabitation et de partage des ressources avec la communauté hôte, celui des réfugiés ou des ressortissants nigérians se présente dans une autre dimension, qui est d'ordre sécuritaire, surtout après l'implication directe du Tchad dans le conflit. Les réfugiés nigérians sont d'ailleurs peu nombreux sur le sol tchadien par rapport aux autres pays voisins. En fait, les activités de Boko Haram dans la région du bassin du lac Tchad ont occasionné le déplacement de plus de 2,2 millions de Nigérians et fait plus de 450 000 réfugiés au Cameroun, au Niger et au Tchad voisins (BBC 2016).

L'ampleur dramatique de la crise de Boko Haram à l'échelle sous-régionale se manifeste par le nombre de tués et de personnes affectées entre 2010 et 2017. Selon les sources humanitaires et médiatiques, le nombre des personnes tuées par la secte durant cette période oscillait entre vingt et trente mille. En mars 2020, on avance déjà les chiffres de 35 000 morts (M. Macé, 2020). Cependant, Action contre la Faim parle de 20 000 000 personnes impactées indirectement par la crise de Boko Haram. Selon cet organisme humanitaire, les parties en conflits utilisent la faim comme arme de guerre (G. Calaf, 2017). Il faut souligner que ces décomptes n'ont qu'un caractère estimatif à cause de la nature du conflit, mais révèlent l'ampleur du drame dont les victimes sont essentiellement des civils.

Au Tchad cependant, les réfugiés nigérians ne représentent qu'un peu plus de 2% par rapport au total des réfugiés enregistrés en juin de 2018 par le HCR. Ils sont concentrés à l'ouest, dans la région du lac Tchad et essentiellement à Baga Sola. Toutefois, on signale l'arrivée dans ville de N'Djamena d'un nombre indéterminé de Nigérians ainsi que de ressortissants tchadiens installés depuis des lustres au Nigéria. Ceux-ci ont trouvé refuge auprès d'un parent, d'un ami, ou loué un logement dans les quartiers de la capitale. Mais, dans la plupart des cas, ils vivaient de la débrouillardise et ne sont mêmes pas fait recenser et ni prendre en charge par le HCR. Ces Nigérians et retournés ont suscité de la compassion et de la sympathie au sein de la population tchadienne entre 2010 et 2014. Ce sentiment résulte sans doute de récits émouvants des massacres effroyables et inouïs commis à leur encontre par les éléments de Boko Haram et aussi par la brutalité de l'armée nigériane. En fait, ceux installés dans la capitale se sont fondus dans la masse n'djamenoise. En effet, leur présence ne se manifeste d'ailleurs que par l'apparition de nouveau type de « vendeur ambulant en brouette », spécialisé dans la vente d'oignon et d'ail, ou par l'augmentation inhabituelle des mendiants tout autour de différents ronds-points de la ville de N'Djamena dont en majorité des femmes et des enfants.

L'arrivée des réfugiés nigérians sur la rive tchadienne du lac Tchad coïncide avec la montée en puissance de Boko Haram entre 2013 et 2014. Dès lors, un camp de réfugiés dénommé *Dar es Salam* (pays de la paix ou lieu de la paix) à 12 km de Baga Sola, est ouvert en 2014, dans la région du lac Tchad. Le camp comptait à l'époque quelque 3 000 réfugiés pris en charge par la communauté humanitaire et la CNARR (UNHCR, 2015). Le camp de *Dar es Salam* ne tarde pas à connaitre un afflux de réfugiés nigérians, après l'attaque meurtrière de Baga, dans l'Etat de Borno au début du janvier 2015. En effet, les islamistes de Boko Haram avaient pris et dévasté cette ville commerçante avec son camp militaire stratégique ainsi qu'une quinzaine des villages (FIDH, 2015).

Il faut souligner que les ressortissants nigérians ayant fui l'insécurité, la poussée des insurgés de Boko Haram et les bombardements de l'armée entre 2010 et 2014 n'avaient pas fait nous semble-t-il l'objet d'une attention sécuritaire particulière, que ce soit envers ceux installés à N'Djamena ou dans la région du Lac. Ces derniers sont d'ailleurs confrontés beaucoup plus aux problèmes ordinaires des réfugiés dans des camps tels que : l'angoisse de l'exil, la condition de vie dans le camp et la cohabitation avec la population hôte. Aussi est-il que les médecins ont décelé chez les réfugiés nigérians de *Dar es salam* souffre de psychose et de paranoïa, qui se croit constamment pourchassé par des combattants du groupe islamiste, nuit et jour (Le Mag snté 2016).

Au-delà de cette présence factuelle d'éléments affidés à la secte, qui ont trouvé refuge au Tchad, au Cameroun et au Niger, on estime que la répression de 2009 avait conduit certains cadres de Boko Haram à l'exil dans ces pays voisins et qu'ils y sont cachés (A. Pérouse de Montclos, 2015).

Le Tchad, figure de proue de la coalition régionale, devient une cible de choix et un ennemi déclaré de la secte. Dès lors, la secte multiplie des attaques dans les îles du Lac entrainant une vague massive de déplacés ainsi que de réfugiés nigérians et nigériens. En effet, le nombre de réfugiés en juillet 2015 atteint plus de 14 mille et on dénombre 2 000 retournés et plus de 40 mille déplacés (*The New Humanitarian*, 2015). On enregistre donc une augmentation de plus 79% par rapport au nombre de l'année précédente et une hausse de 50% par rapport à celui de janvier 2015.

Depuis lors, le nombre de réfugiés nigérians au Tchad ne cesse d'augmenter à cause du climat de terreur instauré par Boko Haram dans la région du Lac Tchad. En outre, la capitale tchadienne est frappée par une série d'attaques kamikazes meurtrières que les habitants de N'Djamena n'ont jamais connues auparavant. Ces attentats ont un goût prononcé de vengeance et sont aussi une manière de faire payer au gouvernement tchadien au prix fort son intervention au Nigéria. La secte parvient à semer la terreur et terroriser la population n'djamenoise. La peur ainsi installée dans la ville, l'intervention de l'armée tchadienne au Nigéria semble avoir un effet de « boomerang » sur le Tchad car le problème de Boko Haram devient désormais une crise sécuritaire domestique récurrente sur laquelle les opérations de guerre conventionnelle n'ont qu'un effet limité et temporaire.

Sur le front intérieur, le Tchad prend donc des mesures sécuritaires draconiennes et mène de vastes campagnes de sensibilisation auprès de la population, afin de débusquer des moindres signes de radicalisation et d'affinité envers la secte nigériane car la lutte contre les éléments de Boko Haram se mène désormais de l'intérieur du pays. A cet effet, les frontières terrestres avec le Cameroun, le Nigéria et le Niger ont été fermées et la capitale tchadienne prend l'allure d'un bunker car toutes les entrées et sorties sont soumises à des fouilles minutieuses ainsi que de patrouilles des forces de la défense dans la ville. En dépit de ces différentes mesures, les insurgés de Boko Haram mènent leur première attaque contre le Tchad en février 2015 à Ngouboua, sur la rive du lac Tchad, faisant 4 morts dont le chef de canton (France info avec AFP et Reuters, 2015).

Le pays se dote aussi de lois anti-terroristes. A cet effet, les députés tchadiens adoptent le 30 juillet 2015 une loi qui réprime sévèrement les auteurs ou complices des actes terroristes. En outre, la région du lac Tchad est complètement militarisée et cela avant même, l'instauration de l'état d'urgence en novembre 2015. La région du lac connait une recrudescence des attaques de Boko Haram. Dans sa justification de la nécessité de l'état d'urgence, le gouvernement fait état de plus de cinq attentats kamikazes commis par Boko Haram depuis juin 2015 (Tchadinfos, 2015).

Cette lutte prend souvent l'allure d'une « chasse à l'homme » car les moindres soupçons font l'objet d'une arrestation. C'est ainsi qu'après les attentats du juin et du juillet 2015, la figure martyrisée des réfugiés nigérians ou même des retournés tchadien n'inspire plus confiance. Ces réfugiés urbains sont assimilés à tort ou à raison à des éléments de Boko Haram. Les chefs du quartier doivent recenser et signaler aux services de sécurité toute personne venue du Nigéria « Les chefs traditionnels promettent de sensibiliser la population à la vigilance et à dénoncer toute personne suspecte (*Jeune Afrique*, 2015). En outre, des comités de vigilance et des forces de l'ordre filtrent l'accès des mosquées, des églises et même dans la place morutière, tandis que les lieux publics et les bâtiments officiels sont complètement fortifiés. Aussi, des rafles et des opérations sont quasi quotidiennes. Ces différentes mesures ont permis certainement de démanteler des réseaux dormants de la secte à N'Djamena. C'est ainsi que le 29 juin 2015, Bana Fanaye, alias Mahamat

Moustapha[4] et ses complices ont été arrêtés. Au moment de cette arrestation, une opération de la police tourne à l'affrontement avec les éléments de Boko Haram, qui auraient actionné leurs ceintures d'explosifs faisant au total 11 morts dont 5 policiers (T. Tanguy, 2015).

Aussi est-il que cette traque sans discontinuer contre les éléments de Boko-haram doublé de suspicion généralisée envers demandeurs d'asile et retournés de Nigeria, a poussé certains de ceux-ci, à regagner le Nigeria en dépit de danger réel qu'ils encourent. Nous avons ainsi constaté le cas de retour parmi nos enquêtés vers la zone sous influence de Boko Haram comme Gambarou-Ngala et Maiduguri. Ils évoquaient inlassablement - tous au moment de l'enquête (2018) - le harcèlement policier, la dénonciation et même la méfiance à leur égard nourrie par la communauté hôte.

III. Conclusion

L'afflux massif des réfugiés au début des années 2000, est confronté à l'absence des structures d'accueil et à la récurrence des conflits armés au Tchad. Il est depuis longtemps un foyer des tensions ardentes et d'instabilité en Afrique, Mais paradoxalement, le Tchad devient un « havre de paix » pour des centaines de milliers des réfugiés soudanais, des centrafricains mais aussi dans la moindre mesure pour les réfugiés nigérians. Les liens sociaux et tribaux entre ces réfugiés et la communauté hôte tout au long des frontières, ont facilité la cohabitation entre les deux communautés malgré quelques incidents liés au partage des ressources dans l'est du Tchad. Cette région semi désertique et très vulnérable dont l'accès aux ressources est très limité, suscite parfois des conflits avec la population locale. L'immixtion brutale et massive des réfugiés soudanais pratiquant les mêmes activités (agriculture et élevage) que celles de la communauté d'accueil, crée de facto une concurrence dans le marché mais aussi une course à la ressource. Cependant dans le sud du pays, les réfugiés centrafricains parviennent à s'intégrer grâce à l'abondance des ressources, surtout, pour ceux qui s'adonnent à l'agriculture. Toutefois, les problèmes de cohabitation surgissent avec les réfugiés éleveurs Peul, sous sa forme habituelle « conflit éleveurs-agriculteur ».

L'impossibilité de retour volontaire de ces réfugiés à court terme à cause de la persistance de l'insécurité dans leur pays d'origine, a débouché depuis 2018, sur un programme d'intégration de ces réfugiés dans leurs environnements d'accueil. Il s'agit de transformer les camps en villages et ceux dans la périphérie de la ville en quartier. On s'inscrit dès lors, dans une perspective d'intégration de cette catégorie des réfugiés dans la communauté nationale. L'arrivée de quelques milliers de réfugiés nigérians fuyant Boko Haram au Tchad entre 2010 et 2014 n'a pas influé sur la politique d'accueil des réfugiés. Mais, l'implication du Tchad, en janvier 2015, contre la secte Boko Haram et la réaction brutale de celle-ci à travers une guerre asymétrique sur le sol tchadien, ont constitué un tournant dans l'accueil des réfugiés, surtout pour ceux qui ont fui les violences terroristes.

La lutte contre les éléments de Boko Haram à l'intérieur du pays a pris l'allure d'une « chasse à l'homme » dont les gibiers étaient des réseaux dormants, qui ont fomenté les attaques-suicides meurtrières de juin et juillet 2015 à N'Djamena. Aussi, les réfugiés et les retournés nigérians se voient associés aux affidés du Boko Haram. Ils sont soumis au contrôle au faciès, aux dénonciations et aux rafles au lendemain de ces attaques terroristes. La secte semble être actuellement incapable de mener des attaques sur la capitale tchadienne comme celles de 2015. En fait, les mesures antiterroristes et la politique ultrasécuritaire ont paralysé la capacité de la secte à atteindre N'Djamena. En effet, l'absence d'une base sociale et le retour de la plupart des réfugiés nigérians dans leur pays ou leur transfert au camp de Dar es Salam à Baga Sola, ont privé la secte de toute possibilité d'infiltration.

Toutefois, la secte reste active dans la région du lac Tchad malgré la proclamation de l'état d'urgence et la militarisation de la zone. Les éléments de Boko Haram trouvent refuge dans les labyrinthes du Tchad. Ils y mènent une guérilla violente et répétée prenant assez souvent l'armée au dépourvu. Ces différentes actions de la secte et les opérations de représailles de l'armée créent un climat d'insécurité et entrainent un flot de réfugiés et de déplacés, qui devient récurrent et cyclique. Ceux-ci se trouvent pris en étau entre les attaques de Boko Haram, la répression de l'armée nigériane et la stigmatisation dans le pays d'accueil. Cette situation inédite a débouché, nous semble-t-il, sur l'apparition d'une distinction entre de « bons refugiés », c'est-à-dire ceux venant de la zone de guerre civile, et de « mauvais refugiés », c'est-à-dire ceux de la guerre asymétrique. Cette dualité de traitement remet en cause le droit à la protection des réfugiés dont sa sacralité universelle ne saurait être préservée qu'en prenant en compte la spécificité de la guerre asymétrique. En d'autres termes, le doit à l'asile et au statut de réfugiés doit nécessairement prendre en compte, les impératifs sécuritaires du pays hôte. A cet effet, un hub de tri en amont de ces réfugiés, permet à la fois de juguler d'infiltration des éléments terroristes et d'empêcher des pays à prendre des mesures discriminatoires et arbitraires à l'encontre de réfugiés de la guerre asymétrique.

[4] Présenté comme le cerveau de l'attaque de N'Djamena et qui est considéré aussi comme logisticien de Boko Haram au Cameroun, au Niger et au Tchad.

Bibliographie

1. AFP, 2015. « Cameroun : l'attaque de Boko Haram repoussée par l'armée », 12 janvier.
2. Amnesty International, 2008. *Double malheur : Aggravation de la crise des droits humains au Tchad*, Londres, Peter Benenson House.
3. Barbière C., « Au Tchad, l'autre visage de la crise des réfugiés », *EURACTIV.fr*, 24 juil. 2018.
4. BBC, 2016. « Alliance Boko Haram-Daesh : ONU inquiète », 14 mars.
5. Berthemet T. 2015. « Au Tchad, la traque de Boko Haram s'accélère », *Figaro*, 29/06/.
6. Calaf G. 2017. « 20 millions de personnes affectées par le conflit avec Boko Haram demeurent dans l'oubli », *Action contre la faim*, 17 mars.
7. Commission européenne, 2004, *Décision d'aide humanitaire*, Bruxelles,.
8. Diallo I. 2020 *Camp de réfugié d'Amboka,* Observatoire des Camps des réfugiés, Pôle Afrique, octobre, https://www.o-cr.org.
9. Djimadoumgué Tamdjim, 2019 *Insertion socio-économique des réfugiés centrafricains de la zone de Goré (Tchad)*, Paris, Edilivre,.
10. Favre J, 2007. « Réfugiés et déplacés dans l'Est du Tchad », *Echo Géo* [En ligne], Sur le Vif, mis en ligne le 13 novembre, consulté le 01 mai. URL http://journals.openedition.org/echogeo/2061; DOI: 10.4000/echogeo.2061
11. Fédération Internationale des Droits Humains, « Les crimes de masse de Boko Haram », février 2015, https://www.fidh.org.
12. France 24, 2015, « Tchad : une opération policière contre Boko Haram fait 11 morts à N'Djamena », 29/06/.
13. France Info avec AFP et Reuters, 2015. « Une première attaque de Boko Haram au Tchad fait au moins 5 morts », 13 février.
14. Géraud M., et M.-A. Pérouse de Montclos, 20180 *Crise et développement: La région du lac Tchad à l'épreuve de Boko Haram*, AFD,.
15. Gillon J., « Libye: paradis du trafic d'armes », *Jeune Afrique*, 2018.
16. Glock C., Déploiement de l'EUFOR au Tchad: un espoir pour le Darfour et ses réfugiés ? *Armées d'aujourd'hui*, n°328, mars 2008.
17. Ground Truth Solutions, CHS Alliance, *Renforcer la redevabilité au Tchad*. Rapport régional, septembre 2019.
18. Higazi, A., « Les origines et la transformation de l'insurrection de Boko Haram dans le Nord du Nigeria », *Politique africaine* 2013/2 (N° 130), pages 137 à 164, https://ec.europa.eu.
19. Hoinathy R., *La résurgence de Boko Haram au Tchad*, ISS, 6 mai 2019.
20. International Crisis Group « Tchad : Vers le retour de la guerre ? », *Rapport Afrique* N°111, 1er juin *2006.*
21. International Crisis Group, Boko Haram au Tchad, « Au-delà de la réponse sécuritaire », *Rapport Afrique* n° 246, Nairobi/Bruxelles, 8 mars 2017.
22. International Crisis Group, « Les défis de l'armée tchadienne », *Rapport Afrique* n° 289, N'Djamena/Bruxelles, 22 janvier 2021.
23. *Jeune Afrique*, « Les Tchadiens face à la menace terroriste de Boko Haram », 22 septembre 2015.
24. *Jeune Afrique*, « La Libye, dépôt d'armes à ciel ouvert, selon l'Algérie ». 02 juin 2011.
25. Kadje D., « Acteurs et instrument dans la lutte de Boko Haram : Trajectoires camerounaise et nigériane », *Sens public,* 2016, https://doi.or/10.7207/1044395 ar.
26. La rédaction Monde Afrique, « Tchad, un chef d'état fort à la tête d'un pays fragile », *Le Monde,* 13 février 2019.
27. Lacroix Leclair J. et Pahlavi P., (2012) « Darfour : qui sont les Janjaouid ? » *Politique étrangère,* 2012 / 2, p. 387-397.
28. Lagrange M-A., « Darfour : des réfugiés indésirables au sud comme au nord ? », *Afrique contemporaine*, 2006, n°219, pp. 151-161.
29. Lanne Bernard (1981), « Le sud du Tchad dans la guerre civile, 1979-1980 », *Politique africaine,* septembre 1981, p. 75-89.
30. Le Mag snté 2016, des réfugiés nigérians tentent de surmonter leurs traumatismes, https://www.masante facile.com, 16 octobre
31. *Le Point*, « Le Tchad déploie son armée au Cameroun contre Boko Haram ». 18 janvier 2015.
32. LTDH, « Position de la LTDH par rapport à l'exécution des dix présumés terroriste de Boko-Haram », LTDH. www.ltdh.org.
33. Macé C. 2018. « Au Tchad, une immigration centrafricaine assimilée », *Libération,* 3 juillet.
34. Macé C. 2020 « Au Tchad et au Nigéria, le double carnage de Boko Haram », *Libération,* 26 mars.
35. Madjilem E., *Pour la cohabitation pacifique dans le sud du Tchad*, FAO, mars 2016.
36. Mbainaissem Doual, « Conflits au Tchad et au Darfour », *Outre-Terre*, 2006/4 (nº 17) p. 357 à 370.
37. Mbow Lat S. 2017. *Géopolitique. Une grammaire pour comprendre les crises et les conflits*, Dakar, Presses universitaires de Dakar.
38. North R. (2005), L'accueil des réfugiés du Darfour au Tchad, *Magazine du mouvement international de la Croix-Rouge et du Croissant-Rouge*.
39. OCHA 2014, « Les retournés tchadiens de la Centrafrique », *Bulletin d'information Mère et Enfant* de l'UNICEF Tchad, janvier.
40. ONU 2020. « Tchad : le HCR se félicite de l'adoption d'une loi sur l'asile », *ONU Info*, 24 décembre.
41. Pérouse de Montclos M-A. 2015, « Boko Haram et la souveraineté du Nigéria : une histoire de frontières », *Hérodote,* /4 (n° 159), p. 58 à 75.

42. Rayroux A., « L'Union Européenne en quête de crédibilité dans le maintien de la paix en Afrique : leçons de la mission Eufor Tchad/RCA », *Bulletin du maintien de la Paix* n° 101, juin 2011.
43. Sebahara P., « Bilan en demi-teinte d'une opération de paix: la MINURCAT en Centrafrique et au Tchad » *Note d'Analyse du GRIP*, 11 février, Bruxelles 2010. URL: http://www.grip.org/fr/siteweb/images/notes_analyse/2011/na_2011-02-11_fr_p-sebahara.pdf
44. Seroussi J., « L'internationalisation de la justice transitionnelle : l'affaire Hissène Habré », *Critique internationale,* 2006/1 (n° 30), p. 83 à 101.
45. *Tchadinfos*, 2015. « Tchad : le gouvernement décrète l'état d'urgence dans la région du Lac », 10 novembre.
46. *The New Humanitarian*, « Des milliers de réfugiés fuyant Boko Haram sont « coincés » au Tchad », 11 février 2015.
47. UNHCR, 2016. *Texte intégral de la Déclaration de New York*, 19 septembre.
48. UNHCR, 2006. *Plan d'opération par pays : année de planification: 2006*.
49. UNHCR, 2015, *Plan d'intervention régionale pour les réfugiés dans le cadre de la situation au Nigéria*, data2.un hcr.org.
50. UNHCR 2018, *Tchad. Plan de réponse pays pour les réfugiés 2019-2020*,.
51. UNHCR Tchad, 2018 *Message du Représentant du HCR au Tchad, M. Mbili Ambaoumba à l'occasion de la Journée Mondiale des Réfugiés*, Edition Journée Mondiale des Réfugiés.

This page is intentionally left blank

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Inscripciones e Imágenes en El Espacio Eclesial. Interacción y Función en la Iglesia de San Roman de Toledo

By María Encarnación Martín López
Universidad de León

Resumen- La iglesia parroquial de San Román reúne un conjunto patrimonial del que debemos destacar el conjunto de pinturas tardo románicas que jalonan sus paredes como uno de los más importantes de los conservados en la Castilla medieval. La particularidad de su ubicación y de sus textos nos lleva a estudiar este grupo epigráfico dentro del contexto de la celebración litúrgica medieval. Liturgia de las hora, devoción mariana, liturgia procesional son aspectos que estudiaremos para intentar conocer la finalidad de las inscripciones en la sociedad que las produce.

Palabras clave: epigrafía, liturgia de horas, liturgia procesional, escritura gótica, pintura tardo románica.

GJHSS-D Classification: DDC Code: 782.522 LCC Code: M1

INSCRIPCIONESEIMGENESENELESPACIOECLESIALINTERACCINYFUNCINENLAIGLESIADESANROMANDETOLEDO

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Inscripciones e Imágenes en El Espacio Eclesial. Interacción y Función en la Iglesia de San Roman de Toledo

María Encarnación Martín López

Resumen- **La iglesia parroquial de San Román reúne un conjunto patrimonial del que debemos destacar el conjunto de pinturas tardo románicas que jalonan sus paredes como uno de los más importantes de los conservados en la Castilla medieval. La particularidad de su ubicación y de sus textos nos lleva a estudiar este grupo epigráfico dentro del contexto de la celebración litúrgica medieval. Liturgia de las hora, devoción mariana, liturgia procesional son aspectos que estudiaremos para intentar conocer la finalidad de las inscripciones en la sociedad que las produce.**

Palabras clave: epigrafía, liturgia de horas, liturgia procesional, escritura gótica, pintura tardo románica.

I. Introducción

La ciudad de Toledo no defrauda en su riqueza patrimonial. La iglesia parroquial de San Román reúne un conjunto patrimonial del que debemos destacar el conjunto de pinturas tardo románicas que jalonan sus paredes como uno de los más importantes de los conservados en la Castilla medieval. Recientemente restauradas muestran la belleza de su estética y colorido. Junto a las pinturas se ha logrado recuperar las inscripciones que jalonan el friso superior de la nave central y los alfiles de los Arcos torales, así como las que acompañan las escenas[1]. Como toda iglesia medieval, San Román era templo y cementerio, siendo sus epitafios sepulcrales objeto de la atención de eruditos y estudiosos. De ellas obtienen información sobre patronos, promotores, y otra clientela de la parroquia que, a cambio de su sepultura, dotarían la iglesia y la beneficiarían[2].

No podemos olvidar que el fin esencial de la epigrafía es transmitir un mensaje, como instrumento comunicativo especial que es y que está determinado por sus requisitos de publicidad, solemnidad y perdurabilidad [3]La búsqueda de notoriedad, esto es, conseguir que el mensaje llegue al público lo más amplio posible lo hace un medio idóneo de publicidad, el más idóneo antes de la invención de la imprenta[4]. En este sentido, hay que cuestionarse qué papel desempeñan los epígrafes pintados de San Román. Su integración en la arquitectura está en consonancia con otro aspecto que Navascués ya destacaba y es que, al hablar de los caracteres externos de las inscripciones, éstos entrañan un conjunto de realidades sensibles y determinadas en parte por la intención con que se escribe y en parte por las necesidades de ejecución. Son esas realidades sensibles las que nos ayudan a comprender la intención que presidió la ejecución de la escritura[5]. Materia, forma, escritura, ubicación son elementos que sirven al objetivo pretendido por la persona que encarga su ejecución[6]. La elección del espacio - los alfices de los arcos, frisos, bandas- y la forma de ejecución son factores que favorecen la legibilidad inmediata y una sensación de solemnidad acorde a los requisitos de la liturgia. Es una escritura publicitaria que pretende llegar al grupo de fieles reunido en el templo, integrando a estos fieles oyentes y videntes en una atmósfera de reflexión y de oración interior[7].

Author: *Universidad de León. e-mail: memarl@unileon.es*

[1] Recientemente publicadas por Elisabeth MENOR, "La comunicación al fiel: las *invocationes* y explanationes medievales de la iglesia de San Román de Toledo", en *Testimonios epigráficos edilicios. Antigüedad y medievo,* ed. Sonia Medrano, Madrid 2020 pp. 521-557. Lorenzo Martínez Ángel en su artículo "Notas de epigrafía medieval toledana", con especial referencia a las inscripciones conservadas en San Román, el trabajo se centra únicamente en las inscripciones sepulcrales y concretamente en aquellas que presentan sus textos inacabados. No menciona en absoluto las inscripciones de los alfices pero sí se fija en las *explanationes* de las pinturas de los intradoses. En ellas detecta defectos o errores de rogatario como Ambosius en lugar de Ambrosius. Pero su análisis se centra ante todo en el uso del latín y los casos y concordancias. Las *explanationes* debían ir en nominativo, sin embargo van en genitivo, o quizá, como hipótesis, en vocativo Cf. L. MARTINEZ ANGEL, "Notas de epigrafía medieval toledana, con especial referencia a tres inscripciones conservadas en la iglesia de San Román", en Anales toledanos vol. 38 (2001), 33-38, especialmente p. 36 -37.

[2] Es el caso de Sixto Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano*, II, 1857, ed. facsímil 1978. o José Amador de los Ríos*, Toledo pintoresco o descripción de sus más célebres monumentos*, Madrid 1845, ed. facsímil 1989.

[3] Joaquín María de NAVASCUES, *El concepto de epigrafía. Consideraciones sobre la necesidad de su ampliación,* Madrid 1953, p. 93. Vicente GARCÍA LOBO, *Los medios de comunicación social en la Edad Media, la comunicación publicitaria*, León 1991, p. 44. Javier de SANTIAGO, "Las inscripciones medievales castellano-leonesas. Documentos al servicio del poder político- religioso", en I Jornadas sobre documentación jurídico-administrativa, económico-financiera y judicial, Madrid 2002, p. 94.

[4] GARCIA LOBO, *Los medios de comunicación social,* p. 37

[5] NAVASCUES, *El concepto de epigrafía*, p. 66.

[6] J. DE SANTIAGO, "Las inscripciones medievales", p. 97.

[7] Elisabeth MENOR, "La comunicación al fiel: las *invocationes* y *explanationes* medievales de la iglesia de San Román de Toledo", en

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

Sabido es que en la edad media el conocimiento de Dios se alcanzaba por la vista, la lectura y la fe. Ver para creer, sería la máxima aplicable. La búsqueda del más allá y de las realidades teológicas tan complejas se alcanzaría mediante un lenguaje visual que conmueva a la oración[8]. Más allá de lo visual, las inscripciones nos transmiten la importancia de la música y el canto en la liturgia medieval. Mi planteamiento es que son testimonio de una liturgia cantada y procesional, una liturgia particularmente desarrollada en esta iglesia parroquial. La ubicación de los textos epigráficos en el espacio eclesial marcan la cadencia y su función en la celebración. Dos son los aspectos a destacar, la relación dependiente imagen-texto y la dimensión propia e independiente de la escritura epigráfica como imagen y medio de comunicación.

II. Unas Pinceladas Históricas Sobre la Parroquia de San Román

La iglesia de san Román, de origen visigodo, es transformada en mezquita en el siglo x, y tras la conquista vuelve a ser templo cristiano, se reconstruye en el siglo XIII, primer tercio, por la familia Illán, un linaje toledano al parecer mozárabe. El templo da nombre a la colación donde se ubica, en la zona alta de la ciudad, rodeada de casas y propiedades de la aristocracia urbana. Aunque no son muchos los testimonios documentales que den luz a su pasado, parece que su actividad parroquial fue continuada desde su fundación, lástima que tan solo un documento de 1125 la menciona. Las diferentes modificaciones y reformas que se llevaron a cabo en el siglo XVI, como su capilla mayor, configuran su aspecto actual[9]. El aspecto y estado de conservación de la iglesia debió mover a su promotor y protector, Esteban Illan, a iniciar su reconstrucción. También fundó la torre que servía de fortaleza. En 1221, el arzobispo de Toledo Jiménez de Rada consagra la iglesia, aunque aún estuvieran sus obras inacabadas.

San Román es parroquia pero, ante todo, es lugar privilegiado de enterramiento. Su fundador Esteban de Illan se manda enterrar en el recinto, como indica su epitafio. San Román recibirá los favores de otras familias principales de la ciudad y se convertirá en lugar de enterramiento privilegiado hasta el punto que provoca el siguiente comentario a Quadrado a mediados del XIX, *Salpican sus pilares y sus rudos muros hexámetros y distintos sepulcrales de la última mitad del siglo XIII*[10]. Su situación le es favorable, contigua a san Pedro mártir, en una zona habitada por la clase adinerada e influyente de la ciudad, como los Silva, linaje que construye su palacio en las proximidades[11], o el caballero Alfonso Pérez de Cervatos "miles famosus probus armis et generosus" que se hace enterrar en sus muros[12].

III. Contexto Artístico: El Conjunto Pictórico

Constituye una de las particularidades de esta iglesia, por su composición, y que presenta a los estudiosos dificultades de interpretación. Ocultas a lo largo de los siglos, las pinturas fueron descubiertas en los años veinte[13], rescatadas definitivamente en 1968 y restauradas por la fundación Iberdrola en 2004. No obstante, parte del conjunto pictórico no pudo ser recuperado lo que ha impedido una lectura definitiva. Las zonas donde se ha conservado mejor la pintura son la nave de la epístola, con las arquerías de separación, y el muro de los pies, vislumbrándose en el resto del templo retazos aislados, siluetas de figuras que formaban parte de composiciones amplias y, cuando más, alguna escena casi completa, pero descontextualizada del resto[14].

En el testero oriental de la nave de la epístola, en la parte superior, aparecen las figuras antropomórficas de los evangelistas sentados ante los

Testimonios epigráficos edilicios. Antigüedad y medievo, ed. Sonia Medrano, Madrid 2020 pp. 521-557.

[8] Imagen y escritura se utilizan como medios de encuentro con Dios según la capacidad de cada uno. El discurso doctrinal contempla la relación entre imagen y texto, formando un todo con una función pedagógica. Cf. Vincent DEBIAIS, *La croisée des signes: l'écriture et les images médiévales (800-1200),* Paris 2017, p. 95. Las pinturas se ven, invitan a la contemplación, a mirar, el textos exige un esfuerzo mayor, leer. "Nam quod legentibus scriptura hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt", Gregorio Magno, *Epistolarum* Lib . XI, 13, ed. Migne PL 77 1128. Gregorio no niega la utilidad de las imágenes para la educación de los fieles pero previene un indebido uso de las mismas.

[9] Fernando MARIAS, *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo,* 1541-1631. La capilla mayor fue fundada por Hernando El Niño en 1502 según planos de Alonso de Covarrubias. M. Fernández Álvarez, *Castilla la Mancha*, vol. 1, 1982, 135.

[10] QUADRADO, *Recuerdos y bellezas de España, Castilla la Nueva,* Madrid 1853 red. 1981, p. 406.

[11] Balbina CAVIRÓ, *las casas principales de los Silva en Toledo*, Real Academia matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, Madrid 2005, p. 53; ID, "Una familia que dejó huella en el arte toledano. El linaje de Esteban Illán", en *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* 10(1992) pp. 249-287.

[12] Es recogida a su vez por la historiografía local. Cf. Rodrigo MENDEZ SILVA, Ascendencia ilustre, gloriosos hechos y posteridad noble del famoso Nuño Alfonso, alcaide de la imperial ciudad de Toledo y príncipe de su milicia, Madrid 1648, p. 26.

[13] En 1929 se realiza un informe sobre el estado de las pinturas recién descubiertas para ser intervenidas un año después. Estos datos se recogen en *Bibliografía de historia del arte en España*, CSIC, Madrid 1976, vol. 1, p. 433, y en *Comisión de Antigüedades de la Real Academia de la Historia: catálogo de Castilla La Mancha*, Madrid 1999. Toda la bibliografía sobre las intervenciones y estudios relativas a las pinturas lo hallamos en Elisabeth MENOR, "La comunicación al fiel: las *invocationes* y *explanationes* medievales de la iglesia de San Román de Toledo", en *Testimonios epigráficos edilicios. Antigüedad y medievo,* ed. Sonia Medrano, Madrid 2020 pp. 521-557.

[14] Concepción ABAD CASTRO, *La iglesia de San Román de Toledo, en cuadernos de restauración de Iberdrola,* Fundación Iberdrola, 2004.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

atriles, en acción de escribir, girando sus cabezas hacia el altar principal. Por falta de espacio, la figura de San Juan se sitúa en el muro contiguo, quizá por un fallo de cálculo espacial[15]. Una banda superior bordea toda la escena donde hubo una inscripción corrida a lo largo del muro y del contiguo, pero que hoy apenas conserva retazos de algunas letras, lo que hace imposible su lectura. En la banda inferior, se hallan las figuras de los padres confesores de la Iglesia, vestidos de forma idéntica, mitra, báculo y vestimenta completa, e identificados por las *explanationes* superiores: *Eugenii confesor, Esidori (por Isidori) confesor, Gregori confesor*. En el muro contiguo, bajo el apóstol san Juan, una figura de escribiente, perdida en parte, impide su identificación[16]. En el intradós del arco se pintan figuras eclesiásticas, prácticamente idénticas, distribuidas de dos en dos, en posición frontal, rígidas, al estilo bizantino, portando un libro en la mano izquierda. Los letreros explicativos identifican estos personajes tonsurados como Esteban (Estefanus) y Lorenzo (Laurentius), ambos mártires de la Iglesia.

En el muro sur de la nave se halla la escena de la resurrección de los muertos, en una representación singular. Los difuntos abren sus tumbas y se incorporan mientras que unas figuras de ángeles les indican la luz. Cada personaje resucitado identifica diferentes clases sociales: damas, monjes, obispos, nobles, campesinos. Todos son iguales ante la muerte. Curiosamente la escena del Juicio Final no aparece aquí.

Bajo esta escena se desarrollaba un texto en gótica mayúscula en dos bandas con distinto módulo, como elemento jerárquico del texto. La banda superior, en modulo menor, serviría como apoyo o referencia a la escena. Tan solo podemos leer parte del texto "bis dena luce". A continuación se abre una nueva composición, una figura femenina con manto rojo y ramita en la mano, que no ha sido identificada por no portar las inscripciones identificativas.

En el muro occidental de la nave lateral (de epístola) se representan los reyes David y Salomón, y sobre ellos continúa la banda epigráfica con el texto desaparecido, en gótica mayúscula muy evolucionada. En la Zona inferior se representa el árbol del bien y del mal con Adán y Eva. Una inscripción identifica el lugar, EDEN.

En el muro occidental de la nave central junto a la ventana los profetas mayores Isaías y Jeremías se identifican con las cartelas en modo de pergamino que sostienen en la mano. Sobre ellos, la banda superior con texto gótico del que solo se leen fragmentos QVI PONIS CCNSVN SPIRI EI MIN que podría corresponder al salmo 103 "*qui ponis nubem ascensum tuum*", el salmo de la creación atribuido a David. "El, que todas tus culpas perdona, que cura todas tus dolencias".

Debajo de estas figuras aparecen los apóstoles (Nuevo testamento) vestidos con túnicas de color y los doce profetas menores (Antiguo Testamento), figuras vestidas de blanco, todas en un entorno natural, de árboles y plantas.

En el muro occidental de la otra nave lateral (del evangelio) se representa la lucha del arcángel contra el dragón. El muro norte tiene varias pinturas incompletas, entre ellas dos ángeles turiferarios y la figura de San Cristóbal, pintura del siglo XV. Sobre la puerta de acceso se representa un pantocrátor. Finalmente en el vano del ábside norte se representa un santo entierro, al parecer.

En el contexto visual además de las escenas representativas escatológicas destacan las figuras de los intradoses de los arcos formeros. Cada intradós se decora con dos figuras con vestiduras eclesiásticas y tonsurados, encontrados entre sí, e identificados mediante una *explanatio*. Estos textos explicativos permiten seguir la secuencia de las figuras representadas, obispos y reformadores de la iglesia, San Benito y San Bernardo, San Martín y San Nicolás, San Ambrosio y San Leandro. Las figuras representadas en las enjutas de los arcos de la nave central corresponden a los profetas Ezequiel, Joel, Zacarías, Habacuc, Jonás, Daniel.

Es evidente el sentido doctrinal de estas figuras. Leandro junto a Isidoro crean los cantos de la iglesia visigoda mientras que San Ambrosio lo hace para la iglesia de Milán, ambos obispos son declarados pedagogos de la Iglesia. No olvidemos que Leandro escribe su tratado basándose en los escritos de Ambrosio además de los de Cipriano. Por otro lado están los grandes fundadores, Benito creador de la orden benedictina, Bernardo reformador de la misma. Dado el contexto de renovación de la liturgia que se vive en el siglo XIII la presencia de estas imágenes están en consonancia con el momento.

Finalmente, el eje central lo hallamos en la escena de la Resurrección de los muertos. El discurso que se desarrolla en estas pinturas está lejos de la manipulación de los terrores hacia el infierno y el juicio final. El juicio final únicamente se recuerda mediante la presencia constante de los ángeles que aparecen en varias escenas portando las trompetas apocalípticas. La escena de la resurrección de los muertos es una representación bien diferente a las que se pueden ver en Conques, la catedral de León o en la de Bourges[17]. A diferencia de estos lugares en San Román, no existe un refrendo legal que haga cumplir su sentencia. Es

[15] La imagen del evangelista escritor, a juicio de la autora, se presenta al modo de la miniatura carolingia poco frecuente en el románico. Cf. ABAD CASTRO, *La iglesia de San Román*, p. 21

[16] Propone Abad que podría ser Ildefonso, obispo de Toledo en el siglo VII, ya que así se le representa en la miniatura. Cf. O.c., p. 23

[17] Francisco MARTINEZ GIL, *La muerte vivida: muerte y sociedad en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media*, Toledo 1996, p. 48.

una representación escatológica desdramatizada, que busca una reflexión crítica en el espectador y no una reacción de temor. Esta didáctica se refuerza con las figuras representadas, hombres de fe, ejemplos de virtud y de moral, intachables y cuyos pensamientos han quedado escritos para edificación de los cristianos. Las figuras de los reyes David y Salomón corroboran esta misma idea. Ellos representan la humanidad en su sentido más terrenal ya que ambos sucumbieron al pecado, no en vano está próxima la representación del pecado original, y por la fe fueron redimidos y amados por Dios. No es casual que cerca de estas figuras se representen a los profetas Isaías y Jeremías, el primero el profeta anunciador del Mesías, de la esperanza, y Jeremías el profeta de la Pasión. Los mensajes escatológicos, por tanto, se desdramatizan, son edificantes ya que van acompañados de otros esperanzadores.

IV. El Espacio Epigráfico

Las reflexiones contemporáneas sobre las inscripciones buscan siempre una funcionalidad que explique su ejecución, la selección del texto y su ubicación[18]. Pero no siempre es sencillo descubrir el sentido y objeto que tenían. En nuestro caso la ubicación de las inscripciones en el edificio y su paralelismo con las escenas que se desarrollan en los muros parece evidente. Imagen y texto parecen servir a una función litúrgica o ritual pero queda por determinar si la razón de ser de estos textos y las pinturas tienen que ver con una función litúrgica concreta. No olvidemos por otra parte que los liturgistas tienen su propia opinión sobre estos elementos a los que no dan un valor en sí mismos. Son secundarios en relación al mensaje teológico del ritual[19]. Esto podemos trasladarlo igualmente a la epigrafía. Pero quizá sea algo más complejo determinar la relación entre epígrafe y liturgia o epígrafe y receptor toda vez que no jugamos con imágenes que nacen para ser vistas y que participa en un sentido visual de la ceremonia. El epígrafe es escritura y requiere un esfuerzo intelectual, no es suficiente con ver las letras si no que hay que leer. Llegados a este punto sería largo tratar aquí el problema de las inscripciones entendidas no sólo como mensajes para ser leídos sino también como imagen.

Lo importante es que para los fieles que asistían a los oficios y a las celebraciones se encontraban en San Román con un conjunto constituido por imágenes y Escritura que podían ser contemplados y que estaban presentes en el desarrollo de la liturgia. En este sentido siguiendo a Palazzo se puede considerar la función de las pinturas y las inscripciones en la liturgia en términos de relación intelectual con el tema de la misa, de los oficios y de los textos leídos cantados o rezados en ciertas ocasiones. Es lo que él denomina la "*presentia*"[20].

Al epigrafista como al historiador implica una atención especial para conocer suficientemente las prácticas rituales el contenido de los textos y su tradición. La liturgia no es solo teología o rito que se reduce a gestos y lecturas de textos. La liturgia como se viene estudiando en los últimos años tiene su dimensión sensitiva, sea visual o auditiva, y una dimensión espacial donde inscripciones e imágenes desempeñan un rol interesante.

V. El Sentido de Las Inscripciones

Cabe preguntarse cual es el papel que desempeñan las inscripciones, qué necesidad hay de introducir la escritura y cual es su cometido. En esta cuestión debemos tener muy presente la ubicación de los letreros epigráficos en el espacio eclesial y podemos hace una primera clasificación: inscripciones dependientes de representaciones pictóricas, e inscripciones independientes. Las primeras se muestran en un medio de comunicación mixto, palabra e imagen, complementándose. Las segundas son textos únicamente donde la palabra es icono por sí misma.

VI. Las Inscripciones, su Tipología

El conjunto epigráfico está formado por 36 inscripciones de las cuales 26 acompañan y explican las escenas pictóricas, esto es, son explanationes y 10 responden a la tipología de *invocationes*, concretamente 5 son salmos y 5 son antífonas marianas. Si las explanationes van vinculadas a las pinturas murales, a las enjutas de los arcos y a los

[18] La funcionalidad de las inscripciones respecto a la liturgia ha generado importantes estudios a partir de los años 90 que explican su utilización. Una recopilación bibliográfica donde recoge sus propias reflexiones en artículos anteriores la hallamos en R. FAVREAU, *Epigraphie médiévale*, Ed. Brepols, Turnhout 1998. Entre los estudios tradicionales no podemos dejar de citar la aportación de Jean Michaud a este tema. Ambos autores son referencia en lo que atañe a la relación entre ambas ciencias. J. MICHAUD, R. FAVREAU, "Les inscriptions de consecration d' autels et de dedicase d 'eglises en France du VIII siècle au XIIIsiècle": *Epigraphie et liturgie*, Poitiers 1979. Esta obra sigue siendo un referente para nuevos estudios como la revisión que hacen del tema PALLOTINI, Elisa; DEBIAIS, Vincent. "Epigraphie et Liturgie, entre écriture, paroles et gestes (X-XII s.)", en *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novi*, Vol. 20, (2015) pp. 285-302. En otro orden el estudio de la relación entre texto e imagen a generado en los últimos años importantes aportaciones. Destaco la obra de Stefano RICCIONI, "Épiconographie de l'art roman en France et en Italie (Bourgogne/Latium).L'art médiéval en tant que discours visuel et la naissance d'un nouveau langage", en *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, vol. 12 (2008).

[19] Imágenes y textos ayudan a modular el mensaje ayudan a ilustrar el ritual. Ante esta cuestión en contra de la funcionalidad de la imagen Palazzo propone ciertas metodologías donde se distinguen diversos niveles de lectura y de comprensión de la imagen en su relación con la liturgia. Dicho de otro modo, la funcionalidad de una imagen en el contexto de la liturgia no se establece de forma sistemática. Eric PALAZZO, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2000, p. 151 y 153.

[20] PALAZZO, Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge, p. 154.

intradoses, las *invocationes* se disponen en un espacio propio, los alfices de los arcos formeros, más visible si cabe, dado el contraste del fondo blanco y el negro de las letras, e independientes de los anteriores, aunque todos ellos forman parte de un mismo programa litúrgico.

VII. Los Tiempos de Ejecución de Las Inscripciones

La escritura es el elemento externo más importante que permite la datación de los distintos letreros. No vamos a realizar un análisis exhaustivo de los elementos gráficos ni a determinar la morfología de su alfabeto[21]. Pero debemos detenernos brevemente en analizar las diferencias grafías de los distintos grupos de letreros a fin de determinar los tiempos de ejecución de las inscripciones que podría servir para complementar las dataciones y dudas sobre las pinturas. Hemos dicho anteriormente que la iglesia se consagra en 1230, no obstante, según los expertos, las obras interiores del templo no habrían terminado. Así las pinturas se situarían en unos años posteriores. Las inscripciones aportan nuevos datos a la cronología dada. Existen dos momentos de ejecución de los letreros, con estilos bien diferentes y que indican la presencia de dos talleres epigráficos.

El primero estaría relacionado directamente con la realización de las pinturas. Los letreros correspondientes a los intradoses que identifican a los padres de la iglesia y fundadores, así como los letreros de los muros oriental de San Leandro, San Gregorio etc. y occidental, identificando los profetas, corresponden a un primer periodo. Son los letreros que Martínez Ángel analiza con deficiencias gramaticales derivadas de la contaminación del lenguaje hablado. Las cartelas con los nombres de los santos y fundadores presentan una escritura carolina evolucionada pero sin elementos góticos aún en sus trazas. La técnica de ejecución es, además, más torpe que el resto del conjunto escrito en los muros, con letras oscilantes que no se ajustan a la línea de escritura. Combina elementos unciales como la D, en "*Leander*", con otros caracteres rectilíneos como la C de tres trazos, de "*Nicolaus*". En esta misma *explanatio* hallamos una O ovalada, y una S de cuerpo alargado y curvas cortas, ambas grafías propias de la escritura visigótica y que aquí aparecen como reminiscencias gráficas de un alfabeto que aún se utiliza o, al menos, se conoce. No muy lejos, en Guadalajara, aún se escribe en escritura visigótica en algunas zonas hasta mediados del siglo XII[22]. Se trata de un conjunto epigráfico realizado posiblemente en torno a 1230 ya que no se aprecia engrosamiento del cuerpo de las letras ni tendencia al cerramiento de los trazos curvos.

Por otro lado estaría el grupo de inscripciones que aparecen en el friso, en los alfices y en la banda inferior del muro sur. Su escritura es bien diferente, ajustándose al marco, éste determina el módulo de las letras estrecho y alargado. No estamos en los momentos finales del XIII cuando se cierran las letras E F C o cuando se engrosan el cuerpo de la P, B, S. Por tanto se trata de una ejecución posterior a las *explanationes*, a mediados del siglo XIII, realizada por una mano experta, de trazado firme, que apenas utiliza abreviaturas y que se ve fuertemente condicionado por el espacio elegido para la escritura. Llama la atención en este grupo la peculiar utilización de la letra E de trazos rectos y la ausencia de la E de trazado curvo tan propio de la gótica. Es un elemento distintivo que se aprecia en todo el conjunto epigráfico, no solo en los alfices. Podemos hallarlo también en los epitafios sepulcrales y que parece una nota distintiva de la gótica en Toledo[23]. Estos últimos ayudarían a establecer una cronología más precisa. Atendiendo a las mismas características gráficas de unos y otros, podemos plantear que la ejecución de los alfices se hallaría en la década de los 70, pauta cronológica de los epitafios.

Dos talleres, dos momentos diferentes de ejecución y una doble finalidad. Una escritura dependiente de la pintura, y una escritura independiente. Las *explanationes* se ejecutan en función de la necesidad de identificar los personajes de las pinturas. El modelo de las figuras es el mismo variando únicamente los motivos ornamentales, no existe ningún elemento distintivo propio. únicamente las cartelas con los nombres de cada profeta, obispo, o santo, complementan y dan sentido a la iconografía. Por el contrario, la escritura de los alfices, las *invocationes*, es independiente a cualquier elemento pictórico y por tanto tiene una finalidad orientada a la liturgia que se desarrolla en el espacio eclesial.

VIII. La Inscripción Parte Integrante de la Imagen

Existe un lazo muy estrecho entre los signos gráficos y los signos icónicos desde Bizancio hasta el Occidente latino, aunque con connotaciones diferentes. Como sabemos, existe en Bizancio un vínculo muy estrecho entre los signos gráficos y los signos icónicos: el verbo griego *graphein* designa tanto el hecho de trazar una letra como dibujar o pintar con el fin de "describir", y el sustantivo *graphe* la inscripción, como el dibujo o la pintura[24]. A diferencia del arte oriental

[21] Véase en este sentido el análisis de escritura de E. Menor ya citado.

[22] J. DE SANTIAGO. José Mª DE FRANCISCO, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium, vol 4 Guadalajara (1112-1499)*, León 2018 p. 32.

[23] Estas indicaciones se las debemos a E. Menor, autora del volumen correspondiente a Toledo, en la colección Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium, de próxima edición.

[24] Nos lo recuerda, haciendo mención *a G. LANGE, Catherine JOLIVET LÉVY, "Inscriptions et images* dans les églises byzantines de

bizantino en el Occidente latino la forma icónica no tenía por sí misma un carácter sagrado; su atribución era arbitraria y dependía del saber hacer del artista. La imagen tiene por función, según la tradición gregoriana de *imago,* decorar las iglesias presentando la fe a los sencillos y recordar la historia de salvación a la vez que embellecen los lugares santos[25].

En el siglo IX la inscripción del nombre es considerado como un componente indispensable en la imagen que, no solamente elimina la duda de la identidad de la persona representada y permite identificar el modelo o el retrato, sino también garantiza mostrar la persona del prototipo frente a inexactitudes eventuales de una pintura mal ejecutada[26]. *A través de la pintura visible vemos lo invisible, no en los colores, sino en la mención que se hace mediante la inscripción escrita, y lo glorificamos como si estuviera presente; al hacerlo no creemos en un Dios sin ser, sino en un Dios que verdaderamente es, ni en santos sin ser, sino en santos que existen y viven cerca de Dios, y en sus espíritus que son santos [y] acuden en ayuda, con el poder de Dios, de aquellos que son dignos y se lo piden* [27]. La pertinencia de escribir sobre la imagen tiene implicaciones muy amplias. Conocer y reconocer en cada situación la red de elementos que interactúan en los modelos iconográficos ha sido objeto de no pocos estudios[28]. Desde el siglo XII el proceso artístico se hace más complejo, visualmente más amplio, creando una red de relaciones entre la expresión artística, la liturgia y la teología. La imagen y la palabra pasan de ser un ornamento a un orden simbólico en un contexto de las prácticas litúrgicas[29]. En este sentido, las pinturas de San Román de Toledo presentan una conjunción entre la liturgia mozárabe y la romana a través de sus representaciones[30].

Ahondemos en la cuestión. Las imágenes e inscripciones se disponen en la nave de la epístola, un espacio de carga escatológica donde se desarrolla la escenificación de la Resurrección de los muertos. En el testero de la nave, Isidoro de Sevilla , Eugenio de Toledo y Gregorio aparecen representados junto a los evangelistas complementando la representación. El valor espiritual de estas figuras es bien conocido. Isidoro de Sevilla fue el exponente máximo de la cultura y de la política de la Hispania del siglo VII, heredero del pensamiento clásico, sentó las bases de la cultura medieval. Su doctrina política sirvió de referencia para el reino visigodo de Toledo, extensible a la Alta edad media y sienta las bases de los conceptos morales del pensamiento medieval[31]. Eugenio de Toledo (+657), arzobispo de esta ciudad fue uno de los baluartes culturales del periodo visigodo, discípulo de Braulio de Zaragoza, fue el difusor de la obra de San Isidoro. San Gregorio (540-604), padre de la Iglesia, reformador, como sabemos contribuyó a la evolución de los cánticos primitivos antífonas, salmos, himnos. Las cortas explanationes visibles son legibles por el clero emplazado en el ábside. Ellas identifican los personajes el texto y la imagen asociados servirán así la presencia perenne de la memoria de la iglesia visigoda que podían ser conmemorados en la liturgia.

La función práctica informativa de las inscripciones es evidente. Sin ellas esto no tendrían valor. Un número de Santos que se presentan con estereotipos, prácticamente iguales, vestidos con vestimenta litúrgica, tonsurados, y con báculo, todos ellos dispuestos en el espacio de transición a la nave central, los intradoses de los arcos. Los personajes identificados a través de las cartelas se presentan de dos en dos: Bernardo y Benito, fundadores de las órdenes benedictina y cisterciense, representan la Iglesia Regular; Martin y Nicolás, obispos del siglo IV, representan la iglesia episcopal; Ambrosio de Milán valedor del poder de la Iglesia sobre el Estado, Leandro impulsor del catolicismo frente al arrianismo.

IX. La Dimensión Sonora de la Iglesia: Las *Invocationes*

Entre tantos elementos físicos se nos olvida normalmente tener en cuenta otros elementos que por su naturaleza son efímeros. Palazzo reflexiona sobre la sinestesia que se produce en determinados momentos de la liturgia por la activación de todos los sentidos -vista/pinturas, oído/música, olfato/incienso- y la creación de una interacción entre todos ellos. El aroma del incienso es activado al tiempo que la armonía del sonido y del canto de los salmos[32]. Esta reflexión bien podría trasladarse a la iglesia de San Román. La distribución de las *invocationes* a lo largo del espacio eclesial está en relación, a mi entender, con el sentido litúrgico de cada uno de estos textos. Dos tipos de invocaciones – salmos y antífonas- para dos

Cappadoce. Visibilité / lisibilité, interactions et fonctions", en *Visibilité et présence de l'image dans l'espace ecclésial*, ed. S. Brodbeck – A. Poilpré Paris 2019, pp. 379-408

[25] Citando a J.C. Schmitt, en Daniel RUSSO, Des lettres sur l'image dans l'art du Moyen Âge, en Qu'est-ce que nommer? L' image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique, ed. Christian Heck, Brepols, Turnhout 2010, p. 135.

[26] *G. LANGE, Catherine JOLIVET LÉVY, "Inscriptions et images, p. 381.*

[27] M. Zoubouli, L'image à Byzance. Une nouvelle lecture des textes anciens, Paris 2013, p. 200-203

[28] RUSSO, "Des lettres sur l'image", p. 129.

[29] RUSSO, "Des lettres sur l' image", p. 135.

[30] E. Menor, "La comunicación al fiel", p. 525.

[31] Everton GREIN, "Isidoro de Sevilla y los fundamentos de la realeza cristina en la Hispania visigodo", en *Miscelanea Medieval Murciana*, 2010, p. 23.A lo largo de los siglos medievales la figura de Isidoro ha sido la de inspirador de milagros, así como su imagen tildada de profeta. Sobre estas imágenes contamos con Patrick HENRIET, "Rex, lex, plebs, les miracles d'Isidore de Sevilla a Leon", en *Mirakel, im Mittelalter. Konceptionem erscheinungsformen,* Dentungen 2002, pp. 334-350; CARRIAZO, "Isidoro de Sevilla, spiritu prophetae clarus", en *En la España Medieval*, 26, 2003, pp. 5-34.

[32] PALAZZO, p. 217

sentimientos religiosos diferentes aunque complementarios.

Ya hemos dicho que la iglesia tiene un origen funerario, y que éste es desarrollado por sus promotores. Los letreros que jalonan las naves, independientes de cualquier representación plástica, se nos presentan en una escritura gótica de gran módulo, destacadas sobre el fondo blanco y que llaman la atención de la mirada, en cuanto se entra en el templo. EL texto puede ser legible por los fieles de modo que la promesa de redención llegue a todos ellos, y cuyas palabras resuenan en la liturgia cantada.

Un aspecto a tener en cuenta es la disposición o ubicación de los textos en el espacio eclesial. Las *invocationes* inspiradas en los salmos se desarrollan en la nave de la epístola, a lo largo de los alfices de los arcos. Son todos ellos salmos penitenciales donde el orante habla en primera persona con Dios: *Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat (Ps. 102), De profundis clamavi ad te domine. Domine, exaudi vocem meam (Ps. 130) Domine in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua corripias me (Ps. 6).* Es evidente que el destinatario de estos mensajes son los usuarios de la iglesia, fieles y clérigos. La oración escrita en los muros inspira su piedad y les hace protagonistas penitentes evocando con su propia voz las palabras allí inscritas. Son un apoyo y refuerzo de la celebración litúrgica. Escogidos los textos y seleccionados por los liturgistas medievales, no solo son un medio de sacralización del espacio, sino una prolongación perpetua de la celebración religiosa. Estos cantos penitenciales nos hablan también de una práctica oracional íntima de cada individuo[33], en un espacio concreto, la nave de la epístola, ante sepulcros e imágenes de la resurrección y del más allá representado en el muro occidental.

La siguiente secuencia se presenta en la nave del evangelio, lo que nos podría dar a entender una celebración procesional dentro de la iglesia, al modo de las que se celebraban en los claustros de las catedrales góticas. En este caso el mensaje es reiterativo, solo un salmo se repite en los alfices: *Deus in auditorum meum intende* (Ps. 70). Esta oración es la primera que nos encontramos al entrar en el interior del templo. Sobre la puerta la representación del tetramorfos preside el espacio en una ubicación poco común. La oración es recurrente. Es un salmo mesiánico. Es la oración introductoria a cada hora en los breviarios (romano, monástico y ambrosiano). San Benito introdujo esta costumbre en el oficio monástico y será Gregorio I quien la extendió. No parece casual que éste último aparezca representado en el espacio eclesial. Así mismo, está relacionado con el mensaje de salvación y redención de todo el conjunto artístico ya que se cantaba en las vísperas solemnes del Domingo de Pascua de Resurrección.

Finalmente, y para cerrar el ciclo, en los arcos que jalonan la nave central se disponen las cinco antífonas dedicadas a la Virgen. El culto por María arranca de los primeros cristianos, pero sobre todo, a partir de los escritos de Anselmo se desarrolla la devoción de María, madre, dentro de una mística intimista propia de los siglos XI y XII. En el siglo XIII se reactiva el culto a María, derivado quizá del papel que adquieren las mujeres en los movimientos religiosos pero también profanos, relacionándose con los esquemas del amor cortés[34]. En fin, la difusión de los evangelios apócrifos es un elemento más a favor de la divulgación de la imagen de María madre, tal como en el gótico se refleja, donde la rigidez románica es sustituida por la belleza, la sonrisa, el gesto de una madre hacia su hijo, que también actúa como niño.

Las inscripciones pintadas en los alfices cultivan esta devoción que forma parte de la liturgia de las Horas. Los textos inciden en la imagen de María que el propio Bernardo, representado muy cerca de ellos, ha divulgado: se canta a María como estrella del mar, invoca a María como luz que ilumina el camino de los pecadores. Las festividades marianas ya estaban extendidas en el siglo XIII, la Asunción, la Natividad, incluso la Inmaculada Concepción está extendida desde el siglo XI[35]. Los sábados eran dedicados a la Virgen, como una costumbre arraigada desde el siglo VIII. Por todo ello las antífonas de la Virgen, creadas en el siglo XI, se cantan en el oficio canónico y de ahí se traslada a la piedad popular. Los atributos teológicos de la Virgen, como estrella, rosa/flor o luz serán expresiones que pasan de las letanías populares a las obras literarias de Berceo y a las Cantigas de Alfonso X. Es un canto exultante de todo creyente que confía en la Madre de Dios como promesa segura de intercesión divina.

> *[ave, virgo María, que] virgo sacratísima et mater Dei es piísima, maris stella clarísima. Salve, semper gloriosa, margarita preciosa, sicut lilium formosa, olens velut rosa. + In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*

Esta oración se conserva en parte, con ligeras variantes como margalita por margarita. Esta antífona a la Virgen de larga tradición se cantaba para la entrada procesional del coro, y desde el siglo XIII pasaría a formar parte del oficio de completas. La antífona es eliminada en 1568 con la aplicación del breviario romano, pero se recupera posteriormente siendo elevada a la máxima de su belleza teológica en los

[33] Son salmos individuales, donde el penitente habla a Dios directamente en primera persona. Junto a ellos están los salmos colectivos, pensados para una oración de la comunidad.

[34] Raquel TORRES, "La devoción mariana en el marco de la religiosidad del siglo XIII", en *Alcanate*, vol. 10 (2016/17), p. 40.

[35] TORRES, "La devoción" 33, cita la obra de Cristina ALVAREZ, "La doctrina inmaculista en las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sabio", en *La Inmaculada Concepción en España. Religiosidad, historia y arte,* San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 2005, pp. 1219-1246.

canticos de Francisco Guerrero y la música sacra del siglo de oro. La antífona evoca en algunos fragmentos al cantar de los cantares y adquiere un punto teológico culminante en Semper gloriosa que alude a la imagen de la virgen en el reino de los cielos junto a Cristo.

[alma redemptoris mater] que per via celi porta manens stella maris (hanc autem puer a judeis occisus post mortem decantabat) sucurre cadenti surgere qui curat populum.Tu quem genuisti natura mirante o tuum santuum genitorem . ora

Otra de las cuatro antífonas cantadas en completas y laudes en honor de la virgen. Suele cantarse ésta entre el primer domingo de adviento y las completas del segundo de febrero, así como en completas de todos los domingos del año. Los versos hexámetros se adjudican a Hermannus Contractus muerto en 1054. Lo hallamos en los breviarios del siglo XIII y XIV, como el breviario de la abadía de Sion, conservado hoy en la biblioteca de Klosterneuburg, en el f. 109r. Del canto gregoriano su tradición se mantiene hasta la actualidad.

Speciosa facta es et suavis in deliciis (virginitatis) sancta dei genitrix, quam videntes filiae syon vernantem in floribus rosarum et lilis convallium beatisiimam praedicaverunt et reginae laudaverunt eam.

Esta antífona se recoge así mismo como las anteriores en el canto gregoriano y se cantaba en varias celebraciones y momentos litúrgicos: en la fiesta de la virgen de las nieves, en laudes, en la fiesta común de la virgen, esto es, en sábado, en vísperas; el día de la Purificación en el matutinum y en el nocturno III. Lo mismo podemos decir de las restantes antífonas.

Tota pulchra amica mea et maculanon est. In te favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua, tua odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Iam enim iems transiit inber abiit et recessit.

Sancta Maria, virginum, piisima, mari stella clarissima, suscipe vota servolorum asidua lausos eriges errantes corriges trementes corrobora.

El culto mariano del siglo XIII es heredero de la tradición anterior, ahora bien, será en este periodo cuando adquiera un protagonismo litúrgico promovido primeramente por la orden del Cister, en plena renovación de la vida consagrada, y secundado por las ordenes menores de predicadores y mendicantes, la segunda renovación espiritual más importante del cristianismo de Occidente[36]. Desde el siglo XII se produce un giro en la mentalidad cristiana hacia una humanización de la figura de Cristo, como hombre, potenciando su vida terrena, y en ese contexto se potencia la figura de la madre, la Virgen[37].

X. La Liturgia en la Parroquia de San Roman. Una Propuesta

Todo parece sugerir la idea de unas inscripciones que sirven como un elemento de comunicación para una liturgia procesional dentro de la iglesia o de una liturgia estacional. La paraliturgia procesional se celebra en España desde la alta edad media[38] no solo en tiempos litúrgicos fuertes como la semana de pasión sino también en otros tiempos estacionales donde incluso para su celebración se elegían espacios diferentes a la iglesia o el claustro[39]. En Toledo la procesión del viernes Santo se recoge en el *liber ordinum* donde el *lignum crucis* procesionaba por las calles bajo cantos de himnos hasta su regreso a la catedral a las cinco de la tarde[40]. Esta tradición procesional tan arraigada en la ciudad de Toledo bien podría desarrollarse a lo largo de los tiempos litúrgicos en distintas formas, como las procesiones en el interior de las iglesias. Conocemos las celebraciones de las iglesias catedrales pero no así la de las iglesias parroquiales[41]. Las procesiones litúrgicas se

[36] Sobre el culto a la virgen destacamos la obra monográfica que recoge estudios anteriores de enfoques social y litúrgico, me refiero a Dominique IOGNA-PRAT, Eric PALAZZO-Daniel RUSSO (eds) *Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, París 1996. Más cercano y revisando los estudios anteriores, se ha publicado una monografía sobre el culto mariano en los distintos territorios europeos por RUBIN, *Emotion and devotion: th meaning of Mary in medieval religious cultures*, Central european university press 2009.Sobre la devoción mariana en concreto en el siglo XIII contamos con el artículo ya mencionado de Raquel TORRES JIMENEZ, La devoción mariana.

[37] TORRES JUMENEZ, LA Devoción mariana, 31. La autora hace una revisión a esta devoción cristocéntrica como contexto de la devoción mariana. El cambio de sensibilidad hacia una humanización en todos los órdenes sociales lo trata J. M. CORTAZAR, "El renacimiento del siglo XII en Europa: los comienzos de una renovación de saberes y sensibilidades", en *Renovación intelectual de occidente europeo (siglo XII),* Semana de estudios Medievales de Estella, Pamplona 1997, 29-62. La espiritualidad humanizada comenzaría, no obstante, con Anselmo y Bernardo, siendo Francisco de Asís quien determine un giro en la teología y en la espiritualidad. Cf. José SANCHEZ HERRERO, "Desde el cristianismo sabio a la religión popular en la Edad Media", en *Clio y Crimen* vol 1 (2004) pp. 301-335.

[38] La monja Egeria es importadora de los usos procesionales de la iglesia de Jerusalem que se acogen tempranamente en Occidente. Agustín ARCE, *Itinerario de la virgen Egeria*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 1980, reed. 1996. Sobre la adopción de esta paraliturgia procesional y sus antecedentes. F. GALTIER MARTÍ, "Los orígenes de la paraliturgia procesional de Semana Santa en Occidente", en *Aragón en la Edad Media,* XX (2008) pp. 349-360, especialmente pp. 352-353.

[39] Sobre los espacios litúrgicos estacionales contamos con el trabajo de Mercedes PÉREZ VIDAL que estudia este hecho en la baja edad media entre los conventos de dominicas. Cf. "La liturgia procesional de completas en el ámbito de los monasterio femeninos de la orden de predicadores de Castilla", en *Hispania Sacra* vol. 39, nº 139 (2017). Sobre la liturgia estacional en monasterio de la Huelgas, Eduardo CARRERO SANTAMARÍA, "Epigrafía y liturgia estacional entre el locutorio y el pasaje a la enfermería de la abadía de Santa María la Real de las Huelgas, en Burgos", en *Territorio sociedad y poder* vol. 9 (2914) pp. 117-132.

[40] Cf. GALTIER, o.c., p. 353. Este autor cita como referencia la obra de FEROTIN, *Le livre ordinum en usage dans l' eglise wisigothique et mozárabe d'Espagne du cinquemeau onzieme siècle*, París 1904, col. 178-187.

[41] El liber pontificalis o sacramentario de Roda de Isábena, hoy en el archivo capitular de Lérida, contiene la ceremonia de Domingo de

desarrollan, así mismo, en los monasterios y en los conventos, llegando a existir una liturgia propia en cada uno, especialmente para los establecimientos femeninos como se ha demostrado en los últimos estudios[42]. El canto procesional adquiere una dimensión entre los laicos de manera que fuera de los monasterios se desarrolla la liturgia de las horas, y en ellas se prescriben los cantos de antífonas y salmos. Es posible que las prescripciones benedictinas del canto de las antífonas como la Salve se empleen en la liturgia de las órdenes de predicadores y en las parroquias bajo su influencia. El canto de la antífona se realizaba durante la procesión en el día de la Asunción y en las celebraciones dedicadas a la virgen. Si la liturgia estacional estaba tan extendida en la edad media cabria pensar que la dimensión de los elementos que contemplamos en esta iglesia bien podrían tener cierta relación. Las inscripciones invocativas nos sugieren la posibilidad de un rito procesional. Ante la falta de documentación en torno a las celebraciones litúrgicas parroquiales, el edificio y las imágenes pueden aportar información sobre la celebración litúrgica de la iglesia parroquial. Recordemos que las tres naves eran indispensables para la liturgia procesional en las iglesias[43]. La liturgia consiste en seguir las siete horas canónicas de la liturgia coral de monjes y canónigos que en el siglo XIII adquiere una estructura propia fuera de las comunidades religiosas. La procesión en el interior de la iglesia combinaría la liturgia de completas y de devoción a la virgen, en sus festividades, sino también al de oficio de difuntos, función esencial desde el origen de la iglesia. Así los salmos de dicho oficio cantados durante la procesión se realizaría en los espacios privados funerarios, entre estos el salmo De profundis, cantado en la penitencia tras completas y así mismo formaba parte del oficio de la Virgen del sábado.

XI. A Modo de Epílogo

La transformación o renovación religiosa afectará positivamente a los laicos que hasta entonces carecían de formación teológica y apenas participaban activamente en la vida religiosa[44]. Parece que los sacramentos tenían poco sentido para el pueblo, a excepción de la atención a los difuntos. Pero el nuevo Cristo centrismo y la nueva teología de las ordenes menores influyen en las devociones populares, se difunde el culto a Cristo, y la devoción mariana, y se desarrollan y multiplican las actividades laicas religiosas, como las cofradías. En el siglo XIII muchos laicos aspiran a una religiosidad mayor y a vivir conforme a los principios religiosos. Pero no hay que olvidar que esta experiencia debe ser sensitiva dada la escasa formación de la población sin acceso a los tratados religiosos y a la teología. Esto se debe compensar con medios de comunicación visuales y sensitivos como las representaciones pictóricas, esculturas, la música así como las sensaciones olfativas como el uso del incienso. La transmisión de la fe a los laicos solía cargarse de obligaciones y de elementos negativos, como el castigo, el juicio final. En San Román, no obstante, la representación pictórica es justamente contraria. Se elimina todo elemento amenazador. El juicio final no se representa pero sí se muestra la resurrección de los muertos y el cielo representado por los ancianos y la asamblea santa en el paraíso. Los santos representados, padres de la iglesia, son modelos de protección. Las inscripciones refuerzan el mensaje esperanzador de una forma de religiosidad popular.

Ramos, consistente en una procesión formada por cantores de la schola y clérigos que portan cruces, incensarios y los evangelios. Al llegar a la iglesia estacional rezan ante el altar las oraciones de tertia y el obispo bendice los ramos. GALTIER, o.c., p. 358. El autor cita la edición de Barriga Planas, "El sacramentari, ritual i pontifical de Roda".

[42] Mercedes Vidal y Carrero Santamaría inciden en este aspecto procesional especial entre las comunidades femeninas, sean conventuales como las dominicas en el primer caso, o monásticas en el segundo.

[43] Antonio DURAN GUDIOL, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Siresa*, Zaragoza 1989, p. 19.

[44] TORRES, "La devoción mariana", p. 28

This page is intentionally left blank

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Defining the Internal Borders of the Empire: Conceptions of Territory during the Process of Independence. Brazil, 1820 Decade

By Vitor Marcos Gregório

Abstract- The process of construction and consolidation[1] of any modern national State necessarily involves the definition of its territory. That does not end with the geographical aspects of the issue, which are in themselves endowed with the complexity inherent to the delimitation of borders designed to separate "us" (presented as civilized and desirable), from "they" (often associated with barbarism). A national sovereignty's exclusive space, the territory of the 19th century posed a series of practical and theoretical problems that directly influenced the creation of variated governmental apparatus, offering unique opportunities for understanding them. Federation or centralized regime? How were provinces or states divided? What forms of government were adopted in the various parts of the national State? Just some of the central choices that needed to be made throughout the process of constitution of modern States that say a lot about the idea societies had of themselves and of others in the moment they decided to constitute an autonomous national community, in some way, unique.

Keywords: territory – provinces – constitution – empire of brazil.

GJHSS-D Classification: DDC Code: 950.072 LCC Code: DS12

DEFININGTHEINTERNALBORDERSOFTHEEMPIRECONCEPTIONSOFTERRITORYDURINGTHEPROCESSOFINDEPENDENCEBRAZIL1820DECADE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Defining the Internal Borders of the Empire: Conceptions of Territory during the Process of Independence. Brazil, 1820 Decade

Vitor Marcos Gregório

Abstract- The process of construction and consolidation[1] of any modern national State necessarily involves the definition of its territory. That does not end with the geographical aspects of the issue, which are in themselves endowed with the complexity inherent to the delimitation of borders designed to separate "us" (presented as civilized and desirable), from "they" (often associated with barbarism). A national sovereignty's exclusive space, the territory of the 19th century posed a series of practical and theoretical problems that directly influenced the creation of variated governmental apparatus, offering unique opportunities for understanding them. Federation or centralized regime? How were provinces or states divided? What forms of government were adopted in the various parts of the national State? Just some of the central choices that needed to be made throughout the process of constitution of modern States that say a lot about the idea societies had of themselves and of others in the moment they decided to constitute an autonomous national community, in some way, unique.

Keywords: territory – provinces – constitution – empire of brazil.

Introduction

The study of the different meanings given to the concept "territory" during the Brazilian imperial period requires an exercise in historiographical deconstruction. One of the most important elements for the conformation of the different national states, the territory is frequently considered by the national historiographies as something that pre-exists to the nation itself, as an element forged by nature with the purpose of being occupied by a certain people and a precise administrative apparatus. In this way, we must deal with a true myth of origin in which nation and territory are intertwined, making it almost impossible to identify where one ends and the other begins during the process of forging both administrative apparatus and identity discourses in the 19th century.

Thanks to this discursive construction, the division of geographic spaces between different human groups – a complex and eminently political action – ends up acquiring a natural character that relieves scholars of the need to understand the historical process that culminates in its definition. After all, if it is assumed that a certain area is destined to be occupied by a specific people, the possibility that this fact could not happen disappears from the horizon, and the implementation of the necessary measures to guarantee that the plans formulated in theory becomes real turn to be a matter of less importance in the field of study.

There are works that question the denial of historicity to the process of construction of this concept which is, in its very foundations, historical. Authors such as Charles Maier[2], Stuart Elden[3], David Delaney[4], Benjamin Arnold[5], Peter Sahlins[6], among others[7], have demonstrated in their research that, far from being universal and exempt from debate, the broader idea of what is (or what should be) the territory underwent several resignifications over time, which also varied according to the region, the people, and the political regime in which this process occurred.

Far from being a conceptually neutral term, these works show that the territory is, itself, a complex process of construction and deconstruction, action and reaction, a constant rethinking about a concept that even though is presented as static, in no way can be

Author: e-mail: vitor.gregorio@ifpr.edu.br

[1] This paper is a revised version of the one published in Portuguese on *Almanack*, Guarulhos, n. 30, ea01320, 2022. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1590/2236-463330ea01320

[2] MAIER, Charles S. *Once within borders*: territories of power, wealth, and belonging since 1500. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.

[3] ELDEN, Stuart. *The birth of territory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

[4] DELANEY, David. *Territory*: a short introduction. Malden: Blackwell, 2005.

[5] ARNOLD, Benjamin. *Princes and territories in medieval Germany.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[6] SAHLINS, Peter. *Boundaries. The making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

[7] As reference for works that analyze the construction of the concept "territory" as a historical object, with its local and temporal specificities inherent to its resignification, see: CASTELLS, Luis (ed.). *Del território a la nación*: identidades territoriales y construcción nacional. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2006; JONES, Rhys. *People/states/territories*: the political geographies of British State transformation. Malden: Blackwell, 2007; ALESINA, Alberto; SPOLAORE, Enrico. *The size of nations.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005; HANNA, Matthew. *Governmentality and the mastery of territory in Nineteenth-Century America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; BARTOV, Omer; WEITZ, Eric D. *Shatterzone of Empires*: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013; DIENER, Alexander C.; HAGEN, Joshua. *Borderlines and Borderlands*: political oddities at the edge of the nation-state. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010; BUCHANAN, Allen; MOORE, Margaret. *States, nations, and borders*: the ethics of making boundaries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

understood as such. Even its most classic definition, which presents it as a "defined space under the control of a group of people that establishes more or less clear borders, imposes on it an exclusive sovereignty and makes it respected by external entities", is historically defined; in other words, it did not always exist, nor in all regions of the world.

In this sense, the territory appears as a word, as a concept and as a practice, with each one of these facets - and the relationship between them - understandable from the point of view of historical analysis that makes it, in this way, a privileged object of study and a unique instrument for the understanding of innumerable political, economic, and social processes related to it[8]. If it is true that the state entities that emerged and/or were consolidated throughout the 19th century cannot be adequately understood without a necessary allusion to the question of their territorial definitions, it is also undeniable that these definitions cannot be correctly analyzed without a reference to the analysis of the meaning (or the meanings) that the builders of these entities lent to the territory they intended to define.

João Paulo Garrido Pimenta briefly analyzed how this process of naturalization of territorial spaces occurred in the Brazilian case[9]. In this sense, he pointed out that Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, one of the most important Brazilian historians in 19th century, defined the Treaty of Madrid, signed – but not ratified – in 1750 between Portugal and Spain, as the definitive document of the "national borders" even before the existence of the Brazilian national state. He also stated that Rocha Pombo, another historian from the beginning of the 20th century, presented Portuguese America as an entity always destined to be independent and to occupy the space that would later become the territory of Brazil. A direct continuity without any surprise that would be repeated, according to Pimenta, also in the works of Pedro Calmon and Hélio Viana, reaching its apex with Jaime Cortesão in a book published between 1952 and 1956, which was central for several later works[10].

The basic idea presented in the myth of the "island of Brazil", concepted by Cortesão, is this: the geography that would come to conform the Brazilian space must meet an almost geometric shape between the course of two great rivers (Amazon and Prata), whose aquatic sources would have to be found in a large unifying lake. In this way, the Portuguese colony was defined as having, as an essential characteristic, the only space made by nature as one "legendary *fluvio lacustrine* arch", for the simple delight of the European colonizer. Thus, the historical accounts of colonial exploitation disappeared, inherited by the Brazilian state as evidence of divine origin, through a gift of the elements of nature to which no will could resist[11].

This unity, ideologically conferred by the myth of the "island of Brazil", gave to the Portuguese expansionism through the figure of the *bandeirante* a much needed historiographical explanation, since this was a process that dissolved the legal limits imposed by the Treaty of Tordesilhas, signed by Portugal and Spain in 1494. It was based on the premise that the Brazilian State would be constituted as a simple update of the "island of Brazil", thus representing a continuity in terms of cultural space and national consciousness of this colonial-era idea[12]. This would be guaranteed by its national territory, since it would be the same one inherited by the Portuguese centuries before, which would be made official by the already referred Treaty of Madrid. This, also, would give Alexandre de Gusmão (the Portuguese negotiator in these meetings) the right to be later considered the first defender of legitimate Brazilian national interests – even before the very idea of "Brazil" as a sovereign nation were formulated as such.

José Honório Rodrigues was another historian who tended to saw, in the colony, the national state that was still very far from being constituted. In his analysis of the historiography produced between the 17th and the beginnings of the 19th century, Rodrigues presented the accusation that these authors "did not have totalizing concerns, limiting themselves to making only episodic narratives of regional trajectories". This would be the reason why, in this period, efforts to build local historical narratives (for instance, of the French presence in the making of Maranhão state; the Amazon history through disputes between Portuguese, English and Dutch militaries; or the "bandeirante" or Jesuit trajectories, important for the São Paulo and southern Brazil history) were numerous, but none of it was capable of accounting for one Brazilian "general history".

According to Rodrigues, what made this general panorama even more bleak was the fact that authors such as Sebastião da Rocha Pita demonstrated, in their works, "anti-Brazil and pro-Portugal" sentiments, thus producing "servile" analyzes whose main objective was to be read only by the Portuguese people, never by Brazilians. Thus, books "stripped of the essence of the national character" would be created, a criticism that completely loses its meaning when we remember that its target are studies carried out at a time in which there was still no trace of Brazilian nationality in the Portuguese colonies of America[13]. Furthermore, the

8 ELDEN, Stuart. Op. Cit.

9 PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *Estado e nação no fim dos impérios ibéricos no Prata (1808-1828)*. São Paulo: Hucitec. 2006.

10 Ibidem.

11 MAGNOLI, Demétrio. *O corpo da pátria*: imaginação geográfica e política externa no Brasil (1808-1912). São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1997.

12 Ibidem.

13 PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *Estado e nação*… Op. Cit., p. 42-43. For an interesting analysis of the multiple identities existing in

concept of "national" had, them, a completely different meaning related to the ones concepted during the 19th and 20th centuries, as many authors have demonstrated in the last few years[14].

João Paulo Garrido Pimenta offers an important explanation to why the national territory cannot be considered as a natural and unquestionable continuity of the spatial organization forged by the Portuguese metropolis for its colony[15]. According to this author there is, between these two spatial realities, a basic political contradiction, generally disregarded by the interpretations that tend to evaluate one as an inevitable consequence of the other: the State that led to the conformation of a certain territory, in the American continent, could only arise as a negation (or overcoming) of the colony that preceded it and of everything it represented.

In this sense, in the colonial system there was a political regime strongly centered on the figure of the monarch, respected and feared by all as the only person appointed by God to decide on the fate of his subjects and to dispose of the lands bequeathed to him by inheritance from his predecessors which, in turn, had conquered them in almost immemorial times through wars, conquests and donations. With the political independence, proclaimed in 1822, a system forged on the liberal principles of the 19th century emerged, based on popular participation through the action of elected parliamentarians, and in which the emperor owed his power to a delegation carried out by his subjects. In this new arrangement the monarch, far from having rights and duties granted to him by the divinity himself (the only entity to whom he would be, ultimately, responsible), had them rigidly defined by a Constitutional charter, and could no longer legislate or judge according to their free will, since specific powers had been created in law for these purposes. The territory, in this new political reality, ceased to be a personal property inherited by the bearer of the crown and the scepter of his elders, and became the space for the jurisdictional action of a nation through its representatives, who were solely responsible for defining and organizing it.

Empirical analysis seems to confirm this theorization. In fact, the comparison between the processes for creation of new administrative units in the Portuguese colony and those that took place after the political rupture with the European metropolis shows a remarkable difference in terms of rites, vocabulary and issues raised. In the ones that took place during the so-called Portuguese Ancien Régime personalist terms abound, centered on the figure of the monarch who was presented as solely responsible for the decision to re-divide his lands determining, in the same act, the necessary measures to guarantee that this action resulted in the objectives deemed as useful or necessary. In those carried out after 1822, the process of territorial reorganization became an arduous and complex sequence of debates and decisions, in which multiple and contradictory ideas and objectives were formulated before one of them were approved and sent to imperial sanction. Besides the Parliament, such debates could take place (actually, it was intended to take place) in any public spaces in which public opinion was free and able to express its ideas clearly, defending its positions and contesting the contrary ones.

The press frequently acted as one of these spaces, either by publishing letters and articles in periodicals, or by renting their printers to publish books and pamphlets. At the same time, the new political system allowed the population without access to these means to also express themselves through the conservation of an instrument originating from the Ancien Régime - the petitions and representations sent to the parliamentarians, who would be responsible for taking final decisions on whether to attend or reject it. Chosen by suffrage to represent the nation, bearer of a sovereignty that until then was concentrated exclusively on the person of the monarch, only deputies and senators could present, approve, and reject proposals that would imply significant changes in the space of exclusive action of this same sovereignty: the national territory. The differences could hardly be more accentuated. The political rupture of 1822 which, unpredictable until its last political movements, imposed the need to create a new state apparatus, forged a political discourse that, rescuing elements of an idealized territorial past, aimed to create and consolidate a new constitutional monarchy.

Portuguese America even in the years closest to the beginning of the process of political rupture with the European metropolis, see: JANCSÓ, István; PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. Peças de um mosaico (ou apontamentos para o estudo da emergência da identidade nacional brasileira). *In*: MOTA, Carlos Guilherme (org.). *Viagem incompleta*: a experiência brasileira (1500-2000): formação: histórias. São Paulo: Editora Senac SP, 2000. p. 127-176.

[14] As references, among others: GUERRA, François-Xavier. A nação moderna: nova legitimidade e velhas identidades. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Brasil*: formação do Estado e da nação. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2003. p. 33-60; CHIARAMONTE, José Carlos. Metamorfoses do conceito de nação durante os séculos XVII e XVIII. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Brasil*: formação do Estado e da nação. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2003. p. 61-92; KEMILÄINEM, Aira. *Nationalism*: problems concerning the word, the concept and classification. Jyväskylä: Kustantajat, 1964; GELLNER, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism.* Malden: Blackwell, 2006; GAT, Azar; YAKOBSON, Alexander. *Nations*: the long history and deep roots of political ethnicity and nationalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; HOBSBAWM, Eric J. *Nações e nacionalismo desde 1780*: programa, mito e realidade. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2002; HOBSBAWM, Eric J.; RANGER, Terence (org.). *A invenção das tradições.* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2002; ROSSOLILLO, Francesco. Nação. *In*: BOBBIO, Norberto; MATTEUCCI, Nicola; PASQUINO, Gianfranco. *Dicionário de Política*. Brasília, DF: Editora da Universidade de Brasília; São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2000. p. 795-799.

[15] PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *Estado e nação*… Op. Cit., p. 50-51.

I. The Captaincies: Territory as Property of the King

The decree that determined the creation of the captaincy of Sergipe, published on July 8, 1820, was abundant in personalist nature terms, leaving no room for doubt about the ideology that governed the making of this decision:

> It is very convenient for the good regime of this kingdom of Brazil, and for the prosperity to which I propose to elevate it, that the Captaincy of Sergipe de El-Rei have a government independent of that of the Captaincy of Bahia: that until now has been from the government of Bahia, declaring it totally independent, so that its Governors govern it in the manner practiced in the most independent Captaincies, communicating directly with the competent Secretariats of State, and being able to grant *sesmarias* in the form of My Real Orders.[16]

It was Dom João VI who proposed to guarantee the prosperity of his kingdom, adopting measures that suited his "good regime". After identifying, by means not explained in the document, that it suited the "good regime" of his kingdom to "exempt" Sergipe from the "subjugation" in which it found itself in relation to the government of Bahia, the monarch decided to declare it independent so that it could receive the administrative apparatus already established in other captaincies, which would allow faster communication with the higher levels of power and, therefore, greater agility in the adoption of measures deemed necessary for the development of the new administrative unit that was thus created.

The freedom to grant *sesmarias* also needed to be guaranteed, since it was about the right to usufruct an exclusive property of the crown. It is reasonable to assume that this decision was motivated by the reception of petitions from wealthy residents of Sergipe, or even reports from the region's administrators. But if so, it is also necessary to recognize that emancipation did not precede any broader debate in which broader strata of society were invited to participate. Ultimately, the decision was up to the monarch as the owner of the land whose organization was intended to be reformed and the bearer of a sovereignty that was confused with his own person. This formula had already been adopted before, as the decree promulgated on September 16, 1817, demonstrates:

> It is very convenient for the good regime of this Kingdom of Brazil, and for the prosperity to which I propose to elevate it, that the Province of Alagoas be dismembered from the Captaincy of Pernambuco and have its own Government that discreetly employs itself in the application of the most convenient means for this purpose to obtain the advantages that their land and situation can offer for the general benefit of the State and the particular benefit of its inhabitants and of my Royal Treasury: I exempt them absolutely from the subjection in which they have been to the Government of the Captaincy of Pernambuco, erecting a Captaincy with an independent government that governs it in the manner practiced in the other independent captaincies, with the faculty of granting *sesmarias*, according to my real orders, and reporting everything directly to the competent Secretariats of State. And in view of the good qualities that compete in the person of Sebastião Francisco de Mello e Povoas: I would like to appoint him Governor to serve for a period of three years or more, until he has a successor.[17]

In this decree Dom João was more specific, making clear what was expected from the rulers of the new administrative unit: the maximum use of natural resources and their economic potential in the sense that, with them, they could achieve the maximum possible benefit in favor of the Portuguese State, the inhabitants of the region that was now emancipated, and the royal treasury. This measure was taken in a very specific context. Just four months before, one of the most serious protesting movements against the old Portuguese regime had been defeated with great difficulty in the captaincy of Pernambuco, guaranteeing the restoration of an order that seemed increasingly threatened by the constant flow of news originating from the rebellious Spanish colonies, then in struggle by its independence[18]. To guarantee the achievement of the objectives outlined with the creation of the new captaincy, Sebastião Francisco de Mello e Póvoas was chosen, coming from a family that had close ties with the relatives of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal, and that already had rendered several military services to the Portuguese crown. Póvoas, following his lineage, had also adopted the career of the officership when he was enlisted in the Real Armada, in 1806, becoming a captain, in 1808[19].

In the administrative area, Póvoas had already acquired some experience during the five years in which he governed the captaincy of Rio Grande do Norte (1811-1816). Considered one of the least expressive

[16] BRASIL. Decreto de 8 de julho de 1820. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1820. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1889. p. 48-49. Disponível em: http://bd.camara.gov.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/18335. Acesso em: 15 maio 2020. Tradução pelo autor

[17] BRASIL. Decreto de 16 de setembro de 1817. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1817. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1890. p. 58. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao1.html. Acesso em: 15 maio 2020.

[18] PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *A independência do Brasil e a experiência hispano-americana (1808-1822)*. São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp, 2015; BERNARDES, Dênis Antônio de Mendonça. *O patriotismo constitucional*: Pernambuco, 1820-1822. São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp; Recife: UFPE, 2006; DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas; MOLLIER, Jean-Yves (org.). *Política, nação e edição*: o lugar dos impressos na construção da vida política: Brasil, Europa e Américas nos séculos XVIII-XX. São Paulo: Annablume, 2006.

[19] SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. Além da anedota: uma revisão da trajetória do governador Sebastião Francisco de Melo e Póvoas. *Acervo*: Revista do Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, v. 25, n. 1, p. 139-160, jan./jun. 2012. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3gs5fao. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

command posts in Portuguese America on a scale that began with the government of captaincies such as Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Pernambuco or Bahia and ended with the command of those of lesser economic and political importance - in addition to that recently created (exactly the case of Rio Grande do Norte when governed by Póvoas, and that of Alagoas in 1817), it still represented a sign of deference of the monarchy towards those individuals from families that, if they were not one of the most important of the empire, had already provided some relevant services to the crown[20].

These appointments constituted the necessary counterpart of a political and social relationship that preserved several elements of the old rules of vassalage, according to which loyalty to the sovereign should be rewarded with the offer of commendations that varied according to the importance of the services provided. For families whose members had accomplished great deeds, possibly endangering large amounts of goods and people or ensuring the survival of the kingdom or ruling dynasty, greater advantages. For those lineages made up of vassals faithful to the Crown but, for some reason, devoid of such heroic or noteworthy acts, minor counterparts (but still full of meaning in deeply hierarchical societies, such as those of the Ancien Régime) were destined. The appointment to the government of the newly created captaincy of Alagoas or, in even more explicit terms, to the command of the also new captaincy of Piauí, dismembered from Maranhão in 1811, are examples of this type of concession:

> D. João by the grace of God, Prince Regent of Portugal and the Algarves, etc. I make it known to those who see this letter of mine that there is in respect for the good with which Amaro Joaquim Raposo de Albuquerque has served me; I would like to nominate him Governor of the Captaincy of Piauí, which I am served to dismember from the General Captaincy of Maranhão, so that his administration may be entirely independent of the one he was subordinate to, in order to be in the interests of those peoples and of my royal service, whose employment will exercise the said Amaro Joaquim Raposo for a period of three years and as long as I have him for good and do not appoint him a successor, and with the said government there will be the salary, which competes to him, paid in the form of my real orders, and will enjoy all the honors, powers, command, jurisdiction and authority that he has, and that his predecessor enjoyed, and the more that my royal orders and instructions are granted him. Therefore, I order the interim Government of the Captaincy of Piauí and the Officials of the Chamber to swear to the said Amaro Joaquim Raposo, and to all the Officers of war, justice and finance, I also order that they obey him in everything, carry out his orders and mandates, as to its governor; and the said Amaro Joaquim Raposo will swear in my chancellery, in the usual way, that will be signed on the back of this charter of mine; and before departing this Court, he will pay homage to the said government in my royal hands, according to the usage and custom of these Kingdoms; that a certificate from my Secretary of State will be presented. And for the sake of firmness, I ordered him to present this document signed by me and sealed with the great seal of my Arms[21].

Certainly Amaro Joaquim Raposo de Albuquerque provided, before receiving this charter, relevant services to the Portuguese crown (or, at least, he belonged to a family that had provided them). With this document it was time to receive the retribution, which should be thanked through the accomplishment of the due tributes already foreseen by the "usage and customs" of the kingdom. In this way, Piauí became one of the administrative units of Portuguese America, dismembered from Maranhão which, like Bahia (in the case of Sergipe) and Pernambuco (in the case of Alagoas), could do little to prevent the division of its territory. This was yet another decision taken by the monarch which, for that very reason, could not be challenged. Very different – and longer – would be the processes of creating new provinces after the constitution of the Brazilian national state, in 1822.

II. The Making of Provinces in the Empire of Brazil: The Constitutional Project of 1823, and the Constitution of 1824

The first debates on the administrative division of the newly created Empire of Brazil took place during the work of the Constituent Assembly of 1823 and were part of a much broader discussion, which dealt with its political configuration. Unitary State or Federalism? A regime based on the existence of a central government, with an exclusive monopoly for making decisions concerning the policies adopted in all corners of the country, or a system organized in such a way that the competences of the administration were divided between the central and provincial powers, holders of the necessary autonomy to adopt the measures considered pertinent to their internal affairs?

The issue of federalism, presented as an "eminently Pernambuco political sensitivity" at the beginning of the 19th century[22], involved the defense of very clear political and economic interests. In his view, it was born from the desire that, once the unity that linked the kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarve had

[20] MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. Governadores e capitães-mores do império atlântico português no século XVIII. *In*: BICALHO, Maria Fernanda; FERLINI, Vera Lúcia Amaral (org.). *Modos de governar*: ideias e práticas políticas no império português (séculos XVI-XIX). São Paulo: Alameda, 2005. p. 93-115.

[21] BRASIL. Carta Patente de 30 de maio de 1811. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1811. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1890. p. 59-60. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao1.html. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020.

[22] MELLO, Evaldo Cabral de. *A outra independência*: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004. p. 13

been broken, political sovereignty would immediately revert to the provinces. In this way, these political units would be free to agree on a new constitutional order that would keep them together, if they saw this solution as interesting, or else to make use of the right to constitute themselves separately under the political system that best served them. Only the specific interests of each region should serve as a guide for the path to be followed, whether in the sense of conforming a constitutional union, or in any other way[23].

This project was strengthened with the transfer of the Portuguese monarchical administrative apparatus to Rio de Janeiro, in 1808. This was due to the fact that from then on this captaincy – and the economic elites based there – began to rely on a privileged relationship with the Crown to the detriment of all the others, the royal presence being responsible for making the income from the economic development of all the regions of Portuguese America flow to it. In this way, an asymmetrical situation would have been configured, by virtue of which Rio de Janeiro came to be seen as a "parasite of the Portuguese Empire", attracting the "hatred of all the provinces". Hatred that would become stronger in those located to the north, in which the advantages reaped from the new political situation were considered minor, even if the burden to be paid for belonging to the Portuguese empire was not reduced in the same proportion[24].

In this sense, the impossibility of taxing a large part of imports to the colonies (due to a trade treaty signed with England in 1810), combined with the need to finance the establishment of the Portuguese bureaucratic apparatus in Rio de Janeiro, made the Crown resort to new and greater charges on cotton and sugar production, precisely the main sources of funds for the Pernambuco economy. This new reality created, in the eyes of its elites, a situation of suffocation that meant that all the discontent previously focused on Lisbon was redirected to the new capital, located in the south. From this point of view, the subjection to the government located there became doubly vexing, since now the people of Pernambuco would have to resort, for the solution of their internal problems, to another captaincy until then understood as an equal. According to the historian Evaldo Cabral de Mello, "nativist resentment concluded that Lisbon was no longer in Lisbon, but in Rio"[25].

In this way, the defense of the federative system was presented as an attempt to rid the other regions of Portuguese America (in this case Pernambuco, specifically) from a situation presented as extremely harmful. The federal government emerged as a political regime capable of guaranteeing each province the ability to manage its own interests in the way that best suited them, thus putting an end to the justifications for sending large amounts of money to Rio de Janeiro which, as a "parasite of the Empire", only occupied it in his own interests without reverting any resources into policies that would please the other parts of the Empire. The Pernambuco elite, from this point of view, would not be separatist. After independence, it was willing to participate in the composition of the new State, as long as the political arrangement to be adopted would favor this federalist solution. Frei Caneca himself, leader of the Confederation of Equator[26], had defended the monarchic regime, in 1823, if he granted autonomy to the provinces. It would have been only with the defeat of this solution, materialized with the closing of the Constituent Assembly by D. Pedro I, that these groups would start to defend separatist proposals[27].

Ivo Coser analyzes, in his work, important elements for the understanding of this broader debate through the study of the concepts of "centralization" and "federalism" presented in speeches given in the Constituent Assembly of 1823[28]. At that time, the idea of centralization was practically the same one that would remain throughout the 19th and 20th centuries: a central government with a strong concentration of attributions, responsible for maintaining the unity of the State through its action in its various localities. An important point is that this concept was more about the end than about the means since centralization could occur either through a federative political arrangement or through a unitary system[29]. In other words, the decision for a centralist solution did not exclude, a priori, the option for a federative-type regime, since this configuration was

[23] Ibidem. It is important to remember that this conception of the constitutional organization of national states as a result of a voluntary adhesion of its various parts is not an exclusive innovation of the Pernambuco case, being present in several moments of the process of rupture of the former Spanish colonies with their metropolis at the same time. Cf. PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *A independência do Brasil*… Op. Cit.; CHIARAMONTE, José Carlos. *Cidades, províncias, estados*: origens da nação argentina (1800-1846). São Paulo: Hucitec, 2009; TERNAVASIO, Marcela. *Historia de la Argentina, 1806-1852*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2013; OSZLAK, Oscar. *La formación del Estado argentino*: orden, progreso y organización nacional. Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2012; ARNALDI, Waldo et al. *Argentina*: la construcción de un país. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009; entre outros.

[24] MELLO, Evaldo Cabral de. Op. Cit.

[25] Ibidem, p. 35.

[26] Colocar nota explicando brevemente o que foi a confederação do Equador

[27] Ibidem. Miriam Dolhnikoff disagrees with this interpretation, arguing that the federalist project was not exclusive to the elites of Pernambuco and Bahia, but also to several other provinces, such as São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, cases analyzed in her book. Likewise, according to the author, the closing of the Constituent Assembly did not mean the definitive defeat of this proposal which would later have returned with force and become victorious through the promulgation of the Additional Act of 1834 (DOLHNIKOFF, Miriam. *O pacto imperial*: origens do federalismo no Brasil. São Paulo: Globo, 2005).

[28] COSER, Ivo. *Visconde do Uruguai*: centralização e federalismo no Brasil, 1823-1866. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG; Rio de Janeiro: Iuperj, 2008.

[29] Ibidem.

one of the possible strategies to endow the central government with the necessary capacity to act throughout the territory, but it prevented that the specific type of federation proposed during the 1823 debates prevailed.

For the federalists of the Constituent Assembly, the provinces should be understood as sovereign states with full autonomy to legislate on everything that would concern to their specific interests. They could even reject the constitutional charter that was being drafted since, after the conclusion of the works, the sovereignty temporarily delegated to the Assembly would return to the provinces which could or could not accept the presented provisions[30]. In this sense, the definition of territorial unit would only be guaranteed when all parts of the former Portuguese colony freely declared that they accepted the new Constitution; before that fundamental moment, therefore, there would be no State but only a group of legislators striving to guarantee its viability.

The success of the enterprise would be determined, in a unique and exclusive way, by the scrutiny of the regions that, as intended, would be the components of the nation. The new empire was equated, according to this view, with a society formed by individuals – the provinces – who had in the pursuit of their own interests the reason for their existence, according to the classical liberal formulation[31]. From this individual search, the "happiness" of the nation would emerge just as in civil society the "public good" would emerge from everyone's search for their own happiness. It did not matter, in this sense, what form of government would be adopted to achieve this desideratum. The most important thing was that each province had to have the widest possible freedom to serve its specific interests. The general progress of the new Brazilian institutional arrangement would emerge from each one's ability to achieve this objective.

The defense of a concept of federalism that defined the constituent parts of the former Portuguese colony as sovereign entities possessing autonomy to even refuse being part of the new national state gains highlighted importance when analyzing the debates around the second article of the constitutional project of 1823. This, in turn, is directly related to three others, which form the first title of the document, called "the territory of the Empire of Brazil":

> *Title I*
>
> From the Territory of the Empire of Brazil
>
> *Art. 1:* The Empire of Brazil is one, and indivisible, and extends from Oyapock river to thirty-four and a half degrees to the south.
>
> *Art. 2:* It comprises the provinces of Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe d'El Rei, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Goiás, Mato Grosso, the Islands of Fernando de Noronha, Trindade, and other adjacent islands; and, by Federation, the Cisplatina.
>
> *Art. 3:* The Brazilian Nation does not waive the right it may have to certain other possessions not included in article 2.
>
> *Art. 4:* The Territory of the Empire shall be conveniently divided into Counties, these into Districts, and the Districts into Terms, and in these divisions natural limits and equality of population shall be taken into account, as far as possible.[32]

It is not the purpose of this paper to carry out an in-depth analysis of these debates, but only to draw attention to the richness of detail with which the Brazilian territory was regulated in this proposal, which ended up not being adopted. There is, here, a real concern in defining and naming exactly which provinces made up the new country, how they should be subdivided and under what title they were being incorporated into the new state. It is even possible to advance the hypothesis that it is from the definition as a gathering of the former parts of the Portuguese colony in America that this descriptive effort arises. It would be the union of the provinces, through the free acceptance of the charter that was being drawn up, that would make the new empire one and indivisible. In this sense, it would emerge from the union of preexisting administrative units that guaranteed its viability through a broad agreement accepted by all and concretized in the constitutional charter. First there were the provinces, and only then, from an agreement between them, would the Brazilian national state be born.

The fourth article is very eloquent in this sense, as it precisely defines the way in which these fundamental units of the Brazilian territory could be subdivided: into counties, districts, and terms, whenever possible respecting natural limits and equality of population. Not a word is said about the possibility of creating new provinces from the division of the existing ones; the possibility of the emergence of new administrative units is contemplated only in the third article, through the incorporation of possessions not included in the description made in the second article. These may seem minor details, but they gain a new dimension when placed face to face with the provisions of the Constitution granted in 1824 (and which would govern the country's destinies for 65 years), which defines the territorial organization of the empire as follows: "Art. 2 – Its territory is divided into provinces, in the form in which it is currently found, which may be subdivided, such as asking for the good of the State".[33]

[30] Ibidem.

[31] Ibidem.

[32] PROJECTO de Constituição para o Império do Brazil. *In*: MARTINS, Eduardo. *A assembléia Constituinte de 1823 e sua posição em relação à construção da cidadania no Brasil*. 2008. Tese (Doutorado em História) – Universidade Estadual Paulista, Assis, 2008. p. 177-193.

[33] BRASIL. Constituição Política do Império do Brazil. Carta de Lei de 25 de março de 1824. *In*: COLECÇÃO das leis do Império. Rio de

The differences are striking. The four articles of the 1823 project were condensed into a single one in the Constitution granted by Dom Pedro I the following year. The precise definition of the territory of the empire that was planned to be built, the meticulous naming of its constituent parts, the exact circumscription of the possibilities for redividing the provinces was replaced by a simple and direct formula, one could say almost simplistic, but loaded with implicit meanings that should be analyzed even if briefly.

The first sentence of this article, precisely the one intended to define the territory of the new national state, presents a direct opposition to the conception present in the 1823 project. While in the latter the empire is formed from the union of preexisting units, in the former the idea is completely inverted through the formulation "its territory is divided into provinces". It seems beyond doubt that we are dealing with different conceptions of territorial space. In the 1824 Charter, the empire is divided into provinces, thus constituting a primordial unity[34].

José Antônio Pimenta Bueno (1803-1878), Marquis of São Vicente, in his analysis of the Brazilian Constitution written in the mid-19th century, was one of the theorists of the imperial political system who made a big effort to explain why national unity preceded the provinces in the new state, and not the other way around. According to his definition of the Brazilian territory, this would be constituted by all the possessions that the Portuguese monarchy had in America at the time of emancipation. The justification for this principle rests on the same logical construction based on the idea of the ancestry of national spaces, as analyzed above:

> The Portuguese owned all these territories together with the Brazilians, just as the Brazilians owned the overseas territories, too. Separating, and constituting the Brazilians in independent nationality, they separated and constituted themselves with all the possessions that the common Crown had in Brazil. This was the territorial condition inherent to their emancipation, this fact and right confirmed by the recognition of their independence, as well as by nations in general, and particularly by the Portuguese nation.[35]

Based on the assumption of an ancestral nation formed by Portuguese and Brazilian people, designations formed during the independence process[36], Pimenta Bueno conceived a dichotomous reality according to which, from the political rupture between both parties, the inheritance of the American portion of the former Portuguese empire by the new Brazilian state emerges as an obvious and undeniable consequence. If, in the Spanish colonies, this transition occurred in a traumatic way creating the conditions for division of the old administrative units, in Brazil it would have been a practically automatic fact confirmed by the recognition of all countries and, very specifically, of the Portuguese themselves.

In this thesis there is no space for the regional identities present in the debates held in the Constituent Assembly of 1823. What is more, any possibility of the formative parts of the nation refusing to be part of it is completely denied, as a refuse to accept the *fait accompli* recognized by all. That is the definition of a political dogma recognized by the author himself as a sacred attribute arising from the independence of the nation, and as the primordial bases of its interior and exterior greatness: the indivisibility of its territory[37]. In this sense, indivisible as it was, the Brazilian empire would be formed by provinces that were nothing more than circumscriptions, local or partial units of "one and the same general unit". This justified the constitutional possibility of its free subdivision, with a view only to the good of the State[38], and exempted the country's main law from providing about its exact spatial disposition.

Unlike the 1823 project, the Constitutional Charter of 1824 opened a wide margin of interpretation for the conditions under which Brazilian provinces could be subdivided. They could be, certainly, in counties, districts and terms, governmental strategies adopted to facilitate the administration of the provincial space – in theory, at least. But, from now on, they could also be subdivided into new provinces opening an unprecedented possibility for the territorial organization of the empire. Although only two new administrative units of this type were created during the entire monarchic period (Amazonas, separated from Grão-Pará in 1850; and Paraná, former São Paulo´s county, in 1853), both after years of arduous parliamentary debates[39], numerous projects of emancipation circulated in parliament throughout the nineteenth

Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1824. v. 1, p. 27. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3cGhpdq. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020.

[34] Another interesting possibility of explanation for the lack of detailing of the constituent provinces of the Empire in the Constitution of 1824, is the safeguarding of expansionist interests related to other regions, such as, for example, Angola, in Africa. It is, however, a hypothesis that requires extensive research that goes far beyond the limits of this article to be proven.

[35] BUENO, José Antônio Pimenta. Direito público brasileiro e análise da constituição do império. *In*: KUGELMAS, Eduardo (org.). *José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, Marquês de São Vicente*. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2002. p. 79-80

[36] About this matter, among others: RIBEIRO, Gladys Sabina. *A liberdade em construção*: identidade nacional e conflitos antilusitanos no Primeiro Reinado. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 2002; BERBEL, Márcia Regina. *A nação como artefato*: deputados do Brasil nas cortes portuguesas, 1821-1822. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2010; COSTA, Wilma Peres; OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles (org.). *De um Império a outro*: formação do Brasil, séculos XVIII e XIX. São Paulo: Aderaldo & Rothschild, 2007; PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *Estado e nação…* Op. Cit.

[37] BUENO, José Antônio Pimenta. Op. Cit.

[38] Ibidem, p. 81.

[39] About this matter, see: GREGÓRIO, Vitor Marcos. *Dividindo as províncias do Império.* Curitiba: Appris, 2021.

century. To motivate them, there were varied economic[40] and political[41] topics, which could also be used as an argument for those deputies committed to prevent the division of their provinces of origin, often presented as liable to serious harm if the proposals were approved in a vote.

Since, according to the Constitution, the provinces of the empire could only be subdivided according to the needs of the "good of the State", and the parliament was constituted as the only governmental instance in which the nation was represented to legislate seeking to this aim, it is simple to understand why it was in this place that the proposals that aimed to create new administrative units from the dismemberment of the old ones were debated and submitted to the votes[42]. This made the approval of emancipation projects a very difficult objective to achieve, since it involved the need to convince deputies from all different regions that the measure was in the general interest of the nation and, as such, deserved to be adopted. In the case of the representatives of the provinces that were to be dismembered, this meant convincing them to vote for a measure that would result in the loss of income, territory, population and, possibly, parliamentary representation of an entire region whose inhabitants had elected them. In the case of representatives of all the others, the only possible strategy was to argue that the creation of a new administrative unit would be useful for the entire country to the point of offsetting a possible increase in public spending, which would certainly have to come accompanied by a corresponding rise in income from tax collection.

But which provinces could be subdivided in the name of "the good of the State"? Here, once again, the Charter of 1824 adopted a formula quite different from that present in the draft of 1823. In its terms, the territory of the empire should be divided "in the form in which it is presently found", a direct sentence that induces the reader to believe that this issue was easily resolved by the drafters of the document and, more importantly, by all those involved in the construction of the new State apparatus. After all, the thesis of territorial continuity was enshrined with this formulation as elaborated by the Marquis of São Vicente and reproduced by several authors in the following decades. Since the territory of the Empire was a direct inheritance of the Portuguese possessions, nothing more logical than consider that its subdivisions should respect the same lines drawn by the European colonizer. The application of this principle in the political reality of the new country, however, was by no means simple or unambiguous. And, within this context, no region of the empire suffered more from the confusion generated by the simplification of its territorial definition than the former region of Rio Negro, located in the province of Grão-Pará.

III. Rio Negro: County or Province?

The question related to Rio Negro, right after Brazilian independence was: according to the new 1824 constitutional charter, should it be considered a district subordinate to the government of Belém, or a province with an autonomous administration? In this specific case, the sentence "in the form in which it is currently found" created a large-scale uncertainty pointed out by the historical actors, analyzed by later historiography and, until today, not completely resolved. Understanding the problem requires a brief digression.

During much of the 18th century, Rio Negro had its own administration, albeit subordinated to that of Grão-Pará. The captaincy was created through a royal charter dated on March 3, 1755; its government was established in early May, 1758, by Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, brother of the Marquis of Pombal and, therefore, worthy of that typical retribution of the Ancien Régime previously mentioned. The locality of Mariuá was designated as its capital, elevated on that occasion to the category of village and had its name changed to Barcelos. Its first governor was Joaquim de Melo e Póvoas, one of the cousins of the first governor of Alagoas, appointed by the king with the same salaries as the governors of the island of Santa Catarina and of Colonia do Sacramento[43]. This measure responded to concerns about the surveillance of the newly established borders with the Spanish empire (agreed in Madrid, 1750, but not ratified), as well as the proximity of the Dutch, English and French colonies located in the Guianas.

Although officially established, the new captaincy continued to resort to the help of Belém to meet its financial needs, creating a "de facto subordination" that would be referred to for a long time by Portuguese administrators. The documents produced in the last years of the 18th century and in the first years of the 19th century points, on several occasions, to the fact – normal in the colonial administration – that this autonomous captaincy needed to resort to its neighbor endowed with greater resources

[40] Mainly the desire that the resources originated from the collection of taxes in the region that was intended to be erected as a province were reinvested there.

[41] Search for parliamentary representation capable of defending local interests at the national level; desire for greater autonomy to manage the region's internal affairs.

[42] DOLHNIKOFF, Miriam et al. Representação política no Império: crítica à ideia do falseamento institucional. *In*: LAVALLE, Adrian Gurza (org.). *O horizonte da política*: questões emergentes e agendas de pesquisa*.* São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2012. p. 97-141; MANIN, Bernard. *Los principios del gobierno representativo.* Madrid: Alianza, 1998; PITKIN, Hannah. *The concept of representation.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967; SARTORI, Giovanni. *A teoria da representação no Estado representativo moderno*. Belo Horizonte: Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Minas Gerais, 1962.

[43] REIS, Arthur César Ferreira. *História do Amazonas.* Manaus: Officinas Typographicas de Arthur Reis, 1931.

in search of financial assistance to maintain itself[44]. With the beginning of the Portuguese liberal movement, in August 1820, this was taken to its ultimate consequences creating a situation that would unfold until 1850, the year of the effective creation of the province of Amazonas.

The outbreak of this movement started one of those moments in which decisions and events happened in a short space of time and required quick responses. In a distant region of large dimensions such as the Amazon, where news took a long time to reach its main port – Belém – and, from there, it took even longer to travel to more distant locations, such acceleration of history caused a time mismatch that was difficult to resolve. After all, the news that arrived from Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro gave an account of events that had taken place months ago, and required urgent decisions to be taken that, necessarily, would also need months to become known. In the captaincy of Rio Negro this situation would become even more dramatic, since even its communication with the Belém port was already an activity that, in turn, required a lot of time to be carried out. As a result, the political process ended up "dammed" in the capital of Pará, creating a confusing statute that the 1824 Charter only worsened.

Just to focus on the central events of this process, among an infinity of developments that require extensive research to be understood, it is possible to say that the mismatch began with the arrival of the news of the Portuguese events, which was followed by the adhesion of Grão-Pará and Rio Negro to the liberal revolutionary movement on January 1, 1821, a decision that by no means exhausted the local political disputes around the issue. Once made official, it remained to define the way in which the new political process would be conducted in the province of Pará and in Rio Negro, a moment in which multiple antagonistic projects gained importance that quickly split the ruling groups of both capitals:

> […] in the exercise of command of arms, Brigadier José Maria de Moura was one of the main obstacles to the realization of the political project of the Constitutional party, as he was aligned with a faction of the Pará elite called by some historians as an "absolutist party", which intended to maintain ties with Lisbon but was against the new ideas identified as the source of social and political instability that gripped the province. In fact, the resistance to the implementation of the revolutionary project had many faces: for Moura the pretension of extending to America certain political freedoms prevailing in the European Kingdom was a threat to the maintenance of the unity of the Portuguese nation.[45]

In the captaincy of Rio Negro, the deep political split led to the deposition of Joaquim do Paço by the troops stationed in the town of Barra, later Manaus, on the charge of having refused to adhere to the new Constitution that would be drafted in Portugal. In his place, a Board of Governors was elected, which would be responsible for taking the oath of the new founding pact of the Portuguese nation and for waiting for further instructions from Lisbon. When news of the deposition reached Belém, the government of Pará refused to recognize the election held and sent Joaquim José Gusmão to reorganize the administration, this time following its direct instructions[46]. It is not the purpose of this article to carry out a thorough analysis of this very eventful process. Here the intention is only to draw attention to the fact that between the official accession, on January 1st, 1821; the deposition of Joaquim do Paço, on March 1st; and the formation of the second Rio Negro's Governing Board (this time recognized by Belém), several weeks has passed. The local administration was being reorganized in a tumultuous way, without the news and demands ceasing to arrive from Lisbon.

In that same month of March 1821, copies of the decree that ordered the election of the deputies who should act in the Cortes started to arrive in Brazilian ports. This suffrage had to follow specific instructions promulgated for this purpose on November 23, 1820, which, in turn, referred to the same electoral process adopted by the Spanish Constitution promulgated in Cádiz, in 1812. In accordance with these determinations and starting from the numbers presented by the general census carried out in 1801, for every 30 thousand people – excluding slaves and free men without occupation – one deputy should be elected, making a total of one hundred[47]. In these terms, therefore, Rio Negro would not have the right to elect, according to the following correspondence sent to the government of Pará:

> The Province of Grão-Pará is made up of three Counties; the District of Pará which has 61,212 souls, the District of Rio Negro which contains 15,480 souls and the District of Marajó, or Ilha Grande de Joannes composed of 6,742 souls: from April 18, 1821, the Comarca of Pará, considered separately, was supposed to give two deputies; however, the District of Rio Negro cannot appoint any deputy in

[44] MACHADO, André Roberto de Arruda. As esquadras imaginárias: no extremo norte, episódios do longo processo de independência do Brasil. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Independência*: história e historiografia. São Paulo: Hucitec. 2005. p. 312.

[45] Ibidem, p. 325-326. The same Historian offers a more complete analysis on the subject in: Idem. *A quebra da mola real das sociedades:* a crise política do antigo regime português na província do Grão-Pará (1821-1825). São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp, 2010.

[46] REIS, Arthur César Ferreira. As províncias do Norte e do Oeste. *In*: Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (org.). *O Brasil monárquico, vol. 4*: dispersão e unidade. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2010. p. 87-98. (História geral da civilização brasileira; t. 2, v. 4); Idem. *História do Amazona.* Op. Cit.

[47] BERBEL, Márcia Regina. Op. Cit.

accordance with Articles 31 and 32 of the Instructions given with the circular of November 22, 1820, and according to art. 35 of the same Instructions must join the immediate District, that is, the District of Pará; the Comarca of Marajó applying the same principles as that of the Rio Negro, its union with the Comarca of Pará is an immediate consequence. Therefore, the meeting of the voters of the three mentioned districts in the capital of Grão-Pará, that is, in the city of Santa Maria de Belém do Grão-Pará, is indispensable, it is of absolute necessity[48].

These documents draw attention for two main reasons. The first is the treatment of "district" given to a region that had been erected by an official act as a captaincy 66 years before. And the second is the logistical problem created by the requirement that all voters living in Rio Negro needed to go to Belém to choose those who would represent them in the constitutional debates, held in Portugal. In addition to the time required for the summons to be known in all villages of the distant captaincy (a few months between leaving Belém, arriving in Barcelos and redistributing it to other towns and villages), there was also the obstacle of distance and costs to the voters to undertake a trip that, by itself, would require an absence of several weeks for a significant portion of the people of Rio Negro, with the consequent interruption of regional economic activities. This in a period of fierce political disputes, as seen earlier, and with the omnipresent risk of interceptions, misplacements and miscellaneous disputes that would certainly surround an undertaking of such magnitude. Considering all the variants, the conclusion that an election carried out along these lines would become completely unfeasible is quite logical and predictable. To resolve the issue, a proposal was made to open an exception in relation to this specific case:

This Board received the letter that you have addressed along with the map of the pledgers and voters, who must nominate the deputies of the Province of Pará. I was pleased to see that the work of the commission is in accordance with the spirit of the Instructions, adapted as far as possible to the local circumstances of the country, and I would like them to be observed in all their exactness, but seeing that by this method the peoples of this Province should remain still deprived for another year of the benefit of representation in the national Courts, this Board has decided to take upon itself the responsibility of ordering the election of the deputies that belong to the districts of Pará and Joannes Island, leaving to beg the Congress that the District of Rio Negro is privileged to nominate its deputy with the population it currently has: in this respect, you must proceed with a new map considering Rio Negro as a privileged province[49].

Considering that the summoning of Rio Negro voters to Belém would mean a harmful delay in the choice of representatives of the province in the Portuguese Courts, it would be better to carry out the suffrage excluding that region and asking that it could elect its own deputy, even if it did not have the population to do so (it is important to remember that the count excluded slaves and free men without occupation – in this specific case, the indigenous people). Correspondence with this content was sent to Lisbon on July 17, 1821, receiving as a response the assent to the proposition. On January 14, 1822, the elections were finally held, with José Cavalcante de Albuquerque being chosen as deputy and João Lopes da Cunha as an alternate. In this way, Rio Negro was represented as one of the provinces of the Kingdom of Brazil in accordance to the Instructions of 1820, but it was not, however, considered as such by the Governing Board of Pará. Cunha assumed his chair on August 29, 1822, in replacement of Albuquerque who was ill but was able to assume his post on October 12, 1822, more than one month after the date officially adopted as that of independence of Brazil[50].

Between the definition of the holding of elections in Rio Negro and the choice of its representatives in the Cortes, yet another element came to act on the status of local administrations in Portuguese America. This is the decree promulgated on October 1, 1821, which formalized the abolition of the former captaincies and their elevation to the status of provinces, in accordance with the terms already expressed in its first article:

Article 1 – In all the Provinces of the Kingdom of Brazil, where until now there were Independent Governments, Provisional Government Boards will be created, which will be composed of seven Members in those Provinces which until now were governed by Captains General, namely: Pará, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso and Goiás; and of five Members in all the other provinces in which until now there were no General Captains but only Governors, including the President and Secretary in both numbers[51].

Then commanded by a Governor, Rio Negro was elevated to the category of province, being entitled to a Provisional Board of Government composed of five members. The problem is that the terms of this decree,

[48] MANUSCRITO avulso presente no Arquivo Público do Pará. Correspondências de diversos com o governo, 1821 apud MUNIZ, João de Palma. *Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência e outros ensaios.* Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura. Reedição da Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará. Ano VI – Vol. IV. 1922, p. 73, grifo do autor.

[49] CÓDICE manuscrito do Arquivo Público do Pará, n. 774, fl. III apud MUNIZ, João de Palma. Op. Cit., p. 108.

[50] CARVALHO, Manuel Emílio Gomes de. *Os deputados brasileiros nas Cortes Gerais de 1821.* Brasília, DF: Senado Federal, 2003. p. 304.

[51] BRASIL. Decreto de 1º de outubro de 1821. *In*: COLEÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1821. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1889. pt. 1, p. 35-38. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao2.html. Acesso em: 17 maio 2020. Ortografia atualizada pelo autor.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

enacted on the first day of October, would take months to reach Belém (as usual), and then several more weeks before it could be read in Barcelos. That, of course, assuming it wouldn't be intercepted in its way - a real possibility, as the relations between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro became more tense thanks to the conflict originated in the debates that took place in Europe[52]. In this context, the manipulation of information became an efficient weapon and was used to exhaustion by both sides. Fact is that: this decree did not reach its final destination (at least not before Greenfell presented himself in the region with his "imaginary fleet" and obtained the adhesion of Pará and Rio Negro to the imperial government of Dom Pedro I[53]).

It was in this situation that Rio Negro received the news about the Constitution of the new Empire, granted on March 25, 1824 - the one which defined that the Brazilian territory would be "divided into provinces, in the form in which it is currently found". For several politicians of the time, since the region had been constituted a captaincy in 1755, had representatives in the Lisbon Courts and, in theory, had been elevated to province by the decree of 1821, such formulation meant that the Rio Negro was among the gems of the new Imperial Crown. It had, after all, been named as such by the 1823 constitutional project, in case all other antecedents weren't enough. But an imperial decree of March 26, 1824 – the day after the Constitution was granted – would change this perspective. Enacted to define the political representation of the various provinces in the new regime, it indicated the number of deputies that each of the administrative units of the Empire should elect to be part of the new Legislative Power. Contrary to expectations, Rio Negro was not mentioned in this document nor received the appointment of the president who would be responsible for its administration - it remained under the authority of the Provisional Governing Board created in the act of adhering to independence, on November 9, 1823. A situation of complete uncertainty was established.

In 1825, Nunes Ferreira Ramos, nominated as the new government representative in the Barra village, tried to resolve the situation definitively: he interpreted the non-appointment of a president for the Rio Negro as a proof that the region was downgraded to the category of district of the Grão-Pará province, placing itself as the highest authority in the entire region. The conflicts then generated led the president of Grão-Pará, José Félix Pereira de Burgos, to dissolve the Governing Board and to transfer the municipal council of Barcelos, the former capital of Rio Negro, to Barra, where it was supposed to assume a governing role. Decisions that, once sent to Rio de Janeiro, would be approved by the imperial government in 1825 and made official in 1833, through the application of the new Criminal Procedure Code – which changed the name of the former captaincy to Comarca do Alto Amazonas[54].

How to explain this process? Would there have been, effectively, a downgrading of the former province of Rio Negro to the status of county, with the granting of the Constitution of 1824? The root of these questions seems to lie in the meaning of the term *currently* inscribed in the second article of that Charter. What time does it refers to? It is a problem that is difficult to solve, since it is placed in a context of great complexity as showed a few lines ago. But, in general, the historiography that has focused on the issue seems to agree on the fact that the document immediately preceding the Constitution, regarding to the territorial organization of the empire, would be the decree of October 1, 1821[55]. There is, however, another document - generally ignored by researchers - that also proposed to define a territorial order for Brazil and that possibly constitutes a more precise key to understanding the decisions taken about the administrative status of Rio Negro after independence: the Portuguese Constitution approved by the Cortes (which still had Brazilian deputies such as João Lopes da Cunha, from Rio Negro[56]) on September 23, 1822.

Although of short duration (a period of a few months, interrupted already in 1823), it can be said that the Portuguese Constitutional Charter of 1822 was in force for some time in Brazil, at least until the political rupture became a decision with no return – which did not take place on the later celebrated date of September 7th. In addition, for its elaboration it counted on the decisive participation of Brazilian representatives who discussed issues related to the current reality in the American portion of the Portuguese Empire over several sessions. Such is the case of its territorial organization, described and named with detail in the initial project offered for debates on August 12, 1822:

[52] BERBEL, Márcia Regina. Op. Cit.; RIBEIRO, Gladys Sabina. Op. Cit.

[53] MACHADO, André Roberto de Arruda. Op. Cit.; MUNIZ, João de Palma. Op. Cit.; REIS, Arthur César Ferreira. Op. Cit.

[54] MEDEIROS, Vera B. Alarcón. *Incompreensível colosso*: A Amazônia no início do Segundo Reinado (1840-1850). 2006. Tese (Doutorado em História) – Universidade de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2006. p. 262-263

[55] Arthur César Ferreira Reis and João de Palma Muniz indirectly support this interpretation in their analyses, while Anísio Jobim seeks to explain the non-confirmation of Rio Negro as a province, shortly after independence, by intercepting all correspondence sent from Rio de Janeiro to that region in Belém. In this way, it would not have been possible for Rio Negro to send representatives to the court at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly in 1823, leaving its inhabitants deprived of having "representatives who defend their rights". (JOBIM, Anísio. *O Amazonas, sua história*: ensaio antropogeográfico e político. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1957. p. 140).

[56] *Diário do Governo*, Rio de Janeiro, n. 225, 23 set. 1822. Sessão 472, p. 1676. Disponível em: www.books.google.com. Acesso em: 18 maio 2020.

> Art. 20 – The Portuguese Nation is the gathering of all Portuguese from both hemispheres. Its territory comprises: […]
>
> II. In America, the kingdom of Brazil, which is made up of the provinces of Rio Negro, Pará, Maranhão, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Goiás, Mato Grosso, and the islands of Fernando de Noronha, and Trindade. […]
>
> The said territory will be divided accordingly[57].

The similarity with the project formulated by the Brazilian Constituent Assembly in 1823 is remarkable, leading to questions about the possible influence that the Portuguese proposal would have had on the elected deputies to debate the terms under which the new American Empire would be founded. In the 1822 proposal, as in the 1823 one, the provinces were named one by one and it should be noted that in the Portuguese version the possibility of subsequent division of the territory was referred to in very generic terms, unlike the already analyzed Brazilian project. In both, Rio Negro appears named as an autonomous province, but would not remain as such until the signing of the final version of the Portuguese constitution.

Shortly after the reading of this proposal the deputy for São Paulo, José Ricardo da Costa Aguiar D'Andrada (who had already acted as a government representative on the island of Marajó[58]), offered considerations that anticipated a series of questions that would be taken up in the Brazilian parliament years later during the decision-making process that culminated in the creation of the province of Amazonas, in 1850. In his opinion, the enumeration of the Rio Negro as an autonomous province was a mistake, since it would be known to everyone in Brazil that it had always been subordinate to Pará, even though it had its own administration. After outlining a brief description of the administrative positions existing in the village of Barra and its historical dependence on its counterparts in Pará, Costa Aguiar stated, justifying his demand:

> That said, it is first necessary to decide whether Rio Negro should be regarded as a diverse and independent province of Pará, or whether it should be considered as part of that of Pará, continuing to be united to it, and in everything subordinate because otherwise, after passing the article as it is written, there may be inconveniences, conflicts of jurisdiction, and even serious inconvenience to the public service, considering those peoples disconnected from the obedience of Pará, which is why that province (Rio Negro) remains a new, distinct and diverse province[59].

In addition to possible jurisdictional conflicts, the maintenance of the article as presented would mean a significant increase in public spending since it would be necessary to face the expenses of an administration that had always counted on Belém to help it and that, in addition to everything else, would have to be expanded to meet the new demands of an autonomous province – without the necessary means to do so. Consequently, Costa Aguiar's proposal was that the wording of the article be subtly changed from a grammatical point of view, but substantially reformed from an administrative point of view: it was enough for the passage "Rio Negro, Pará" to be replaced by "Pará e Rio Negro" and all the risks presented would be avoided, with the bonus of respecting the history of the entire region. Put to a vote, the idea was quickly approved reuniting the extensive province of Grão-Pará and providing the necessary reference for the territorial continuity enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution of 1824. This hypothesis offers a consistent explanation for the subordination of Rio Negro to Pará after the independence, in apparent contradiction with the terms present in the country's main law, which would not have been clear to contemporary historical actors due to the inherent characteristics of a troubled period in which, especially regarding to northern Brazil, decisions were not always taken with the necessary agility and the information did not always reach its destination.

References Références Referencias

1. ALESINA, Alberto; SPOLAORE, Enrico. *The size of nations.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2005.
2. ARNALDI, Waldo *et al*. *Argentina*: la construcción de un país. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2009.
3. ARNOLD, Benjamin. *Princes and territories in medieval Germany.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
4. BARTOV, Omer; WEITZ, Eric D. *Shatterzone of empires*: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
5. BERBEL, Márcia Regina. *A nação como artefato*: deputados do Brasil nas cortes portuguesas, 1821-1822. São Paulo: Hucitec. 2010.
6. BERNARDES, Dênis Antônio de Mendonça. *O patriotismo constitucional*: Pernambuco, 1820-1822. São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp; Recife: UFPE, 2006.
7. BRASIL. Carta Patente de 30 de maio de 1811. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1811. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1890. p. 59-60. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade

[57] *Diário das Cortes Geraes, Extraordinarias, e Constituintes da Nação Portugueza*, Lisboa, ano 2, t. 7, p. 131, 12 ago. 1822.

[58] JOSÉ Ricardo da Costa Aguiar D'Andrada. *In*: MINISTROS do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça: Império. Brasília, DF: STF, [201-]. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3vphhW1. Acesso em: 17 maio 2020.

[59] *Diário das Cortes Geraes, Extraordinarias, e Constituintes da Nação Portugueza.* Op. Cit.

-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao1.html. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020
8. BRASIL. Constituição Política do Império do Brazil. Carta de Lei de 25 de março de 1824. *In*: COLECÇÃO das leis do Império. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1824. v. 1, p. 27. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3cGhpdq. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020
9. BRASIL. Decreto de 16 de setembro de 1817. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1817*.* Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1890. p. 58. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao1.html. Acesso em: 15 maio 2020.
10. BRASIL. Decreto de 1º de outubro de 1821. *In*: COLEÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1821. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1889. pt. 1, p. 35-38. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/atividade-legislativa/legislacao/publicacoes/doimperio/colecao2.html. Acesso em: 17 maio 2020.
11. BRASIL. Decreto de 8 de julho de 1820. *In*: COLECÇÃO das Leis do Brazil de 1820. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1889. p. 48-49. Disponível em: http://bd.camara.gov.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/18335. Acesso em: 15 maio 2020
12. BUCHANAN, Allen; MOORE, Margaret. *States, nations, and borders*: the ethics of making boundaries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
13. BUENO, José Antônio Pimenta. Direito público brasileiro e análise da constituição do império. *In*: KUGELMAS, Eduardo (org.). *José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, Marquês de São Vicente*. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2002. p. 57-566.
14. CARVALHO, Manuel Emílio Gomes de. *Os deputados brasileiros nas Cortes Gerais de 1821.* Brasília, DF: Senado Federal, 2003.
15. CASTELLS, Luis (ed.). *Del território a la nación*: identidades territoriales y construcción nacional. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2006.
16. CHIARAMONTE, José Carlos. *Cidades, províncias, estados*: origens da nação argentina (1800-1846). São Paulo: Hucitec, 2009.
17. CHIARAMONTE, José Carlos. Metamorfoses do conceito de nação durante os séculos XVII e XVIII. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Brasil*: formação do Estado e da nação. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2003. p. 61-92.
18. COSER, Ivo. *Visconde do Uruguai*: centralização e federalismo no Brasil: 1823-1866. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG; Rio de Janeiro: Iuperj, 2008.
19. COSTA, Wilma Peres; OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles (org.). *De um império a outro*: formação do Brasil, séculos XVIII e XIX. São Paulo: Aderaldo & Rothschild, 2007.
20. DELANEY, David. *Territory*: a short introduction. Malden: Blackwell, 2005.
21. DIÁRIO DAS CORTES GERAES, EXTRAORDINARIAS, E CONSTITUINTES DA NAÇÃO PORTUGUEZA. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, ano 2, t. 7, p. 131, 12 ago. 1822.
22. DIÁRIO DO GOVERNO. Rio de Janeiro: [*s. n.*], n. 225, 23 set. 1822. Sessão 472, p. 1676. Disponível em: www.books.google.com. Acesso em: 18 maio 2020
23. DIENER, Alexander C.; HAGEN, Joshua. *Borderlines and borderlands*: political oddities at the edge of the nation-state. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010.
24. DOLHNIKOFF, Miriam *et al*. Representação política no Império: crítica à ideia do falseamento institucional. *In*: LAVALLE, Adrian Gurza (org.). *O horizonte da política*: questões emergentes e agendas de pesquisa. São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2012. p. 97-142.
25. DOLHNIKOFF, Miriam. *O pacto imperial*: origens do federalismo no Brasil. São Paulo: Globo, 2005.
26. DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas; MOLLIER, Jean-Yves (org.). *Política, nação e edição*: o lugar dos impressos na construção da vida política: Brasil, Europa e Américas nos séculos XVIII-XX. São Paulo: Annablume, 2006.
27. ELDEN, Stuart. *The birth of territory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
28. GAT, Azar; YAKOBSON, Alexander. *Nations*: the long history and deep roots of political ethnicity and nationalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
29. GELLNER, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism.* Malden: Blackwell, 2006.
30. GREGÓRIO, Vitor Marcos. *Dividindo as províncias do Império.* Curitiba: Appris, 2021.
31. GUERRA, François-Xavier. A nação moderna: nova legitimidade e velhas identidades. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Brasil*: formação do Estado e da nação. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2003. p. 33-60.
32. HANNA, Matthew. *Governmentality and the mastery of territory in Nineteenth-Century America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
33. HOBSBAWM, Eric J. *Nações e nacionalismo desde 1780*: programa, mito e realidade. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2002.
34. HOBSBAWM, Eric J.; RANGER, Terence (org.). *A invenção das tradições.* Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2002.
35. JANCSÓ, István; PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. Peças de um mosaico: ou apontamentos para o estudo da emergência da identidade nacional brasileira. *In*: MOTA, Carlos Guilherme (org.). *Viagem incompleta*: a experiência brasileira (1500-2000): formação: histórias. São Paulo: Editora Senac SP, 2000. p. 127-176.
36. JOBIM, Anísio. *O Amazonas, sua história*: ensaio antropogeográfico e político. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1957.

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

37. JONES, Rhys. *People/states/territories*: the political geographies of British State transformation. Malden: Blackwell, 2007.
38. JOSÉ Ricardo da Costa Aguiar D'Andrada. *In*: MINISTROS do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça: Império. Brasília, DF: STF, [201-]. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3vphhW1. Acesso em: 17 maio 2020
39. KEMILÄINEM, Aira. *Nationalism*: problems concerning the word, the concept and classification. Jyväskylä: Kustantajat, 1964.
40. MACHADO, André Roberto de Arruda. *A quebra da mola real das sociedades*: a crise política do antigo regime português na província do Grão-Pará (1821-1825). São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp, 2010.
41. MACHADO, André Roberto de Arruda. As esquadras imaginárias: no extremo norte, episódios do longo processo de independência do Brasil. *In*: JANCSÓ, István (org.). *Independência*: história e historiografia. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2005. p. 303-343.
42. MAGNOLI, Demétrio. *O corpo da pátria*: imaginação geográfica e política externa no Brasil (1808-1912). São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1997.
43. MAIER, Charles S. *Once within borders*: territories of power, wealth, and belonging since 1500. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.
44. MANIN, Bernard. *Los principios del gobierno representativo.* Madrid: Alianza, 1998.
45. MEDEIROS, Vera B. Alarcón. *Incompreensível colosso*: A Amazônia no início do Segundo Reinado (1840-1850). 2006. Tese (Doutorado em História) – Universidade de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2006.
46. MELLO, Evaldo Cabral de. *A outra independência*: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 a 1824. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004.
47. MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. Governadores e capitães-mores do império atlântico português no século XVIII. *In*: BICALHO, Maria Fernanda; FERLINI, Vera Lúcia Amaral (org.). *Modos de governar*: ideias e práticas políticas no império português (séculos XVI-XIX). São Paulo: Alameda. 2005. p. 93-115.
48. MUNIZ, João de Palma. *Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência e outros ensaios.* Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1973. Reedição da *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará*, ano 6, v. 4, 1922.
49. OSZLAK, Oscar. *La formación del Estado argentino*: orden, progreso y organización nacional. Buenos Aires: Ariel, 2012.
50. PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *A independência do Brasil e a experiência hispano-americana (1808-1822).* São Paulo: Hucitec: Fapesp, 2015.
51. PIMENTA, João Paulo Garrido. *Estado e nação no fim dos impérios ibéricos no Prata (1808-1828)*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006.
52. PITKIN, Hannah. *The concept of representation.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
53. PROJECTO de Constituição para o Império do Brazil. *In*: MARTINS, Eduardo. *A assembléia Constituinte de 1823 e sua posição em relação à construção da cidadania no Brasil*. 2008. Tese (Doutorado em História) – Universidade Estadual Paulista, Assis, 2008. p. 177-193.
54. REIS, Arthur César Ferreira. As províncias do Norte e do Oeste. *In*: HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de (org.). *O Brasil monárquico, vol. 4*: dispersão e unidade. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2010. p. 87-220. (História geral da civilização brasileira; t. 2, v. 4).
55. REIS, Arthur César Ferreira. *História do Amazonas.* Manaus: Officinas Typographicas de Arthur Reis, 1931.
56. RIBEIRO, Gladys Sabina. *A liberdade em construção*: identidade nacional e conflitos antilusitanos no Primeiro Reinado. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 2002.
57. ROSSOLILLO, Francesco. Nação. *In*: BOBBIO, Norberto; MATTEUCCI, Nicola; PASQUINO, Gianfranco. *Dicionário de política.* Brasília, DF: Editora da Universidade de Brasília; São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2000. v. 2, p. 795-799.
58. SAHLINS, Peter. *Boundaries*: the making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees. Berkeley: University of California Press: 1991.
59. SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. Além da anedota: uma revisão da trajetória do governador Sebastião Francisco de Melo e Póvoas. *Acervo*: Revista do Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, v. 25, n. 1, p. 139-160, jan./jun. 2012. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/3gs5fao. Acesso em: 16 maio 2020.
60. SARTORI, Giovanni. *A teoria da representação no Estado representativo moderno*. Belo Horizonte: Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Minas Gerais., 1962.
61. TERNAVASIO, Marcela. *Historia de la Argentina, 1806-1852.* Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2013.

This page is intentionally left blank

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Evaluation of the Keys from the Traditional Romanian Costume

By Viorica Cazac, Jana Cîrja & Elena Ursu
Techical University of Moldova

Rezumat- The paper presents the result of the study focused on the analysis of the structural elements of the traditional Romanian costume - the join points called "keys" that ensure the processing of the edges of the components of the pieces of the traditional costume, their combination and the increase of the artistic value.

The diversity, aesthetic and technical complexity of making the keys that combine the pieces of traditional shirts, both for women and for men, denotes the creativity and aesthetic taste of the creators. In addition to the structural variety of the keys, the functional characteristics are equally representative. Thus, the last part of the study is directed to the evaluation of the durability of the keys, demonstrating high strength and long service life.

The study was done within the State Project 20.80009.0807.17. "Education for the revitalization of the national cultural heritage through traditional processing technologies used in the Republic of Moldova in the context of multiculturalism, diversity and European integration," running at the Technical University of Moldova.

Keywords: keys, cotton, linen, aesthetics, strength, traditional costume.

GJHSS-D Classification: DDC Code: 950.072 LCC Code: DS12

EVALUATIONOFTHEKEYSFROMTHETRADITIONALROMANIANCOSTUME

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Evaluation of the Keys from the Traditional Romanian Costume

Viorica Cazac α, Jana Cîrja σ & Elena Ursu ρ

Rezumat- The paper presents the result of the study focused on the analysis of the structural elements of the traditional Romanian costume - the join points called "keys" that ensure the processing of the edges of the components of the pieces of the traditional costume, their combination and the increase of the artistic value.

The diversity, aesthetic and technical complexity of making the keys that combine the pieces of traditional shirts, both for women and for men, denotes the creativity and aesthetic taste of the creators. In addition to the structural variety of the keys, the functional characteristics are equally representative. Thus, the last part of the study is directed to the evaluation of the durability of the keys, demonstrating high strength and long service life.

The study was done within the State Project 20.80009.0807.17. "Education for the revitalization of the national cultural heritage through traditional processing technologies used in the Republic of Moldova in the context of multiculturalism, diversity and European integration," running at the Technical University of Moldova.

Keywords: keys, cotton, linen, aesthetics, strength, traditional costume.

I. Introduction

The traditional Romanian costume of Dacian origin is represented by various constructive solutions with an impact on its aesthetics, complemented by the implications of the technical solutions of decoration with a great diversity of ornamental systems found on the elements of the costume, but also in the joints between them. Combining the elements of the traditional Romanian costume has excelled over time, from the most straightforward solutions for integrating through manual techniques to the most complex ones. Among the methods of combining the elements of a difficult aesthetic revelation are those generically called "keys."

The keys are the techniques of combining the elements of the pieces of the traditional costume of different complexity found especially in all the constructive types of traditional Romanian shirts with an aesthetic character. They are used from the most straightforward techniques of their reproduction to the complex forms generated by the imagination, and creativity of our predecessors, developed in new aesthetic, functional and sustainable structures.

II. Types of Keys

The shirt represents the most essential piece of the traditional Romanian costume, the constructive lines of which are accentuated by contrasting colors by the joints through the keys of the elements (fig. 1) or being made with the thread of the same type from which the textile is made, giving a remarkable elegance and refinement to the pieces.

The most extraordinary diversity of the keys is attested in the shirts made in the XIXth century- XX.

Maria Hedving Fromagiu [1] had to remark that "among the most archaic forms of ornamentation and highlighting of the silhouette using a special artistic effect, there is the great variety of stitches that assemble the parts of the piece, materialized in the beautiful "keys" ... important also in the decorative composition of men's shirts. They emphasize the shape of the cut while delimiting the spaces for the development of ornamental compositions. The presence of these orderly but particularly beautiful lines is often enough to recognize the play's artistic value."

In the same context, the researcher Secoşan Elena mentioned that "characteristic for each type of shirt is a certain arrangement of decorative stitching, taking different appearances within the numerous ethnographic areas, according to local traditions, "canons" shaped over time by social factors," ".. we find a surprising ingenuity and variety in the systems of joining the pieces of cloth, either through the "keys" sewn on the line of joining the elements or through the lace keys.... which have become the most precious achievements in the art of textiles" [3].

Thus, trying to structure the keys according to the principle of realization, they were structured in keys:

- uncrossed;
- crossed/lace.

Each of these groups includes a wide range of keys according to the realization technique. To the uncrossed keys, refer those:

- simple;
- with chain;
- "piglets";
- beams type;
- with alternate legs;
- etc.

Crossed keys include those:

- knotted insertion stitch;
- twisted insertion stitch;
- from multiple knots, etc.

Author: Techical University of Moldova. Faculty of Design.
e-mail: viorica.cazac@dttp.utm.md

Source: Cahul County Museum

Fig. 1: Traditional women´s shirt with joints through keys

The diversification of the keys can be performed depending on the size of the seam point pitch, the number of points per surface unit, and the visibility of the keys (visible in contrasting colors, with low perceptibility achieved in the primary color of the product).

a) Functions of keys

The keys as elements of joining the components have a functional, informative/communication, and decorative role. Regarding to the joining techniques [2], "the researchers Elena Secoşan and Ortnasa Dogaru mentioned that the seam points, both those with practical function and decorative role, constitute a precious documentary material in the study of ethnographic aspects, regarding the origin and evolution of the techniques practiced in the manufacture and ornamentation of the port pieces, all the more so as the being of the seam point cannot be isolated from the content of the ornament, given that the seam point is organically related to the ornamental structure and motif, being in relation and dependence on the shape and material of the ornamented object."

Undoubtedly, the aspirations and the aesthetic sense of the creators determined the generation of a great diversity of keys with implications on the image of the traditional Romanian costume unrepeatable and distinct from the decorativeness and capitalization of the lines of the cut of the pieces [5, 6]. Their diversity is determined by the technique of realization, the number of steps per surface unit, the type of threads used at the joint, the thickness of the threads, the number of threads, the chromatics and the number of colors used, their arrangement on directions of orientation, etc.

The ornamental structure of the reproduction of the keys is inscribed in wide lines with few white spaces, continuous.

From the aspect of the communication/ information function, the "keys" distinctly suggest the ethnic and zonal identity mark of the costume, the age, the social status, the civil status, and the material condition of the wearers.

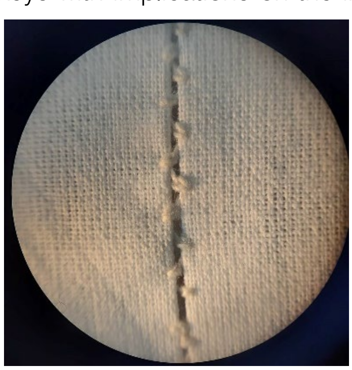
The functional character of the keys is determined by ensuring the following:

- the flexibility of the joints;
- elongation of joints;
- durability through tensile strength;
- protection of the edges of desirability.

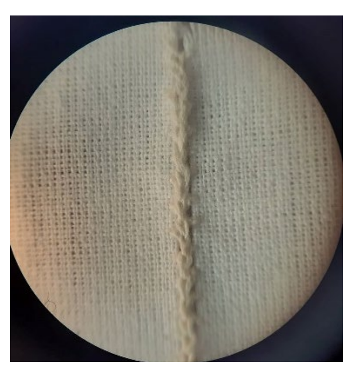
b) Durability of the keys

Durability of the keys is one of the objectives of this study, aimed at evaluating the keys′ functionality. Starting from the above-mentioned, nine types of keys were selected, made, and evaluated by tensile strength, both at their arrangement a horizontal direction and in a transverse direction. The experimental tests were carried out on samples of 4 types of materials: 2 cotton materials of different finesse, cotton mixed with linen-50%+50%, and linen-100% (Table 1). The step of the seam points was identical in all types of keys. The same is the type of thread with which the keys were reproduced: crochet thread, nr. 60/2x3, cotton-100%.

The types of keys included in the study were those presented in fig. 2: simple (fig. 2 a), with chain (fig. 2 b), with alternating points (fig. 2 c), piglets (fig. 2 d), knotted insertion stitch (fig. 2 e), twisted insertion stitch (fig. 2 i), with alternate legs (fig. 2 k), with double alternate legs (fig. 2 l) twisted insertion double stitch (fig. 2 m).



a)



b)

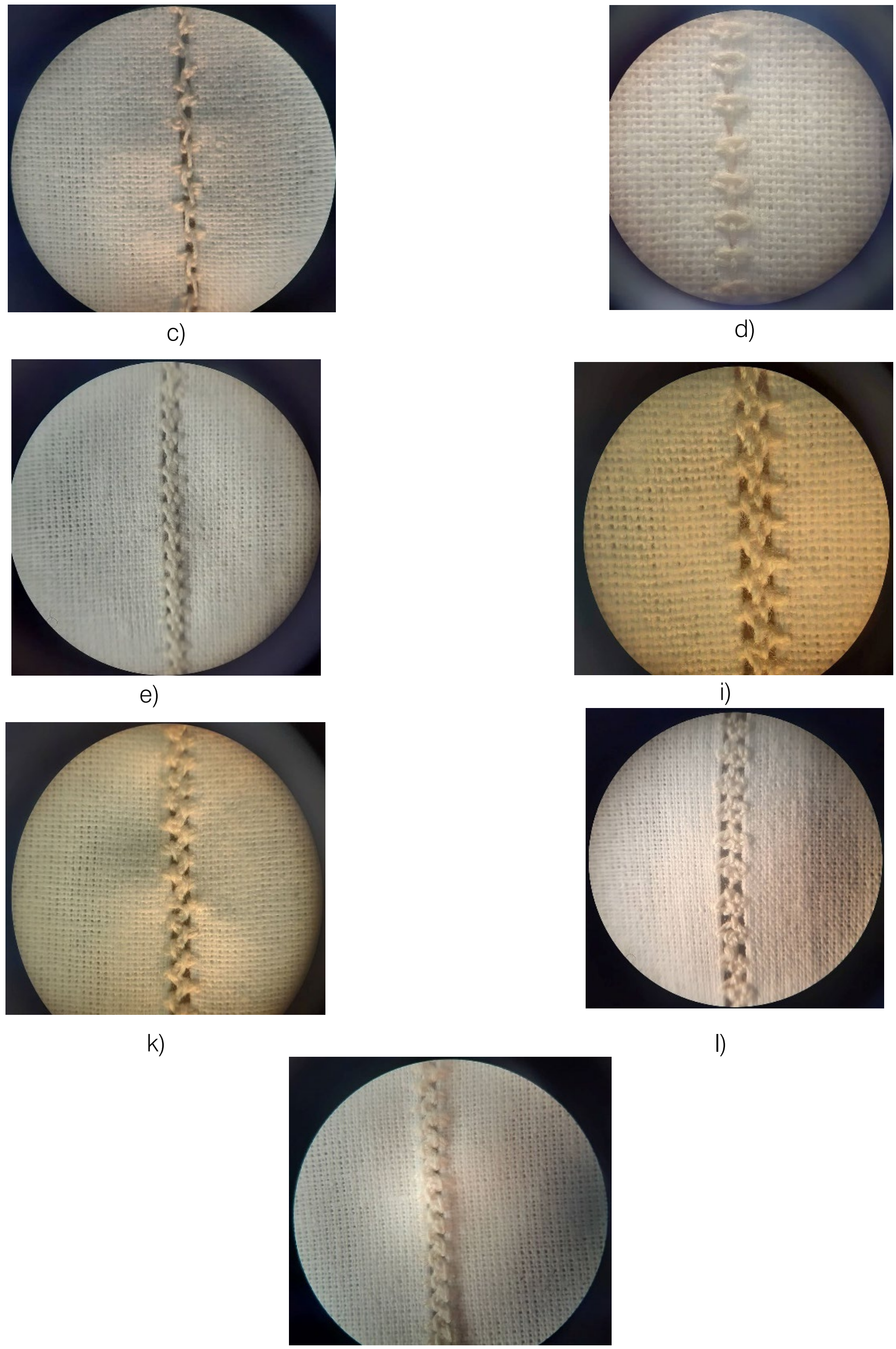


Fig. 2: Types of keys included in the study on the evaluation of tensile strength

Table 1: Structural characteristics of the textiles analyzed

Nr. crt	Fabric width, L, m	Thickness of textiles	Surface density, M g/m^2	The desiness of the threads No wires /10cm		Linear density of warp threads		Linear density of weft threads	
				U	*B*	*Ttex*	*Nm*	*Ttex*	*Nm*
I_1	1,5	0,35	159,6	140	220	30	33	57	18
I_2	1,7	0,4	160,4	190	140	48	21	50	20
B_6	2,1	0,3	140,4	190	240	32	31/1	30	32/1
B_8	1,5	0,3	90,4	150	220	10x2	25/2	10x2	24/2

The results of the sustainability assessment of the keys included in the study are presented in Table 2, fig. 3-6.

From the data presented in Table 2, it is obvious the durability of all types of keys, from the simplest to the most complex, indicates their long service life. The durability values of the keys increase directly proportional to the complexity of the keys. Thus, the double-knotted keys, those with double, double-knotted legs, denote a high resistance to tearing, ensuring an excellent resistance to the stresses determined by the dynamics of the movements of the human body, in the case of their use in traditional shirts.

The durability of the wrenches assessed by the tensile strength denotes their high resistance far beyond the strength of the textiles, which is contrary to the requirements according to which the resistance of the joints of the clothing elements must not exceed the strength of the textiles. It is necessary that the tensile strength of textiles be higher than that of the joints, thus keeping the elements of the products intact. In case of breaking the threads from the joint, they can be restored again.

Analyzed from an aesthetic point of view, the keys denote an elegant and fine presence that fits perfectly in the ornamental repertoire of the pieces of the traditional costume, assigning them personality, emphasizing the lines of the wearer's silhouette and those of the costume.

Table 2: Functional characteristics of the textiles analyzed

Indices for evaluation of breaking strength	Types of keys															
	1		2		3		4		5		6		8		9	
	warp	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*	*warp*	*weft*
	Basic fabric: linen-100%, code: I_1															
Absolute breaking load, P_r, *[N]*,	374	205	325	207	373	196	280	330	330	165	353	431	423	203	330	169
Absolute elongation at break, $l_{r/a}$, *[mm]*,	124	190	126	128	132	129	122	129	129	124	123	122	126	128	129	120
Basic fabric: linen-100%, code: I_2																
Absolute breaking load, P_r, *[N]*,	333	210	268	241	275	238	283	271	271	157	275	176	288	187	271	208
Absolute elongation at break, $l_{r/a}$, *[mm]*,	120	116	123	128	120	133	118	121	121	114	131	115	131	118	131	118
Basic fabric: cotton-100%, code: B_4																
Absolute breaking load, P_r, *[N]*,	335	242	272	264	249	251	203	264	375	200	260	210	350	270	325	204
Absolute elongation at break $l_{r/a}$, *[mm]*,	126	126	122	125	130	130	125	126	123	117	124	117	128	122	120	122

Basic fabric: cotton-100%, code: B_6																
Absolute breaking load, P_r, *[N]*,	530	265	535	290	490	225	425	240	550	220	555	180	505	242	515	260
Absolute elongation at break $l_{r/a}$, *[mm]*,	120	125	122	126	120	126	120	120	118	126	117	120	116	124	116	125

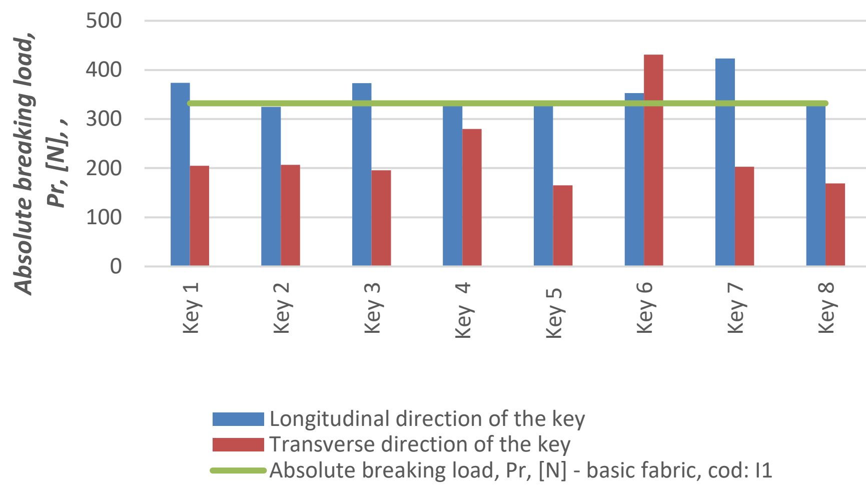


Figure 3: Basic fabric: linen-100%, code: I1

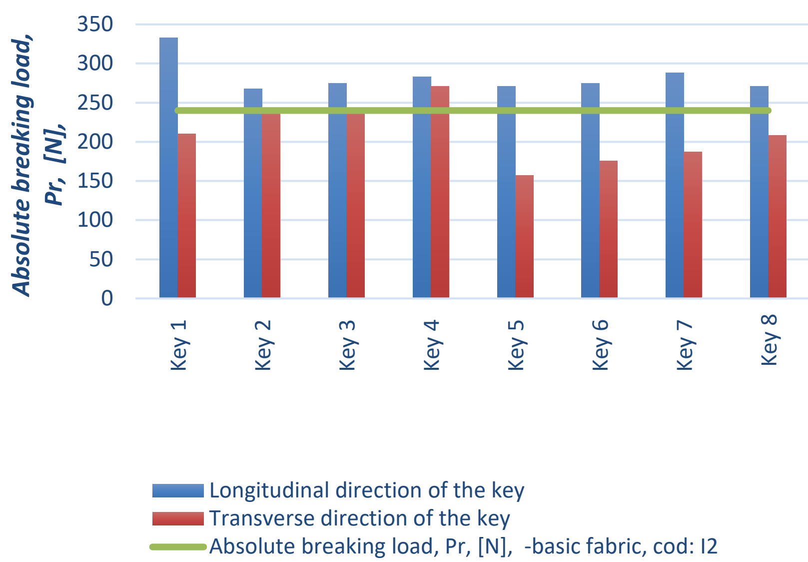


Figure 4: Basic fabric: linen-100%, code: I2

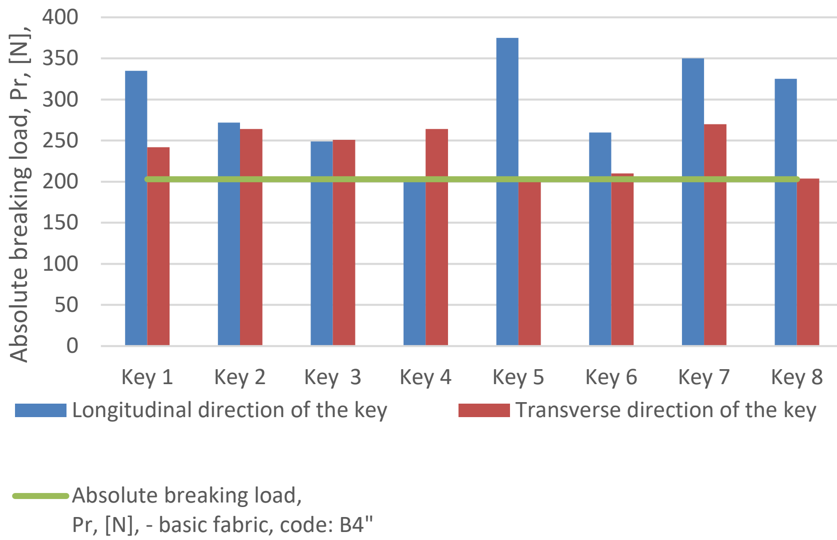


Figure 5: Basic fabric: cotton-100%, code: B4

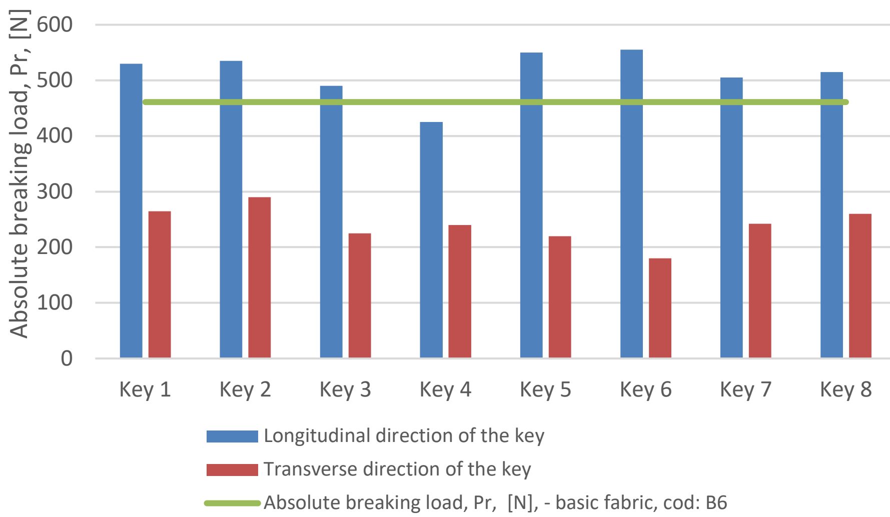


Figure 6: Basic fabric: cottom-100%, code: B6

III. Conclusions

The keys present techniques of processing and combining the elements of the traditional costume pieces that have implications on the aesthetics of the traditional costume pieces, functionality, and communication.

The keys are made by manual techniques involving the needle and the thread.

The reference criteria in the diversification of the keys are related to: the complexity of the keys conferred by the technique of realization, the number of steps per surface unit, the type of threads used at the joint, the thickness of the threads, the number of threads, the chromatics and the number of colors used, their arrangement on directions of orientation.

The evaluation of the durability of the keys confirmed their high resistance to various requests, as well as excellent elongation properties.

The techniques of making the keys allow aesthetic customization and diversification selected concerning the communication with the shape, the material of the ornamented piece, the ornamental concept, and the chromatics.

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments to the scientific community of the Technical University of Moldova for the support provided during the activities within this project, to the Government of the Republic of Moldova through the National Agency for Development and Research for the financing of the project.

We are grateful the museum representatives, the beautiful people of the country who had the openness to share with us valuable information with reference to the predetermined objectives.

Acknowledgments all our loved ones, colleagues for pertinent, competent and prompt advice.

Bibliography

1. Iorga, N. Scrieri despre arta. Editura Meridiane, Bucureşti.
2. Hedving Fromagiu, M. Portul popular din România, p. 38. Bucureşti, 1974.
3. Ţurcanu, V. Costumul: tradiţie şi modernitate-valorificări. Chişinău, 2012.
4. Secoşan, E., Petrescu, P. Portul de sărbătoare din România. Editura Meridiane, 1984.
5. Cazac, V., Ursu, E., Adascalita, L., Cîrja, J. Analysis of the identity peculiarities of the traditional romanian shirts from the Republic of Moldova. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research*, [S.I.], oct. 2021. ISSN 2249-460X. Vol 21, No 6-C (2021). Global Journal of Human-Social Science Research, Volume 21 Issue 6 Version 1.0 November 2021. Available at: [https://socialscienceresearch.org/index.php/GJHSS/article/view/3871 doi: https://doi. org/10.34257/GJHSSCVOL21IS6PG47.].
6. Cazac, V., Cârja, J., Ursu, E. Tehnicile de îmbinare a cămaşelor tradiţionale. *Materialele simpozionului naţional de etnologie: TRADIŢII ŞI PROCESE ETNICE Ediţia II.* CHIȘINĂU, 2021. p. 161-167. ISBN 978-9975-3337-8-8. Accesebil: [https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=ru&user=_943peYAAAAJ&citation_for_view=_943peYAAAAJ:JV2RwH3_ST0C]

This page is intentionally left blank

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460x & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

An Experience of the Popular University in Argentina: Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Popular University of La Boca in 1967

By Alejandro Yave

Abstract- The Universidad Popular de La Boca was founded on June 2, 1917. Today, with more than one hundred years under its belt, it still carries out educational activities aimed at training young people and adults in the Buenos Aires neighborhood of the same name.

In the following paper w e propose to share a first reflection on the acts, speeches and practices that were deployed for the fiftieth anniversary of the historical institution from Boquense based on the study of an exceptional source: the book published by the Universidad Popular in 1968, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary.

Through the various activities carried out in 1967, we will first analyze the interpersonal and inter-institutional territorial links. Secondly, the evocative reflections of the past, the prospects and desires for the future that the different actors expressed in the commemorative activities.

Keywords: *popular education, popular university of la boca, argentina, xx century.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *DDC Code: 882.01 LCC Code: PA3825*

ANEXPERIENCEOFTHEPOPULARUNIVERSITYINARGENTINAREFLECTIONSONTHEFIFTIETHANNIVERSARYOFTHEPOPULARUNIVERSITYOFLABOCAIN1967

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

An Experience of the Popular University in Argentina: Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Popular University of La Boca in 1967

Una Experiencia de Universidad Popular en la Argentina: Reflexiones en Torno al Cincuentenario de la Universidad Popular de la Boca en 1967

Alejandro Yave

Resumen- La Universidad Popular[1] de La Boca se fundó el 2 de junio de 1917. En la actualidad, con más de cien años en su haber, aún realiza actividades educativas orientadas a la formación de oficios para jóvenes y adultos en el barrio porteño homónimo de la ciudad de Buenos Aires.

En el siguiente trabajo nos proponemos compartir una primera reflexión en torno a los actos, discursos y prácticas que se desplegaron para el cincuentenario de la histórica institución boquense a partir del estudio de una fuente excepcional: el libro editado por la Universidad Popular en el año1968, a propósito del 50º Aniversario.

A través de las diversas actividades realizadas en el año 1967 analizaremos en primer lugar los vínculos territoriales interpersonales e interinstitucionales. En segundo lugar, las reflexiones evocativas del pasado, las prospectivas y los deseos para el futuro que los diferentes actores plasmaron en las actividades conmemorativas. En especial, exploramos las tensiones entre la sustentabilidad del proyecto de la Universidad Popular y el mantenimiento de la gratuidad como principio.

Nuestro objetivo es el de demostrar que la identidad barrial que se encuentra plasmada en los discursos y en la territorialidad de los festejos, es una de las claves para la supervivencia de la propuesta de la Universidad.

Palabras Claves: educación popular, universidad popular de la boca, argentina, siglo xx.

Abstract- The Universidad Popular de La Boca was founded on June 2, 1917. Today, with more than one hundred years under its belt, it still carries out educational activities aimed at training young people and adults in the Buenos Aires neighborhood of the same name.

In the following paper we propose to share a first reflection on the acts, speeches and practices that were deployed for the fiftieth anniversary of the historical institution from Boquense based on the study of an exceptional source: the book published by the Universidad Popular in 1968, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary.

Through the various activities carried out in 1967, we will first analyze the interpersonal and inter-institutional territorial links. Secondly, the evocative reflections of the past, the prospects and desires for the future that the different actors expressed in the commemorative activities. In particular, we explore the tensions between the sustainability of the Popular University project and the maintenance of gratuity as a principle.

Our objective is to demonstrate that the neighborhood identity that is embodied in the discourses and in the territoriality of the celebrations is one of the keys to the survival of the University's proposal.

Keywords: popular education, popular university of la boca, argentina, xx century.

Author: e-mail: alejandroyave@gmail.com

I. Del Origen Francés a Los Antecedentes en la Argentina

Los orígenes de las Universidades Populares están conectados a la figura de Georges Deherme. De oficio tipógrafo, activista anarquista y periodista fue el fundador de una revista llamada "La Cooperación de las Ideas". Desde sus páginas impulsó la creación de la primera institución educativa (de la que se tiene registro) llamada como "Universidad Popular".

El ocaso de la experiencia francesa fue, en parte, debido a la distancia entre las necesidades del público y los maestros de dicha Universidad Popular. En su mayoría, los asistentes a las conferencias realizadas en las Universidades Populares eran obreros que acudían con el objetivo de adquirir un tipo de conocimiento propio, vinculado con el autodidactismo obrero/artesanal. Sin embargo, la oferta de las conferencias se orientó a los resultados de la investigación académica científica y filosófica o los valores de la literatura elitista y el arte. Ello generó una displicencia entre lo que podían aportar los intelectuales a las Universidades Populares y a su público y lo que los obreros esperaban adquirir allí, imposibilitando cualquier diálogo real que deseara Deherme (Mercier, 2001).

En Argentina, la Sociedad Luz fue experiencia más antigua de la que se tiene registro de Universidad Popular y estuvo impulsada por el Partido Socialista Argentino. Podemos saber por su empresa editorial y por las bibliotecas que la constituían los socialistas fueron ávidos lectores de Anatole France, literato francés que pertenecía al grupo de intelectuales que colaboraron con la propuesta de Deherme. Dichos

[1] La escritura de este artículo no hubiera sido posible sin la atenta lectura de Sofía Gastellu y su colaboración en la tarea conjunta de (mal) criar a nuestra pequeña hija Libertad.

vínculos sugieren una relación con la fundación en 1899 en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, de su propia Universidad Popular con el objetivo de "la instrucción del pueblo". La iniciativa partió de Mauricio Kliman, un estudiante de Ingeniería quien, a principios de 1899, comenzó a diagramar una entidad cultural destinada a la enseñanza con proyecciones luminosas, que en ese entonces hacían furor en Europa. Este entusiasmo por la difusión cultural y científica fue compartido por Juan B. Justo, fundador del Partido Socialista, y Ángel Mariano Giménez, médico higienista, quienes facilitaron el histórico local del Partido Socialista de la calle México para la concreción de la iniciativa de Kliman. Las primeras actividades consistieron en las conferencias y proyecciones de divulgación sobre diferentes temas, como "El sistema planetario y la tierra".

En la autobiografía política del militante socialista y diputado nacional Nicolás Repetto (1956) se describe la fundación de esta institución y algunas de sus actividades. Repetto cuenta la preocupación de Juan B. Justo, también destacado militante socialista y diputado, por fomentar actividades culturales dentro de las filas del Partido, y se proponía suplir esa deficiencia creando una Universidad Popular encargada de divulgar en la masa del pueblo nociones generales de ciencia y problemas de actualidad, moviéndole al mismo tiempo a participar en la lucha por la solución de estos problemas.

A la par de la Sociedad Luz, desde el año 1904 algunos miembros del partido socialista y simpatizantes realizaron conferencias de divulgación científica, las cuales serán publicadas en la Revista de La Universidad Popular. Dicha institución contó con un espacioso local en la calle Cangallo 1328. El discurso pronunciado en el acto inaugural por su primer presidente, el doctor Nicanor Sarmiento, mantiene varios puntos en contacto con la propuesta de la Sociedad Luz, más orgánica al PS.

> "Después de un generoso esfuerzo de fundar una Universidad Popular, hecho por hombres de buena voluntad y amantes de las ciencias, con el fin de llevar modestamente sus luces a la inteligencia del pueblo, logran ahora dar cima a este pensamiento altruista y trascendental, declarándola establecida en este acto.
>
> ¿Cuál es su objeto? - Promover la difusión de la enseñanza científica en el pueblo. Difundir de una manera práctica y elemental, con criterios y métodos positivo, los conocimientos de todas las ciencias, así sociales, médicas, físicas, como naturales y las bellas artes, a fin de que la investigación y constatación positiva de los fenómenos de la vida real, los alcance la mente del pueblo y su cerebro se ilumine con la verdad. Ponderar al pueblo la importancia y la utilidad de las ciencias, hacer que comprenda y aproveche los fecundos resultados que ellas reportan a la sociedad, las cuales señalan los verdaderos rumbos a las nuevas energías sociales, solucionan los problemas que se presentan y aminoran los dolores humanos, mostrándonos y haciéndonos amar la belleza real de la naturaleza.
>
> He ahí, los fines de la Universidad Popular que hoy inauguramos. Su lema, es: "popularizar la ciencia". Llevar la luz de los conocimientos a la inteligencia popular, mostrándole la verdad en su aspecto útil y práctico despojado de todo velo académico. Hasta aquí, se puede decir, que la ciencia ha sido el monopolio de los privilegiados de la fortuna, sin que el dominio de la inteligencia sobre la materia, haya tendido a difundir de una manera general sobre las multitudes los beneficios de la civilización."[2]

El discurso muestra tópicos vinculados al iluminismo y al positivismo al tiempo que hace explícito el objeto de la "enseñanza científica" junto con el público al que pensaban instruir. Los fines de hacer popular la ciencia demuestran la fuerte impronta de unir dos universos que se pensaban lejanos: los sectores populares y el pensamiento científico.

Todas las experiencias que se denominaron "Universidad Popular" durante este periodo tuvieron una fuerte impronta del pensamiento liberal positivista.

II. La Creación de la Universidad Popular de la Boca en 1917

La Universidad Popular de La Boca se fundó el 2 de junio de 1917, en el barrio porteño homónimo de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Entre sus fundadores, estaba Tomás Le Breton, acompañado por ilustres personalidades barriales y de mayor relevancia nacional. Los primeros pasos de dicha institución se produjeron coincidentemente con las primeras presidencias radicales y con la Reforma Universitaria (1918), sucesos con los cuales tanto sus docentes como sus y directivos tuvieron insoslayables vínculos.

Le Breton tuvo una destacada vida política: participó de la fundación de la Unión Cívica de la Juventud, de la Unión Cívica Radical y de la Unión Cívica Radical Antipersonalista y, durante el período 1912-1928, desempeñó diversos cargos públicos: fue diputado y senador representante de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. Tomás Le Breton ocupará el Ministerio de Agricultura durante la presidencia de Marcelo T. de Alvear (1922-1928), pero ya durante la primera presidencia de Hipólito Yrigoyen (1916-1922) mientras ocupaba el cargo de Diputado Nacional demostraría claramente su interés por los "asuntos agrarios" y "la cuestión social". Este interés se plasmó en la presentación de diversos proyectos que tenían como fin dotar de nuevo impulso a la colonización agrícola y a la educación granjera. (Yaverovski, 2017 y 2018)

El historiador Antonio J. Bucich en "La ubicación Boquense del Dr. Tomás a Le Bretón"[3]

[2] La Universidad Popular, 1905. Revista editada por la mencionada institución.

[3] Esta publicación por los vínculos del autor y su familia con la Universidad Popular de La Boca y su fundador también se enmarcar entre las actividades y actos conmemorativos del cincuentenario de la Universidad del barrio portuario. La misma pertenece a la colección

describe la fundación de la Universidad Popular de La Boca del siguiente modo:

> "[En el local del Comité Radical del Barrio de La Boca] surgió la idea de fundar un centro docente dedicado principalmente a los trabajadores. Un año antes había acicateado al doctor Anastasi alguna inquietud de este género. El joven universitario, que después de haber oteado los horizontes de su tiempo por incorporarse al radicalismo, maestro de escuela, quiso llevar al seno de la entidad política que actuaba, los gérmenes de sus nobles inquietudes. Primitivamente se había pensado en echar los cimientos de una Academia de estudios sociales y políticos. Pero su aproximación al doctor Le Breton –que por esa época actuaba con sentido práctico atento a las aspiraciones y a las necesidades del pueblo- cambió ese primer enfoque. El doctor Anastasi vio que era mejor este campo de labor cultural, la enseñanza con un sentido netamente constructivo, capaz de dotar a los obreros manuales y a los noveles estudiantes de instrumentos eficaces para su desenvolvimiento en la vida de relación. (…) se dejó bien sentado desde un comienzo, "tendrían acceso todos los que deseen, sin distinción de creencias políticas".[4]

Para nutrir el cuerpo docente de la universidad Le Breton se valió de un staff de técnicos agrónomos, provenientes de la joven Facultad de Veterinaria y Agronomía de la U.B.A., influenciado de algún modo por el "espíritu reformista universitario". Estos desarrollaron vínculos que entrelazaban la experiencia "no formal" de La Boca y la formal, no sólo a nivel universitario. Tal imbricación se manifiesta en los subsidios estatales directos e indirectos, ya que la infraestructura donde se dictaban las clases era cedida tanto por la Facultad de Agronomía de Buenos Aires como escuelas Oficiales.

La particularidad de que esta institución contara desde un primer momento con el mencionado staff de ingenieros agrónomos hizo que el sistema de conferencias característico de este tipo de instituciones en las experiencias clásicas europeas y desarrolladas previamente en el continente americano no tuvieran la misma impronta. En la Universidad Popular de La Boca se produjo un viraje hacia la orientación técnica-práctica, por medio del sistema de cursos, ocupando un lugar no tan preponderante los cursos de divulgación científica.

III. Los Festejos del Cincuentenario de la Universidad Popular de la Boca

> "La Universidad Popular de La Boca celebra este año su cincuentenario. Oradores acuciosos y escarceadores han buscado en los archivos y en las crónicas periodísticas, en las memorias y en los antecedentes que se guardan en esa casa, la notable significación de ese hecho de trascendencia histórica en la vida educacional del país". [5]

En el año 1967 la Universidad Popular de La Boca se preparaba para conmemorar su cincuentenario. Con cierta presteza y programación en la temprana fecha del 16 de enero se habían reunido en la sede de la Universidad de Aristóbulo del Valle 471[6], asociados y vecinos del barrio quienes, después de escuchar el informe del por aquel entonces presidente de la entidad el Dr. Ambrosio Delfino, resolvieron construir dos comisiones. Una de carácter honorario y la otra de carácter ejecutivo. Esta última se encargaría de organizar los festejos relacionados con el cincuentenario de la Universidad. La segunda comisión, de carácter honorario, tendría más bien la función de dotar de prestigio a las actividades encaradas para la conmemoración del cincuentenario por medio de las personalidades que la integrarían y serían agasajadas en diferentes actividades.

En dicha reunión, también, se resolvió por unanimidad encabezar la primera de las comisiones nombradas, con el maestro Benito Quinquela Martín[7] "figura de relevante prestigio no sólo en la zona sino en los ámbitos de la Nación, del continente y del mundo cuya colaboración con la educación popular ha sido permanente"[8].

Para la segunda comisión se propuso para presidente el nombre del doctor Ambrosio Delfino,

"Cuadernos de La Boca del Riachuelo, que tenían como meta acoger "la producción de los autores nacidos en el barrio de la orilla marinera y de los que escriben sobre su historia, su arte, su vida, su espíritu y su dinámica"". El libro tiene la siguiente dedicatoria: "A la Universidad Popular de la Boca en el cincuentenario de su fundación. 2 de junio 1917-1967".

[4] Bucich, Antonio J. "Ubicación Boquense del Dr. Tomás A. Le Breton." Bs. As., Escuelas de Artes Gráficas. 1967, pp. 14 y 16.

[5] Bucich, Antonio J. "Ubicación Boquense del Dr. Tomás A. Le Breton." Bs. As., Escuelas de Artes Gráficas. 1967, p.21.

[6] En el edificio de Aristóbulo del Valle funcionaba la escuela oficial N° 1 D.E. 4 Almirante Brown, que desde la fundación de la Universidad Popular de La Boca contó con el beneplácito de sus autoridades que permitieron que allí se realicen en horario vespertino las actividades de la institución popular. En el año 1964, después de activas gestiones ante la Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, cuyo titular era el arquitecto Albeto Prebisch, fue concedida por el término de treinta años el solar que ocupó el viejo Hospital Come Argerich situado en la calle Pinzón 546, de este modo la Universidad contó con dos sedes. Años después y tras superar diversos avatares pasaría a ocupar solo este edificio dejando de realizar actividades en la escuela Almirante Brown.

[7] Benito Quinquela Martín (Buenos Aires, 1 de marzo de 1890 - 28 de enero de 1977) fue un pintor autodidacta argentino proveniente del barrio porteño de La Boca. Huérfano y de progenitores desconocidos fue a la edad de siete años adoptado por la familia Chinchella, dueños de una carbonería donde trabajo y descubrió con la carbonilla su destreza para las artes plásticas. Exhibió sus obras en varias exposiciones realizadas tanto en el país como en el extranjero, logrando vender varias de sus creaciones y otras tantas fueron donó con fines solidarios para distintas instituciones de su barrio. Con el beneficio económico obtenido por estas ventas realizó varias obras solidarias en La Boca. En el mencionado barrio fue un incansable impulsor de iniciativas asociativas y utilizo su renombre para dar amplia visibilidad a varias propuestas. Podemos rescatar su participación en "La Orden del Tornillo" y en la fundación de la Segunda República de la Boca.

[8] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p.4.

quien ocupaba el cargo de Presidente de la Universidad Popular de La Boca.

El doctor Delfino se propuso diligentemente proporcionar los nombres de personas consustanciadas con la labor de la Universidad, al igual que de entidades civiles, militares y eclesiásticas de La Boca y empresas amigas y luego esbozar un programa de actos a cumplirse dentro del año 1967, especialmente en el mes de junio.[9]

Se dispuso igualmente la confección de fajas de leyendas alusiva. La principal de ellas tuvo la leyenda: "1917- Universidad Popular de La Boca – 1967 — 50° aniversario". También se resolvió la confesión de banderines y se adoptaron diversas decisiones atingentes con el objetivo de la convocatoria. Esta comisión continuó sus reuniones, resolviendo la concreción de varios actos[10].

La Comisión Honoraria también estaba conformada por un cuerpo de vocales que reunió más de 80 personalidades destacadas de la política y la cultura de la época. De entre ellas podemos rescatar a los doctores Ernesto Le Breton (descendiente del fundador de la Universidad), Pablo Calatayud[11] y Roberto C. Ferro[12]. La dos únicas mujeres que integraron la Comisión fueron la Dra. Margarita Argúas[13] y la Directora de la Escuela N° 1 "Almirante Brown".

Otros vocales de importancia fueron Roberto Etchepareborda[14]; Reynaldo Elena[15]; el arquitecto Alberto J. Prebisch[16], José C. Arcidiácono[17]; Alberto J. Armando[18]; Pablo Armbruster, el Prof. José C. Astolfi[19].

La Comisión tuvo también como vocales a tres curas párrocos vinculados con la orden Salesiana de importante presencia en el barrio de la Boca y contó con la participación de profesores del Cuerpo Docente de la Universidad. Finalmente, participaron funcionarios

[9] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 21.

[10] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 21.

[11] Pablo Calatayud (11 de marzo de 1889 - 1 de septiembre de 1979). Fue un abogado, profesor universitario y político argentino, que se desempeñó como ministro de Obras Públicas durante la presidencia de facto de José Félix Uriburu previamente había sido designado, también por Uriburu, interventor federal en la provincia de Catamarca.

[12] Director de la Universidad Popular de La Boca entre los años 1935 y 1938.

[13] Margarita Argúas (Buenos Aires, 29 de octubre de 1902 - 27 de julio de 1986). Fue una reconocida doctora en jurisprudencia argentina, docente universitaria y la primera mujer en integrar la Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación Argentina siendo designada por decreto del presidente de facto Roberto Marcelo Levingston en el año 1970. Ocupó el alto cargo brevemente, ya que en el año 1973 días antes de que asuman las nuevas autoridades constitucionales presentó su renuncia al igual que el resto de los integrantes de la Suprema Corte de Justicia.

[14] Roberto Etchepareborda (Milán, Italia, 1923 - Falls Church, Virginia, Estados Unidos, 11 de abril de 1985) Fue un historiador, profesor y diplomático argentino, que ocupó el cargo de ministro de Relaciones Exteriores entre 1961 y 1962 durante la presidencia de Frondizi. Militó desde muy joven en las filas radicales e integró la conducción de la FUBA (Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires), organización que representaba gremialmente a los estudiantes de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, al igual que la Juventud Radical por la que fue delegado a la Convención Metropolitana.

[15] Reinaldo Elena (1899 – 1987). Fue periodista y rematador. Militante en la UCR desde temprana edad, en su barrio natal de la Boca, adhiere a las filas del radicalismo integrando el sector Antipersonalista siendo seguidor de la figura de Marcelo T. de Alverar y desempeñando desde entonces diversos cargos partidarios tanto locales como la presidencia del Comité de La Boca como así también en los Comité Capital y Nacional.
Con apenas 20 años de edad funda "La Pluma" el periódico de circulación interna del barrio de La Boca que difundía noticias e ideales de la Unión Cívica Radical. Fue electo en representación de la UCR Antipersonalista, integrando la alianza denominada Concordancia como Concejal de la ciudad de Buenos Aires en dos oportunidades (1932-1936 y 1938-1941). Posteriormente en representación de la Unión Cívica Radial del Pueblo fue electo como Diputado de la Nación por la Capital Federal en tres oportunidades (1960-1964, 1963-1965 y 1965-1969) no pudiendo terminar dos de los mismos a consecuencia de los golpes de estado perpetrados en 1962 y 1966 respectivamente. Supo ser parte no solo de la vida política sino también de la social y cultural de su barrio y de su ciudad. Fue amigo personal de pintor Benito Quinquela Martín así como también mantuvo estrecha relación con otros reconocidos artistas de la época. Tanto en el Concejo porteño como en la legislatura nacional fue el impulsor de innumerables normativas y legislaciones. (Barovero, 2013) Fue parte del núcleo formador de la Universidad Popular de La Boca.

[16] Alberto Prebisch (Tucumán, 1 de febrero de 1899 - Buenos Aires, 13 de octubre de 1970) Su padre Albin Teodoro Prebisch era un inmigrante alemán y su madre Rosa Linares Uriburu pertenecía a una familia tradicional salteña. Sus hermanos también alcanzarían renombre en el mundo académico e intelectual. Él fue un destacado arquitecto argentino que cuenta entre sus obras más conocidas con el Obelisco (1936) de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires; el Teatro Gran Rex (1937) en la misma ciudad y el Cine Gran Rex (1947) en la ciudad de Rosario. Entre 1962 y 1963 ejerció el cargo de Intendente de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.

[17] José Narcidiacono (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 5 de septiembre de 1910 - Buenos Aires en 1982). Fue un destacado pintor que supo retratar los paisajes y personajes porteños, sobre todo las marinas. Estudió en la Escuela Nacional de Artes egresando con el título de Profesor Nacional de Dibujo en 1930 y en la Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes Ernesto de la Carcova egresando como Profesor Superior en 1939. Ejerció la docencia en la Escuela Industrial de La Plata, Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Prilidiano Pueyrredón, en la Escuela de Bellas Artes Carlos Morel y en el Liceo de Señoritas. Efectuó exposiciones gran cantidad de exposiciones individuales como colectivas tanto en la Argentina como en el extranjero. Impulsó en la asociación Gente de Arte de Avellaneda en el año1950.

[18] Alberto José Armando (Santa Fe, 4 de febrero de 1910 - Buenos Aires, 27 de diciembre de 1988), más conocido como Alberto J. Armando. Fue presidente del club Boca Juniors durante más de 20 años. Durante su presidencia Boca Juniors obtuvo importantísimos títulos internacionales como también el desarrollo de ambiciosos proyectos entre los que destaca el de la Ciudad Deportiva de Boca Juniors Su nombre está presente en el estadio del club, La Bombonera. Se dedicaba a la actividad comercial, siendo dueño de la concesionaria más grande e importante de automóviles Ford, ubicada en el barrio porteño de Nueva Pompeya.

[19] José Carlos Astolfi (1895-1983) Profesor y destacado historiador vinculado con la divulgación de la Nueva Escuela Histórica por medio de la analística escolar.

de importancia en el barrio como el Comisario de la Sección 24°; el Director del Hospital Cosme Argerich, el Jefe de la Sucursal N° 32 de Correos y Telecomunicaciones; El Presidente y los miembros del Consejo Escolar N° 4; el Presidente de Bomberos Voluntarios de La Boca; el Presidente de Bomberos Voluntarios de la Vuelta de Rocha y el Subprefecto de Zona Boca y Riachuelo.

La segunda comisión componía de cuatro Vicepresidentes; un Secretario General; cuatro secretarios, seis Adscriptos a Secretaria; un Tesorero; un Protesorero; más de diez Adscripto a Tesorería y dos Representantes del Cuerpo de Profesores. En esta comisión figuran más mujeres que en la honorifica, la mayoría de sus integrantes tenían una estrecha vinculación con la vida diaria de la institución. Muchas de esas personas habían sido impulsores de la asociación cooperadora y tenían participación en la vida asociativa que bullía en el barrio de la boca desde comienzos del siglo XX. Los apellidos de quienes la componían revelan varios grados de proximidad familiar.

Además de estas dos comisiones los festejos contaron con el apoyo de más de veinte instituciones del barrio de la Boca. Estas dejan ver el espíritu mutualista y solidario que predominaba en aquel entonces al igual que la existencia de agrupamientos étnicos como fueron la Asociación Italiana de Socorros Mutuos Torcuato Tasso, la Sociedad Yugoslava y la Asociación Española de Socorros Mutuos.

Los festejos tuvieron el apoyo de más de cincuenta "Empresas Amigas", entre las que se distinguen desde pequeñas empresas hasta filiales de multinacionales. Muchas brindaron docentes, recursos y materiales diversos para los cursos que se dictaron en la Universidad. Entre las empresas amigas destacan las que tuvieron mayor impronta comercial para la época: Agroquímica Atanor S.A.; Aserrado Rosario S.R.L.; Atanor S.A.; Attardi Remates; Banco Español del Río de la Plata (Suc. Boca); Banco de Italia y Río de la Plata (Suc. Boca); Amadeo Cichero e Hijos; C.I.F.R.E. —Centro de Investigación, Formación y Relaciones Empresarias—; Editorial Troquel S. A.; Esso Petrolera Argentina S.A.; Ford Company S.A.; Frigorífico La Pampa; General Motors; IKKA Industrias Kaiser Argentina; Industrias Pirelli; Instituto Italiano de Cultura; La Cantábrica; La Papelera del Plata; Vascongada; Olivietti; Shell Agentina y Siam Di Tella. Las mencionadas empresas nutrían la bolsa de trabajo de la Universidad, ya que muchos de sus egresados o estudiantes avanzados eran colocados en puestos de obreros capacitados en las diferentes industrias.

El gran caudal de personalidades destacadas de la política, la cultura y la sociedad de la época reflejan los lazos que la Universidad Popular de La Boca construyó a lo largo de sus primeros cincuenta años de vida institucional, con otras instituciones propias del desarrollo del estado argentino. A su vez, la multiplicidad de actores e instituciones ligados al barrio de La Boca muestra los nexos profundos que la Universidad Popular tuvo con el territorio en que desempeña sus actividades educativas. El despliegue de esta red solo puede ser entendida en su profundidad si se comprende la experiencia situada. Esto es, en su locación física: un barrio, portuario y obrero de la entonces Capital Federal de la República, ciudad donde se asentaban las autoridades nacionales de la Argentina y su autonomía municipal mucho más restringida que en la actualidad y por lo tanto más dependiente del Poder Ejecutivo Nacional.

Es innegable que en el nombre propio de la Universidad Popular hay un fuerte vinculo al enclave territorial. Otras Universidades Populares tuvieron por denominación figuras del panteón liberal, siguiendo una lógica similar a las escuelas oficiales. En el caso de la Universidad Popular de La Boca su pertenencia a "lo barrial" influyó mutuamente en la constitución de las identidades de los barrios y de las Universidades Populares, así como en el despliegue de una red de vínculos barriales aquí descriptos. (Yaverovski, 2021)

IV. Los Actos Conmemorativos

1. Local anexo de la calle Pinzón y la función docente y social de la Universidad Popular de La Boca

Ante un público que colmaba el local de la calle Pinzón 546, el 12 de mayo, el presidente Dr. Ambrosio Delfino, inició los festejos. Luego el profesor doctor Santiago M. Talía pronunció una disertación titulada "Función social de la Universidad Popular en la colectividad". En ella, explicó de forma genérica la actividad de estos centros Universitarios y el alcance de sus irradiaciones dentro del ámbito en que se desenvuelven. Al resumir la historia de los orígenes no menciona las experiencias previas europeas, ni americanas o las argentinas que identificamos en otros trabajos. (Yaverovski, 2018b)

El discurso de Talía sí refiere que La Universidad Popular de La Boca surgió en el contexto de la ampliación de la participación electoral producto de la ley Sáenz Peña[20]. Dicha ampliación alimentó la puja política entre las dos fuerzas mayoritarias que existía en la Capital Federal, el Partido Socialista y la U.C.R.[21] Posiblemente la Universidad Popular de La

[20] La conocida como Ley Sáenz Peña fue la Ley n° 8871, sancionada por el Congreso Nacional en el año 1912, por iniciativa del presidente Roque Sáenz Peña, identificado con el ala modernista del Partido Autonomista Nacional (PAN). La ley estableció el sufragio masculino universal, secreto y obligatorio mediante la creación de un padrón electoral que permitió que la Unión Cívica Radical, principal fuerza opositora, abandone su estrategia insurreccional y abstencionista ganando las elecciones presidenciales nacionales que llevaron a la presidencia a Hipólito Yrigoyen en el año 1916, rompiendo con la continuidad de más de 30 años de gobiernos del PAN.

[21] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo

Boca fue un dispositivo tendiente a neutralizar la influencia en el barrio de los activistas socialistas.

Define el criterio pedagógico, finalidad y propósito de los hombres que la concibieron:

> "La Universidad Popular de La Boca surgió para cumplir una eminente función docente en favor de la democracia social, sin la cual es hueca la democracia política. La democracia política se funda en el respeto a los derechos del individuo y ésta no podrá ser nunca una realidad, si el hombre no se ha valorizado por el trabajo fecundo, para lo cual, las casas como ésta han abierto sus puertas a fin de despertar la vocación de cada ser que llega con hambre y ser de cultura, para capacitarse y ocupar el lugar que le corresponde en los embates de la vida." [22]

El objetivo que perseguía este tipo de educación era de doble alcance: por un lado "extirpar la única aspiración de ser empleado público" al tiempo que, "orientando a la juventud hacia el vasto campo de las actividades humanas" para que tuvieran la posibilidad de triunfar "por medio del estudio en la escuela-taller."[23]

Talía concluye su discurso afirmando que esa función social de la Universidad Popular repercute en la familia y en la comunidad, ya que "nadie puede ignorar la gran función cumplida en este barrio por la Universidad de La Boca, cuya redentora acción llegó hasta los hogares más humildes".

2. Misa de acción de gracias y los "esfuerzo" del cuerpo docente

El 27 de mayo se ofició en la iglesia San Juan Evangelista del barrio de La Boca una misa en acción de gracias y de recordatorio de los miembros fallecidos de la Universidad boquense. A la misa concurrieron directivos, asociados y vecinos que luego se trasladaron hasta el local anexo de la calle Pinzón, donde se descubrió una placa del escultor Luis Perlotti en homenaje a fundador Tomás A. Le Breton y a los integrantes del primer Consejo Directivo. En el acto se bendijo dicha placa y el expresidente de la Universidad Doctor Iván Bavio pronunció un discurso donde rescató que "algunos cursos se crearon para cubrir necesidades presentes y otros de 'avanzada', es decir, de especialidades que se insinuaban a través del proceso 'económico, del país y del extranjero'"[24].

El expresidente rescató el carácter vanguardista de la propuesta originaria de los fundadores de la Universidad al pasar lista de los cursos que se impartieron en la Universidad de La Boca antes de que se institucionalizaran en centros educativos oficiales o más tradicionales. Por ejemplo, de "elaboración de quesos, corte de carne ovina y bovina, marineros, timoneles, clasificación de granos, perforación de petróleo, leyes impositivas, motores a explosión dibujo artístico, castellano para extranjeros y muchos otros"[25]

Por otro lado, Bavio valorizó el esfuerzo que el cuerpo docente hizo al trabajar pese a no contar con honorarios adecuados. Al mismo tiempo, destacó que la Universidad no puso límites de edad ni de instrucción "recibiendo sus aulas alumnos que no admitían otros establecimientos educacionales." [26]

Varias experiencias históricas cuentan con una tradición en torno a la concepción de educación popular, entendiéndola como aquella que brinda cabida a los sujetos excluidos de otros establecimientos educacionales de tipo oficiales. En dicha tradición se enmarca la concepción de educación popular a la que adscribe Bavio para la Universidad de La Boca.

Por último, reconoció Bavio los desafíos del nuevo periodo, reconociendo la necesidad de incorporar al concepto tradicional de educación una nueva perspectiva no ya solamente regional y nacional, sino integrada con la cultura mundial.

3. Homenaje al doctor Le Breton en la Recoleta y la voz de los exalumnos

El domingo 28 de mayo se realizó un acto frente a la bóveda del cementerio de La Recoleta que guarda los restos del doctor Tomás A. Le Breton. Allí, el vicepresidente de la Comisión Popular Alfredo Bellucci destacó que la Universidad, instalada en el humilde pero pujante barrio de La Boca, mantiene sus puertas abiertas gracias al esfuerzos de sus convecinos y firmas comerciales que, mediante sus aportes económicos, posibilitan los cursos gratuitos a todos aquellos que sin distinción de clase, edad o sexo se acercan a sus aulas para satisfacer las ansias de saber, que los transformará en útiles elementos para la sociedad.[27]

Destacó la iniciativa popular entre las particularidades que permitieron la sustentación de la propuesta pedagógica de la Universidad es en gracia por la iniciativa popular "disponiendo así de una clara y

dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 22.

[22] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 23.

[23] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 23.

[24] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p.27.

[25] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 27.

[26] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 28.

[27] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 30.

completa libertad". Esa idea se matizó con la aclaración de que se acompañó de "orden y cultura" para que directivos, docentes y alumnos se dedicque "exclusivamente a las sanas virtudes de enseñar y aprender"[28]. En este extracto creemos que se pone el énfasis en el orden y en las "sanas virtudes" en pos de la desambiguación del vínculo entre la política partidaria y la propuesta pedagógica.

En el mismo acto, habló *don* Pascual Pons, una de las pocas voces de alumnos y exalumnos que se rescatan de los documentos oficiales de la Universidad:

> "(…) ha llegado hasta nosotros el eco de muchos ex alumnos que, desde distintos lugares del país, ponen de manifiesto la importancia que significó para ellos el valor de la instrucción recibida en nuestra Universidad, y hacen resaltar la misión cumplida en favor de la educación popular"[29].

La Universidad nunca adquirió el matiz emancipatorio que tuvieron otras propuestas pedagógicas más vinculadas con las ideas anarquistas, cocialistas, comunistas o aquellas que surgieron al calor del quiebre epistemológico de las concepciones pedagógicas del brasilero Paulo Freire en la década de 1970. Sin embargo, encontramos en la fuente expresiones efusivas de agradecimiento por parte de alumnos y ex alumnos que pasaron por sus aulas.

4. El acto evocativo. "El campo mira ahora a la ciudad"

En el salón de actos de la calle Aristóbulo del Valle re realizó un acto académico. Participó una banda que desfiló en el pabellón de la Universidad, con abanderado y escolta de varios alumnos. Una delegación del Ateneo Popular de La Boca hizo entrega al doctor Ambrosio Delfino, en su calidad de presidente, de un pergamino suscripto por centenares de asociados y amigos de la institución. El pergamino había sido realizado por la artista Boquense Beatriz Anselmi[30].

Delfino pronunció un discurso en el que manifestó su emoción y responsabilidad. La emoción se debía a la evocación al recordar los primeros años de la institución, que simultáneamente implicaban evocar la juventud de muchos de los presentes, y la responsabilidad de ocupar el Consejo Directivo con la visión del camino recorrido y por sobre todo cuál sería su futuro inmediato y cual la ruta que ha de seguir transitando la institución.

Describió la permanente y continua evolución de la Universidad Popular de La Boca en relación con los cursos ofrecidos. Allí describió que ciertos cursos, habiendo menguado el número de inscriptos, se dejaron de brindar para dar lugar a nuevos cursos de mayor resonancia e incentivo. Al respecto propone dividir los primeros cincuenta años de la Universidad Popular de La Boca en dos grandes lapsos de 25 años cada uno: desde 1917 hasta el año 1942 y desde el año 1942 hasta 1967.

Los cursos dictados en los años iniciales expresaron la inclinación del alumnado de dirigirse hacia el campo, abarcando aquellos "todo lo relacionado con la agricultura y la ganadería y sus respectivos derivados", en esencia todo lo concerniente a lo agropecuario ya que "Los habitantes de la ciudad volvían sus ojos hacia la fértiles y prometedoras pampas."

A medida que nos aproximamos a la década de 1940, van desapareciendo algunos de aquellos cursos iniciales de tipo agropecuario y aparecen otros como radiotelefonía, mecánica de aviación, radiotelegrafía, motores a explosión y diésel, electrotécnica, etc.:

> "vale decir, que, se ha ido evolucionando preferentemente hacia los aspectos industriales, en relación con las manifestaciones de éstas naturaleza iniciadas en el país. El campo mira ahora a la ciudad.
>
> Finalmente, ya cerca del cincuentenario se crean los cursos de marineros de timoneles, mecánicos de máquinas de calcular y escribir, capacitación para supervisores y vendedores, relaciones humanas, televisión, sexología, adorno floral o ikebana, manualidades, cosmetología estos últimos orientados para alumnas. En los 50 años según Delfino la Universidad Popular de La Boca capacito a unos 100.000 alumnos y rescata que, por ser la primera en su género creada en nuestra patria, ha señalado el derrotero a seguir a todas las de su tipo existentes en el país.
>
> Respecto al porvenir de la Universidad Popular de La Boca vuelve a surgir la imperiosa necesidad de un edificio propio construido "adecuadamente para la instalación de talleres, plantas pilotos, laborarlos y amplias aulas, amén de

[28] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 30.

[29] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 30.

[30] "Nació en Buenos Aires en 1926 y falleció en la misma ciudad el 18 de abril de 2012. Maestra Normal egresada de la Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Prilidiano Pueyrredón y Profesora Superior de Bellas Artes egresada de la Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes Ernesto de la Cárcova. Se especializó en la decoración mural, y su actividad pictórica abarca óleo, acuarela, collage e instalaciones. Un mural de su autoría con el tema del tango se puede apreciar en el Paseo Bardi de Buenos Aires. Dictó conferencias. Ilustró libros. Expuso individual y colectivamente en Buenos Aires y ciudades de la Argentina desde 1950, entre otras, en el Centro Cultural San Martín, Retrospectiva Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes Benito Quinquela Martín y en el Museo Histórico Julio A Roca. Obtuvo en 1983 el Primer Premio de Pintura en el Salón de Nueva Pompeya, Mención en Pintura en el Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes de La Boca, el Primer Premio de Pintura en el Salón del Sur de Lomas de Zamora y el Primer Premio de Pintura en el Salón Arteida de San Cristóbal, entre otros. Sus pinturas y dibujos responden a una temática propia de los barrios de La Boca y de Barracas, donde residió y trabajó toda su vida." https://www.artedelaargentina.com.ar/disciplinas/artista/pintura/beatriz-maria-anselmi

maquinarias, motores de todo tipo, material didáctico específico para la enseñanza práctica."[31]

Nuevamente la acuciante situación financiera es tratada en un discurso. Detalló que la institución contó con la "invalorable ayuda oficial", a través del Consejo Nacional de Educación, de organismos nacionales, de la Municipalidad de la Ciudad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires y de otros, pero, siempre de forma discontinua e intermitente. Asimismo, recibía colaboración irregularmente en general de empresas, personas y en forma permanente de la Asociación Cooperadora. Esta incluía a los propios alumnos con cuotas voluntarias de contribución y los socios de la entidad, "cuyo número lamentablemente es minúsculo". (Universidad Popular de La Boca, 35)

En la década de 1930, producto del impacto de la crisis económica, la Universidad Popular de San Fernando —que recibía alumnos de la zona de Olivos a Tigre— adujo dificultades económicas y comenzó a cobrar una cuota mensual de un peso moneda nacional mediante la constitución en tanto "Socios Protectores" de los padres de los alumnos y de su alumnado adulto. A su vez, se pidió un gesto colectivo del vecindario. (Yaverovski, 2022)

Para el caso de la Universidad de La Boca no nos costa que tal tipo de colaboración y modalidad de asociación haya adquirido un carácter obligatorio. Por el contrario, el Presidente rescató en 1967 el esfuerzo requerido a los profesores que realizaron sus labores de forma honoraria o con varios meses de retrasos sus sueldos para que se pudiera seguir cumpliendo con el artículo 2° del estatuto, referido a la gratuidad de la educación que impartía la institución.

En el mismo discurso se expresó que la labor de capacitación realizada por la Universidad Popular de La Boca para Delfino es sinónimo de "hacer patria". Muchas de las Universidades Populares en la Argentina manifestaban realizar una educación patriótica no así nacionalista, e incluso en algunas fuentes pueden identificarse con una educación nacional pero no nacionalista.

Otro discurso fue pronunciado por el doctor José Antonio González[32], expresidente de la Universidad Popular de La Boca. Tras una evocación de las anteriores comisiones directivas y de los directores de la Universidad concluye reconociendo que "toda esta barriada de La Boca se ha movilizado para festejar este gran acontecimiento: cincuentenario de nuestra Universidad Popular." Y con el deseo de que se concrete la transmisión del legado a las futuras generaciones.

Las siguientes palabras le correspondieron al Profesor Julio Paolillo[33], quien entre otras cosas dijo que la fundación no fue una idea descabellada, o un capricho más bien fue el crisol donde convergieron preocupaciones propias de la época. Y destacó que la Universidad Popular de La Boca no es una escuela primaria, ni un Colegio Secundario. Esta es regida por disposiciones oficiales, pero particularmente se rige por sistemas y métodos propios y reales y actuales, con las modificaciones que aconseja la experiencia y el sentido común de las cosas en el cual los profesores adaptan a sus programas las últimas novedades acontecidas en la técnica o en la teoría.[34]

Sobre la titulación de su alumnado mencionó que "La Universidad se siente orgullosa cuando se les reconoce a sus egresados el valor de sus certificados; legitima vanidad, pues la idoneidad demostrada tiene mayor valor que un frío documento"[35] Es importantísimo remarcar que estos títulos no eran títulos oficiales pero que si podían llegar a ser oficializados por organismos públicos. La valides de los mismos descansaba sobre el prestigio de la institución y sus docentes, los vínculos con las empresas en las que eran colocados sus egresados como también el amplio reconocimiento público que existía más allá del barrio de este tipo de instituciones.

Entre otros puntos que destaca el ex director González de la Universidad es su perfil propio que se plasma diariamente y se transforma anualmente, porque no es ajena al medio que lo rodea; es del pueblo y vive para él. Cosa que le da una gran flexibilidad y adaptación a la demanda de conocimientos por parte de los vecinos de la barriada popular.

[31] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 34

[32] José Antonio González. Fue un abogado de prestigio intelectual. Residió por algunos años en el barrio de La Boca mientras cursaba sus estudios en abogacía. Su tesis preparada para optar título se denominó "Las huelgas ante derecho". Fue por dos períodos consecutivos Diputado Nacional e integró siempre la Comisión de Presupuesto y llegó a ser presidente del organismo económico, reemplazando al doctor José Víctor Molina ocupó el Ministerio de Hacienda. Además, cumplió con el cargo de vocal del Directorio del Banco Hipotecario Nacional. También fue legislador en su provincia natal, Corrientes, y ocupó la Presidencia de la Cámara de Diputados. Ha sido periodista y dirigió "El Nacional" durante los años 1904 a 1908. Fue designado vocal del Consejo Nacional de Educación en año 1938, al tiempo que era director de la Universidad Popular cargo que ocupó entre los años 1931 y 1946.

[33] Director de la Universidad Popular de La Boca durante el período de los festejos del cincuentenario. Fue un destacado docente del barrio de La Boca estrechamente vinculado a la propuesta educativa desplegada por la orden Salesiana en el Colegio San Juan Evangelista.

[34] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 38.

[35] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 38.

Imagen 1: Director de la Universidad Popular de La Boca Julio Paolillo dando su discurso sobre el escenario junto a otras autoridades de la institución en el marco del cincuentenario de la Universidad Boquense. En el fondo se observa un cuadro de su fundador Tomás A. Le Breton y a la izquierda un diploma obsequiado por el Ateneo Boquense y firmado por personalidades destacadas del barrio de La Boca.

5. El banquete popular y "el pueblo que no podía estar ausente"

La comisión organizadora había resuelto que el banquete sería gratuito, al igual que todos los actos programados, y tuviese carácter popular. La Universidad durante cincuenta años supo desarrollar una acción educativa y cultural junto al pueblo y el pueblo no podía estar ausente de los festejos de su cumpleaños. Centenares de comensales colmaron los amplios salones de "El Pañuelito Blanco" y "Los caminos", amenizaron la reunión interpretando música del repertorio que los ha popularizado. El club Boca Juniors y la Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos "Verdi" hicieron entrega al presidente Delfino de presentes conmemorativos. El secretario de la Comisión Popular doctor Furio Le Chiare pronunció un discurso en que evoco los primeros años y los vínculos de sus fundadores con la UCR de la circunscripción electoral del barrio de La Boca.

Imagen 2: Cabecera del banquete popular servido en ocasión del cincuentenrio de la Universidad Popular de La Boca donde se observa al pintor Benito Quinquela Martin junto a Ambrosio Delfino, Juan Manuel Brazzola y Marcos Parodi

6. Otros homenajes en el marco del cincuentenario y la enseñanza gratuita que cuestan cada día más

En el marco del cincuentenario se realizaron otros homenajes entre ellos se puede mencionar el Homenaje a directores y profesores fallecidos; la Exposición retrospectiva fotografías en el amplio “hall” de la calle Pinzón; El homenaje al fundador, el concurso de obras filodramaticas de temática boquense y algunas actividades en conjunto con el Ateneo Boquense o la Asociación Leónidas Anastasi.

Todas las actividades realizadas en el marco del cincuentenario de la Universidad Popular de La Boca quedaron plasmadas en un pequeño libro que cuenta en su portada con la reproducción de cuadro lacustre de Quinquela Martin junto al escudo de la institución.

El festejo del “medio siglo dedicado a la educación del pueblo” de la Universidad Popular de La Boca plasmado en aquella obra intentaba hacer un resumen de medio siglo de trabajo, que según reconocían sus promotores “ha sido posible gracias a la colaboración constante de empresas, comercios, socios y amigos de la U.P. de L.B.”[36] Pero que para su prosecución se tornaba imprescindible multiplicar estos esfuerzos. Para ello invitaban “a los que por cualquier motivo han permanecido al margen de la misma a sumarse mediante aportes o asociándose”.

En el mismo texto se resaltó la situación acuciante que atravesaban en el hecho de que *“la enseñanza que se imparte gratuitamente cuesta cada día más, requiere por tanto la ayuda de todos, ya que todos se benefician con ella. ¡Contribuyan! ¡Asóciese!”*

Y que jamás en estos cincuenta años ha dejado de enseñando *lo que el hombre necesita saber para desempeñarse en la vida con menos dificultades.*

Cada uno de los actos descriptos nos muestra cómo la Universidad Popular fue construyendo su identidad en el territorio. El mapa de los actos nos lleva a un recorrido amplio por espacios de la ciudad de Buenos Aires de enorme importancia social (como el cementerio del aristocrático barrio de la Recoleta), religiosa (como la misa en la capilla más antigua del barrio) y el local anexo a la Universidad Popular (plantando la bandera de la festividad en su propio espacio educativo). Dos espacios seleccionados para los actos muestran, a su vez, la profundidad de los lazos que la Universidad construyó con los habitantes del barrio de la Boca. El acto académico se realizó en un sitio de importancia simbólica para el barrio en su conjunto, y por último, el banquete popular realizado en salones de envergadura para albergar tanto a las celebridades del barrio como a los sectores populares.

[36] Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo, p. 33.

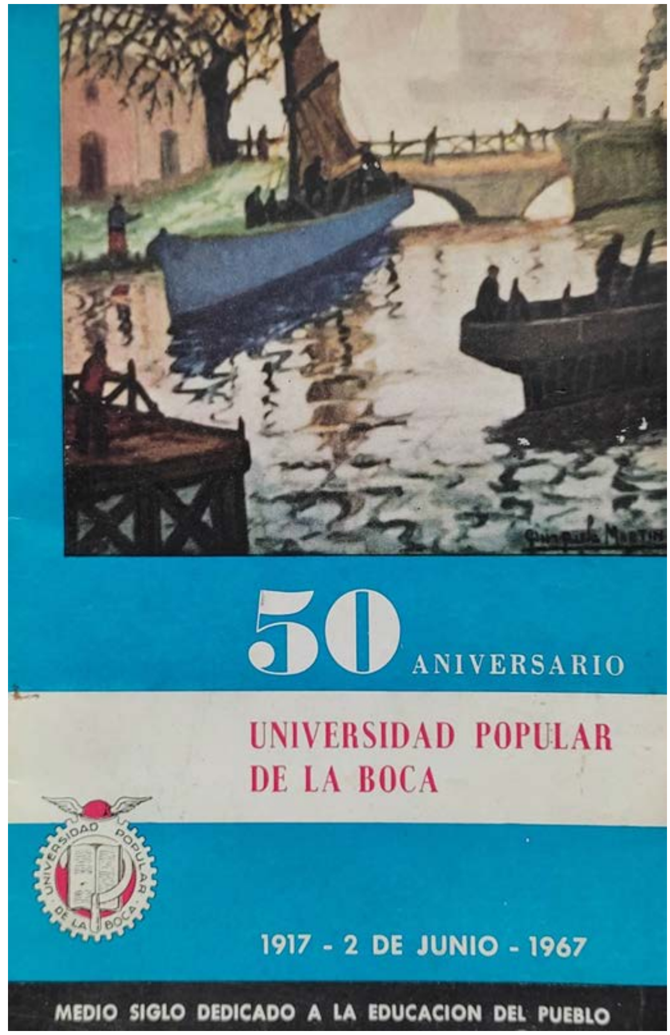


Imagen 3: Publicación 50 aniversario Universidad Popular de La Boca 1917 —2 de Junio — 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del pueblo

El devenir de la Universidad Popular de la Boca y las transformaciones de un país: la importancia de la gratuidad

En el trascurso de los primeros cincuenta años de la Institución, la Argentina atravesó profundas transformaciones que aquejaron tanto a su régimen político de gobierno como a su régimen social de acumulación (Torrado, 2010). Por ello, una propuesta educativa de la Universidad Popular boquense debió realizar esfuerzos de adaptación notables a este medio cambiante. Los primeros 20 años de la Universidad transcurrieron dentro del contexto del llamado Modelo Agro-exportador. Por lo tanto, los cursos que brindaron se orientaron a las demandas del mercado de trabajo operado bajo aquel modelo. El impacto de la crisis de 1930 y el desenvolvimiento ulterior de un nuevo su régimen social de acumulación que contempló a la industria como eje del desarrollo, ya sea en su modelo justicialista o desarrollista, implicó la modificación de los cursos ofrecidos.

Si bien podríamos identificar un vínculo entre el desarrollo de la experiencia de la Universidad Popular de La Boca y el desenvolvimiento económico y político de la Argentina, nos parece apresurado aceptar un determinismo en la periodización de la propia historia de esta Universidad Popular o la de cualquier otra. Rescatar la "foto instantánea" del cincuentenario como un hito identitario de la Universidad Popular de La Boca es también un intento de restituir una periodización propia y con cierto margen de autonomía de la historia económica, política y cultural de la Argentina, pero sin negar sus influencias. La adaptación que la Universidad Popular atravesó en su cincuentenario pretendió sostener los principios de sus fundadores en varios planos.

Uno de ellos, de mucha importancia, era la gratuidad de la oferta educativa y los requisitos de admisión de sus estudiantes. Dichos principios se establecieron en los estatutos aprobados por la asociación Universidad Popular de La Boca durante el gobierno de Juan B. Justo, en la década de 1930, cuando obtuvieron la personería jurídica. Estos indicaron que la oferta educativa debía ser gratuita, para estudiantes mayores de 14 años con "solo tener la voluntad de aprender", sin requisito de contar con los estudios de nivel secundario completo. Este último punto la distinguió de otras propuestas existentes en aquel período. Con el objetivo de seguir manteniendo la gratuidad se creó la Asociación Cooperadora en el año 1934 sumando a la iniciativa a destacadas personalidades del barrio como a alumnos y exalumnos.

Las ayudas provenientes de organismos oficiales eran irregulares, por lo que la Universidad fue muy vulnerable a los vaivenes económicos que sacudían a la Argentina. Las ayudas empresariales solo parecieron satisfacer la necesidad de contar con algunos elementos para el dictado de cursos y la dotación de algunos docentes, junto a la concreción de una bolsa de trabajo que servía para la colocación laboral de los alumnos egresados y/o destacados.

V. Conclusiones

En el cincuentenario de la Universidad Popular se desplegaron enormes esfuerzos de la comunidad educativa con el objetivo de presentar un balance de la obra realizada por la institución y de las perspectivas de futuro que avizoraban los miembros del Consejo Directivo y del cuerpo de profesores. La Universidad Popular que festejó los 50 años seguramente no era la misma que había surgido en el año 1917, como tampoco lo era el país que la vio nacer. Los jóvenes promotores de los primeros años ya tenían una basta y consolidad carrera, muchos vinculados con el funcionariado estatal, empresarial o político. Algunos de ellos, como Santiago Canop[37], se convirtieron en promotores de instituciones que tomaron de modelo a la Universidad Popular de la Boca y llegaron a conformar federaciones como la UPA (Universidades Populares Argentinas). La Universidad Popular de la Boca se mantuvo apartada, preservando su autonomía, pero con estrechos vínculos y simpatías con esta federación, plasmado en diversos números de la revista de la UPA. Es posible que la composición del estudiantado también haya ido cambiando con el devenir del tiempo.

Los discursos pronunciados en el Cincuentenario revelan la construcción identitaria de la institución favoreciendo el elemento localista, al tiempo que invisibilizó los antecedentes de propuestas similares (tanto extranjeras como regionales) impulsadas por grupos ideológicos más próximos a las ideas socialistas. Consideramos que respondía a una estrategia de consolidar la solidaridad local, al mismo tiempo que afinaban la sintonía con el gobierno dictatorial de turno para garantizar la supervivencia de la Institución y no sufrir el mismo desfinanciamiento que afectó a la UPA.

Siguiendo a Adriana Puiggros (166; 2003) caracterizamos la propuesta originalmente vanguardista de la Universidad Popular de La Boca como una alternativa pedagógica, para logramos apreciar también sus límites. En el análisis de las fuentes identificamos como la institución y sus actores sociales conjugaron elementos utópicos y vanguardistas. Así constituyeron sujetos pedagógicos efímeros, solo captables mediante "fotos instantáneas". A pesar de la larga supervivencia de la Institución se produjo el desgaste de la propuesta

[37] Santiago Canop (sin dato - 24 de enero de 1969) Hijo de un comerciante afincado en el barrio de La Boca, su formación profesional en la escuela comercial de Barracas quedó truncada ya que llegó a egresar por participar en una huelga de alumnos disconformes con las autoridades escolares. Pero, siendo todavía estudiante de dicho establecimiento en el año 1915 ya participaba como profesor de taquigrafía en "El Hogar y la Escuela", en la Boca, un establecimiento que volcaba su esfuerzo en educar y capacitar a hombres y mujeres en horas de la noche. Con la fundación de la Universidad Popular La Boca, concretada por Tomás A. Le Breton el joven Canop trabó contacto con el político de la Unión Cívica Radical y fue así que la Universidad Popular de La Boca lo contó entre sus primeros profesores. Casi simultáneamente propició el joven Canop el funcionamiento de la Universidad Popular "Bernardo de Irigoyen". En la década de 1920 su presencia sería clave en la constitución de la asociación Universidades Populares Argentinas (UPA) y su expansión posterior que transcendería al área del Gran Buenos Aires y de la Capital Federal abarcando casi la totalidad del país. Siempre ocupando cargos dentro del Consejo Directivo de la UPA a principios de la década años 1960 inició una campaña con el proyecto de llegar a cien Universidades Populares fundadas en Argentina, lo que implicaba casi duplicar el número existente por aquel entonces. Fallece en el año 1969 tras haberse alejado del Consejo Directivo de la UPA presionado para destrabar una resolución del gobierno dictatorial de Onganía que, amparándose en la modernización y racionalización del sistema educativo, le quitó la subsidiaridad estatal a la UPA. De esa forma, rompió las bases de la arquitectura que la UPA había sabido montar. (Yaverovski, 2022b)

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

originalmente vanguardista ante el avance de un sistema de instrucción pública generalizado (SIPCE)[38], con capacidad de absorber algunos elementos de la propuesta original. Las estrategias discursivas de apelación al barrio y a diferentes actores sociales fueron un intento de revitalizar a la Universidad Popular de La Boca, con el objetivo de no perder muchos de los sentidos iniciales con la que fuera creada y resguardar su vitalismo en el territorio.

Los segundos cincuenta años de vida institucional de la Universidad Popular fueron también aquellos en los que la sociedad argentina se vio enriquecida con la plasticidad del avance de su sistema de instrucción pública, que desarrolló propuestas que rivalizaron con la boquense en la captación de alumnado y docentes. Sumado a ese devenir el menguar constante de los recursos económicos, el centenario de la Universidad Popular de la Boca en el año 2017 tuvo festejos considerablemente más modestos que los del cincuentenario[39]. No obstante, la Institución permanece en pie y funcionando en el barrio porteño de La Boca, conservando su edificio de la calle Pinzón y si bien la gratuidad no es absoluta, sus costos son ínfimos y no tiene condiciones de ingreso estrictas. Atravesando incluso la pandemia del SARS-COV2, la Universidad Popular de La Boca continúa cumpliendo una función social y educativa en el barrio que la vio nacer hace más de cien años atrás.

Bibliografía

1. Barovero, Diego Alberto. (2013). Caudillos y protagonistas políticos en la Boca del Riachuelo. Buenos Aires. Editorial Dunken.
2. Bucich, Antonio J. (1967) Ubicación Boquense del Dr. Tomás A. Le Breton. Buenos Aires: Escuela de Artes Gráficas.
3. Mercier, L. (2001) La educación popular a través de la Universidad Popular en la Francia del primer siglo XX.
4. Puiggrós, Adriana. (1990). Sujetos, Disciplina y Curriculum en los orígenes del sistema educativo argentino. Buenos Aires, Editorial Galerna.
5. Puiggrós, Adriana: (2003). El lugar del saber, Galerna, Buenos Aires.
6. Repetto, N. (1956). Mi paso por la política: De Roca a Yrigoyen. Santiago Rueda.
7. Torrado, Susana (2010) "Modelos de acumulación, regímenes de gobierno y estructura social" en Susana Torrado (Directora) El costo social del ajuste, 1976-2002, Vol. I, Buenos Aires Edhasa. Pp.21-61.
8. Universidad Popular de La Boca. 50 Aniversario. Universidad Popular de La Boca. (1968) 1917 - 2 de Junio - 1967. Medio siglo dedicado a la educación del Pueblo. Buenos Aires. Talleres Gráficos el triángulo.
9. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2018) «Dos palabras ¿un concepto?: Mil y un concepciones para 100 años en torno a las Universidades Populares». En jornadas "memorias, legados, disputas y prospectivas en historia de la educación. a 100 años de la reforma universitaria". Córdoba, Argentina.
10. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2017) «Tomás Le Breton: ¿exponente de una propuesta educativa alvearista?» Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, Argentina.
11. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2018) «Los ingenieros agrónomos en los primeros años de la Universidad Popular de La Boca.» Montevideo-Uruguay.
12. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2018b, noviembre 28). Francia, Brasil, México y Argentina. Una propuesta de Historia Comparada para las Universidades Populares decimonónicas. Eje: Problemas filosóficos, históricos y epistemológicos en educación. VI Jornadas Nacionales y IV Latinoamericanas de Investigadores/as en Formación en Educación Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Buenos Aires.
13. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2021). Tres Repúblicas Barriales y sus Universidades. Las Universidades Populares en la ciudad de Buenos Aires en el período de entreguerras: Un esquema preliminar. Historia Caribe, 16(38). https://doi.org/10.15648/hc.38.2021.2817
14. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2022). Cuando las Universidades Populares llegaron al gobierno. El año 1938, los vínculos y trayectorias que unieron a funcionarios estatales con las Universidades Populares en la Argentina. [En prensa]
15. Yaverovski, Alejandro Martín. (2022b). Las Universidades Populares en la Argentina: el largo camino de una alternativa pedagógica (1890-1967). [En prensa]

[38] Adriana Puiggrós y el grupo de APPEAL desarrollaron una categoría de análisis que denominaron SIPCE (sistema de instrucción pública centralizado) para comprender el modelo educativo argentino que se extendió hasta 1980. En su condición de referente, posee los siguientes rasgos: hegemonía del estado; subsidiariedad a los sectores privados; verticalidad; burocratización; carácter oligárquico, liberal, no participativo, autoritario y de alta discriminación. Véase Adriana PUIGGROS. "Sujetos, Disciplina y Curriculum en los orígenes del sistema educativo argentino." Buenos Aires, Editorial Galerna, 1990.

[39] Uno de los escasos registros de la conmemoración del centenario fue el obsequio presentado en la entrega de diplomas en el acto de fin de curso del año 2017. Veasé: "Obsequio del Profesor Alejandro Yaverovski, archivista de la UPLB, por el centenario de la Institución. Disponible en: https://www.facebook.com/uplaboca/posts/obsequio-del-profesor-alejandro-yaverovski-archivista-de-la-u-p-l-b-por-el-cente/955733167916784/

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 22 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2022
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Situating India-Africa Partnerships in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

By Pamreihor Khashimwo
University of Delhi

Abstract- The emergence and assertiveness of India as a major actor and stakeholder in global affairs, as well as the transformation of the India-Africa relationship, are visible in the century. The article begins with a historical perspective before delving into the India-Africa partnership in its key areas. It is critical to provide an overview of the historical context and shared colonial past to focus on and contextualise the emergence of India-Africa engagement, as well as to delve into Africa's unfolding international competition, with a focus on China's growing influence. It examines the continental, regional, and bilateral aspects of India-Africa partnerships and offers a strategy for strengthening and deepening the partnership over the next decade. India now has diplomatic relations with nearly all African countries as a result of the modernisation of diplomatic and commercial representations. India provides economic assistance in the form of grants to promote development in key sectors and areas.

Keywords: india, africa, global affairs, significant actors, historical, engagement and focus.

GJHSS-D Classification: DDC Code: 341.584 LCC Code: KZ4029

SITUATINGINDIAAFRICAPARTNERSHIPSINHISTORICALANDCONTEMPORARYPERSPECTIVES

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Situating India-Africa Partnerships in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

Pamreihor Khashimwo

Abstract- The emergence and assertiveness of India as a major actor and stakeholder in global affairs, as well as the transformation of the India-Africa relationship, are visible in the century. The article begins with a historical perspective before delving into the India-Africa partnership in its key areas. It is critical to provide an overview of the historical context and shared colonial past to focus on and contextualise the emergence of India-Africa engagement, as well as to delve into Africa's unfolding international competition, with a focus on China's growing influence. It examines the continental, regional, and bilateral aspects of India-Africa partnerships and offers a strategy for strengthening and deepening the partnership over the next decade. India now has diplomatic relations with nearly all African countries as a result of the modernisation of diplomatic and commercial representations. India provides economic assistance in the form of grants to promote development in key sectors and areas. Given the widespread criticism of China's involvement in Africa, India must focus on establishing a win-win partnership rather than engaging in behaviours that undermine this basic principle. The effective use of soft power to play to India's strengths is a critical component of India's engagement with Africa.

Keywords: india, africa, global affairs, significant actors, historical, engagement and focus.

I. Introduction

Interactions between India and Africa date back to ancient civilisations. Indian traders travelled to the East African coast regularly, establishing relationships with local inhabitants that led to the establishment of Africa-based family businesses on the continent. Besides, India's political philosophy and ideas influenced African decolonisation movements. Following independence, India and Africa cooperate to establish a just, representative, and democratic global order and strengthened their relations. Regular high-level bilateral, regional, and multilateral visits and summits have aided in the consolidation of political partnerships and other areas of engagement. After being ignored for decades, India re-energised its engagement and Africa has now emerged as the focal point of Indian diplomacy.

It is critical to revisit and critically examine the various dimensions of India-Africa relations to better understand and strengthen ties, as well as to foster greater cooperation in the twenty-first century. What impact did the India-Africa interaction have, and how can they benefit from it? What are the issues that India and Africa should be concerned about? In how India and Africa engage in the century. India has advanced its cooperation with Africa through South-South Cooperation, bolstering its claim to represent developing African countries. India has identified itself as a global South advocate and has found support for this role, particularly in Africa. Economic, political, security, energy, and global issues have recently risen to prominence. Africa becomes far more important and prominent in terms of India's global ambitions and energy sources.

India-Africa relations are thriving and continuing to be charted on the global stage and yet the relationship is being scrutinised and drawing international attention. Following India's economic liberalisation in the 1990s, the African continent became more important for India's economic and energy goals. Several initiatives for economic cooperation with African countries have been launched, including the extension of credit lines to the Preferential Trade Area, an MoU on cooperation between India and the Southern African Development Community, the Focus Africa Programme, and the establishment of an ₹1 billion financing schemes for regional cooperation with Africa. India increased its investments in Africa to strengthen its economic ties and energy security, as well as to develop a mining investment strategy. Three major India-Africa summits took place, resulting in a significant increase in trade volume. The 4th India-Africa Forum Summit is scheduled for September 2020 to assess progress on key pledges and chart the course for an empowering partnership. Nonetheless, the scheduled summit has been cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic concerns.[1]

Based on the 1954 Panchsheel principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect, non-aggression, non-interference, equality, and mutual benefits, the underlying principles informing India-Africa relations demonstrate a strong sense of continuity (Renu 2011). India's historical connections remain relevant today. Previously, India in Africa appears less calibrated on the surface but is expressed as a noble and simple language of South-South cooperation. The recent development depicts a story in which growing relations with Africa began and progressed in a much more natural manner, led by business and trade-related groups that supported more networks and the reason

Author: University of Delhi, India. e-mail: khashimwo.jnu@gmail.com

[1] The Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19), detected in late 2019 in China and declared a pandemic by WHO, has become one of humanity's most difficult tests in modern history. It has overburdened the global healthcare system and resulted in long-term geopolitical shifts.

for investing in Africa, followed by government entities into official summits. The Indian government did not lead, but rather followed, and it was still plagued by a policy-making capacity deficit (Large 2013). The first India-Africa Forum Summit in 2008 was known as the "India-Africa Framework for Cooperation," and it was attended by 14 African heads of state. The summit issued an ambitious set of commitments to advance key areas of partnership and to officially visualise mutual benefits. Summits of the India-Africa Forum were launched to highlight the two regions' joint resolve to enhance economic and strategic content to multidimensional cooperation. The "Addis Ababa Declaration" and the "Framework for Enhanced Cooperation" were adopted at the second Summit in Addis Ababa in 2011.

The 4th India-Africa Strategic Dialogue on the theme "India and Africa: Deepening Security Engagement" was held in 2018 to broaden the concept of security and suggest ways to strengthen security partnerships. Even though China continues to outperform India in many areas of engagement, India is now widely regarded as an important player in Africa (Ian 2014). Indian policymakers argued that India has a positive image and is not viewed as an aggressive power, but rather as the continent's 'great advantage.' China, on the other hand, is becoming more involved in the African economy, following Western world rules and pursuing stronger political relations with African countries, as evidenced by the establishment of the China-Africa Forum in 2000. Given its regional neighbours and numerous domestic challenges, India has significant foreign policy priorities. As a result, Africa was not India's primary focus for a brief period. However, is critical to understand the historical and political perspectives of the India-Africa partnership.

II. Historical and Political

India has been a long-standing African partner and is not a newcomer to the continent. Even today, the civilisational links that exist between India and Africa are acknowledged and used as a bridging factor to strengthen relations. Historically, slaves from India made up more than half of all slaves arriving at the Cape in the 17th century, establishing the link (Ali Sadiq 1987a). The French colonised the Western Indian Ocean islands in the 18th century and began recruiting Indian slaves for Mauritius and Reunion (Dubey 2016). In the late 1800s, Indian labourers arrived in East Africa to help build the Uganda-Kenya railway (Brueggemann 2000). By the turn of the 19th century, approximately 20000 Indian slaves constituted 13 percent of the Islands' slave population (Carter 2006). Later, Mauritius and Reunion recruited Indian masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and lascars, resulting in an economically stable Indian slave population (Carter 2006). The descendants of these merchants contribute a significant portion of their host countries' local GDP. Many Indian workers stayed on to work as artisans, traders, clerks, and, eventually, small business owners. administrators and some even became doctors and lawyers (Brueggemann 2000).

The relationship began with enterprising Indian merchants seeking ocean trade routes. They set sail across the Arabian Sea to the west in search of profitable markets and commercial frontiers (Dubey 2016). India and Africa became part of the Indian Ocean trade circuit (Dubey 2016; Ali Shadiq 1987b) which not only brought economic benefits but also contributed to the development of internal links in the African continent even before Europeans arrived (Jeevanjee 1912). Periplus demonstrates India's trading contacts not only with Egypt and coastal states, but also with northern Somalia, the ancient Punt, the Kingdom of Kush (now Sudan), and Axum (now Ethiopia). During the ancient and medieval periods, there was a significant presence of Indian traders in Africa. Trade links facilitated the movement of people from both regions.

Even though, the African presence in India is minor in comparison to Indian migration to African territories. They played a positive role; for example, Islamised Africans (known as Siddis) could contribute to development in India's Bengal, Gujarat, and Deccan (Dubey 2016). During Muslim rule in India, it imported African slaves as domestic workers and soldiers. The Siddis first arrived in the subcontinent in 628 A.D. at the port of Bharuch, and with the first Arab Islamic invasions of the subcontinent in 712 A.D., several others followed, and later groups served with Muhammad Bib Qasim's army (Jaysuriya *et al.* 2003). Several Siddis settled on the West Coast (between Bombay and Goa) during the medieval period and ruled this region from the Mughal era to the arrival of European powers in India (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003). They were discovered today in Gujarat, Karnataka, and Hyderabad (Jaysuriya *et al.* 2003). Furthermore, various African communities arose from the 19th-century abolitionist campaign and were channelled to three different locations (Bombay, Pune, and Nashik) and became known as 'Bombay Africans' and 'Nasik Boys' (Ali Sadiq 1987a). They identified with European culture, ideas, and manners, as opposed to local Siddis who adopted local culture and religion (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003).

The concept of a shared historical experience marked by colonialism is an important factor in India-Africa relations. Before 1945, the emphasis was initially on political issues such as fighting racial discrimination and colonial establishment. Human migration from India to Africa, particularly to the east, stems from India's unique relationship with the British Empire and was boosted after 1947 because of its shared historical experience with colonial rule. Poetic and prosaic India-Africa ties grew stronger after Indian independence, particularly under Nehru's charismatic leadership (Daniel

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

2012). The common experience of colonialism was most formative, with India serving as a model for colonial Africa. During the independence movement, the Indian National Congress served as a model for certain African political parties, including the Sudanese Graduate Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress. Such colonial ties and post-colonial legacies continue to influence even today. The official language of India's African relations is an officially sanctioned history (Pham 2011). The emphasis on partnership demonstrates the postcolonial language of political and moral solidarity's strong continuity.

Following India's independence, the focus of India-Africa interaction shifted to political issues such as anti-colonialism and the adoption of South-South cooperation through bilateral and multilateral organisations. However, there have been periods of benign neglect as India's strategic and economic priorities have revolved around improving relations with other parts of the world, particularly with the neighbours. For a brief period, India's relations with Africa were strained, resulting in restrictions on trade and investment. During the early 1960s and 1970s, few Indian companies invested in East African countries because India's domestic policies were highly restrictive in issuing the foreign exchange required for domestic firms to invest overseas. Besides, the Indian diplomatic and economic boycott of South Africa continues until 1994 in protest of the racist regime, apartheid policy, separation, and segregation. In the 1990s, economic, educational, and technical cooperation were prioritised in India-Africa relations. When South Africa became a democratic nation under Mandela's presidency, India resumed trade and diplomatic relations.

In 1955, the African Asian Bandung Conference focused on self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality for the third world. In the mid-1960s and 1970s changing global circumstances and imperatives forced India to reframe its Africa policy, as it sought a new equation with African countries. Many African leaders began to regard India as a regional power, as events on the subcontinent such as 1962[2] and 1971[3] wars had a direct impact on India-Africa relations. The first NAM Summit at Belgrade in 1961, where Abdul Nasser of Africa and Nehru played a crucial role, marked the beginning of regular institutionalised solidarity meet between India and Africa and other third world countries.

It was in Lusaka NAM Summit that proposed South-South Cooperation through which India was to provide economic and technical aid among developing nations to counter neo-colonial policies perpetuated by the industrially advanced countries (Dubey 2016). Centred on the shared colonial experiences, India and Africa worked closely in the newly set up intercontinental institutions and promote closer South-South cooperation. During the Cold War period, decolonisation, and the abolition of racial discrimination in Africa became focal points of India-Africa interactions, this resulted in multidimensional partnership; fight against racism, support for liberation struggles, Afro-Asian assertion culminating in NAM, economic diplomacy alongside security, and peacebuilding under South-South cooperation (Gupta 2018). However, it is argued that India's participation in the NAM group's activities is purely symbolic (Mahaprastha 2012).

Nehru later became the chief architect of the Indian National Congress's African policy. Under Nehru, India linked the Indian freedom struggle to the African struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and it saw African decolonisation as a continuation of its struggle (Dubey 2016). Nehru carried forward the liberation movement and the fight against racial discrimination in Africa. As a result, after independence, decolonisation, and the end of racial discrimination in Africa became the focal point of India-African relations. During the first year of Indian independence, African countries recognised the Indian position by involving it in African struggles. India provided diplomatic support for liberation struggles at various international forums such as the UN, Commonwealth, NAM, and others.

The push for India's Africa policy has been critical in making Africa more visible within India. India became interested in Africa, a process accelerated by China's massive visible presence on the continent following the third Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006. Africa is a critical support base for India's United Nations Security Council (UNSC) goal. This is also reflected in India's participation in various regional organisations, the most prominent of which is the BRICS framework. Furthermore, the trilateral India-Brazil-South Africa Forum fosters India-Africa engagement. Despite fierce competition from China, India pursues its strategic interests on the continent through multilateral participation and support for African organisations on security issues. It has been bolstering military ties with African countries along the Indian Ocean, including Mauritius, Seychelles, Madagascar, Tanzania, Mozambique, and, most notably, South Africa. Since 2008, the Indian navy has also contributed to anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden.

Gandhi was instrumental in bridging the gap between India and Africa. India and Africa were linked through Gandhi, the Indian National Congress, diasporas, and the same British colonial rule. Gandhi's philosophy captivated people all over the world, particularly African leaders. Gandhi had a significant impact on African history. African leaders have shared

[2] The negative impact of the 1962 India-China war on Indian foreign policy was reversed by India's victory in the 1971 Bangladesh war.
[3] Following its decisive victory over Pakistan in 1971, India emerged as the subcontinent's primary dominant power.

the views of Gandhi's Indian National Congress, asserting the right to equality, political participation, and non-violence protest. In 1928, the All India Congress met in Calcutta and established an overseas department to establish contact with political formations and leaders in Africa. K Nkrumah of Ghana was convinced of the Gandhian liberation strategy, which was developed in India to fight the war of independence. Ceasley Hayford, a Ghanaian nationalist established the West African Congress on the model of the Indian National Congress (Huttenback 1966).

Another aspect and benefit of Indian interaction is the presence of large diasporas in Africa. Under Gandhi's leadership, the Indian diaspora established various political organisations in South Africa to combat British discrimination, including the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1894, the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1903, and the South African Indian Congress in 1920. African leaders are at ease with leaders of the Indian diaspora, as well as India's support and connections to the Indian diaspora in Africa. Gandhi, Nehru, and the INC inspired and exhorted the Indian diaspora to begin liberation struggles against colonial powers in South Africa, Kenya, and Mauritius. This left a long legacy of participation in Africa's anti-colonial struggle by India and the Indian diaspora.

Now, with over 2.8 million Persons of Indian Origin in Africa, India has the world's second-largest diaspora. India has a stronger diaspora connection. The Indian diaspora in Africa has a long history rooted in colonial and post-colonial advantages over China. To capitalise on the roles and contributions of the Indian diaspora, India established the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in 2003, which provided the Pravasi Bharatiya Samman to Indians living in foreign countries, including those in Africa. It grew into an annual gathering to strengthen diaspora ties. In 2010, it established the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre to foster economic ties, with Africa playing a key role. Besides, mini *Pravasi Bharatiya 'Divas-Africa'* was held in Durban as part of the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the first indentured Indian labourers in Africa in 2010. The Indian government has supported and strengthened Indian communities in Africa as well as India's interests; however, this is a negotiated relationship with no such automatic synergies (Viswanathan 2018).

In the new circumstances of a more open and globalising world, it is not always easy to reconcile with recent forms of more material, pragmatic, and economically driven business on the continent. To keep pace with the rapidly changing relationship landscape, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced a set of ten guiding principles for India's engagement with Africa in 2018. Modi used the 10th BRICS Summit in 2016 to expand India's Africa outreach project. India and several African countries are now associated politically, economically, and in the energy sector. New Delhi remains committed to expanding and strengthening its commercial ties with other African countries.

India now responded to the Chinese aggressive move in Africa through economic diplomacy, regular leader visits, and other major drivers that guided India's Africa policy for both short-term and long-term engagement. Since the 1990s India's Africa policy has expanded its engagement to several important areas. The Indian policy in Africa is now to forge new connections and renew old friendships to reverse India's declining image and influence among Africans and bring new areas of engagement such as security, energy, health, agriculture, technology, education, trade, economics, development, etc.

III. Trade, Economic, and Development

India's economic relations with Africa remain the focal point of its engagements. Heretofore, India and Africa traded largely in traditional goods like jute, textiles, and clothing. In the 1970s and 1980s, raw cotton, raw cashew nuts, nonferrous metal, pearls, semi-precious stones, rock phosphate, dyeing, tanning, and colouring materials were among India's imports from Africa. Africa now accounts for nearly 9 percent of India's imports, up from 3.5 percent in 2005. India's trade with Africa increased from \$1 billion in 1991 to \$7.7 billion in 1999, and it increased significantly from \$42.8 billion in 2009 to \$70 billion in 2014 (Gupta 2018). In 2009-10 India invested \$1.52 billion in Africa. Several aspects of India's economic profile in Africa conform to larger patterns, such as trade, geography, and the composition of trades based on products and services (Modi 2010). The India-Africa economic dynamics have made significant inroads in recent decades, with trade between India and Africa increasing from \$70 billion in 2014 to \$90 billion in 2017-2018. India's main African trading partners include Nigeria, Angola, South Africa, and Egypt. Following the economic reforms of the 1990s, India's economic diplomacy began to focus on African countries that responded favourably to Indian moves. This enabled India to forge new economic partnerships, and commercial considerations pushed Indian foreign policy toward a more pragmatic approach.

India's exports to Africa are more diverse, including automobiles, manufactured goods, machinery, transportation equipment, food, and pharmaceutical products. Most Indian exports to Africa are made up of manufactured goods. The interaction of India with African countries drives economic interests to expand, India's imports from Africa are crude petroleum, gold, and inorganic chemical products. Oil accounts for roughly 20 percent of India's fuel imports from Africa. Several Indian companies are looking to Africa to increase their overseas investment and the government intends to promote even further. Many Indian companies are now investing in Africa, such as Carborundum

Universal Ltd, which purchased a 51 percent stake in South Africa's Foskor Zirconia Proprietary Ltd, the world's third-largest producer of zirconia. Financial Technologies India Limited group completed a deal to acquire a 60 percent stake in Botswana-based Bourse Africa. Bharat Heavy Electricals invested $2 billion in three coal-fired power projects, and National Thermal Power Corporation Limited secured 3 million tonnes of LNG per year in exchange for building three power plants in Nigeria. MTN-Bharti secures a US$ 10.7 billion bid for Zain Telecom in 2010, Essar Group acquires a majority stake in Econet Wireless, Jet Airways expands transport links from South Africa to India, and ONGC increases investments in West Africa.

One aspect of India's economic relations with Africa that stands out is its position as the world's largest customer of gold bullion and the world's leading diamond processor, accounting for roughly 86 percent of the global market. To meet rapid domestic demand, India is eyeing Africa's resources such as copper, uranium, iron ore, and others. ArcelorMittal, an Indian company signed a US$1.6 billion agreement with the Liberian government in 2007 for iron ore exploration, and Vedanta Resources owns a stake in Zambia's Konkola Copper Mine. The high levels of liquidity of Indian multinationals, as well as Africa's growing consumer market, are increasingly appealing to Indian companies. The Indian pharmaceutical industry is estimated to be worth US$1.119 billion on the African continent.

India's development assistance has become more intertwined with commercial considerations. India's Africa development collaboration policy is built on economic and technical cooperation. The former focuses on trade and investment, while the latter promotes business regulation and opportunity. India established a novel development partnership administration to synchronize the work of Indian development agencies and simplify aid spending. The growing scale of development aid and future ambitions underscored the intent to manage more effectively and strategically, including in terms of public diplomacy, to build India's image around the world (Dubey 2010). Previously, the reasons for the following economic diplomacy were purely political.

India is now more carefully defining and redefining its national interests and pursuing them with zeal. Earlier, the Ministry of External Affairs was the primary coordinator of Indian development aid, but the Ministry of Commerce or Exim Bank now plays a larger role in managing concessional finance agreements and trade with African countries. Financial credit mechanisms are also a part of India's economic engagement, supporting business expansion and funding various projects. Africa is the largest regional recipient of Exim Bank's total line of credit and launched a duty-free tariff preference scheme in 2008. Numerous key initiatives are in place to strengthen economic ties including preferential market access for exports from low-income countries in 33 African countries. India implemented the "focus Africa" program to increase interaction by identifying potential areas of bilateral trade and investment. The program, which involves 24 African countries aims to increase Indian exports of textiles, drugs and pharmaceuticals, machinery, transportation equipment, and telecom and information technology. The Trilateral Commission is also an initiative of India, Brazil, and South Africa designed to foster cooperation in fields such as health, information technology, civil aviation, and defence, as well as business exchanges in infrastructure, technology, and sustainable development. To facilitate joint projects, India-Africa project partnership conclaves were held between various Indian ministries and banks and the African Development Bank. This conclave explored over 200 projects worth $30 billion in infrastructure, mining, agriculture, telecommunications, and healthcare (Munjal and Wutawunashe 2012).

Indian business has also been linked with technology transfer, pursuing approaches such as the 'Triple-A' strategy championed by the Confederation of Indian Industry for affordable, adaptable, and appropriate technology. India even launched the Techno-Economic Approach for Africa-India Movement, a special credit facility for eight West African countries to promote socio-economic development through access to Indian technology. With African Union (AU) cooperation, India's Pan African e-network Project connects academic institutions and hospitals in many African countries with Indian counterparts via a satellite network enabling tele-education and telemedicine. The project, worth US$117 million is a collaborative effort between the AU and the government of India to make Indian expertise and facilities available to Africa.

India's TEAM-9 initiative was to reach out to West Africa, collaborated with eight West African countries to share expertise, intellectual and physical resources, and create economic opportunities. Under these initiatives, India is transferring technical skills and technology to Africa in agriculture, small-scale industries, pharmaceuticals and healthcare, information, and infrastructure development (Bijoy 2010). In addition, India provides US$5 million in lines of credit (LoC) each to the Eastern and Southern African Trade and Development Bank (PTA Bank), the Industrial Development Bank Ltd. of Kenya, and the Eastern African Development Bank. India provided billions of dollars in grants and LoCs to African countries for projects ranging from an IT training centre in Lesotho to rural electrification in Mozambique and Ethiopia, railways in Senegal and Mali, and cement factory in Congo. India's commercial relations with Africa have evolved into an important component including the energy of its relations.

IV. India's Energy Footprint and Engagement

India imports more than 80 percent of its crude oil from abroad, and demand is rapidly increasing. India's share of global energy consumption is currently 3.5 percent and is expected to reach 10 percent by 2031. With only 0.3 percent of global oil reserves but one-fifth of the global population and energy consumption is expected to grow at a 4.2 percent annual rate, allowing it to surpass China as the world's largest energy market by 2030. In the context of India's changing internal and external environments, expanding market size, and rising rate of consumption, India sought new energy sources to meet rising demand. India is attempting to diversify its energy sources by investing in foreign energy assets. India urgently needs to diversify its energy sources to close the demand-supply gap, as indigenous energy production is insufficient to meet the country's high demand. India has limited domestic energy resources, and its reliance on energy imports will likely continue for the next two decades or more. India faces numerous energy security challenges, the gravity of which will grow in the future as energy demand outstrips supply. Oil and coal will continue to dominate India's energy mix, but their shares are declining as natural gas and renewable energy sources gradually increase their percentage share.

Energy security has emerged as a critical component of India's foreign policy focus to sustain the country's high growth rates and development. The Middle East is the primary supplier of oil and gas. However, due to precarious security and unstable political concerns, as well as the rise of transnational terrorist outfits such as Al Qaeda and the Islamic State (IS), the radicalisation of Islam, and other security-related concerns, this region is no longer a secure source of energy supply. India must diversify its energy sources and design policies that reflect domestic sentiment. In this context, Africa is one of the best energy-producing regions for India, and it is becoming an increasingly important component of engagement. India should certainly step up its energy diplomacy in Africa, particularly with oil-producing countries such as Nigeria, Niger Equatorial Guinea, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Ghana, and others. Africa has vast reserves of fossil fuels, accounting for 14.5 percent of global oil reserves and 23.2 percent of gas reserves. Sudan, Mozambique, Tanzania, Libya, Ghana, Egypt, and Algeria are the hub countries. Africa has become an important and alternative source of energy for India to meet the rising energy demand.

The current energy debate in India is shifting to Africa as a source of oil and gas. India's investment in Africa has increased, and engagement has gradually gained momentum, manifesting itself visibly in the energy sector. Energy security has influenced India's moves into the African oil sector (Gupta 2018). Today, energy resources have become one of India's primary interests in Africa. Indian energy companies gradually began to establish themselves in Africa's energy assets. In all this cross-cutting cooperation, the energy sector deserves an evaluation, given the opportunities and challenges that India faces with oil and other energy-related issues. Africa is vital to India's energy interests, and it is rapidly becoming a major energy source for India, with Nigeria and Angola supplying a large portion of oil and South Africa supplying coal. The main issue is how India will respond and engage in a manner that is different from the traditional African buyer. Moreover, 89 percent of its oil is delivered by sea, posing a security risk.

India's energy strategies in Africa were considered benign casualties; however, which appear to have been reconsidered and critically reassessed. With the 'Make in India' initiative and other programmes, oil-rich African states are becoming more relevant to India. Because the engagement is not only fast-moving but also intensifying, it has become even more important to reflect on the changing contours of the multifaceted partnership and have a realistic assessment of the energy sector. The current rate of India's economic growth will drive energy demand and increase the country's reliance on imported energy. Africa is likely to be a significant source of augmenting and supplementing India's increasing energy needs. The partnership in the energy sector would benefit both regions and deepen economic and political cooperation. Energy issues did not previously figure because energy was not perceived as a national security issue, and slow economic growth and lack of industrial growth meant low demand for energy. Today, India recognises the importance of forging stronger and longer-lasting energy ties with Africa.

The nature of India-Africa engagement and energy investment has shifted dramatically. Indian energy companies such as Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited (BPCL), and Oil India Limited (OIL) own a 30 percent stake in the Rovuma area of Mozambique, which borders South Sudan. Indian firms are establishing gas compression plants and LNG terminals in various African countries. The ONGC has invested in oil exploration ventures in Libya and Nigeria, and hydrocarbon sector of Sudan and offshore drilling in Côte d'Ivoire. Many private oil companies, including Essar Oil Limited, OVL, Indian Oil Corporation (IOC), and Mittal Energy Limited (MEL), have agreed to share resources in exchange for the development of local infrastructure. For example, an OVL-MEL joint venture was awarded oil exploration rights in Nigeria in exchange for the development of $6 billion in oil-refinery and power-generation infrastructure (Lucey et al. 2015). OVL is currently the most active Indian company, OIL, Bharat Petroleum (BP), and Hindustan Petroleum (HP) are other companies active in Africa. IOC purchased an offshore block in Cote d'Ivoire, and other Indian energy firms purchased stakes in oil and gas blocks in Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, and Senegal. There are numerous exploration projects underway in Libya, Nigeria, Egypt, Sudan, Mozambique, and the joint Development Zone along Nigeria's maritime border with Sao Tome and Principe.

Today, Indian firms are lining up to gain a stake in Africa's energy sector. ONGC Mittal Energy Ltd. has collaborated with the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation on the construction of a Greenfield petroleum refinery plant, Essar in Nigeria and Madagascar, and Reliance in Sudan, which have demonstrated how Indian oil companies are steadily expanding their interests and presence in the continent's petroleum sector. International Coal Ventures Private Limited, National Thermal Power Corporation Limited, National Mineral Development Corporation, Coal India Limited, and Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Limited acquired a 65 percent stake in the mines of Benga, Zambezi, and Tete. Taurian Resources Private Limited and Earthstone FZE are two Indian private players currently operating in Niger, while Varun Energy Corporation is active in Madagascar.

India's infrastructure associates and Overseas Infrastructure Alliance signed an MoU with Cameroon to improve the country's energy and infrastructure construction, rehabilitation of rural, low-voltage power grid, and development of small hydropower projects to address the rural power supply problem in the country. The emergence of interdependence between India and Africa will be driven by Africa's energy resources. With complementarities between the economies and excellent political relations, the India-Africa energy partnership is likely to develop and strengthen as an important component of future relationships. However, there are several challenges and barriers to effectively addressing Africa's energy sector. For example, ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL) experienced diminishing returns because of declining output, insecurity, and political uncertainty. Terrorism and piracy are critical issues because African oil sources are mostly found offshore and are vulnerable to piracy. Can India overcome this constraint with technological assistance? Greater cooperation in the energy sector will have a knock-on effect on socio-economic growth and development, as well as strong energy ties.

Nuclear energy cooperation can play an important role in the India-Africa energy partnership through uranium trade. To support its nuclear energy expansion strategy, India requires a steady supply of uranium. South Africa is a potential uranium supplier; other African countries with proven uranium reserves include Algeria, Malawi, Burundi, and Congo. India is confronted with numerous energy security challenges. The India Hydrocarbon Vision 2025 urged India to ensure energy security by increasing indigenous production and investing in equity oil abroad. While imagining a greener, cleaner India powered by renewable energy. India and Africa are demonstrating potential collaborations in the renewable energy sector. India has set an ambitious goal of adding 175 GW of capacity by 2022 (MNRE, 2018), and East Africa is also seeing significant growth. The International Solar Alliance (ISA) offers an excellent platform to strengthen cooperation in the renewable energy sector. Through the ISA, India has now created a channel of uncoerced influence on 14 African nations that have signed and joined the ISA (Patey 2013). As a smart counterbalance to China's influence in the continent, the key concepts of India's relations with Africa are characterised by a blend of inter-related political, strategic, security, energy, agriculture, capacity-building, and economic factors.

V. Agriculture, Capacity Building, and Skill Training

Agriculture employs more than 70 percent of the African population and it is one of Africa's top economic development and job creation options. The World Bank recognises the expansion of the African food market, which is expected to be worth $1 trillion by 2030. This explains why Africa will have a massive food demand. Africa needs to transform an existing farm-centred system into a more commercialised and productive business. Today Africa's agricultural output is gradually increasing, and more jobs are created along value chains such as agricultural trade, farm servicing, agro-processing, urban retailing, and food services. These will improve Africans' living conditions while also benefiting small-scale farmers and small and medium-sized enterprises in the agri-food system (Udensi 2020). To maintain these gains and propel Africa's agricultural transformation, massive investment in the sector is required. These dynamics are creating opportunities for growth in Africa's food system, which will certainly necessitate strong collaboration and partnerships in the sector with India.

Agriculture in Africa has an enormous trade potential, India encourages agribusiness in Africa by establishing vocational training institutes and incubation centres, such as the Agri-business Incubation Program in Ghana, Cameroon, Angola, Mali, and Uganda (Large 2013). Fruits, nuts, edible vegetables, coffee, tea, spices, oilseeds, and other products are among the African agricultural imports to India. Around 80 Indian

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

agricultural companies invest in Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal, and Mozambique. Notwithstanding a public-private partnership between the government and Indian Agro companies. India proposed establishing food-testing laboratories in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Gambia, Rwanda, and the Republic of Congo through the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics. The India-Africa Seeds Bridge Project in Liberia, Kenya, Malawi, and Senegal aims to provide quality seeds to African farmers while creating a market for Indian seed companies in African markets.

The collaboration in the food processing and agriculture sectors is gaining traction. India's bilateral partnership with African nations through a training programme that provides soft loans in agriculture and allied sectors to improve farming techniques, irrigation, and soil quality. Through the IBSA fund, trilateral cooperation between the Indian Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, the National Institute of Agricultural Extension Management, and the US Agency for International Development to train agricultural practitioners from African countries in specialised practice to improve income and productivity. Notably, India's approach to development partnerships aligns with both the SDGs and Agenda 2063 and is well-received in Africa (Viswanathan and Mishra 2020).

India and Africa have deep roots in human resource development and capacity building, especially in generations of Africans educated in India, and in the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme since 1964, which links to the Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Programme (SCAAP). The ITEC Programme is an Indian aid programme that provides technical assistance to developing countries, including many African countries. India's role and partnerships in Africa emphasised local skill development and a people-centred approach to development (Dubey 2010). Human resource development is a distinct aspect of India's engagement, which is competitive because India has a high-quality, affordable higher education sector and advanced information technology. India-Africa Summit launch several training initiatives and pledged to work for the economy, science and technology, capacity building, and infrastructure preferential market access for Africa's 34 least developed countries.

The Confederation of Indian Industry and India Exim Bank organised annual conclaves on India-Africa to encourage Indian exports to expand their presence in Africa. The assistance to African countries via the SCAAP has provided civilian training, projects and project-related activities, a deputation of Indian experts abroad, study tours, equipment donations, and disaster relief aid to 19 African countries. Most of this assistance is channelled through the ITEC programme. India has pledged to establish capacity-building institutions in Africa, as well as vocational training and human settlement centres, an education project in Namibia, medical equipment procurement in Seychelles, and solar panels and school equipment in Rwanda. India possesses practical skills in a variety of sectors that can be applied to African needs. India's expertise in agro-processing and small farm mechanisation is relevant to Africa's farming industry and has the potential to support African countries in addressing their food security crisis (ADB 2011). At the same time, India is capitalising on emerging agricultural opportunities to reap the benefits of Africa's enormous agricultural potential. Indian agricultural companies have purchased hundreds of thousands of hectares of land in Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal, and Mozambique to grow rice, sugarcane, maize, and lentils for the Indian domestic market (Nelson 2009).

India can provide technology at a very competitive price. India's strengths in biotechnology, agriculture, pharmaceuticals, railroads, and space research are crucial to Africa in the twenty-first century. The India-Africa partnership in these areas can be mutually beneficial and trustable. India is interested in Africa because it is more than just a natural resource provider; it is also a processing and value addition base (Price 2011). India's increased investment in Africa in new industries and sectors such as agro-industries, SMEs, pharmaceuticals, textiles, information technology, banking, and retail offers the opportunity to accelerate diversification and transition from an agricultural to a more industrial and technology-based economy. However, India must capitalise on competition from other countries, particularly China. Because Africa is open and receives the best of all available options, it is well-positioned to take advantage of the multi-polar world order. India must strengthen its bargaining strategies, mitigate risks, and capitalise on medium and long-term opportunities (Roy 2012).

The India-Africa partnership has elicited speculative and ideological reactions, as well as a mix of hope and anxiety. There is a reason for Africans to resist the Indian onslaught. India has been accused of stealing land in Africa. A section of Africans claims that India wants to farm on African soil to feed billions of Indians, accusing them of outsourcing their land while millions of Africans go hungry. Besides, some tension exists in race relations between Indian and black Africans, if left unaddressed, this could escalate into open hostility. Such racial hostility occurred in the past and can easily be overlooked and allowed to fester in the future. When this sensitive issue arises, New Delhi must intervene quickly and effectively to address it and mitigate the potentially damaging flavours it may infuse into India-Africa relations. In addition, there are numerous competitors on the continent, including China. One of the most pressing issues for India on the continent is an active and assertive China, which

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

demanded India's immediate attention and effective response.

VI. India and China in Africa

India is currently reshaping its foreign policy and position toward Africa within the international system. Navigating the changing scenario of this relationship, India recognises the opportunities and challenges inherent in Africa. Africa is germinating new economic, market, energy, and other opportunities, and a one-of-a-kind relationship with India is possible. India is neither a newcomer nor a recent arrival in Africa. Yet, creating a sustainable development partnership from this new beginning promises to be a critical task for Indians and Africans in the twenty-first century. On a more fundamental level, however, India ignores the deep-rooted and challenging accounts of the past that go beyond a multifaceted and diverse Indian role in the continent. For many decades, India has engaged in Africa on a much smaller scale than other countries such as China. Nevertheless, India has an advantage because of its greater cultural, historical, and political proximity.

The period of improved relations increased investment, and more involved government engagement has marked a significant departure that, if continued and sustained, appears significant for India to expand its engagement in the continent, with economic and energy quickly emerging as key areas. The underlying shift in India's relationship with Africa indicates business-led and development-focused engagement. With India's focus and pursuit, relations have recently experienced a resurgence with a greater emphasis on action beyond agreements. At the same time, the growth of Sino-African ties is remarkable, and it is quickly becoming a major topic of discussion in India's international relations. This raises the question of how India can increase its engagement with Africa despite capacity and practical constraints. The question is whether India will stick to its principles while expanding its footprint in Africa, or whether it will follow China's lead on the continent.

The rivalry between India and China for Africa's resources, opportunities, and land is simply a modern manifestation of an old relationship; South-South cooperation first emerged in the 1950s in the common struggle of former colonies for independence and greater autonomy (Bloomberg Business Week 2011). Both nations were at the forefront of this movement and have since competed to become the leading representative of Southern states (McCarthy 2011). India and China's diplomatic tensions and boundary disputes have spilt over into their African activities. In response to India's growth, China sees it as a competitor and is actively expanding its presence.

India has an advantage over China in Africa because it is more benign and less domineering. Furthermore, unlike China, India does not engage in political and commercial alliances with rogue African regimes. Because of their shared historical experiences and ties, India is well-positioned to eventually have a strong and more significant presence in the continent. However, not all similarities and connections are positive. There are ethnic issues, even between Africans of Indian ancestry and Black Africans. Tensions can be seen in Kenya, where, despite decades of coexistence, there is still little integration between the two communities. This is not a dynamic that China is currently confronted with. China is viewed as a new power with few socio-historical connections and thus less baggage to bring to the table. Articulating and addressing the complexities of the India-Africa racial dynamic is something that India should be aware of and try to influence positively if it is to compete with China and emerge as a new economic superpower (Sharma 2010).

India's economic liberalisation in the 1990s had a wide-ranging impact on African foreign policy. Its interest in expanding economic relations, ensuring energy security, and diversifying imports have taken centre stage in the country's African foreign policy. As China's growing engagement in Africa for resources and influence has intensified, India's foreign policy toward Africa must be evaluated regularly to reflect changes in the continent's political and economic scenarios. The exploration of alternative energy sources other than the Middle East, as well as the pursuit of alternative energy sources such as nuclear and renewable energy, shape India-China geopolitics (Viswanathan and Mishra 2020). In Africa, India must meet the challenges and consistent competition posed by China and other major countries such as the United States and the European Union. China's aggressive policy and energetic involvement in numerous sectors have given it a significant presence in Africa. India must establish a presence in Africa, despite China's outperformance over Indian firms.

Both nations are concerned about their energy security, which could lead to competition and confrontation in Africa. Though India has more goodwill than China, which could help it expand its presence in Africa. Indian diplomacy in Africa cannot afford to ignore competition with China and its consequences. In recent decades, China has significantly increased its energy footprint and development investment. In terms of capital investment in Africa, India has lagged behind China so far. This is undoubtedly a significant challenge for India, which necessitates the development of a policy framework for improved cooperation with Africa. This will almost certainly increase competition, rather than cooperation, between India and China on the continent in various sectors. Despite all historical ties and collaboration, Africa has serious reasons to be sceptical of India's newfound interests in Africa. Mineral fuels account for most of India's African imports, demonstrating the country's seemingly insatiable thirst for energy and other resources. There is a widespread belief in Africa that India will increasingly be used as a source of fuel, with trends indicating that India will continue to regard Africa as merely a supplier of raw materials to meet India's rapidly growing demand.

Is China a competitor to India in terms of energy in Africa? What steps have Indian leaders and policymakers taken to address the challenges? The increasing demand for energy to meet India's ever-increasing needs demonstrates African energy sector assertiveness. India has been playing catch-up with China; in 2009, India lost out on contracts worth US$12.5 billion to China in the energy sector. While the emerging scenario is one of the rivalries that has been somewhat moderated by accommodation, depending on the circumstances, India may be more competitive than China in its engagement strategies with Africa in the medium to long term (Cheru and Obi 2011). While India frequently points to China's voracious appetite for African resources, India also has this appetite (Saidi and Wolf 2011). To compete with Chinese investment, New Delhi must become more involved in the continent. India has lost several commercial battles to China in various infrastructure projects, and oil and energy ventures and China is currently ahead on all fronts. China is relying on the state and the private sector to guide its African policies. In contrast, India's engagement with Africa is heavily reliant on the private sector, with little state involvement in commercial and trade activities. Chinese influence in Africa is growing because of large-scale infrastructure loans for the construction of roads, highways, transmission lines, power plants, ports, and mines across the continent. Thus, New Delhi must increase its engagement and work toward a multifaceted collaboration with Africa.

VII. Conclusion

The relationship is now opening new and exciting possibilities. To realise its full potential, India and Africa must develop comprehensive policies and institutional frameworks and collaborate. The India-Africa project appears to be based on a neoliberal philosophy that minimises the role of the state. The collaborative effort and cooperative effort should focus on distributive justice rather than production, ignoring the rhetoric of poverty reduction in both regions. The approach and partnership must respect market sovereignty while providing effective service to their respective citizens.

While traditional disciplines such as culture, politics, history, and anthropology have dominated previous discourse, new areas such as energy, socioeconomics, trade, capacity building, and technology will supplement its traditional engagement. This is pertinent in the current context of efforts to develop a meaningful way to address rapid economic growth and to create a comprehensive system linking and credentialing socioeconomic engagement. It can also identify critical changes and broad avenues for bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Despite its numerous advantages and growing ties, India is not alone on the continent and will have to compete with other global powers. One of the main concerns is the threat posed by China, a major player on the continent. India and China's engagement with Africa are more competitive than cooperative. India must implement a multi-pronged and effective strategy to respond to China's growing influence in Africa, which is critical for India's economic and geostrategic goals. The key component of this strategy is for India to use soft power to play to her strengths. Given the widespread criticism of China's involvement in Africa, India must concentrate on establishing a win-win partnership rather than having African enterprises engage in behaviours that undermine this fundamental principle. The COVID-19 pandemic has had a significant and long-term impact on India-Africa cooperation. Through Vaccine Maitri, New Delhi has played its cards well. While the pandemic is unlikely to alter the positive long-term demographic and policy trends, post-pandemic Africa will continue to offer opportunities as well as challenges.

It criticised India's inconsistent history and present policies toward Africa. Only with an emphasis on making demonstratives does political contact increase. India's foreign policy toward Africa must explicitly state and consider the needs of the African nations for development. While there have been more high-level meetings, visits, and summits recently, the percentage of important topics on the agenda has remained low. Such high-level discussions have not yielded many conclusive conclusions. Several bilateral agreements continue to be ineffectively implemented, and many pledges are frequently delayed or not kept. It suggested that several ministries and institutions working with Africa lacked coordination. The major stream of India's present Africa policy is characterised by ineffective and disorganised lobbying between India and Africa, as well as a lack of information routes at all levels of public speaking. Ideas and intentions are regularly substituted for outcomes in various ways, and worse, India's potential is exaggerated both in open and secret conversations.

Numerous studies point out that India's foreign policy in Africa has not received much attention in terms of institutional and governmental public relations. India must emphasise and take advantage of media outlets in a deliberate effort to create a climate of trust and confidence. Indians must give careful consideration to

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (D) Volume XXII Issue II Version I Year 2022

developing a strategic communication team that may emphasise their varied performance and real-world interests in Africa. Largely, India continues to make good investments in the continent's economy and other sectors. However, other major international powers, particularly China, are making significant investments in the continent. India lacks plans for carrying out its progressive policies for Africa. India would likely need to create a model for its communication strategy to successfully convince African leaders to accept the new global order. The strategic partnership with Africa has elevated in importance in these challenging and crucial times in India's foreign policy. The new strategy for dealing with Africa entails creating a modern, sustainable, and mutually rewarding partnership of equals.

References Références Referencias

1. African Development Bank (ADB). (2011), 'India's Economic Engagement with Africa', Africa Economic Brief Volume 2, Issue 6. Available at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/India%27s%20Economic%20Engagement%20with%20Africa.pdf. (Accessed 20 April 2022)
2. Ali Sadiq, Shanti. (1987a), India-Africa through ages. NBT: New Delhi. Ali Sadiq, Shanti. 1980. India's Support to African Liberation Movements. In India and Africa (eds.) by R.R. Ramachandani. New Delhi: Kalinga Publications.
3. Ali Sadiq, Shanti. (1987b). Varying Concepts of Non-Alignment in Africa: South of Sahara. New Delhi: Kalinga Publications.
4. Bloomberg BusinessWeek (2011), 'China and India's Growing Energy Rivalry'. Available at: http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/dec2010/gb20101215_795065.htm (accessed 18 April 2022).
5. Brueggemann, Rudy. (2000), Indians of East Africa. Available at: http://www.rudyfoto.com/IndiansofAfrica.html (accessed 3 May 2022).
6. Carter, Marina. (2006), The Age of Merchants. In The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora, ed. Brij V. Lal, Peter Reeves, and Rajesh Rai, 32–43. Singapore: Editions Didier Millet. Chhabra, H.S. 1986. India and Africa. The saga of Friendship, New Delhi: Government of India.
7. Cheru, Fantu & Obi, Cyril (2011), Chinese and Indian Engagement in Africa: Competitive or Mutually Reinforcing Strategies? *Journal of International Affairs, Spring/Summer, 64(2): 91-110.*
8. Dubey, K. Ajay. (2010), India-Africa Relations: Historical Connections and Recent Trends, in Ajay Dubey (Eds.), *Trends in Indo-Africans Relations,* New Delhi: Manas Publications.
9. Dubey, Kumar, Ajay (2016), India-Africa Relations: Historical Goodwill and a Vision for the Future, in India and Africa's Partnership, India Studies in Business and Economics, A.K. Dubey and A. Biswas (eds.), *African Studies Association*, India.
10. Gupta, Anand, (2018), PM Modi's Solar Diplomacy, Observer Research Foundation (ORF), March 23, 2018. Available at: https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/modi-solar-diplomacy/ (Accessed 7 April 2022).
11. Huttenback, R.A. (1966), Indians in South Africa 1860–1914: The British imperial philosophy on trial. *English Historical Review* 81: 273–291. Indian Navy. 2013. Anti-piracy operations. Available at: http://indiannavy.nic.in/operations/anti-piracy-operations. (accessed 5 May 2022).
12. Ian, Taylor. (2014), Unpacking China's Resource Diplomacy in Africa, Centre on China's Transnational Relations, Working Paper No.29, *pp.1-34.*
13. Jayasuriya, Shihan D.S., and Richard Pankhurst. (2003), The African diaspora in the Indian ocean. Eritrea: Africa World Press.
14. Jeevanjee A.M. (1912), An Appeal on behalf of Indians in East Africa. Bombay.
15. Large, Daniel (2012), *From Recipients to Donors: Emerging Powers and the Changing Development Landscape,* London: Zed Books.
16. Large, Daniel. (2013), India's African Engagement, LSE Ideas Special Report 'in Emerging Powers in Africa', SR016, June 2013. Available at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-Emerging-Powers-in-Africa.pdf (Accessed 12 April 2022).
17. Mahaprashasta, Ashirwad, Ajoy (2012), Recolonising Africa, *Frontline,* 23 March. Available at: https://frontline.thehindu.com/world-affairs/article30164757.ece (Accessed 5 January 2022).
18. McCarthy, Tom (2011), 'Assessing China and India's New Role in Africa'. Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2011/07/26/assessing-china-and-india%E2%80%99s-new-role-in-africa/ (accessed 15 May 2022).
19. Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE), 2(018), Government of India, "*A target of installing 175 GW of renewable energy capacity by the year 2022 has been set.*" Available at: https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=180728 (accessed 14 June 2022).
20. Modi, Renu. (2011), South-South Cooperation: Africa on the Centre-State (eds.), Hound mills: Palgrave Macmillan.
21. Modi, Renu. (2010), The Role of India's Private Sector in the Health and Agricultural Sectors of Africa, in Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi (Eds.), *The Rise of China and India in Africa,* London: Zed, *pp. 120-131*.
22. Munjal, Sunil, Kant, and Jonathan Wutawunashe (2012), 'Projects worth $30 billion discussed at

India-Africa conclave', *The Economic Times*. Available at: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-03-20/news/31214929_1_african-countries-india-africa-project-partnership-conclave. (Accessed 13 April 2022).
23. Nelson, Dean (2009), 'India joins 'neo-colonial' rush for Africa's land and labour', *The Telegraph*, 28 June 2009. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/5673437/India-joins-neocolonial-rush-for-Africas-land-and-labour.html. (Accessed 13 June 2022).
24. Partners in Progress: Towards a dynamic and transformative development agenda, *India-Africa Framework for strategic cooperation,* Third India-Africa Forum Summit, 29th October 2015.
25. Patey, Luke (2013), *The New Kings of Crude: China, India and the Global Struggle for Oil in Sudan,* London: Hurst.
26. Pham, J. Peter. (2011). India in Africa: Implications of an emerging power for AFRICOM and US strategy. *Strategic Studies Institute.* USA: Monograph. Available at: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/127599/pub1051.pdf (accessed 20 March 2022).
27. Price, Gareth (2011) 'For the Global Good: India's Developing International Role'. Available at: http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Asia/r_indiarole0511.pdf. (Accessed 12 April 2022).
28. Roy, Sumit. (2012), 'China and India, the 'Emerging Giants,' and African economic prospects. Available at: http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/articles/world-economy-trade-and-finance/china-and-india-%E2%80%98emerging-giants%E2%80%99-and-african-economic-pros. (Accessed 19 April 2022).
29. Saidi, Myriam, Dahman and Wolf, Christina. (2011), 'Recalibrating Development Co-Operation: How Can African Countries Benefit. From Emerging Partners?' OECD Development Centre. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/dev/48450803.pdf. (Accessed 10 April 2022).
30. Sharma, Spandan (2010), 'India & Africa: Colonial Cousins, and more...' Available at: http://simcwire.simc.edu/?q=node/3545. (Accessed 15 March 2022).
31. Udensi, N., Chingozie. (2020), "India-Africa Cooperation in Agricultural Sector for Food Security," *Diplomatist,* January 4, 2020. Available at: https://diplomatist.com/2020/01/04/india-africa-cooperation-in-agricultural-sector-for-food-security/ (Accessed 11 March 2022).
32. Viswanathan, H.H.S. (2018). PM Modis' African tour decoded: A Strong Imprint in the Continent, *Commentaries*, Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi, July 30, 2018. Available at: https://www.orfonline.org/research/42856-pm-modis-africa-tour-decoded-a-strong-imprint-in-the-continent/. (Accessed 3 May 2022).
33. Viswanathan, HHS and Mishra, Abhishek (2020), India-Africa Partnership for Food Security: Beyond Strategic Concerns, *Observer Research Foundation (ORF) occasional paper* 242, April 2020. Available at: https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-africa-partnership-food-security-beyond-strategic-concerns-65117/?fbclid=IwAR0HYcwDds7eBCB2mNB9rNR1dPq8auA4udLuSP9blxvn6gelNIDcgZ1Fdy8. (Accessed 5 May 2022).

Global Journals Guidelines Handbook 2022

www.GlobalJournals.org

Memberships

FELLOWS/ASSOCIATES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

FSSRC/ASSRC MEMBERSHIPS

Introduction

FSSRC/ASSRC is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS). The credentials of Fellow and Associate designations signify that the researcher has gained the knowledge of the fundamental and high-level concepts, and is a subject matter expert, proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice. The credentials are designated only to the researchers, scientists, and professionals that have been selected by a rigorous process by our Editorial Board and Management Board.

Associates of FSSRC/ASSRC are scientists and researchers from around the world are working on projects/researches that have huge potentials. Members support Global Journals' mission to advance technology for humanity and the profession.

FSSRC

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals. It is an award and membership granted to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

Benefit

To the Institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.

Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A FSSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 1 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Fellows can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Certificate

Certificate, LoR and Laser-Momento

Fellows receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Designation

Get honored title of membership

Fellows can use the honored title of membership. The “FSSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FSSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., FSSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Fellow members of FSSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation. All fellows get a dedicated page on the website with their biography.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Fellows receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 60%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career Financial

GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Fellows get secure and fast GJ work emails with unlimited forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example,
john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career Credibility Reputation

Premium Tools

Access to all the Premium Tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize Seminar/Conference

Fellows are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career Credibility Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All fellows receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive

Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Exclusive Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Fellow members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

Access to Editorial Board

Become a member of the Editorial Board

Fellows may join as a member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. Additionally, Fellows get a chance to nominate other members for Editorial Board.

Career Credibility Exclusive Reputation

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 5 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 10 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

ASSRC

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the membership of Global Journals awarded to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

> The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.

Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A ASSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 2 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Associates can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career Credibility Exclusive Reputation

Certificate

Certificate, LoR and Laser-Momento

Associates receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career Credibility Exclusive Reputation

Designation

Get honored title of membership

Associates can use the honored title of membership. The “ASSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., ASSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., ASSRC.

Career Credibility Exclusive Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Associate members of ASSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation.

Career Credibility Reputation

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Associates receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 30%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career Financial

GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Associates get secure and fast GJ work emails with 5GB forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example, john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career Credibility Reputation

Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to almost all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize seminar/conference

Associates are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career Credibility Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All associates receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive

Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

Associates can publish articles (limited) without any fees. Also, they can earn up to 30-40% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.

Exclusive Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Associate members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 2 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 5 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

Associate	Fellow	Research Group	Basic
$4800 **lifetime designation**	$6800 **lifetime designation**	$12500.00 **organizational**	APC **per article**
Certificate, LoR and Momento **2** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **10** research contacts/day **1 GB** Cloud Storage **GJ** Community Access	**Certificate,** LoR and Momento **Unlimited** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **5 GB** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**Certificates,** LoRs and Momentos **Unlimited** free publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **Unlimited** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**GJ** Community Access

Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

Copyright

During submission of the manuscript, the author is confirming an exclusive license agreement with Global Journals which gives Global Journals the authority to reproduce, reuse, and republish authors' research. We also believe in flexible copyright terms where copyright may remain with authors/employers/institutions as well. Contact your editor after acceptance to choose your copyright policy. You may follow this form for copyright transfers.

Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.

6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- o Single section and succinct.
- o An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- o Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- o Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Abandoned · 2
Adequately · 2
Agility · 4, 13
Alluding · 8
Ambitious · 2, 7
Amiable · 7
Aroused · 4
Assessed · 20

C

Commemorative · 1
Confederation · 6, 5, 8

D

Decisive · 2, 9, 13,
Desirability · 18
Destined · 1, 2, 5
Devastated · 6
Disappeared · 5, 2
Discursive · 1

E

Eloquent · 1, 7
Emancipation · 4, 8, 9
Emergence · 1, 8, 1, 7

G

Grotesque · 8

I

Inevitably · 2
Innumerable · 2

O

Opposed · 2, 7,

P

Perceived · 6
Perpetuated · 3
Persisted · 4
Pledged · 8
Pragmatic · 4
Precarious · 6

S

Scarcity · 1, 2, 7, 9
Speculation · 2

T

Treachery · 4
Tumultuous · 10

V

Varied · 1, 5, 9,
Vengeance · 1, 6, 7,

W

Worsened · 10

save our planet

Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org

ISSN 975587