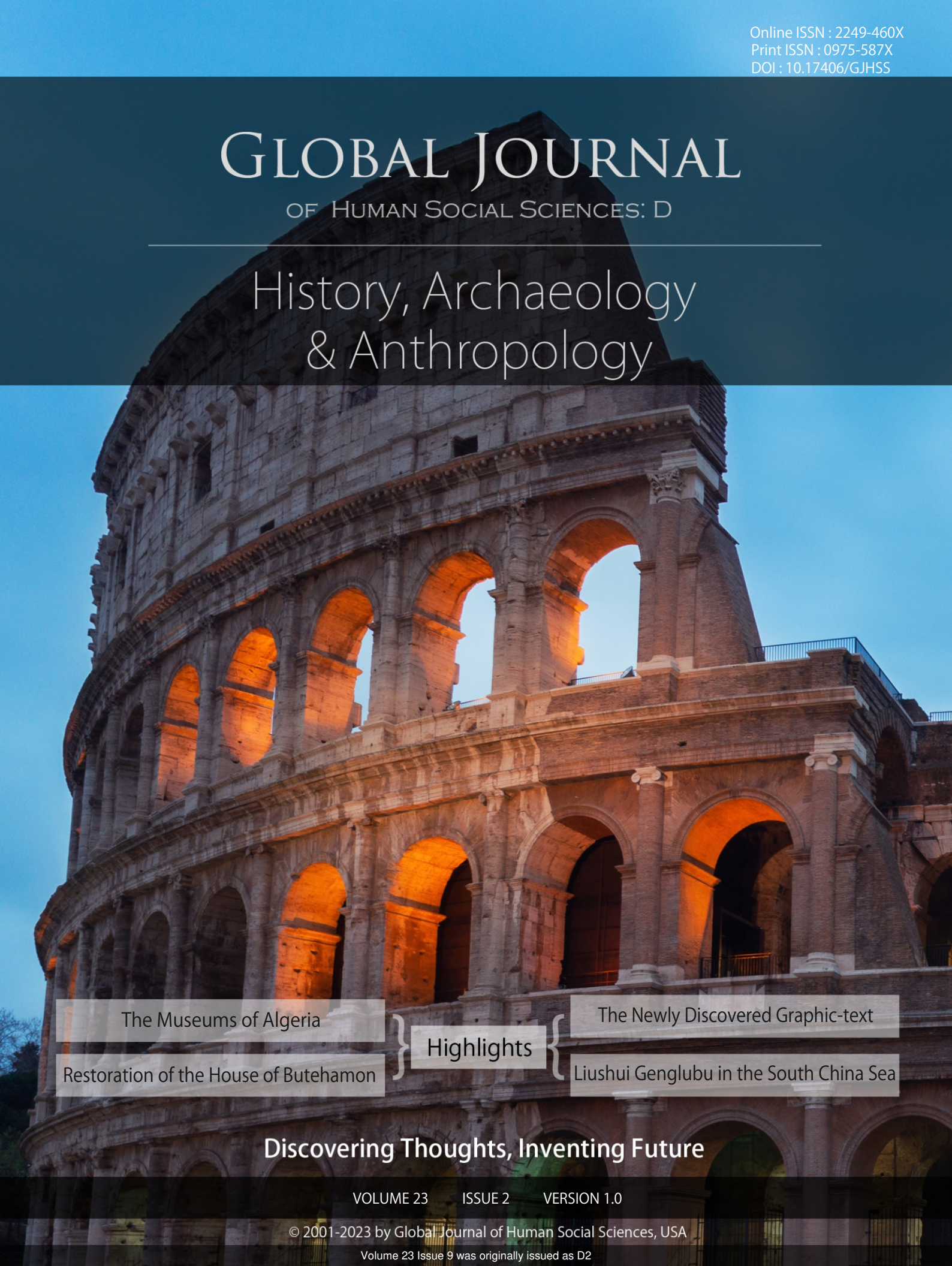
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History, Archaeology & Anthropology



The Museums of Algeria

Restoration of the House of Butehamon

Highlights

The Newly Discovered Graphic-text

Liushui Genglubu in the South China Sea

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Newly Discovered Graphic-Text Combined Study of ' Liushui Genglubu ' in the South China Sea

By Zhou Jun & Wang Yifan
YanShan University

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Keywords: zheng changmei's copy of 'liushui genglubu '; mountain water potential diagram; roundabout route; business.

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Zhou Jun [α] & Wang Yifan [σ]

Abstract- The newly discovered Hainan fisherman Zheng Changmei 's copy of the South China Sea ' Liushui Genglubu ' is divided into two parts : ' Liushui Record ' and ' Mountain Water Potential Map '. It is the only complete graphic-text combination of the South China Sea ' Genglubu ' found so far. This book records the tide situation in the western sea area of Hainan Island, the route around Hainan Island, the route distance from Hainan Island to Guangdong province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China, Vietnam and other places, and 24 ' mountain water potential diagram '. The discovery of this book proves the use of ' Genglubu ' by merchant ships in Hainan Island; the 24 sea charts are the continuation and development of the rare mountain shape and water potential maps in the literature of the past dynasties. The drawing of the mountain shape and water potential has the characteristics of integrity, which makes up for the rare sea charts in the ' Genglubu ' of the South China Sea. In addition, the record, writing rules and drawing characteristics of the ' Six Collision Flow Methods ' in this book have the writing of Hainan Island dialect, which has important reference value for the study of Hainan Fishermen 's Island 's navigation knowledge, folk trade and local knowledge.

Keywords: zheng changmei's copy of 'liushui genglubu '; mountain water potential diagram; roundabout route; business[1].

I. Introduction

'Genglubu ' is a navigation guide written by Hainan people to and from the South China Sea islands, the surrounding waters of Hainan Province, and Southeast Asian countries. It records in detail the name, location, needle position (heading), number and characteristics of islands and reefs in the South China Sea Islands and the surrounding waters of Hainan Province. It is a summary of the experience and collective wisdom of Hainan fishermen living, producing, developing and trading in the South China Sea Islands. In 2008, it was selected into the second batch of national intangible cultural heritage list. In the 1970s, when archaeologists conducted research in Qionghai, Hainan, ' Genglubu ' was first known and valued by the academic community, causing research departments and scholars to collect, collate and study '(Nanwei Liu, Zhengsheng Zhang, 2015). After more than 40 years of efforts by experts and scholars, at present, ' Genglubu ' has changed from the ' Nanhai Tianshu ' that can be understood by old fishermen and old captains to the ' Nanhai Encyclopedia ' today (Chongmin Wang, Genqi Yan, Liang Liu, 2018), and to a certain extent, ' Genglubu Study ' has been formed.

There are many records about ancient sea charts in ancient texts. Gong Zhen, who followed Zheng He to the Western Ocean, once described the importance of sea charts: ' When sailing, we rely on the navigation compass, the navigation guide book and the navigation chart to guide the navigation. This process must be carefully and carefully, and cannot be ignored.', Cheng Shun of Ryukyu also has a similar record in the ' guide broad sense '. The book writes that ' from the navigation tool books and maps given by the people who previously sealed the boats and steered..... Can be found that under the sky, on the ground, all the obvious and not easy to find, are recorded in it, ' the book also pointed out that ' there are many pictures and pages in the ancient books,... The mountain and water potential in the navigation route are drawn according to the shape, so as to prepare for the future navigation investigation. After many investigations, Mr. Liu Yijie (2015) pointed out that in the ancient sailing period of China, the positioning and safe navigation of ships were mainly based on needle scripts and ' schema '. This schema refers to the ancient nautical chart, mainly to describe the mountain shape, water potential, so the ancients vividly named it 'mountain shape water potential map '. Unfortunately, this ' schema ', It's very rare now, so it makes all kinds of needle road book has been repeatedly mentioned but not seen in the mountain water potential figure, is particularly important.

Although all kinds of needle road books have repeatedly mentioned the mountain water potential map, But unfortunately there is no literature about it. During the author's investigation in Yinggehai, Ledong, Hainan in 2019, author found Zheng Changmei's copy of ' Liushui Genglubu '. In addition to recording nautical routes and flowing water records, there are also 24 very precious nautical charts. It is a relatively complete ' Genglubu ' of ' combination of pictures and texts ' found at present. It can also be regarded as an extension of ancient ' mountain shape and water potential map ' in modern times.

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II. A Basic Survey of Zheng Changmei's Copy of Liushui Genglubu

Zheng Changmei's copy of ' Liushui Genglubu ' was copied in October 1980, which was written on a notebook in the order of ancient binding and writing. The whole book is written in vertical rows, from top to bottom, from right to left, and on the right side, which can be divided into two parts. The previous part, from page 1 to page 14, is writing with a brush, divided into: ' Six Collision Flow Methods ', ' look at the timetable with running water ', which records the tide rising and ebbing. This part is separated from the latter part by two blank papers. In the latter part, the page number is renumbered separately. From page 1 to page 30, it records the voyages, routes and ports between Hainan, Guangdong, Guangxi and Vietnam. The most important thing of this book is that there are 24 charts that are consistent with the written records. This article will focus on these charts later.

a) The ' Six Collision Flow Methods ' of the western flow record'

Although many versions of ' Genglubu ' have been found, most of them have ' flow meter ', that is, the record of tide rising and ebbing ; however, compared with other versions, Zheng Changmei 's copy of Liushui Genglubu has a unique record of ' Six Collision Flow Methods '. On the first page of the book, it is neatly recorded with a brush:

> Six Collision Flow Methods
>
> Xu Chen collided: January, July, the eleventh day, the twenty-five day.
>
> You Mao collided: February, August, the seventh day, the twenty-first day.
>
> Shen Yin collided: March, September, the fourth day, the eighteenth day.
>
> Wei Chou collided: April, October, the first day, the fifteenth day, the twenty-ninth day.
>
> Wu Zi collided: May, November, the thirteenth day, the twenty-seventh day.
>
> Yi Hai collided: June, December, the eleventh day, the twenty-fifth day.

The ' Six Collision Flow Methods ' is a unique feature of this book. This book adopts the theory of China's twelve hours collide with each other and summarizes the water situation in the area. According to the local Mr. Chen and Mr. Wang (They are the author's interview subjects), Hainan Yinggehai fishermen fishing operations, mostly in the vicinity of the sea to do the sea, so the local record of running water flow meter, for them is particularly important. These water records, which can be traced back to the Tongzhi period of the Qing Dynasty, are closely related to Mr. Ke Hongmo, the pioneer of Yinggehai culture. Ke Hongmo, born in Xianfeng Renzi year, died in Guangxu Dingyou year. He founded the first private school in Yinggehai and cultivated a large number of excellent students. The ' liushui record ' is that Ke Hongmo, with the help of his proud students Fang Dinghua, Yu Faxing, Wu Wenqing and others, has spent a long time exploring the sea with his clever wisdom, summed up the law of the tidal flow in Yinggehai, and recorded it in writing as ' the monthly tidal flow schedule in Yinggehai'. This statement remains to be further confirmed.

b) The Genglubu of Hainan round-island

The second half of the book mainly records the combination of text and image. From page 1 to page 21, the main record is from Haikou, Hainan Island, along the west coast of Hainan Island, all the way west, to Sanya, and then along the east coast of Hainan Province, and finally to Haikou. The route detailed records the route from Haikou, the northernmost port of Hainan Province, to Haikou-Chengmai-Linggao-Dan zhou-Changjiang-East-Ledong-Sanya-Lingshui-Wanning -Qionghai-Wenchang-Haikou on the way. This route completely records all the cities and counties in the eastern and western coastal cities of Hainan Province. It is a very rare round-island route change.

Some versions found at present also have records of local routes in Hainan Province, such as the ' Genglubu ' of Liang Qingguang. Among it has ' Records of the North Mountains and Rivers under Jiangmen ', ' Look at the water program under the Libian West Road in Qiongnan ', Wang Shitao's version of ' Genglubu ' has ' Records of Qiongzhou's Sailing Routes around Hainan Province, ' Wu Daoxiong's version of ' Come and Go Smoothly ' has ' From Tanmen Port to Xiageng Road ', ' From Tanmen Port to Shanghai Port Geng Road ' and other routes in Hainan Province. However, most of these versions of the routes are recorded from Tanmen Port in Hainan, and most of the routes are part of Hainan Province. It is very rare for Zheng Changmei's copy to record the route from Haikou to the west, through Sanya, the south ernmost port of Hainan Province, north along the east coast, and finally to Haikou.

c) Routes centered on Fushuizhou, Vietnam

The page 22 of this book is a single page of written records. It uses a brush to neatly copy the route centered on Fushuizhou, and records the routes and voyages from Fushuizhou to Hainan, Guangxi and Hainan to important ports in Guangdong. The word ' Jia ' appears below represents the support, which is the way local fishermen in Hainan use the compass. The word ' Jia ' is followed by the Tiangan Dizhi in Chinese, indicating the location. 'geng' means the length distance, one is about 10 to 12 nautical miles:

> Fushuizhou to the Lingaojiao, Jia Mao You Yi Xin Chen Xu, twelve geng arrive;

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Fushuizhou to the Bingmajiao, Jia Yi Xin Chen Xu, nine geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Jiangongjiao, Jia Yi Xin Chen Xu, eight geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Guanyinjiao, Jia Yi Xin Chen Xu, seven geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Haitou, Jia Yi Xin Chen Xu, seven geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Haiwei, Jia Chen Xu, seven geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Changhuajiao, Jia Qian Xun Chen Xu, seven geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Sigengshawei, Jia Qian Xun, seven geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Weizhou, Jia Gen Kun Yin Shen, ten geng arrive;

Fushuizhou to the Qinzhou, Jia Yi Hai, three geng arrive.

Fushuizhou Island is located in the Beibuwan, 20 ° 01 north latitude and 107 ° 42 east longitude. It is 70 nautical miles from Basuo Port in Hainan Province of China in the southeast and Haiphong Port in Vietnam in the northwest. Nightingale Island is the title of the island in official books since the Ming and Qing Dynasties, even in the Republic of China and the early days of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Bailongwei Island was named by the former French Indochina colonial authorities when they invaded the island in the 1930s. Fishermen and coastal residents in Guangxi, Guangdong and Hainan in China call it Fushuizhou Island, because it is always in the view of Chinese fishermen, whether it is wind, rain, fog, or the sun and moon(Dechao Li, 1996).

The offshore of Fushuizhou Island is a broad reef bottom shallow sea, which is a famous abalone and sea cucumber habitat. The island's shallow sea, rich in red fish, squid, grouper, is a rich trawl fishing ground. Historically, fishermen in Chaozhou, Guangdong, Danzhou and Wenchang County, Hainan have always used the island as a base for abalone production. According to relevant literature, the history of modern Chinese people settling on the island has been reliable for more than a hundred years. When the island was liberated in 1955, it was found that there were temples dedicated to Tianfei Niangniang and General Fubo on the island. There was also an iron clock cast by Fu Jianming and Fu Huaiji in Wenchang, Hainan in the third year of Guangxu (1877).

The route of this page records the routes from Fushuizhou to Lingaojiao, Bingmajiao, Jiangongjiao, Guanyinjiao, Haitou, Haiwei, Changhuajiao, Sigengshawei in Hainan Province, and to Weizhou and Qinzhou in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, indicating that Chinese fishermen are familiar with the port.

d) Precious 24 charts

China has a long history of navigation, but, ' about before the invention of the navigation compass, there is no chart ' (Yijie Liu, 2015). About the Southern Song Dynasty, the Chinese literature began to draw a chart with a sea route called ' sea route map '. These nautical charts connect the states and counties through which the route passes to form ' nautical lanes ', and plot the islands with the nature of Wangshan through the route in the corresponding position. Some important segments will also mark the special hydrological conditions of the sea area, such as ' The waves are white, the spray is like snow, see this situation need to avoid in time '. However, unfortunately, although there are records of nautical charts in many documents, the nautical charts handed down are relatively rare.

Zheng Changmei's copy of 'Liushui Genglubu ' has a total of 24 charts, located in two places. One is from page 1 to page 21, that is, the Genglu around the island of Hainan Province. Each page has corresponding chart drawing at the recorded Genglu. The other is page 23 to page 25. These three charts have no written records, only graphic drawing. They mainly draw important ports in Hainan, Guangdong, Guangxi and other places, needle position, route, voyage, mountain shape and water potential, etc. This article will be discussed in detail later.

In addition, the "Liushui Genglubu" also "see the timetable with water," written records of " from Jiangmen to Beishan Waterway " and " from Jiangmen to Huashan Waterway Record " and other route voyages.

III. The Text Features of Zheng Changmei's Copy of Liushui Genglubu

Zheng Changmei 's copy of ' Liushui Genglubu ' has some unique text features in both text content and writing form. This paper briefly analyzes the following:

a) Traces of repeated copying and modification

Although the ' Liushui Genglubu ' has obvious marks on the cover: in October 1980, Zheng Changmei copied it. However, throughout the book, it can be seen that the book retains the traces of multiple transcriptions. For example, the first part, from page 1 to page 14, all written in brush words. This part mainly records the ' Six Collision Flow Methods ' and ' timetable with running water '. The latter part is separated from the previous part of the water record by two white papers; the latter part, from page 1 to page 21, text and pictures, are all copied and drawn with blue ballpoint pen; on page 22, it is written in brush strokes; from page 23 to page 25 of the three pictures, and into the brush strokes; page 26 to page 29, turned into blue pen and black pen alternately. It can be seen that this book was copied by Zheng Changmei many times. There are also several obvious transcription errors in the book. These indicate that Zheng Changmei has not been to these places in person, He's just a copyist. But where did he copy ? Further research is needed.

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b) *The historicity and comprehensiveness of the text formation age*

At present, there is no doubt that this Liushui Genglubu was copied by Zheng Changmei in October 1980. However, through careful study of its content, it can be seen that the original copy may not only, but also a combination of the long-term records of the fishermen in the history of the area and other ' Genglubu ', and on this basis, it has been modified and added some content. For example, the first page of the ' see the schedule with running water ': ' Mao: five to six o 'clock in the morning : rabbit. Chen: seven to eight o 'clock in the morning : dragon..... Yin: three to four o 'clock at the night: tiger, etc. These time records, combined with the ancient phase, time and modern time clock records, can be more convenient to use clocks to record water time.

c) *The recording method of graphic-text combination*

The very important feature of the "Liushui Genglubu" is its combination of graphics and text, which is very rare in other versions of the " Genglubu. " In the roundabout route of Hainan Province, there are corresponding charts under each written record. The routes in these charts are composed of needle positions and mileages, and are marked with ports, islands, peaks, water potentials, reefs, dark sands, and fishing operations along the coast. It can be said that these charts are a development of ancient Chinese nautical charts, and can also be seen as an extension of mountain water potential charts in modern times.

d) *Complete Hainan round-island's Routes*

At present, most of the ' Genglubu ' departure ports are Tanmen Port in Qionghai City, Hainan Province. This version of the route in Hainan Province is a very complete roundabout route starting from Haikou, the northern port of Hainan Province, passing through the western port, the southern port, the eastern port, and finally reaching Haikou. This part of the road records about 90 roads and 90 ports, which provides very important information and value for the study of Hainan's ports, fishery resources, geological water quality, maritime traffic, and private trade.

e) *Its background is related to the prosperous commercial trade in Yinggehai, Ledong County, Hainan Province*

According to the author's research, Yinggehai people's fishing operations are mostly in the offshore area; fishery trade is to sail around the island, or from Hainan to Guangdong, Guangxi, Vietnam and other places. 'Yinggehai Zhi' records the prosperous commercial trade of Yinggehai. According to the records of ' Yinggehai Zhi ', in the 25th year of Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty, the business firms of Fang's Zhi Qigong in Xin 'an Village, Baishabu, Haikou moved to Yinggehai, and soon the business firms of Wang Yinggong in Daojun Village, Qiongshan County moved to Yinggehai. These commercial ports mainly engaged in shipbuilding oil, lime, fine linen, hemp, cotton yarn, etc., and also purchased seafood to nearby villages for trading. Since Yinggehai village, most fishermen mainly engaged in fishery production and trade. The villagers of the village have never planted fields, and they use seafood to exchange rice, sweet potatoes, etc. with farmers in the nearby countryside. The sea area of Yinggehai is rich in seafood. The fishermen in this village generally work in the nearby sea area and rarely go to other places. The book ' Liushui Genglubu ' records a round-the-island route map from Haikou to the west coast of Hainan to the east coast of Hainan to Haikou, a route from Hainan to Guangdong and Guangxi, and a separate page centered on Fushuizhou, which is obviously related to commercial trade.

In addition, ' Yinggehai Zhi ' also records the prosperous commercial trade of Yinggehai. In the fifty-three years of Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty, Wang, Chen and Fang's commercial banks in Yinggehai formed a maritime ' Silk Road ' in Yinggehai in order to broaden the seafood trade market. This passage goes north to Basuo, Danzhou, Haikou, Beihai, Chikan, Guangzhou and Hong Kong, and east to Leluo, Yacheng and Qinglan Port. From the Guangxu period of the Qing Dynasty to the 20 years of the Republic of China, it was the heyday of the seafood trade in Yinggehai. During this period, Chen Qingwu's Xingfa Commercial Bank, Fang Mingjia's Yonghe Sheng Commercial Bank, and Wang Hengji's Hengji Commercial Bank purchased a large number of high-quality seafood from Yinggehai and transported them to Haikou, Zhanjiang, Chikan, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and other places.

Similarly, the book also has a rich record of aquatic products in the sea area of Yinggehai: ' Yinggehai to Wanglou Port, water distance 50 miles, this port has a lot of local products '; and ' Haikang to Yupao port, where the port has few people, including cargo ships. ' It shows that the ' Liushui Genglubu ' not only pays attention to the mountain shape and water potential of each port, but also pays attention to the products of each port, as well as the situation of cargo ships and salt ships, which may be related to the fact that the user of ' Liushui Genglubu ' may be a merchant ship.

IV. The Chart in Zheng Changmei's Copy of Liushui Genglubu

Ancient Chinese maps are often combined with words and pictures. In the 'Textual Research and Interpretation of Ancient Nautical Charts', Zhang Xun (1980) pointed out: ' Traditional ancient maps in China often have pictures and says, pictures and says.' However, in the process of copying, the maps drawn in the text are often deleted due to various reasons. Zhang

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Xun, for example, said that on the 31st, 41st, 45th, and 46th pages of " along the wind, " the words " mountain-shaped water potential map " and " mountain-shaped water potential deep and shallow sediment reef map " were written, but in the books passed down, there were only written records and no corresponding maps. There are also some titles with the title of " mountain shape and water potential " in 'Zhinan Zhengfa ', and there is no picture in the text. It can be seen that the pictures in the original text of the ancient map were lost or deleted during the process of ' copying ', and only the trace of the word ' picture ' was left in the title.

Although many literatures have recorded the 'mountain shape water potential map', the understanding and research on it is very limited due to the very few handed down. Zheng Changmei's copy of the " Liushui Genglubu " saved 24 charts, which provided us with very valuable information to understand the chart. Due to the large number of original charts, this paper only extracts some charts for better discussion and research.

a) Records of the line

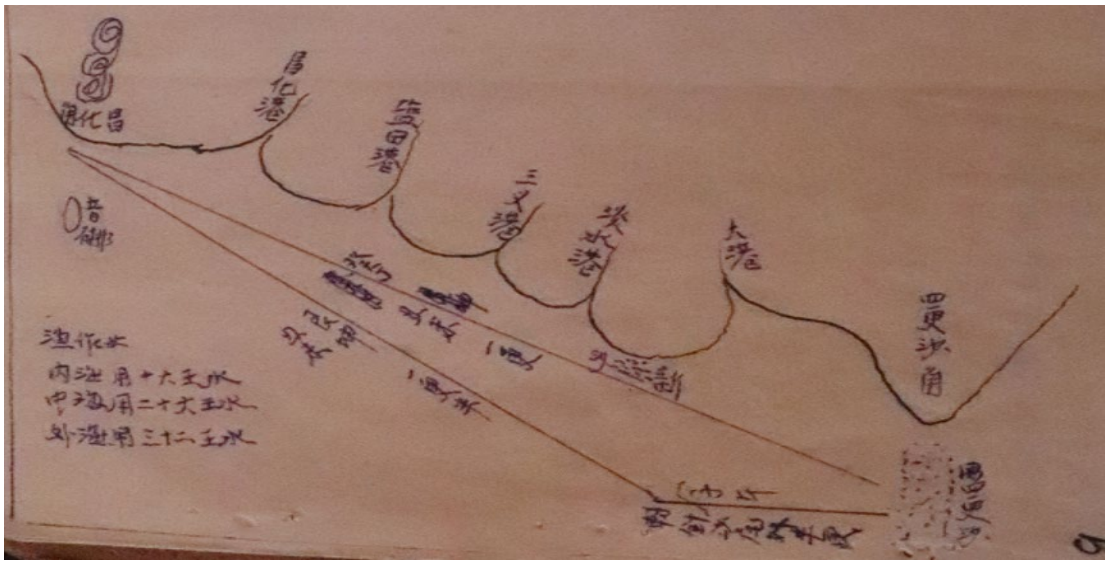
There are 90 routes around Hainan Island, 87 routes between Guangdong, Guangxi and Hainan, and 17 routes between Vietnam, Guangxi and Hainan centered on Fushuizhou in Zheng Changmei's copy of Liushui Genglubu. In these route records, the route around Hainan Island is the most abundant and detailed. It records many ports, voyage routes, mountain shape and water potential along the east coast and west coast of Hainan Province, and also records the characteristics and resources of some ports.

i. *Writing rules*

When the book records the route route, its writing basically follows certain rules: origin + to + arrival + water distance..... miles + Jia + needle position +..... Such as : ' Beinan to Dongshuigang, the water distance is about 30 miles, the east wind, Jia Yi Xin, water eight or nine, sand and mud '. It records the route, voyage, water depth and geological conditions from Nangang to Dongshui Port. Among them, it is particularly noteworthy that the use of the word ' Jia ' in the provisions is relatively rare in other versions of ' Genglubu '. According to the author's research, this is a usage of the compass used by local fishermen in Hainan. When they use the compass to indicate the direction, they often say that they should use the compass frame to identify the direction with the mountains, compass and so on. The word means supporting thing, which has the meaning of support. The back of the ' frame ' is used to represent the record of the needle position. It can be seen that the book has obvious local characteristics of Hainan Province.

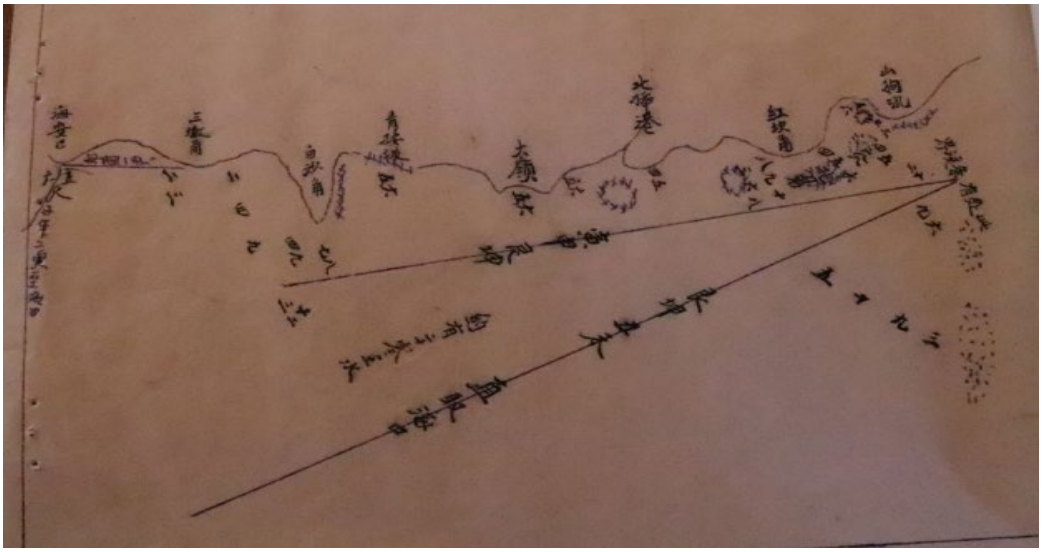
ii. *Schema of the route*

In addition to written records, in the ' mountain shape water potential map ', the drawing of the line also has its own characteristics. It is generally composed of a straight line indicating the route needle position, more or mileage, the port, lighthouse, mountain and other marks along the route, sand beach, open row or concealed row and other reefs. Some also mark ' there is a flow boundary here ', ' here is the entrance of Leizhou ' and so on. There are also some maps marking the operation of the sea area. For example, when recording the route of Yinggehai in Hainan, the map records: fishing operations: 22 to 26 waters in the inner sea and 38 to 40 waters in the outer sea. In the area from Changhuajiao to Sigengshajiao in Hainan, there are fishing operations: 16 trusts for the inner sea, 26 trusts for the middle sea, and 32 trusts for the outer sea.



(This is page 9 of Zheng Changmei's copy of " Liushui Genglubu ", which records the route from Changhuajiao to Sigengshajiao in Hainan Province. In this map, in addition to the port, hidden row, sand and stone, needle position, and more, there are also records of fishing operations.)

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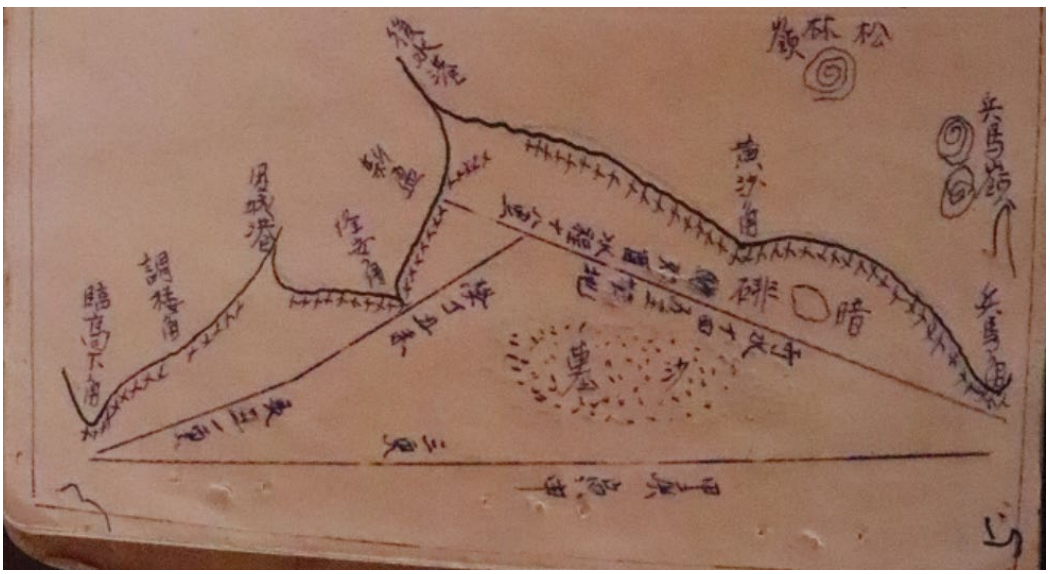


(This is page 23 of Zheng Changmei's copy of " Liushui Genglubu ", and the graphics are drawn as follows: ' There is a flow boundary here '; Gen Kun, Chou Wei directly to Haikou ; about twenty zero water; Zi Wu, two geng to Haikou and other records.)

b) The drawing of mountain shape

In ancient Chinese navigation activities, in addition to using the compass to identify the direction of navigation, ship positioning, mainly in the route along the coast of the mountains, islands, reefs, etc. as a reference, is to refer to the ' mountain ' to determine its location. Whether the ship reaches the predetermined position or the route is correct, it is necessary to compare the mountain shape. Whether the ' mountain shape ' on the water potential map is accurate or approximate determines the success or failure of navigation. Chen Lunjiong (2013) pointed out, the drawing of mountain shape is very important. Professor Yan Genqi (2019) pointed out that ' Wangshan ' refers to the obvious markers such as mountains and forests on the coast, such as Tongguling in Hainan Province, which is named after the bronze drum excavated by General Ma Yuan during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. It is an important ' Wangshan ' that ships from Guangzhou and other places enter the sea area east of the Qiongzhou Strait and sail southward.

In Zheng Changmei's copy of "Liushui Genglubu", there are many descriptions of the mountains. For example, from Lingao in Hainan to Bingmajiao, on the way to see the three major mountains, Songlinling, Bao 'anling and Bingmaling, From Lingaojiao to Diaoloujiao, it is necessary to turn the needle many times to change the direction, and there are many reefs. It is difficult for people who are not familiar with it to pass through. That is to say, the voyage is very complex, reefs, sand, all, the text can not be all loaded, must be very familiar with its terrain.



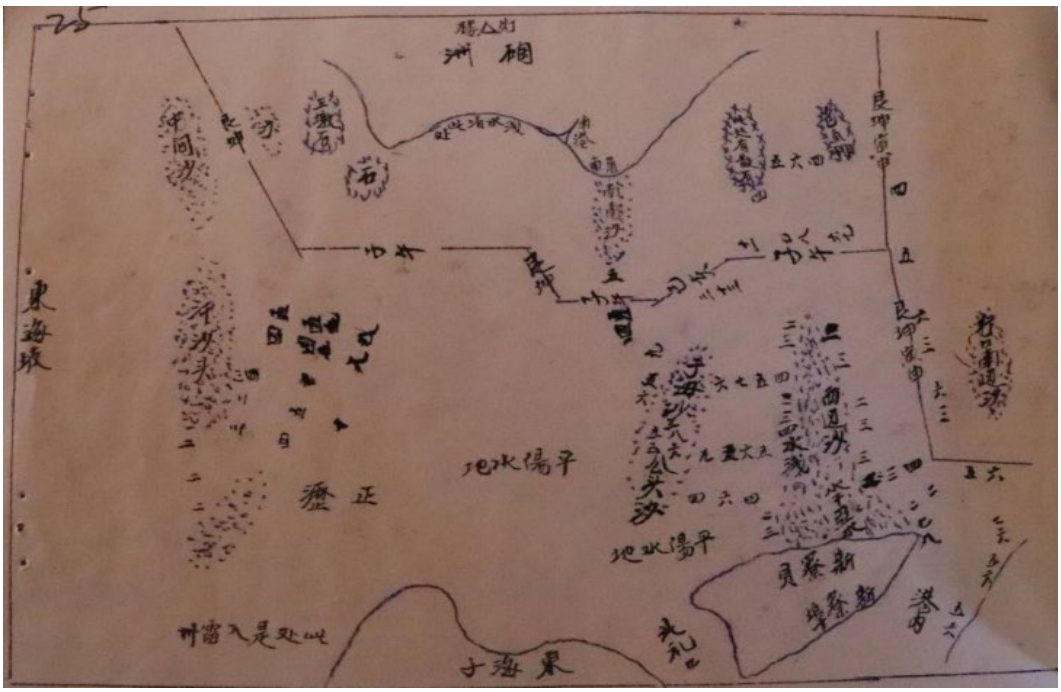
(This is page 5 of Zheng Changmei 's copy of " Liushui Genglubu ", From Lingaojiao to Diaoloujiao.)

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c) Drawing of water potential

In the mountain water potential map, the water potential mainly refers to the marking of the marine hydrological conditions and geological conditions around a port and ' mountain ' in the map, as well as some navigational south, the most important of which is the depth of sea water and the geological conditions of the ocean, such as sand and reef.

In Zheng Changmei's copy of the " Liushui Genglubu, " there are many pictures that record the water potential, and there are some specific terms, such as hidden row, clear row, reef cornerstone, coarse sand, fine sand, sand land, sand mud land, mud land, Pingyang water land, Zhengli, Dashui... Bracket, water depth... A foot, offshore... Pitching, dark water all the way, etc. As shown in the figure on page 25 of this book, the map of mountain shape and water potential in Guangdong is drawn, including the mark of Naozhou lighthouse, ' here is scattered sand ', ' shallow water here ', ' Pingyang water ', ' water dry ', ' shallow water ', Zhengli and other geological conditions, water potential drawing.



(This is page 25 of Zheng Changmei 's copy of " Liushui Genglubu ", The map shows the ports, routes, voyages, mountain shapes and water potential along the route from Guangdong to the East China Sea.)

d) The integrity of the diagram

Throughout Zheng Changmei's 24 maps of ' Liushui Genglubu ', it can be seen that although the 24 maps are divided into different page numbers, they are linked together to form a complete map with very obvious holistic characteristics. Among them, from page 1 to page 21, is the Hainan Island map. Starting from Haikou, Hainan Province, involving Haikou, Chengmai, Lingao, Danzhou, Changjiang, Dongfang, Ledong, Sanya, Lingshui, Wanning, Qionghai, Wenchang and other coastal cities and counties on the west and east coasts of Hainan Province, through Shashangjiao - Hongshajiao - Tianweijiao - Beinancun - Dongshuigang - Huafanggang - Yubaojiao - Magang - Hongpaigang - Beipugang - Linggaoshangjiao - Linggaoxiajiao - Tiaoloujiao - Tianchenggang - Long 'anjiao - Xinyinggang - Houshuigang - Huangshajiao - Bingmajiao - Emangang - Nantangang - Shenjianjiao - Ganchonggang - Baimajing (Yangpu) - Guanyinjiao - Haitougang - Haiweigang - Shatang - Shatang - Shatang - Shatang Bay - Changhuajiao - Changhuagang - Changtianshagang - Yishagang - Lingshuijiao - Li 'an Port - Shuikou Port - Sugarcane Island - Xiaohuajiao - Dahuajiao - Gangbei Port - Boao Port - Qinglan Port - Tonggujiao - Paoling Port - Jiadingjiao - Jimao Bay - Wushizi - Mulantoujiao - Xinpujiao - Lingjiao - Shijiao - Puqian Port - Dongyingsha - Shazhou Port - Shazhoujiao - Haikou and other nearly 90 ports, which provides very important information for the study of Hainan 's ports, fishery resources, geological water quality, maritime transport, private trade and so on.

V. Questions and Discussions on Zheng Changmei's Copy of Liushui Genglubu

The author analyzes the content and text features of the " Liu Shui Genglubu". However, there are still many doubts in this book :

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a) Who did Zheng Changmei copy from ?

Although the book clearly marked 'October 1980, Zheng Changmei copied ', but who did Zheng Changmei copy from ? There is no conclusion yet. Through interviews with Mr. Chen, Mr. Wang and other people, as well as relevant literature records, the author roughly speculated that the " Liushuigenglubu " was produced in about two stages. According to the author's research, around 1980, when Zheng Changmei copied the ' Genglubu ', the original copy was written in writing brush on rice paper. According to the author interviewed Mr. Wang, originally ' Genglubu ' was written on several large rice paper, he only saw one of them. According to Mr. Chen, he did a lot of research when he wrote ' Yingge Haizhi '. It can be preliminarily inferred that the emergence of the ' Liushui Gengliubu ' was about two periods. The previous part of the " flowing water situation " appeared in the Tongzhi period of the Qing Dynasty, which was closely related to Mr. Ke Hongmo, the pioneer of Yinggehai culture. Ke Hongmo, born in Xianfeng Renzi year, died in Guangxu Dingyou year. He founded the first private school in Yinggehai and cultivated a large number of excellent students. The latter part of the ' mountain water potential map ' should have experienced a long-term formation process, which is related to the commercial trade of Yinggehai. It was initially formed in the Qianlong period of the Qing Dynasty, and then it was continuously supplemented. The period of the Republic of China and the 1950 s and 1960 s should be the mature period.

b) Are the users of ' Liushui Genglubu ' merchant ships or fishermen ?

There are different views on the discussion of this issue. One is for merchant ships. According to the author's research, Hainan Ledong Yinggehai people fishing operations, mostly in the coastal area; fishery trade is to sail around the island, or from Hainan to Guangdong, Guangxi, Vietnam and other places. 'Yinggehai Zhi' records the prosperous commercial trade of Yinggehai. In the 25th year of Qianlong 's reign in the Qing Dynasty, the commercial bank of Fang Zhiqigong in Xin 'an Village, Baishabu, Haikou migrated to Yinggehai, and soon the commercial bank of Wang Yinggong in Daojun Village, Qiongshan County migrated to Yinggehai. Since Yinggehai village, most fishermen mainly engaged in fishery production and trade. The sea area of Yinggehai is rich in seafood. The fishermen in this village generally work in the nearby sea area and rarely go to other places. The " Liushui Genglubu " records such a round-island route map as Haikou-Hainan West Coast-Hainan East Coast-Haikou, routes from Hainan to Guangdong and Guangxi, and a separate page centered on Fushuizhou, which is obviously related to commercial trade.

There is also a saying for fishermen to use, because this book has many ' fishing operations ' records. The author speculates that it is more likely to be a merchant ship user. In addition to the prosperous commercial trade in the history of the Yinggehai Sea, there are many records of the rich aquatic products in the sea area of the Yinggehai Sea in the ' Liushui Genglubu ' : ' Yinggehai to Wanglou Port, 50 miles, this port has a lot of land ' ; and ' Haikang to Yupao port, where the port is less, including cargo ships can go out. Since Zhuzhou tail into the water full of port, water depth, and the depth of the water in the port, mud, can avoid the wind. The tide is full of sand, and the water depth is five, six or seven feet. There are often records of salt ships entering and leaving the port, which shows that in addition to paying attention to the mountain shape and water potential of each port, this book also pays attention to the property situation of each port, as well as the situation of cargo ships and salt ships, which is closely related to the fact that the users of this book are merchant ships.

c) Zheng Changmei's copy deposit book 'Liushui Genglubu ' may be a family biography

Where is the copy of Zheng Changmei's copy of 'Liushui Genglubu ' copied from ? It has not been confirmed. However, it is speculated that the book may be his family biography. According to the introduction, Zheng's family is a generation of fishermen and merchants. Although Zheng Changmei did not go to sea to fish and do business, his grandfather and father all lived on fishery and commerce, and the people in his family had received certain cultural education. According to the ' Zheng's genealogy ', Zheng 's Wenjinggong moved to Yinggehai from Lingjiao Village in Qiongshan in the 54 th year of Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty (AD 1789) to make a living by fishing. Zheng's hall name 'Rongyang hall '. Zheng Changmei is the sixth generation of Zheng's descendants. He did not go to the sea, but participated in the revolution very early. He was the first batch of intellectuals to join the party in Yinggehai, and returned to Yinggehai around 1979. After returning home, he rarely left home for other reasons. Due to Zheng Changmei's high cultural level and good writing skills, he is often asked to help copy things. If this is someone asked him to copy, then, after copying, should be returned to others. However, the book was kept in Zheng Changmei 's home, indicating that he was not asked to copy it.

In addition, according to Mr. Chen, there is no second similar " Liushui Genglubu " in Yinggehai, and there are very few " mountain shape and water potential maps " of " Genglubu " found elsewhere in Hainan, indicating that there is little possibility that the book is copied from other places.

VI. Conclusion

In summary, although Zheng Changmei's copy of " Liushui Genglubu " still has many doubts, there is no

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doubt that its characteristics and value are still very obvious.

First, the " Liushui Genglubu " is a relatively complete and systematic combination of text and graphics found so far, especially the 24 charts, which provides very valuable information for the study of the development and history of China 's seaway maps and mountain water potential maps. It is also conducive to our further study of ancient navigation knowledge, navigation technology, and maritime traffic.

Secondly, the sea routes and voyages around Hainan Island recorded in this book almost include the important ports, routes and sea areas of cities and counties in Hainan Province. It is of great significance to understand the maritime traffic, port conditions, topography and folk trade in Hainan Province.

Third, the flow record of the 'Six Collision Flow Methods ' recorded in this paper supplements the record of the flow in the west of Hainan Province; the route centered on Fushuizhou in Vietnam and some records reflecting the commercial trade of Yinggehai in Ledong, Hainan Province, reflect the characteristics of the western route of Hainan Province and some characteristics of the use of ' Genglubu ' by commercial ships.

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Morals and Violence: Principles for a Historical and Social Cartography of Values

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Abstract- In this article we seek to identify elements that make up part of a cartography of power, a sequence of works related to a larger research. Through the criminal processes of Mallet-PR in Brazil, it was possible to find points that suggest a quite latent morality in society that configures an exercise of power, crossing subjects, institutions and knowledge. When that moral was broken, the response was almost immediate and violent. From this, we will see how the frontiers of legality, right and wrong, good and bad lose their dualistic character, getting confused and reconstituted in other forms of relationships. We identify here, a violent process of maintenance of morals. We deal with conceptualizations throughout the text, with emphasis on violence relations in the first moment, continuing with the questioning of morality in the second moment. We hope that this conversation with history and philosophy will allow everyone a critical reading of their own social place.

Keywords: historiography; cartography; criminal cases; moral; violence.

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Morals and Violence: Principles for a Historical and Social Cartography of Values

A Moral e a Violência: Princípios Para Uma Cartografia Histórica e Social Dos Valores

Júlio César Franco

Resumo- No presente artigo buscamos identificar elementos que compõem parte de uma cartografia do poder, uma sequência de trabalhos relativos a uma pesquisa maior. Através dos processos criminais de Mallet-PR no Brasil, foi possível encontrar pontos que sugerem uma moral bastante latente na sociedade que configura um exercício do poder, atravessando sujeitos, instituições e saberes. Quando essa moral foi rompida, a resposta foi quase imediata e violenta. A partir disso, veremos como as fronteiras da legalidade, do certo e do errado, do bom e do mau perdem seu caráter dualista, se confundindo e reconstituindo em outras formas de relações. Identificamos aqui, um processo violento de manutenção da moral. Tratamos das conceituações durante todo o texto, com ênfase nas relações de violência no primeiro momento, seguindo com a problematização da moral no segundo momento. Esperamos que esta conversa com a história e a filosofia, permita a todos uma leitura crítica do próprio lugar social.

Palavras-chave: historiografia; cartografia; processos criminais; moral; violência.

Abstract- In this article we seek to identify elements that make up part of a cartography of power, a sequence of works related to a larger research. Through the criminal processes of Mallet-PR in Brazil, it was possible to find points that suggest a quite latent morality in society that configures an exercise of power, crossing subjects, institutions and knowledge. When that moral was broken, the response was almost immediate and violent. From this, we will see how the frontiers of legality, right and wrong, good and bad lose their dualistic character, getting confused and reconstituted in other forms of relationships. We identify here, a violent process of maintenance of morals. We deal with conceptualizations throughout the text, with emphasis on violence relations in the first moment, continuing with the questioning of morality in the second moment. We hope that this conversation with history and philosophy will allow everyone a critical reading of their own social place.

Keywords: historiography; cartography; criminal cases; moral; violence.

I. Introdução

Ao estudarmos os processos criminais como fontes para historiografia foi possível observar vários contextos, sujeitos, costumes, instituições, discursos e saberes que se relacionam formando um complexo campo social. São rituais encenados, saberes invocados e instituições acionadas que podem produzir verdades sobre os sujeitos, os espaços e os valores sociais. Ao colocarmos os processos criminais sobre as lentes da história, podemos perceber elementos que compõem uma cartografia social do poder, que apresenta suas linhas de segmentaridades e suas fugas.

Para compreendermos uma cartografia como método de investigação histórica, precisamos definir o significado do conceito. Deleuze e Guattari compreenderam que um dos princípios de seu método é a cartografia, reafirmando-a como um mapa de relações:

> O mapa é aberto, é conectável em todas as suas dimensões, desmontável, reversível, suscetível de receber modificações constantemente. Ele pode ser rasgado, revertido, adaptar-se a montagens de qualquer natureza, ser preparado por um indivíduo, um grupo, uma formação social. Pode-se desenhá-lo numa parede, concebê-lo como obra de arte, construí-lo como uma ação política ou como uma meditação. Uma das características mais importantes do rizoma talvez seja a de ter sempre múltiplas entradas; (...) Um mapa tem múltiplas entradas contrariamente ao decalque que sempre volta ao 'mesmo'. (Deleuze e Guattari, 1995, p. 22).

Através destes pressupostos teóricos, podemos remeter uma forma de compreensão da história. Não se trata de criar inúmeras narrativas sem respaldo ou responsabilidade, mas, compreender a multiplicidade das relações de poder que envolvem os momentos na história, as vidas dos sujeitos, o cotidiano, o Estado, o ambiente e os espaços. Momentos que não estão presos ao seu tempo e podem trazer o passado consigo. Quando buscamos compreender uma cartografia na história, significa diretamente rejeitar determinismos, pois um mapa pode ser redimensionado, alterando suas fronteiras e limites a todo momento. Cada linha observada traz consigo um pedaço desse mapa, que pode ser desenhado e redesenhado em diversos momentos e situações.

Através de processos criminais podemos observar parte dessas linhas que desenham um mapa, uma cartografia das relações de poder. Neles

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encontramos vidas - e mortes - transcritas em páginas hoje amareladas pela ação implacável do tempo. Um tempo que parece correr para trás e para frente, trazendo um passado que insiste em deixar rastros e ecos, expondo sujeitos no momento de suas desventuras que as marcaram na história. Não se trata de uma história de grandes figuras ou gloriosos eventos, mas sim, de eventuais encontros com o poder no cotidiano da vida. Isto permite que possamos tecer a crítica a esse passado que ainda ressoa, em formas de gritos e sussurros, em nosso presente.

Parafraseando o filósofo Michel Foucault:

> Eu quis que se tratasse sempre de existências reais; que se pudessem dar-lhes um lugar e uma data; que por trás desses nomes que não dizem mais nada, por trás dessas palavras rápidas e que bem podem ser, na maioria das vezes, falsa, mentirosas, injustas, exageradas, houvessem homens que viveram e estão mortos, sofrimentos, malvadezas, ciúmes, vociferações. (Foucault, 1977, p. 202).

Essa referência se trata da obra *A vida dos homens infames*, curso ministrado em 1977, onde o filósofo expôs suas pesquisas sobre as *lettres de cachet* do século XVIII, encontradas nos arquivos do *Hospital Geral* e da *Bastilha*, na França. Apesar de Foucault ter negado uma historiografia, tratou-se de um trabalho bastante histórico, que nos permitiu compreender complexas relações de poder que se apresentavam naquela sociedade. Essa obra permitiu entender parte de uma cartografia do poder daquele momento. Não se trata apenas da história de alguns sujeitos infames, mas sim, de um conjunto de saberes e poderes que atravessaram esses sujeitos e foram registradas na história. Esse encontro com o poder faz "vigiar, espreitar, surpreender, interditar e punir" (Foucault, 1977, p. 215), de mesmo modo também cria, incita, suscita, produz, torna visível, modela comportamentos, transforma palavras e existências.

O processo criminal utilizado para compor nossa cartografia, foi registrado no município de Mallet-PR, no Brasil. Registrado pelo número 8/59 do Juízo de Direito da Comarca de Mallet[1], inicia-se o auto proferido pela Justiça Pública contra *Hernani Vieira de Souza*. Este processo julgou os crimes de *Hernani* contra sua esposa e seu amigo. Um duplo homicídio em retaliação a um ato de adultério. Segundo os autos:

> No dia 21 de Setembro último (1959), às 19 horas, aproximadamente, nesta cidade, o denunciado dirigiu-se à casa de *Valdomiro Kusniak*, sita à Rua 15 de Novembro s/n e, penetrando na mesma, na cozinha encontrou sua esposa, *Maria Morais de Souza* que, dias antes havia abandonado o lar. Após rápida alteração com a esposa, *Hernani* sacou da faca, descrita no Auto de busca e Apreensão e Exame de Arma, que ilustram o presente inquérito, e com ela produziu em *Maria Morais de Souza* o ferimento estampado no respectivo Auto de Exame Cadavérico. (Processo n.º 08/1959, fl. 2).

Hernani não parou por aí:

> Ato contínuo, o denunciado ainda com a faca emanando sangue, saiu a procura de *Valdomiro Kusniak*, encontrando-o, logo em seguida, no estabelecimento comercial de *Miguel Litertovicz*, situado à Av. João Pessoa s/n e dizendo-lhe: "agora você me paga, seu traidor!", *Hernani*, a traição, cravou a arma em *Valdomiro*, causando-lhe o ferimento constante do Auto de Exame Cadavérico. (Processo n.º 08/1959, fl. 2).

Este duplo homicídio ocorreu em Mallet, um pequeno município do Sudeste do estado do Paraná, fortemente marcado pela imigração eslava. O movimento de ocupação não indígena e exploração em terras ditas malletenses iniciou-se ainda no século XIX, com a formação de pequenas colônias nos arredores dos rios ali preexistentes, sendo o principal o Rio Charqueada. No início do século XX, essas colônias vão experimentar as ações que o progresso pode causar.

Com a chegada da Ferrovia São Paulo-Rio Grande do Sul à região por volta de 1900, trouxe junto muitas mudanças. A responsável foi a empresa estadunidense *Brazil Railway Company*, de Percival Farquhar. Regiões do sul brasileiro tiveram drásticas mudanças em sua estrutura econômica e social.

> A construção da ferrovia que cortou a floresta ombrófila mista, nas terras contestadas, marcou profundamente a História da Região. [...] A ferrovia foi inaugurada no ano de 1910 e, até então, a Região era habitada, esparsamente pelas comunidades indígenas e pelos caboclos e mestiços pioneiros. (Valentini, 2009, p. 56)

Valentini, analisou os impactos sociais e econômicos que a chegada da ferrovia trouxe à região do Contestado[2]. Mallet não pertencia ao Contestado, embora a passagem dessa mesma ferrovia também tenha causado muitas mudanças nas vidas maltenses.

As comunidades se deslocaram das colônias para formar o núcleo populacional no entorno da estação ferroviária, que seria inaugurada em 1903, embora a obra da ferrovia fosse inaugurada completamente em 1910. Abandonando as regiões dos rios, esse êxodo se deu principalmente pela expansão comercial que o novo local iria proporcionar. Levaria ainda alguns anos para que o novo núcleo chamado de São Pedro de Mallet - mesmo nome da estação - fosse emancipado. Aquela localidade, somente seria reconhecida como município e emancipada em 21 de

[1] Os processos da Comarca de Mallet se encontram hoje no Centro de Documentação e Memória da Unicentro/Irati-PR. Foram higienizados, organizados, catalogados no projeto de Extensão Mnemosine, garantindo uma ferramenta de pesquisa coerente e pública para pesquisa.

[2] Referente a Guerra do Contestado (1912-1914), conflito entre os estados brasileiros Paraná e Santa Catarina causado por disputas de terras. A região contestada era rica no principal elemento econômico comercial do Sul, a erva-mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*). Uma soma de consequências causadas pela ferrovia e pelo dito progresso da região.

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setembro de 1912, quarenta e sete anos antes de *Hernani, Maria e Valdomiro* ficarem marcados na história através de um processo criminal.

Em 1959 muitas mudanças ocorreram no contexto histórico brasileiro e também em Mallet-PR. Com o fim da ditadura de Getúlio Vargas, o Brasil pode experimentar novamente a democracia. Isto ocorreu entre 1946 com a promulgação da Constituição Brasileira postergada desde a entrada de Vargas ao poder, até o fatídico golpe militar de 1º de abril de 1964 que colocaria o Brasil novamente nas "trevas" dos governos autoritários.

Mallet, como demonstra o livro de Föetsch e Arkaten, *Poder Legislativo Malletense* (2012), sempre seguiu um caminho político favorável aos governos autoritários. Não é surpresa, nem exceção, os políticos de Mallet convergirem para esse viés. Isto diz muito sobre o contexto de Mallet e da construção identitária do povo Paranaense. Os historiadores Sochodolak e Martins problematizam a construção dessa narrativa identitária:

> [...] refere-se às subjetividades das pessoas que ocuparam a terra a partir de fins do século XIX, com sua religiosidade evidenciada pela construção de igrejas e sua disposição para o trabalho. Tais fatores seriam responsáveis pelo progresso do Sul do Estado e pela contribuição na diferenciação do Paraná com o restante do Brasil, um "Brasil diferente" nas palavras de Wilson Martins. (Sochodolak e Martins, 2014, p. 193).

Essa construção identitária do povo paranaense é algo bastante complexo. Por vezes evidenciam o paranaense como trabalhador e acolhedor, ao mesmo tempo que escondem povos e etnias presentes ali como negros e indígenas. Se construiu uma identidade de um Paraná de brancos e imigrantes eslavos que desenvolveram e promoveram o progresso no estado. Discurso controverso se analisarmos historicamente a formação do estado, tendo influência significativa destes povos "excluídos". Os estudos dos processos criminais de Mallet, é um dos processos de desconstrução dessa ideia demonstrando as controvérsias desse discurso. É neste contexto que foi fundado o Núcleo de Estudos de História da Violência - NUHVI, na Universidade Estadual do Centro-Oeste, do qual sou membro desde a formação do grupo.

Esta breve contextualização sobre Mallet-PR, nos permite entendermos como era este município. Ao longo da segunda metade do século XX, sua expansão enfraqueceu e se estagnou. Entretanto, as relações sociais continuam marcadas pelo modo de vida rural.

II. A Moral e a Violência na Constituição de uma Cartografia do Poder

Analisar o Processo Criminal n.º 08/1959, nos permitiu encontrarmos traços de um diagrama abstrato, a moral, composto por relações de poder bastante complexas presentes em nossa cartografia. Para tal, temos como diagrama, a definição do conceito por Gilles Deleuze: "O diagrama, ou a máquina abstrata, é o mapa das relações de forças, mapa de densidade de intensidade, que procede por ligações primárias não-localizáveis e que passa a cada instante por todos os pontos, 'ou melhor, em toda relação de um ponto ao outro'. (Deleuze, 2013, p. 46)". Ou seja, um diagrama permite a observação das relações de poder, como e por onde ele atravessa. Neste momento buscamos compreender como a moral pode ter pode ter exercido diferentes relações de poder na sociedade malletense.

A moral parece transitar pelos agenciamentos concretos do poder, esses produzem discursos, suscitam e incitam sujeitos através das várias instituições como tribunais, escolas, prisões, igrejas, família, etc. Esses agenciamentos, produzem o que podemos entender como mecanismo de sustentação do poder, que captam e produzem sujeitos, são conexões não determinadas que podem ser rompidas ou desviadas sem deixar de exercer o poder. Para exemplo, as prisões observadas por Foucault (2013, p. 130) em *Vigiar e Punir*, que produziram várias relações de poder que precederam a instituição e foram além dela. Traz a luz e produz o sujeito delinquente, os carcereiros, mas também traz consigo os mecanismos de correção e punição que puderam ser difundidos de forma rizomática pela sociedade. Do contrário, esses mecanismos não surtiram efeitos se fossem exercidos apenas nas prisões. Se forma um diagrama complexo do poder disciplinar que vai atravessar toda a sociedade, dentro e fora das prisões.

Ao observarmos a sociedade malletense, através dos processos criminais, é possível compreender como os sujeitos reafirmam a moralidade latente nesta região. Não criam e não questionam os valores que a moral incide, mas, reproduzem e são a todo momento atravessados por ela. Uma população que compartilhava mais do que a terra, mais do que o acesso à ferrovia e mais do que o comércio de produtos agrícolas. Para além da materialidade, essa população, como qualquer outra reunida socialmente, compartilhava seus valores morais, suas normatividades e seus consensos e acordos intrínsecos em seus modos de viver.

Desta forma, buscamos compreender parte da formação dessas relações de poder que compõem um diagrama da moral, ou um poder moral. Este, parece atravessar as relações com o poder judiciário e a vida cotidiana, exercendo modos de viver que compõem uma normatividade. Estaria dentro do campo disciplinar também, mas, a moral parece possuir uma particularidade: as forças que a produzem e que a evocam não são necessariamente conscientes ou produtos institucionais. A moral atravessa sujeitos e instituições, conduzindo e produzindo tensões, e como

uma corda de instrumento, se tensionada demais pode arrebentar.

O rompimento destes acordos, produzem um sistema violento de restauração da moral envolvendo vários segmentos sociais e institucionais. Produzem linhas de fugas dentro da normatividade estratificada, que segundo Deleuze e Guattari, em *Mil Platôs*:

> Estas linhas não param de se remeter umas às outras. É por isto que não se pode contar com um dualismo ou uma dicotomia, nem mesmo sob a forma rudimentar do bom e do mau. Faz-se ruptura, traça-se uma linha de fuga, mas corre-se sempre o risco de reencontrar nela organizações que re-estratificam o conjunto, formações que dão novamente o poder a um significante, atribuições que reconstituem um sujeito. (Deleuze e Guattari, 2011, p. 26).

Este princípio de ruptura, teorizado por Deleuze e Guattari em 1980, permite compreendermos a violência também como uma ruptura da normatividade. Não é a regra, nem mesmo a solução mais exata, mas ao observarmos nos processos, quando os valores morais são subjugados e/ou rompidos, imediatamente inicia-se uma projeção de linhas de fuga para reconstituir e re-estratificar essa moral. Nessa linha de fuga os poderes e saberes são acionados para cauterizar essas rupturas, não ao que era antes, mas ao que pode continuar sendo. Entretanto, os meios para isto são uma incógnita para cada situação, não existe uma regra para esse processo, ele pode acontecer de várias formas.

Assim também é a própria violência, um fenômeno que pode ser observado e compreendido de várias formas em diferentes contextos sociais na história. Quando o historiador Robert Muchembled analisou a violência homicida na Europa, ele constatou várias ligações ao que se refere a honra e a sexualidade com a violência. Quando se refere a honra, Muchembled vai nos apontar que

> A violência assassina só faz refletir a intensidade das emoções coletivas que unem ao seu grupo, de tal forma que a vingança se torna obrigação sagrada indispensável para restaurar a honra coletiva conspurcada. Não somente a pureza das mulheres deve ser defendida como um valor supremo por todos os homens, mas estes devem evitar "perder a cara" em público se sua virilidade for colocada em dúvida, se forem objetos de injúrias, de ameaças ou até de troças. (Muchembled, 2012, p. 27).

Um estatuto de honra é produzido a partir dos valores morais de uma sociedade. O ser honrado e o ser desonrado parece estar intrinsecamente ligado às ações morais de um sujeito. Para legitimar esse "status" é necessário um reconhecimento social de sujeitos que partilham dos mesmos valores. Para exemplificar, observemos o clássico de Alexandre Dumas, *Os Três Mosqueteiros*, quando traz o os conselhos do pai de D'Artagnan sobre como deveria se portar:

> Na corte - continuou o Sr. D'Artagnan pai -, se tiver a honra de lá entrar, honra a que, de resto, a sua velha nobreza lhe dá direito, sustente dignamente o seu nome de gentil-homem, que foi usado nobremente pelos nossos antepassados durante mais de quinhentos anos. Por você e pelos nossos (pelos nossos entendo, os nossos pais e os nossos amigos) nunca toleremos nada a não ser do Sr. Cardeal e do rei. É pela sua coragem, ouça bem, apenas pela sua coragem, que um gentil-homem abre atualmente caminho na vida. (Dumas, 1996, p.21).

Claramente se expõem uma certa realidade relativa às forças militares da corte de Luís XIII. A obediência muito própria do antigo regime francês do século XVII, colocando acima da guarda somente o Clero e o Rei. A moral que circundava esses mosqueteiros era muito própria de sua classe social, o que implicava naquele contexto uma distinção moral muito acentuada em relação aos burgueses, por exemplo. Embora os relatos consecutivos sejam de que esses mosqueteiros nada mais eram que "beberrões" que constantemente abusavam de seu "status" e poder para duelar e assassinar. Eram propriamente almas irascíveis, como descreve Platão na Grécia Antiga em sua obra *Fédon,* movidos pela ira, mas controlados pelo dever em forma de valor instituído, tendo eventuais explosões agressivas em resposta. O ponto chave desse exemplo se trata da legitimação dessa honra, compartilhada não só entre a corte, mas, entre todos que reconhecem esse valor naquela sociedade.

Retornando a Mallet-PR, a violência cometida por *Hernani*, não está isenta deste processo. Podemos observar como sua violência produziu significados além do crime. Não é somente matar alguém, mas, também uma reação ao rompimento dos valores instituídos naquela sociedade.

Segundo o termo de interrogatório, Hernani relatou que "[...] há muito tempo *Valdomiro Kuzniak* frequentava sua casa e eram grandes amigos [...] (Processo n.º 08/1959, fl. 35)". É possível perceber o juízo feito por *Hernani* em relação a *Valdomiro*, pontuando claramente sua amizade e toda a conduta que se esperava de um "grande amigo". Tal traição conspurcaria não somente a família de *Hernani*, mas também todo um acordo moral pré-existente naquela sociedade. A violência homicida, contra *Valdomiro* e *Maria,* tomava um caráter de legítima defesa da honra. Muchembled afirma que:

> Ceder diante de um ofensor, apanhar ou ser difamado é desonroso, não somente para o que é afetado, mas para todos os seus próximos, que o obrigam a reagir, mesmo que ele não deseje. (Muchembled, 2012, p. 27)

Para a sociedade malletense de 1959, assim como no contexto brasileiro, o crime de homicídio era bastante grave. Estando previsto no Código Penal Brasileiro de 1940, sob o artigo:

> *Art. 121. Matar alguém*:
>
> Pena - reclusão, de seis a vinte anos
>
> *Caso de diminuição de pena*

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> § 1º Se o agente comete o crime impelido por motivo de relevante valor social ou moral, ou sob o domínio de violenta emoção, logo em seguida a injusta provocação da vítima, o juiz pode reduzir a pena de um sexto a um terço. (Código Penal Brasileiro de 1940).

No entanto, observamos que a própria letra da lei reconhece uma defesa da honra, diminuindo a pena consideravelmente. No que diz respeito ao contexto malletense, esses valores poderiam ser reconhecidos até mesmo como justificada, pois a honra e a moral são as bases sociais destes sujeitos em 1959. Essas relações atravessam todos os sujeitos, independentemente de seu sexo ou credo, pois os sujeitos considerados "dignos" seriam aqueles honrados e morais: é o homem trabalhador, provedor da família, praticante dos bons costumes; é a mulher dona de casa, mãe, se solteira é virgem e recatada.

Desta forma observamos ali, uma violência tomando caráter valorativo e instrumental mais do que apenas explosões coléricas isoladas. A violência de Hernani, toma um caráter legítimo, uma vez que justificou a defesa de valores sociais profundamente enraizados em seu contexto. Assim, "Nesse quadro, a violência é, ao mesmo tempo, legítima e obrigatória, para escapar da vergonha. (Muchembled, 2012, p. 27).". Da mesma forma, a defesa apropriou elementos morais que produziriam uma inocência sobre o homicida. Todavia, produz algo maior do que uma verdade sobre uma inocência ou culpa, também produz mecanismos de reconstituição da moral rompida através dos agenciamentos concretos acionados pelo Poder Judiciário.

A violência nesse processo n. 08/59, foi além da física. Uma violência que se ressoa também nas leis, nos valores, nos rituais para se produzir a verdade. Uma violência que não está isolada no tempo, nem em classes sociais. É uma violência, como Dadoun nos apontou:

> À flor da pele e ao fundo da alma - assim é a violência no cotidiano, uma violência que corre e ricocheteia sobre todas as superfícies de nossa existência e que uma palavra, um gesto, uma imagem, um grito, uma sombra que seja, capta, sustenta e relança indefinidamente, e que, no entanto, desta espuma dos dias, abre à alma vertiginosos abismos [...] (Dadoun, 1998, p. 43).

Ainda que a sociedade ocidental tenha passado por várias mudanças nos costumes, buscando organizar seus modos de viver, suas condutas e suas manifestações de violência não significa superação. O sociólogo Norbert Elias, quando analisou o controle social e o autocontrole nos expôs algo importante. Em relação à civilização com a formação dos Estados Nação e o fim do *Ancien Régime*:

> A civilização não é "razoavél", nem racional, como também não é "irracional". É posta em movimento cegamente e mantida em movimento pela dinâmica autônoma de uma rede de relacionamentos, por mudanças específicas na maneira como as pessoas se veem obrigadas a conviver. (Elias, 1993, p. 195).

Se essa relação de obrigação do convívio se manifesta constantemente, por si ela tende a produzir rupturas nas quais o Estado não teria como evitar, por exemplo, a violência no cotidiano. Destarte, precisou-se introduzir uma forma de autocontrole que foi, pouco a pouco internalizado pela sociedade com "[...] investidas de sentimento de vergonha, que a regulação de toda vida instintiva e afetiva por um firme autocontrole se torna cada vez mais estável, uniforme e generalizada." (Elias, 1993, p. 194).

Podemos teorizar que parte desses processos definem e adornam a moral na sociedade. Ela não é um produto do estado, nem um produto propriamente dos indivíduos, mas sim, uma mescla de tudo que limita e conduz a vida dos sujeitos em sociedade, seja leis de Estado ou práticas sociais que transitam por gerações. Desta forma, podemos explicar o caráter não determinista da moral, não significa que ela é bom ou mau, nem certo ou errado. Sua manifestação ocorre em diferentes graus, desde o convívio pacifico a rupturas violência do tecido social.

Essas rupturas violentas da moral não podem ser contidas pela ação do Estado. São posteriormente punidas por ele, mas, não são antecipadas por ele. Girard falou sobre um caráter visceral da violência:

> [...]um jogo diabólico que exige a intermediação de heróis míticos, deuses e ancestrais divinizados a quem é atribuída a encarnação imaginária da violência. Mas a violência é de todos e está em todos. Mesmo que o sistema judiciário contemporâneo acabe por racionalizar toda a sede de vingança que escorre pelos poros do sistema social, parece ser impossível não ter que usar da violência quando se quer liquidá-la e é exatamente por isso que ela é interminável (Girard, 1990, p. 11).

A partir de Girard, podemos entender que os esforços do Estado, mesmo através do Poder Judiciário, não conseguem conter a violência. Ela se manifesta de forma imprevisível e, mesmo o sujeito mais "moralista e idôneo" de uma sociedade, poderá responder violentamente quando seus valores forem questionados ou "maculados". Vale ressaltar, que nem toda violência é produto de uma ruptura moral, embora toda ruptura moral apresenta uma forma de violência, não necessariamente física, isto não é determinante.

III. A Reafirmação e Manutenção dos Valores

A moral é o elemento que está no cerne desta pesquisa e que atravessa nossa cartografia, nossas fontes e nossos sujeitos. Recorremos à Nietzsche, para tentar compreender como a moral permeia a sociedade e como ela também toma um caráter violento sobre a vida dos sujeitos. Assim, poderemos compreender melhor como *Hernani* se desenvolveu como um sujeito

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moral no processo criminal 08/59 e como a sociedade agia frente a isto.

Nietzsche, escreveu no século XIX que precisamos encontrar uma genealogia da moral, não sua origem (*Ursprung*), mas o momento e o motivo para que ela foi inventada (*Erfindung*). Ou seja, a moral não existe *a priori,* ela é uma invenção, e como toda invenção ela necessita de manutenção e correção de tempos em tempos. O filósofo irá aponta que que em certo momento houve a necessidade de viver em sociedade, e isso foi imposto autoritariamente a todos:

> Não temos direito de viver isolados. Não nos é permitido enganar-nos isoladamente, nem encontrar isoladamente a verdade. Ao contrário, assim como é necessário que uma árvore dê frutos, assim nós frutificamos ideias, apreciações: e nosso "sim" ou "não", nosso, porém e ser desenvolvem-se, aparentados e relacionados, como testemunhas de uma vontade, de uma saúde, de uma terra, de um sol. (Nietzsche, 1887, p. 24).

Assim, para que todo acordo de certo e errado, bem e mal, verdade e mentira seja definido é necessário que estejamos relacionados em sociedade. Um conjunto de valores se forma dando direções para toda forma de fazer da humanidade. De forma sistemática e pragmática, nos foi dado sentidos e direções de como viver, como se portar e se comportar. Assim inventamos a moral, como forma de sobreviver em sociedade, impor os limites e apontar direções.

Da mesma forma aponta o filósofo Vázquez:

> A moral é um sistema de normas, princípios e valores, segundo o qual são regulamentadas as relações mútuas entre os indivíduos ou entre estes e a comunidade, de tal maneira que estas normas, dotadas de um contexto histórico e social, sejam acatadas livres e conscientemente, por uma convicção íntima, e não de uma maneira mecânica, externa ou impessoal. (Vázquez, 1993, p. 69).

A moral então ela se integra ao ser pela sua convicção íntima, que por sua vez está relacionado ao seu contexto histórico e social. Desta forma, a moral é internalizada nos sujeitos que a reproduzem sem a crítica aos próprios valores. Em contrapartida, o que Vázquez (1993, p. 69) diz sobre a moral não ser ressoada de forma mecânica, externa ou impessoal, não parece se adequar à nossa teoria.

Uma vez que, pela moralidade se conjugam os papéis sociais a relação se torna uma névoa que circunda todos os sujeitos, até mesmo de forma inconsciente. Uma névoa porque a moral muitas vezes tende a ofuscar a visão sobre a vida e as ações. Os sujeitos são atravessados desde seu nascimento por uma moral da qual não tem entendimento, apenas aprenderá a reproduzi-la. O entendimento da moral pode ser traduzido como carácter contextual, ou seja, histórico, um processo em constante transformação que nem sempre é consciente para aqueles que já estão imersos.

Vemos que a moral e a moralidade ganham uma função social, ou melhor, se torna um manual que cabe aos sujeitos compreendê-las e fazer bom ou mau uso dele, para satisfazer seus desejos, para sobreviver, para se esconder ou para se tornar visível. Observando nossas fontes, precisamos fazer a crítica do valor desses valores para aquela sociedade e assim compreender o contexto histórico que cerca os sujeitos.

> Necessitamos de uma "crítica" dos valores morais e antes de tudo discutir-se o "valor destes valores", e por isso é toda a necessidade conhecer as condições e o meio ambiente em que nasceram, em que se desenvolveram e deformaram (a moral como consequência, como máscara, como enfermidade ou como equívoco, e também a moral como remédio, estimulante, freio ou veneno), um conhecimento de tal espécie nunca teve outro semelhante, nem é possível que não o tenha nunca desejado. (Nietzsche, 1887, p. 28).

No caso analisado, vemos uma sociedade que partilha a mesma moralidade, em diferentes usos e diferentes medidas. *Hernani*, para justificar seu crime, veste sua "máscara moral" junto ao seu defensor para personificar um sujeito honrado. Este é o jogo dos valores, onde se atribui distinções entre o certo e errado, bem e mal e legítimo e ilegítimo, que muitas vezes se confundem e se transformam deixando de ser um simples dualismo. Os significados aqui se multiplicam e explodem em linhas de fuga, as relações de poder ramificam em vários agenciadores, se desmontam e remontam ao longo dos processos históricos. É compreendendo o valor destes valores que é possível identificar como o poder moral atravessa os sujeitos, a que desejos eles respondem, a anseios se conduzem, a que finalidade se propõe:

> Dava-se como existente o "valor destes valores" como um verdadeiro postulado; até agora nunca se duvidou nem se hesitou de atribuir um valor do "bem" superior ao "mal", ao valor do progresso, da utilidade, inclusive o futuro do homem. E por quê? Não poderia ser verdade o contrário? (Nietzsche, 1887, p. 28).

Observando no Processo 08/59, os testemunhos de quem teve contato com *Hernani* naquele dia, podemos extrair algumas percepções sobre o crime, a violência e sobre a ruptura moral. Todavia, essas rupturas violentas tomam diversos rumos, de reparação individual da honra e da moral, do processo para verificar a legitimidade da violência em sua justificativa, das medidas cabíveis para equilibrar a balança da justiça entre o que é crime contra a pessoa e o que é "danação" contra os valores instituídos.

O primeiro testemunho, ainda em fase de inquérito policial, é de *Miguel Litertovicz*, o dono do bar onde *Hernani* assassinou *Valdomiro.* Questionado sobre o que havia acontecido, *Miguel* diz ter reagido tranquilamente por conhecer *Hernani* e havia perguntado por que ele havia esfaqueado *Valdomiro.* O réu respondeu a *Miguel* somente "[...] não é nada com

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você *Miguel* [...] agora vou avisar o Juiz, que matei os dois [...] (Processo 08/1959, fl. 27). *Miguel* não questionou a motivação do crime de *Hernani*, e falou que não sabia de desavenças mas tinha ciência do adultério. No testemunho da fase processual, *Miguel* afirmou ter entendido que a motivação do crime foi porque *Valdomiro* havia "roubado" a esposa de *Hernani.* A testemunha ainda afirmou que *Maria* havia abandonado o lar conjugal, e que isso poderia ter sido a causa do crime. (Processo 08/1959, fl. 47).

O segundo testemunho era de um cliente do mesmo bar, *Emiliano Kovalek*, jovem gaiteiro de 21 anos que estava tomando seu aperitivo e experimentando uma gaita que estava sobre o balcão. Diz ter sido muito violento a cena de *Hernani* assassinando *Valdomiro*, e que por isso não demorou para largar a gaita e ir para casa. (Processo 08/1959, fl. 28). Diferente do dono do estabelecimento que não se intimidou nem questionou a intenção do crime sabendo do adultério que envolvia todas as partes, *Emiliano* nada sabia sobre o réu, nada sabia sobre rixas entre eles e não sabia nada sobre o adultério.

Uma outra testemunha, chamado *Wlademiro Zainco*, de 50 anos, também presenciou o fato. *Wlademiro* deixa claro em seu depoimento que suspeitava das intenções de *Valdomiro* com *Maria.* O depoente apresenta a vítima, *Valdomiro*, como um homem imoral, pois teve conhecimento que ele havia feito propostas de dinheiro em troca de sexo com a filha de *Hernani*. Este detalhe chamou atenção no processo, pois ele somente afirmou isto depois de saber que *Hernani* já havia falado isso em juízo. Coadunando com a versão apresentada pelo réu, *Wlademiro* afirma uma imoralidade prejudicial aos valores da família e daquela sociedade. (Processo 08/1959, fl. 52-53).

O que podemos extrair desses depoimentos está no cerne do Poder Judiciário, a produção da verdade. Todos os depoentes prestaram o compromisso legal de somente dizer a verdade. Esta verdade, não era apenas aquela sobre o fato, mas também a que revela as convicções, os valores, os costumes, as condutas e a moral latente considerada legítima verdade por eles. Existe ali uma vontade de verdade.

Machado irá nos dizer que esta vontade de verdade é como uma crença de que [...] nada mais é necessário do que o verdadeiro, de que o verdadeiro é superior ao falso, de que a verdade é um valor superior - crença que funda a ciência e constitui a essência da moral e da metafísica [...]. (Machado, 2017, p. 14). Desta forma, podemos compreender que aquela sociedade possuía suas produções de verdades, que para eles existe a convicção de que ela é superior a outras. Em nossa análise, percebemos que a honra nas ações de um sujeito é vão produzir e fundamentar como esta pessoa é vista na sociedade, até mesmo para justificar uma violência.

Podemos explicar isto considerando que a verdade da moral que define e produz comportamentos, ações, formas de viver e de acreditar, não existe *a priori*, pois é um acordo aceito por todos.

> A verdade não é uma adequação do intelecto à realidade; é o resultado de uma convenção imposta com o objetivo de tornar possível a vida social; é uma ficção necessária ao homem em sua relação com outros homens. (Machado, 2017, p. 56).

Desta forma, podemos encontrar as mesmas direções de uma defesa moral nas palavras de *Hernani* e seu defensor. Se inicia o jogo de legitimação da defesa da honra, da moral e dos bons costumes, com a finalidade de se produzir uma verdade sobre o sujeito e seus atos.

Ao ser interrogado, *Hernani* narrou o que o levou a cometer o duplo homicídio. Ele é bastante incisivo ao afirmar que era amigo de *Valdomiro* a pelo menos doze anos, e que o mesmo frequentava sua casa. Disse mais: "[...] que há oito meses mais ou menos Valdomiro atropelou a esposa dele de casa, ficando sozinho, tendo pedido ao interrogado (*Hernani)* que mandasse suas filhas, uma de quatorze anos e outra de onze anos, fazer a limpeza na casa dele; (Processo 08/1959, fl. 35).". Inicia-se um ritual de desmantelamento da moralidade de *Valdomiro*, que retroalimenta a defesa da honra do réu.

Uma das vítimas já era demonstrada como sujeito contrário a família, pois "atropelou a esposa de casa". A defesa continuou, e *Hernani* afirmou mais, que *Valdomiro* tentou abusar de uma de suas filhas, oferecendo dinheiro a ela. A jovem havia contado apenas para sua mãe, *Maria*, que ocultou isso. Uma semana depois as duas vítimas começaram a se relacionar. (Processo 08/1959, fl. 35).

A dois pontos importantes neste relato de *Hernani*, um diz respeito a sua estratégia jurídica e o outro ao contexto histórico. Claramente a defesa se baseia na contradição dos valores das vítimas, assim podiam exaltar a honra e a moral do réu justificando sua fúria investida.

> Quase sempre é uma ação reprovável, mas, matar alguém em defesa da honra, da família, ou matar alguém que era um sujeito desviante daqueles valores, que provocou uma cólera social, faz mudar o sentido do homicídio, podendo não ser visto como crime. Embora em lei e norma seja crime, social e moralmente nem sempre o é. (Franco, 2019, p. 81).

Com relação ao contexto, o fato de *Maria* não ter relatado sobre a tentativa de abuso sexual contra sua filha faz parte de um estigma existente no período e que ainda é difícil de ser combatido. No início da década de 1960, ainda era muito forte as relações de casamentos arranjados e da virgindade como pré-requisito para esta finalidade. Uma herança "maldita' que perpassa décadas, tendo como resultado o ocultamento de inúmeros casos de violência sexual,

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pois isto afetaria a vida futura da vítima. Havia um preceito sobre o que era ser uma "mulher ideal", segundo Fonseca:

> [...] uma mistura de imagens: a mãe piedosa da Igreja, a mãe-educadora do Estado positivista, a esposa companheira do aparato médico-higienista. Mas todas convergiam para a pureza sexual – virgindade da moça, castidade da mulher. Para a mulher ser "honesta", devia se casar; não havia outra alternativa. E para casar, era teoricamente preciso ser virgem. (Fonseca, 2000, p. 528).

Sofrer uma violência sexual e denunciar, poderia resultar em um estigma que afetaria toda a vida da vítima, não somente emocional, mas também socialmente. Destarte, *Maria* ter ocultado aquela tentativa de abuso pode não ter sido uma conivência proposital, e sim uma estratégia de preservação da honra da filha.

A defesa de *Hernani* levaria isto como uma "degeneração" do papel de mãe, que ocultou um abuso e ainda se relacionou com o abusador de sua filha. Assim se constituiu a defesa do réu, ardilosamente na contradição dos valores das vítimas e exaltação de sua honra.

As razões finais da acusação proferida pelo Promotor Público, também foram bastante incisivas ao contradizer a defesa. Embora, seu respaldo seja pela materialidade do crime.

> Temos, para nós, que o duplo homicídio, - além do traumatismo, do choque natural que abalou toda a sociedade local, dados os requintes brutais, nas circunstâncias em que se efetuou - não passa de um frio, premeditado e monstruoso fato, perpetrado como habitualmente o são os crimes de denominamos de assassínio. (Processo 08/1959, fl. 66).

Existiu a tentativa da acusação em perpetrar que o réu causou prejuízos à sociedade, que ele rompeu com os valores. Apenas constatações sobre a materialidade do crime não têm o mesmo efeito que atrelar a culpa aos prejuízos morais causados. A acusação investiu na premeditação do crime, o que invalidaria a defesa da honra.

Hernani foi a júri popular e, tanta defesa quanto acusação apresentaram suas justificativas. O júri popular, comumente relacionado aos crimes contra a vida, se trata da representação civil no Poder Judiciário. É principalmente ao Tribunal do Júri que a defesa busca convencer, aqui os jogos do poder reestruturam suas fronteiras e expandem os limites da legalidade. Para a defesa, nada melhor do que pessoas que compartilham os mesmos valores morais para que se possa justificar uma defesa dos valores instituídos.

No dia 19 de fevereiro de 1960 foi convocada a Reunião Ordinária do Júri. Todos os 21 jurados eram homens. Após todo o processo, a defesa de *Hernani* convenceu os jurados pela legítima defesa da honra. O réu é absolvido das acusações e sai em liberdade. Para analisarmos isto, precisamos compreender que a ordem do discurso presente no Poder Judiciário não responde necessariamente à realidade dos fatos.

Principalmente nos casos em que é invocado o Tribunal do Júri, a verdade pode irromper em várias faces, formas e significados. O compromisso com a verdade dos fatos é transformado pela vontade de verdade, ou seja, aquilo que é necessário para aquele momento:

> Como se para nós a vontade de verdade e suas peripécias fossem mascaradas pela própria verdade em seu desenrolar necessário. E a razão disso é, talvez, esta: é que se o discurso verdadeiro não é mais, com efeito, desde os gregos, aquele que responde ao desejo ou aquele que exerce o poder [...] (Foucault, 2014, p. 18).

Não é o discurso verdadeiro sobre o fato, mas sim uma verdade necessária para se exercer estratégias, julgar e subjugar sujeitos ao poder, fazer ressoar e reanimar valores. Isto pode ocorrer com um caráter violento voltado ao dionisíaco, como afirma Sochodolak:

> Ao irromperem, elas arruínam as instituições e a ordem cultural. Sua violência é incontrolável, e suas estratégias contam, sobretudo, com a dissimulação, com o disfarce, com as máscaras. E, por fim, as ruínas das instituições e da cultura não abalam a divindade que emerge intacta da destruição. (Sochodolak, 2016, p. 230).

Quando se invoca os ritos de defesa da honra, de manutenção da moral, nem mesmo a instituição judiciária escapa dessa ordem. Suas leis são distorcidas, a verdade é modelada, a justiça se isenta e fecha os olhos para dar lugar a um exercício do poder de reconstituição dos valores. O Poder Judiciário pode se tornar uma ferramenta para exercer os desejos coletivos e individuais, iniciando de forma quase silenciosa que por fim se torna trovões que se faz ouvir onde se atravessa o poder.

IV. Considerações Nada Finais

Analisando o Processo n. 08/59 da Comarca de Mallet, foi possível compreendermos como certos valores morais estavam inseridos naquela sociedade. O duplo homicídio, considerado pelo promotor público como atroz, premeditado e covarde, não era visto da mesma forma pela sociedade representada pelo Tribunal do Júri. Na fase processual para estabelecer uma sentença, não se tratou mais do ato violento e criminoso, mas sim, dos motivos serem justificados ou não. Passou a um julgamento moral da situação que levou o réu a cometer os crimes.

As questões que se sucederam, não foram se havia sido premeditado ou se o fato de matar foi uma causalidade. Precisou-se estabelecer se o réu era um homem honrado, se protegia a sua família, se perante a sociedade ele era um praticante dos "bons costumes". Em outras palavras, um homem moral. Ao mesmo tempo, foi questionado se as vítimas eram pessoas

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honradas, quais foram suas atitudes que levaram o réu a sua manifestação colérica. Observamos o processo se transformar de um julgamento de homicídio para uma legítima defesa da honra. Quem legitimou essa ação foi a própria sociedade, que partilhava dos mesmos valores e que subentendia que ato violento foi resposta a ruptura dos valores que defendiam.

Desta forma, podemos entender como as linhas que se estratificam na sociedade podem ser rompidas. Uma vez que a moral é colocada em cheque, iniciou-se um processo que redesenhou as fronteiras até mesmo da legalidade, para reajustar os valores e conter a manifestação colérica social. Ao mesmo tempo, esse rompimento moral é violento e produz relações diversas que vão transformar todo o mapa das relações de poder e tensões. Assim, nossa cartografia apresenta mais elementos para compreender a complexidade das relações de poder e moral em nossa sociedade. A cartografia passa a demonstrar a história em vários pontos, agregar e expor os saberes, suscitar e incitar os sujeitos, servindo também para observarmos nosso presente e seus estratos.

Na história precisamos ser cautelosos com as possíveis armadilhas do anacronismo. Pensar o passado para tecer a crítica sobre o presente, não significa se deslocar de seu momento e estampar no agora, isto é decalque, que por sua vez é estático, imutável, diferente da cartografia que é fluida e múltipla podendo ser redesenhada à medida que novos elementos atravessam o objeto. Todo processo histórico é parte de um conjunto de vários fatores que atravessam o tempo. Analisar historicamente é também o exercício de escutarmos, observamos e sentimos aquilo que ainda ressoa e se apresenta em nossa realidade.

Veyne (1998, p. 24-26) em seu livro, *Como se escreve a história,* vai ser bem assertivo ao afirmar que por mais que observemos outros lugares e outros momentos ainda aprendemos algo sobre nosso objeto. O historiador escreveu isto exemplificando que, mesmo aprendendo algo sobre a antiguidade oriental observando a China dinástica, ainda é possível apreender algo sobre Roma Antiga. Isto se dá, não porque outros lugares possuem uma ligação histórica comum. Mas porque, ao observarmos as relações exteriores à nossa realidade, salta aos olhos aquilo que poderia ser comum e banal em nossa história.

Romper com essas paredes de nosso lugar social se faz necessário, para assim compreendermos a dimensão daquilo que ainda está presente na sociedade. Quando objetivamos analisar um processo criminal específico, tomamos como tarefa compor parte de uma problematização maior. Não era o foco deste artigo apresentar uma situação e lugar específico no espaço e tempo histórico. Apresentamos elementos que transitam, por vezes fluidos e por outras resistentes, pelo campo social, reformando, produzindo, transformando valores e significados dentro da sociedade.

Não se trata aqui de observarmos apenas Mallet-PR no Brasil, mas também, produzir um certo caminho para observar várias realidades e dentro de cada contexto tecermos a crítica. O que observamos nesta pesquisa, ainda ressoa no contexto brasileiro. Ainda que a letra da lei tenha sido reinterpretada - característica marcante do Código Penal Brasileiro de 1940, sendo uma lei passível de interpretação e manipulação -, ressoa muito desses valores morais dentro do processo penal e subjugando sujeitos aos antigos valores de conduta e moral. O Brasil está longe de superar esses problemas, mas o silêncio perante eles somente atrasa ainda mais o processo de mudança.

Precisamos nos incomodar e nos indignar com esses valores antiquados, pois eles são combustíveis para a violência, intolerância, desrespeito a dignidade humana. Se não bastasse, ainda são ferramentas para fortalecimento dos neofascismos e intolerância de grupos. Esses valores atravessam a sociedade e capturam os sujeitos. Nosso papel social implica em produzir resistências e desconstruir aquilo que insiste em assombrar o presente.

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Burial Rite of Early Indo-European Bronze Age Communities in Southern Trans-Urals (Russia): A Mirror of Religion and Society

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Abstract- Bronze Age sites of the Southern Trans-Urals (Sintashta, Petrovka and Alakul' archaeological cultures) associated with the migrations of early Indo-European communities on the territory of Central Eurasia. Since the 2000, an archaeological expedition of Chelyabinsk State University has been conducting research on Bronze Age sites near the modern village Stepnoye in the Chelyabinsk Region (Russia). The article presents the characteristics of the burial rite of the Bronze Age communities from the steppe region, based on the analysis of 146 burials and sacrificial complexes. The burial rituals of the studied sites demonstrate analogies to Indo-European mythological plots known from written sources, and testify to the complex social processes that took place during this period. The Sintashta and Petrovka series of burials shows the occurrence of elite groups of the population in society, the Alakul' series shows a return to the simplified stratification of the buried.

Keywords: bronze age, sothern trans-urals, cemetery, burial rite, early indo-europeans, myth, social structure.

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Burial Rite of Early Indo-European Bronze Age Communities in Southern Trans-Urals (Russia): A Mirror of Religion and Society

Elena Kupriyanova

Abstract- Bronze Age sites of the Southern Trans-Urals (Sintashta, Petrovka and Alakul' archaeological cultures) associated with the migrations of early Indo-European communities on the territory of Central Eurasia. Since the 2000, an archaeological expedition of Chelyabinsk State University has been conducting research on Bronze Age sites near the modern village Stepnoye in the Chelyabinsk Region (Russia). The article presents the characteristics of the burial rite of the Bronze Age communities from the steppe region, based on the analysis of 146 burials and sacrificial complexes. The burial rituals of the studied sites demonstrate analogies to Indo-European mythological plots known from written sources, and testify to the complex social processes that took place during this period. The Sintashta and Petrovka series of burials shows the occurrence of elite groups of the population in society, the Alakul' series shows a return to the simplified stratification of the buried. The most striking "plots" of the burial rite are burials "in the position of embrace" and burials with evidence of charioteering, reflecting the symbolism of the Indo-European Twin myth.

Keywords: bronze age, sothern trans-urals, cemetery, burial rite, early indo-europeans, myth, social structure.

I. Introduction

The sites of Sintashta, Petrovka and Alakul' archaeological cultures of the Bronze Age of the Southern Trans-Urals (Russia) are traditionally included in the circle of chariot cultures of early Indo-European communities. The interest of researchers for this Bronze Age period of the Southern Trans-Urals increased significantly after the discovery at the end of the XX century of a series of fortified settlements equipped with a composite defensive system, indicating that these communities had a complex social organization. The archaeologists from Russian, USA, Great Britain and Germany universities took part in the study of these sites (Hanks et al, 2014; Krause, Koryakova, 2013; Pitman et al, 2013; etc.).

For more than 20 years, the archaeological expedition of the Chelyabinsk State University has been carrying out complex research of the Bronze Age sites (Sintashta, Petrovka and Alakul' archeological cultures) in the South Trans-Urals near the modern village Stepnoye (Chelyabinsk region, Russia). Over these years, in collaboration with colleagues from the Universities of Pittsburgh (USA) and Sheffield (UK), the fortified settlement of the Sintashta culture Stepnoye, as well as Stepnoye-1 and Stepnoye VII cemeteries (two necropolis near the settlement) were partially investigated (Hanks et al, 2014; Hanks et al, 2016; Kupriyanova, 2016; Kupriyanova, Zdanovich, 2015; Pitman et al, 2013).

The study of ancient burial complexes give a possibility to reconstruct the social structure, elements of funeral rites and mythological system, religious ideas of societies that did not have written and pictorial sources. The aim of the study is to generalize the characteristics of the burial rite of two cemeteries located in the limited district near the modern village Stepnoye. These archaeological sites are part of a large cultural community of the Bronze Age of the Southern Trans–Urals, consisting of genetically related cultures - Sintashta, Petrovka, Alakul. Dozens of scientific papers were devoted to the study of their burial rites (Hanks et al, 2016; Kupriyanova, 2016; Kupriyanova, Epimakhov, Berseneva, Bersenev, 2017; Kupriyanova, Zdanovich, 2015; etc.). The article presents new archaeological materials and study of the social structure, rituals and elements of Indo-European mythology, which reflected in these sites.

II. Materials and Methods

In the Stepnoye-1 cemetery, there were 7 kurgans excavated, including 52 burials and sacrificial pits of the Sintashta and Petrovka cultures (Kupriyanova, 2016), while in the Stepnoye VII cemetery 8 burial complexes including 94 burials and sacrificial pits of the Petrovka and Alakul cultures underwent diggings (Kupriyanova, Zdanovich, 2015). During the excavations, several hundred ceramic vessels and hundreds of other artifacts were obtained, including tools, weapons, woman ornaments etc. Comprehensive researches of the artefacts included various types of natural science analyses. In this article devoted to social reconstructions, generalized data of anthropological definitions of the sex and age of the buried individuals, zoological definitions of animal bone remains from sacrifices, radiocarbon dating of objects, DNA analysis data were used. The proposed conclusions represent a generalized characteristic of the burial rite of the Indo-European communities of the Bronze Age of Southern Trans-Urals, obtained during the comprehension of

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statistical data, typology and semantic analysis of the rite elements presented in the archaeological remains.

III. Research Results

a) Dating and cultural affiliation of archaeological sites

Twenty-seven AMS dates were obtained from the studied objects at five laboratories – University of Arizona; University of California, Irvine; Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit; Klaus-Tschira-Labor, Curt -Engelhorn-Zentrum Archaeometrie; Collaborative Center "Radiocarbon Dating and Electron Microscopy Laboratory" of the Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences. The analysis of these data allows us to determine the following time intervals of the existence of ancient populations for this area: Sintashta culture - about 1950-1850 BC; Petrovka culture - about 2133-1631 BC; Alakul' culture - about 1882-1566 BC (Epimahov, Kupriyanova, Hommel, Hanks, 2021). Most likely, the Sintashta and Petrovka cultures partially coexisted in the Stepnoye archaeological area, but their objects were never recorded together within the same mound or burial site. The Alakul' culture has later dates, but its objects are usually incorporated into the structure of Petrovka complexes. There have been noted cases of multiple reuses of Petrovka sacrificial complexes and burials by the Alakul' population. The similarities between the burial rites and the complex of artifacts suggest a genetic link between all three cultures. Three DNA samples obtained from the burials of the Stepnoye VII cemetery, which participated in a large-scale study of ancient DNA (Narasimhan et al, 2019), confirm that the Bronze Age populations of the Southern Trans-Urals are directly related to the Eurasian migrations of early Indo-European tribes.

b) Structure of burial complexes

Basing on the classification by M. Gimbutas, K. Jones-Bley distinguishes 8 positions characterizing the burial rites of ancient Indo-Europeans: 1) individual burials; 2) kurgans; 3) funerary structures in the form of dwellings; 4) division of burials into classes according to the presence/absence of grave goods and architectural complexity; 5) central male burials and subordinate position of women and children burials; 6) human and animal sacrifices, including the traditions of *sati*; 7) placing the dead on the floors of burial pits in a crouched position; 8) animal burials in separate graves (Gimbutas, 1974; Jones-Bley, 2002). All these features are noted in varying degrees by K. Jones-Bley on the burial complexes of the Sintashta culture.

The burial rites in the investigated cemeteries near the village Stepnoye present new data and correspond to the proposed characteristics, but show variation in the Sintashta, Petrovka and Alakul' complexes. In the Stepnoye-1 cemetery, there were recorded 65 chaotically arranged kurgans, sometimes forming chains. In the Stepnoye VII cemetery, all the complexes are lined up. Burial complexes comprise structured sites with large pits with individual or collective burials in the center. On the periphery around the central pits there are smaller, most often children's and women's burials, and sacrificial pits. In most cases, the complexes are surrounded by a circular ditch, which may also contain burials and sacrifices. The central burials were covered by domed structures, which, when destroyed, created the impression of a mound. In kurgans with one central pit, there were individual male or female burials in the center. In kurgans with two or three central burials, these pits contained collective graves which included adult individuals of both sexes as well as children and adolescents.

c) Age and social classes

The age structure of the buried of the Petrovka population is similar in percentage distribution to that of the Sintashta population: the buried between 10 and 25 years of age account for 45% of all age groups, while the number of infant burials - 35.5% - is relatively small. In the Alakul' series, the vast majority of the buried are children of under 1 year of age (83.2%). The number of the buried of other ages is not large. Buried children between 1 and 4 years of age are almost completely absent in all cultural groups.

Basing on the analysis of paleoanthropological definitions, it can be stated that the age composition of the buried is very similar in the Sintashta and Petrovka populations and far from the natural mortality structure due to the predominance of adolescents and individuals of young age, a small number of infants and a near absence of adults and the elderly. The Alakul' age diagram of the buried is generally close to the usual mortality profile in ancient societies with extremely high infant mortality. From these data, it follows that in the Sintashta and Petrovka societies there was a selection for burial in kurgans. It is possible that this type of rite was practiced for the elite population group, while there were alternative kinds of rituals for the common people. Similar processes can be observed in other ancient societies. For instance, it is noted that in the Aegean Bronze Age necropolis, infant burials disappear from common cemeteries as the social complexity increases and stratification emerges (Dickinson, 1994). The Sintashta society is referred to by researchers as the so-called "complex society" at the stage of formation of chiefdom (Drenan, Hanks, Peterson, 2011). The age structure analysis of the buried in the necropolis near the Stepnoye fortified settlement allows to draw the same conclusion for the Petrovka population.

d) Burial rite

Large graves had two burial chambers located one over the other. The lower chamber contained bodies of the buried in a crouched position on a side, accompanied by grave goods (Fig. 1). The predominant posture of the buried is on the left side, with knees bent

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and hands joined at the face. There are also a few recorded secondary burials, where the body of the deceased was originally in another place, and after clearing from the flesh, the bones were collected and placed in the grave (Fig. 4.2). In some cases, those bones were in a disorderly assemblage, while in others they were given an anatomically correct placement imitating a crouched position.

Numerous burials were robbed in antiquity. The study of the taphonomy of burials suggests that robberies were carried within a short period, most likely by the same population. In many cases, only the upper part of the skeleton of the buried person was disturbed, while the legs and grave goods remained *in situ* (Fig. 2). Most likely, grave robberies were not mercenary in nature, but part of rituals that reflected fear of death and the dead.

The overlay between the upper and lower burial chambers contained animal sacrifices. Those were also located in separate pits and on the platform of the mound (Fig. 3). The sacrificed animals were always domestic - horse, cow, small cattle, and dogs. In adult and collective Sintashta burials, the sacrificial altars consisted, as a rule, of several (up to 12) animal individuals, represented partially – by heads and limbs. In large Petrovka burials, sacrificial animals are most often represented by complete skeletons. Only occasional sacrifices of 1-2 individuals of small cattle were noted in children's burials.

The grave goods of the necropolis are extensive and diverse. Children's individual burials of all three archaeological cultures were accompanied only by ceramic vessels, sometimes sets of dice and small decorations. However, the skeletons of children from collective burials may have been accompanied by items of a prestigious nature. For example, in burial 2 of kurgan 1 of Stepnoye-1 cemetery, a quiver of arrows and two cheek-pieces (elements of horse harness) were found with a child of 1.5-2 years old (Fig. 4.1). Such facts testify to the "elite" origin of children from collective burials.

Besides ceramic vessels with remains of burial food, adult individuals had weapons (axes, daggers, arrowheads and remains of bows) (Fig. 5. 1-8, 10), tools (pestles, needles, awls, knives, spindles, chisels, etc.), elements of horse harness (Fig. 5.9), ornaments (Fig. 6), ritual objects (bone spatulas, sets of fortune-telling bones - astragali). The metal objects are made with great skill and indicate a high level of development of metallurgy among the Bronze Age communities. Decorations on ceramic vessels are based on the core Indo-European symbolic elements - swastika and meander (Fig. 7), which brightly manifested later in the great civilizations of antiquity.

e) Mythological themes

A separate issue is the two "themes" reflected in the burial rites - burials with evidence of charioteering and burials "in the position of embrace". These types of burials occupy central positions in the kurgans and have the richest grave goods. In the Stepnoye-1 and Stepnoye VII cemeteries, there were examined 4 burials "in the embrace pose" and 7 burials with elements of the chariot complex. In the "embrace position" burials, two individuals lie face to face on their left and right sides, embracing each other. Usually there is a male on the left side and a female in a richly decorated costume on the right one. However, the DNA analysis in burial 17 of the Stepnoye VII cemetery has shown that both of the buried were females. The woman aged between 15 and 17, buried on her right side, was accompanied by numerous decorations. Her arms embraced the second buried woman and held over her head from behind a ritual axe in the shape of the head of a bird of prey (Fig. 8). The second buried woman had no decorations and played the role of a "male" character. Often in such burials, a couple of people in the ritual embrace position is accompanied by other individuals of different sex and age. The sex, age and the special position of the buried leave no doubt that they were not real spouses during their lifetime, but represented in the ritual the symbolism of a "sacred marriage", being a reflection of the cults of the Great Goddess, Magna Mater.

The chariot complex, which is the hallmark of the Sintashta and Petrovka cultural traditions, is very clearly manifested in the studied necropolis. The chariot complex includes burials accompanied by paired horse sacrifices (Fig. 4. 3, 4), wheel pits, or traces of a chariot placed in the grave, cheek-pieces, and weapons of distant combat. In the Sintashta burials, paired horse sacrifices were located on the slabs of large central collective graves and are represented by "partial" animals (head + legs). In such burials, sets of cheek-pieces accompany not only men but also women and children of all ages, indicating that the buried were not charioteers in reality, but played this role in the ritual. In the Petrovka complexes, the individual central burials of mature men were accompanied by whole carcasses of two horses located outside the burials, on sub-mound grounds or in separate pits. These observations show that the symbolism of charioteering in the Sintashta society extended to a particular social group, while in the Petrovka society it was an attribute of a particular individual.

Horse sacrifices in the studied sites accompany not only burials with chariot combat symbolism but also burials "in the embrace position" with clearly expressed fertility symbology. The number of horses in such complexes always equals two or multiples of two. In some cases, the horses in the sacrifices imitate an embrace position, lying on their left and right sides with

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their legs towards each other. The study of this element of the rite evokes direct analogies with the Indo-European Twin cults. The pairs of Divine Twins known in Indo-European mythological systems, such as Dioscuri, Molionidae, Ashvins, etc., are always closely associated with horses and charioteering. According to the conception of G. Dumezil, who divided the ancient Indo-European society functionally into three social classes - priests (sacred function), ruling elite (military function) and peasants (productive function), the Divine Twins represent the third function - production of material goods, and are related to fertility cults. S. Wikander has given separate consideration to the image of the Indian twins Ashvins. By correlating them with the heroes of the epic Mahabharata twins Nakula and Sahadeva, the scholar came to the conclusion about the original diametrical opposition of the Indian twins. In his opinion, one of them symbolizes the military function, the other - the production function (Wikander, 1957). D.Ward, developing this idea, analyzed other Indo-European twin pairs and came to the conclusion that these properties are characteristic not only for Indian, but for all Indo-European twins, although it is often not stated in the myths directly, but is established only by indirect evidence. One of them has a vicious character, and is associated with a sword and a battle horse; while the other has a mild character, being associated with a plow, a farmer's horse, etc. (Ward, 1970). The mythological connection of the Divine Twins with horses, chariots and the image of the Great Goddess is noted by C. Grottanelli and other researchers (Grottanelli, 1986; etc.). The study of the Bronze Age sites of the Southern Trans-Urals has shown that this mythological theme is one of the earliest in Indo-European mythology and is recorded for as early as the II millennium BC.

IV. Conclusion

The study of the cemeteries near the village Stepnoye in the Southern Trans-Urals has provided extensive information on the burial rites, mythological system, symbolism, and social structure of early Indo-European communities of the Bronze Age in Eurasia. From the beginning of the II millennium BC, we can observe the formation of complex societies of the Sintashta and Petrovka cultures, the emergence of elite population groups, the development of charioteering, metallurgy and cattle breeding, the reflection of classical mythological themes and symbols in the rites. Judging by the study of ancient DNA, approximately during this period the territory of the South Trans-Ural region was subjected to waves of migration of population groups to the Altai, Central Asia and India (Narasimhan et al, 2019). In the subsequent Alakul' period, closer to the middle of the second millennium, the burial sites show simplification of the social structure and rites, with the general similarity of the material culture and preservation of many traditions.

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List of Illustrations



Fig. 1: Burial of Sintashta Culture (Stepnoye 1 Cemetery, Kurgan 7, Pit 2)

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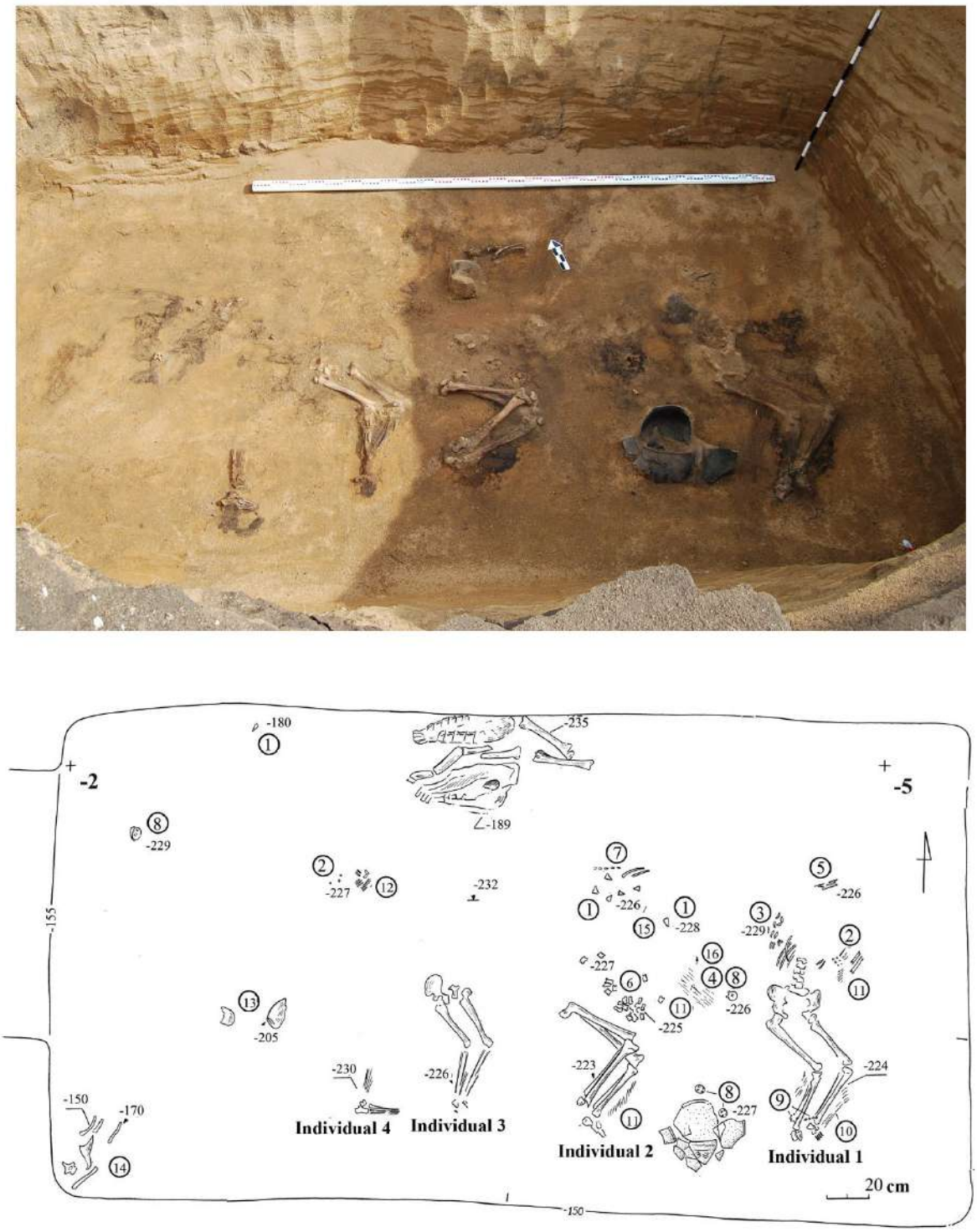


Fig. 2: Robbed burial of Sintashta culture (Stepnoye 1 cemetery, kurgan 1, pit 1): 1 – photo; 2 – plan of burial (1 – stone arrowhead; 2 – beads; 3 – women ornament; 4 – awl; 5 – piece of wood; 6 – astragals; 7 - tail vertebrae of the animal; 8 – cheek-pieces; 9 – bronze beads; 10 – fragment of felt; 11 – organic remains; 12 – hand bones of individual 4; 13 – human scull; 14 – human bones; 15 - needle; 16 – awl with wooden handle)

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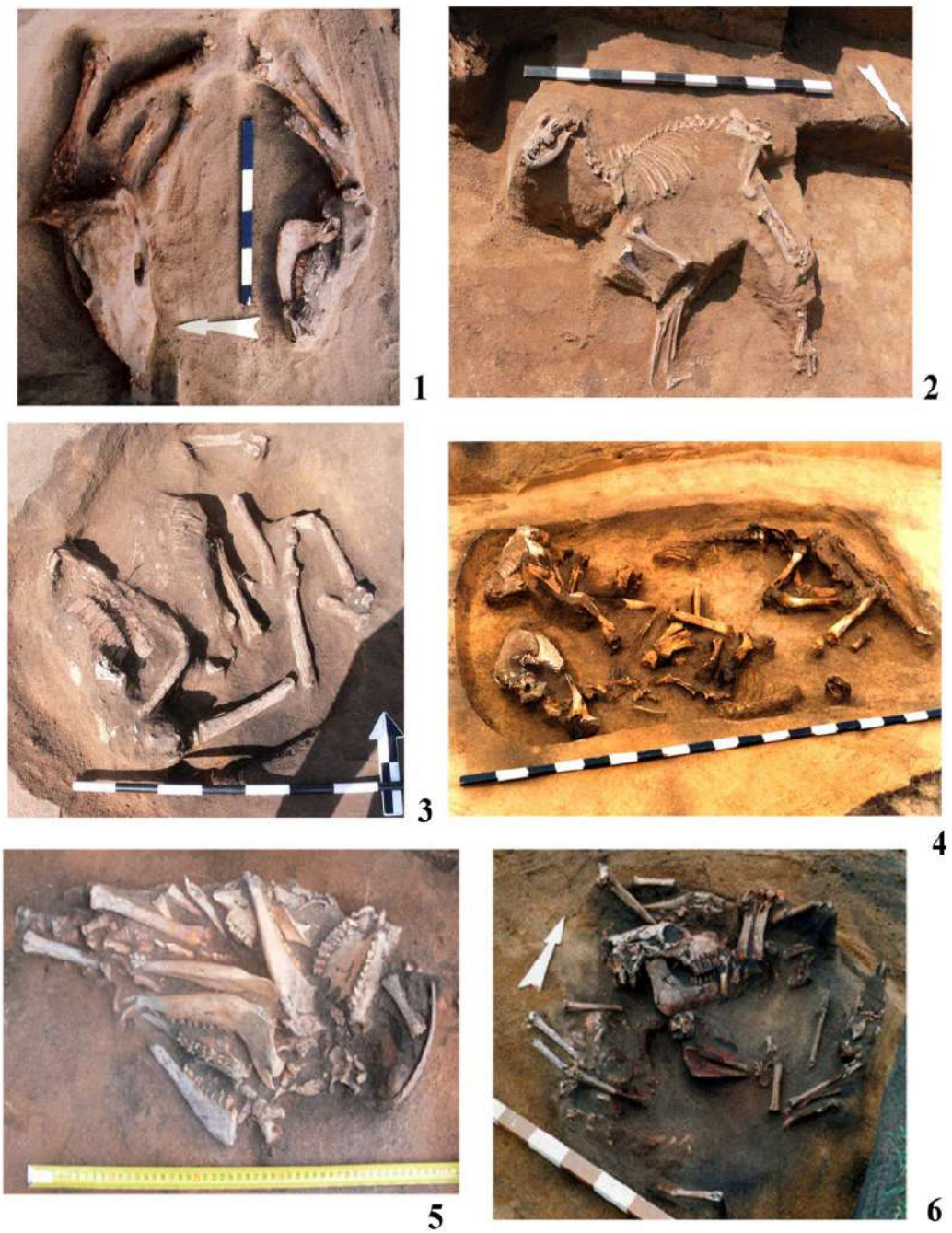


Fig. 3: Sacrificial complexes of Sintashta and Petrovka cultures): 1 – sacrifice of bull, cow and calf, Stepnoye VII cemetery, complex 7; 2 – dog sacrifice, Stepnoye 1 cemetery, kurgan 4; 3 – double horse sacrifice (heads and legs), Stepnoye 1 cemetery, kurgan 5; 4 – double horse sacrifice, Stepnoye VII cemetery, complex 6; 5-6 - multiple animal sacrifices, Stepnoye VII cemetery, complex 4

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Fig. 4: Child burials: 1 – child of 1, 5-2 years old with cheek-pieces, Stepnoye 1 cemetery, kurgan 1; 2 – secondary child burial with vessel, Stepnoye 1 cemetery, kurgan 4

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Fig. 5: Burial items: 1-2 – axes; 3-4 – parts of a complex bow; 5-6 – daggers; 7-8 – bones arrowheads; 9 – cheek-pieces; 10 – stone arrowheads (1-2, 5 – Stepnoye VII cemetery; 3-4, 6-10 - Stepnoye 1 cemetery)

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Fig. 6: Bronze Age woman ornaments, Stepnoye VII cemetery: 1 – braid ornament; 2 – face pendant; 3, 7-8 – bracelets; 4 – twisted golden pendant; 5-6 – rings

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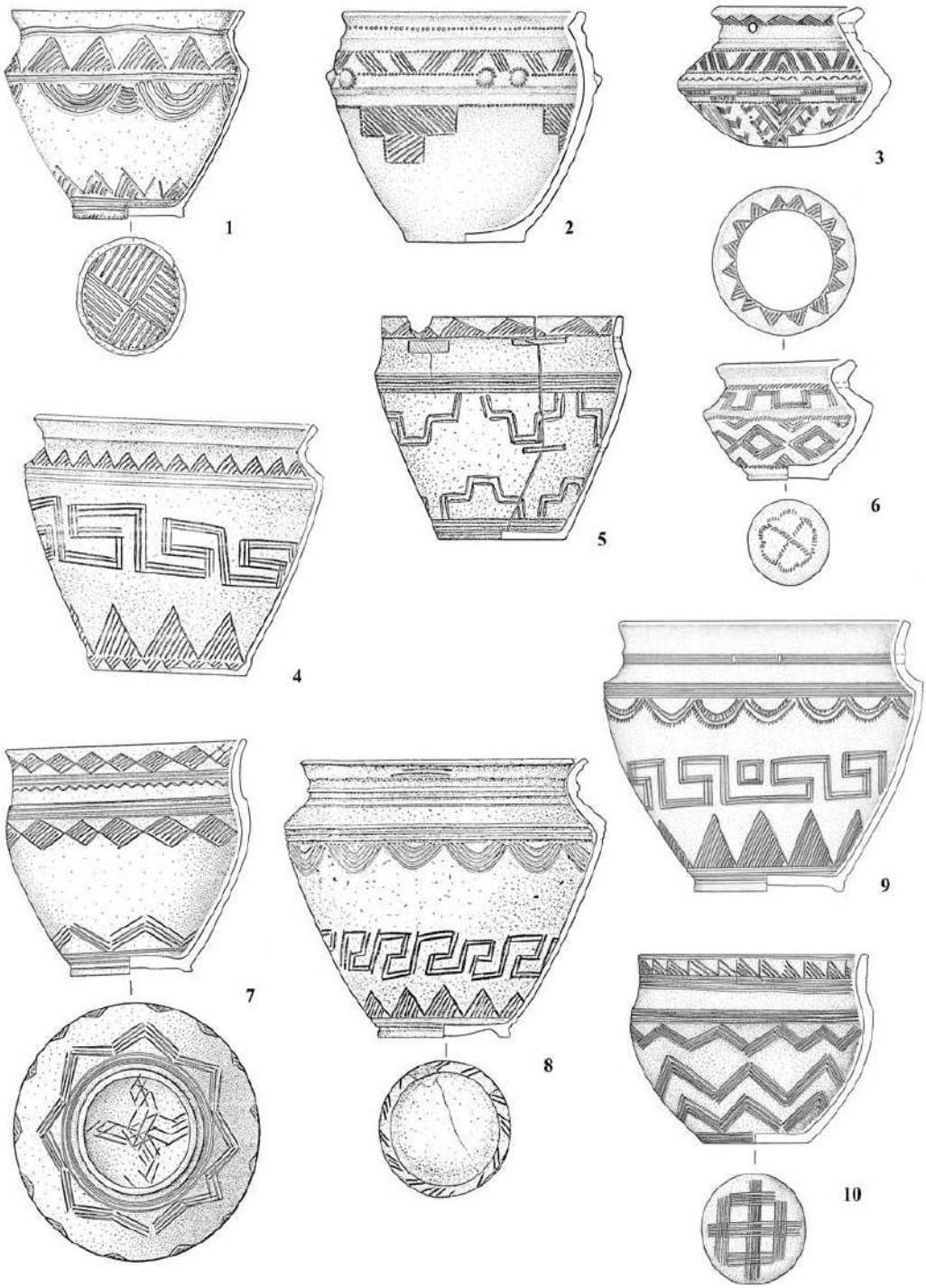


Fig. 7: Decorated ceramic vessels: 1-3, 6 – Sintashta culture, Stepnoye 1 cemetery; 4-5, 8-9 - Petrovka culture, Stepnoye VII cemetery; 7, 10 – Alakul' culture, Stepnoye VII cemetery

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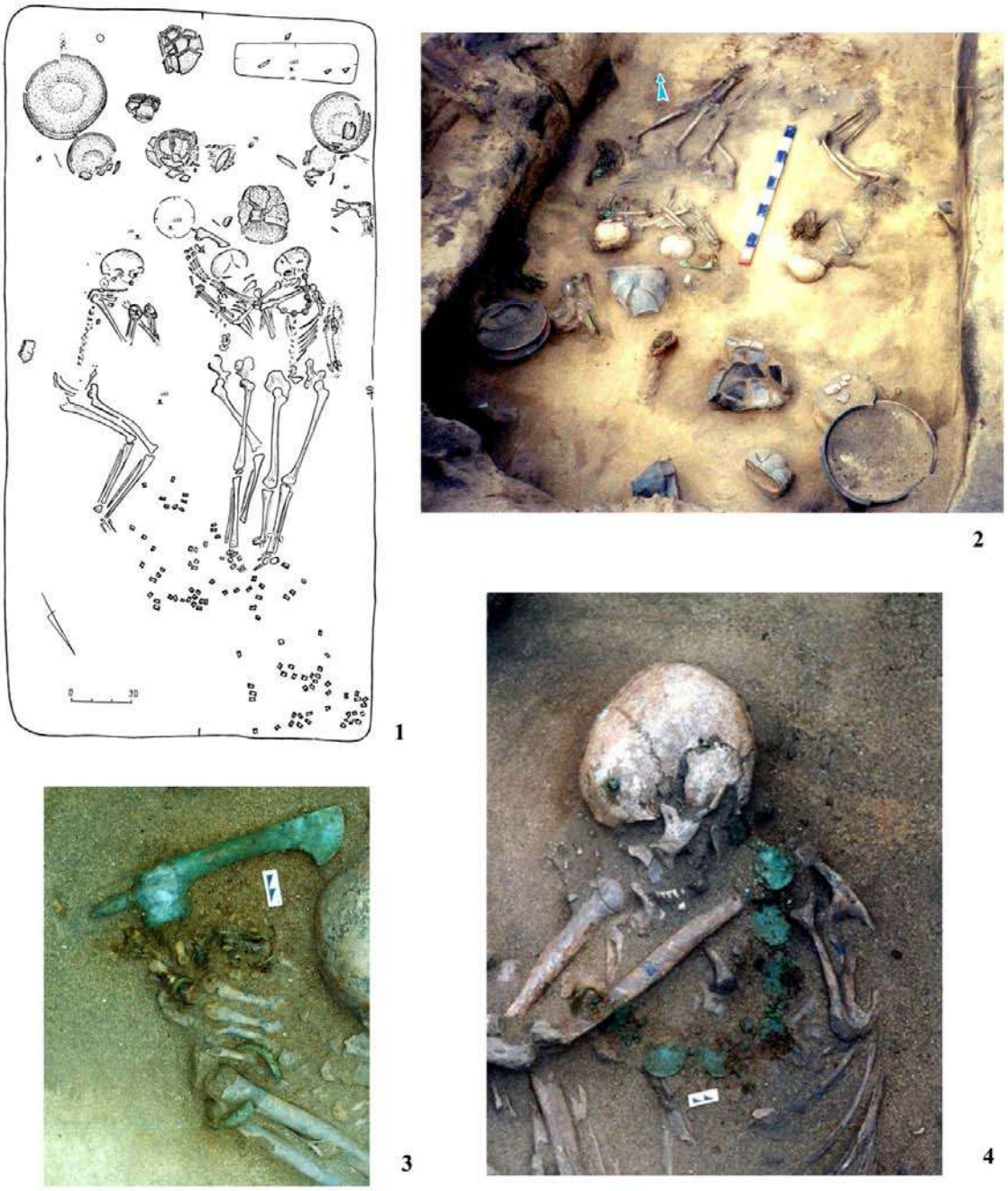


Fig. 8: Petrovka burial (Stepnoye VII cemetery, pit 17): 1 – plan of the burial; 2 – photo of the burial; 3-4 – details of the burial (photo)

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Conservation and Restoration of the House of Butehamon 21st Dynasty 1054 BC - The Medinet Habu Temple Precinct

By Lotfi Khaled Hassan
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Abstract- "Understanding the original materials and techniques used in objects not only provides insights into its history of construction but may also shed light on the nature of past and current deterioration problems".

The royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury in Theban necropolis. Butehamon held office during the reign of Pinudjem I in the 21st Dynasty 1054 BC. Butehamun had long lived in the village of Deir el-Medina working on the tombs in the Valley of Kings, Butehamun's coming of age saw invasion and civil war in Thebes, and the end to the making of new tombs in the Valley, as the New Kingdom came to an end. Instead, he was given the task by the High Priests of Amun to remove and rewrap royal mummies and rebury them in secret caches, while plundering them of their gold and other valuables for the coffers of the priestly rulers of Thebes. That project seems to have been successful: The mummy of every single king from the 18th through 21st Dynasties that has been identified and was found in a tomb was found in the two caches KV 35 or TT 320 (with the sole exception of Tutankhamun).

Keywords: conservation, archaeology, egyptology, heritage, reintegration, integration, conservation, restoration, ancient egypt, art, conservation science.

GJHSS-F Classification: DDC Code: 909 LCC Code: DT63



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Lotfi Khaled Hassan

Abstract- "Understanding the original materials and techniques used in objects not only provides insights into its history of construction but may also shed light on the nature of past and current deterioration problems".

The royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury in Theban necropolis. Butehamon held office during the reign of Pinudjem I in the 21st Dynasty 1054 BC. Butehamun had long lived in the village of Deir el-Medina working on the tombs in the Valley of Kings, Butehamun's coming of age saw invasion and civil war in Thebes, and the end to the making of new tombs in the Valley, as the New Kingdom came to an end. Instead, he was given the task by the High Priests of Amun to remove and rewrap royal mummies and rebury them in secret caches, while plundering them of their gold and other valuables for the coffers of the priestly rulers of Thebes. That project seems to have been successful: The mummy of every single king from the 18th through 21st Dynasties that has been identified and was found in a tomb was found in the two caches KV 35 or TT 320 (with the sole exception of Tutankhamun). Butehamun is unusually well- documented, leaving behind many letters, labels on coffins he worked with, graffiti, and highly unusual imagery on his own coffins. Two houses he lived in have been excavated, one with inscriptions about his family [2].

The Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago excavated and restored the House of Butehamon in Habu temples in 1930-31, and is one part of Conservation projects in Habu, it lasted six months, 2016 to 2019 [5]. The House of Butehamon consists of two sections surrounded by mud brick walls, four columns in the western section and two columns (with large parts missing) that were down to earth, no plastered in eastern section. the plaster was in bad condition and were missed in many areas.

Keywords: conservation, archaeology, egyptology, heritage, reintegration, integration, conservation, restoration, ancient egypt, art, conservation science.

I. Introduction

The conservation and management of archaeological sites is a crucial aspect of modern archaeological research. No field project stands outside a consideration of how the archaeological resource is to be used in contemporary society, and issues of physical and intellectual access are primary. The balance between current and future uses, often complicated by political, social and economic considerations, and notions of 'sustainability', form a vital part of decision-making around any archaeological project.

The theory and practice of archaeological site management encompasses the reasons for selecting sites for preservation and/or display, participatory planning, power in decision-making, approaches to managing and conserving a site's significance, preventative conservation, technical approaches to site conservation, interpretation strategies, sustainable tourism, etc. In Egypt, where internationally renowned archaeological sites attract both academic and tourism interests, archaeological sites and monuments are suffering from different issues. Amongst the various causes is the failure to recognize the relationship between the sites and the present society — both the local community and other stakeholders — and this has Amongst the various causes is the failure to recognize the relationship between the sites and the present society — both the local community and other stakeholders — and this has negatively influenced the sites. Not only have the local communities been given limited access to knowledge, and limited opportunities to become involved in the archaeology, but also their attempts to pursue a better standard of living have been restricted for the sake of protecting the national heritage.



Figure 1: Butehamon house, the state of conservation in 1930 (photo by Hölscher).

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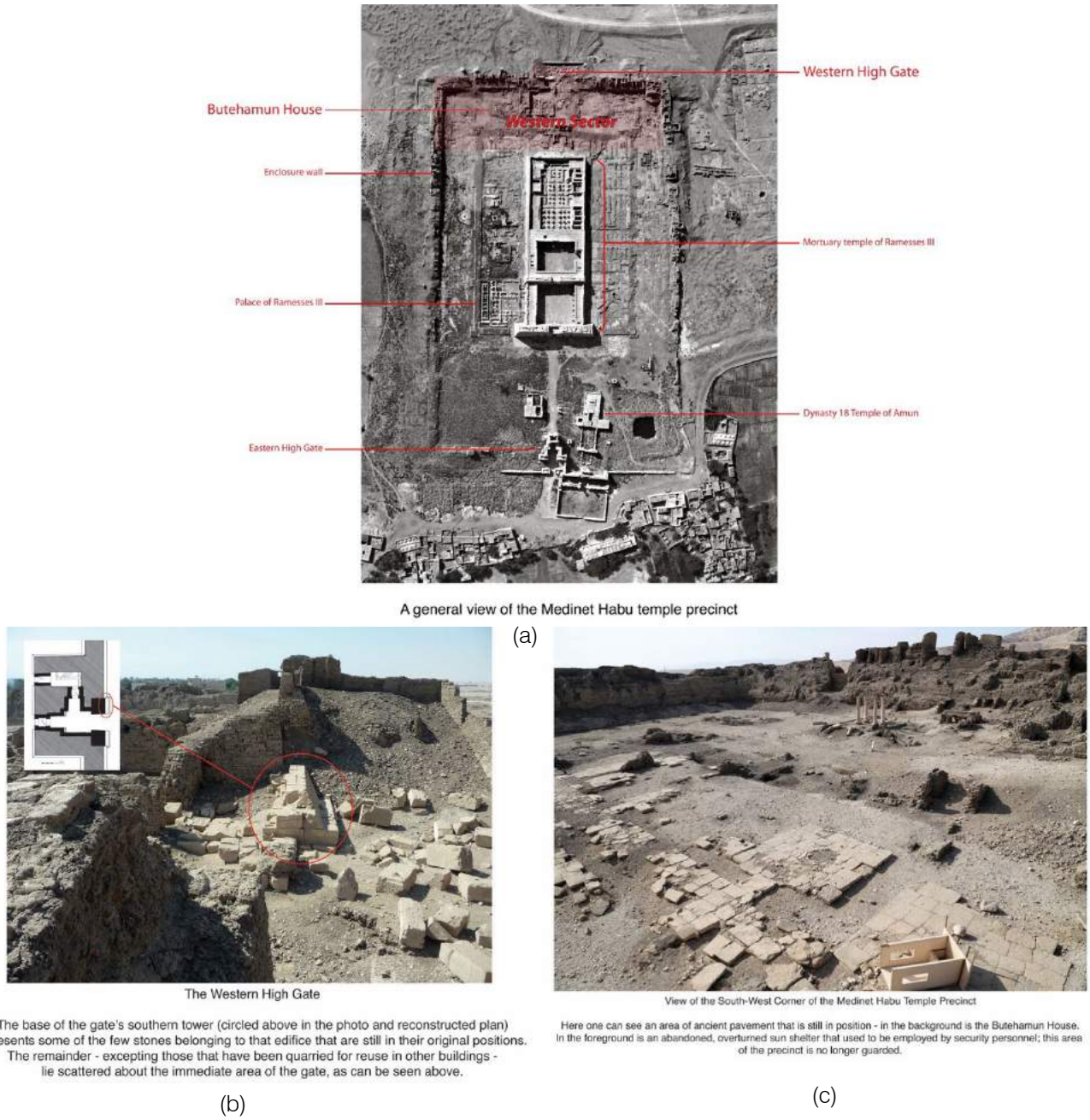


Figure 2: A general view of the Medinet Habu temple precinct (a), the western gate (b), view of the south-west corner of Medinet Habu temple Percint, Butehamon House. (photos' editing by Ray Johnson 2019)[5].

The royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury in Theban necropolis. Butehamon held office during the reign of Pinudjem I in the 21st Dynasty 1054 BC. The Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago excavated and restored the House of Butehamon in 1930-31and it is currently a conservation project in Habu funded by grant from USAID Egypt [5]. The House of Butehamon consists of two sections surrounded by mud brick walls, four columns in the western section and two columns (with large parts missing) that were fallen, un-plastered, in the eastern section. The plaster was in bad condition and was missing in many areas. The building materials used in the House of Butehamon are stone, plaster and mud brick. The condition survey indicates that the plaster and the stone have suffered from weathering; erosion, degradation, cracks, flake, detachment, losses and disaggregation are present, beside the previous intervention that was used; cement. It appears that the ancient builders applied the plaster on the stone, then they carved it, but there are many other layers added later and have covered the inscription in different tonality.

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Figure 3: The reliefs of the column n.60 1930, (photo by University of Chicago).

The aim of restoration is not only to conserve the integrity of the cultural resource, but also to reveal its cultural values and to improve the legibility of its original design and bringing back the original by rebuilding a lost form.

II. Conservation & Restoration Processes

The building materials used in the House of Butehamon are Stone, Plaster and mud bricks. The condition survey indicates that the plaster and the stone have suffered from weathering; Erosion, degradation, cracks, flake, detachment, losses and disaggregation are presented, beside the previous intervention that was used cement. The technique used appears that they applied the plaster on the stone, then they carved it, but there are many other layers added later and have covered the inscription in different tonality. Next season we will investigate and we will analyze of some types of the plaster to collect more information than the check by naked eye.



Figure 4: The reliefs of the column n.61 in 1930, (photo by University of Chicago).

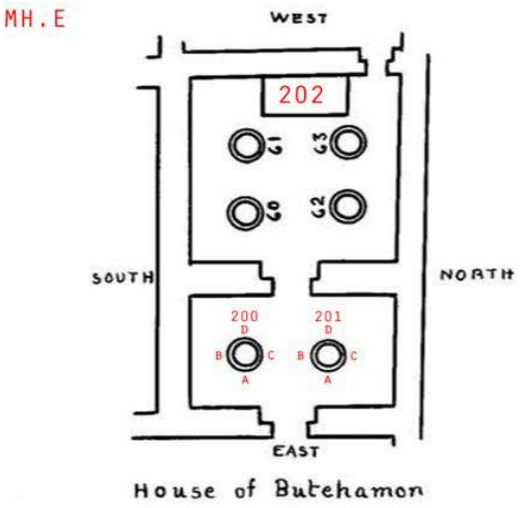


Figure 5: Butehamon house Plan, (Hölscher 1930) [1].

a) Intervention performed

1) Study of the state of conservation and Graphic documentation of mud brick walls and the four stone columns, shows the state of conservation for both the stone and plaster, indicating the dangerous areas to be consolidated.
2) Investigate, detect the original foundations and Analysis.



Figure 6: Site under preparation phase, scaffolding installed, 2016.

3) Restoration & Reconstruction of mud brick walls and its foundations; consolidation and reconstruction.
4) Restoration, of the columns, dismantling and straightening of the two inclined stone columns.

i. *Study of the state of conservation and graphic documentation*

With the conservators trained team, the focus was on how to identify manifestations and description of damage and labeled according to the descriptive vocabulary of cases of decay, which is universally as the language of restoration. And how to transfer the cases of damaged signed on printed photo manually to draw accurately scaled on computer, using the Wacom and photoshop program.

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The examination is carried out on one level: a general examination in situ with the *naked eye* and with simple instruments, as an USB microscope and magnifying lenses in order to determine both the techniques and materials used, and the alterations.

The examination of a work of art as the initial step in its conservation or restoration cannot be limited to a technical investigation, but must also include a critical archaeological study. Indeed, three types of examination are essential: archaeological, technological and etiological (the study of the causes of alteration)[7].

Study and documentation of the state of conservation of objects are very important before, during, and after conservation processes as a record. The purpose of documentation is to define the exact characteristics of the object, not only as they appear now, but also as they were originally, and what they have become in the course of history, and to provide a detailed report of the results of the examination, to reveal the technical structure of the work and to identify the alterations which this structure has undergone [4]. The documentations for the condition and treatment of stone objects were done in two methods:

- Photography as a record by images in digital, they have taken before the conservation works, during and after treatment.
- Graphic documentation or Survey schemes by signs of different patterns on every deterioration phenomenon on drawings prepared by the conservators using computer.



Figure 7: Site before restoration, studying the state of conservation of the columns.

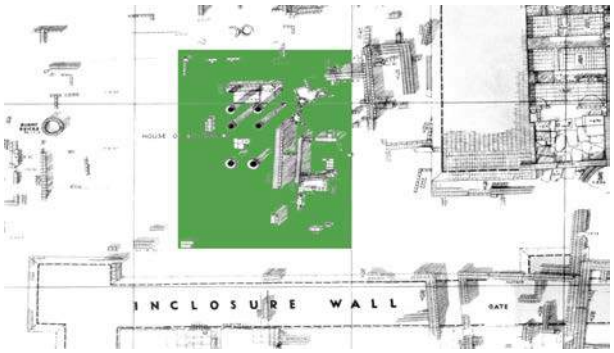


Figure 8: The excavation map for the archaeological remains of the House of Butehamon Done in 1930 by Hölscher.

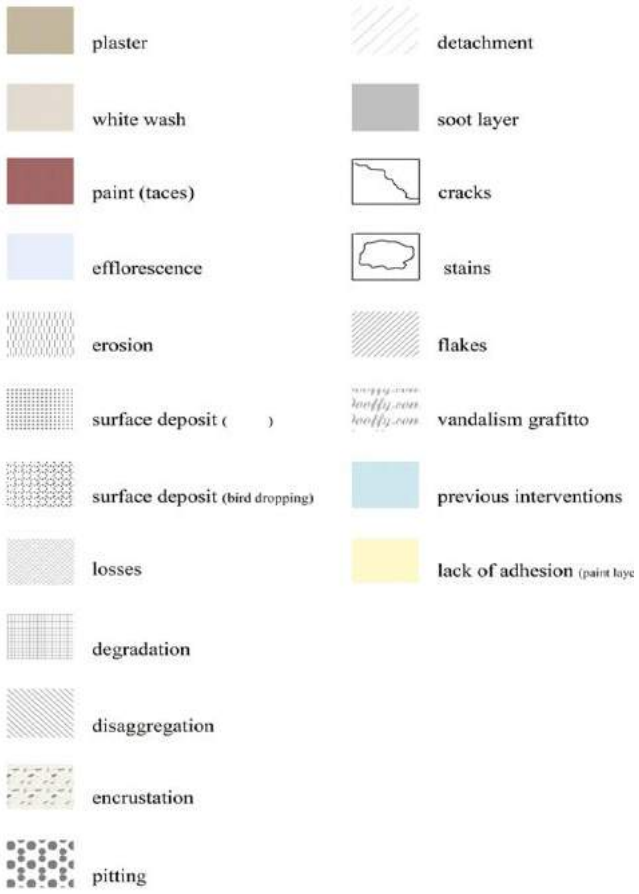


Figure 9: Shows table of types of decay signed in different patterns and colors for documentation as a key to describe the type of damage that exists.

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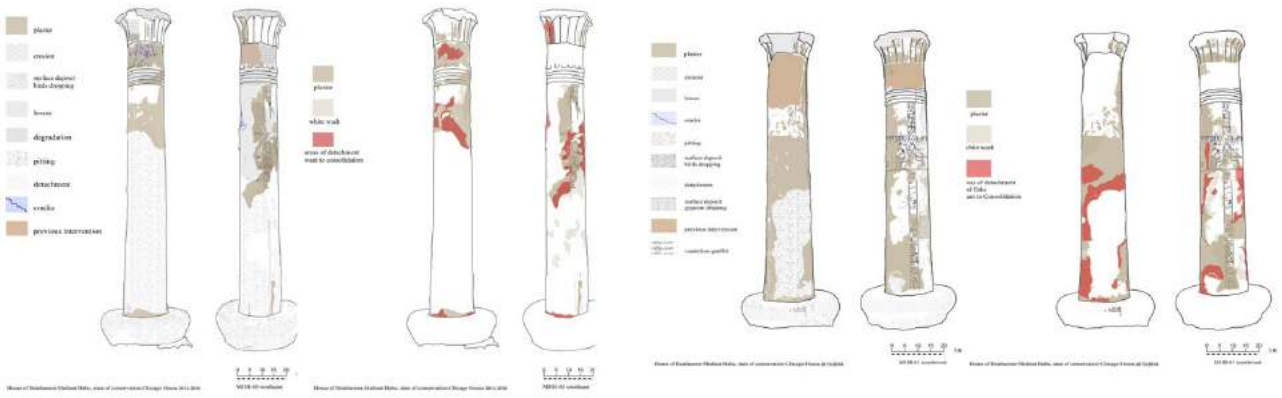


Figure 10: The graphic documentation of two sides of the Column n 61 south east of the House of Butehamon with types of decay presented and signed in different colors and pattern.

The state of conservation is the result of a synthesis of the collected data plus a critical reading of the surface. To compile the survey schemes, it is necessary to have direct knowledge of the constituent materials and execution techniques, and an analytical verification of their reactions to the different decay phenomena and to have drawings for the object to allow sufficiently accurate analytical reading of the decay. Sometimes the surface erupts into blisters; sometimes the stone loses all integrity and simply crumbles away. Sometimes the stone may look perfectly sound to the naked eye, while below the surface it has lost its cohesion [7].

One of the problems that is being discussed regarding the states of stone degradation is that of finding a common language to express the aspects of degradation. Even in English, there are a bewildering number of terms that can mean different things. While we can agree on terms to describe the types of decay we observe, it can be difficult to determine the severity or rate of decay, so the conservators' team has been provided with a final glossary of decay terms in English and Arabic to be unambiguous from the us.



Figure 11: The conditions of the old mud brick and stone columns walls before restoration.



Figure 12: The site, during the clearing of the north side section of the original 21st dynasty adobe wall.

Stone decay takes many different forms. Sometimes the stone weathers away gradually, leaving a sound surface behind; sometimes large scales of stone drop away in one go. Sometimes the surface erupts into blisters; sometimes the stone loses all integrity and simply crumbles away [3]. Sometimes the stone may look perfectly sound to the naked eye, while below the surface it has lost its cohesion.



Figure 13: The state of conservation of the old mud brick walls before the restoration works.

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Figure 14: The state of conservation of the old mud brick foundation before the restoration works.

The four columns that appear to have been moved during the excavations of 1930, there are evidence of adding recently lime mortar between the column and its base and they have been restored using cement mortar and lime mortar. There is a tendency in columns. The bases of the columns built on a foundation of mud bricks. Four columns in the western section are plastered and two columns (with large parts missing) that were down to earth, no plastered in eastern section. the plaster was in bad condition and were missed in many areas. The plasters are in bad condition, a lot of lost because of weathering and the technique used where they had Applieda very thick layer of plaster to be good for carving.

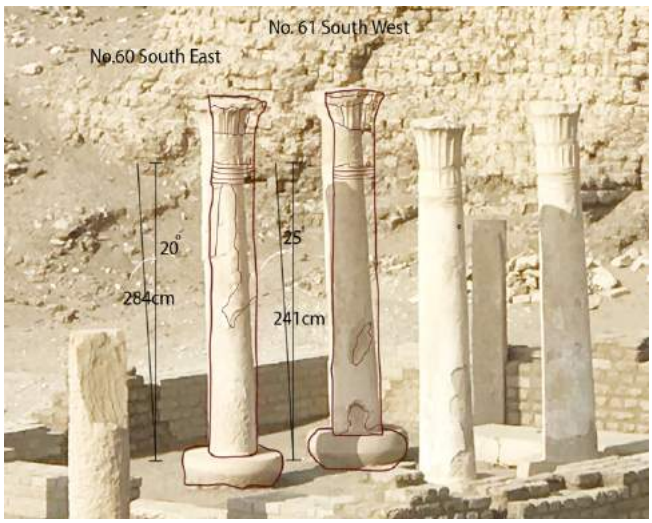


Figure 15: The inclination of the column of South East n.60 of 20^{O}and the column of South West n.61 of 25^{O}, looking from North side.

ii. *Investigate, detect the original foundations and Analysis of plaster layer of stone columns.*

It was investigated by cleaning the foundation and we found traces of old mud bricks which it defined the wall angel from the north side. Cleaning of the area around the mud brick walls to investigate the shape and the condition of the foundation of the mud bricks.

Unfortunately, it became evident that the mud brick walls were in a much better condition in the time of Hölscher, 1920 - 1930.In fact, our method of treatment of the old mud-brick walls in Butehamon based on the historical background through the excavation in 1930 and the information we have gathered during the research of the foundation lines of the walls [11].

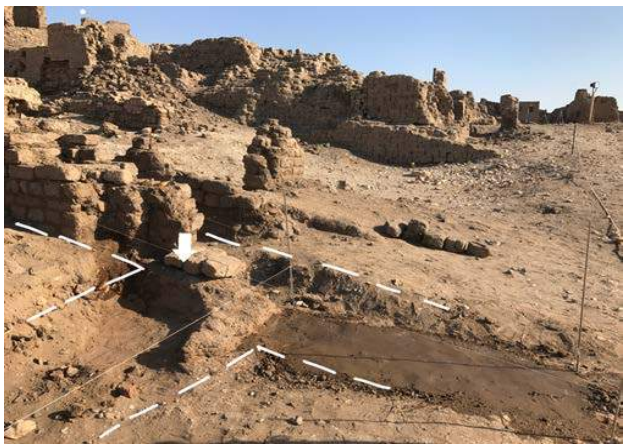
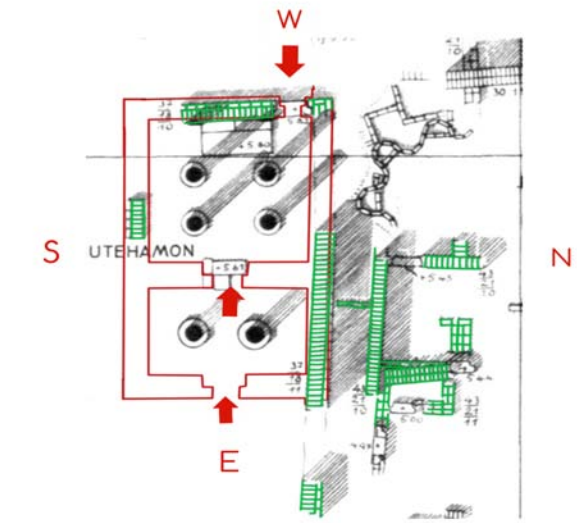
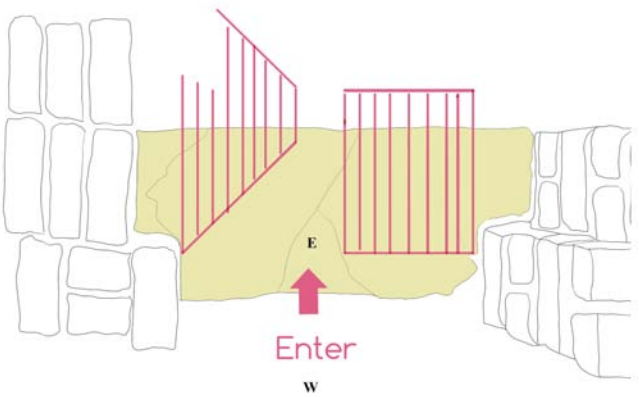


Figure 16: The foundation of the east entrance wall.





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Figure 17: The plan of 1930, in green color the rests of old wall parts (a), illustrative drawing of the entrances direction (b), pic shows the entrance in site.

- It was reused mud brick of Ramses III (The larger size is 43 cm x 21 cm x 13) as a basis for the north, south and west walls, as well as in the foundation of the two columns in the western section, where we found the mud brick reused (large Ramses III) on the basis of the two columns in a vertical way.
- The four columns in western section, they have been moved during the excavation in 1930, there are evidences of confirmation; the filling mortar used to close the joint between the base and the column body is different than the original plaster (three samples has taken to analyze by XRF & XRD to compare the elements and compounds in sample with the original one.



Figure 18: Shows the parts of the previous mortar used to reassemble the column of South East # 60 and the column of Southwest # 61 in 1930.

- The entrances and exits of Butehamon documented on Hölscher'sex cavation map are one direction, it means that the doors can open to inside direction, but we have found the cross stone of the door in opposite direction comparing with other two, it means that the west door open inside, so it's an entrance from outside to the western section. Unfortunately, it became evident that the mud brick walls were in a much better condition in the time of Hölscher.The mud brick walls of the main entrance of the house of Butehamon in east side are completely missed and documented in Holscher's map excavation [1][5].

The most of original mud brick walls are in poor condition because of weathering; falling water in the form of rain and make the surface much more fragile, and rising groundwater seeps into the bottom of the walls, and as this dries the salts in the water crystalline on the wall surface, eroding the base of wall. It's so windy for many months in Luxor winter.

Wind removes the faces of walls. Wind can carry desert sand and this blast and abrades the walls. Humans move out and animals, birds, insects, and reptiles move in to mud brick building. Animals can excavate burrows in earthen material like foxes, and by depositing their waste they can accelerate the rates of erosion. Sometimes the people who come to visit the monuments in the park cause damage to them. This is because taking the same path through a monument can cause it to erode.

Plant roots can grow through and damage the mud brick walls and buried archaeology. Plants can also trap moisture, and lower the relative temperature, which can speed up damage to the fragile mud brick structures. We have found the top of mud brick walls with no parameters, no shape because of water where dissolved the components of the mud brick and it became a block with no face.

Analysis of plaster layer of stone columns: The purpose of the investigation and documentation is to provide a detailed report of the results of the examination, the methods used, and the conservation treatment. The examination of a work of art as the initial step in its conservation or restoration cannot be limited to a technical investigation, but must also include a critical archaeological study. Indeed, three types of examination are essential: archaeological, technological and a etiological (the study of the causes of alteration). The technical examination is always carried out on two levels: a general examination in situ with the naked eye or with simple instruments, and a special examination of characteristic samples in the laboratory. In order to determine both the techniques and materials used, and the alterations and their causes, one must proceed systematically from the support to the paint layer or plaster, taking into account the climatic environment [11].

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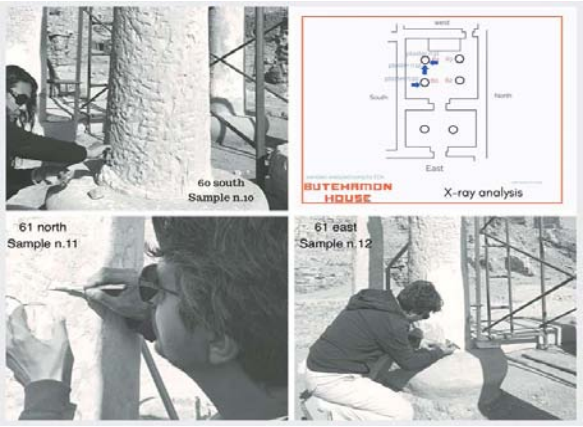


Figure19: Shows the places of plaster samples were taken.

The samples are examined using both methods X-ray diffraction and X-ray fluorescence to identify the compounds and the elements in samples.

The powder samples are examined by using IEOL X-ray diffractometer model ISX-60 PA of the Central Laboratory of El Minya University. The analysis was run with Cu K Radiation, Ni filtered (=1.54184 A) at 35 Kv and 15 mA, under a normal scanning speed of 2/1 minute, within the range of 20 = 4-100. The same samples are examined by using EDX micro analytical methods. And the EDX micro analytical methods used to identify the elemental arrangement for the samples collected from different places can be put in a decreasing order according to their concentration.

Three samples have been taken from plaster layer was applied to give a smooth finish to columns surface considered unsuitable for carving. One sample was taken from the bottom of the column 60 east side close to the base, and two samples were taken from both sides north and east side of the column 61 to identify the elements and compounds used for plastering. Places of samples were defined through naked eye examination and experience of the conservator.

X-ray florescence was done using the EDX micro analytical methods to identify the samples and to evaluate their different components.

X-ray diffraction was done using IEOL X-ray diffractometer model ISX-60 PA of the Central Laboratory of El Minia University

The analysis was run withCu K Radiation, Ni filtered (=1.54184 A) at 35 Kv and 15 mA, under a normal scanning speed of 2/1 minute, within the range of 20 = 4-100.

Sample n.10 (plaster), column n.60 south side

Results of XRF

Description: White thick plaster/mortar used to fill gaps between the column and its base, probable new restoration used in 1930, south side of column n.60.

system resolution = 61 eV

Quantitative method: ZAF (5 iterations).

Analyzed elements combined with: O (Valency: -2)

Method: Stoichiometry Normalized results.

Nos. of ions calculation based on 32 anions per formula.

Standards:

C K CaCO3 01/12/93
Mg K MgO 01/12/93
Al K Al2O3 23/11/93
Si K Quartz 01/12/93
S K FeS2 01/12/93
K K MAD-10 02/12/93
Ca K Wollas 23/11/93
Fe K Fe 01/12/93

An EDX micro analysis of the samples indicated that, the elemental arrangement for the samples collected from different places can be put in a decreasing order according to their concentration as follow:

C (8.98%), Mg (0.27%), Al (0.73%), Si (2.02%), S (8.10%), K (0.20%), Ca (28.03%), (Fe (0.89%).

The obtained results help understanding the weathering mechanisms affecting the object.

The sample contained C refer to an organic material founded, Ca and S and C as the major elements.

The analysis also revealed a high concentration of Sulphate S (8.10%) and calcium Ca (28.03%) ions which may be attributed to the crystallization of gypsum and anhydrite salts on the plaster. In addition, the moderate amount of Aluminum Al (0.73%) and potassium (K) (0.20%) attributed to feldspars and phyllosilicates group. EDXS analysis indicated small quantities of Magnesium (0.27%). The presence of relatively high amounts of iron (0.89%) and also due to atmospheric pollution. They play an important role in deterioration.

Elmt	Type	Spect. %	Element %	Atomic %	Compound ions	Nos. of
C	K ED	8,98	14,94	CO_2	32.90	7.54
Mg	K ED	0.27	0.22	MgO	0.44	0.11
Al	K ED	0.73	0.54	Al_2O_3	1.38	0.27
Si	K ED	2.02	1.44	SiO_2	4.32	0.72
S	K ED	8.10	5.05	SO_3	20.23	2.55
K	K ED	0.20	0.10	K_2O	0.24	0.05
Ca	K ED	28.03	13.97	CaO	39.22	7.05
Fe	K ED	0.89	0.32	Fe_2O_3	1.27	0.16
O		50.78	63.42		32.00	
Total		100.00	100.00		100.00	
					Cation sum 18.45	

Figure 20: The data table of elements detectors, used in examination.

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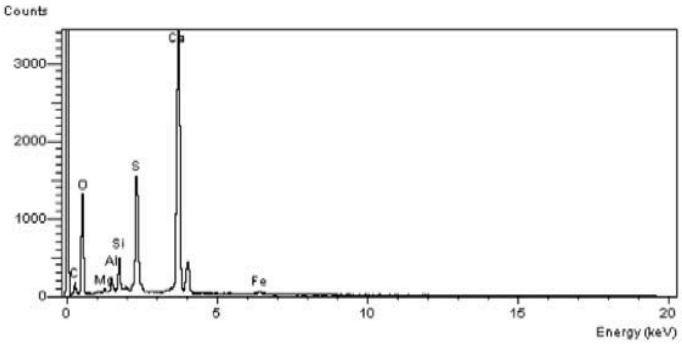


Figure 21: The chart of elements in sample n. 10.

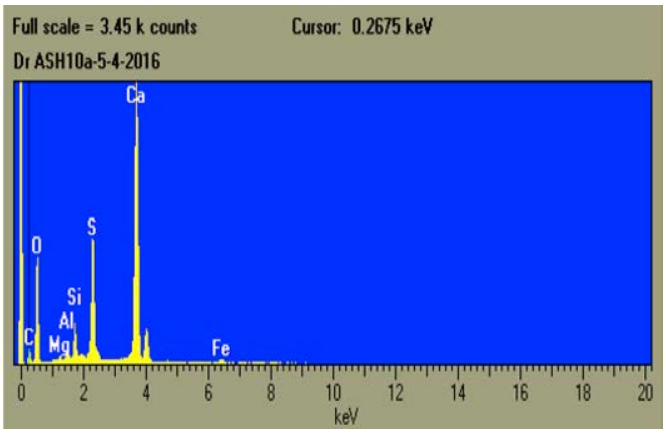


Figure 22: The diagram of elements detectors, in sample n.10.

Results of XRD

The same sample was analyzed and examined by using JEOL X-ray diffractometer model JSX-60 PA.

X-ray diffraction pattern of the powder samples have proved that anhydrite, quartz and calcite are the principal minerals in sample of plaster taken from Butehamon are found in sample with gypsum as traces.

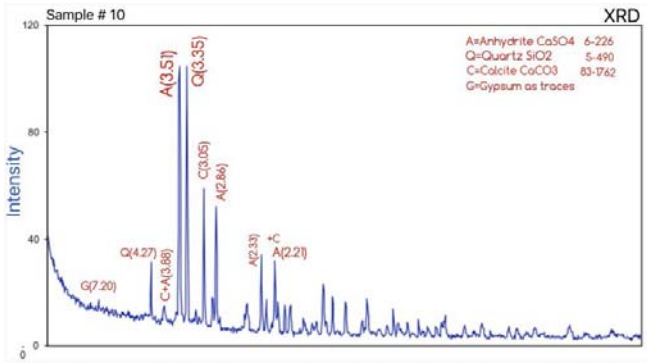


Figure 23: The diagram of compounds in sample n. 10 and its charts.

Sample #11 (plaster), column n.61north side

Results of XRF

Description: Whitish fine plaster layer" tan" applied and covered the inscriptions at the top of north side of column 61, probably later period.

System resolution = 61 eV

Quantitative method: ZAF (4 iterations).

Analyzed elements combined with: O (Valency: -2)

Method: Stoichiometry Normalized results.

Nos. of ions calculation based on 32 anions per formula.

1 peak possibly Omitted: 12.00keV

Standards:

C K CaCO3 01/12/93
Na K Albite Na (AlSi3O8) 02/12/93
Mg K MgO 01/12/93
Al K Al2O3 23/11/93
Si K Quartz 01/12/93
K K MAD-10 02/12/93
Ca K Wollas 23/11/93
Fe K Fe 01/12/93

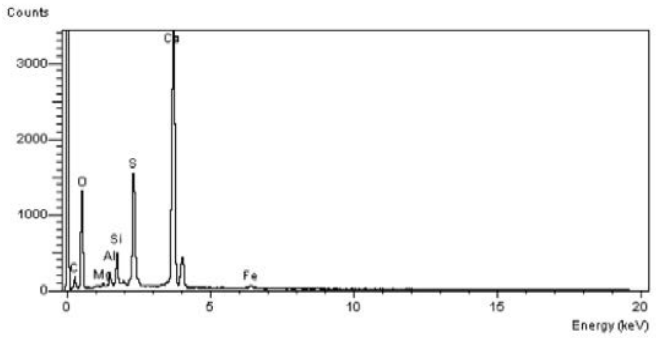


Figure 24: The chart of elements detectors, sample n. 11 which is close to sample n.10

Elmt Type	Spect. %	Element %	Atomic %	Compound ions	Nos. of
C K ED	6.19	10.50	CO_2	22.67	5.18
Na K ED	0.29	0.26	Na_2O	0.39	0.13
Mg K ED	0.43	0.36	MgO	0.72	0.18
Al K ED	1.55	1.17	Al_2O_3	2.93	0.58
Si K ED	4.05	2.94	SiO_2	8.66	1.45
S K ED	12.27	7.80	SO_3	30.87	3.85
K K ED	0.68	0.35	K_2O	0.82	0.17
Ca K ED	22.06	11.22	CaO	30.87	5.54
Fe K ED	1.62	0.59	Fe_2O_3	2.32	0.29
O	50.86	64.81		32.00	
Total	100.00	100.00		100.00	
				Cation sum 17.38	

Figure 25: The data table of elements detectors, used in examination -sample n.11.

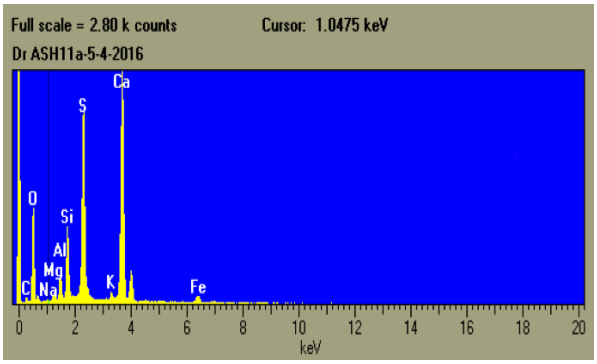


Figure 26: The diagram of elements detectors, in sample n.11.

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An EDX micro analysis of the samples indicated that, the elemental arrangement for the samples collected from different places can be put in a decreasing order according to their concentration as follow:

C (6.19%), Na (0.29%), Mg (0.43%), Al (1.55%), Si (1.05%), S (12.27%), K (0.68%), Ca (22.06%), (Fe (1.62%).

The obtained results help understanding the weathering mechanisms affecting the object. The sample contained C refer to an organic material founded, Ca and S and C as the major elements. The analysis also revealed a high concentration of Sulphate S (12.27%) and calcium Ca (22.06%) ions which may be attributed to the crystallization of gypsum and anhydrite salts on the plaster.

In addition, the moderate amount of Aluminum Al (1.55%) and potassium (K) (0.68%) attributed to feldspars and phyllosilicates group. EDXS analysis indicated small quantities of Magnesium (0.43%). The presence of relatively high amounts of iron (1.62%) and also due to atmospheric pollution. They play an important role in deterioration.

Results of XRD

The same sample was analyzed and examined by using JEOL X-ray diffractometer model JSX-60 PA.

X-ray diffraction pattern of the powder samples have proved that anhydrite, quartz and calcite are the principal minerals in sample of plaster taken from Butehamon are found in sample with gypsum as traces [12].

Anhydrite, quartz and calcite are the principal minerals in the sample11.

Gypsum {CaSO4(H2O)2} is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=4.28 A; 7.59 A & 3.06 A; PDF n.74-1904). Calcite mineral (CaCO3) is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d= 3.04 A, 2.28 A & 1.88 A; PDF n.83-1762). Quartz (SiO2) is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=3.34 A, 4026 A & 1.82A; PDF n. 5-490). Anhydride (CaSO4) is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=3.50 A, 2.85 A & 2.33A; PDF n.6-226) Anorthoclase (Na,K) AlSi3O8, it is Colorless, also white, pale creamy yellow.

The mineral anorthoclase is a crystalline solid solution in the alkali feldspar series, in which the sodium-aluminum silicate member exists in larger proportion. Anorthoclase occurs in high temperature sodium rich volcanic and hypabyssal (shallow intrusive) rocks. The mineral is typically found as a constituent of the fine gained matrix or as small phenocrysts which may occur as loose crystals in a weathered rock.

It was first described in 1885 for an occurrence on Trapani Province and Sicily. The name is from the Greek for oblique and fracture, descriptive of the cleavage.

Essential elements; Al, Na, O, Si

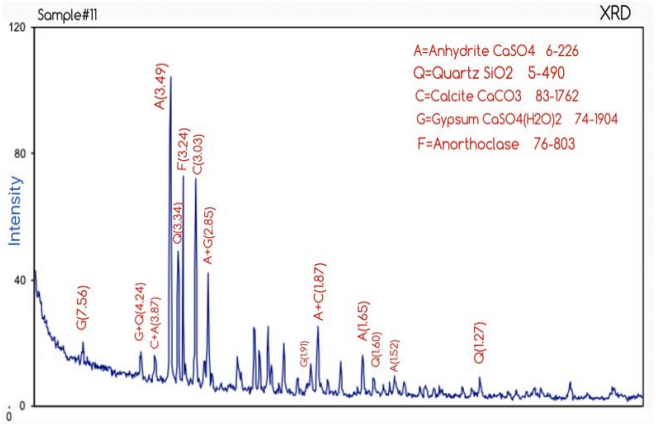


Figure 27: The diagram of compounds in sample n. 11 and its charts.

Sample #12 (plaster), column n.61east side

Results of XRF

Description: White thick plaster/mortar used to fill gaps between the column and its base, probable new restoration used in 1930, south side of column n.61.

System resolution = 64 eV

Quantitative method: ZAF (3 iterations).

Analyzed elements combined with: O (Valency: -2)

Method: Stoichiometry Normalized results.

Nos. of ions calculation based on 32 anions per formula.

2 peaks possibly omitted: 0.00,0.26 keV

Standards:

Elmt	Type	Spect. %	Element %	Atomic %	Compound ions	Nos. of
Mg	K ED	0.22	0.20	MgO	0.36	0.10
Al	K ED	1.56	1.30	Al2O3	2.95	0.63
Si	K ED	5.39	4.33	SiO_2	11.54	2.11
S	K ED	18.78	13.20	SO3	46.90	6.43
K	K ED	0.35	0.20	K2O	0.42	0.10
Ca	K ED	26.03	14.64	CaO	36.43	7.12
Fe	K ED	0.98	0.40	Fe2O3	1.41	0.19
O		46.68	65.74		32.00	
Total		100.00	100.00		100.00	
					Cation sum 16.68	

Figure 28: The data table of elements detectors, used in examination -sample n.12.

Mg K MgO 01/12/93
Al K Al2O3 23/11/93
Si K Quartz 01/12/93
S K FeS2 01/12/93
K K MAD-10 02/12/93
Ca K Wollas 23/11/93
Fe K Fe 01/12/93

The EDX micro analytical methods were performed to identify the samples and to evaluate their different components. The investigations results are shown in.

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An EDX micro analysis of the samples indicated that, the elemental arrangement for the samples collected from different places can be put in a decreasing order according to their concentration as follow: Mg (0.22%), Al (1.56%), Si (5.39 %), S (18.78%), K (0.35%), Ca (26.03%),(Fe (0.98%), The obtained results help understanding the weathering mechanisms affecting the temple. The 12st sample contained Ca and S as the major elements. The analysis also revealed a high concentration of sulfate S (18.78%) and calcium Ca (26.03%) ions which may be attributed to the crystallization of gypsum and anhydrite salts on the wall reliefs. In addition, the moderate amount of Aluminum Al (1.56%) and potassium (K) (0.35%) attributed to feldspars and phyllosilicates group. EDXS analysis indicated small quantities of Magnesium (0.22 %). The presence of relatively high amounts of iron (0.98 %) and also due to atmospheric pollution. They play an important role in deterioration.

Results of XRD

The powder samples are examined by using JEOL X-ray diffractometer model JSX-60 PA of the Central Laboratory, El Minya University. The analysis was run with Cu K radiation, Ni filtered (=1.54184 A) at 35 Kev and 15 mA, under a normal scanning speed of 2 /1mint, within the range of 2 O = 4-100. X-ray diffraction pattern of the powder samples have proved that gypsum, quartz and Anhydrite are found in sample# 12. Anhydrite and quartz are the principal minerals in the samples12. Gypsum {CaSO4(H2O)2} is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=4.28 A; 7.59 A & 3.06 A; PDF n.74-1904). Quartz (SiO2) is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=3.34 A, 4026 A & 1.82A; PDF n. 5-490).Anhydride (CaSO4) is characterized by its strongest d-lines at (d=3.50 A, 2.85 A & 2.33A; PDF n.6-226).

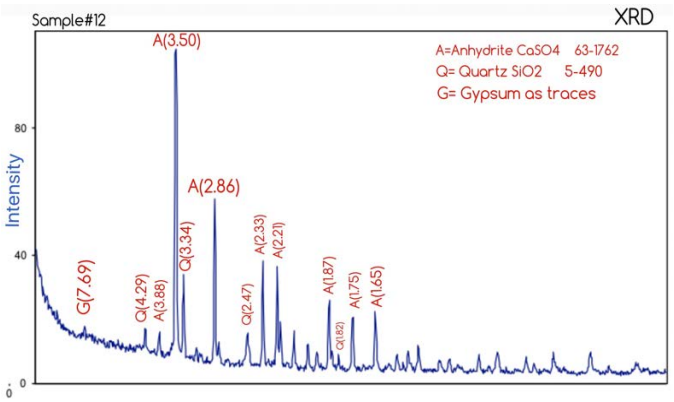


Figure 29: The diagram of compounds in sample n. 12 and its charts.

iii. *Restoration & Reconstruction of mud brick walls*

Ancient Egyptian architecture is, one of the most influential civilizations throughout history, which developed a vast array of diverse structures and great architectural monuments along the Nile, including pyramids and temples.

Many Egyptian mud bricks structures have disappeared because they were situated near the cultivated area of the Nile Valley and were flooded as the river bed slowly rose during the millennia, or the mud bricks of which they were built were used by peasants as fertilizer. Others are inaccessible, new buildings having been erected on ancient ones. Fortunately, the dry, hot climate of Egypt preserved some mud brick structures. Examples include the village Deir al-Madinah, Also, many temples and tombs have survived because they were built on high ground unaffected by the Nile flood and were constructed of stone. In the Butehamon structure case, which is dated to 21st dynasty, all the archaeological remains of mud bricks walls refer to that they've been reused Ramses bricks (measuring 43 × 21 ×13, big size) for foundation sections and smaller bricks for walls (measuring 30 x 15 x 9 cm, smaller size) [1].

Our Conservation intervention is to prevent or substantially reduce continuous decay by supporting unstable walls, by replacing critical features, and by adding new mud bricks to the foundation and to the top surfaces. The goal of the project is to protect the original fabric from decay, but the results also add an important dimension, providing a clearer interpretation of the spaces defined by the walls.

Mud bricks, or adobe, are one of the world's oldest building materials. They are inexpensive, simple to make, environmentally friendly, and used all over the world to make low-cost homes and fireproof buildings.

How to make mud bricks in site?



Figure 30: The big pit, large hole filled with water.

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Figure 31: Workers add the mixture (clay & straw) to the mold for making adobe bricks.

Before we begin, make sure to clear out a dry area for making bricks. They could take several weeks to dry and need to be protected from rain.

Step 1: Collect Soil

To begin, you need to collect enough loamy soil to make your bricks. Soil from the top or sides of a natural clay.

Sift the collected soil through the screen to remove any stones that can weaken the bricks and cause them to crack.

Step 2: Make the Mold

Step 3: Dig a Pit

Use a wheelbarrow for mixing the soil if you want to make a few bricks, but you will need a pit for a larger project. Dig a large hole in the ground that is three feet deep. Fill the hole with water allow it to drain out itself.

This could take up to a day, but is necessary because it will prevent the walls from crumbling during the mixing process.

Step 4: Add the Soil and Mix Fill the hole half way up with soil. Fill your bucket with water and add to the soil, mixing with a hoe or shovel. Adding some straw or manure to prevent the bricks from cracking. Add enough water to make a thick mix.

Step 5: Add Mixture to the Mold

Lay the Mold flat on to a dry ground and shovel mud into each section, filling it completely. Pat the top firmly with the back of the shovel to pack it in tightly and remove any air bubbles or excess water.

Step 6: Drying

Allow the bricks to settle before carefully lifting the mold off. Move to another dry spot to make the next five bricks. Continue this process till you have enough bricks you need.

Wait at least two weeks before checking your sun-dried bricks. All the edges should turn white before you can use them, otherwise they will crumble. You may have to wait three weeks before you can use your bricks. Sun dried bricks can last up to 30 years before they begin to crack.

Restoration & stabilization the old mud brick walls; support, consolidation and filling of gaps



Figure 32: The senior conservator, Lotfi Hassan, the Author disassembles the inclined sections to clean, strength and rebuild them in the right position.



Figure 33: Shows the condition of the inclined wall in action to be restored & supported.

To find the best solutions for Medinet Habu mud bricks we are undertaking experiments with traditional materials, such as mud plasters, mud mortars and mud bricks, as well as new materials, such as using a geotextile (a porous plastic grid material) to separate the new conservation work from the archaeology features which, this method has been used in different sites in world.

Another solution to separate the new mud bricks from the old one, using natural materials covering the old mud bricks with a thick layer of clay plaster visible before using the new mud bricks.

In many cases, we used both solutions using a porous plastic grid material and using natural materials covering the old mud bricks with a thick layer of clay plaster visible before using the new mud bricks. It used in settling old mud brick level with a layer of clay after covered it with fiber grid material.

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Figure 34: Replacing the damaged section with a new mud brick.

It 'been so necessary to disassemble and thoroughly rebuild the old mud-brick walls, after it has been cleaned throughout the area and found the foundation lines, it was used the same mud-brick old, who had fallen and were found around. When we look at the old mud brick before restoration, in fact, explains the rate of decay and the factors causing the damage.



Figure 35: The conservators treat the wall after straightening & supporting.

By analyzes, found that the mud bricks consisted mainly of *Quartz*[*SiO2 (Alphaquartz)*], *Albite* [*NaAlSi3O8*] and *Anorthoclease* [*(Na,K) AlSi3O8*], as major minerals. *Diaspore* [*AlO(OH)*] *Orthorhombic* [*KAlSi3O8*], *Kaolinite* [*Al2Si2O5(OH)4*], *Calcite* [*CaCO3*] and *K-feldspars* [*KAlSi3O8*]. Furthermore, *Montmorillonite* [*(Na,Ca)0.33 (Al,Mg)2SiO4·nH2O*], *Illite* [*(K,H3O)(Al,Mg,Fe)2(Al,Si)4O10* {*(OH)2,H2O*}] present in small amounts [12].

The conditions of the walls vary, but most are in poor conditions, the result of exposure to the micro-environment and human and animal traffic. *Reaping the eroded walls*, the heavily eroded and undercut wall bases have been filled and packed with new mud bricks. These repairs provide support for the structure and limit the effects of damage from rising water, as the erosion occurs in the new material rather than the old material. *Filling gaps*, was made using clay mortar to reinforce the plates, edges and to smooth the surface of the mud bricks. It was used in two different ways and different composition; a clay mortar for new mud bricks, consists of clay, straw and Hiba and applied with a spatula, sponge and so flat, undercut, and a mortar clay to old wall of mud bricks, consisting of clay and only straw, applied with a spatula and scratched off using by the stick to give old texture.

Consolidation of old mud brick wall was done to reinforce the old mud bricks walls as a final protection after it has been lost its cohesion, using by Ethyl silicate Wacker OH 100 applied by spray through dispenser to ensure the arrival of consolidator to all decayed parts. The Wacker Consolidation System is based on Silicic acid ethyl esters and is a ready for use product. It is applied to the surface of prepared substrates where it is absorbed through capillary action in the mud bricks. The low molecular weight encourages optimum penetration into the substrate. The esters hydrolyze in the presence of atmospheric humidity and with the aid of catalysts form a Silicic acid gel. This is then converted into silicon dioxide (SiO2), to replace chemically the natural binder, which has been lost (see simplified equation) [9].

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Figure 36: The conservators during the filling of gaps and joints using clay mortar for adobe wall (a, b), the wall after restoration; old parts and new section reconstructed using new mud brick, (c, d).



Figure 37: The conservator during the consolidation of old mud brick walls by ethyl silicates using the dispenser (a, b).

Catalyst

$$Si(OR)_4 + 4H_2O \text{ ----------> } Si(OH)_4 + ROH$$

$$Si(OH)_{4-} \text{ ---------> } SiO_2 + 2H_2O$$

iv. *Restoration, of the columns, dismantling and straightening of the two inclined stone columns*

The columns are six, four pedestals; the base, the shaft and the capital The base is like the "foot" of the column, the shaft the "trunk", and the capital the "head", and the other two were laid on the ground; the base, the stem missing part and no capital.



Figure 38: The Butehamon House before interventions; showing the state of conservation, 2016.

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Restoration Processes of the two columns (with large parts missing, n.200-n.201)

(1) *Remove the basis to excavate and detect the foundations to be consolidated and reconstructed.*
(2) *Consolidate and replace the foundations.*
(3) *Reconstruct the stone base on foundation in level*
(4) *Reconstruct the trunk on the base*



Figure 39: The original place of the southern column base.

To reset columns in their original place must be detected and investigated the right position of the bases of the two columns. The bases of the two columns were settled on Ramses III mud bricks (big size) in vertical position. From the original locations of the bases, we understand that the northern column is not aligned with the columns of the northwestern section, but the southern column is nearly aligned with the columns of the north in the western section [11].



Figure 40: Senior conservator Lotfi, the Auther & assistants replace the shaft part of the column on original base of the southern side.

It supported the two bases by adding rows of new big size in vertical as the same method used, after it had covered the original bases by plastic grid and covered with a layer of clay, then we did apply one clay plaster leveled. It replaced the two bases and settled in clay mortar, then the columns fixed.

The Butehamon house as in plan consists in two sections; one contains the two large parts missing, and the second section contains four plastered columns [11].

The four plastered columns that appear to have been moved during the excavations of 1930, there are evidence of adding recently lime mortar between to the column and its base and they have been restored using cement mortar and lime mortar between the shaft and the capital. There is a tendency in two southern west and southern west columns. The bases of the columns built on a foundation of mud bricks, using big size of Ramses III. Four columns in the western section are plastered and two columns (with large parts missing) that were down to earth, no plastered. the plasters are in bad condition and were missed in many areas, a lot of lost because of weathering and the technique used where they had Applied a very thick layer of plaster obviously to be good for carving.



Figure 41: Shows the replacement of the two columns (with large parts missing) that were laid on the ground in final phase.



Figure 42: Illustrative photo of the two inclined columns, n.60-n.61.

Other plaster layers, also added later different than the original carved plaster that have covered the inscriptions.

Restoration Processes of the two inclined columns (southern east and southern west, n. 60, n.61)

(1) *Pre-consolidation was done to the plaster to ensure the stability of the plaster before any intervention of moving columns.*

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(2) *Dismantling the inclined columns by removing the capital, the shaft and the base.*
(3) *Excavate and stabilization of the foundation of the columns by replacing the decayed mud bricks with new bricks.*
(4) *Reassembly of the columns in right position using lime mortar.*

- Scaffolding was set up surrounding the columns to allow for work and movement during straightening.
- The cement mortar between the capital and the shaft was removed carefully with a chisel and scalpel, then tying the capital with a winch to ensure its stability during the intervention.
- Removing the cement joined the shaft of the columns with stone base, which was covered used with a layer of lime mortar.
- Lifting the column from the base after packing it carefully.
- Moving the column base to detect the foundation and rebuild it.
- Replace the parts of the column in right position.



(a) (b) (c)

Figure 43: Detail of carved plaster of column n.60 (a), detail of carved plaster of column n.61 (b), The conservator Lotfi Hassan, the Author during the pre-consolidation of the plaster before dismantling and moving the column (c).



(a) (b & c) (d)

Figure 44: The author during removing the cement between the capital and the column shaft in preparation of dismantling of the column(a), moving the column base and the site during the work (b, c), The conservator Lotfi Hassan, the Author during the replacement of the column shaft(d).

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(a) (b)

Figure 45: The Butehamon House from north side, surveying using by drone before restoration (a), the House from north side after restoration of mud brick walls and stone columns (b).

III. Site Management

Cultural heritage management is about striking a balance between developing the tourism industry, generate revenue while still conserving the physical integrity of sites, promoting and celebrating their educational, historic and cultural values. According to Unesco, heritage is our legacy and cultural identity that we pass on to the next generation. Tangible features, such as monuments, groups of building, and both historic and natural sites, are considered as part of our heritage by Unesco. To influence the visitors' behavior in a positive way, cultural heritage manager can build the visitors experience around education.

The protection, conservation and effective presentation of the cultural and natural heritage should be considered as one of the essential aspects of regional development plans, and planning in general, at the national, regional or local level.

This should Include the vision and goals for preserving, explain the special qualities and values of the Site, lay out policies to protect the Site and provide support for monitoring future developments planned for the Site.

World Heritage Convention" every site inscribed on the World Heritage List must have a management plan that explains how the outstanding universal value of a property can be preserved. The management plan is the central planning instrument for the protection, use, conservation and successful development of World Heritage sites. This guide offers support in developing management plans to those involved with World Heritage [8].

In Madinet Habu temples, where its enclosed area includes temples from different eras and archaeological features around the main temple, the Mortuary Temple of Ramses III which is open to the public. Conservation projects have focused on restoring the archaeological features around it and making it accessible to the public. The management of the Butehamon House site, after the restoration is one of the projects focusing on visitor access and education, which is linked to another conservation projects in southern area, such as the restoration of southern well of Ramsses III and the mud brick walls around the main temple and the stone pavement, which it takes accesses to visitors without damage the archaeological features, so the accesses will connected the archaeological features by one direction from east to south then in future from west to north, so it will be walkway around the main temple, which will be accessible for visitors. We will publish some project of these in another volume.



Figure 46: Show the main temple on left side and southern archaeological side which is not access to visitors.

It has been planned to create a walkway of clay tiles around the house which will enable visitors to see the house and columns without entering, the work plan focused too on its site management plan and the site's coordination. And it has been built a wooden bridge to protect and cover an archaeological feature and to linked to restoration project of the Ramses III enclosure

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wall and its stone pavement. It has been added illustrative panels to explain the historical value of the monuments and its restoration. then the site was managed after the restoration and to protect the archaeological work and features on site, from two elements; the walkway as a guide and illustrative panel to help visitors understand the value of the archaeological site.



Figure 47: The conservators during the final restoration works of clay tiles of walkway.



Figure 48: The construction of wooden bridge on archaeological features to protect it and to do way to reach the walkway to visit the butehamon house.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 49: Illustrative panel, history and conservation works done (a), Views of walkway & the wooden bridge (b, c).

IV. Conclusion

The main purpose of conservation is to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the cultural heritage and protect it not only from the elements but also from man who has no knowledge of cultural heritage or archaeological sites.

Visitors contribute much to further decay. More and more reliefs and wall paintings are touched as much out of curiosity as out of ignorance, without considering the consequences. Site management, should be an essential point after the restoration of archaeological sites such as temples, which include more than one place to enable it through visitor management by creating paths not very close to the archaeological features. And adding illustrative panels that would take visitors to the right places to see and learn about history without causing damage. The caretakers of these monuments as well as the tour guides had a great time responsibility to raise visitor

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awareness and to teach others that these monuments are part of a collective world heritage, not just Egypt's property. Several conservation actions have been undertaken to reduce the consequences of these types of deterioration, however no always and in any case with success, since experience and ability can be found wanting.

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The Museums of Algeria in the French Historiographical Field

By Dr. Mourad Betrouni

Summary- This subject deals with a category of “artifacts”, here the Museum, which served or accompanied the enterprise of conquest-colonization of Algeria and the process of “putting into a museum” a people and a territory. The examination is considered from the perspective of a French historiography. The Museum is taken as keystone or "fossil director", which confirms and authenticates the French colonial project, in its successive dismemberments, as argued by Arnauld Le Brusq: “The colonial museum is placed at the first plan of an archeology of colonial France because the museum turns out to be consubstantial with the colonial project”.

Keywords: *museum, historiography, archaeology, colonial, exploration, collection.*

GJHSS-F Classification: *DDC Code: 914.210486 LCC Code: DA679*



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The Museums of Algeria in the French Historiographical Field

Les Musées d'Algérie Dans Le Champ Historiographique Français

Dr. Mourad Betrouni

Summary- This subject deals with a category of "artifacts", here the Museum, which served or accompanied the enterprise of conquest-colonization of Algeria and the process of "putting into a museum" a people and a territory. The examination is considered from the perspective of a French historiography. The Museum is taken as keystone or "fossil director", which confirms and authenticates the French colonial project, in its successive dismemberments, as argued by Arnauld Le Brusq: "The colonial museum is placed at the first plan of an archeology of colonial France because the museum turns out to be consubstantial with the colonial project".

Keywords: museum, historiography, archaeology, colonial, exploration, collection.

Résumé- Ce sujet traite d'une catégorie d'« artefacts », ici le Musée, qui a servi ou accompagné l'entreprise de conquête-colonisation de l'Algérie et le processus de «mise en musée» d'un peuple et d'un territoire. L'examen est envisagé dans la perspective d'une historiographie française. Le Musée est pris comme clé de voûte ou «fossile directeur», qui confirme et authentifie le projet colonial français, dans ses démembrements successifs, comme le soutient, Arnauld Le Brusq: «Le musée colonial se place au premier plan d'une archéologie de la France coloniale parce que le musée s'avère consubstantiel au projet colonial».

Mots-clés: musée, historiographie, archéologie, colonial, exploration, collection.

I. Introduction

Le niveau de conscience d'un soi national en construction, au sortir d'un «*âge*» colonial, qui a duré 132 ans, se mesure et s'évalue, objectivement, par le truchement d'une «*archéologie de la France coloniale*» - expression empruntée à Arnauld Le Brusq [(1)] - qui met en affleurement et soumet à l'examen les «*artefacts*» qui ont servi ou accompagné l'entreprise de conquête-colonisation et le processus de «*mise en musée*» d'un peuple et d'un territoire.

Dans «*Dépossession du monde*» de J. Bercque (1964), «*Esquisse pour une archéologie de la France coloniale* » et «*Du musée colonial à l'invention d'un patrimoine croisé ?*» d'Arnauld Le Brusq (2005), la perspective archéologique a été envisagée dans un champ global, disons planétaire, qui place le fait colonial français sur l'orbite d'une mondialisation anticipée, celle de l'expansion coloniale européenne sur les quatre autres continents. Une perspective qui a l'avantage du regard englobant, où les «détails» et les «nuances» ne participent pas au tracé des contours, à la construction de l'image et de la trame du récit historique.

Cette perspective est, de notre point de vue, trop large, dans ce sens où le propre de l'archéologie n'est pas de construire du récit mais de rendre lisible et intelligible des matériaux de l'histoire, sous le regard d'un présent chaque fois renouvelé. C'est en cela que le «détail» et la «nuance» qui appellent, nécessairement, une réduction de la focale, constituent, parfois et le plus souvent même, les matériaux les plus utiles d'un examen et d'une lecture archéologiques; ils seraient, en même temps, les indicateurs clés pour une compréhension fondée de l'esprit colonial et de ses pratiques, dans les sphères de l'archéologie et du patrimoine culturel en général.

Dans cette perspective de réduction de la focale, que nous proposons et dans la catégorie des artefacts techniques et symboliques disponibles, nous avons choisi le musée, à l'instar des auteurs qui s'y sont intéressés, comme clé de voûte ou «*fossile directeur*», expression prisée des préhistoriens, qui confirme et authentifie le projet colonial français, dans ses démembrements successifs, comme le soutient, d'ailleurs, Arnauld Le Brusq: «*Le musée colonial se place au premier plan d'une archéologie de la France coloniale parce que le musée s'avère consubstantiel au projet colonial*» (2005).

II. Le «Musée» au Temps de la Conquête Française

Etablir un diagnostic du fait muséal en Algérie, au temps de la conquête française [(2),] c'est dérouler le premier chapitre d'un processus de substitution d'une population «*indigène*» [(3),] déracinée et déchue de ses droits, par une population française qui la remplaçait au fur et à mesure et qui était, la seule, éligible au droit à la culture et donc aux services et équipements culturels (presse, cinéma, théâtre, bibliothèque et musée). C'est en dehors du champ «*indigène*» que l'objet et le sujet musée devraient donc être appréhendés, dans cette première phase de conquête, dans la mesure où il n'y a eu ni rencontre ni échanges entre «*indigènes*» et

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«*européens*», à la base de la construction de l'idée de «*musée»,* mais tout au contraire rupture et distanciation. Le musée n'a pas été un lieu de confrontation féconde des représentations et des mémoires, il a été un lieu de traduction d'une domination par la violence.

Traiter ce chapitre, en dehors de ce préalable, serait compromettre tout le processus cognitif qui gouverne le sujet. Ni le cas de la Tunisie, ni celui du Maroc, soumis, officiellement, au protectorat français, l'un en 1881 et l'autre en 1912, ne sont éligibles à la comparaison et ne sauraient participer à la construction ou la reconstruction d'un discours muséal sur l'Algérie, dont l'énoncé remonte aussi loin que 1830, antérieur de plus d'un demi siècle. Le protectorat, contrairement à la conquête, exprimait une perspective d'échange, de confrontation et de continuité, sous des formes apaisées ou violentes mais qui ne dépassaient jamais le seuil de la rupture. C'est par ce bout du fil de l'histoire de la conquête de l'Algérie - un segment d'une vingtaine d'années de longueur - et suivant ce préalable méthodologique, qu'il faille, à notre sens, appréhender la dimension muséale en Algérie avant de l'envisager le long du processus colonial.

Au premier temps de la conquête, depuis la Monarchie de juillet jusqu'à à la proclamation de la seconde République et au-delà du fait de l'invasion militaire et de ses effets de guerre, était totalement dominé par une gérance militaire du territoire, fondée sur un double objectif : d'une part, provoquer et accompagner la déchéance, la dépossession et la déculturation des populations «*indigènes*» et d'autre part, inciter et encourager l'acculturation, l'épanouissement et la promotion de populations européennes nouvellement établies ou en voie d'établissement, dans le cadre d'une politique de colonisation de peuplement.

La colonisation étant entendue, non pas comme suite et prolongement de la conquête mais comme son objectif et sa finalité. Il ne s'agit pas de deux séquences historiques successives mais de deux tranches d'une même séquence historique. Seule une différence de style marque la nuance, l'un militaire et l'autre d'apparence civile. Ce sont les militaires eux-mêmes qui se transformèrent en colons en s'appropriant un territoire qu'ils aménagèrent et modifièrent pour s'y installer. Ce n'est que bien plus tard et au fur et à mesure, qu'ils furent rejoints par une autre catégorie de colons «*européens»,* qui procèdent d'une forme de colonisation plus classique.

III. De La Rencontre Clauzel/Berbrugger

Deux acteurs, aux destins croisés, vont jouer un rôle déterminant, disons même fondateur du système muséal algérien, dans un contexte d'annexion d'un nouveau territoire à la souveraineté française: le général Bertrand Clauzel (1772-1842), un militaire et Louis Adrien Berbrugger (1801-1869), un civil. Le profil et l'itinéraire de ces deux personnages sont significatifs d'une vision et d'une idée partagées sur le système conquête-colonisation.

En août 1830, un mois à peine après la prise d'Alger, Clauzel fut nommé au poste de commandant en chef de l'armée expéditionnaire d'Afrique, en remplacement du général De Bourmont [(4)]. Il était porteur d'un projet de colonisation de l'ancienne Régence d'Alger[(5)]. Au même moment, Berbrugger, un parisien fort influent, respecté par son parcours d'homme de lettres et élève de l'Ecole des Chartes, était de passage à Alger où il donna une de ces conférences sur le socialisme et les idées phalanstériennes, dont il était un fervent défenseur[(6)].

La rencontre des deux hommes s'est faite dans un contexte de grand bouillonnement et de forte exaltation autour des idées « généreuses » d'association et de justice redistributive, véhiculées par les Saint Simoniens, les Fouriéristes, le communisme chrétien d'Etienne Cabet et les Francs maçons. Des idées qui cristallisèrent, un peu plus tard, sous la forme d'un grand projet utopique du Prince-Président Louis Napoléon Bonaparte: «*le Royaume arabe*».

Ce que nous retenons du profil de Clauzel, des traits qui le rapprochaient de Berbrugger et des idées utopistes de l'époque, est ce projet sociétaire, d'intérêt collectif, forme d'autogestion, qu'il voulait réaliser, en tant qu'œuvre de colonisation, celui de la «*ferme-modèle»,* qu'il créa sur un ancienne propriété deylicale à l'Est d'Alger [(7),] avec l'idée d'une exploitation pilote pour les colons, qui s'établiraient de proche en proche dans la plaine de la Mitidja, espace privilégié d'une colonisation agricole. La «*ferme modèle*» devait servir, d'abord, d'objectif d'implantation des vétérans de l'armée d'Afrique. Une idée qui fut reprise, après lui, mais sous d'autres méthodes moins glorieuses, par le général Bugeaud, avec le slogan: «*par l'épée et par la charrue».* Dans les deux cas, l'Algérie se présentait comme un laboratoire d'expérimentation, dans un contexte de crise d'emploi aigue en métropole. Il s'agissait de déplacer des expériences sociales inopérantes en métropole du genre «*Ateliers nationaux*» [(8),] vers la colonie, sous des formulations militaires de mobilisation voire même d'embrigadement.

La gestion Clauzel du territoire, en tant que commandant de l'expédition militaire, était fondée sur deux principes fondamentaux: occupation restreinte du territoire, limitée à la partie littorale et négociation d'une forme de protectorat, à l'instar du beylik de Tunis, pour les autres parties du territoire, le Titteri (Médéa), Oran et Constantine. Il lui sera reproché d'avoir signé, unilatéralement, des conventions de protectorat sur ces trois territoires avec la Régence de Tunis, ce que sa

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fonction n'autorisait pas. Désavoué, il démissionna et rejoignit Paris en 1831, pour être remplacé par le général Berthezène.

Le paradoxe de cette situation est qu'il fut élevé à la dignité de maréchal de France, le 27 juillet 1831, quatre mois après sa disgrâce, puis sollicité, un peu plus tard, en juillet 1835, pour occuper le poste de gouverneur général des possessions françaises dans le Nord de l'Afrique. Après une année et demie de gouvernance, il subit encore une fois un autre affront pour cause d'imprévoyance, suite à l'échec de la première expédition de Constantine [9]. Il fut remplacé par le lieutenant-général de Damrémont.

C'est dans cette contexture politico-militaire, entre 1830 et 1837, que se sont esquissées puis consacrées, les premières idées de fabrication d'un espace de production d'images illustrant la puissance de l'armée impériale et le bien-fondé de sa mission. La photographie et le cinéma, n'étant pas encore nés, les seules supports du message propagandiste de la conquête, étaient le fait de peintres et de dessinateurs, accompagnant les missions militaires françaises, complétés par tout un système d'imageries traditionnelles telles les cartes postales et les vignettes publicitaires. L'objectif, dans cette première phase de conquête, était la formation d'un imaginaire du lecteur et du spectateur autour des signes de gloire et des événements épiques et ensuite d'une perception de *«l'indigène»* à la fois étrange et fascinante et sur laquelle furent projetées ou réanimées des fantasmes d'un *«orient»* refoulé, prétexte d'une colonisation de peuplement.

IV. La Bibliothèque-Musée D'alger

Tout a commencé par le théâtre, avec la création, en novembre 1830, d'une salle de spectacle dans la ville d'Alger, dénommée "*Théâtre d'amateurs d'Alger*». Une création qui eut le soutien et le financement du gouvernement, par l'impact qu'elle suscitait, notamment auprès du premier noyau de colons établis à Alger [10]. A la différence du théâtre, le projet d'une bibliothèque publique, ne suscita pas le même engouement et ne suivit pas le même cheminement. Il fut l'œuvre du duo Clauzel/Berbrugger : une bibliothèque comme espace central de façonnement des normes et de fabrication de l'opinion. Quant au projet de musée, il fut introduit, un peu plus tard, de proche en proche, à l'ombre de la bibliothèque, d'abord sous la forme d'annexe.

Pour mieux situer la place et la signification du Musée d'Alger, du moins dans les premières étapes constitutives, il est, d'abord, nécessaire de décliner le processus de création de la Bibliothèque publique, dans lequel il était inscrit, quoique en périphérie. Le projet de création d'une Bibliothèque publique à Alger fut soumis, en 1832, par l'Intendant civil, M. Genty Debussy, aux Ministres des travaux publics et de la guerre pour adoption[11]. Il fut ajourné, faute de fond livresque et de budget. Une année plus tard et devant l'insistance de Clauzel [qui n'était plus à Alger] [12], exprimée dans un courrier appuyé, l'Intendant civil réagit d'une manière quelque peu laconique : «*M. le président du conseil des ministres, sur ma proposition, a bien approuvé en principe la création d'une Bibliothèque publique à Alger ; mais je ne suis pas encore informé que ce projet doive bientôt recevoir son exécution. Je ne viens pas moins de demander à son Excellence qu'elle veuille bien vous confier (à M. Berbrugger) la direction de ce dépôt scientifique, aussitôt qu'elle sera en mesure de nous en faire l'envoi* [13].

En 1935 Clauzel est de retour à Alger et cette fois-ci pour occuper le poste de gouverneur général des possessions françaises d'Afrique du nord. Aussitôt arrivé, il réactiva le projet de la Bibliothèque, en nommant Berbrugger à la fois comme bibliothécaire et rédacteur-en-chef du journal le «*Moniteur algérien*» [14] et en instruisant que c'est *«à lui* [Berbrugger que] *doivent être adressées les articles, avis et annonces que les chefs de service auraient à faire insérer dans la feuille officielle, ainsi que toutes les communications propres à faire connaitre les efforts constants de l'administration et les progrès de la colonisation»*.

V. L'énoncé Fondateur de la Bibliothèque-Musée D'alger

En introduction du « *Livret explicatif des collections diverses de* [la Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger] », paru en 1861, Berbrugger avait écrit, en guise d'exposé des motifs : *« La conquête de l'Algérie ouvrait simultanément au progrès de la civilisation et aux investigations de la science, la partie la moins accessible jusqu'alors de ce continent d'Afrique, toujours si enveloppé de mystères. Vestiges de l'antiquité romaine où des époques indigènes, produits pittoresques de l'art arabe, sol, plantes, animaux ; tout attirait l'attention de nos compatriotes. Aussi, la pensée de créer un établissement où les curiosités locales seraient recueillies et conservées, vint elle, pour ainsi dire, à tout le monde et presque dès le premier jour. Le besoin d'une Bibliothèque publique se faisait encore plus sentir. Car, si chacun comprenait qu'il fallait sauver de l'oubli, mettre à l'abri de la destruction les vénérables vestiges du passé, recueillir les documents propres à jeter quelque lumière sur les questions d'histoire et de science qui intéresse l'Afrique, on comprenait surtout qu'il importait de fournir à la population européenne, venue ici pour fonder un nouvel empire, les éléments de culture intellectuelle propres à l'empêcher de tomber au niveau des Barbaresques dont elle venait de détruire la sinistre puissance*" [15].

Ainsi fut créée la Bibliothèque d'Alger [16], dans une ancienne maison domaniale, sise «*impasse du*

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Soleil», le long de la «*rue Philippe*». Ses locaux, fort étroits, étaient néanmoins suffisants pour contenir le volume des documents existants. A la création, elle ne comptait qu'un seul ouvrage, *« la Grande Encyclopédie»,* offert par un avoué de Paris, M. Pillaut-Debit. Ce n'est que trois ans plus tard, en 1838, qu'un musée y est joint, sous la forme d'un dépôt d'objets assez hétéroclites.

La Bibliothèque déménagea, une première fois, pour s'établir dans de nouveaux locaux répondant à des exigences minimales d'exploitation, situés dans une aile de la grande caserne des Janissaires, rue Bab Azzoun. L'espace bibliothèque prenait place dans une «*salle à double colonnade en marbre*», édifiée, en 1828, par le gendre du Dey *Hussein, Ibrahim Agha* et le musée, dans la salle voisine, construite par *Yahya Agha*, prédécesseur d'*Ibrahim*. Le volume des objets archéologiques, provenant essentiellement des expéditions militaires, ayant dépassé les capacités d'accueil de la salle musée, il fut envisagé, un peu plus tard, en 1845, l'exploitation d'une dizaine de salles dans la Jénina [(17),] comme de lieu de dépôts archéologiques.

La fonction de secrétaire particulier du général Clauzel, exercée par Berbrugger, prend ici toute sa signification, lorsque l'on sait, aussi, qu'il fut nommé dès 1837, membre de la première commission d'exploitation scientifique de la Régence d'Alger [(18).] Pour justifier de la conformité de l'entreprise muséale et anticiper sur les critiques des méthodes employées, Berbrugger fit valoir le principe de l'urgence et de la nécessité du moment «*expédition militaire*» sur toutes autres considérations: *« il fallait d'abord être maître du terrain avant d'y tenter des recherches scientifiques…Les hommes d'étude durent se résigner à suivre strictement les étroits sentiers que nos vaillantes colonnes leur ouvraient ça et là ; il leur fallut donc se borner à glaner sur les traces de l'armée, lorsque souvent ils auraient pu recueillir d'abondantes moissons en s'écartant un peu de la ligne obligée des opérations militaires»* [(19).]

VI. Le Musée D'alger : Une Nouvelle Filiation Patrimoniale

Sorti de l'Ecole des Chartes, Berbrugger était nécessairement imprégné d'un savoir-faire en matière de bibliothèque, de musée et de collections, qui lui aurait permis d'envisager son projet de Bibliothèque-Musée, dans l'esprit du modèle métropolitain, puisque le territoire de la Régence d'Alger était désormais inscrit dans le prolongement de la France, au sens d'une nouvelle filiation patrimoniale, fondée sur le *«droit de conquête».*

Le cas de la Bibliothèque était le plus simple, en termes d'appropriation ; elle se situait, organiquement, dans le prolongement de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (B.N.P) et de son évolution historique. Elle était inscrite dans une politique de conservation et de lecture publique, fondée sur la cohérence d'un processus qui va de la sélection et du choix des livres à celle du prêt, selon la catégorie des lecteurs et surtout l'orientation arrêtée, celle de la formation et du développement de l'esprit colonial. Elle était destinée à un public érudit peu nombreux et plus ou moins spécialisé et une demande sociale pas encore exprimée, notamment en matière d'écrits et d'ouvrages scientifiques et techniques.

En tant qu'institution, la Bibliothèque d'Alger ne souffrait d'aucune ambigüité sur le plan de la filiation et de la transmission patrimoniale, du moins dans la première phase de conquête. Elle était destinée à un public exclusivement européen, servant une mission publique d'intérêt général, reconnue par l'Etat. Elle s'inscrivait dans une seule temporalité «*occidentale*» à l'exclusion de toute autre, le monde de «l'*indigénat*» étant exclu de ce service public.

Il en est tout autrement du Musée, qui appelle un autre type de construction conceptuelle et organique. L'entreprise est plus complexe, s'agissant, notamment, du sens qu'il faut donner à la collection muséale, aux modalités d'acquisition, de conservation et de présentation (exposition). Le Musée d'Alger ne se situe dans aucun prolongement institutionnel métropolitain, qui lui aurait permis de se placer sur une orbite patrimoniale. Il est le produit pur d'une conquête circonscrite à un territoire, «*La Régence d'Alger*» et à une population européenne émigrée. Il commandait, nécessairement, la création d'une nouvelle culture muséale coloniale, différente de la culture métropolitaine, dont le point de départ serait juillet 1830.

Face à cet handicap majeur, Berbrugger procéda à contre-sens du modèle bibliothèque, en investissant dans une filiation, qui n'est plus verticale au sens de la continuité historique et de la transmission patrimoniale, mais au contraire horizontale, pour assurer les solutions de rupture et de séquençage et la fabrication d'une filiation entre un avant «*barbare*» et un après «*civilisationnel»,* entre un temps vide (avant 1830) et un temps plein (après 1830).

Dans le modèle métropolitain, le Musée est institué comme espace public d'appropriation collective des collections, au nom de la nation. C'est dans le sillage du nouveau concept «*patrimoine national*», invention de la révolution de 1789, que, furent crées, en l'espace d'une dizaine d'années (1772-1801), sur délibération des assemblées révolutionnaires, les cinq plus grands musées nationaux [(20).] Ils furent complétés, en 1801, par quinze musées provinciaux ou régionaux. Le paysage muséal français, ancré à l'histoire de la révolution de 1789, se présente en un réseau de Musées nationaux et régionaux, en construction permanente. Un dispositif spécifiquement français, qui n'est pas le résultat d'une évolution conceptuelle du

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Musée, en tant que fait culturel et civilisationnel, comme c'était le cas, dans l'ancien régime jusqu'à Louis XVI [21].

Le Musée français, depuis la révolution 1789, est une juste réponse aux destructions symboliques et aux pillages (vandalisme), pour rassembler et protéger les collections dilapidées et éparpillées. Cette forte initiative de conservation remonte à 1790, date d'invention de la notion *«Monument historique»* [22], un mécanisme juridique de protection des biens de l'ancien régime *«les monuments qui symbolisaient les âges de la barbarie»,* contre la destruction et le vandalisme. Ces biens, considérés, alors, comme des butins de guerre, étaient érigés en Monuments historiques: une forme de nationalisation déguisée de biens privés [23].

En pensant le Musée d'Alger Berbrugger ne pouvait pas ignorer le cheminement historique de la construction muséale en France métropolitaine et le handicap du processus de patrimonialisation des collections *«au nom de la nation»*. La composante *«indigène»* étant exclue, il lui restait à définir les contours et le contenu de cette nouvelle *«nation»* arrivée sur une *«terre neuve»*. Pourquoi et pour qui un musée à Alger ? Cette question demeurait sans réponse, à un moment où les limites même du nouveau territoire conquis n'étaient pas encore arrêtées (colonisation restreinte ou élargie?) et la définition de la population *«européenne»* non encore établie. Il faut souligner ici, que dans la relation musée-public, Berbrugger utilisait judicieusement l'expression *«les curieux»* plutôt que *«le public»* ou *«le visiteur»,* s'inscrivant dans le modèle du cabinet des curiosités plutôt que du musée proprement dit.

VII. Le Collectionnisme «Expéditionnaire» [24]

Après le départ de Clauzel et sous l'administration du général Damrémont, Berbrugger poursuivit sa mission de conservateur de la Bibliothèque-Musée, en démissionnât du poste-clé de rédacteur-en-chef du journal le *«Moniteur algérien»*. Il fut appelé à assurer une nouvelle mission, qui le conforta dans son entreprise de construction muséale, au sein de la première commission d'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie, créée par le maréchal Soult, duc de Dalmatie, président du conseil et ministre de la guerre qui, en concertation et en accord avec l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, avait initié l'idée *«militaro-académique»,* d'une conquête conçue sous le double aspect de la pénétration militaire et de la connaissance, en arrimant l'exploration scientifique à l'expédition militaire [25].

A la veille du siège de Constantine, Danrémont avait pris un arrêté de création d'une commission scientifique, au sein même de l'armée expéditionnaire, qu'il chargea *«d'explorer dans le double intérêt de la science et des arts le pays traversé par l'armée, de recueillir les manuscrits, les inscriptions, les objets d'art et d'antiquité qui pourront être découverts»*. Berbrugger constituait, dans cette entreprise, le principal maître d'œuvre, étant lui même le rédacteur du rapport préliminaire de la commission. L'arrêté de Danrémont constitue, ainsi, le premier acte fondateur d'une politique de constitution de collections de biens culturels ciblés *«manuscrits»*, *«inscriptions»* et *«objets d'art et d'antiquité»,* mise en œuvre sans aucune forme d'exigence scientifique et technique que celle de l'encadrement par l'Armée.

Moritz Wagner, un allemand, naturaliste et voyageur scientifique de renom, qui était membre de la première commission scientifique, nous renseigne au mieux sur les caractéristiques et les objectifs de cette commission (1841). Il a été intégré à cette dernière par le général Damrémont lui-même, aux conditions suivantes : *«Monsieur, Je vous préviens que conformément à mon arrêté en date de ce jour, je vous ai nommé Membre de la Commission scientifique chargée de suivre l'armée expéditionnaire qui se porte contre Constantine. Mr. le Général Perrégaux, qui est le président de cette Commission, vous donnera des instructions pour accomplir la mission qui vous est confiée…»*

M. Wagner, avait, en effet, participé à la 2ème expédition militaire de Constantine; il offre la garantie de livrer un point de vue quelque peu désintéressé sur la commission. Celle-ci devait avoir pour objectifs d'*«étudier les antiquités, mesurer les altitudes, collectionner toutes les raretés botaniques et zoologiques, afin de rédiger, une fois l'expédition achevée, un mémoire sur tout ce qui pouvait avoir un intérêt pour la science et être digne d'être mentionné*.[26]. M. Wagner insistait particulièrement sur la spécificité de cette commission dont les membres étaient investis d'un rôle d'abord militaire, avec l'uniforme, le grade et la ration alimentaire. Ces témoignages sont forts instructifs pour le sujet qui nous intéresse ici, celui de la constitution des collections et de leur devenir.

Cette première expérience d'exploration scientifique avait pour support une sorte de manuel pour *«les recherches archéologiques à entreprendre dans la province de Constantine et la régence d'Alger»,* rédigé en novembre 1837 par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, à l'intention des *«officiers-archéologues de l'Armée d'Afrique»*.

Dans ce guide pratique, outre des instructions classiques, étaient consignés les itinéraires avec des indications topographiques ainsi que des exigences de précision en matière de dessin, de croquis, de relevé et de collecte d'informations. Un intérêt particulier était porté aux infrastructures antiques (voies, ponts, bornes…) et aux inscriptions et monnaies. La plus

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grande attention était accordée à la précision et la justesse des données et informations, nécessaires et utiles, d'abord, à la stratégie de pénétration du territoire et ensuite à la science proprement dite. C'est un corpus de documents papiers (cartes, dessins, relevés, croquis), détaché de son support substantiel : le matériau.

Qu'en est-il, alors, du matériau (objets mobiliers et immobiliers), support matériel du savoir, dans le mode opératoire de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres ? Quelles étaient les modalités et conditions d'accès, d'exploitation, de collecte, de transfert et de dépôt de ce matériau ? Quel était son devenir et qui étaient les collectionneurs ? Ces questions renvoient nécessairement à des responsabilités régaliennes et éthiques que l'Académie ne voulait assumer, laissant à l'armée le soin d'y apporter les réponses requises, en l'absence de toute législation en la matière. Nous rappelons; ici, l'arrêté du 26 avril 1841, pris par le général Lapasset (1817-1875), qui disposait que *«Les prises faites par un corps ou une colonne expéditionnaire seront réparties ainsi qu'il suit: un tiers sera distribué aux troupes, les deux autres tiers appartiendront par portions égales au Trésor public et à la caisse coloniale »* [(27)].

Aux termes de l'année 1839, une haute instance d'investigation scientifique, appelée «*Commission d'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*» fut créée sous l'autorité du Ministre de la guerre. Elle était chargée d'activités de recherches, de reconnaissance, de relevés et de prélèvements, sous l'encadrement du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques du Ministère de l'instruction publique et le patronage de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Elle débuta ses travaux en 1840 et remis rapport en 1842. Elle comptait une vingtaine de membres, entre académiciens et officiers de l'armée d'Afrique, parmi lesquels Berbrugger était chargé de la dimension archéologique et historique.

Une position qui lui permit de se déployer dans la durée, sur un territoire de plus en plus élargi et un spectre plus vaste d'interventions avec, toutefois, un inconvénient de taille: il ne s'agissait plus d'une simple activité de collecte, de ramassage et de transfert d'objets et de documents, mais aussi et surtout de la production de la connaissance et du discours scientifiques, dans le cadre d'un travail collectif aux exigences de rigueur scientifique et dont les résultats sont consignés dans des rapports et des publications scientifiques, un corpus scientifique nécessaire au renforcement et à la consolidation du projet colonial.

L'exploration scientifique se réalisait, ainsi, dans le sillage des colonnes expéditionnaires, derrière les officiers du génie et des ingénieurs géographes qui balisaient le terrain et traçaient les premières topographies. Les travaux étaient, toutefois, circonscrits à la seule région littorale, la mieux sécurisée ; ils prirent fin en 1841. Par l'effet de publicité qu'ils produisirent sur l'importance des richesses archéologiques, le gouverneur général Bugeaud fut amené à rédiger une circulaire appelant à la « *conservation des monuments historiques et des restes d'antiquités*» [(28)]. Il fit ensuite volte face en instruisant le transfert des collections archéologiques en France pour doter le nouveau Musée algérien du Louvre [(29)]. Une instruction qui n'était assortie d'aucune mesure de protection légale et de conservation; elle s'inscrivait, toutefois, dans l'esprit muséologique impérial: les collections coloniales constituant un butin de conquête, qui témoigne de la «*grandeur et de la puissance*» d'un empire. Elle allait dans le même sens que la décision du Duc de Dalmatie, prise trois ans plus tôt, pour transférer à Paris, les antiquités «*spectaculaires*» de Constantine ainsi que l'arc de triomphe de Djemila [(30)]. Le Musée algérien du Louvre et l'arc de Triomphe de Djemila réalisaient, le plus surement, une filiation patrimoniale au nom du droit de conquête, ce que ne pouvait réaliser le Musée central d'Alger, tel que pensé par Berbrugger, par déficit d'appropriation.

VIII. Le Musée Algérien du Louvre

Le Musée algérien du Louvre a été crée en 1845. Il était établi à proximité du Musée égyptien, pour recevoir les collections algériennes les plus spectaculaires. De ce qui était exposé, il y avait des inscriptions latines, des sculptures, des mosaïques, des chapiteaux et autres fragments de colonnes, répartis entre la salle d'Afrique, la salle des Antiquités chrétiennes et les paliers de l'Escalier Dur. En périphérie de ce Musée, réservé aux objets et œuvres d'art et d'architecture et soumis aux conventions de la gestion académique, gravitait une panoplie de musées, réceptacles d'autres catégories d'objets ethnographiques et d'artisanat, faisant partie des collections coloniales.

Ces musées, situés, généralement dans les villes portuaires, avaient acquis une vocation plus commerciale que culturelle, assurant des intérêts agricole et industriel, notamment à travers les espaces d'exposition. Nous citerons le Musée de la France d'outre-mer de l'Institut national d'agronomie coloniale, célèbre par ses collections d'art indigène et arts appliqués; le Musée colonial ou exposition permanente des colonies du Ministère de la marine; le Musée industriel et commercial et des colonies de Lille; le Musée colonial de la chambre de commerce de Lyon, le Musée colonial de la Ville de Lyon; le Musée colonial de la chambre de commerce de Marseille; les Instituts coloniaux de Rouen et du Havre. Une profusion de musées et de collections privés, appartenant à des militaires, des sociétés savantes et des missionnaires, participait du corpus des mobiliers d'intérêt

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archéologique, ethnographique et artisanal, transféré en métropole depuis 1830.

IX. L'idée de Musée Dans la Perspective du «Royaume Arabe»

La phase de conquête (1830-1848) était marquée du sceau des expéditions militaires, dans leur forme la plus violente mais qui, paradoxalement, sous le couvert académique des commissions dites d'exploration scientifique, avaient ouvert le champ à l'intérêt archéologique. L'emprise militaire était tellement prégnante, face à un corps réduit de scientifiques, d'ailleurs minutieusement choisis, ne pouvait prétendre au label des expéditions d'Égypte, menée sous un directoire (1798-1801) et de Morée sous le roi Charles X (1829).

En 1848, une nouvelle s'annonçait, celle de l'annexion de l'Algérie à la deuxième République française (1848-1851) puis au Second empire (1851-1870). Le passage de la Monarchie de juillet au régime républicain, voit l'élection du neveu de Napoléon premier, Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (Napoléon III), à la présidence de la République. Avec l'instauration du Second empire, en 1851, le même Napoléon III est proclamé Roi. La question algérienne allait connaître un autre énoncé, en totale rupture avec les objectifs de la conquête. *«L'Algérie est un boulet attaché aux pieds de la France»,* soulignait-il, pour se démarquer de la stratégie de la colonisation telle que conçue par les français d'Algérie.

C'est sous son règne que cessa la gouvernance militaire du territoire, avec l'établissement d'une administration civile à travers, notamment, la nomination d'un gouverneur général et la départementalisation du territoire. Les dispositifs institutionnels, juridiques et financiers en matière d'architecture, d'urbanisme et d'archéologie furent revus, tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne les fouilles, la propriété des découvertes, l'occupation du terrain, l'attribution des subventions, et la conservation des documents. Des sociétés savantes se constituèrent à Constantine, Alger et Oran; elles recrutèrent parmi les médecins, avocats, ingénieurs et architectes, qui jetèrent les premiers jalons d'une conscience coloniale d'un héritage archéologique romain et paléochrétien, celui qui participait à la légitimation et la justification de la présence française en Algérie.

Cet engouement soudain pour l'archéologie ne procédait pas directement d'une commande sociale ou d'un intérêt scientifique et d'érudition. *«On ne peut guère s'occuper d'art, on a bien autre chose à faire",* disait M. McCarthy [(31)]. Il relevait de la personnalité même de Napoléon III qui, d'une part, s'employait à une mise sur orbite de l'œuvre napoléonienne d'Egypte et de Morée, comme œuvre de prestige d'empire, avec comme arrière fond son projet de *«Royaume arabe»* et, d'autre part, s'y investissait directement pour la réalisation de son ouvrage sur l'*«Histoire de Jules César».* Cette entreprise imposait, d'elle-même, un choix judicieux de chercheurs et d'hommes de science de grande notoriété. Ainsi après un règne *«militaro-académique»,* marqué par une approche désordonnée, sans support épistémologique et méthodologique de l'archéologie, vont apparaître quelques personnalités remarquables, par l'originalité de leurs travaux, qui annonçait véritablement le début d'une science archéologique en Algérie.

Dans ses premières expressions officielles, la recherche archéologique, en Algérie, se résumait à une activité de collecte et d'étude des inscriptions latines, sur instruction du Ministère de l'instruction publique, dans la perspective d'un arrimage de l'exploration scientifique coloniale aux institutions de recherches traditionnelles, ici l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres et son rôle de valorisation et de diffusion des connaissances dans les domaines de l'histoire, de la philologie, de l'archéologie, de la linguistique et de la littérature, ainsi que sa mission de contrôle de la recherche à l'étranger et d'avis sur la nomination aux postes d'enseignement et de recherche des grandes institutions françaises.

Trois personnages ont marqué, par leurs travaux, la connaissance de l'antiquité de l'Afrique du nord, d'abord Léon Renier (1809-1885), puis un peu plus tard, Antoine Héron de Villefosse (1845-1919) et René Cagnat (1852-1937). Le premier, historien, spécialiste d'épigraphie latine, orienté vers la philologie et l'archéologie, fut chargé, entre 1850 et 1852, de recueillir les inscriptions romaines de l'Algérie. Le second, élève pensionnaire de l'Ecole des Chartes, attaché au Musée du Louvre et également professeur en épigraphie latine à l'Ecole des hautes études – ayant initié, entre autres, l'élève Stéphane Gsell au déchiffrement et à l'interprétation des inscriptions - Il a été chargé de relever les inscriptions qui venaient d'être découvertes dans la province de Constantine. Un passage à Tipasa lui permis de relever quelques inscriptions. Le troisième, normalien, agrégé de grammaire, épigraphiste, latiniste et spécialiste de l'histoire du monde romain, fut chargé de mission en Tunisie, par le Ministère de l'instruction publique. En Algérie, il occupa, entre 1887 et 1914, le poste d'inspecteur général des missions archéologiques de l'Algérie. Le premier corpus des connaissances de l'Antiquité de l'Afrique du nord, est le fait de ces trois chercheurs. Leur avis et points de vue étaient sollicités par l'administration et le monde scientifique. Ils sont les fondateurs de la recherche dans le domaine des antiquités en Algérie.

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X. Le «Musée» Sous le Second Empire

En 1858, le Prince Jérôme, chargé du Ministère de l'Algérie et des colonies, émettait de nouvelles instructions en matière de recherches archéologiques «*noter avec soin, sur les cartes et plans de leur subdivision* [officiers de bureaux topographiques] *la direction des voies romaines, l'emplacement des ruines, des bornes milliaires, et de tous les monuments que l'on pourra découvrir. Ce travail sera d'une grande utilité pour les études archéologiques, et permettra, dans un prochain avenir, d'asseoir d'une manière définitive les bases d'une géographie complète de l'Afrique romaine*». La même année, il rendait obligatoire la création, dans chaque ville, de musées municipaux. L'idée de musée central à Alger, si chère à A. Berbrugger, est sitôt rattrapée par le besoin de décentralisation, qui donna un sens et une plus grande légitimité à l'établissement d'une Algérie coloniale distincte de la métropole.

Le Second empire était annonciateur d'une volonté de dépassement de l'ordre ancien. Le maréchal Randon, gouverneur général de l'Algérie, fut appelé à développer une nouvelle politique d'investigation et de valorisation archéologiques. Il commença par rétablir, en 1854, la mission d'«*Inspecteur général des bâtiments civils en Algérie»,* confiée en 1847 à M. Charles Texier mais qui fut dissoute une année après. Elle fut reprise sous un nouveau libellé: «*Inspection générale des monuments historiques et des musées archéologiques de l'Algérie*». C'est Berbrugger qui en occupa le poste en 1854.

En 1856, sur instigation de Randon, fut créée la «*Société Historique Algérienne»,* une société savante, dotée d'une revue scientifique, la «*Revue africaine* ». En guise d'exposé des motifs de la création de cette société savante et de sa revue africaine, Berbrugger, qui fut nommé président, écrivait ceci: « *Il y a, en Europe, des hommes éminents dans la science historique et qui s'occupent du passé de l'Algérie avec une abondance de ressources littéraires que notre colonie ne possédera peut-être jamais. A notre tour, nous possédons ce qui leur manque ; nous avons les objets d'étude sous les yeux, et, pour ainsi dire, toujours à portée de la main. Cet avantage-là vaut bien l'autre ; et la conséquence à tirer de cet état de choses, c'est que le travailleur algérien n'est pas l'inutile doublure, mais le complément naturel de celui d'Europe. Chacun d'eux fera ce que l'autre ne peut faire, et leur réunion offrira la solution complète du problème d'organisation des études historiques à entreprendre sur l'Afrique septentrionale. Là se trouve la raison d'être de notre société et de notre journal ; là sera, nous osons l'espérer, la cause de notre succès* ». Ces propos, qui reprennent un document circulaire de Randon - président honoraire – explicitent la nature du nouveau rapport à établir avec la Métropole: « *vous avez les ressources littéraires», «nous avons les objets d'étude sous les yeux».* Une forme de chantage déguisé qui va gouverner toute la politique de la recherche archéologique en Algérie.

C'est dans ce contexte de renouveau que la Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger passa du Département de la guerre au Ministère de l'instruction publique, par un arrêté du 16 aout 1848. Une plus grande régularité de fonctionnement et de budgétisation fut assurée aux deux établissements qui déménagèrent, une fois de plus, pour s'établir dans une maison mauresque, autrefois habitée par le consul américain Shaler, un palais donnant à la fois sur la mer et sur la «*rue des Lotophages n°18* », au quartier de la Marine. Ce palais n'existe plus. La Bibliothèque-Musée, s'était établie, ensuite, en 1863, dans l'ancienne résidence du Dey, à Dar Mustapha Pacha, palais de style mauresque, sur la rue de l'Etat-major où elle y demeura jusqu'en 1958, avant d'être transférée, dans des locaux modernes, au quartier des Tagarins, avenue actuelle du Dr Frantz Fanon.

XI. La Bibliothèque-Musée D'alger: Un Premier Bilan

En 1861 et devant les nécessités de bilan et d'objectifs de réalisation, un état des lieux de la Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger fut établi par A. Berbrugger, dans lequel il déclina l'organigramme des deux établissements. La Bibliothèque était organisée en quatre sections (Imprimés, Manuscrits, Cartes et Plans; Papiers et documents divers) et le Musée aussi (Antiques; Monuments indigènes, épigraphiques et autres; Objets d'art arabe; Histoire naturelle). La section Antiques, la plus importante, était subdivisée en six provinces (Oran, Alger, Constantine, Tunisie, Tripolitaine, provenance inconnue).

Il est utile d'examiner la consistance du fond littéraire de la Bibliothèque pour la seule section Manuscrit, en ayant à l'esprit la déclaration de Berbrugger, prononcée le 23 avril 1863, à la séance inaugurale de l'Assemblée générale de la Société Historique Algérienne: « *Dans ce pays …sans savants, sans traditions savantes et même sans livres".* La section Manuscrit comptait, selon la présentation du même Berbrugger, 1100 manuscrits dont plus de 400 recueillis lors des expéditions de Mascara, Tlemcen et Constantine*. « Ces 1100 volumes de manuscrits contiennent à peu près 3000 traités ou opuscules sur presque toutes les branches des connaissances humaines, du point de vue arabe. Un sixième de ces traités, etc., sont relatifs à la religion et la vie de Mahomet : là se classent plusieurs exemplaires du Coran, les divers livres de la Sonna le tout accompagné des exégèses habituelles… Après les ouvrages de théologie on compte parmi les plus nombreux ceux qui se rapportent à la législation et comprennent les textes*

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des deux sectes d'Hanifa et de Malek ainsi que les commentaires et les gloses des plus savants docteurs. Les traités relatifs à la langue arabe en général, à la grammaire élémentaire, à la rhétorique, logique, etc abondent surtout. La poésie idéale ou technique est représentée par 3590 poèmes ou pièces de vers en différents genre. 60 manuscrits appartiennent à l'histoire, la géographie, les voyages, les contes etc., enfin il y a des ouvrages sur la médecine, la philosophie, l'astronomie, la géographie, la physique, la métaphysique, la magie, l'astrologie etc. » (1861).

Il va de soi, que la collecte de ce corpus de manuscrits et d'ouvrages, est le produit d'un processus de confiscation et de dépossession, au passage des colonnes militaires, de Bibliothèques musulmanes et de leurs fonds précieux de manuscrits qu'elles conservaient et qui témoigne de l'ancrage profond d'une culture d'érudition, développée dans les mosquées, les medersas et les établissements confériques. L'essentiel de ces Bibliothèques «*khizanates el kuttub*» a été détruit par cette pratique d'effacement de la mémoire de la filiation institutionnelle. Ainsi, le fonds initial de la Bibliothèque-Musée relevait d'une politique d'acquisition fondée sur la de la collecte contingente et occasionnelle, qui ne pouvait ou plutôt ne devait se soucier d'inventaire et de catalogage.

XII. L'idée de Musées Communaux

En 1859, dans « *Instructions pour la recherche des antiquités en Algérie»*, paru dans la « *Revue algérienne et coloniale»,* Léon Renier fit un véritable réquisitoire sur la pratique muséale en Algérie, dénonçant les opérations de transfert des antiquités vers le Musée d'Alger et la métropole, qui leur ont fait perdre une grande partie de leur la valeur, les réduisant à de simples objets de curiosité sans signification historique. Dans un long plaidoyer scientifique, il insista sur le fait que certains objets n'ont d'importance que par leur intérêt local, telles les inscriptions municipales et les éléments de bornage, qui ont été maladroitement acheminés vers le Musée d'Alger ou transférés en métropole.

Le problème de la concentration archéologique (Musée central) a été abordé, par l'auteur - au-delà des aspects scientifique et éthique - d'un point de vue politique et patrimonial, dans un argumentaire qui fait du nouveau colon français le citoyen d'une deuxième France *« les inscriptions antiques en général sont tout ce qui nous reste des archives des cités romaines, qu'elles sont la propriété des communes françaises qui se forment aujourd'hui sur le territoire de ces cités, et qu'en dépouiller ces communes, c'est leur enlever les premiers titres de leur histoire».*

C'est à coup sûr, dans l'esprit de l'instruction du Prince Jérôme que l'auteur s'est investi pour infléchir l'option centralisatrice de Berbrugger et libérer l'initiative des musées communaux. Pour illustrer ses propos, il cita les exemples des sites de Lambèse, de Constantine et de Cherchell, qui n'avaient cessés d'être *«massacrés»* qu'à la suite d'une prise de conscience locale et la création de musées communaux. C'est, concluait-il, *«ce qu'il faudrait faire pour toutes les villes situées sur l'emplacement ou dans le voisinage de ruines considérables, ce qui a été fait pour Constantine et pour Cherchell, et il n'est pas douteux qu'on ne voie s'y reproduire le même phénomène, phénomène dont les études archéologiques ne seront pas seules à profiter, il est permis d'en faire la remarque, mais qui a aussi une importance politique, car il est un indice du développement des mœurs municipales, de la naissance de cet amour de la patrie locale, dont le défaut est une des principales maladies des colonies nouvelles».*

L'option des musées communaux, préconisée par l'auteur, était assortie de recommandations méthodologiques et opérationnelles, celles d'abord de confier l'administration du musée à la municipalité et la surveillance et le contrôle à un conservateur spécialisé, qui serait, en même temps, chargé de veiller à la conservation des monuments d'architecture. Ce fonctionnaire devait tenir un registre dans lequel sont indiqués *«l'époque de l'entrée de chaque monument au musée, sa provenance exacte, le nom de la personne qui l'aurait découverte, celui du donateur quand le monument aurait été offert à la ville par un particulier, et ces diverses indications devraient être reproduites sur des étiquettes, placées sur les monuments eux-mêmes, de manière à pouvoir être lues par les visiteurs».*

Nous comprenons parfaitement le sens de ces indications, allusion faite au Musée central d'Alger, qui ne répondait à aucune norme muséographique et règle de conservation. Dans la réalité et en arrière fond de cette option locale, se dessinait un nouveau paysage où le militaire et l'administratif sont de plus en plus rattrapés par une société civile – les colons – qui voulait s'impliquer directement dans un effort de construction d'une mémoire et d'une histoire coloniales, tout en bénéficiant des retombées économiques d'un tourisme fondé sur la valorisation des richesses archéologiques.

Une rivalité voire une concurrence s'était installée entre une option centralisatrice, celle du Musée central d'Alger, voire du Musée algérien du Louvre et une option libérale, inscrite dans le nouvel esprit coloniste, encouragée par les réformes introduites, qui annonçaient la fin de l'utopie du *«Royaume arabe »,* avec l'adoption du Senatus consulte de 1865, la création des communes de plein exercice à la française, l'instauration du code de l'indigénat, qui excluait les *«indigènes»* de la citoyenneté française, le décret de Crémieux qui ouvrait la nationalité française aux juifs d'Algérie et celui qui donnait la nationalité aux

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européens ayant au moins résidé trois ans consécutifs en Algérie.

Les options arrêtées, qui relevaient plus d'un jeu de rapport de force que d'une évolution dans les idées et les entendements, étaient sous-tendues par un discours scientifique et académique qui, pour la première fois, introduisait des considérations patrimoniales de conservation. Fallait-il conforter l'idée de transfert des antiquités à Alger ou à Paris, au motif de leur protection contre les destructions où au contraire initier une politique de multiplication et d'une mise en réseau de musées locaux? Pour la première fois, aussi, il est fait état de conditions de mise au jour, de transport et de stockage des antiquités découvertes. L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, ne pouvant pas être en reste de cette préoccupation, se prononçait fermement contre le déplacement de documents hors de leur cadre, considérant que le déracinement enlevait leur signification aux objets.

Le souci de la *«conservation sur place»* ne s'énonçait, en fait, que d'un point de vue idéologique car, dans les faits, le préjudice causé aux antiquités commençait par l'acte même de destruction des premières couches archéologiques de l'époque médiévale pour accéder, très vite, aux inscriptions latines, aux mosaïques de l'antiquité tardive et aux niveaux dits de la *« belle époque »,* de la période romaine. La course aux inscriptions latines était encouragée pour, d'une part, réaliser une filiation entre les données de l'archéologie et les premiers établissements coloniaux et, d'autre part, répondre à une commande métropolitaine en concurrence avec les autres pays européens notamment l'Allemagne. Des guides archéologiques pratiques de relevé des inscriptions et de dépose de mosaïques étaient distribués aux personnes désireuses de pratiquer des fouilles, sans autres conditions et prescriptions de protection.

Cette *«prise de conscience»* qui présidait au choix de l'option *«conservation sur place»,* préconisée par Léon Renier en 1859 et au-delà des aspects purement scientifiques et techniques, signifiait, politiquement, un changement de vision, depuis une France qui voulait, par la collection nationale, montrer la réalisation d'une œuvre coloniale (Musée d'Alger et du Louvre), vers une deuxième France, la colonie, qui voulait plutôt se construire par elle-même et pour elle-même. Une ferveur s'était, en effet, emparée des associations et sociétés savantes, de certains gros propriétaires et des élus communaux, pour la constitution de collections et la création de musées locaux, dont certains furent convertis en musées municipaux grâce, notamment à la loi de 1900 qui accorda à l'Algérie une autonomie financière limitée, garantissant la durabilité de l'entreprise, c'est à dire l'ancrage du musée à sa géographie.

A côté du seul Musée national, spécialisé dans les Antiquités algériennes et d'Art musulman, établi à Alger, quinze musées locaux furent crées, entre musées communaux et musées de sites. Les premiers comprenaient: «Aumale», «Bône», «Bougie», «Cherchell», «Constantine», «Guelma», «Lambèse», «Oran», «Philippeville», «Sétif», «Tébessa», «Tlemcen» (le seul Musée communal dédié aux Antiquités musulmanes). Les second comptaient: «Djemila», «Timgad» et «Tipasa»; qui relevaient directement des Monuments historiques et étaient financés directement par le gouvernement général.

XIII. Le «Musée» Sous la IIIème République

C'est dans le contexte des grandes réformes républicaines de la IIIème République et des lois constitutionnelles en faveur d'un nouveau régime démocratique, qu'une nouvelle approche coloniale fut introduite, porteuse d'un nouveau regard, laïque et rationaliste, fondé sur la philosophie du progrès et du positivisme scientifique. Il se traduisit par la création, en 1879, de quatre Écoles Supérieures spécialisées à Alger : médecine, pharmacie, sciences, lettres et droit, qui se transformèrent, en 1909, en une Université. La création de l'Ecole supérieure des lettres d'Alger, en 1880, puis sa transformation en Faculté des lettres, en 1909, constitua un acte fondateur d'une rupture dans le mode de production du savoir et de la connaissance, jusque-là, gouverné par un système qui mettait en articulation les sociétés savantes, la Bibliothèque, le Musée d'Alger et les autres musées. Une rupture qui s'est concrétisait par une refonte des institutions et un changement d'hommes.

En 1880, un service des monuments historiques et une commission des monuments historiques furent crées en Algérie, annonçant une volonté de mise en ordre institutionnelle dans les champs de l'archéologie et des monuments. S'agissant des musées et des collections, un état des lieux, pour une refonte organisationnelle et un redéploiement sur de nouvelles bases institutionnelles, était commandé par le Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, au moment même où, en métropole, se préparait la publication de l'Album sur les Musées de France et dans la Régence de Tunis, celle des collections du Musée Alaoui. Pour l'Algérie, qui devait se mettre sur le diapason de la nouvelle République, c'est un regard extérieur qui fut sollicité, en la personne de R.M. de La Blanchère, un ancien élève de l'Ecole française de Rome, établi à Tunis. Sa mission consistait à réaliser un diagnostic et envisager un catalogue des Musées et Collections de l'Algérie.

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XIV. Le Rapport Accablant Sur les Musées Algériens (R.M. de la Blanchère)

Le Rapport de La Blanchère sur la situation des musées algériens ainsi qu'un premier tome, sur la description du Musée d'Alger, de la série des «*Musées et Collections de l'Algérie*» (1890), réalisé par M. Doublet, ancien membre de l'Ecole d'Athènes, furent remis, en 1890, au Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. Le rapport est un véritable pamphlet sur la pratique muséale en Algérie depuis 1830. Il est utile de reprendre ici, l'essentiel des observations et remarques qui y sont contenues, pour évaluer la nature et l'ampleur des manquements et des dommages constatés. Dans son introduction au sujet, La Blanchère avertissait qu'il n'avait pas la prétention de refaire les catalogues et les inventaires, en précisant, cependant, qu' «*un catalogue ne se fait utilement que quand tout est logé, classé, et rangé d'une manière définitive, ce qui n'a encore eu lieu nulle part*» et que «*cette comptabilité* [inventaire] *est l'affaire des conservateurs, et devrait être depuis longtemps tenue*». Son travail consistait, disait-il, à « *rendre un compte exact de ce que l'établissement* [musée] *renferme, et d'en rendre compte au public*».

La première observation, d'ordre général, qui résume le diagnostic, est sans appel: «*Les musées d'Algérie sont plus riches qu'on ne le pense, et plus riches qu'ils ne le paraissent. Ils devraient l'être cent fois plus… La millième partie des trésors qui ont été barbarement détruits, ou que l'on a laissés se perdre, depuis un demi-siècle, dans notre colonie, suffisait à former d'incomparables collections*». Sans le citer nommément, la critique visait directement A. Berbrugger «*Elle* [l'Algérie] *n'a jamais eu de personnel capable, n'ayant pas d'autre soin que de sauvegarder les restes de son passé, et dévoué exclusivement à cette tâche unique. Il n'y a pas de Musée central* ». Le Musée central «*…n'est ni un musée de l'Algérie, ni un musée de la province d'Alger : une grosse part des morceaux qu'il contient, et presque les plus beaux, viennent de la Tunisie* ».

Il compare les musées de provinces à des cabinets de curiosités « [Ils] *se sont enrichis au hasard, sans aucun plan, sans aucun ordre. Ils ne donnent nullement l'idée des antiquités du pays* ». Le Musée de Constantine « *contient presque autant de bibelots italiens que de trouvailles africaines. Il n'offre pas une inscription libyque, alors que presque tout le corps de cette épigraphie singulière vient de ce seul département … la collection lapidaire est-elle reléguée dans un square, exposée aux coups de cailloux des enfants, et ses pièces les plus importantes, quelques très belles inscriptions, sont-elles dans un coin perdu où la terre commence à les envahir* ». Le Musée de Cherchell « *est un fouillis, jeté par tas dans un vilain enclos, en plein air, si ce n'est qu'un hangar misérable abrite tant soit peu quelques superbes sculptures, recollées au hasard et groupées comme des moellons* ». Le Musée de Bône quant à lui, « *il serait mieux de n'en pas parler. Dans un magasin, demi-sous-sol, qui, par un soupirail, reçoit les balayures d'une cour d'école, se cachent sous une épaisse couche d'ordure quelques vitrines désemparées, où moisissent pêle-mêle des oiseaux empaillés, des antiquités, des échantillons de minéraux, et près desquelles sont posés des pierres et des marbres qu'il est impossible d'examiner*».

Lorsqu'il procéda, par comparaison, en déclarant que «*Nulle part, comme au Musée Alaoui, on n'a cherché à rappeler les cités anciennes de la province, chacune par quelque inscription, quelque monument typique, autour duquel se groupent les objets de même provenance; les emplacements les plus célèbres dans l'histoire de l'archéologie algérienne ne sont souvent représentés dans aucun des musées d'Algérie* », La Blanchère s'était placé dans une situation paradoxale voire antinomique des objectifs d'une colonisation de peuplement, qui justifierait « *l'indifférence des pouvoirs publics* », selon ses propres propos: « *Ni l'État ni les départements ni les villes n'ont accompli tout leur devoir. Il est tard aujourd'hui : on peut encore très bien faire, mais plus jamais on ne fera ce qui était facile autrefois*».

XV. R.M. de la Blanchère: Fondateur D'une Muséographie Algérienne

A l'invitation de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, l'Ecole française de Rome - active depuis 1875 - se mettait, pour la première fois, dès l'année 1889, sur l'orbite Nord-africaine. Il s'agissait surtout d'accueillir, parmi les doctorants et jeunes chercheurs agrées, pour des séjours d'études en Italie, les candidats éligibles à un destin Nord-africain, plus particulièrement algérien, selon des prédispositions et un profil qui correspondraient à la politique en vigueur en matière d'archéologie, de monuments et de musées. C'est par cette caractéristique, ajoutée à l'expérience acquise en Tunisie et au Rapport qu'il venait d'établir sur l'Algérie, que La Blanchère fut nommé, en 1891, Directeur du Musée d'Alger, poste qu'il occupa jusqu'en 1900, en s'employant à sa réorganisation selon les normes en vigueur de la muséographie, à l'image du Musée Alaoui de Tunis.

Le Musée se voit séparé administrativement de la Bibliothèque. Nous sommes déjà loin de l'ère Berbrugger qui, rappelons le, avait été célébrée en grande pompe en 1865, au siège même de la Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger, où Berbrugger, pour service rendu, était élevé à la dignité de commandeur de la Légion d'honneur par l'Empereur Napoléon lui-même, alors en voyage en Algérie. C'est le Ministre de

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la marine et des colonies, Chasseloup-Laubat qui mit fin à sa carrière. Il décéda un peu plus tard, en 1869 à Alger. La gouvernance Berbrugger, qui avait traversé la Monarchie de juillet, la deuxième République et le Second empire (un demi-siècle), pris ainsi fin sans encombres.

A la prise de fonction de La Blanchère, l'exigüité des locaux du Palais Mustapha Pacha, les mauvaises conditions de conservation (fragilité des structures, faible luminosité), qui commandaient une restauration urgente – elle n'aura jamais lieu - avaient empêché la mise en place d'un dispositif muséal à la dimension d'un musée central. C'est bien plus tard, en 1893, qu'un nouveau musée fut crée, par le Ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts, à Mustapha supérieur, dans une maison occupée jadis par une école normale primaire (au sein du jardin pittoresque qui pris le nom de parc de Gallant). Ce musée était organisé en deux sections, l'une spécialisée dans la période antique et l'autre dans la période musulmane où *«section Art musulman».* Il abritait, en outre, le fonds de l'exposition permanente des produits de l'Algérie (armes, objets d'art, trophées…).

XVI. Le Musée Stéphane Gsell : Entre Rupture et Renouveau

L'évocation du nom de Stéphane Gsell résume, à elle seule tout un schéma conceptuel et méthodologique de l'enseignement et de la recherche dans les domaines de l'archéologie, des monuments et des musées en Algérie, celui qui détermina toutes les politiques entreprises dans ces domaines. S. Gsell s'établit, sans partage, sur tous les espaces et domaines d'intérêt où, jadis, régnaient en maître des compétences qui investissaient dans des disciplines et des thématiques bien encadrées. Le remplacement de R.M. de La Blanchère voire son effacement par son collègue de l'Ecole française de Rome, S. Gsell, est significatif d'une politique de rupture avec un ordre établi et d'annonce de nouvelles orientations, en phase avec le projet coloniste de la IIIème république.

Gsell fut appelé, en 1891 à l'Ecole supérieure des lettres d'Alger, pour enseigner l'archéologie, en qualité de chargé de cours. Il fut, ensuite, en 1902, nommé inspecteur des antiquités de l'Algérie et directeur du Musée d'Alger puis, en 1919, inspecteur général des musées archéologiques de l'Algérie. Un dispositif institutionnel qui aboutit, en 1923, à la création de la Direction des antiquités (Service des antiquités), une institution du gouvernement général de l'Algérie. Cette évolution institutionnelle, concomitante d'une progression fulgurante de la carrière de Gsell, qui nous rappelle le parcours d'A. Berbrugger, appelle à un examen et un approfondissement du profil et de l'itinéraire de ce personnage, qui a marqué l'histoire de l'archéologie, des monuments et musées algériens.

S. Gsell est né en 1864 à Paris, dans une famille d'origine alsacienne et de religion protestante. Elève de l'Ecole normale supérieure, en 1883, il devint membre de l'Ecole française de Rome, entre 1886 et 1890, puis membre correspondant de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, en 1902, et membre permanent en 1923. Après quatre années d'études à l'Ecole française de Rome, il obtint son Doctorat, en 1894, avec une thèse principale consacrée au règne de l'empereur Domitien, qu'il acheva en 1892 et une thèse secondaire sur Tipasa, «*De Tipasa Mauretaniae Caesariensis urbe*» qu'il termina en 1894.

Il a eu le privilège, lors de son séjour à Rome, de fouiller une partie d'une importante nécropole étrusque du nom de Vulci, située à Montalto di Castro, en province de Viterbe, région Latium, en Italie centrale [(32)]. Cette fouille dura 5 mois, temps utile pour S. Gsell, qui s'exerça, sans relâche, à la pratique de la fouille archéologique, dans le sens entendu de l'époque, celle d'une activité de collecte, de relevé et de catalogage, un moyen technique qui s'inscrit dans le processus: observation-enregistrement-publication. Gsell n'était pas parti de rien, les objets issus de la fouille étaient, en fait, des matériaux qui illustraient une histoire, celle des Etrusques, telle que transcrite par les Anciens.

Gsell ne connaissait rien à l'Algérie ni à l'Afrique du nord, d'autres plus indiqués que lui, avaient la notoriété et l'expérience de terrain. La Blanchère était en poste à Alger, à la fois au Musée et à l'Ecole supérieure et Jules François Toutain, normalien, agrégé d'histoire, membre de l'Ecole française de Rome (1890-1892) et africaniste, avait séjourné pendant deux ans à Tunis, où il occupa le poste d'inspecteur des antiquités auprès du Service des antiquités, dirigé par La Blanchère, en s'investissant, en tant que représentant de l'Ecole française de Rome, dans des recherches archéologiques, à la fois en Tunisie (fouilles de Tabarka et autres sites autour de Carthage) et en Algérie (fouilles de Tigzirt et Taksebt, en Kabylie).

C'est le philosophe Louis Liard, directeur de l'enseignement supérieur [(33)], qui porta son dévolu sur S. Gsell, à un moment de grands bouleversements, sous la IIIème République, dont la grande réforme de l'enseignement. Le choix d'un tel profil était significatif – comme nous le verrons plus loin - d'une option qui allait assurer et garantir l'emprise de la marque latino-chrétienne sur un territoire à recréer: L'Algérie. Une perspective paradoxale qui va à contre courant de la dynamique de l'histoire en métropole, dont le maitre mot était la laïcisation. Au même moment, le cardinal Lavigerie, missionné par le pape Léon XIII, négociait son ralliement à la République. [(34)]

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Pour s'en convaincre, l'arrivée de Gsell à Alger était concomitante de celle d'un autre personnage emblématique, Louis Bertrand (1866-1941), un normalien, membre de l'Académie française (élu en 1925), qui fut également détaché à Alger en 1891, comme professeur de rhétorique au lycée d'Alger. Il est l'incarnation du projet «*résurrection d'une nation latine en Afrique du Nord, à l'ombre de la domination française*» dont l'«archéologue» S. Gsell, allait constituer l'instrument «scientifique» de démonstration et de légitimation. Son rôle, propagandiste, en rupture avec les convenances académiques, consistait en la fabrique d'une nouvelle «*race algérienne*» au nom des «*droits antérieurs à l'Islam*» (35).

Ce projet ne pouvait se réaliser en dehors de la mission religieuse de «*résurrection de l'église d'Afrique*» et du prosélytisme des Pères Blancs, incarnés par le cardinal Lavigerie (1825-1892), archevêque d'Alger et de Carthage. Ainsi, Gsell, Bertrand et Lavigerie constituèrent les trois piliers porteurs d'un nouvel édifice colonial, fondé sur la démonstration et la preuve archéologiques.

Pour s'en convaincre, aussi, le premier contact de Gsell avec l'Algérie se fit avec le site de Tipasa, objet de sa thèse secondaire. Le choix de ce site et tout particulièrement de la «*Basilique de la sainte salsa*», procédait, naturellement, d'une commande de l'Eglise catholique, dont l'Abbé Duchesne (36) en est le maître d'ouvrage, un ecclésiaste qui, paradoxalement, a été maintenu, d'une manière exceptionnelle, à la tête de l'Ecole française de Rome (37).

De quoi s'agit-il, au juste? Soudainement, en 1891, deux manuscrits espagnols relatant la «*Passion de Saint Salsa* », sont retrouvés dans les archives de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (38). La «*Sainte*» fut sitôt inscrite par le martyrologue de Saint Jérôme, parmi les martyrs d'Afrique du début du IVème siècle et c'est l'abbé Duchesne qui communiqua à l'Académie, le document martyrologique, qui venait d'être publié par des Bollandistes.

C'est à la suite de cette communication que S. Gsell entrepris une fouille à Tipasa, dans une basilique, appelée depuis, «*Basilique de la Sainte Salsa*». Par son expérience italienne de Vulci, il était à même d'exercer ses qualités plutôt de philologue que d'archéologue, pour construire un mythe fondateur de l'une des premières villes coloniales au cachet «latino-chrétien», Tipasa, autour d'un martyr chrétien, la "*Sainte Salsa*". Gsell était tout indiqué pour exercer le savoir-faire acquis à Vulci, en matière de fouille d'une nécropole ; il s'agissait de reproduire le même protocole de dégagement des tombes et de leur mobilier, de leur description, leur étude et leur mise en musée (voir musée étrusque du Palais Torlonia de la Lungara et Musée préhistorique de Rome). C'est la publication, en 1891, des « *Fouilles dans la nécropole de Vulci,* qui propulsa Gsell au devant de la scène archéologique. Il s'intéressa à Tipasa en même temps et à la suite des hommes d'église, tels Lavigerie, l'Abbé Saint Gerand, l'Abbé Grandidier, l'Abbé Rance et l'Abbé Duchesne, pour récolter et rassembler les preuves et les arguments de concordance de l'archéologique (la basilique chrétienne, notamment les inscriptions) et de l'historique (les manuscrits sur la passion de la martyre africaine).

Avec l'Abbé Saint Gérand, en 1891 puis en 1892 et 1893, Gsell fouilla l'essentiel de la basilique Sainte Salsa. Ses recherches – orientées - ont été précédées par des actions tout azimut d'investigations et d'excavations en quête des moindres indices confortant la thèse de la martyre chrétienne tipasienne.(39)

Le travail laborieux de dépouillement des archives et documents existants, tout domaine confondu, qu'il effectua, les dix premières années de son établissement à Alger, furent compilés en chapitres dans la *Revue africaine* et repris juste après dans les *Mélanges* de l'Ecole française de Rome, qui avait ouvert à cet effet, la «*Chronique africaine* ». C'est partant de ce corpus de documents et de matériel archéologique, déposé dans les différents musées et les lieux de dépôts, qu'il établit son plan d'investigation du territoire, dans la perspective d'une œuvre totale, qui fut consacrée, à termes, en 1901, dans les deux volumes: «*Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*», édités sous l'égide du gouvernement général.

C'est dans la région nord-est algérienne, le Constantinois, le Setifois et les Aurès qu'il déploya toute son énergie, en se mettant sur les traces des anciennes expéditions, avec l'avantage du débordement sur les autres territoires et de la possibilité d'y retourner. Aux dessins et croquis des premières expéditions, il substitua les relevés et les plans aux échelles convenues. Il reprit les planches de MAI.-Al. Delamaire, en y introduisant du texte et du commentaire (1912).

Il se plaça, également, en vis-à-vis voire en concurrence avec les architectes des monuments historiques, notamment, R. Duthois (Architecte des monuments historiques d'Algérie, 1880) et A. Ballu (Directeur du service des monuments historiques de l'Algérie, 1889), dans les grands sites de Timgad, Djemila, Announa, Khamissa, Madaure. De cette confrontation, il s'y dégagea deux grandes tendances, celle des architectes des monuments historiques, soumise aux règles académiques de la profession, et celle des historiens, archéologues antiquisants, auxquels la philologie ouvrait le champ à une investigation scientifique plus ouverte. Cette deuxième tendance était incarnée par S. Gsell et toute l'Ecole des antiquisants d'Alger.

L'œuvre de Gsell est gigantesque, par son volume et sa portée; c'est un énorme corpus (mémoires, catalogues, atlas, guides) conçu dans la

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perspective d'une histoire globale de l'Afrique du nord. C'est dans le format du guide et du manuel de l'archéologie (rassembler, sérier, classifier méthodiquement) qu'il avait entrepris son projet, l'avouant lui-même, en préface du tome premier des monuments antiques de l'Algérie : *«Cet ouvrage devait consister, d'abord, en une série de notices sur les ruines antiques de l'Algérie… Je n'ai donc pas adopté l'ordre géographique, où des édifices d'époques et de destinations diverses auraient été confondus, mais j'ai étudié, dans des chapitres distincts, les différentes catégories de monuments…»*.

Procédant par catégorie de monuments, dans un empilement chronologique, que rien n'autorisait, depuis la grotte préhistorique jusqu'au au baptistère chrétien, en passant par les indigènes et puniques puis les romains, il a su convertir un guide didactique, un «Mémento» de l'archéologie monumentale, en un instrument démonstratif et explicatif de l'archéologie monumentale algérienne. Réalisé en divers formats, pratiques et usuels, ce guide était accompagné en autant de publications de vulgarisation et de manifestations scientifiques et culturelles, destinées à un nouveau public « envoie de création».

Avec Gsell, la science archéologique s'était investie frontalement dans le terrain politique[40] en occupant de proche en proche les lieux d'accès à la décision politique, par une instrumentalisation du savoir et sa mise à disposition d'une cause coloniale: *«l'Algérie française».* L'année du centenaire de la prise d'Alger (1930) fut la consécration de cet effort de plus d'un demi-siècle, qui se résume dans ce court passage de l'ouvrage « *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie* »: *«L'histoire nous trace ainsi nos devoirs : volonté inébranlable d'être les maîtres partout et toujours; nécessité d'une colonisation appuyée sur un fort peuplement rural européen; nécessité non moindre de rapprocher de nous les indigènes avec le ferme désir et l'espoir d'une fusion dans un avenir plus ou moins lointain. Cette histoire n'est donc pas en Afrique "la plus inutile des sciences"»*.

Son idée et sa position arrêtés sur l'Algérie sont significatifs de cet investissement, dans le contexte de la IIIème République: *«L'Algérie! Un nom que nous avons créé et qui ne devint officiel qu'en 1838; un morceau découpé arbitrairement à l'époque turque et qui reçut alors à peu près ses limites actuelles; une unité factice dont la France a fait autant qu'elle a pu une unité réelle»* ».

C'est dans cette prédisposition psychologique, d'un engagement militant, que d'aucuns qualifiaient de *«patriotisme assumé»*, que Gsell et après lui, toute l'Ecole des antiquisants d'Alger, vont concevoir le paysage muséologique algérien.

La célébration du centenaire constitua une prise de date de l'établissement permanent d'une *«Algérie française»*. Nous y observons la création, tout azimut, d'institutions culturelles au statut durable tels le Musée Franchet d'Esperey; les Musées des Beaux-arts d'Alger, d'Oran et de Constantine; le Musée d'ethnographie et de préhistoire du Bardo; les Musées de Timgad et de Djemila; le Musée forestier d'Alger; la Maison indigène de la place d'Estrées d'Alger; les Maisons de l'agriculture d'Alger, d'Oran et Constantine; les Ecoles de tissage de Bougie et de Tlemcen; l'Ecole d'apprentissage de la bijouterie indigène et l'Ecole de poterie kabyle de Tizi Ouzou.

L'année du centenaire était un tournant décisif de l'histoire coloniale, celui du ralliement à une doctrine historique, dont Gsell est le maître d'œuvre. Une doctrine qui a enchâssé l'histoire de l'Afrique du nord dans un récit exclusif de confrontation entre Rome la latine et Carthage la sémite, en déplaçant le regard d'une orbite *«climaticienne»* nord-sud, vers une orbite *«culturelle et religieuse»* est-ouest, opposant un orient phénicien et sémite à un occident romain à l'exclusivité latine. La dimension grecque, clé de voûte du système civilisationnel méditerranéen, étant éliminée de ce dispositif de construction historique.

Dans le contexte de la IIIème République et pour des besoins de démonstration, le débat politique et intellectuel s'était déplacé du terrain de confrontation immédiat – le bassin occidental de la Méditerranée - entre acteurs romains, puniques et numides, vers un territoire beaucoup plus vaste, mettant en opposition un occident latin et un orient phénicien, arabe et même byzantin. Nous comprenons dès lors cet attachement soudain aux attributs et valeurs qui consacrent l'occidentalité et cette recherche d'une filiation hispano-mauresque entre le Maghreb et l'Espagne musulmane.

De l'archétype *«Arabe»,* sur lequel s'est construit tout un imaginaire colonial à la fois de répulsion et de fascination, va se substituer une imagerie spécifiquement maghrébine où l'*«indigène»* autochtone va constituer, désormais, l'élément invariant: *« la permanence berbère».* Dans «*Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie*», E. Albertini, écrivait en page 101 à propos de l'Algérie antique : *«Les Français qui ont conquis l'Algérie croyaient d'abord qu'elle était peuplée d'Arabes, et cette erreur ne s'est pas corrigée tout de suite; on a mis quelque temps à percevoir le caractère adventice des éléments arabes dans l'Afrique du Nord ».*

XVII. Normalisation de la Pratique Muséale

La normalisation et la stabilisation de la pratique muséale, dans l'*«Algérie française»,* est l'aboutissement d'un processus d'élaboration institutionnelle, qui remonte à l'année 1912, avec la création de l'*«Inspection des antiquités d'Alger»* qui, pour la première fois, allait destiner un inspecteur chargé exclusivement de

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l'Algérie. Gsell, Carcopino, Cagnat et Albertini se succédèrent à ce poste; pour poursuivre l'effort archéologique engagé jusque-là, dans l'ordre conceptuel et méthodologique convenu. Ils assureraient, à la fois, les missions d'inspection, d'enseignement à l'université et de direction du Musée des antiquités d'Alger.

Une dizaine d'années plus tard, en 1923, une direction des antiquités et des missions archéologiques fut créée auprès du gouvernement général de l'Algérie. Elle permit d'asseoir un véritable dispositif d'administration et de gestion des musées et des missions archéologiques, mis sous le contrôle politique du gouvernement général de l'Algérie et l'ancrage et la caution scientifiques de l'Ecole française de Rome.

XVIII. Les Musées D'algérie : Quel (s) Ancrage (s) Juridiques (s)?

a) Les lois sur les monuments historiques

L'essentiel de l'arsenal juridique métropolitain, appliqué ou étendu à l'Algérie, concernait davantage les monuments historiques, les sites et les fouilles archéologiques que les musées, les collections et les biens culturels mobiliers. Ces derniers ne semblent pas avoir captivé l'intérêt du législateur français, qui renvoyait le sujet à des niveaux réglementaires (décrets, arrêtés, circulaires). Il faut remonter aussi loin que 1887, jusqu'à la loi sur les monuments historiques, pour retrouver le premier ancrage légal relatif aux objets culturels mobiliers d'Algérie. Il s'agit de l'article 16 (chapitre IV), des «*Dispositions spéciales à l'Algérie et aux pays de protectorat*»», qui stipulait que « *Dans cette partie de la France, la propriété des objets d'art ou d'archéologie, édifices, mosaïques, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, colonnes, inscriptions qui pourraient exister, sur et dans le sol des immeubles appartenant à l'État ou concédés par lui à des établissements publics ou à des particuliers, sur et dans les terrains militaires, est réservée à l'État*».

Cette loi a été pensée, non pas dans le cadre strictement métropolitain, mais dans une perspective beaucoup plus large, englobant le contexte européen, celui des colonies et des protectorats, afin de contenir tous les aspects philosophiques, juridiques et institutionnels, qui mettaient en relation la protection des biens culturels et les acquis constitutionnels de la propriété privée – cheval de bataille de la IIIème République – Au cœur même des débats sur cette loi, intervenant au Senat, M. Bardoux, ancien Ministre de l'Instruction publique, qui devait faire rapport, signalait, déjà, «*l'état déplorable dans lequel se trouvent les antiquités algériennes* (41).

Appuyé par tout un corpus de données et d'informations livrées, notamment, par M. L. Renier et M. L. Masqueray, il déclara, séance tenante: « *Notre terre d'Afrique est, après l'Italie, le pays qui fournit le plus d'inscriptions romaines. Malheureusement, il y règne une véritable fureur de destruction et les monuments les plus intéressants sont l'objet des actes de dévastation les plus inexplicables et les plus barbares».* Alors directeur de l'Ecole supérieure des lettres d'Alger, M. L. Masqueray exprimait le même regret en 1882: «*L'indignation nous aurait poussé à recueillir, nous aussi, les épaves d'un naufrage dans lequel des villes entière disparaissent. On a fait de la chaux avec des statues de Caesarea (Cherchell), Naraggar, Thagora, Auzia sont englouties dans des casernes, j'ai vu scier les marbres du Temple d'Esculape; à Lambèse, les collections locales sont au pillage*» (42).

La loi du 30 mars 1887 sur les monuments historiques a cette singularité d'avoir introduit un mécanisme spécifique de protection des biens culturels mobiliers et immobiliers, appelé «*classement*», une sorte de limitation «déguisée» de la propriété de certains biens culturels. Cette loi devint inopérante une quinzaine d'années plus tard, notamment après la promulgation de la loi du 9 décembre 1905 sur la séparation des Églises et de l'État et ses implications sur le patrimoine religieux. Elle fut remplacée par la loi du 31 décembre 1913 sur les monuments historiques, qui introduisit une conception nouvelle du droit de propriété, en étendant le classement au domaine privé. Ainsi, les biens culturels meubles, immeubles par nature et immeubles par destination, dont «*la conservation présente, au point de vue de l'histoire ou de l'art un intérêt public*», pouvaient faire l'objet d'un classement, y compris contre l'accord de leur propriétaire. L'intérêt public de la conservation se plaçant, désormais, au-dessus de la propriété qu'elle soit publique ou privée.

S'agissant de l'Algérie, l'alinéa premier de l'article 36 de cette loi (Chapitre VI), dans les « *dispositions diverses* », stipulait que : «*La présente loi pourra être étendue à l'Algérie et aux colonies par des règlements d'administration publique, qui détermineront dans quelles conditions et suivant quelles modalités elle y sera applicable».* Le second alinéa du même articule précisait, cependant, que «*Jusqu'à la promulgation du règlement concernant l'Algérie, l'article 16 de la loi du 30 mars 1887 restera applicable à ce territoire».* Par cette disposition, l'Algérie se voyait exclue du champ d'application de cette loi, ne pouvant, donc, accéder aux avancées juridiques relatives, notamment, à la propriété privée. Les mesures d' «*inaliénabilité*» et d'«*imprescribilité*», demeurèrent régis par l'article 10 de la loi de 1887: «*Les objets classés et appartenant à l'Etat seront inaliénables et imprescriptibles».*

La loi 31 décembre 1913 avait introduit, dans les «*Dispositions diverses*», un article17 qui stipulait que « *Les mêmes mesures seront étendues à tous les pays placés sous le protectorat de la France et dans lesquels il n'existe pas déjà une législation spéciale ».* L'allusion

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est faite à la Tunisie qui disposait, déjà, d'un décret sur la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel, daté du 7 mars 1886. Ainsi, la Tunisie - sous régime du protectorat- se voyait également exclue du champ d'application de cette loi.

XIX. Les Lois Sur Les Musées (1941-2002)

Une trentaine d'années plus tard, sous le régime Vichy, plus précisément le 10 Aout 1941, une loi relative aux musées des Beaux-arts est promulguée. Son article premier disposait : « *Est considéré comme Musée, sous l'application de la présente loi, toute collection, permanente et ouverte au public, d'œuvres présentant un intérêt artistique, historique ou archéologique».* Cette loi fut remplacée, en 1945, par l'ordonnance du 13 juillet 1945 portant organisation provisoire des musées des Beaux-arts, qui avait repris l'essentiel de son contenu, en demeurant toujours dans le seul champ d'application des Beaux-arts.

Cette ordonnance avait introduit, toutefois, conformément à de nouveaux principes édictés par l'ordonnance du 9 août 1944 relative au rétablissement de la légalité républicaine sur le territoire continental, un certain nombre de changements, notamment institutionnels et organisationnels. Ainsi, la Direction des « *Musées Nationaux* » devint la Direction des « *Musées de France* ». Les musées de province, à l'instar des musées parisiens (environ un millier) furent rattachés à l'Etat. La liste de ces musées était fixée par décret en vertu de l'article 3 de l'ordonnance du 13 juillet. Tous les autres musées, qui n'avaient pas qualité de musée national, furent répartis entre deux catégories dé définition : les « *musées classés* » et les « *musées contrôlés* », qui ne se distinguaient que par la nature du contrôle qu'exerçait l'Etat à leur endroit.

Pour les «*musées classées»,* bien que n'appartenant pas à l'Etat, étaient gérés par un conservateur, fonctionnaire de l'Etat, nommé par le Ministre de l'Education nationale. Quant aux « *musées contrôlés»,* les plus nombreux, étaient gérés par un conservateur, quoique non fonctionnaire de l'Etat, mais nommé par le Ministre de l'Education nationale et sous son contrôle. Le contrôle de l'Etat ne s'exerçait pas sur la propriété du musée et de ses collections, mais sur l'usage qui en est fait, étant donné qu'il y a admission de public.

Le statut et le mode de contrôle par l'Etat des musées, dans l'esprit de la loi du13 juillet1945, participait d'une double logique, celle d'une centralisation administrative et d'une décentralisation technique. Quoique provisoire, il fut effectif jusqu'à la promulgation de la loi du 4 janvier 2002 relative aux musées de France, qui, tout en réaffirmant le principe du contrôle de l'Etat sur les musées, introduisit un mécanisme de conciliation des principes de la décentralisation (principe constitutionnel de libre administration des collectivités territoriales) avec les impératifs régaliens de gestion des collections. C'est le label «*musée de France»,* qui consacra la mission de service public des musées, appelant ces derniers, sans distinction aucune, à souscrire à ce label, qui les rendrait éligibles aux soutiens scientifique, technique et financier de l'Etat, moyennant l'acceptation de l'inaliénabilité de leurs collections permanentes et de leur inscription sur un inventaire réglementaire.

XX. Les Musées D'algérie : Pour Quel (s) Public (s)?

Les collections coloniales, se trouvant en territoire français ou algérien, s'inscrivaient, explicitement ou implicitement, dans l'ordre naturel de cette évolution du système juridique et institutionnel français, considérant que l'Algérie était un département français[43].

Or, si les missions – régaliennes - de conservation, de restauration, d'étude et d'enrichissement des collections, se réalisaient, dans les deux territoires, suivant les mêmes protocoles, quoique avec un certain décalage et ne s'en distinguant que par la qualité de leur exécution et de leur exécuteur (qualification des conservateurs de musées, notamment), il en allait tout autrement de l'autre mission fondamentale du musée «*collection permanente et ouverte au public»,* celle qui consiste à rendre accessible au public le plus large, à assurer l'égal accès de tous à la culture, à contribuer aux progrès de la connaissance et à la recherche ainsi qu'à leur diffusion.

En effet, Si l'intérêt public des collections coloniales concernait le «*Français*» dans sa définition constitutionnelle, qu'en était-il, alors, de l' «*indigène musulman*» qui, au regard du code de l'indigénat, était exclu de tout processus d'intégration à la nation française. N'ayant pas la pleine nationalité, celui-ci demeurait en dehors de la dynamique patrimoniale. Le code de l'indigénat ne prit «théoriquement» réellement fin qu'en 1958 [44] avec la suppression du régime du double collègue, mais c'était déjà la guerre d'Algérie, qui présida à la naissance de la nation algérienne, une autre entité, différente de l'entité française. Il s'y dégagera, ainsi, deux intérêts publics, non pas sur un patrimoine commun, au sens de la filiation verticale (du père au fils), mais sur un héritage partagé, au sens horizontal (cultural héritage, dans la signification anglo-saxonne du terme).

Penser les musées d'Algérie dans une historiographie française, c'est-à-dire sous un regard français – nous ne disons pas colonial ou occidental – c'est dérouler le fil d'une histoire muséale exclusivement française, transcrite dans les politiques et les registres juridiques, institutionnels et opérationnels français. Aujourd'hui que l'Algérie est indépendante (juillet 1962),

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il se pose, nécessairement, pour la France, notamment, devant ses nouveaux ancrages européens et universels, la question du corpus muséal algérien se trouvant en France, dans sa relation avec celui «*in situ*» en Algérie. La reconstitution du processus historique de collecte, de ramassage, de recensement, d'enregistrement, de publication et de publicité, des objets et collections, destinés, jadis, à produire et reproduire une mémoire documentaire coloniale, source de légitimation d'une identité française de l'Algérie, est un pré-requis à la création d'un nouveau rapport à un héritage partagé entre la France et l'Algérie. Il s'agira, notamment, de préciser le mode de translation du colonial au postcolonial, en termes de transfert du matériau (mobilier) et de son corpus documentaire, pour aboutir à la reconstruction de «collections nationales», appropriables.

Lorsque nous portons le regard sur l'héritage colonial (1830-1962), nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de nous interroger sur l'histoire et la mémoire de chaque objet et des documents qui lui sont associés. Tous ces objets, aujourd'hui exposés dans les musées ou rangés dans des réserves algériens et français, appartiennent à une histoire et une mémoire qui tirent tout leur sens d'un processus d'appropriation fondamentalement colonial.

La France coloniale avait inscrit, et d'une manière systématique, l'héritage latino-chrétien d'Algérie, dans un processus de patrimonialisation qui assurait son adjonction aux valeurs de la chrétienté historique, portées essentiellement par les nouvelles populations européennes nouvellement établies en Algérie. Cette forme d'appropriation artificielle de l'identité et de la mémoire– véritable supercherie mémorielle – participait surtout, et par incidence, à une désubstantialisation et une érosion de la mémoire « *indigène* » qui se voyait dépossédée progressivement de sa relation historique, affective et émotionnelle à l'endroit de son patrimoine antique punico-romano-latino-chrétien, pour se confiner dans le seul et exclusif cercle d'appartenance musulmane, considéré – sous l'angle de la pureté ou de la purification - comme lieu de retranchement, garantissant la sauvegarde de la personnalité musulmane contre l'occupant et l'oppresseur « chrétien ». Le renforcement de ce clivage chrétien/musulman, par une politique d'évangélisation de l'Algérie et une publicité et propagande soutenues ont fini par forger un imaginaire « *indigène* » de rejet et de refoulement de tout ce qui a trait aux valeurs d'antiquité.

La difficulté, aujourd'hui, dans l'image servie par les musées algériens, n'est pas dans la substance muséographique qui la gouverne ; elle réside plus dans la situation d'entrechoc entre deux temporalités « inconciliables », l'une occidentale, fondamentalement linéaire, qui a régenté, pendant 132 ans, la messagerie muséale, et l'autre, algérienne, qui relève d'un corpus de gouts, de sensations, d'émotions et d'une vision du monde différents. Il reste, aujourd'hui, à déconstruire cet édifice pour rétablir l'harmonie des temporalités, dans la perspective d'un discours à la fois de culturalité et d'interculturalité.

Il s'agira, également, de poursuivre une œuvre de décolonisation non inachevée, dans une perspective où les «*détails*» et les «*nuances*», par le truchement de cette «*archéologie de la France coloniale*», participeraient au tracé des contours, à la construction de l'image et de la trame d'un récit historique de plus d'un siècle et demi (132 ans). C'est pour cela que ni la Tunisie, ni le Maroc, ni encore moins les autres cas de colonie et de protectorat, ne sont éligibles à la comparaison et ne sauraient, dans une vision «*englobante*», participer à la construction ou la reconstruction d'un discours muséal sur l'Algérie.

References Références Referencias

1. Arnauld Le Brusq est un chercheur français, né en 1962, docteur en histoire de l'art, investi dans la thématique des relations entre culture, patrimoine et histoire coloniale.
2. La période de conquête s'étend depuis juillet 1830, date de la prise d'Alger, sous le régime monarchique de Charles X, puis celui de la Monarchie de juillet, sous le règne de Louis Philippe, jusqu'à février 1848, date de l'instauration de la deuxième République, qui voit l'élection du neveu de Napoléon premier, Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (Napoléon III), à la présidence de la République.
3. Aux temps de la conquête, le terme «*indigène*» renvoyait à une seule catégorie de population, celle ancrée au territoire et dont les deux principales composantes ne se distinguaient que par leur filiation religieuse, l'une, prédominante, musulmane et l'autre juive. Pour briser la cohésion de cette catégorie constitutive, le colonisateur français usa, au fur et à mesure, d'autres vocables qui participaient à l'affaiblissement puis à la rupture d'une résilience sociale et culturelle plurimillénaire, tels les expressions «*indigène musulman* », «*arabe*», « *maure* » *et* « *kabyle* » . Un processus continu de « *dénationalisation* , qui aboutit, à termes, au décret de Crémieux, d'intégration, en bloc, de la composante juive, à la nation française et au « *code de l'indigénat* », qui réduisit la catégorie « *indigène* » à la seule composante « *musulmane* ».
4. Le maréchal Bourmont avait refusé de reconnaître et de prêter serment au roi Louis-Philippe, nouvellement établi, témoignant sa fidélité au roi Charles X et à la famille des Bourbons. Il fut relevé et remplacé par le général Clauzel le 3 septembre 1830.

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5. *« Nos armées comptent beaucoup plus de prolétaires et il est permis de croire que, sur 3000 hommes qui reviennent d'Afrique chaque année, les soldats prolétaires préféraient pour la plus part rester avec la perspective d'acquérir une petite propriété, que de retourner en France pour n'y rien posséder. On verrait ainsi la colonie s'augmenter, tous les ans, d'un certain nombre de colons militaires, auxquels on n'aurait à donner que la terre (environ 6 arpents par homme), quelques instruments pour la travailler, et six mois de vivres… ».* Général Paul Azan, in les grands soldats de l'Algérie, cahiers du Centenaire de l'Algérie.
6. Système philosophique et sociopolitique du socialiste Charles Fourier qui préconisait la vie en phalanstère, un projet d'habitat communautaire selon la théorie fouriériste de la société harmonique. Le phalanstère est une sorte d'exploitation agricole avec des bâtisses pour le logement et l'amusement. Le système phalanstère a fait l'objet de nombreuses tentatives d'application, en France et ailleurs. Dans la journal *Le Phalanstère*, (1832-1834), Charles Fourier répondit à Victor Hugo sur son « *Étude sur Mirabeau* » en ces termes forts révélateurs des sentiments réels du père du romantisme français vis-à-vis du fait colonial en Algérie: « *Je n'adhère nullement aux flatteries que vous adressez à la France, car elle porte partout le vandalisme, témoin sa conduite à Alger, qu'elle a barbarisé, couvert de vendées et de ravages* ».
7. Une propriété de 1000 ha du *«Haouch Hassan Pacha»,* au confluent des oueds Kerma et El Harrach, in Henri Garrot, Histoire générale de l'Algérie, Imprimerie Crescenzo, 1910.
8. Pour contenir le mécontentement des classes populaires de Paris, devant une grave crise économique et sociale, sous la IIème République, l'Etat créa un peu partout, des ateliers nationaux destinés à employer les ouvriers et artisans en chômage, en finançant leur travail, en les payant et les soignant. L'originalité de ces ateliers réside dans leur organisation militaire, en escouades, brigades et compagnies ; ils furent ensuite dissous, considérés dangereux et couteux, d'où l'idée de les transférer en Algérie.
9. Point de vue donné sur la *« vraie raison »* de sa disgrâce, à la séance de la Chambre des députés du 22 avril 1837, par François Guizot, membre de l'Académie française et Ministre de l'instruction publique :" *Le maréchal Clauzel a été rappelé non parce qu'il a été malheureux, mais parce qu'il était en Afrique le représentant du système d'occupation universelle et guerroyante; occupation militairement organisée sur tous les points importants de la Régence*.
10. Ce théâtre fut établi, d'abord, au Palais des Deys, à la Djenina puis transféré, une première fois, à l'impasse de la rue de la Marine et une deuxième fois à la rue des Consuls, dans une salle plus spacieuse et enfin à la rue de l'Etat-major, dans un espace architectural mauresque, à côté de ce qui devint la Bibliothèque d'Alger.
11. *Nous allons bientôt posséder une Bibliothèque publique. M. le Ministre des travaux publics, d'accord avec M. le ministre de la guerre s'est empressé de déférer à la demande de M. l'Intendant civil M. Genty Debussy par l'envoi des livres nécessaires à la fondation de cet établissement.* in1832, 41 du Moniteur algérien, p3.
12. Le général Clauzel n'était plus à Alger, mais continuait, depuis Paris, en tant que député, à défendre l'option coloniste, s'opposant énergiquement à ses adversaires, jusqu'à faire céder le gouvernement, qui le nomma gouverneur général des possessions françaises dans le nord de l'Afrique.
13. Lettre du 7 décembre 1833, de M. Genty Debussy à la demande appuyée du maréchal Clauzel.
14. Le Moniteur algérien est un journal bilingue, français et arabe, crée, en 1832, par l'Intendant civil de l'Algérie, le baron Pichon. C'était l'organe officiel de l'administration française, un hebdomadaire, qui supplanta le journal *« l'Estaffette d'Alger »,* premier journal imprimé, parut le 25 juin 1830, jour du débarquement français de Sidi Ferruch. Le siège de ce journal se trouvait, d'abord à la Djenina, dans la Basse-Casbah, au sein de l'Imprimerie du Gouvernement Général, puis à la rue de la Charte et enfin à la rue des Lotophages, dans le quartier de la Marine.
15. *Moniteur algérien* numéros d'octobre et novembre 1835.
16. Dans la page de garde du Livret explicatif des collections diverses des deux établissements, il est porté les indications suivantes : Fondation de la Bibliothèque: M. le maréchal Comte Clauzel.; Premier Donateur: M. Pillaut-Debit, ancien avoué de Paris; Fondateur du Musée: M. Bresson, intendant civil; Premier Donateur: M. de Saint-John, consul général d'Angleterre.
17. « *Djenina* » (petit jardin), lieu de résidence au Deylicat turc, " Dar et Sultan et Khédima " regroupait des maisons de style mauresque, entre la *« Place du Gouvernement* » jusqu'au *« Square Bab-Azoun »*. Elle a été complètement vandalisée et désarticulée par l'armée française et ses objets mobiliers et immobiliers par destination (fontaines, colonnades, fontaines, faïences, marbres, dômes ajourés) ont été dilapidés. Elle fut également touchée par un vaste incendie [au moment de la construction de l'Opéra], en 1845, qui la fit disparaître totalement.

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18. La commission d'exploitation scientifique est une idée du général Soult, suggérée, en novembre 1832, à l'Académie des belles lettres : *« L'occupation de la Régence d'Alger par les troupes françaises…ne doit pas rester sans résultat pour la science et de son côté la science elle-même peut concourir à cette œuvre de civilisation qui commence en Afrique sous la protection de nos armes »*.
19. *Moniteur algérien* numéros d'octobre et de novembre 1835.
20. Le Muséum central des arts (dans l'ancien palais du Louvre) et le Muséum d'histoire naturelle, en 1792, le Muséum des Arts, en 1793, le Muséum des arts et métiers en 1794, le Muséum des monuments français, en 1795).
21. C'est François 1er, et après lui Louis XIV *« Roi soleil »,* qui inaugurèrent la culture de la présentation publique des arts et du savoir, présidant à la création de l'esprit muséal. Sur conseil de Colbert, Premier ministre, Louis XIV ouvrit au public la Galerie d'Apollon du palais du Louvre et sept salles attenantes, pour exposer la collection royale, notamment des tableaux à côté de toiles de la galerie Medicis peintes par Rubens.
22. L'expression *« Monument historique »* est une invention française, subjective et égocentrique, qui tire son contenu et son sens de la révolution française de 1789. Elle a été utilisée pour la première fois, en 1790, lors d'une session de l'Assemblée constituante, par un défenseur de l'héritage archéologique et historique français, du nom d'Aubin-Louis Millin de Grand maison, dans un rapport dénonçant la destruction des symboles de l'ancien régime (de la Monarchie et de l'Eglise, notamment). Ce rapport était intitulé : *« Antiquités Nationales ou recueil de monuments, pour servir à l'Histoire générale et particulière de l'empire François, tels que tombeaux, inscriptions, statues, vitraux, fresques etc. tirés des abbaies, monastères, châteaux et autres lieux devenus domaines nationaux ».*
23. C'est dans ce contexte historique spécifique, que l'expression *« Monument historique »* a été prononcée, non pas pour désigner des monuments dans leur fonction évocatrice et commémorative, ce qui allait à l'encontre de l'esprit et la pratique révolutionnaires de 1789, mais pour suggérer un dispositif juridique de protection des biens de l'ancien régime *« les monuments qui symbolisaient les âges de la barbarie »,*contre la destruction et le vandalisme.
24. La première expédition militaire de Constantine constitue l'acte fondateur d'une politique de constitution de collections de biens culturels en Algérie.
25. La Commission d'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie a été créée en 1839, à l'initiative du maréchal Soult. Elle fut intégrée au Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et placée sous le patronage de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
26. M. Wagner avait envoyé la « *plupart des espèces d'insectes au musée zoologique de Berlin* et avait fait don au musée d'Alger*, « qui venait d'être érigé, d'une collection d'insectes et de mollusques et j'eus ainsi le plaisir d'avoir participé à la fondation de la première collection zoologique …».*
27. *« Instructions sommaires pour la conduite d'une colonne »* du Général Lapasset (1817-1875), qui avaient repris celles du Général Bugeaud cité par L. Béquet (Maître des requêtes a Conseil d'Etat » et M. Simon, auditeur dans la même institution, Algérie. Gouvernement. Administration. Législation, Paris, 1881, t..II, p.48.
28. Instructions pour la découverte et la protection des objets antiques. *Bulletin officiel des actes du Gouvernement. 1844. N° 165 jusqu'au n° 192 bis. Ministère de la Guerre. Algérie,* t. 4, Alger, p. 13. Circulaire n° 3 (Alger, le 20 janvier 1844), de M. le Gouverneur Général à MM. les Généraux et Colonels commandant les divisions et subdivisions et à M. le Colonel commandant supérieur du génie sur les précautions à prendre dans les endroits qui peuvent receler des objets d'art. Les travaux de tout genre effectués sur différents points de l'Algérie, et notamment à Cherchell, Constantine et Orléans ville.
29. Circulaire du 26 août 1845 (Alger). Bugeaud, signant sous le titre de Maréchal Duc d'Isly, donna instruction de rassembler des pièces susceptibles de former le Musée algérien à Paris, dans la formulation suivante : *« Le Roi a décidé sur proposition de M. le Maréchal Ministre de la Guerre qu'un Musée Algérien serait créé à Paris et placé à côté du Musée Égyptien. Ce rapprochement augmentera l'intérêt par l'analogie qu'il rappellera entre la campagne d'Égypte et les glorieux faits d'armes qui depuis quinze ans illustrent l'armée d'Afrique…Nous sommes appelés à enrichir cette création en ne négligeant aucune des occasions qui se présenteront de réunir ces collections d'armes, de trophées de tout genre, des objets d'art et d'industrie, enfin toutes les curiosités particulières à l'Algérie qui paraîtraient dignes de figurer au Musée Algerien de Paris" ».* Dans l'entendement de Bugeaud, l'idée de collection ne se limitait pas aux seules antiquités, elle englobait tout type d'objet de curiosité et d'intérêt. C'est Delamare qui sélectionna les objets d'antiquités à intégrer au Musée du Louvre, en tant qu'objets d'art ; le reste

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des objets hétéroclites sera reparti entre les autres musées.

30. Le transport des antiquités en France : l'affaire de l'arc de Djemila. *Bulletin officiel des actes du Gouvernement*. Ministère de la Guerre. Algérie, t. 3, Alger, p. 197-199. Le Marechal Soult, et le Capitaine Delamarre étaient chargés des transferts des collections, à Paris, entre 1840 et 1845.
31. Avec Berbrugger, ils étaient membres fondateurs de la Société historique algérienne. Ils constituèrent les guides de Napoléon III, dans ses visites archéologiques en Algérie, en 1865. Mac-Carthy s'intéressait à la guerre d'Afrique de Jules César, un sujet qu'il partageait avec l'Empereur
32. Fouille pratiquée dans un domaine appartenant au Prince Do Giulio Torlonia, qui finança l'exécution et la publication ; elle a été menée sous l'égide de l'Ecole française de Rome.
33. Philosophe français, réformateur de l'université française, dite la « *réforme Liard* », à la fin du XIXe siècle.
34. « *Le toast d'Alger* » du cardinal Lavigerie en1890. Prônant un ralliement de l'Eglise à la République, le pape Léon XIII avait missionné le cardinal Lavigerie d'en faire la déclaration, en contraignant le catholique à accepter la République « *athée et persécutrice* ».
35. Auteur de "*Le sang des races*", " *La Cina*", " *Pépète le bien aimé*" et " *La concession de Mme Petitgand*", romans constitutifs d'un sentiment d'exaltation de la latinité à l'endroit du petit peuple européen composite (Espagnols, Italiens, Maltais et Français de souche) qui prit, plus tard le nom de Pieds-Noirs.
36. Philologue et historien français, Professeur en Histoire de l'Eglise, membre de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (élu en 1888); Protonotaire apostologique (1900), directeur de l'Ecole française de Rome (nommé en 1895) et membre de l'Académie française (élu en 1910). C'est lui qui communiquait à l'Académie, les résultats des fouilles entreprises, à Tipasa, dans la basilique de sainte salsa, à Tipasa, in Compte rendu des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
37. Les institutions de la République laïque avaient rompu toute relation avec l'église catholique
38. La passion de sainte salsa a été éditée dans le *Cataloguscodicumhagiographicormlatinorumantiqui orumsacculo XVI, qui asservantur in Bibliothecanationali Parisiensi ; ediderunthagiographi Bollendiani,* I, 1889, p. 344.
39. En 1851, l'officier des zouaves, M. Leclerc publia le premier plan de l'église de la Sainte Salsa, dans *«Revue archéologique».* En 1861, Berbrugger, accompagnateur des troupes militaires françaises, promettait une étude de Tipasa, dans *«Revue africaine»*, qui ne sera jamais publiée. En 1869, le cardinal Lavigerie, dépêche un architecte du nom de M. Gentilhomme, pour fouiller et lever le plan de l'église de la sainte Salsa. Enfin, en 1892, l'Abbé Saint Gérand, Curé de Tipasa, publia l'importante fouille de l'église de l'Evêque d'Alexandrie, dans *«Bulletin d'archéologie du Comité des travaux historiques».*Dans le sillage de sa thèse latine sur Tipasa, Gsell publia, en1893, dans la collection «*Description de l'Afrique du Nord*» les *«Recherches archéologiques en Algérie»*; une publication qui fut reprise, la même année, dans «*Mélanges*» de l'Ecole française de Rome. Un peu plus tard, en 1926, elle réapparu dans «*Promenades archéologiques aux environs d'Alger*».
40. Dans la collection du Centenaire de la colonisation, l'ouvrage « *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie* » était coordonné par Charles-André Julien et réalisé parles antiquisants de l'Université, selon les thématiques arrêtées. Stéphane Gsell qui eut la mission de rédiger l'introduction de l'ouvrage, traça, judicieusement, les lignes directrices d'un ouvrage colonial dont les auteurs n'avaient qu'à suivre les orientations, à l'exception de Charles-André Julien qui s'y démarqua en publiant, l'année même de la parution d' « *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie* » son « H*istoire de l'Afrique du Nord* » où il rétablit les normes éthiques de la rédaction d'un ouvrage sur l'Histoire. Il est intéressant de revisiter le contenu de la préface de cet ouvrage, rédigée par Stéphane Gsell, pour mieux situer la psychologie du personnage, et son rapport à l'esprit coloniste de la IIIème République : « *Ce n'est point assurément le sens critique qui lui manque* [il parle ici de C.A. julien]. *Sa personnalité ne se dissimule pas. Ses opinions sur les choses présentes, qu'il compare volontiers aux choses passées, ont peut-être quelque influence sur ses jugements sans, du reste, fausser le récit des faits. Il n'aime pas les impérialismes et les nationalismes, les manières trop fortes et les opérations coloniales trop fructueuses ; il réserve sa sympathie aux gens qui reçoivent les coups et qui, souvent d'ailleurs, ont fait ce qu'il fallait pour les recevoir »,* Préface à Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*,Paris, Payot, 1931.
41. La loi du 30 mars 1887 et les décrets du 3 janvier 1889 sur la conservation des monuments et objets mobiliers présentant un intérêt national au point de vue de l'histoire de l'art. Th. Ducrocq, 1889.
42. Agrégé d'histoire, en 1869, à l'Ecole normale, affecté en 1872 à Alger pour ensiegngner l'histoire au Lycée d'Alger, jusqu'en 1872. Il s'intéresse à l'archéologie et surtout à la philologie des dialectes berberes. Il enseigne, ensuite, l'histoire et les antiquités d'Afrique à l'Ecole supérieure des lettres

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d'Alger avant d'être nommé directeur de cette Ecole en 1871.

43. En 1847, l'Algérie devient un département français, doté de la personnalité civile, et de l'autonomie financière et administré et géré par une assemblée algérienne et un gouverneur général. En 1848, elle est annexée par la France et subdivisée en trois départements (Oran, Alger, Constantine) correspondants aux trois beyliks ottomans. Le Sud n'étant pas encore départementalisé, ses territoires furent regroupés dans un grand ensemble dit « territoires du sud ». En 1951, les trois départements ainsi que les « territoires du sud » furent numérotés de 91 à 94, à la suite des départements français de métropole.
44. Le Code de l'indigénat fut adopté le 28 juin 1881. en Algérie, puis étendu, dès 1887 à l'ensemble de ses colonies. C'est un statut légal discriminatoire, un régime d'exception, appliqué à la catégorie de population dite *« indigène »,* qui se place en dehors et au-dessus principes généraux du droit français. Il est assorti de toutes sortes d'interdictions et de sanctions (sanctions collectives, déportations d'habitants, travaux forcés…). , l'abolition du code de l'indigénat fut décidée, en 1944, durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, à l'issue de la conférence de Brazzaville.

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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

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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.

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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.

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

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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).

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.



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- 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:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
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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.

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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.



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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.

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Discussion:

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- 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.

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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

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