

Africana Studia

REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Centro de Estudos Africanos
Universidade do Porto

AFRICANA STUDIA

Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos/International Journal of African Studies

Email: africanastudia@letras.up.pt

N.º de registo: 124732

Depósito legal: 138153/99

ISSN: 0874-2375

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr>

DOI Africana Studia n.º 39: <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39>

Editor/Entidade proprietária: Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto
FLUP – Via Panorâmica s/n – 4150-564 Porto

Email: ceaup@letras.up.pt

NIF da entidade proprietária: 504045466

Diretor: Maciel Morais Santos (caup@letras.up.pt)

Secretariado: Carla Delgado

Revisão gráfica e de textos: Henriqueta Antunes

Sede da Redação: FLUP – Via Panorâmica s/n – 4150-564 Porto

Tiragem: 200 exemplares

Periodicidade: semestral

Design capa: Sersilito

Execução gráfica: Sersilito-Empresa Gráfica, Lda. – Tv. Sá e Melo 209, 4471-909 Maia

Conselho científico/Advisory Board: Adriano Vasco Rodrigues (CEAUP), Ana Maria Brito (FLUP), Augusto Nascimento (FLUL), Dmitri Bondarenko (Instituto de Estudos Africanos – Moscovo), Eduardo Costa Dias (CEA-ISCTE), Eduardo Medeiros (U. Évora), Emmanuel Tchoumtchoua (U. Douala), Jean Gormo (U. Maroua/CEAUP), Joana Pereira Leite (CESA-ISEG), João Garcia (FLUP), José Carlos Venâncio (U. Beira Interior), Malyn Newitt (King's College), Manuel Rodrigues de Areia (U. Coimbra), Manzambi V. Fernandes (Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais de Luanda/CEAUP), Michel Cahen (IEP-U. Bordéus IV), Mohammed Nadir (CEAUP), Nizar Tadjiti (U. Tetouan/CEAUP), Paulo de Carvalho (Faculdade de Letras e Ciências Sociais de Luanda) e Philip Havik (IHMT).

Conselho editorial/Editorial Board: Abdifatah Abdi, Aicha Janeiro, Ana Silva Fernandes, Ana Vaz Milheiro, Amina Aty, Carla Delgado, Flora Oliveira, Francisco Topa, Maciel Santos, Marina Butovskaya, Mourad Aty e T. P. Wilkinson.

Venda online: <http://www.africanos.eu/caup/loja.php>

Advertência: Proibida a reprodução total ou parcial do conteúdo desta publicação (na versão em papel ou eletrónica) sem autorização prévia por escrito do CEAUP.

Africana Studia é uma revista publicada com arbitragem científica.

Africana Studia é uma revista da rede Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS).

Capa: Tower in the railway station of Ressano Garcia. Mozambique, 2019. Foto: Ana Silva Fernandes.

Este trabalho é financiado por fundos nacionais através da FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P, no âmbito do Projeto UIDB/00495/2020.

Africana Studia

REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

N.º 39 – 1.º semestre – 2023

Índice

Editorial	5
-----------------	---

Paisagens coloniais e pós-coloniais: Arquitetura, cidades, infraestruturas

Debates on Northern Africa

The «Plan of Constantine» and the modernist utopia	9
--	---

Ahmed El-Amine Benbernou

‘A land of minerals’: Oil Extraction and Constructs of French Coloniality in the Algerian Sahara	25
--	----

Gemma Jennings

Retracing continuity and discontinuity of a vernacular typology mass housing in the colonial context of Morocco: the case of the city of Casablanca	33
---	----

Fatima Zohra Saaïd, Najoua Beqqal, Mouna Sedreddine e Siham Elgharbi

Debates on West and Central Africa

Surveying essences, producing culture: virgin landscapes and the architectural reinvention of the late Portuguese empire	49
--	----

Rui Aristides Lebre

“Uma Guiné Melhor”: the psychological action and the spatialization of population control in rural areas. The strategic villages in Guinea-Bissau between 1968-1973 ..	59
--	----

Francesca Vita

Divided Urbanism – On the Spatial Production of Transportation Infrastructures in Livingstone during Late Colonialism	71
---	----

Carl-Philipp Bodenstein

In between on all levels – [Applied] Foreign Affairs	85
--	----

Baerbel Mueller

Entrevista

- Johan Lagae 95
Entrevista conduzida por Ana Vaz Milheiro e Ana Silva Fernandes

África em debate – Poderes e identidades

- La configuration inachevée de la modernité: L'expérience narrative qualifiante d'Idriss al-Gu'aydi, voyageur marocain en Europe durant l'été 1876 103
Nizar Tajditi
L'itinéraire d'un orientaliste au Portugal et ses réseaux européens. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, militaire et éthiopisant. 123
Hervé Penneç

Notas de leitura

- Watson, J. (2021), *Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization*. New York: Fordham University Press. 147
Miguel Filipe Silva e Abiud Bosire
Resumos. 151
Legendas das ilustrações 161

This special number of *Africana Studia* results from a selection of papers submitted to the “Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes: Architecture, Cities, Infrastructures - I International Congress”, which took place at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisbon, in January 2019. The congress was part of the research project entitled “Coast to Coast - Late Portuguese Infrastructural Development in Continental Africa (Angola and Mozambique): Critical and Historical Analysis and Postcolonial Assessment” funded by ‘Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia’ (FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology), with the reference PTDC/ATP- AQI/0742/2014, which lasted from 2015 to 2020. Gathering several institutions from Angola, Mozambique and Portugal as research partners¹, this project analyzed how the colonial strategies for territorial domination in Angola and Mozambique reflected upon the post-independent and current socio-spatial developments, especially focusing on three specific typologies of colonial public works: transport networks, hydroelectric facilities and settlements for resource exploitation.

Within this framework, the congress sought to broaden these concerns in three dimensions: (i) at geographical level, by opening up the discussion to different territories of former colonial history, beyond Angola and Mozambique, thus creating opportunities for the discussions on colonial structural impacts in diverse contexts, allowing for contrasting strategies and agents, as well as socio-spatial transformations;

(ii) at disciplinary level, by sharing perspectives from several scientific backgrounds with implications in the built environment, therefore promoting the joint discussions over the complex issues that are present in the production of space, in particular the creation and reproduction of social and territorial asymmetries;

and

(iii) at the materiality level, aiming to discuss not only built testimonies of colonial administration, but also immaterial or invisible actions that led to spatial definitions of power and dominance, and mechanisms of segregation or democratization of access to resources and common goods.

Therefore, the selected papers provide contributions to rethink colonial projects and interventions, considering their circumstances, complexities and impacts, often contradictory and perverse, from different perspectives and case-studies, allowing for a multi-layered interpretation of architecture and urbanism’s roles within colonial frameworks.

With this awareness, **Fatima Zohra Saaid, Najoua Beqqal, Mouna Sedreddine and Siham Elgharbi**, through a reflection on the incorporation of the traditional typology of the courtyard in colonial mass housing projects in Morocco, discussed the created continuities and discontinuities, by analyzing the use of vernacular architecture in these dwellings both as an intent for local cultural conciliation, as well as a contribution to international debates on modern living aspirations.

¹ Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique) and Universidade Técnica de Angola (Angola), as well as Dinâmia’CET - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Portugal).

The following text by **Rui Aristides**, addressing the Portuguese territories in late colonial domination, also feeds this debate, by questioning how modern architecture in former colonies represented both a technical space of freedom for architects and urbanists to explore innovative approaches to the built environment, as well as an attempt of legitimation of occupation through the production of built solutions that – despite being presented as tools of democratization – rather perpetuated the colonial dominance over these territories and unequal living conditions.

Baerbel Mueller shifts these debates to the pedagogical dimension, reflecting upon the role of academia as an essential framework for the conciliation of critical thinking and engaged action, by bridging efforts and promoting the joint knowledge construction with different stakeholders – communities, local associations, different generations – towards the production of relational spaces that celebrate diversity.

The research undertaken by **Francesca Vita** sheds light into the contradictions between discourse and action in late colonial administration, taking Guinea-Bissau as a case-study to question both the visible strategies of colonial domination, and the subtler strategies to establish control over the local population, by interfering in their private and public relations. This work highlights how architecture and urbanism served the purposes of population domination – “counter-subversion” as it was called by the colonial administration – to maintain power.

Focusing on the “Plan of Constantine” dated from 1958, yet extending the reflections to recent housing plans in Algeria, **Ahmed El-Amine Benbernou** investigates the contradictions between the colonial intentions of promoting social mix, and the actual impact of producing different mechanisms of spatial and economic segregation. Therefore, while understanding the appropriation process undertaken after independence, the author also analyses how certain housing solutions remained tools of perpetuation of poverty and asymmetries.

Expanding the debate to the infrastructural dimension, **Carl-Philipp Bodenstein** explores how segregation and exclusion are produced and reproduced by the asymmetries in the access to urban resources, in particular the infrastructures. By focusing on Livingstone in the late 1940s and 1950s, the author analyzes ideologies and discourses behind the conception and implementations of public transport, exposing the relations of dominance and their broad impacts.

Lastly, **Gemma Jennings** investigates the “footprints” of oil exploration in colonial Algeria, discussing how – while its extraction produced major investments in transport networks, airport facilities and the urbanization in general – the actual impacts for local populations were largely overlooked, radically changing ethnic identities and social relations. This case exposes the role of major resources into shaping spaces and population relationships, not only under colonial rule, but also with broader repercussions.

This group of texts therefore exposes contradictions and complexities of the late colonial administration in several contexts which, while presenting different cases and specificities, broadly show how colonial discourses of modernization, democratization and integration of local populations were simultaneously mechanisms of reproduction of domain and legitimation of territorial occupation, through more visible or subtle means, in which architecture and urbanism served this agenda. Therefore, this demonstrates the importance of a reflection not only on impacts and long-term repercussions of these processes, but also of a critical and ethical questioning on the roles of these disciplines as tools of segregation or effective democratization towards our future societies and territories.

Ana Vaz Milheiro *
Ana Silva Fernandes **

* FAUL (Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade de Lisboa) + Dinâmia/CET-IUL (Instituto Universitário de Lisboa).

** Dinâmia/CET-IUL (Instituto Universitário de Lisboa) + FAUP (Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto).

Debates on Northern Africa





The «Plan of Constantine» and the modernist utopia

Ahmed El-Amine Benbernou*

pp. 9-24

1. Introduction

Through this topic we will explore a phase of history that strongly marked the Algerian territory, and which is the War of Algeria and more specifically the period of the “Constantine’s Plan”. We intend to consider the motivations of the French administration through such an undertaking and its impact on the urbanity of Algerian cities today. In what ways did it impact on the way of thinking the Algerian territory? The ‘Plan of Constantine’ had a significant effect on the Algerian real estate. This apotheosis of the mass construction of the colonial period has greatly changed the landscape of Algiers in contributing to the gradual mutation where its image of Algiers the White was resolved into that of a city dotted with *Grands Ensembles*. Concerning the emergence of these symbols of modernity that are the *Grands Ensembles* in Algiers and in most Algerian cities, we believe that the “Plan of Constantine” was originally their proliferation.


Through this text we will try to understand how the development plan of 1958 participated in the transformation of the image of the Algerian landscape through the social housing process. For that we will consider two points: We will focus first on what the “Constantine Plan” was through its context and objectives. We will see afterwards what strategies and measures were put in place to achieve these objectives, which had to deal with the emergency situation and at the same time had to plan over the long term, where housing played an important role as a tool for social and economic advancement. This will lead to our conclusion about the learned lessons from this Plan which was launched there more than 50 years ago.

2. Integration through industrialization

The “Plan of Constantine” was defined as the successor to the “decadal Perspectives of the economic development of Algeria”, whose main objective was the country’s industrialization. With this document, the basis of social action promoted by the Plan took as principle that integration would be made by industrialization.

2.1. The stated goals and implied goals

The “Plan of Constantine” was in fact a political will to lift Algeria out of its underdevelopment. Therefore, its major concern was the industrialization of the country, which meant major

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a1>

* LAVUE-CRH, ENSAPVS - Université Paris-Nanterre.

reforms in the fields of employment, economy, administration, but also social reforms through education and health in order to establish a sustainable coexistence between the two peoples (Europeans and Algerians) and whose housing was considered as a key issue for this famous Plan. Having said that, the context in which General de Gaulle inaugurated the development plan on September 3rd, 1958, on the heights of Constantine, may leave some doubt about the sincerity of this great point in the French colonial policy in the country. Indeed, the urgency of the economic and social reconstruction of the Metropole devastated by the Second World War had led to relegate Algeria to second place in the priorities of the state. So why this sudden interest? Tarnished by the policy of collaboration and the Vichy regime, which was very powerful in Algeria, France has engaged in neocolonial wars to rebuild the empire and regain prestige, but the defeat at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 during the Indochina War was a great loss. The war of Algeria was increasingly widespread and resonated internationally, taking a new turn with the announcement of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) in Cairo on September 19th, 1958, under the chairmanship of Ferhat Abbas. That was also the day after the independence of Guinea, granted by France, and on the eve of the promulgation of the French Constitution. Thus in his speech, General de Gaulle emphasized the uniqueness of France and the will to open the Metropole to its colonies when he treated the war of liberation as a “fratricidal fight” (De Gaulle, 1994). We can detect here an initiative of the last chance to win back this land, where France became aware after four years of offensive of the reality of the situation in Algeria. Impoverishment of the countryside, misery, rural migration and proliferation of slums, mostly in the capital, where 65 % of the population were European¹, this was what the “Plan of Constantine” had to face at its launch. Following the publication in 1955 of the report “Maspetiol,” which evaluated the investment needed to develop the French Algeria, to see if the state was able to meet such an objective, a group of young officials and professionals chose to come together to see how to implement the report’s conclusions (Vibert, 1959). This gave rise to the “decadal perspectives of the economic development of Algeria” filed in March 1958 and was intended to serve as a basis for two successive five-year plans². Its main objective was made to overcome the delays encountered in terms of development assistance of Algeria which should have been imposed to the Metropole “as a duty of national solidarity”³ a long time ago. It is precisely this document which defined the basis of the “Plan of Constantine “ and where housing was conceived as “factors of social evolution” (CEDA, 1959) because the country’s industrialization could not be realized if the consumption habits of people changed by owning modern housing (Saigot, 1960). Moreover, housing should be a factor that promotes “communities interpenetration” (Saigot, 1960). A period of 5 years was set to meet the various objectives set by the plan. The challenge was to “urbanize this rural old body” (Marié, 1989) by raising the economic, social and cultural level at the metropolitan area and reducing inequalities between Muslims and Europeans for whom statistics estimate that the relationship between the two communities was about 1 European for 9 Muslims⁴. To implement the “Plan of Constantine” and ensure peace, General de Gaulle appointed Delouvrier as General Delegate of the Government in Algeria, a position he held from 1958 to 1960. This member of the Resistance, a high-ranking official of the French government who had served under the Fourth and Fifth Republic, played an important role in the planning sector of the metropolis and its colonies. Thus, Delouvrier was the man of action and reflection of the economic and social plan of development of Algeria.

¹ L’ambition du «Plan de Constantine», in: *Revue Entreprise*, n.º 245, 14 mai 1960, p. 33

² Interview I conducted with Mr. René Mayer, director of the habitat of Algeria from 1956 to 1962, 10.30.2012.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ L’ambition du «Plan de Constantine», *op. cit.*

2.2. Housing as support of the social promotion

The “Plan of Constantine” had two parallel main actions: land reform and industrialization. From these two points resulted a third action which was to provide housing and public amenities for both categories of population involved. The aim was to identify in cities or in their neighborhood the areas of implantation of industrial zones and areas of new housing, and in the countryside to identify the character of the new agglomerations (see Ilustração 01). Far from us to say that the plan for economic and social development of Algeria based its entire approach on the single axis of the housing, but it must be said that the habitat was considered by planners of the “Plan of Constantine” as an essential element of economic and social development because it represented a lever for employment and decentralization and it was supposed to play a crucial role in the social development of indigenous peoples. At the conclusion of a series of lectures on a survey about habitat in Algeria which was organized by the Technical Institute of Building and Public Works of Algeria (ITEBA), in May 1959, Paul Delouvrier was adamant that the building could be considered as one of the cornerstones of the activity because it had to distribute wages which should be spent for the benefit of the consumer goods industries. Also, it is an activity which is suitable for long-term programs. Mr. Lathuillère, architect DPLG, President of Regional Council of the College of Architects of Algiers said during the same cycle: “[...] *la promotion humaine est désormais liée au logement.*”⁵

For the Algerian capital, this thought is not new. Jacques Chevallier –mayor of Algiers from 1953 to 1958 and known for his humanism– understood that the Algerian problem was more social than political and saw the importance of housing in the construction of the Franco-Muslim civilization (Fralon, 2012). Beyond economic expectations, housing was considered to be a major integration challenge. As noted by Fralon (2012), Chevallier was also known for his right-wing position and reactionary pre-war attitudes prior to the adoption –on his arrival at the head of the commune– of this more social policy to deal with threats of war on the integrity of Algeria. This is how he appointed Pouillon in 1953 as chief architect for the construction of public housing in the capital to address the plight of Muslims in the *bidonvilles* for whom he felt that nothing was done. From this collaboration were born three major projects, *Diar Saada*, *Diar Mahçoul* and *Climat de France*. Completed between 1954 and 1957, these achievements were true emblems of the housing policy in the capital. Whether in the search for a local identity, in the materials used, or in the uniqueness of their design, Pouillon conceived of these projects by emphasizing the human factor. In his memoirs, he wondered if he was a good architect, but he had the belief that he was a man of heart and had achieved human work (Pouillon, 1968). Chevallier’s reflection on the conditions of housing was so strong that it opened up a new field of reflection on the Algerian question and prompted a reaction from the state authority about the reality and fate of this country.

3. Emergency of social challenges and the target figures policy

At its inception, the “Plan of Constantine” was confronted with two-time scale actions. It had to face the emergency in which Algeria was caught, where the independence movement was gaining more and more partisans among the indigenous population who has been affected by a high rate of poverty. This implies action in the short term which should be accompanied at the same time by investment in the long term to achieve industrialization and development.

⁵ Which we can translate by “human development is now linked to housing”.

This paradoxical situation, in relation to time and budget, instantly impacted on housing, which was taken as a pillar of this gigantic enterprise.

3.1. Forecasts and regional rebalancing will

The satisfaction of social needs, as they have been estimated by the “Plan of Constantine” based on “decadal Perspectives” had to address three major concerns:

- Catching up the delay accumulated over the previous years, estimated at approximately 100,000 urban housing units;
- Gradually replace 100,000 dilapidated housing units;
- Provide housing for extra population estimated on 10 years at 1.8 million people for the 50 major cities.

The realization of this triple objective required the construction of 560,000 homes in 10 years and considerable effort in terms of business investments for the buildings and their equipment. For that, this effort could only be gradual; the plan’s goal was to house one million people during the first 5 years. The annual growth rate of housing starts was estimated at 10,000 additional homes per year.

Fiscal years, in Algeria, extended from April 1st to March 31st overlapping on 2 calendar years. Since 1960, the public authority has fixed it on the calendar year to have a global vision of investment per year. The year 1959 served as a transition: it was reduced to 9 months (April 1st to December 31st). The appropriations for the habitat for 1959 passed to 15 billion francs, while for the year 1958-1959 the amount was 10 billion for the 12 months.

Given the limited time, and the large number of housing units to produce, it was crucial to recognize the achievements and projects already begun in the previous five-year plan (1954-1958) ⁶, in the balance of this major project that Deluz described as «*gigantesque machine à chiffre*»⁷ (Deluz, 1988). And for good reason, on paper, this five-year program provided for the period 1959 to 1963, the production of 210,000 urban housing units over the whole of the Algerian territory⁸ with nearly half in the Centre region⁹. Obviously, the largest share was attributed to the capital with 53,000 housing units (CEDA, 1964). In 1962, 21.5 % of the total housing program was carried out and launched in the Centre region for a total of 45,136 units, which represents 50.1 % of the goal in the Centre region, over more than three-quarters of the period laid out (see Table 01). In addition to these “modern” type dwellings, it was planned to build 110,000 housing units of a “rudimentary” type. 90,000 of them were reserved for rural dwellers and 20,000 for slum clearance. According to Sgroï-Dufresne (1984), Algiers inherited 10,000 units of 90,000 planned in the program. Algiers population was 588,000 inhabitants in 1954, while the estimate of population growth for 1959 was 810,000 inhabitants.

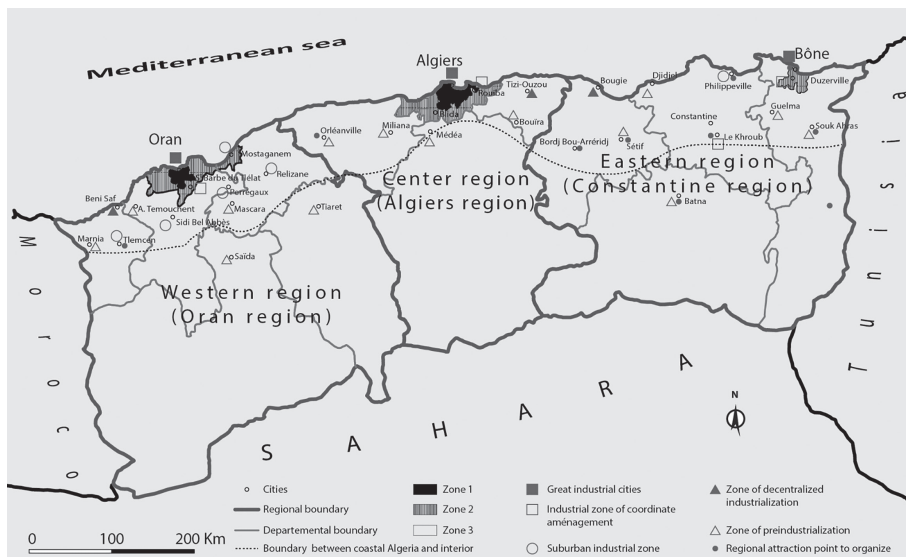
⁶ The balance sheet does not include the 15,000 homes built in the Chelif valley after the earthquake of 1954 and whose implementation was continued outside the framework outlined by the “Plan of Constantine”.

⁷ I translate: “gigantic machine of figures”.

⁸ To implement the plan, the distribution of programs took over the administrative division of the Algerian territory of 1959 (French departments of Algeria): *l’Algérois* (Algiers region for the center), *l’Oranie* (Oran region for the West) and *le Constantinois* (Constantine-Bone region for the east). The South enjoying a different status (French Departments of the Sahara) was not included in the program only through the construction of gas pipelines for the industrialization objectives.

⁹ 90,000 dwellings precisely.

Ilustração 01 – Administrative division of French Algeria at the time of the “Plan of Constantine” (1959)



Source: *Caisse d'équipement pour le développement de l'Algérie, Aménagement du territoire Urbanisme et Construction*, in *Revue Urbanisme*, N.º 73, Paris, 1961, 76 p. Map produced by A. B.

Table 01 – Cross between forecasts of the “Plan of Constantine” and housing starts in the Center region

	1959	1960	1961	1962	Total	Share in % of the program in the Centre region
Planned housing	6,000	26,600	30,400	27,000	90,000	42,9 %
Completed housing and Starts	5,679	19,977	12,378	7,102	45,136	21,5 %

Source: *Caisse d'équipement pour le développement de l'Algérie*, 1964.

Housing starts have struggled to align themselves on the program forecasts, in the central region, and experienced a sharp drop during the last two years of colonial rule. We can assume two major factors were at work here. The first is reflected in the geographical rebalancing will of housing starts. So in 1960, the number of construction sites in the department of Algiers decreased by a third in favor of Oran and Constantine, marking a clear commitment to decentralization (CEDA, 1961). The second point may result from the impact of the announcement of the referendum on self-determination of Algeria (speech by General de Gaulle of 09.16.1959) and the events to which it gave rise.

The urban housing consisted of 3 rooms on average, 7 % were of higher standard called “normal HLM” and 93 % distributed by thirds as follows (Saigot, 1959: 5), (see Table 02):

- “LOGECO” with an area of 50 m² for a cost of 2,200,000 F;
- Housing “million” whose surface was 40 m² 1,300,000 F;
- Housing “semi-urban” 32 m² for 650 000 F.

With the presentation of these figures, it is the social character of modern housing that was put forward. Indeed 80 % of the program was intended for the poorest. This strong commitment has led to wide variations in the types of housing programmed as a direct result

of the public authorities' action that decided to orient the map to the construction of housing for the poorest urban classes by encouraging villages inside the territory to fight against the hypertrophy of large industrial cities. In recontextualizing these remarks, two other issues in this action strategy must be considered. The first is to target populations under the control of the FLN in the maquis more than meeting a growing demand for housing in the cities. The second was to provide, for different industries, a workforce generated by the sedentarization of the rural population who fled campaigns or have been grouped by force.

Table 02 – Distribution by type of 210,000 urban housing provided from 1959 to 1963 and housing starts on 4 years of achievement (1959-1962) by the Plan at the Center region in comparison with the rest of the territory¹⁰

Types of housing →	Higher Normal	Economic or LOGECO	Million	Semi-urban	Total	% relative to the objectives of the Plan
Center region (Forecast)	6,000	26,600	30,400	27,000	90,000	42,9 %
Total Algeria (Forecast)	14,000	62,000	71,000	63,000	210,000	100 %
Center region (Housing starts)	5,679	19,977	12,378	7,102	45,136	50,1 %
Total Algeria (Housing starts)	10,022	49,320	28,875	25,032	113,249	53,9 %

Source: *Caisse d'équipement pour le développement de l'Algérie*, 1964.

The department of Algiers has known 7 times more construction of public housing than the other three departments of the Center region (Tizi-Ouzou, Medea and Orléansville) (see Table 03). This imbalance is due to the difficult adjustment of public offices to their new regional focus as they have a well-established administrative structure in large cities. Added to this is the composition of the program that addressed more than the average social stratum of the population, usually located in this area.

Table 03 – Geographical location of the HLM program – Comparative per year between HLM programs in Algiers and other departments of the Centre region

Center region ↓	Years →	1959	1960	1961	Total
Department of Algiers		2.300	1.200	1.800	5.300
Other center departments		100	-	600	700
Total		2.400	1.200	2.400	6000

Source: *Caisse d'équipement pour le développement de l'Algérie, Exécution du programme d'équipement en 1961, Secteur X "l'habitat", 1961.*

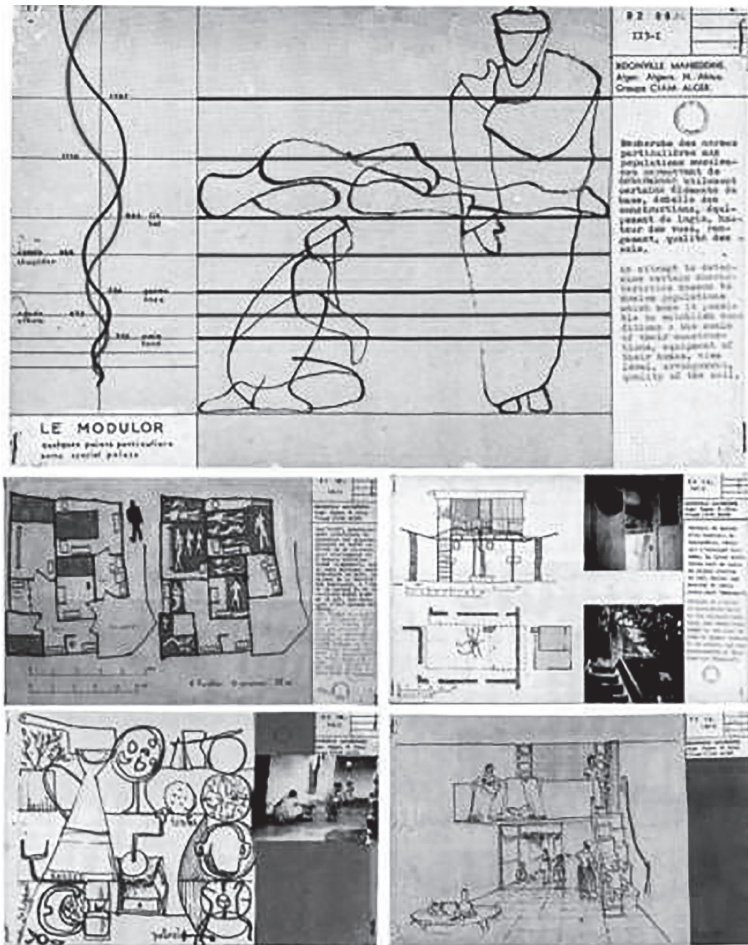
The body of builders counted 11 HLM (4 with regional competence and 7 others with municipal jurisdiction), 29 cooperatives HLM (including 8 public limited companies and 4 credit companies real estate), 55 cooperatives societies non HLM and one SEM¹¹: the Algerian Company Real Estate (CIA)¹² (DGGGA, 1960).

¹⁰ Achievements include housing for specialized administrative sections (SAS), National Education (EN) and the homeownership crate and rural exploitation (CAPER).

¹¹ *Société d'Economie Mixte*. (I translate: Mixed Economy Company which is a semi-public company).

¹² *Compagnie Immobilière Algérienne*.

Ilustração 02 – Planks from the presentation of CIAM-Alger group at the CIAM 1953 at Aix-en-Provence



Source: ©Fondation Le Corbusier/ADAGP.

3.2. The *Grands Ensembles* as design model of social housing

Given the time limit and the significant number of dwellings to achieve, the adoption of the model of large sets has represented a logical and obvious choice for grouping buildings and to meet the requirements of speed and efficiency. But this choice can also be explained by the introduction of ZUP¹³ as a procedure to fight against the fragmentation of projects (Fourcaut, 2007). It requires for projects of more than 100 dwellings to take place in defined areas— where communities make major development work simultaneously— and give as objective to fight against land speculation. Intensification of social housing in the form of large sets emerged in Algiers in the early 50's. (Reverdy, 1963) The predominant model of social housing for “Indigenous” of the 30's had a horizontal development on the ground floor only. This model

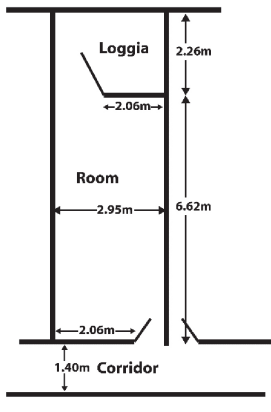
¹³ *Zone à Urbaniser par Priorité* which was translated by: zone to be urbanized in priority (Çelik, 1997).

Ilustração 03 – Images from 1959 of the housing units Djenane el Hassan of the architect Roland Simounet built on rough terrain which gives them the appearance of a large set. Municipality of Oued Koriche

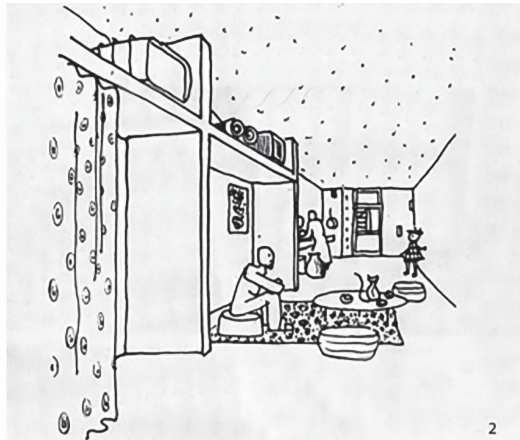


Source: Institut Français d'Architecture.

Ilustração 04 – Cell of the Carrières Jaubert district (Alexis Daure, Henri Béri, Roland Simounet, Vladimir Bodiansky, 1957) – Municipality of Oued Koriche



1



2

1 - Schematic of the Type cell (Plan redesigned by B. A. Source: Reverdy J.C., op. cit., p. 35.

2 - Perspective sketch of an interior of a housing. Source: *Alger Revue*, 1957.

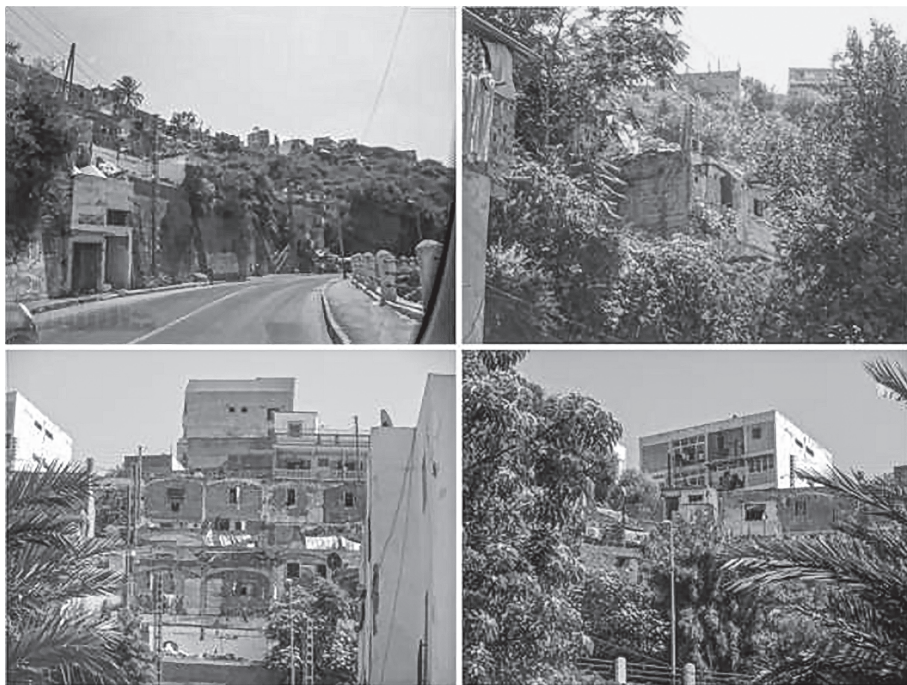
very quickly emerged as unsustainable, due to the spreading it generated and the increased transportation costs and servicing it engendered. Thus, the three housing projects *Diar Saada*, *Diar Mahçoul* and *Climat de France* were the first large groups in the Algerian capital.

The city of Algiers experienced in the time of the war of Algeria a disproportionate increase of *bidonvilles*. This term coined in the Maghreb in the late 30's (Desclotres *et al.*, 1961), represented the living conditions of the poorest indigenous populations in the Algerian capital. In 1960, the *bidonvilles* population is estimated at 140,000 people (Sahli, 1990). During CIAM 9 of 1953 in Aix-en-Provence, CIAM-Algiers group, composed of the urban planner Jean de Maisonseul and architects among whom Roland Simounet and Louis Miquel, made a remarkable presentation of the *bidonville Mahieddine*. By representing Algerian silhouettes through the *Modulor*, the goal was to see in the vernacular and popular culture a way to renew modernity (Abram, 1999). This meticulous work, which included questions related to urban planning, legislation and construction as well as those related to social thinking, gave birth to a sketch of the Muslim

home cell (Ilustração 02). The latter was tested in various applications both in a horizontal shape as in the example of *Djenane el Hassan* of Simounet in a vertical shape as in the example of the housing estates of the *Carrières Jaubert* district (Ilustração 03 & 04), but had its climax through the “millions” and “rudimentary” housing programs of the “Plan of Constantine”.

The government strategy to respond to this crisis focused on the provision of affordable housing to Muslims population but to the detriment of their consistency with the socio-cultural characteristics of targeted populations and how they were living their housing. This last parameter could only promote their degradation (Lalonde, 2010). Despite the best efforts made by the group of CIAM-Alger, deteriorating of *Djenan el Hassan* and the *Carrières Jaubert* district was inevitable (Ilustração 05 & 06). It was exacerbated by their excessively

Ilustração 05 – Current views of *Djenane el Hassan* from the Frais-Vallon road – Municipality of Oued Koriche



Source: Photos taken by A. B. September 2013.

Ilustração 06 – Housing for Indigenous «la Montagne». Architects: Alexis Daure, Henri Béri, Roland Simounet, 1958 – Municipality of Hussein Dey

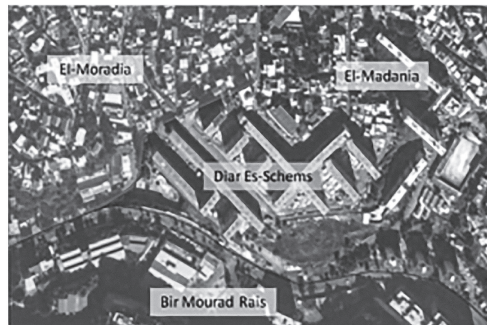


1 - Housing view from the courtyard. Source: Les Cahiers du CSTB, 1958.

2 & 3 - Current state. Photos taken by A. B. September 2013.

rudimentary nature and the total lack of comfort dictated by economic constraints, plus the inadequacy of extremely narrow surfaces¹⁴ with sizes of extended families that make up the Algerian society. We can also make two other assumptions about the reasons for this degradation. The first results in the failure of studies to take into account the aspirations of these neo-city-dwellers about their homes. These studies have focused strictly on the observation of an improvised organization and dictated by means of edge available to these families. The second were the principles of urbanization, which was based on zoning, leading to segmented space production and monofunctional, which contributed to their isolation. The Algerian law of 1981, concerning the transfer of State property, has only accentuated the steep degradation of these kinds of dwellings where the abolition of the *concierges* marked definitively the State's loss of interest in the requalification of its built colonial heritage. *Diar Es-Schems* represents the last *grand ensemble* made in Algiers before independence and which used the model of the Muslim home cell type. Located in the municipality of El-Madania, at the junction of the municipalities of El-Moradia and Bir Mourad Rais, it had to meet the goal of slum clearance of Clos Salembier (see Ilustração 07 & 08). It consists of

Ilustração 07 – Location of Diar Es-Schems



Diar Es-Schems, © 2004 DigitalGlobe

Source: Google earth.

Ilustração 08 – Clos Salambier's Slum and the construction site of Diar Es-Schems in background



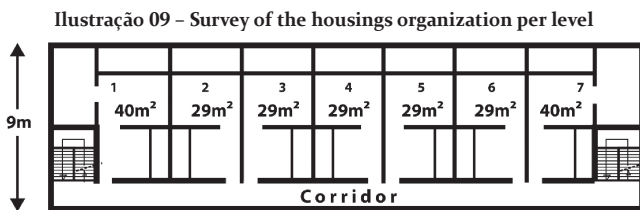
Source: Caisse d'équipement pour le développement de l'Algérie, *Aménagement du territoire Urbanisme et Construction*, in *Revue Urbanisme* N.º 73, Paris, 1961, 76 p., p. 16.

¹⁴ 16 m² for *Djenane el Hassan* and 18 m² for careers Jaubert.

1341¹⁵ units on a 6-hectare difficult terrain and had the highest yield of the Center region with an average of 220 housing units / hectare. This project was to house nearly 6,000 people. Made of precast –which reduces both the time and cost of construction– this largescale housing project has only two types of housing (see Ilustração 09 & 10):

- Single-room housing with an area of 28.76 m². This type represents 70 % of dwellings in this *Grand ensemble*. It includes a kitchen, with inside it shower and toilet, connected to a bedroom opening onto a loggia.
- Two-room housing of 40 m². They are located at the ends of the corridors next to the stairwells. This location allows them to benefit from an additional bedroom of 11 m² approximately.

Housings are served by passageways connected to a stairwell at each of its ends.



Source: Reverdy J.C., op. cit., p. 35. Plan redesigned by B. A.

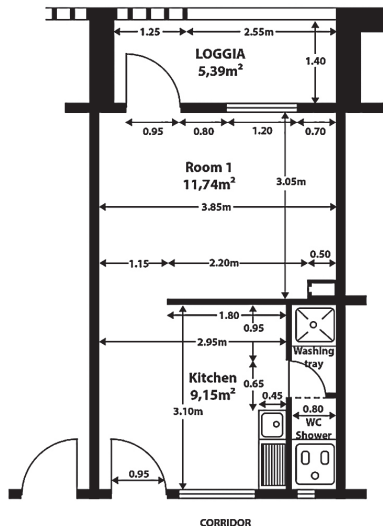
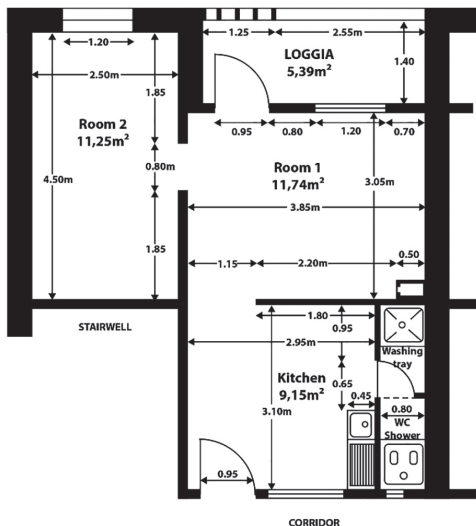
Ilustração 10 – Plans of the Type cell of *Diar Es-Schems*

DIAR ES-SCHEMS
Two-room housing

39,94m²

DIAR ES-SCHEMS
Single-room housing

28,69m²



Source: REVERDY J.C., op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁵ Interview I conducted with an agent of the municipality of El Madania who lived at *Diar Es-Schems*, 09.05.2013.

Overcrowding of this housing estate, built from 1959 to 1962, was instantaneous. Three months after the arrival of the first inhabitants, a survey was conducted by Jean-Claude Reverdy for the *Centre Africain des Sciences Humaines Appliquées* (African Centre for Applied Human Sciences), from April to July 1961. This study aimed to examine the physical adaptation conditions which were imposed on the new inhabitants of *Diar Es-Schems* by the builders in terms of area, equipment, organization of the housing... etc. The conclusion was unequivocal. Depending on the application of French standards, 28 dwellings were already experiencing a critical overcrowding on a sample of 42 households surveyed. Only 7 units were experiencing a normal situation. It was the two-room housing which had the most reduced individual surface with an average of 5 m². 40 % of the usable area of the single room is occupied by furniture: deducting the loggia and the shower/toilet, the space devoted to family represented only half of the total area of which two thirds were in the kitchen. Population growth over the last 50 years has only worsened the indecent situation of these families who were affected in their intimacy and their dignity. Youth unemployment, children who grew up and had founded in turn their own families, the housing and land crisis, all these reasons meant that leaving the family home (called in French the “*décohabitation*”) became impossible. The people of *Diar Es-Schems* have used several tricks to earn a few square meters more, like the integration of the loggia or a part of the corridor and stairwells in the space of housing. The cellars of this housing estate were squatted to organize makeshift apartments. Electricity and water were diverted inside them. The outdoor areas have seen the establishment of hovels in every cranny available (Ilustração 11, 12 & 13). This situation of extreme ghettoization gave rise to clashes that made the headlines in the news in 2009 and 2010 too. My last visit to *Diar Es-Schems* dates back to September 2013. Nearly 339 families were still waiting for rehousing, not counting those who occupy cellars. Of these, there were 50 cases of appeals. These correspond to families who refused the proposed offer of relocation. These extended families wished to take this opportunity for living separately but the public authorities refused their request. Therefore, these families have preferred to stay at *Diar*

Ilustração 11 – Current external views of *Diar Es-Schems*

(We note the embankment of housing already evacuated to avoid further squats)



Source: Photos taken by A. B. September 2013.

Es-Schems instead of being piled up again elsewhere. *Diar Es-Schems* is not an isolated case. The situation is the same in most “millions” and “rudimentary” housing estate which meet the Muslim home cell type.

For the people who arrived at *Diar Es-Schems* after independence, mainly the young, they think that this housing estate was a student residence at the origin. Through my fieldwork, I

Ilustração 12 - Trace of integration of part of the staircase in the housing space
(A wall divided the bearing in two and stairs were processed as two half-levels)



Source: Photos taken by A. B. September 2013.

Ilustração 13 - Interior views of the current state of *Diar Es-Schems*

[Despite their rudimentary nature, we find, in the rubble, traces of a significant investment on the part of occupants for appropriate and beautify their homes (floor tiles, plaster moldings, earthenware, interior changes ...). The apartments still occupied are identifiable by the presence of a curtain over the entrance to the hallway door. The evacuated dwellings were demolished to avoid squats.]



Source: Photos taken by A. B. September 2013.

identified several myths about the original function of various “millions” dwellings produced by the Plan. As a form of denial, to think that these homes were directly intended for them seems to them inconceivable, even humanly impossible.

Beyond goals of profitability and financial savings, the error of this habitat model was to have wanted to provoke a rapid and immediate urbanization, causing breaks that were too brutal in adapting conditions to housing as the example of the implicit limitation of family size. These problems compromise the challenges of the housing policy of the “Plan of Constantine” as a factor in social evolution.

4. Conclusion

With the Plan’s objective to help Algeria emerge from its underdevelopment, the country knew a globalization process before time. With the adoption of the model of large groups, the Algerian urbanization aligned itself with the metropolitan regulations and the functionalist thinking of the modern movement that prevailed there. This has resulted in an urban planning where zoning was thought out to its extreme and the implementation of mono-functional housing projects folded on themselves.

Following its investigations in social housing projects, Michel Marié (1989) denounced an attempt to impose an argument in favor of the “Algeria-French” through the establishment of ethnic diversity at the expense of respect of the way that Muslim families lived their houses. The “Plan of Constantine” dared put on the front a new concern in the way of thinking urbanism: “diversity”. Maria Sgroï-Dufresne (1986) explained that only part of the Muslim population was covered by integration. This is the one defined in the real estate programs, such as the “solvent” part of the Algerian population. And she denounces the isolation of the poorest who were considered dangerous. This situation reminds us the example of Parisian popular classes in the urbanization of the nineteenth century (Chevalier, 1978). If the “Plan of Constantine” has tried to deal with questions of social mix by the establishment of an ethnic mix, it fostered the emergence and proliferation of a new mode of segregation in Algeria’s own population through socio-occupational classes. The other issue is to see the consequences of this “change of face of social segregation” on the independent Algeria and the housing units produced by the Plan in their current state. With the departure of Europeans in 1962, they were immediately and entirely replaced by the Algerian population. As raised by Deluz (1988), the question is whether the built environment produced in a segregative mind can be reunited by the mere fact of ethnic unity.

In her thesis, Nora Semmoud (2001) discovers that at independence, facing the massive movement of reappropriation of the city and vacant property, the State intervention was limited to reserve a portion of the existing housings for their officials. The Social redistribution of the population was made through the rent policy. This policy consisted in blocking public housing rents in popular neighborhoods to maintain social groups with low-income. In contrast, rents in some housing estates became accessible only by social groups with higher incomes. This reinforces our idea that social segregation would somehow become Algerian with the development of state capitalism and the advent of a “bureaucratic society of consumption led” (Lefebvre, 1968) even if consumption remained for a long time based on quota regulations. Thereby housing projects produced for the poor continued to impoverish while those produced for higher income populations have fared better.

In his memoirs, General de Gaulle pondered the relations of domination which founded empires, where he asked about the possibility of transforming the old dependency relationships in preferential links of a political, economic and cultural nature (De Gaulle, 1994). This implies an ideology of a new enslavement mode behind the objectives of the development plan, but

debate on the real intentions of the “Plan of Constantine” can only be sterile. The real question would be to reflect on lessons inherited by its actions on the Algerian territory. The five-year project of 1 million dwellings started in 2004 can challenge us. Because even though times change and influences too, we can cite the project of 1 million dwellings launched in South Africa or in Brazil, but we can see the instrumentalization of housing production as an obvious and strong response to the ills of society. So why make so many challenges and issues the sole responsibility of housing? Is the habitat itself capable of supporting such a burden? What about reviewing ways of thinking about planning and its process and the production of habitat? Have they really changed or are they still based on programmatic principles of the famous “Constantine Plan” initiated there more than 50 years ago? The question is open to debate.

Bibliographic references

- Abram, Joseph (1999), *L'Architecture moderne en France, Tome 2, Du chaos à la croissance, 1940-1966*, sous la dir. de Gérard Monnier, Paris: A. et J. Picard.
- Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville d'Alger (10 Octobre 1953).
- Caisse D'équipement Pour Le Developpement De L'algerie (1964), *Les réalisations de 1959 à 1962*.
- (1961), *Plan de Constantine 2ans de réalisations*, Avec le concours de La Délégation Générale en Algérie.
- (1961), «Aménagement du territoire Urbanisme et Construction», in *Revue Urbanisme*, N.º 73, Paris, 76 p.
- (1961), Exécution du programme d'équipement en 1961, in: *Secteur X «l'habitat»*.
- (1959), Programme d'équipement 1959. In: *Rapport général*.
- Çelik, Zeynep (1997), *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations Algiers under French Rule*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 236 p. [Online]. Available at: <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft8c6009jk/>.
- Chevalier, Louis (1978), *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses*, Paris, coll. Pluriel, Livre de poche n.º 8334 G, Lib. Gén. d'Édition.
- De Gaulle, Charles (1994), *Mémoires d'espoir: L'esprit de la Ve République*, Omnibus/Plon.
- Delegation Generale Du Gouvernement En Algerie (1960), *Plan de Constantine 1959-1963 Rapport général*, Direction du plan et des études économiques, Ed.: République Française.
- Deluz, Jean-Jacques (1988), *L'urbanisme et L'Architecture d'Alger*, Pierre Mardaga, Office des Publications Universitaires, Alger, 200 p.
- Descloîtres, Robert, Reverdy, Jean-Claude, Des-Cloîtres, Claudine (1961), *L'Algérie des bidonvilles: le Tiers Monde dans la cité*, Préface de Jacques Berque, Collection «Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent», Document IV, Publié par l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, 6e section, Paris-La Haye, 127 pages in-8.º.
- Fourcaut, Annie (2007), «Décret n.º 58-1464 relatif aux zones à urbaniser par priorité», in *Célébrations nationales 2008*, Paris, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, pp. 72-73.
- Fralon, José-Alain (2012), *Jacques Chevalier, l'homme qui voulait empêcher la guerre d'Algérie*, Alger, Casbah éditions, 310 p.
- Klein, Richard (2006), «L'expérience du bidonville: Roland Simounet et le groupe CIAM-Alger», in: *La Modernité critique: autour du CIAM 9 d'Aix-en-Provence 1953*, sous la direction de Jean-Lucien Bonillo, Claude Massu et Daniel Pinson, Marseille, Éd. Imbernon.
- (2000), *Roland Simounet à l'œuvre: architecture 1951-1996*, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, Musée d'art moderne Lille Métropole/Institut français d'architecture.
- L'Ambition du «Plan de Constantine», in: *Revue Entreprise*, n.º 245, 14 mai 1960, p. 33.

- Lalonde, Martin (Avril 2010), *La Crise du logement en Algérie: des politiques d'urbanisme mésadaptées*, Mémoire présenté à la Faculté des études supérieures en vue de l'obtention du grade de Maître ès science en Anthropologie, directeur de recherche Bernard Bernier.
- Lathuillere, Marcel (Septembre 1959), «Architecture et productivité», conf. du 14 mai 1959, Salle des Actes de l'Université d'Alger, Conférence VI de l'ITEBA «Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie» présidée par M. F. Bienvenu, in: *Supplément aux Annales de l'Institut Technique du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics*, n.º 141, 12ème année, 11 p.
- Lefebvre, Henri (1968), *La Vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne*, éd. Gallimard, 384 p., Coll. Idées, n.º 162.
- Marié, Michel (1989), *Les Terres et les mots*, Ed: Paris, Meridiens Klincksieck, 216 p. Coll. Analyse institutionnelle.
- Mezzoued, Aniss Mouad (Avril 2013), «Temps et récits urbains, essai méthodologique et éléments d'application au cas d'Alger», in: *Urbia, Urbanisme et aménagement des territoires. Un aperçu de la jeune recherche francophone*, Hors-série n.º 1, Lausanne, Observatoire universitaire de la ville et du développement durable/IGD, 232 p., pp. 173-186.
- Oulebsir, Nabila (2004), *Les Usages du patrimoine: monuments, musées et politique coloniale en Algérie (1830-1930)*, Paris: Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Pouillon, Fernand (1968), *Mémoire d'un architecte*, éditions du Seuil, 640 p.
- Raymond, Henri (juillet-août 1974), «Habitat, modèles culturels et architecture», in: *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, n.º 174.
- Reverdy, J.C. (1963), *Habitations nouvelles et urbanisation rapide. Conditions écologiques de l'adaptation au logement en Algérie, Aix-en-Provence, CASHA*, 75 p.
- Sahli, Anne-Marie (15-17 Mai 1990), *Alger: évolution, révolution et permanence*, in *Croissance démographique et urbanisation*, Séminaire international de Rabat.
- Saïgot, Jacques (16 février 1960), *L'Habitat*, conférence de presse prononcée par le Directeur des travaux publics de la délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie, Alger, in-4.º, 21 p., pp. 5-6.
- (Novembre 1959), «L'habitat dans le plan quinquennal de l'Algérie», conf. du 25/06/59, Salle des Actes de l'Université d'Alger, Conclusion du cycle de conférences de l'ITEBA «Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie» présidée par Paul Delouvrier, in: *Supplément aux Annales de l'Institut Technique du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics*, n.º 143, 12ème année, 16 p.
- Semmoud, Nora (2001), *Les stratégies d'appropriation de l'espace à Alger*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 272 p.
- Sgroï-Dufresne, Maria (1986), *Alger 1830-1984: Stratégie et enjeux urbains*, Éd. Paris: Recherche sur les civilisations, 252 p., Mémoire, n.º 63.
- Vibert, Jean (décembre 1959), in: revue *Chronique Sociale de France*.

Archives

- Archives of CAEF (Centre for Economic and financial archives). [Online]. [Consult. Apr.-May-June.2011].
- Archives of audiovisual speeches of Charles de Gaulle, *Charles de Gaulle paroles publiques*, INA and the Charles de Gaulle Fondation. [Online]. [Consult. 09.15.10].
- Archives of Wilaya of Oran. [Online]. [Consult. Feb.2011].
- Archives of Wilaya of Mostaganem. [Online]. [Consult. Feb.2011].
- Archives of CNAOM at Aix-en-Provence. [Online]. [Consult. May-June.2013].
- Archives of Wilaya of Algiers. [Online]. [Consult. Sept.2013].

'A land of minerals': Oil Extraction and Constructs of French Coloniality in the Algerian Sahara

Gemma Jennings*

pp. 25-31

Introduction

In 1959, Jacques Soustelle, the then Minister of State for Overseas Departments, wrote of the French project in the Algerian Sahara, “the Sahara, which for thousands of years was an obstacle between white men and black, will have been transformed at last into a link enabling them to meet on grounds of common prosperity...thanks to our technicians, administrators and soldiers...[M]ay we not rightfully take pride in contributing in this way to world peace?” (Soustelle, 1959: 636). Such colourful descriptions of the vast but ephemeral colonial investment project of the late 1950s were commonplace in the French press. They hailed a new, benevolent desert conquest- the triumph of French grit and technology over these inhospitable lands to finally establish modern civilisation,” or at least new cities, roads and telecommunications, in a region which had been overwhelmingly neglected by colonial developers over the first 126 years of imperial occupation (Clarke, 1961: 103-4, Lydon, 2007: 45). These developments were precipitated and increasingly funded by the discovery and exploitation of the huge Saharan oil and gas reserves. The oil, or “black gold”, was of huge strategic importance to the French state, touted as a panacea for a range of social, economic and political ills across the territories (Davis, 2017: 323, Brogni, 1973: 152-3).¹ The extraction of these resources, however, required a reconstitution of the Saharan physical and political infrastructure, changes which had vast but underexplored impacts on Saharan residents.²

This paper explores two key questions around the imperial development project in the Sahara between 1952 and 1962. First, in what ways did the oil infrastructure change and shape the physical space of the Algerian Saharan region- its borders and boundaries as well as its landscapes and built environments? And secondly, how were these spatial changes experienced, absorbed, and influenced by local actors and populations? Taken together, the analysis illustrates how the interaction between colonial strategic and racial logics and the material nature of Algeria’s hydrocarbon resources shaped and translated into the physical and social landscape, laying an economic and infrastructural foundation which influenced

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a2>

* **University of Birmingham.**

¹ From the French perspective, these included securing a much-needed energy reserve, strengthening foreign-exchange reserves, and even combatting the rise in Russian influence in Europe. AN Folder F6 4004, Peyret, Henry (1957), *Le Sahara espoirs et réalités, L'économie supplément*, n.º 596.

² This has been particularly impacted by the pervasive vision of the Sahara as an empty space, which has rendered Saharan residents invisible, conspicuously absent from historical, economical and even ecological studies. For a detailed discussion of this historiography see McDougall *et al.*, 2012: 9-12.

Algerian state-building projects for decades (Davis, 2010: 178-179, Musso, 2018: 174). The paper opens with a discussion of the establishment and urban geographies of the emerging demographic centres at the extraction nodes of Hassi Messaoud, Hassi R'Mel and Edjeleh. The article then turns to an analysis of the relationship between oil infrastructure, more broadly conceived, and the construction of the Saharan border.

The “fires of modernism”: Establishing oil towns

The Search

By the early 1960s, the Saharan oil industry employed and housed hundreds of workers in lavish residential and industrial complexes often described by European observers as towering impressively over the desert landscape. These nodes were alternatively envisaged as either the “fires of modernism” or, somewhat more bluntly, as a “surrealist fairground.”³ It was a far cry from the conditions experienced by French geologists and early prospectors who had arrived in the desert a decade earlier. These men were a mobile and peripatetic group who toiled “without water, without shade, without roads,” in oppressive heat, sleeping and working in simple tents (Plessis, 1960: 26-27). In this first section, I outline this dramatic process of urban development and argue that a combination of colonial policy imperatives alongside industry practices shaped these emerging commercial and demographic nodes and imposed new socio-spatial practices around race, ethnicity and labour.

The exploration and prospecting of the 1950s formed part of the wider imperial search for a secure domestic reserve of hydrocarbon resources which had become a dominant strategic priority after the First World War. An expensive and potentially unprofitable venture for private companies, Saharan operations emanated predominately from these geopolitical concerns, underwritten and facilitated by a state policy which provided capital investment, infrastructural development and a guaranteed market for any oil produced (Beltran, 2016: 49-50, Barjot, 2016: 63). These early activities, whilst they lacked the type of permanent infrastructure which so marked the Saharan landscape later in the decade, left long-standing imprints not only on regional mapping and colonial cartography but also on human geography (Verlaque, 1955: 174). Preliminary drilling activities, for example, drew Saharan men from across the desert often to remote sites on short-term, highly paid contracts- instigating new migratory cycles as unproductive sites were abandoned and drilling teams, often including local recruits, moved on (Verlaque, 1955: 176-177).

Moreover, because these activities required a ready supply of water, even the most rapidly abandoned sites had long-term implications as the large and accessible reservoirs of subterranean water they left behind were often exploited by nomadic groups. For some, such as the Chaamba, available water points ultimately resulted in changes to existing migratory routes (Verlaque, 1955: 176-177). Governmental policy, thus strongly shaped the emerging Algerian oil industry, particularly in its strong links to metropolitan consumption and instigated a search for oil which, even in its early and transitory stages, began to reshape patterns of labour and migration for local residents.

Company Towns

As oil and gas reserves were discovered, construction of a more permanent physical infrastructure- derricks and storage units, pumps and pipelines, electricity and running water,

³ AD 19860445/4, Press cutting (undated, 1958), *Brève rencontre d'un jeune; BP, Folder ARC18159, Press Cutting Financial Times (1964) Pipelines Bursting at the Seams.*

as well lodgings and offices- centering on these points began. The key sites, Hassi Messaoud, Hassi R'Mel and Edjeleh, were all clustered in the north-east quadrant of the desert. Their particular geography had two significant implications. The first was that entirely new industrial and residential agglomerations, unconnected to prevailing constructive logic and patterns, such as proximity to oases, but rather shaped by the requirements of hydrocarbon extraction and situated away from existing settlements, were constructed (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 151). Secondly, as these sites and nearby urban settlements underwent dramatic and rapid growth, the population of Hassi Messaoud grew to 5,000 by 1971 and up to 38,000 in 1998, this concentrated location significantly exaggerated demographic and economic asymmetry between this northeast quadrant of the desert and the southern and western regions (Lerat, 1971: 16, Seghiri, 2002: 99, Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 29). As I will illustrate below, this evolution into crucial economic, transport and demographic nodes was significantly influenced and underwritten by both the infrastructural investment and economic opportunities associated with the oil sector, with significant consequences for local social structures.

The urban geography of these new agglomerations provides an important insight into how these interactions between commercial prerogatives, geographic and material dictates, and imperial social and economic policy were tangibly translated into the built environment. As we will see, local management and architects were important actors in interpreting and applying colonial racial logic in these settings. Moreover, the comparatively well-documented history of these company towns sheds light on how the industrial and wider colonial presence in these areas impacted the daily lives and social structures of local communities. Because oil companies recruited and housed a varied migrant workforce, which drew from the metropole, the coastal north and across the desert region, these spaces were unique points of concentrated cultural, racial and ethnic interactions. In short, the oil towns were a socio-spatial arrangement which brought coloniser and colonised into daily contact in a context constructed, managed and administered by the oil companies themselves (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 154).

In constructing their bases, oil companies were explicit in their efforts to design residential zones to recruit and appeal to European staff. As a result of both colonial racial assumptions and educational structures these staff were in high demand for the highly skilled technical and managerial positions (Lerat, 1971: 29). Thus, settlements centred around "green areas," designed to replicate "English parks," supported by intensive irrigation. Moreover, the built environment was dominated by extensive leisure facilities- cinemas, discos, sports facilities and restaurants (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 146, Lerat, 1971: 26-27, 29-30). This logic even extended to gastronomical taste with surprisingly significant implications. Both oil companies and colonial planners stressed the importance of providing a "European" diet to these populations, who would surely quickly become "disaffected with [local] dates."⁴ Administrative records are explicit about the significant impacts of these requirements on infrastructural planning, necessitating vast investment into roads capable of supporting refrigerated lorries, management of increased air traffic and even suggesting shifts to local agricultural patterns to meet these needs.⁵

For "local" recruits, however, colonial observers often boasted that these towns-particularly their leisure and dining amenities-concurrently facilitated ethnic integration and social "progression." Oil towns were credited with physically transporting Saharan residents "from the age of feudality to the age of machines," and furnishing them with new skills, pastimes,

⁴ Author's translation. AN, Folder F6 4004, Commission Générale (1960), Notes, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*: Organisation Commun des Régions Sahariennes (1959), Etude des Transports au Sahara, Dossier 5, appendix 7.

diet and dress (Plessis, 1960: 26-27, 31). Such explicitly civilisational rhetoric was balanced by claims that oil sector employment also supported traditional industries and cultural centers, as wages were often invested in these areas.⁶ The reality, however, was that spatial planning in oil towns implemented implicit and explicit forms of residential segregation, including designating small *quartiers* for Saharan workers, replete with buildings designed in a “local” style (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 15).⁷

Infrastructural development, meanwhile, particularly the availability of water, alongside the concentration of waged wealth in these areas, increasingly encouraged the settlement of formerly nomadic groups. These groups raised livestock and small-scale agricultural produce and sold these goods in the new centre’s shopping districts. These patterns precipitated a growing attachment to the built environment and associated status markers, whilst the importance of agricultural assets declined (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 152, 275, Lerat, 1971: 27-28, 30-31). Thus, the emerging “oil towns” represented important and unique spaces in which colonial racial and political projects were negotiated and translated by local actors with significant and long-lasting implications for the urban and demographic landscape.

Constructing *EurAfrique*: Saharan Oil and Desert Borders

“A creation *ex nihilo*... the Sahara is the *work* of Frenchmen.”⁸ This extract of an account of proceedings in the French national assembly in 1953 neatly summarises the ideological underpinnings of the infamous political project which sought to divide Algeria along a constructed Saharan border and recognise the right of only the northern region to independence. Whilst the preponderant role of oil in dictating this political stance has been widely acknowledged, the important ways in which the oil infrastructure underwrote, substantiated, and embodied these claims have been widely overlooked (Ruedy, 2005: 183; Davis, 2017: 323). In this section, therefore, I will illustrate how the construction and management of the oil project defined the boundaries and constitution of the Saharan region by implementing a resource border between the north and south, designating the Sahara as a tangibl political and economic entity shaped around the geography of oil (Davis, 2013: 323).

Defining an Algerian-Saharan border

Prior to the intense oil prospecting of the early 1950s the Algerian Sahara was subsumed under the broad designation of the “Southern territories,” an area with a distinctive administrative structure but whose limits were ill-defined.⁹ As the search for oil progressed the need to define these borders became increasingly pressing, as greater administrative functioning was required to oversee infrastructural construction and the oil sector itself, as well as to provide a basis for separatist claims.¹⁰ This distinction was implemented and embodied particularly through the Organisation commune des régions sahariennes (henceforth OCRS). The OCSR was given vast responsibilities over the region, including urban planning, administrative oversight and a generous budget to facilitate Saharan “development,” thus implementing a distinct political and economic regime in the Sahara (Davis, 2013: 323).¹¹

⁶ Ibid., pp. 29-31

⁷ TA, folder 87ZX848-4, Compagnie Française de Pétrole (1978), Ground Plan Hassi-Messaoud. On French colonial use of town planning to represent and materialise imperial racial hierarchies see Wright, 1991: 1-5.

⁸ Author’s translation and emphasis. 1953 debate in the French Assemblée cited in Strasser, 1956: 172.

⁹ AD, Folder 115 SEAA, Notes au sujet de la limite entre les départements algériens et les territoires du Sud (1961), pp. 1-4.

¹⁰ On the need for the OCSR to oversee the petrol infrastructure see for example *Journal officiel de la République française* (November 1958), *Ordonnance 58-1111. AN, Folder F6 4004*.

¹¹ See, for example AN, Folder F6 4004, *Journal officiel de la République française* (March 1959), *Decree number 59-453 and* (April 1958), *Decree number 58-398*.

The geography of oil reserves were crucial in dictating this new political cartography, as administrators were careful to define borders that retained oil reserves as “Saharan.”¹² Funded both by the French state and royalties from oil concessions, the OCRS undertook huge infrastructural projects, ranging from roads and telecommunication networks, primarily designed to serve the extraction nodes, to agricultural development, establishing accessible water supplies and irrigation projects (Brogni, 1973, 151-152, Plessis, 1960: 28). The development of these road networks had particularly significant implications for those nomadic populations who had relied on income from camel rearing and providing transportation services. These activities became increasingly unsustainable and urbanization among these groups intensified, with vast social and economic impacts (Horden, 2012: 33). At same time, the wider infrastructural projects of the OCRS similarly operated to impose this northern/Saharan distinction, by improving the standard of living of Saharan populations “in accordance with [local] traditions.”¹³ The organisation thus reinforced perceived ethnic differences and reconstructed local ecologies. For example, the OCRS supported the continued operation of palm groves as uniquely localised agricultural and cultural centers (Chaouche-Bencherif, 2007: 238). We saw earlier how these ideologies were reflected in the urban geography of the oil centers themselves, through the construction of “Saharan” residences and *quartiers*.¹⁴

The Saharan economy

Alongside this construction of the northern/Saharan division, infrastructure emanating from the oil industry reinforced and intra and trans-Saharan connections. The OCRS’ sphere of operations englobed the desert regions of Algeria, Niger, Chad and then-French Sudan. The OCRS sought to enable these regions to jointly extract and exploit desert resources, thus creating a singular, transnational and specifically Saharan economic unit. The organisation devoted considerable energy to constructing economic connections across the region. A proliferation of pipelines, rail and roadways were built and planned. These routes were not only funded by oil revenue but also increasingly “follow[ed] the path of oil and gas exploration.” (Bossard, 2014: 113-114, Suggitt, 2018: 86-87, 99-102).

For consumers in the Algerian Sahara, moreover, a proliferating local gas network emanating from a new processing plant at Hassi Messaoud, circumventing older import routes via with Algiers. This drove down energy significantly, by up to 33 %. Intra-Saharan connections were thereby encouraged at the expense of national Algerian connectivity.¹⁵ At the same time, the oil infrastructure reinforced the connection between the Saharan region and the metropole where the crude was refined and predominately consumed, through an extensive network of pipelines and roads via Arzew and Algiers. This framework created an economic dependence on France which was used to legitimate the colonial territorial claims and continued to shape industrial development for decades after the end of formal colonial rule (Davis, 2010:

¹² AD, Folder 115 SEAA, Notes au sujet de la limite entre les départements algériens et les territoires du Sud (1961), p. 4. For more on Saharan cartographies see Blais, 2014: 237-286.

¹³ Author’s translation. See, for example, AN F6 4004, *Journal officiel de la République française* (April 1958), Decree number 58-398.

¹⁴ As Muriam Haleh Davis has illustrated, oil companies explicitly imposed ethnic distinctions in their hiring and operational practices, which advantaged the “Mediterranean” staff of France and North Algeria whilst limiting the progression, earning potential and job security of the “less advanced” “Saharan” staff. Davis, 2013: 324, Davis 2017: 91-92.

¹⁵ Production et cotage de butanes dans les départements sahariens, 16 November 1961; R Pessayre letter to letter to the OCRS head of public works, 10 January 1962. AD, 19780642/77.

178-179, Musso, 2018: 174).¹⁶ In very tangible ways, then, hydrocarbons created a resource border, a regional energy market operating independently of northern Algeria. Overall, therefore, oil geographies and infrastructure were both shaped by and impacted on the French colonial project to define the borders and boundaries of a Saharan region, and expressed these claims most explicitly through the construction of transport networks, resulting in significant shifts to ecological and economic structures.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the interactions between the oil industry and the political, racial, and ethnic dictates of the imperial state had important implications for the colonial constitution of Saharan space, both in terms of urban geography and regional bordering. Whilst colonial and contemporary commentators have tended to subsume local residents into a passive and uniform role, in reality, these local populations negotiated and absorbed these evolutions in different ways. Through these interchanges, the geography of oil was written into and shaped the Saharan landscape, precipitating and defining new urban agglomerations and infrastructural networks, whose contours shaped the political and economic vistas of the Saharan region far beyond the end of formal colonial rule.

Bibliographic references

Archives Diplomatiques (AD), Paris.

Archives Nationales (AN), Paris.

Barjot, Dominique (2016), La SN Repal: un acteur original de la politique pétrolière française (1946-1972), in, Barjot, Dominique et Thi Hoai Trang Phan, Thi Hoai, dir, *Économie et Développement Durable: Héritage Historiques et Défis Actuels au sein du Monde Francophone*, Paris: Société française d'histoire des outre-mers.

Beltran, Alain (2016), Les stratégies des entreprises pétrolières françaises dans le monde francophone (de l'entre-deux-guerres aux années 1970), in, Barjot, Dominique et Trang Phan, Thi Hoai (Dir.), *Économie et Développement Durable: Héritage Historiques et Défis Actuels au sein du Monde Francophone*, Paris: Société française d'histoire des outre-mers.

Blais, Hélène (2014), *Mirages de la carte, l'invention de l'Algérie coloniale, XIXe – XXe siècle*, Paris: Fayard.

Bossard, Laruent (Ed.) (2014), *An Atlas of the Sahara-Sahel: Geography, Economies and Security*, OECD Publishing.

BP Archives (BP), Warwick.

Brachet, Julian (2012), Movements of People and Gods Local Impacts and Dynamics of Migrations to and through the Central Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brogni, Maurice (1973), L'exploitation des hydrocarbures en Algérie de 1956 à 1971. Etude de géographie économique, PhD Diss, Univeristé Nice.

Chaouche-Bencherif, Meriama (2007), La Micro-urbanisation et la ville-oasis; une alternative à l'équilibre des zones arides pour une ville saharienne durable Cas du Bas-Sahara, PhD Diss, Université Mentouri.

Clarke, John I. (1961), *Economic and Political Changes in the Sahara*, *Geography* vol. 46, n.º 2, pp. 102-119.

Davis Muriam Haleh (2017), *The Transformation of Man' in French Algeria: Economic Planning and the Postwar Social Sciences, 1958–62*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 52, pp. 73-94.

¹⁶ See, for example, the discussion of the need for French investment and market assurances in AD, Folder 115 SEAA, 1961 notes on Sahara departments des Oasis et Saoura and Sahara Revendications des riveraines.

- (2013), *Algeria's Colonial Geography: Shifting Visions of Mediterranean Space, New Geographies*, vol. 5, pp. 315-324.
- (2010), *Restaging Mise en Valeur: "Postwar Imperialism" and The Plan de Constantine*, *Review of Middle East Studies*, vol. 44, n.º 2, pp. 176-186.
- Horden, Peregrine (2012), Situations both alike? Connectivity, the Mediterranean, the Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lerat, Serge (1971), *Hassi Messaoud, Cahiers d'outre-mer*, vol. 93, pp. 16-31.
- Lydon, Ghislaine (2007), Writing Trans-Sharan History: Methods, Sources and Interpretation across the African Divide, in Keenan, Jeremy, ed., *The Sahara: Past, Present and Future*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith (2012), Introduction Time and Space in the Sahara, in McDougall, James and Scheele, Judith, eds, *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Musso, Marta (2018), Taking Control: Sonatrach and the Algerian Decolonization Process, in Ochonu, Moses (Ed.), *Entrepreneurship in African History* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Plessis, Daniel (1960), Quel visage le Sahara d'hier et d'aujourd'hui aura-t-il demain?, in Jean Amrouche (Ed.), *Le Sahara en Questions*. Paris: La NEF, 1960.
- Ruedy, John (2005, 2nd edition), *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Seghiri, Allaoua (2002), *Hassi-Messaoud: Est-elle une ville? Méditerranée* vol. 9, pp. 99-102.
- Soustelle, Jacques (1959), *The Wealth of the Sahara, Foreign Affairs*, vol. 37, n.º 4, pp. 626-636.
- Suggitt Kelsey (2018), *Impossible endings? Reimagining the end of the French empire in the Sahara, 1951-1962*, PhD diss., University of Portsmouth.
- Total Archives (TA), Paris.
- Wright, Gwendolyn (1991), *The Politics of Design in French Colonial in French Colonial Urbanism*, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Verlaque, Christian (1955), *Les recherches pétrolières dans le Sahara français, Travaux de l'Institut des recherches sahariennes*, vol. 103, pp. 159-179.



Retracing continuity and discontinuity of a vernacular typology mass housing in the colonial context of Morocco: the case of the city of Casablanca

Fatima Zohra Saaid*, Najoua Beqqal*, Mouna Sedreddine* e Siham Elgharbi*

pp. 33-46

The use of the courtyard house as an architectural typology in mass housing testifies of a long urban history in Morocco. First, in the *Medinas*, Morocco's traditional cities, that have existed for several centuries and still continue to fulfill some of their original functions, to large contemporary residential complexes. During the colonial period, this same typology was used as part of the mass housing for the migrating rural population, particularly in the city of Casablanca.

From the early years of the French protectorate, in 1910, Casablanca faced the dual challenge of a massive rural population seeking work combined with a strong need for housing for these populations that settled in insanitary slums. As of 1917, this situation was exacerbated in the political context that decided to raise Casablanca as the economic capital of Morocco, taking advantage of the existence of the recently constructed important commercial port.

To resolve this urgent situation, architects of the colonial period experimented with new urban practices, through mass housing projects which were presented in the 9th International Congress of Modern Architects at Aix-en-Provence in 1953. Those colonial experimentations played a fundamental shift in modern architectural debates (Eleb, 1999: 55), revealing innovative approaches in favor of an housing adapted to the cultural specificities and lifestyles of the regular average inhabitants. Instead of imposing a housing model similar to the workers' cities in Europe, the approaches initiated in the Moroccan colonial context reflect theoretical and practical positions of foreign architects, who reinterpreted vernacular architectural typologies, specific to the Moroccan context, especially the courtyard house.

The first position is an answer to the political vision of the Marechal Hubert Lyautey¹ seeking respect and safeguard of the national traditions and by separating the new European cities from *indigenous* ones (Cohen & Eleb, 1998: 202). Marechal Lyautey appointed French architects who designed a new district for Muslims working class to overcome the massive demand for housing called *la Cité Habous*. This district, designed in

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a3>

* National School of Architecture/Morocco.

¹ Marechal Hubert Lyautey was the First General Resident of the French protectorate in Morocco in 1912.

1914 in the city of Casablanca, reproduces the aesthetic and traditional courtyard house typology of the *Medina*.

In 1950, so as to solve the persistent dwelling crisis of Muslims working class in Casablanca, French architect Michel Ecochard² developed another approach called *Habitat marocain for the greatest number* based on individual courtyard house typology in *Carrières Centrales* district. The third experiment was implemented in 1953 in the same district and within the same program *Habitat for the greatest number*. French Architect George Candilis³ from the ATBAT Afrique group⁴ designed a collective mass housing with high-rise courtyard houses typology called *Nids d'abeilles*.

Literature dedicated to mass housing experiences during the colonial period in Morocco has almost depicted experiments made by M. Ecochard and the ATBAT Group as a new shift in modern architecture discourses.

However, the main purpose of this contribution is to retrace continuities and discontinuities of those experiments led by foreign architects during the colonial context in Morocco, focusing on how the courtyard house as a vernacular typology led to a unprecedented architectural and urban typology model that paved the way for a new approach, beyond their own temporal and geographical context.

La Nouvelle Ville Indigène: la Cité Habous in 1914

The beginning of the 20th century probably marks a decisive period in urban planning in Morocco. When the French protectorate was established in Morocco in 1912, the political vision of the Resident-General Lyautey, based on respecting culture and traditions of the population, was conclusive on the urban landscape of the country. This option, motivated by a concern to control ethnic groups, meant that the new cities were totally separated from the traditional urban the traditional urban fabric: the *Medina*.

In 1914, French architect and urban planner Henri Prost was appointed by Lyautey at the head of the Department of Urban Planning and Architecture. Winner of Grand Prix of Rome in 1902 and taking advantage of his numerous experiments on urban planning⁵ in Europe, Prost's intervention in the Moroccan context fixed a detailed regulatory framework for the development of cities. In Casablanca, Prost undertook several measures according to its specific context: fast and chaotic spatial development combined with the insanitary slums occupied by the rural Muslim population. The urban planning was based on separating urban functions according to a specific zoning. His actions included the development of a new hierarchical roads system, the definition of land use rules and hygienic easements as well as areas including the central area of housing and commerce, industrial zones, and recreational areas.

As the *Medina* was already overcrowded, Prost conceived the *Nouvelle Ville Indigène* called *Habous*, as a new city dedicated to resolving the mass housing issue for the "indigenous".

The *Nouvelle Ville Indigène* was a practical response to accommodate 5000 Muslim inhabitants that respected the principle of separation promoted by Lyautey. It was entrusted to a French team of architects including Albert Laprade⁶, Auguste Cadet⁷ and Edmon

² Michel Ecochard, architect, and urban planner born in Paris in 1905, studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris (1925-1931).

³ Born in Baku in 1913, George Candilis was a Greek architect and urban planner, he studied architecture at the Polytechnic School of Athens from 1931 to 1936.

⁴ The African branch of the *Atelier des bâtisseurs* (ATBAT) founded by Le Corbusier, located in the city of Tangier in Morocco. Prost is the author of the extension plan of the city of Antwerp in Belgium in 1910-1921 and collaborated on the extension plan of Paris in 1912-1913.

⁶ French architect (1883-1978), he undertook many urban renewal projects and published a series of sketch books of architecture in Morocco and Mediterranean countries.

⁷ French architect (1881-1956) in Lyon, he was posted in 1918 to the "*Service des Plans de Villes*", in Rabat. He studied at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, in 1911.

Brion⁸. Those direct protagonists achieved a mixture between tradition and modernity, implementing traditional architectural principles depicted in the *Medina* as well as modern requirements “*c’est une ville indigène ou, plus exactement la ville construite par les architectes français pour les indigènes, en tenant compte de leurs mœurs, de leur scrupule et en y ajoutant ce que notre hygiène peut ajouter*”⁹ (Vaillat, 1931: 12).

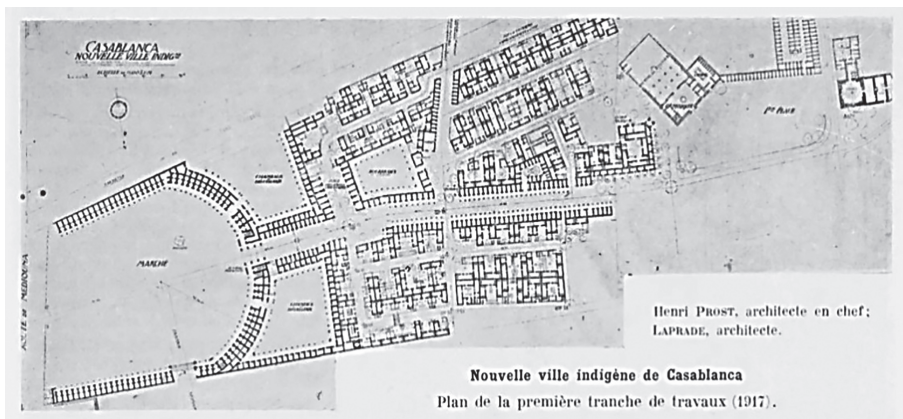
*“It is an indigenous city or, more exactly, the city built by French architects for the natives, taking into account their customs, their scruples and offering to it what our hygiene can offer”*¹⁰

The double reference to tradition and modernity asserts itself in the urban design of the first part of *la Ville Nouvelle Indigène*, *la cité Habous*, through an organic organization including different urban functions and respecting urban art design principles:

“The way in which Laprade tackled the problem was undoubtedly characterized by the romantic outlook typical of the generation of the Beaux-Arts, but his operation should be considered in terms of the cultural climate prevailing in Morocco as a direct result of Lyautey’s policy, relating to the safeguard and pre-servation of the old native towns.” (Arcuri & Pasquali, 1985: 14).

The central function of the neighborhood, in particular, was accentuated by the existence of public facilities such as the *Mahkama* (the court), the mosque and the commerce, but also by the careful and monumental treatment of Moorish style¹⁰ brought to the housing and the various facilities in the center of the district. The *Habous neighborhood* integrates architectural vocabulary and urban art, enhancing the perspectives on the singular buildings (Ilustração 01 and 02). In addition to those principles, *la Cité Habous* has been equipped with

Ilustração 01– Master plan of the first phase of the new Indigenous city: the Habous district.



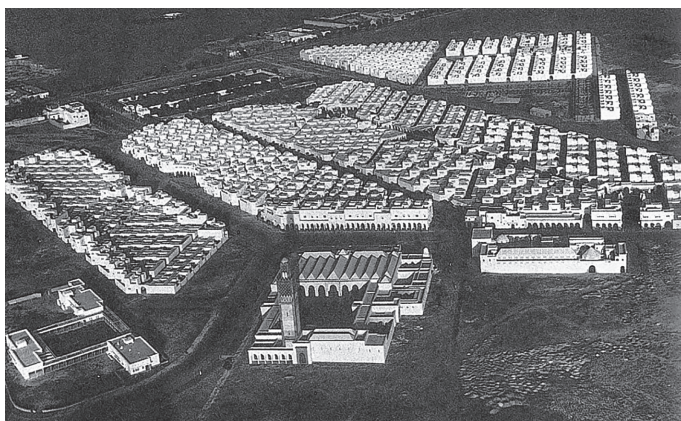
Source: Laprade, 1932

⁸ French architect (1885-1973) in Soissons. After studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, he moved to Casablanca after the First World War and joined Auguste Cadet until the mid-1930s.

⁹ Translated by the authors.

¹⁰ Moorish architecture refers to an architectural genre related to the Moors, who had an artistic influence on the Iberian Peninsula during the Muslim period, giving birth to this particular technique. It translates into a refined oriental expression, particularly borrowed from the Arab-Persian style, with particular emphasis on arches, cupolas, chiseled stuccoes, massive carved doors, earthenware and mosaics, Koranic inscriptions, etc...

Ilustração 02 – The new Indigenous city: the Habous district.



Source: Cohen & Eleb, 1998.

water, electricity and sanitation facilities, while traffic was ensured by carriageways. Housing is another interesting element of this architectural and urban approach. It is particularly characterized by the highly sensitive attitude of Laprade and his team to the values depicted in the architecture of the *Medina* as to local lifestyles to design the Muslims dwellings.

“Nous utilisons nos rares loisirs à remplir des carnets d’innombrables croquis,...Parmi les documents indigènes étudiés avec ferveur, rien ne nous intéressait, ne parlait plus au cœur que les maisons pauvres de Rabat et Salé la ville sœur. Nous avons passé des heures à les explorer, dessiner, mesurer. Mais avant tout, on en savourait le charme infini(...)” (Laprade, 1932: 96).

*“We use our rare leisure to fill notebooks with innumerable sketches...Among the indigenous documents studied with fervor, nothing interested us, spoke more to the heart than the poor houses of Rabat and Salé, its sister city. We spent hours exploring, drawing, measuring them. But above all, we savored its infinite charm (...)”*¹¹

Far from being a simple pastiche of traditional and vernacular architecture, Laprade carefully explored the domestic architecture of the traditional courtyard house, and the sketches¹² he accurately crafted contributed to the widening of the architectural vocabulary reference (Ilustração 03).

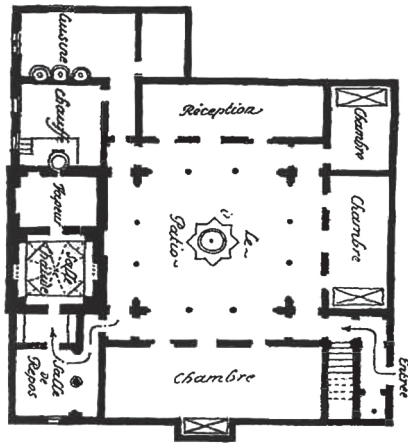
The first 257 houses in the *Habous* neighborhood were drawn one by one, their plans combining several models to create a quality urban compound, testimony of Laprade’s team knowledge of these housing concepts.

These houses, which represent the framework of the neighborhood, are differentiated according to the street and the social class. So, the *Habous* district provided modest houses close to the commerce area, while the important houses are placed in the quiet part of the neighborhood next to the mosque. The architects conceived different typologies based on the Moroccan courtyard house and integrated the conditions of comfort and hygiene (toilets connected to sewers, electricity and telephone). In order to preserve privacy, courtyard houses were conceived in such a way that there wouldn’t be any vis-à-vis between the doors of the houses. To respond to the principle of adapted housing Laprade distinguished two housing programs: single-family and multi-family housing (Ilustração 04 and 05).

¹¹ Translated by the authors.

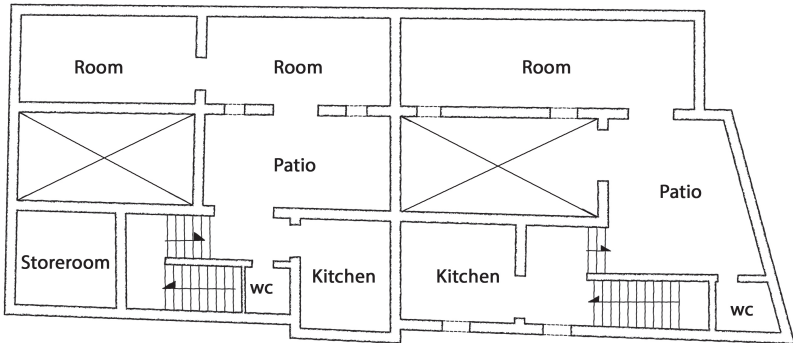
¹² Many sketches on the large and modest traditional house illustrate the work of Jean Galloti *“The garden and the Arab house in Morocco”* published in 1926.

Ilustração 03 – Floorplan of a traditional Arab house, illustration by Albert Laprade for Jean Galloti.

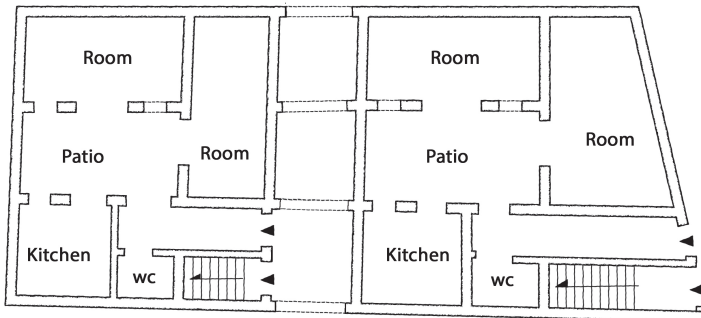


Source: Gallotti, 1926.

Ilustração 04 – Multi-family dwelling

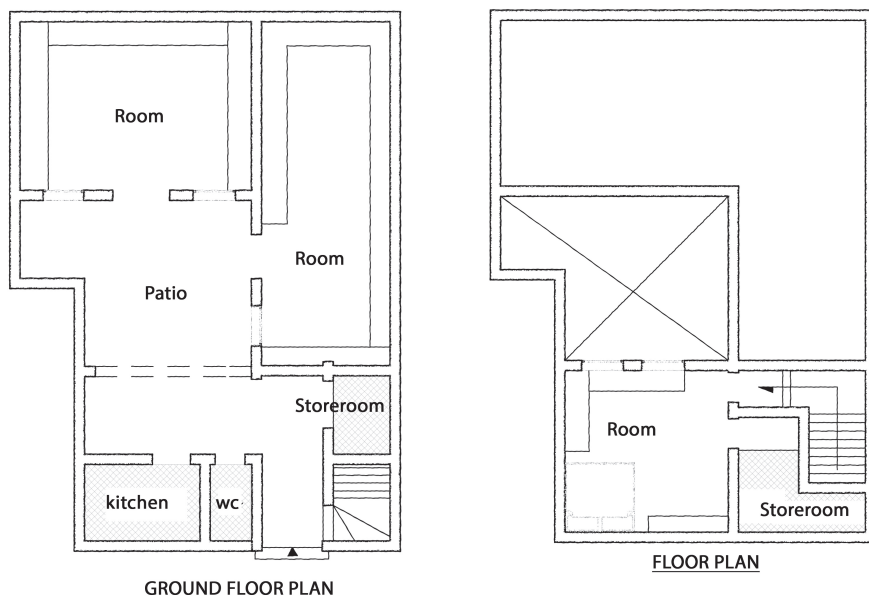


FLOOR PLAN



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Ilustração 05 – Single family dwelling



The typology of multi-family dwelling incorporates some principles of the traditional house by the existence of the space adjacent to the patio and the laying out of a private entrance for each unit. Not common in the *Habous* neighborhood, this two-storey house had a shared courtyard or patio to four dwellings: two on the ground floor and two on the floor. Each dwelling with a living area of 65 square meters including the courtyard, contained two rooms in length, whereas the outbuildings (kitchen and sanitary) were organized on the ground floor around the courtyard. The two dwellings' upstairs were distributed around a gallery receiving daylight from the empty courtyard.

The most common typology in the *Habous* district is the single-family dwelling organized around the courtyard. This two-storey dwelling contains three rooms. The kitchen and the bathroom are aligned at the corners of the ground floor and directly lead to one courtyard that communicates with the main courtyard. At the entrance, a chicane serves as a transition space from public space to private space, thus preserving the intimacy of the domestic space. At the entrance of the house, stairs arranged independently ensure access to the terrace. Both, courtyard and terrace play the role of the private space.

Among the courtyard house typologies conceived by Laprade, those relating to the largest houses were a faithful and respectful interpretation of the traditional Moroccan courtyard house. On the ground floor as well as on the floor, rooms and kitchen were all organized around the courtyard. The house measures up to 170 square meters. Laprade used particularly the traditional decoration both in the interior and on the facades, and large windows on the outside (Ilustração 06).

On the other hand, very modest dwellings with two rooms involve architectural composition in the Western style, particularly by the monumental treatment on the facades. Those houses are rather extroverted as they include loggias, terraces and the turrets that exhibit stairs on the façade (Ilustração 07).

Focusing on the specific culture and lifestyles of the Muslims, Laprade was able to respond to a huge demand for a so-called adapted housing. The *Habous* neighborhood represents a mass housing program based on hybrid architectural and urban vocabulary that combines vernacular references to Western architectural elements (e.g. monumental decoration, terraces, loggias, large windows). Courtyard houses are built with new materials (concrete) and integrate principles of hygienic urbanism and comfort such as the advent of sanitation network and connections to water and electricity networks.

Ilustração 06 – Large courtyard house floor plan

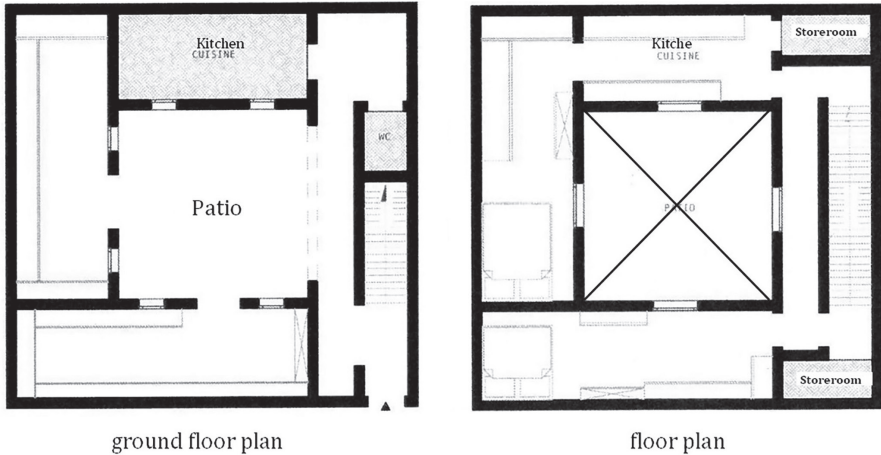
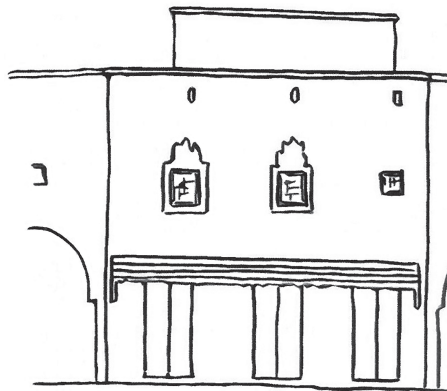


Ilustração 07 – A modest courtyard house facade with commerce on the ground floor



The new housing typologies (namely the multi-family courtyard house) in the *Habous* neighborhood represent an innovative mass housing experiment. Laprade's research on vernacular architecture contributed to widen knowledge in architecture and particularly the aspects related to the traditional courtyard house. He also contributed to the renewal of the architectural vocabulary of the colonial period, F. Beguin mentioned "*this*

particular aspect of the research carried out in Morocco as an evolution of the “Arabizing” line in colonial architecture” (Arcuri & Pasquali, 1985: 16).

The *Habous* district was completely achieved in 1955 with architects Brion and Cadet after the departure of Laprade to Rabat. Its architecture reproduced the ambiances and spirit of the place of the *Medina* and Laprade’s solutions for an adapted housing within cultural specificities for the Muslim population. Yet, this experience was criticized being expensive and not to extend reasoning to the functional aspects of the domestic space. This task would be carried by the new generation of foreign architects starting from the 50s.

Ecochard: *The courtyard house for the greatest number, in 1952*

The responses provided by the CIAM’s branch in Morocco to the issue of mass housing is considered a major experience in both the history of Morocco and in the history of modern architecture on the international scene.

The urban policy of Henri Prost shows its limits in the city of Casablanca, and the new neighborhoods known as *cit  Habous* could no longer contain the rural population flows. This situation became unsustainable after the Second World War.

Twenty-three years after the departure of Prost, the urban situation in Morocco was still deficient. Urban growth largely bypassed the urban planning layouts of Prost’s plans. A precarious housing known as shantytowns was another concomitant manifestation of this

urban crisis of housing for the proletarian population of rural origin.

Ilustra o 08 – *Carri res Centrales*, Casablanca, Aerial view of a neighborhood unit



Becoming a politically sensitive issue after the Second World War, the Resident-General Erik Labonne¹³ appointed in 1946 Michel Ecochard as head of the Town Planning Department. Ecochard had a remarkable knowledge of the Arab culture, because of his previous experience as an archeologist, architect and urban planner in Syria.

However, even as a disciple of Le Corbusier and member of the CIAM’s branch in Morocco (Chaouni, 2011: 60), the solutions carried by the French expert Ecochard in the context of Morocco were far from being an exclusive spread of the functional principles of the Athens Charters that celebrate universal solutions, revealing an innovative approach in practice and in theory.

His work was based on new methods of investigation focused on analysis of the culture and the rural population’s lifestyles. Ecochard and his acclaimed multidisciplinary team in the Town Planning Department borrowed a toolbox for urban planning: specific instruments and methods combining quantitative and qualitative surveys (Avermaete, 2010: 77). This toolbox

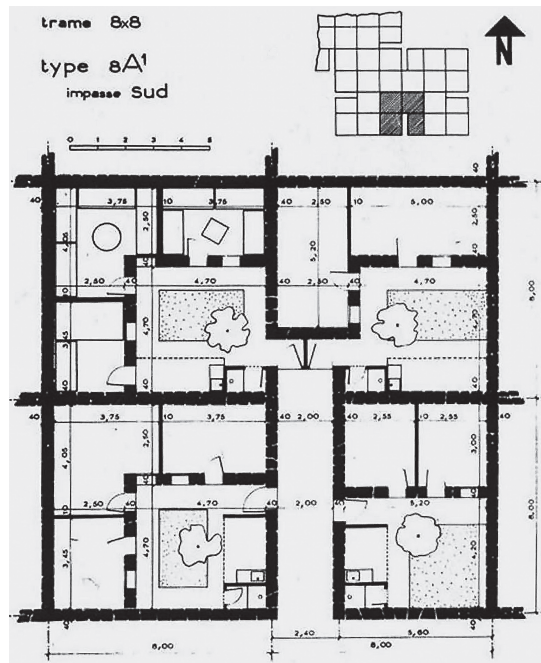
¹³ General-Resident in Morocco from March 2, 1946, to May 14, 1947.

provided a complete analysis that articulated the environmental characteristics as well as the complex economic and social aspects of the Moroccan context, namely the very low standard of living of shantytowns dwellers. The surveys set up a theoretical framework for planning a Moroccan adapted housing for the poor, which was published by Ecochard in his book “*Habitat Pour le Plus Grand Nombre*” (habitat for the greatest number) in 1950 (Ilustração 08).

Far from being a criticism of the shantytown as an image of deficiency¹⁴, like Laprade’s approach that took references from the modest houses of the *medinas* of Rabat and Salé to design the *Habous* district, Ecochard was inspired by the medina and by the shantytown which he considered as a new solution of housing, offering typological characteristics that could be integrated into modern neighborhoods.

In addition to the survey, in practice Ecochard developed the “8x8 Grid”, an instrument which articulates an architectural approach to an urban system: parceling and infrastructure. It consists of an orthogonal axis at a regular distance of 8m that corresponds to a unit of 64-meter acre that is a low-rise courtyard house with two or three rooms. Each four units are gathered around the courtyard. The typology adopted is the L-shaped courtyard house with no windows on the outside. While ensuring privacy, the 5x5m courtyard allowed several functions: lighting, access for different rooms, and separating rooms from kitchen and bathroom (Ilustração 09). The Grid created a matrix of an urban system with different public spaces.

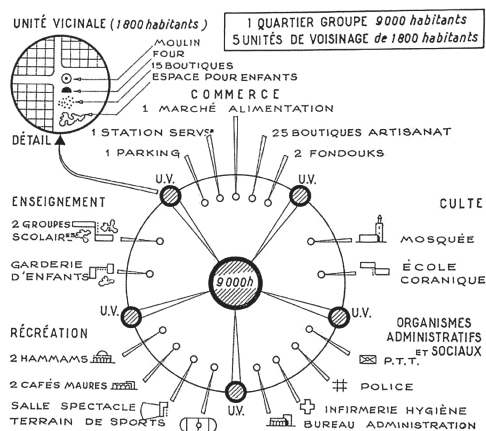
Ilustração 09 – Group of four 8 by 8 units. Units with two or three rooms



Source: Ecochard, 1950.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Ilustração 10 – Michel Ecochard’s Neighborhood unit



Source: In "Urban planning and construction for the greatest number"

The 8x8 Grid offered a density of 350 inhabitants per hectare (2,47 acre) theoretically this principle has been solved by relying to the principle of the neighborhood unit¹⁵. This principle this option which was attributed to Clarence Arthur Perry (1872-1944) in the United States made possible the organization of neighborhoods and life in *Carrières Centrales*.

The neighborhood unit that Ecochard projected is a hierarchical combination which on the large scale is represented by the neighborhood of 9,000 inhabitants with all the necessary public functions: social services, economic, administration, cult, recreation and education, and at the lowest level it consisted of four to five vicinal units that provide the population with a number of everyday services such as the oven, mill and shops (Ilustração 10).

The most remarkable characteristic of the Ecochard approach was the ability to be an evolutionary urban pattern that took into account the physical and social transformation that could occur. Thus, different configurations that vary throughout location and time were then possible by the principle of the Grid.

The elements that is common to all these mass housing experiments that took place on the Moroccan colonial context was the interest for the vernacular typologies to define a low rise adapted housing. Both, the works of Laprade and Ecochard took into account the reference to the vernacular urban housing: the *Medina* and the shantytown. Later the approach of the ATBAT Group, members on the CIAM's branch in Morocco too, offered another attempt of "an adapted housing" and displaced the focus from an urban housing model reference towards a rural model.

Collective housing of ATBAT Africa: the *Kasbah* as a model in 1953

After the Second World War, the colonial Urban Planning Department changed its position by developing high-rise mass housing as being adapted for Muslim populations. This changing position was due to the fact that in the new Medina many inhabitants had added floors to their dwellings. Besides also Moroccan representatives to the Housing Commission claimed to reconsider the high-rise housing for Moroccans like in the European community. Thus in

¹⁵ In a large literature the principle of neighborhood unit as urban framework was invented by the American sociologist Clarence Arthur Perry (1872-1944).

1953, in parallel with the 8x8 Grid based on functionalist principles, Ecochard assigned to the ATBAT Africa Group led by Georges Candilis to conceive the vertical extension of the horizontal Grid. With the collaboration of Vladimir Bodiansky and Shadrach Woods, the Group proposed in the neighborhood of “*Carrières Centrales*” three buildings arranged in “U” in the middle of the low-rise courtyard houses and presented this collective housing as a link with the rural architecture of the *Kasbah* in the south of Morocco (Ilustração 11).

The Group experimented with the courtyard vertically in the two emblematic buildings the *Nid d’abeilles* (Honeycomb) and *Sémiramis*, the first block with suspended enclosed courtyards on the facade facing South and the corridors on the north facade. On the second building, the facade facing east and west and the units are reached by passageways that lead courtyards opening on the two facades.

Elements such as courtyards, corridors represent a response to the climate issues, on the other hand this new typology of collective housing is according to ATBAT Group fit the rural inhabitant’s collective life and their predisposition to gradually adopt modern lifestyle (Ilustração 12).

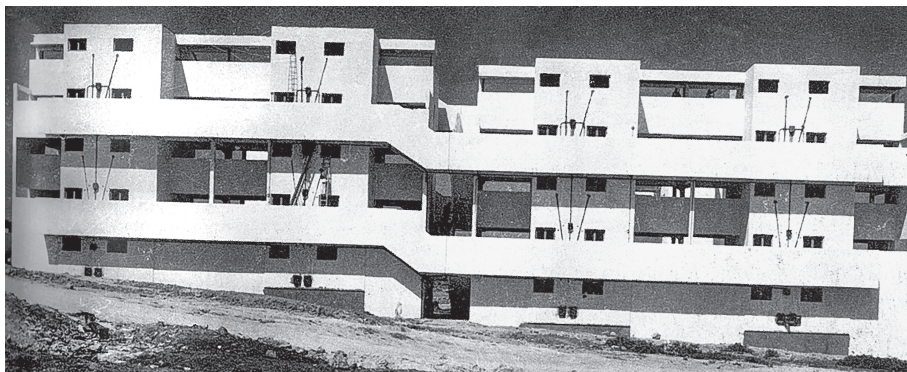
However, the experience of mass housing developing a high-rise courtyard house supposed to be reproducible throughout Morocco was not as successful as the low-rise housing. Thus “*the Ecochard Grid has in the past decades proven to be one of these hard interventions that have marked the development of the metropolis of Casablanca in a determinate way. A first illustration of this perennality*” (Avermaete, 2010: 95). The collective housing that was conceived to play the role of an evolutionary process from rural to modern life had not been

Ilustração 11 – High-rise housing Honeycomb and *Sémiramis* in the middle of low-rise dwellings. “*Carrières Centrales*”, Casablanca.



Source: Cohen & Eleb, 1998

Ilustração 12 – *Carrières Centrales*, Casablanca, *Sémiramis* building



Source: In “*Casablanca Mythes et Illustrações d’une aventure urbaine*”.

Ilustração 13 - The Honeycomb housing type "Nid d'Abeilles" facade with suspended courtyards



Source: ATBAT-Afrique, 1953, in 1953. *Carrières Centrales, Casablanca.*

Ilustração 14 - The Honeycomb facade today, all suspended courtyards had been closed



Source: Photography by the authors, October 2018.

generalized. Today, the heavy transformations carried out by Honeycomb and Sémiramis' inhabitants in order to adapt the buildings to their real needs, such as closing the suspended courtyards, made them unrecognizable (Ilustração 13 and 14).

Ilustração 15 - The courtyard house typology interpretations through mass housing colonial and postcolonial experimentations

Approach	1914	1946	1953	From 1964
Initiated by	Laprade	Ecochard	Atbat	Moroccan administration
Architectural typology reference	Vernacular courtyard house typology			Modern courtyard house typology
Urban typology reference	The Medina as a model	Shantytown and the Medina as models	<i>The Kasbah as a model</i>	The Grid 8x8
Theoretical principles	hygienism			
	Mimetism/ Arabizing	Functionalism and rationalization		
			Bioclimatism	
Practical principles	Single housing + urban art design	Single housing (modern courtyard house typology) + Neighborhood unit	Collective housing Implemented in the 8x8 Grid	Single and collective housing courtyard house
The mass housing urban model proposal	The New Medina	8x8 Grid		<i>Adapted Grid or Trame Sanitaire Améliorée: TSA</i>

Conclusion

The French colonialism in Morocco played an important role in solving the issue of mass housing. Experiments operated by foreign architects in this context carried out innovative architectural and urban solutions that illustrated an important interest to local context and played an interesting shift in theory and in practice in local and international contexts. However, understanding the innovative practice of Ecochard and the ATBAT group in *housing for the greatest number* cannot be isolated from a historical analysis in a larger historical context that begins from 1914 and marks a real evolution in practice and theory.

Those mass housing experiments illustrate continuities and discontinuities in practice as well as in theory.

Those experimentations focusing on the principle of *Habitat adapté* crystallized deep understanding of the social, cultural and economic environment in the colonial context of Morocco. Thus, while having different outcomes, at the level of the approaches all those experimentations shared a fundamental interest to the same architectural typology: the courtyard house.

On the other hand, discontinuities are observed in the implementation of within different urban and architectural vernacular typology depicted on urban and rural context: the *Medina*, the shantytown and the *Kasbah*.

However, Ecochard's approach substituted the exclusive culture reference for an anthropological approach with an evolutionary typology that allow his proposal deeply fits the local lifestyle. This is probably what explains the enduring use of the 8x8 grid beyond its own historical context. Thus, the grid system has continued to be the main urban planning framework all over the country even after the independence, as the Moroccan administration has amended it on improved sanitary grid: TSA. The improved sanitary grid in the form of batches of 40 to 50m² with an embryonic housing comprising a room of 10 m², an individual water point; the beneficiaries paid rent, the subdivision was fully equipped with sanitation, water, electricity, public infrastructure and facilities.

Discontinuities are also observed on the new tools of investigation that had been established by Ecochard and his team on the specific colonial Moroccan context. Far from adopting the universal principle of modern architecture or romantic approach, Ecochard developed new scientific tools: statistical and anthropological surveys.

In addition to those tools, the third experiment of ATBAT through its interest for local context climate and vernacular architecture solutions inaugurated new bioclimatic and critical regionalism architectural discourses in this specific context. This evokes other aspects of discontinuity between the first foreign architects' team and the second one.

Those approaches developed through the Moroccan colonial context fundamentally influenced the modern discourse of architecture and initiated profound debates surrounding the concept of habitat at the Congress of Modern Architects later in *Aix-en-Provence* (Ilustração 15).

Those experiments were innovative as they rejected universal principles or models that were advocated in the metropolis. In fact, those experiments based on the discovery of the social and geographical colonial context paved the way for a new architectural and urban typologies and model which participated in spreading new architectural solutions for mass housing beyond its own geographical and historical context.

Bibliographic references

- Arcuri, Gaetano & Pasquali, Anna (1985), *Casablanca: The Derb El Habous by A. Laprade or how to build in the Arab Fashion*, *Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design*, pp. 14-21.
- Avermaete, Tom (2010), *Framing the Afropolis. Michel Ecochard and the African City for the Greatest Number. L'Afrique, c'est chic*. *Architecture and Planning in Africa 1950-1970*, pp. 77-89.
- Capannini, Letizia (2000), *Habitat collectif méditerranéen et dynamique des espaces ouverts. Cas d'étude en Europe et en Afrique du Nord (1945-1970). Le logement et l'habitat comme objet de recherche, Actes de la Journée d'étude Jeunes chercheurs*. [Online]. [Consult.16.oct.2018]. Available at: <http://resohab.univ-paris1.fr/jclh05/IMG/Capannini.pdf>.
- Chaouni, A. (2011), *Depoliticizing Group GAMMA: Contesting Modernism in Morocco*. In: Lu D. *Third world modernism: architecture development and identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, J.-L. & Eleb, M. (1998), *Casablanca: Mythes et Illustrações d'une aventure urbaine*. Paris: Hazan.
- Ecochard, Michel (1950), *Urbanisme et construction pour le plus grand nombre, Annales de l'Institut Technique du Bâtiment*, n.º 148, pp. 1-12. [Online]. [Consult. 20.oct.2018]. Available at: <https://bertrandterlindeninarchitecture.wordpress.com/2010/02/22/urbanisme-et-construction-pour-le-plus-grand-nombre/>.
- Ecochard, Michel (1954), *Casablanca. Le roman d'une ville*, Paris: Editions de Paris.
- Eleb, Monique (1999), *Une alternative à l'universalisme fonctionnaliste. Ecochard, Candilis et l'A.T.B.A.T.-Afrique à Casablanca, Cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbaine*.
- Gallotti, J. (1926), *Le jardin et la maison arabe au Maroc*. Paris: Albert Lévy.
- Laprade, Albert (1932), *Une ville créée spécialement pour les indigènes à Casablanca*. In: Royer J., *L'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux, communications et rapports du Congrès International de l'Urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays de latitude intertropicale, Vincennes, 10-15 octobre 1931, La Charité-sur-Loire, Delayance*, Tome 1, pp. 94-99. Paris, Les Editions de l'urbanisme, 1935.
- Vaillat, Léandre (1931), *Le visage français du Maroc*, Paris: Horizons de France, pp. 116.

Acronyms

- CIAM – Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne. (International Congresses of Modern Architecture).
- GAMMA – Groupe des Architectes Modernes Marocains (The Group of Moroccan Modern Architects).
- TSA – Trame sanitaire améliorée (Enhanced sanitary grid).

Debates on West and Central Africa






Surveying essences, producing culture: virgin landscapes and the architectural reinvention of the late Portuguese empire¹

Rui Aristides Lebre*

pp. 49-58

Introduction

Portuguese modern architecture is often studied, represented and discussed along two key narratives of global regionalism: tropical modern and regional modern. The first corresponds to architectural innovation during the late phase of Portugal's colonial empire, the second to architectural innovation as part of nation building. They are usually kept separate in the literature, reproducing the invisibility of colonial reality in modern nation building at which the Portuguese dictatorship excelled. This article proposes to question this separation and the knowledge that was produced from it by looking at how Portuguese architectural knowledge flowed between colonial and national realities throughout the 1950s and 1960s. We will not separate between empire and nation, but instead depart from the notion such as frontiers to the ideological result of colonialism itself. Bearing this in mind, we will examine the development of a modern ethnographic sensibility after WWII and how it grounded architectural rationalities, within the networks of Portugal's colonial empire. This analysis takes as its starting point the study of colonial surveys of Guinean dwelling (1948-1968) and the influential survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal* of 1961, from which it hopes to argue how these made "primitive" landscapes inspire architects to craft the ideal of a "culturally committed" imperial modernism. This article is about asking: how much of our modern, functional, *critical* regionalism arises from the conditions of empire? And its main aim is to argue for the importance of bringing colonial history into our discussion of modern architectural knowledge, thus breaking away with the obfuscation of the colonial histories and subaltern realities that make our present.

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afri39a4>

* **African Studies Centre, University of Oxford.** Lecturer in Architecture, Birmingham City University and Academic.

¹ This article results from the early stages of a postdoctoral research conducted at the Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, from 2018 to 2021, with the title "Architectures for a 'fifth' empire: luso-tropical spatialities and Portuguese imperial modernity, 1945-1974". It was first presented at the international congress *Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes*, 17 January 2019, in Lisbon, in the panel "Globalized Regionalism: the inheritance of colonial infrastructure". I would like to thank my fellow panelists and the public for the insightful discussion that took place during our panel and from which this paper learned.

Ethnography and Architecture as imperial formations

Late nineteenth-century European projects of empire energized the development of several modern forms of expertise. This occurred in direct relation to the expansion of European colonial dominion, namely over Africa after 1895, and how colonial dominion propelled specific forms of knowledge (Beasley, 2005), as well as constituting itself a particular knowledge formation (Stoler, 2009). Anthropologists and architects, among other professionals, were two modern experts growing into professional “organizers of imperial culture,” as Gramsci (Forgacs, 2000) might put it. The intimacy between empire, colonialism and the development of these disciplines in their modern iterations is thick to the point of making it difficult to appreciate their pre-modern foundation without the taint of colonial successes. This is clearly the case with anthropology, whose foundation is the direct result of concerns arising from the conditions of empire (Dirks, 1992). Sometimes critical, others apologetic of colonial endeavors, it seems today consensual anthropology developed its systems of veridiction, mission and methods from cultural conditions of domination (Talal, 1973 & Apter, 1999). To the point that later, post-Edward Said and Michel Foucault, members of this intellectual discipline could claim that ‘Western’ anthropology was responsible for power-laden things as the *idea of Africa* (Mudimbe, 1988). This is not the case with architecture. Its role as cultural organizer of empire, albeit more visible and visibly permanent than anthropology’s, is curiously less clear to modern scholars and observers. Part of this has to do with how architectural history is commonly told from an European perspective, usually underreporting architecture’s role in creating and maintaining violent colonial systems.

Within any history of architecture produced in Europe or North-America, one may easily find two constants: there are scarcely any architecture exemplars beyond the territories of Greece, Rome and Christianity; second, the profession – the practice is another issue – is at least 2000 years old, dating back to ancient Egypt at least (Benevolo, 1960, Mumford, 1961, Frampton, 1985).² This means that European colonial architecture is merely a sub-episode in a larger historical mission. According to historian James-Chakraborty (2014), however, this sub-episode is one of the most “*dynamic sub-disciplines*” of architectural history. In the wake of Said’s *Orientalism* a plethora of critical studies on colonial and postcolonial discourses and their cultural impacts developed, architecture was not exempt. Multiple studies of the role of space in imperial definition opened the discipline to critical understandings of its historical role in organizing cultures of domination. Yet, despite the sub-discipline’s dynamism it essentially remains a speck in architecture’s grand history: a specialist’s domain. This bears a particular effect in research and knowledge about colonial architecture: it emphatically narrates colonial building as a peculiar time-bound phenomenon – closed off in the past and its very particular “cultural context” – instead of narrating colonialism as a key historical period for the edification of modern ideas and innovation. Architects usually emerge as artistic and civic counter-cultural agents in this narrative. This is very much the case in Portuguese architectural historiography, where modern architects directly involved in building the dictatorship’s colonial presence are systematically portrayed as victims caught between dictatorial constraint and libertarian modernism. The richness and violence of the colonial encounter is magically translated into an innocuous and heroic language of

² These are just three examples of highly influential histories of architecture that perform these two points. I must clarify this argument sins by being too polemical, given that many strides have been made in the last 15 years to make architecture history adopt a global historiographic perspective, namely by including examples from other cultures than those found in the “Western” part of the globe. Many of these efforts come on the back of much older efforts of trying to open architecture’s repertoire and exclusion of significant parts of living reality, such as Amos Rapoport’s *House, Form, and Culture* (1969), to name just one example. Currently, there are many excellent historical studies and curricula engaging with global and inclusive approaches such as, for instance, Ching *et al.* (2017), *Global History of Architecture*, 3rd edition.

style. This paper explores the hypothesis that empire was not a speck in the long history of architecture, but a central, defining, experience for modern architecture's epistemology and agency.

Knowledge of the other, form over the other

To tackle this hypothesis let us address the concrete settings of late Portuguese colonialism and its architectural horizons in Africa, particularly in Guinea-Bissau. For Portuguese colonialism, African colonies after the war (WWII) where the place for intense architectural production, as is overwhelmingly argued by research (Fernandes, 2005, Milheiro, 2011, Tostões, 2013). International and local pressures after 1945 to make European nations renounce their colonies made the dictatorship intensify its colonial presence and, equally important, change its narrative. This assumed the form of developmental policies, in the wake of similar turns to colonial developmentalism by Belgium, France and Britain. As argued by Milheiro (2013), this phase of colonial architecture, specifically centered in housing and town-planning, constituted a new period of architectural creativity. According to her, a creativity spun from an attentive care to "native" habits and forms, grounded in surveys of indigenous spatial types and shapes. This coincided with Gilberto Freyre's (1961) galvanization of *Luso-tropicalism* for broad Portuguese audiences and the newly appointed Minister of Overseas Provinces Adriano Moreira's "progressive" colonial agenda, laying out a culturalist-inspired developmental colonial policy. It also coincided with the publication of what was to become the influential architecture survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal* (1961). So, by the early 1960s, several ideological discourses, political strategies and creative materials converged on the idea of a multiracial, regionalist, imperial Portuguese culture, and architects had a part in shaping it. According to this timeline, the 1960s were the highpoint of a new regionalist and tropical modern architecture, and arms sales on the other hand. In the background, war was brewing in Angola.

Despite the aura of progress, one of the key elements for this period's architectural innovation – an ethnographic attention to indigenous spatial practices – had its foundation in long-established colonial practices. Not straying too far, since at least the mid-nineteenth century, in-depth knowledge of African cultures and communities was quite relevant for wartime imperial interests. After-all, colonial military officials had the acquired habit of studying the culture of the enemy. With the modern development of anthropology and geography, this somewhat informal practice became professionalized. The ethnographic work leading to the colonial exhibition of 1936 in Porto, for instance and coordinated by army captain Henrique Galvão, was a mature exemplar of this military-framed ethnographic attention, then produced as a celebration of imperial modernity and superiority. Ethnographic study of African and Asian populations continued to be developed, sharpening and diversifying, eventually gaining institutional solidity. Such is the case of the *Centre of Studies of Guinea-Bissau*, founded in late 1945 by the frigate captain and governor of the colony Manuel Sarmiento Rodrigues and second-lieutenant António Teixeira da Mota. In 1946 they started regular publishing of the *Cultural Bulletin of Portuguese Guinea*, a then new and central medium for the propagation of an ethnographically attentive colonization.

This institution promoted the first comprehensive study of indigenous dwelling in the Portuguese empire with the survey *Native housing in Portuguese Guinea* (Mota & Neves, 1948). Published thirteen years before *Folk Architecture in Portugal*, this survey collected reports from a variety of military and state personnel, former state employees and settlers, and harnessing various disciplinary approaches. Looking at the document today, it is a richly layered account of not only dwelling architecture, but of dwelling habits and traditions in

a broader sense. The surveyors' directives – to fully understand indigenous names, their relation to creed and use, and make abundant use of drawing – allowed a nuanced portrait of Guinea's social-material landscapes. This richness should not, however, distract us from the fact that it was about placing Guineans within a network of political, social and economical problems to be tackled by the colonial government, such as infectious disease, hygiene, agrarian economy and labor. Two elements powerfully inform both its interdisciplinary and colonial approach. First, the geographic surveys conducted by the *Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* coordinated by geographer and eminent colonial thinker Jacques Richard-Molard were a major inspiration. The latter advised the Portuguese survey, reviewing priorities and sharing materials – specifically the ethnographic maps the French developed for Guinea and based on which the Portuguese surveyors accomplish theirs. Secondly, the survey owed much to the travel impressions of colonial banker and administrator António Rubens Mano,³ presented in May 16 of 1946 in Lisbon's Geographical Society, titled *A visit to Guinea*, and published a year later in the *Cultural Bulletin of Portuguese Guinea* (1947). Mano's impressions literally determine the survey's introduction and are sprinkled all throughout its more than 500 pages. Its presence is so ubiquitous that we must consider it shadows a wider frame of political and cultural reference.

Rubens Mano was a staunch believer of *Integralismo Lusitano*. This was a Portuguese intellectual movement from the early twentieth century that coalesced around the ideology of Portugal's divine calling to illuminate the world with Christian peace. It developed mostly in aristocratic intellectual circles during and after WWI and it was one of the Portuguese dictatorship's core ideological pools. From this intellectual movement, the dictatorship derived the notion that Portugal should not only keep colonies but fiercely hold on to them so as to fulfill its mission to civilize the world. For *Integralismo*, culture was an essential, immutable and fixed thing that magically moved Portuguese civilization into a bright future. So, it was something that needed to be reified and protected from nefarious contaminations, closely tied to race and an ecumenical notion of progress. A sort of spiritual functionalism that understood culture as a pre-modern whole. Applied to Guineans, it sounded something like this:

"The great institutions of negro life are similar in the whole continent, but each race realizes those institutions in a specific manner (...) What attracts, however, in the negro race is not its visible habits and customs that induce us in profound errors; it is the problem of the nature itself of the race, without the solution of which appearances are incomprehensible." (Mano, 1947: 491).

The survey's detailed description and drawings of walls, roofs, rooms, materials, are charged with this mission of unveiling an essence. Sometimes in a footnote, others in introductory remarks, the surveyors identify the "idle proclivity", the persistent "shortsightedness" and "uncleanliness", all of which read as natural, active in all Guinean forms of dwelling. The "problem of the negro race" already had a political answer for the majority of the surveyors, succinctly worded by Mano: "The observation that affirms itself by the value of its consequences is that of the social immobility of this strange world. (...) The negro world, as a world specifically negro, one could say that, if not by nature, is socially crystalized" (1947:

³ Born in 1894 in central Portugal, Mano studies Law in Coimbra becoming a magistrate during the first years of the *First Portuguese Republic* (1910-1926). Disenchanted with the latter he departs to Guinea in the early 1910s to work in the Bank *Pinto & Sottomayer*. He becomes president of Guinea's commercial association, leading him into several administrative roles in the colony. After a short return to Lisbon, in 1936 he becomes President of the leading imperial political party in *Lourenço Marques*, Mozambique. That same year he participates in the *Economic Conference of the Empire* as a delegate. His knowledge of colonial matters apparently promotes him to lead the Moçambique's civil administration and, two years later in 1938, to be proclaimed Governor-General of Angola. So, his impressions of Guinea were not the result of an off-shoot trip abroad, but a certain distillation of imperial *savoir voire*.

492). This evidently forgot to bear in mind centuries of trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic cultural, economic and political history, a part of which occurring during the Atlantic trade in enslaved persons. Africans for Mano, simply didn't have the organic ability to transform themselves, stuck in an anachronistic evolutionary time, even though this went against the survey's own nuanced account of Guinea's dwelling cultures, whose lives were recognized to exist through long reaching networks that spanned several cultural, religious and economic landscapes (1948: 106). Nevertheless, as if all of this didn't matter, Guineans "needed" outside interference for their betterment. Like a military campaign, the survey had a specific instrumental end in view: "As mentioned before, the populations in tribal dissociation are those in which it is easier to disseminate christianism and, in a general sense, proceed the policy of assimilation with success" (idem: 106).

So, what were some of the implications of this *integral* ethnography? Teixeira da Mota was just to flustered not to celebrate governor and commander-in-chief Sarmiento Rodrigues' "greatest accomplishment" of promoting the indigenous neighborhood of *Santa Luzia* in Bissau. Placed in the "periphery of civilized populations," to have the Portuguese whites transpire their "positive influence", the neighborhood's architecture could be understood as a translation of the survey's approach. The house plan loosely replicated the typology of *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* houses found in the north of Guinea, simplifying its elaborate social habits to an essentially two room house, a sleeping and a living room, behind which were a small kitchen and bathroom. Around this functional layout developed a wide verandah, in tune with the idea that Guineans spent almost all day outside. The houses were arranged in a modern suburban layout and accomplished in cement and zinc roofing. Indeed, in architectural grammar and form they served a *mimic* (Bhabha, 1994) of the colonial Portuguese: families of "proper" dimension, knowledge of Portuguese language, moral and professional merit, obliged to care for the garden, not allowed domestic animals or agricultural activities, proper use of western furniture, no sleeping on the floor, obliged to use spoon and fork, no subletting or accommodating people beyond the family, no more than one wife and, lastly, obligatory yearly lime-painting or *caiação* (1948: 107-109).

A modern Portuguese house indeed. In this case, a house charged with profound race, gender and class inequalities: the rectilinear plan was considered more "civilized" than the suggestively effeminate but much more common curved plans; women were given a working space, the kitchen, no larger than the so-called bathroom; farming/horticulture, the economic infrastructure of the great majority of Guineans, was blocked by the lovely array of roses supposed to embellish the white façade. The actual feeding of the colony happened somewhere else. Nevertheless, the survey and its ethnographic gaze brought this "somewhere else" to the core of colonial policy, not as a living landscape of needs and desires, but as a reported culture, "crystallized." This was not an *impromptu* gathering of like-minded military and colonial personnel with a particular taste for ethnography that, by chance, got the opportunity to build a modern neighborhood directed at "assimilated" Guineans. It was a long-forming empirical attitude of colonial power. The endangering of the colonial empire, with the rise of anti-colonial movements and Pan-Africanism, just made this attitude more enduring, professional and wide-ranging.

Enter the modern architect

The tense yet pliable frontier of colonial encounter has, of course, a long history of architectural contamination, adaptation and creativity. From the emergence of new typologies (King, 1984) to the development of intercultural dialogues, albeit unbalanced (Scriver & Prakash, 2007), to the outright foundation of new forms and utopias (Gutshow, 2009, LeRoux,

2004). Research on Portuguese colonial architecture innovation overwhelmingly points to post-WWII as being the richest period in architectural contamination and innovation. In part this was the result of the creation of a centralized metropolitan apparatus for colonial architecture and urban planning production, the *Colonial Planning Office* (Milheiro, 2013) which articulated a new strategic use of the urban master plan, the urban survey and modern housing for the success of colonial policy (Borges, 2004). The fact of the matter is that anxiety over losing its grip on the colonies, made the dictatorship ship a considerable number of young and enterprising professionals to the colonies. Among these were newly formed architects, emboldened by their modernist-inspired educations in Lisbon, Porto, London and Cape Town architecture schools (Castela, 2018). Of those active in Guinea-Bissau after WWII, two stand out in the literature: Fernando Schiappa de Campos (1926-2018) and Mário Gonçalves de Oliveira (1914-2013).

Campos stands out in the literature as a modernizer, an avant-garde thinker and practitioner, specifically credited with being able to articulate a tropical modern regionalism (Milheiro, 2010). Oliveira, on the other hand, was considered a man “*apart*” (Lôbo, 1995), someone appearing conservative in the 1940s, but later, in the colony, modern and progressive (Diniz, 2013). Despite the age difference, both were part of a generation of Portuguese architects that negotiated their careers between modernism and a call for tradition-performing modernization by the dictatorship. In planning, both were brought up with the practical lessons of seasoned French colonial planners such as Alfred Agache and Étienne de Gröer.⁴ Both French planners were part of a generation of urban professionals educated and inspired by the French human geography of the Paris school of Paul Vidal de la Blache and Albert Demangeon. This human geography made its way into Portugal through the works of geographers such as Orlando Ribeiro, and anthropologists such as Jorge Dias. Portuguese modern architects were taught to look at culture and place through these influences, such as Campos’ and Oliveira, whose identities as architects, modernizers and colonial citizens, owed much to how the French experience of empire seeped into Portuguese expert networks. The centrality of both architects to late colonial architecture, however, is more related with their “*innovative*” role in producing a modern regionalism.

Campos’ architectural designs are noticed for constituting exemplars of tropical modernism but also, and crucially, for arising from his survey of Guinean dwelling (Milheiro, 2013). Together with the architect António Saragga Seabra and the sociologist Amadeu de Castilho Soares, he conducted the *Study Commission of native habitat in Guinea*. It lasted between 1959 and 1960 and was promoted by the Overseas Research Office of the Overseas Ministry. The survey’s results were close to Mota’s survey fifteen years prior, albeit relying more on photography and investing a greater attention to design and construction processes. More importantly, Campos clearly spelled out the idea that planning should depart from the study of the “*native habitat*,” and he did so to an international audience, specifically to a UN conference in Geneva, 1962 (Campos, 1962). Similarly, Oliveira, is known for his defense of a similar idea: a colonial “*native*” modernization. He argued this by extensively drawing indigenous dwellings as a way of understanding, according to him, the “*native’s essential dispositions towards space*”, and then articulating these in master plans such as one for Bissau from 1961. Like Campos’ survey, also this work was published with the intent to reach a wide audience, namely a national audience and specifically Overseas and Public Works Ministries’ bureaucrats, with a suggestive title: *Overseas Urban planning, essential problems: urban structures of integration and conviviality* (1961).

⁴ These were particularly active in various master plans in Portugal from the 1930s to the 1950s, as well as in the development of the political technology of the master plan itself, and lastly in the country’s architecture schools (Lebre, 2017).

On the one hand, both architects' surveying of indigenous dwelling was still, as in 1948, reporting on a static, pre-modern, world. On the other hand, they articulated a cultural awareness of the empire's peoples in a new way. Both architects seem to relive the thrill of the discovery of "virgin" land in their surveys and resulting works. This, I believe, was both a personal and collective process of national rediscovery in a modernizing period. Brought the notion and experience of discovery to fuel a powerful idea: Portuguese modernity was, by nature, rooted in tradition and culture. An *integral* modernization. Theirs was the moment of the *luso-tropical* utopia (Castela, 2018). Their drawings and architectures a desire for a multi-racial imperial modernity. The fact that both publications are contemporary is not serendipity, but highlights the end of a period and beginning of a new one. Their surveys and planning works were no longer the situated result of Guinea's colonial government, such as the survey of 1948, instead they resulted from a centralized attempt to grip the colonies as war was starting in Angola, in 1961.

Campos and Oliveira, however, proceeded to reproduce the colonial rationalities of the 1948 survey. Campos, for instance, ends up overvaluing the straight lines of the *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* dwellings, over the abundant curved ones, for his architectural designs. This is no small detail, since his survey was highly influential, grounding urban planning surveys such as that for Bissau of 1968 by Martim Chichorro. Oliveira, is perhaps clearest in showing us the use of their representation of the "pre-modern africans". Colonial Housing, according to him, needed to be developed with a *luso-tropical* horizon in mind was "the fundamental base for a beneficial policy of development and conviviality of multiracial communities, already by us long practiced, by nature and sentiment." These "multiracial communities would automatically convert in perfect national communities", and thus constitute "extraordinary examples of our human solidarity" he claimed (Oliveira, 1962: 10).

As the Angolan war was unfolding, and, Guinea-Bissau's was about to start (1963) Oliveira's faith allowed him to claim: "The congenital modification of the psychobiological personality of the less evolved natives may be pursued (...) by the organization of well-developed neighborhood units" (idem.: 12).

There were, nevertheless, relevant changes between Oliveira's vision for Bissau and the early *Santa Luzia* neighborhood, presented by Mota in 1948. The issue then was not so much about bordering the "native" in the periphery, but of finding ways of controlling the virgin "psychobiological personality" via "education" by the "civilized" Portuguese. Oliveira's and Campos' architectural visions, on the other hand, put the emphasis on preserving Africans from the negative influences of Portuguese colonization, that is, keeping the perceived "civilizational" differences in place. In this respect, they were echoing a similar cry for the protection of traditional dwelling in Portugal (Porto *et al.*, 1999) namely sparked by the contemporary *Folk Architecture in Portugal*. The concrete results of this, however, were the same: to create *mimics* of the white settler, straight lines instead of curved, white walls instead of mud, roses instead of food and above all else, to decide from the top how people are supposed to live, based on scientific colonial knowledge. After everything, it seems their ethnographic sensibility and cause brought them to a beaten path, a common principle of domination, a sort of proposition of colonial government that we may find best summarized in the following directives for colonial physicians:

"The health service physician will never forget his civilizing mission, of imminently educational tone, and will try to energetically fight, yet without violence, the superstitious and sorcery practices that conspire against the health and robustness of natives or contribute to the wasting of their races." (1947: 536).

Back in the imperial capital

Architects such as Campos and Oliveira ushered a new life to colonial architecture in the late 1950s and 1960s, namely in state sponsored architecture. Together with many other architects, they articulated a lively modern regionalism, projecting cultural symbolism and civic ideals into colonial norms and forms. The key influence for this cultural turn, as eminently argued by others (Milheiro, 2013, Castela, 2018), is discussed to be the survey *Folk Architecture in Portugal*, produced by architects of Campos' and Oliveira's education between 1956 and 1961. At about the same time as Campos was on his travails in Guinea, a dozen architects travelled Portugal's hinterland, producing a similar portrait of the dwelling traditions of its indigenous people. They were moved by similar notions of geography and culture, a similar stake in producing a rooted modernization and the same emphasis on dwelling as the crux of Portuguese modernization. And also in the midst of this survey *integralismo* found a place, namely by inspiration of Fernando Távora, one of the survey's coordinators. Like Campos and Oliveira, also these architect surveyors produced a crystalized pre-modern country that, like *Manjaco* and *Mandinga* cultures, needed to be protected from nefarious modern influences. One of its main proponents portrayed Portuguese indigenous cultures as "close, static societies" assaulted by the "savage culture" of individualistic "europhoric" progress (Pereira, 1988: 267). In fairness, and as later argued, this survey tried to seize a world "about to disappear," and articulated a professional elite's "civic and cultural responsibilities" (idem.).

This narrative was later used and is still in use to ground the "innovation" of Campos, Oliveira and many other colonial architects' tropical regionalism. Agreeing with Porto (2001: 28) that colonial processes need to be studied in the "spaces of intersection between metropolis and colony," this article hopes to have been able to show how the narrative of "innovation" in question, needs to be framed within the problems and stakes of late Portuguese colonialism in Africa. If, as I tried to show, ethnographic attention to dwelling was not something "from" the metropolis, but an empirical form of government transversing the imperial formation, then it is more likely that colonial history had a greater role to play in colonial architectural innovation, than intellectual exchange in select metropolitan channels. The fact of the matter seems to be that a "culturally committed" form of architectural modernism and modernization dating back to the period we have been addressing, owes much to the colonial experiences that marked the period. In this respect, we would do well to remember Eggeners' (2002) critique of *Critical Regionalism*. Talking about Frampton's (1985) use of Paul Ricoeur's binary opposition between being modern and returning to one's roots, he claimed: "Insufficiently recognized is the fact that critical regionalism is, at heart, a postcolonialist concept" (2002: 234). He was referring to the fact it is often a reading superimposed by a "universal" speaker on an indigenous locale after the event. In fact, the cases discussed in this article show that this practice of superimposition runs deeper and goes further back to colonialism. No need for the prefix "post". We should, perhaps, make a larger effort towards understanding critical regionalism's tropical or otherwise, entanglements with recent modern history, of which a relevant part is colonial history.

Bibliographic references

- Apter, Andrew (1999), *Africa, empire, and anthropology: a philological exploration of anthropology's heart of darkness*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, n.º 28, pp. 577-98.
- Beasley, Edward (2005), *Empire as the triumph of theory: imperialism, information, and the colonial society of 1868*, London and New York: Routledge.

- Benevolo, Leonardo (1960), *Storia dell'Architettura Moderna*, Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Bhabah, Homi (1994), *The location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* (1947), vol. 11, n.º 6, Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné-Bissau.
- Borges, Manuela (2004), Negociando sociabilidades em meio urbano: o associativismo feminino em Bissau (Guiné-Bissau, África Ocidental). In *VIII Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais*, CES Coimbra.
- Campos, Fernando S. de (1962), *O Estudo do Habitat como Base do Planeamento*, *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, vol. 17, n.º 68, pp. 515-573.
- Castela, Tiago (2018), *Daydream Continent: Europe as a Space-Time Horizon in Architectural History*, *Architectural Histories*, vol. 6, n.º 1, pp. 1-7.
- Ching, Francis D. K., Jarzombek, Mark M. and Prakash, Vikramaditya (2017), *Global History of Architecture*, 3rd edition, Hoboken (NJ): Wiley.
- Diniz, Claudia (2013), *Urbanismo no Ultramar Português: a abordagem de Mário de Oliveira (1946-1974)*, Master Dissertation in Architecture, Lisbon: ISCTE-IUL.
- Dirks, Nicholas (Org.) (1992), *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fernandes, José (2005), *Arquitectura e Urbanismo na África Portuguesa*, Lisboa: Caleidoscópio.
- Forgacs, David (2000), *The Gramsci Reader: selected writings 1916-1935*, New York: New York University Press.
- Foucault, Michel (1972), *Archeology of Knowledge*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Frampton, Kenneth (1985), *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- (1983), Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance. In: Foster, Hal (Org.), *The Anti-Aesthetic, Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Seattle: Bay Press.
- Freyre, Gilberto (1961), *The Portuguese and the Tropics*, Lisboa: Executive Committee for the Commemoration of the Vth Centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator.
- Gutschow, Kai (2009), Das Neue Afrika: Ernst May's 1947 Kampala Plan as Cultural Program. In: Demissie, Fassil (Org.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: intertwined and contested histories*, London: Ashgate.
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen (2014), *Beyond postcolonialism: New directions for the history of nonwestern architecture*, *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, n.º 3, pp. 1-9.
- Eggenger, Keith (2002), *Placing Resistance: a critique of critical regionalism*, *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 55, n.º 4, pp. 228-237.
- King, Anthony (1984), *The Bungalow: the production of a global culture*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Le Roux, Hannah (2004), *Building on the boundary: modern architecture in the tropics*, *Social Identities*, vol. 10, n.º 4, pp. 439-453.
- Lebre, Rui A. (2017), *From the Organization of Space to the Organization of Society: a study of the political commitments in post-war Portuguese architecture – 1945-69*, Coimbra: Departamento de Arquitectura da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Lôbo, Margarida (1995), *Planos de Urbanização: a época de Duarte Pacheco*, Porto: FAUP Publicações.
- Mano, Marques (1947), *Visita à Guiné*, *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, vol. 11, n.º 6, pp. 467-513.
- Milheiro, Ana V. (2013), *Africanidade e Arquitectura Colonial: a casa projectada pelo gabinete de Urbanização colonial (1944-1974)*, *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, n.º 25, pp. 121-139.
- (2010), *Fernando Schiappa de Campos, o arquitecto do Moderno Colonial*, *Jornal dos Arquitectos*, n.º 238, pp. 24-29.
- Mota, António da and Neves, Mário V. (Orgs.) (1948), *A Habitação Indígena na Guiné Portuguesa*, Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.
- Mudimbe, Valentin-Yves (1988), *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Mumford, Lewis (1961), *The City in History*, San Diego: Harcourt.
- Oliveira, Mário de (1962), *Urbanismo no Ultramar: problemas essenciais do urbanismo no ultramar; estruturas urbanas de integração e convivência*, Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Pereira, Nuno T. (1988 [1961]), *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, Lisboa: Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses.
- Porto, Nuno, Dias, Nélia e Bandeirinha, José A. (Orgs.) (1999), *Angola a Preto e Branco, fotografia e ciência no museu do Dundo*, Coimbra: Museu Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Porto, Nuno (2001), *O corpo nas colónias: a comunidade colonial na margem do império – o caso da Companhia de Diamantes de Angola*, Porto: Afrontamento.
- Rapoport, Amos (1969), *House, Form, and Culture*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Said, Edward (1978), *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon.
- Scriver, Peter & Prakash, Vikramaditya (Orgs.) (2007), *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, New York and London: Routledge.
- Stoler, Ann L. (2009), *Along the Archival Grain: epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Talal, Asad (Org.) (1973), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, London: Ithaca Press.
- Tostões, Ana (Org.) (2013), *Modern Architecture in Africa: Angola and Mozambique*. Lisboa: Instituto de Engenharia de Estruturas, Território e Construção.

“Uma Guiné Melhor”: the psychological action and the spatialization of population control in rural areas. The strategic villages in Guinea-Bissau between 1968-1973

Francesca Vita*

pp. 59-69

“Uma Guiné Melhor” psychological propaganda. A twisted narrative between promoting and manipulating

In 1968, when António de Spínola landed in Guinea-Bissau assuming the political and military role of Governor General of the Province of Guinea, ruled until 1973, the Guinean War of Independence was running for 5 years across the whole Guinean territory¹. On one side, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), led by its leader Amílcar Cabral and supported by international aids (like the Cuban's aid), was strengthening more and more. On the other side, the Portuguese army was running an exhausting military and defensive strategy in order to resist in few occupied territories (Rodrigues, 2010).

The Governor General António de Spínola quickly realized the urgency to face with the “Guinean problem” not only by reinforcing military measures, but throughout a policy of social promotion and economic development. According to Spínola, the main issue in a “subversive war”, as he used to refer to the Guinean War of Independence, was “to conquer the population”, because “the territory worth for the population living on it”². The War in Guinea could not be gained by the “force of arms, but mainly by the force of reason” and the conquest of the “population's hearts” would have been achieved through a social-promotion policy, whose effects would have encouraged the supporters, persuaded the undecided and discouraged the others, in favour of the Portuguese cause (De Spínola, 1970: 102).

The main arguments of António de Spínola's policy, were perchance based on the book entitled *O Exército na Guerra Subversiva* (The Army in Subversive War), published in 1963

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a5>

* FAUP/ Dinâmia'Cet-ISCTE.

¹ At the time António de Spínola arrived in Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC already held more than a half of the Guinean territory turning the situation for the Portuguese army very critical (Rodrigues, 2010).

² AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Estudo da remodelação do dispositivo da Guiné” (Study on the Reorganization of the Guinean deployment). Directive n.º 20/68, Bissau 25-07-1968.

by the Ministry of the Army. The book consisted in a theoretical practical manual³, regarding the Portuguese military doctrine and based on “*the essential elements of British and French doctrines and renditions of their experiences in Malaya, Kenya, Indochina, and Algeria, and a modest amount of U.S. material*” (Cann, 1997: 43). One of the main arguments of the reported counterrevolution doctrines was the “psychological action” and according to Cann, the Portuguese government was especially intrigued by the French strategy. In fact, in 1959 a study mission was accomplished in Algeria by the Portuguese Army in order to study the so-called “Algerian-case” with focus on the procedures and the effects of the “psychological action” employed by the French army⁴. The report of the Algerian mission sets the bases for the Portuguese psychological policy⁵. As it is stated in volume III of the book *O Exército na Guerra Subversiva*, the “psychological action” aimed to manipulate the public opinion in favour of the Portuguese cause, strengthening the determination of the supportive part, attracting the sympathy of the neutral ones and rejecting any adverse influence on both of them.

During the armed conflict in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, the “psychological action” was achieved through means of propaganda and counterpropaganda, such as pamphlets, printed advertisings, radio propaganda and public speeches (Afonso & Gomes, 2016), along with the “improvement” of native population living conditions and their control throughout the resettlements program and the self-defense villages policy.

In Guinea-Bissau, it was particularly under António de Spínola military administration (1968-1973) that the official propaganda focused on the effort to improve both social and economic conditions as well as “security” of the Guinean population. Soon after his arrival, under the slogan “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” (“A Better Guinea”), Spínola announced to the population several measures of social promotion and infrastructures improvements (De Spínola, 1970).

The socioeconomic development plan was very vast and ambitious and included the improvement of educational services and healthcare assistance in rural areas, to be achieved throughout the construction of sanitary posts and primary schools alongside with the upgrading of existing facilities in the main cities such as Bissau, Bolama, Bafatá, Nova Lamego (now Gabu), and Teixeira Pinto (now Canchungo). In the field of dwelling assistance, the plan comprised the creation of a Fund for the Construction of Economic Houses which would have supported the improvement of the living conditions of suburban and rural population. According to Spínola, the resolution of the dwelling problem was especially relevant “*for the direct impact it would have on the population education*”⁶ or on its influence. In Guinea, since 1940, many surveys and studies on traditional dwellings were accomplished by public officers including the architects working for the Colonial Urbanization Office⁷. These researches also aimed to study traditional ways of living in order to design new dwelling typologies which

³ The book is divided into five volumes: “Generalities”, “Operations against armed bands and guerrilla forces”, “Psychological Action”, “Support to the civil authorities” and “Administration and Logistics”.

⁴ The study mission last 31 days in Algeria and 10 days in Paris, and it included the attendance of a Counter guerrilla and Pacification course in Arzew, a training course for officers into the Army Corps in Algeria, a visit to Sahara and finally a visit to the Centres d’ Instruction à la pacification et à la contre-guerrilla (CIPCG), to the French Head of Defense and to the 5th Rep. National Defense in Paris. AHM/FO/039/11/592/354-355, “Missão à Argélia” (Mission to Algeria), 1959. About the counterinsurgency agents, the training sites and the military headquarters established in the Algerian territory during the war for the independence see (Henni, 2017).

⁵ AHM/FO/039/11/592/354-355, “Missão à Argélia” (Mission to Algeria), 1959.

⁶ AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Reordenamentos. Urbanização de aglomerados populacionais” (Resettlements. Urbanization of populational nucleus). Directive n.º 57/69, Bissau 14-07-1969.

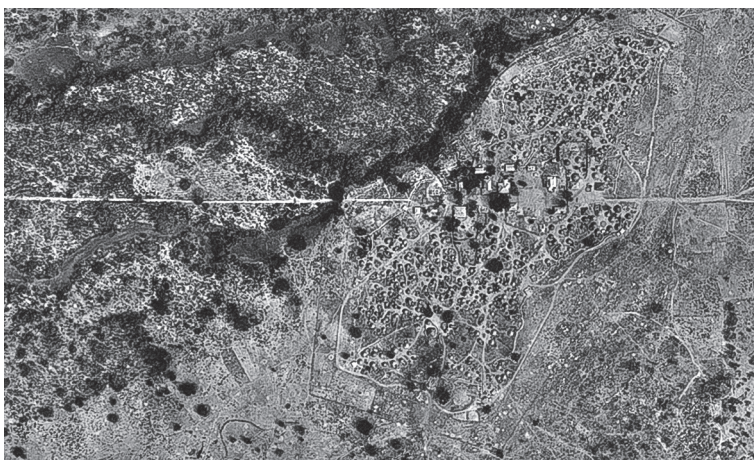
⁷ After Orlando Ribeiro’s geography mission in the territory of Guinea-Bissau in 1947, the first representative survey on traditional dwellings, including the first native neighbourhood in Bissau, was carried out by the 2nd lieutenant Avelino Teixeira da Mota and the civil engineer Mário Ventim Neves (Mota *et al.*, 1948); in 1950 the researches regarded mostly the city of Bissau and its suburban areas (De Oliveira, 1958); while in the sixties the research missions focused on the study of both the rural habitats (Schiappa, 1970) and the urban ones (Caria, 1966, Chichorro, 1968), aiming to solve the overpopulation emergency in Bissau suburbs due to the war. About the survey on the native dwellings during the last decades of the Portuguese colonization in Guinea-Bissau see the author upcoming article (Vita, 2023a).

Ilustração 01 – Bajocunda village after military occupation, before António de Spínola's policy



Source: AHM/DIV/3/47/AP2/19040.

Ilustração 02 – Buruntuma village after military occupation, before António de Spínola's policy



Source: AHM/DIV/3/47/AP2/19040.

would have encouraged the “process of assimilation” of European habits and culture by the autochthonous population, especially in an urban and suburban context where the housing emergency resolution was urging. The spatial manipulation pursued by colonial authorities, under the doctrine of “assimilation”, had always been a strategic weapon to overpower the population, and during António de Spínola’s Government, it became fundamental for his own policy success.

Finally, the territorial development involved the consolidation of the main infrastructures of the country, such as water and electricity supply system, paved roads, airports, bridges and the development of the radio and telecommunication equipment, which also resulted crucial for the military logistic.

According to the plan of investments presented by Spínola on October of 1969 to the Legislative Council of the Province of Guinea (De Spínola, 1970), the economic efforts for the development of the country would have been implemented not only in the main cities of Bissau, Bolama, Bafatá, Nova Lamego (now Gabu) and Teixeira Pinto (now Canchungo), but also in smaller villages, located in strategic positions for a more capillary control of the whole territory, with focus on the borders and the fluvial connections: Sare-Bacar and Pirada close to the Senegal border, Cacine and Gadamael close to the southern border with Guinea Conakry, and Olossato, Mansabá, Bissum and Encheia in the core of the Portuguese controlled territory, today the Oio Region. Furthermore, strategic aerodromes were built e.g. in the southern region, mostly occupied by the PAIGC, and new river ports were settled in Xime and Bambadinca on the banks side of the Geba river, an important fluvial connection linking the interior city of Bafatá to the sea.

The document published in 1972 by the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, (Board for Overseas Researches) entitled *Perspectiva do desenvolvimento económico e social da Guiné*, (Perspective on the socio-economic development of Guinea) clearly reveals the difficulty to achieve the several socio-economic measures due to economic constrain. On the contrary, in rural areas many actions were accomplished under the so-called Rural Improvements program, which comprised: the *reordenamentos populacionais* (population resettlements), the *tabanca em autodefesa* (self-defense villages), the “improvement” of traditional habitat and socioeconomic conditions of the rural population.

An attempt of territorial organization throughout the takeover of the traditional settlements started even before Spínola's Rural Improvements policy, under Arnaldo Schultz General Government (1965-1968). According to several photographic documents founded in the Historic Military Archive in Lisbon, reporting aerial views of 60 villages, it is possible to observe that before Spínola's plan, the spatial strategy for the occupation of the rural areas was mostly achieved by occupying the pre-existent villages, fencing them with barbed wire and constructing military equipment within them, without manipulating the dwelling typologies or their implantation. Under Spínola's Government, many of these pre-existing camps were abandoned and their population and army were relocated into new strategic villages which provided better living conditions and also a more efficient spatial organization⁸. Encouraged by the “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” propaganda, it was actually under Spínola's administration that the population resettlements and the self-defence villages policy spread effectively in the Guinean territory.

The physical and psychological control of the Guinean territory: the struggle for rural areas

In rural areas, both the Portuguese government and the PAIGC struggled to gain support of the population and as a result of the territorial control. On one side, Amílcar Cabral understood that in the main cities the repressing actions achieved by the colonial authorities were too intense and exhausting to defeat (Ledda, 1973). As a consequence, the PAIGC's battle and propaganda shifted mostly to the rural areas, mobilizing a large part of the interior population, even by the use of force (Cabral, 1974). On the other side the colonial authorities realized the importance of “*subtracting the (rural) population and the richest areas to the enemy*”⁹ denying any logistic and political support.

⁸ A paradigmatic example is the village of Madina do Boé in the North Eastern Region. While in 1968, Spínola ordered the Portuguese army to abandon the village by destroying any buildings and retrievable material, 5 years later in September 24th of 1973, not far from Madina do Boé, the PAIGC self-proclaimed the independence of the country.

⁹ AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Estudo da remodelação do dispositivo da Guiné” (Study on the Reorganization of the Guinean deployment). Directive n. 20/68, Bissau 25-07-1968.

In the military directive *Estudo da remodelação do dispositivo da Guiné* (Study on the Reorganization of the Guinean deployment), issued on September 1968, Spínola affirmed that the Guinean territory would have been divided into areas based on the level of proximity the population had with the “enemy”. As a result, the territory was classified in different areas: those with population under the Portuguese control, those with population under dual control (Portuguese and PAIGC) and those under the enemy control. Furthermore, “according to the principle of resources concentration”, the unoccupied areas had to be abandoned in order to converge the physical and psychological actions where the population actually lived¹⁰.

In the most inhabited regions, the contact with the population had to be “permanent and active” in order to achieve a “dynamic and efficient psychological action”¹¹. According to Spínola, the “themes” of the “psychological action”, had to be different and “personalized” depending on population ethnic group and its proximity with the enemy¹².

The confidential “Propaganda Directive n.1”, issued on September of 1968, included a detailed list of the most persuasive topics used to overpower the main ethnic groups (Fula, Manjaco, Balanta, Mandinga and Mancanha) to accept being regrouped under the Portuguese authority¹³. This indoctrination aimed to manipulate “the world of superstitions and beliefs” of the rural populations, promoting, for example, arguments that addressed religious concerns: “Allah wants the victory of Fula and its religion”, “Allah wants the Mandingas to fight with arms for the peace and its religion” or “the irãs (traditional divinities) will protect the new villages”; but it also aimed to empower the traditional authorities to “orient better his population if it would be regrouped”; or it leveraged the primitive aspirations and rivalries for lands ownership: “the united Mandingas will finally own their chã¹⁴”, and it promoted the improvement of living conditions and economic activities: “in the new villages will not lack seeds that will be well stowed” or “the enemy steals the rice, the (Portuguese) army will help to transport and protect it”¹⁵.

The success of the “psychological action” in the rural areas, would have been mostly achieved by gaining the traditional authorities’ support¹⁶. As a consequence, the army invested a lot of resources to please and persuade them by organizing brainwashing lectures and meeting sessions, by offering better house conditions to the chief representative of a group, by organising visits to “well succeeded” examples of resettled villages or even through cinema sessions in order to support the truthfulness of the propaganda. It was crucial for Spínola that the army and its command did not make false promises to the population, but instead proved the positive outcome of the resettlement villages: “facts would replace words”¹⁷.

Under the pretext of protecting the population and improving its living conditions, through an easy access to water supply system, medical care, scholar services and better housing conditions, the policy of Rural Improvements aimed to regroup the disperse population, as how was perceived, into strategic villages, also known as *reordenamentos*¹⁸ (resettlements),

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Operações psicológicas Alfa” (Psychological operations Alfa). Directive n.º 48/68, Bissau 29-10-1968.

¹³ The Portuguese army may have derived this information from previous surveys of the rural environment and population conducted by geographers, anthropologists and architects (Vita, 2023a).

¹⁴ For most of the Guinean population, *chão* means the sacred land on which a person was born and with which he has a sacred bond.

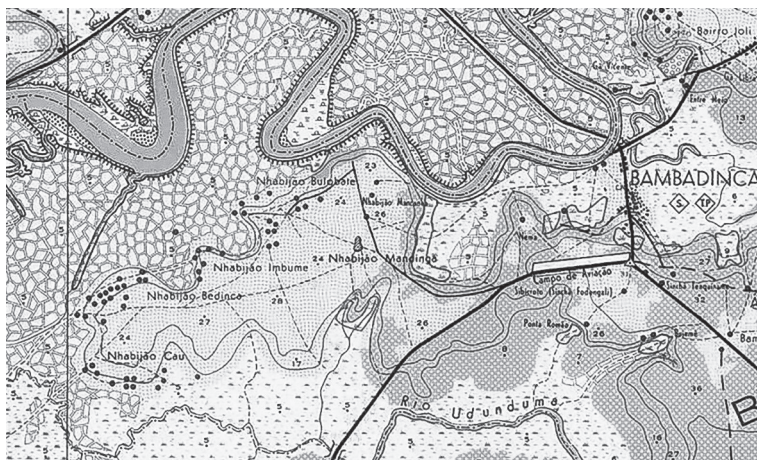
¹⁵ AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Directiva de Propaganda n.º 1. Reordenamento e Autodefesa” (Propaganda Directive n.º 1 Regrouping and Self-Defence). Bissau 30-09-1968, pp. 3-5.

¹⁶ The social structure of the main ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau, both Islamic and animistic, depends on the decisions made by the traditional authorities, the *homem grande* (old man) in the animist cultures, Islamic clergy in the Islamic ones.

¹⁷ *Ivi*, p. 6.

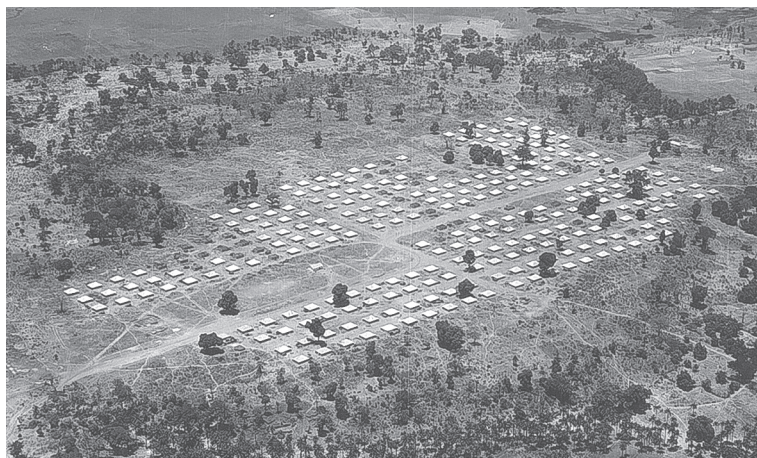
¹⁸ In Guinea-Bissau the most common term for the strategic villages was *reordenamentos*, while in Mozambique and Angola those villages were mostly known as *aldeamentos* (Cann, 1997).

Ilustração 03 – Bambadinca area showing existing villages before Nhabijões resettlement plan



Source: AHM/DIV/3/47/AH1-6/18175-1a72.

Ilustração 04 – Nhabijões resettlement aerial view, (1969-1971)



Source: AHU – PTDC/AUR-AQI/104964/2008.

or to provide to the existing villages basic self-defence weapons and equipped militia, in order to transform the traditional settlements into self-defence militarized nucleus.

The *reordenamentos* consisted into the “*deliberate alteration of the pre-existing population’s distribution in a territory*”¹⁹ throughout the concentration of several traditional settlements into a single larger village settled in a more strategic position. In a territory, such as the one of Guinea-Bissau, characterized by an irregular distribution of traditional settlements, a policy of concentration of people and resources would, on one hand, have facilitated the government’s assistance to the population and its military defence against revolutionary’s party, on the other hand it would have increased the socioeconomic policy impact on the

¹⁹ AHM/DIV/2/4/124/15, “BEng447”. 1973.

population, transforming the *reordenamentos* into “poles of progress expansion” for the rest of population (De Spínola, 1970: 179).

One of the examples of population resettlement was the Nhabijões²⁰, nearby Bambadinca, in an area that was under the dual influence of both Portuguese and PAIGC. The Nhabijões resettlement was implemented between 1969-1971 and it involved the regrouping of four traditional villages (Nhabijão Cau, Nhabijão Bedinca, Nhabijão Imbume, Nhabijão Mandinga) of which three belonged to the Balanta group (mostly Animist) and one to the Mandinga group (mostly Islamic). The new village arose not far from the existing ones, but in a more “secure” area, far away from the Geba river banks which were patrolled by PAIGC. Within the resettlement two thousand people were approximately displaced into a camp of three hundred houses.

According to official documents, the population was not forced to abandon their traditional houses and villages, it was persuaded through an “*insistent and progressive*” psychological action, “*on the necessities*” and “*the benefits*” of moving or being dislocated to the *reordenamento*²¹. However, according to several colonial reports, people were very reluctant to abandon their *chão* (sacred land), they were scared to lose their belongings and, in many cases, they were reluctant to share the same space with other ethnic groups. In addition, traditional chiefs were concerned to lose their authority influences within the new social context. Once the population was displaced, the traditional villages were destroyed erasing any natives’ marks that linked the people to their land, to their house, their objects, to their worship places and to their buried ancestors. Finally, they were forced to live in a new context where the traditional notions of public and private space had been completely altered, most likely affecting the social inter-relationships within the group and the traditional habits.

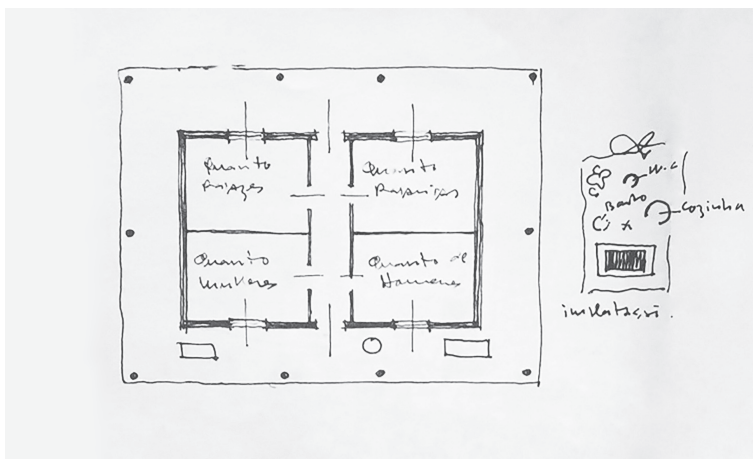
Reordenamentos populacionais: reshaping the public and private life of rural populations

In Guinea-Bissau, the department in charge of the population resettlements was the *Serviços de Reordenamentos Populacionais* (Services for the Population Resettlement), which was based in Bissau and directly depending on the Command Chief. These Services guaranteed the execution of the resettlements, by coordinating the rhythm of construction of the strategic villages, by monitoring the materials supply and their distribution, besides providing construction knowledge to the soldiers who were in charge of the construction field of the strategic village (Magro, 2005). Furthermore, the Services for the Population Resettlement cooperated closely with the Batalhão de Engenharia (Engineering Battalion), the BEng447. The BEng447 unit was supposed to be only in charge of the military construction operations, however, especially under António de Spínola Government, it served mostly as technical support to the population resettlements program. For example, it provided materials supply on the ground and their distribution to the different building zones and it was in charge of delivering the drawings of resettlements’ plan, whose directives were provided by the Command Chief through the Services for the Population Resettlement (GEAEM, 2014). The BEng447 was not in charge of the construction of civilians’ dwellings or of the others collective buildings inside the *reordenamento*, for this task simple soldiers were recruited and trained in

²⁰ In Portuguese language the suffix *-ões* stands for plural terms. In this case “Nhabijões” would mean the plural term of Nhabijão, which was the traditional name for several existing villages in the areas (Nhabijão Cau, Nhabijão Bedinca, Nhabijão Imbume, Nhabijão Mandinga), that have been destroyed after the resettlement action.

²¹ AHM/DIV/2/4/226, “Directiva de Propaganda n.º 1. Reordenamento e Autodefesa” (Propaganda Directive n.º 1 Regrouping and Self-Defence). Bissau 30-09-1968.

Ilustração 05 – Fula dwelling typology surveyed by the architect Mário de Oliveira in 1958



Source: AHU/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/2073/01004.

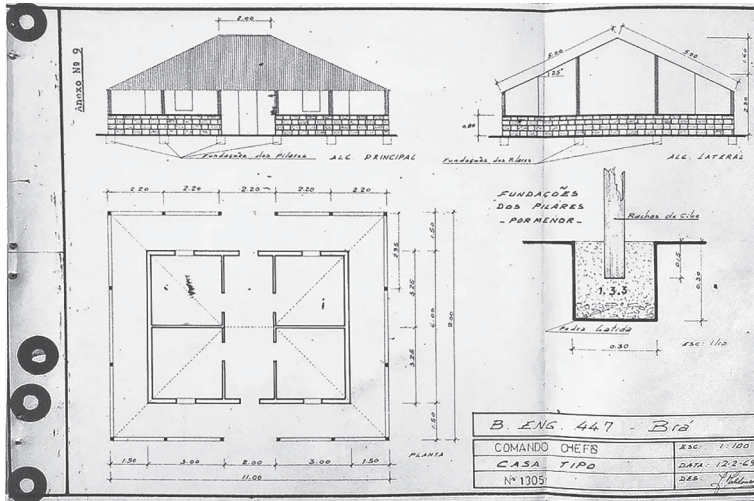
order to learn and to provide the basic knowledge of construction on the field. According to Fernando Magro²², the recruited soldiers were meant to spend few days in the Engineering Battalion headquarter in Brá-Bissau, in order to learn and practice on the construction of some on-going cell-houses (Magro, 2005). Once in the construction field, the qualified soldiers were in charge of coordinating the construction of the house-types and of the others buildings (sanitary post, primary school, warehouse, etc..), which in the end were built mainly by the population itself. The dwelling typology implemented by the army for the strategic villages was an economic and efficient solution perhaps inspired by previous researches, such as the survey conducted by the architect Mário de Oliveira in 1958 on suburban traditional dwellings in Bissau, or by other dwelling experienced addressed to the African population²³. According to a military document, issued in 1969, and describing the guidelines for the resettlement plans²⁴, the dwelling typology implemented in the field, could hypothetically have been inspired by a traditional or a European model, although this latter solution was the most widely executed. The European-type dwelling was an elementary one-floor house, characterized by a surrounding veranda and a simple organization of the interior space arranged with one central entrance placed in each street façades leading to the main corridor which distributed symmetrically four rooms. Each unit could host hypothetically eight people, but maybe more, and the dwellings were settled according to a grid layout implantation. The distance between one house unit and another one had to be fifteen meters, while between two housing blocks twenty meters. The housing block could include four, six or eight houses unit, though the one of six houses was the one which occupied less surface. The units were built in adobe blocks, with a roof structure made of *cibe* tree (a local palm tree abundant in rural areas) and covered with a thatched roof or a tin roof, depending

²² Fernando Magro arrived in Guinea in 1970 and returned to Portugal in 1972. According to his published book of memories “Memórias da Guiné”, as soon as he arrived in Bissau he was placed in the *Serviços de Reordenamentos Populacionais* (Services for the Population Resettlement), initially in the planning section into the Command Chief Department, then he was in charge for the *reordenamentos* services in the BEng447.

²³ We believe that the Ajuda Neighbourhood in Bissau (1965) might have anticipated the resettlement typology in rural areas during the war. For deeper insights on the construction of the Ajuda Neighbourhood and its relation with military purposes, see the PhD thesis by the author (Vita, 2023b).

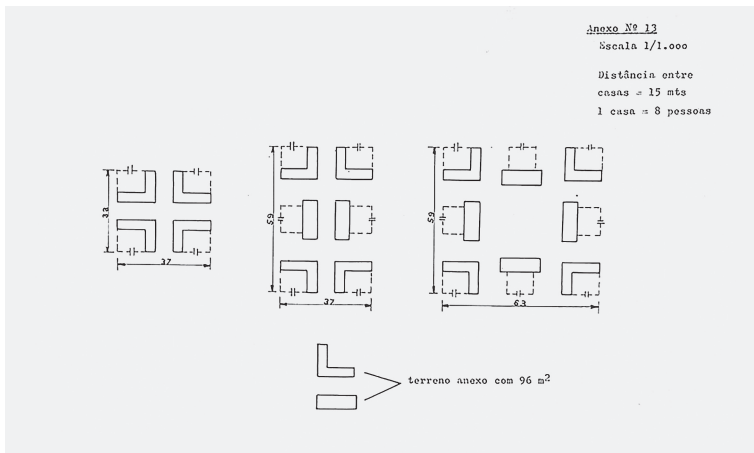
²⁴ INEP, B.1.2/13, “Reordenamentos” (Resettlements), 1969.

Ilustração 06 - Dwelling typology implemented by the army (1969)



Source: INEP/B.1.2/13.

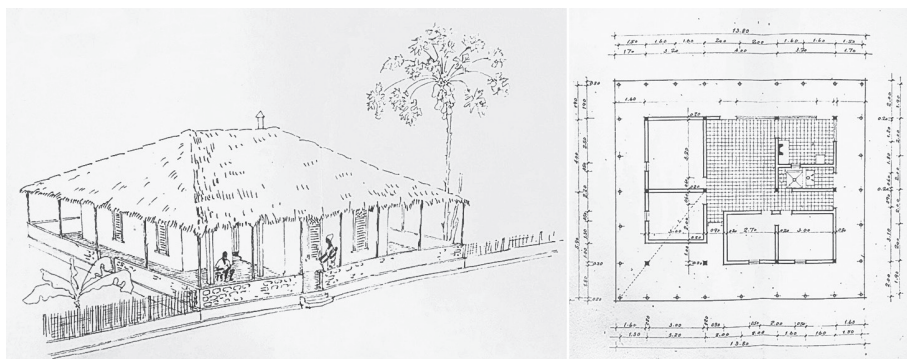
Ilustração 07 - Housing blocks typology implemented by the army (1969)



Source: INEP/B.1.2/13.

to which category the house-type belonged to. The European-type dwelling was divided into three categories based on the quality of the finishing materials, from a basic solution (Type-1) with adobe floor and thatched roof to upgraded ones with exterior plastered whitewashed walls and tin roof (Type-2) or with cement floor, exterior plastered whitewashed walls and tin roof (Type-3). The type-2 and Type-3 houses were usually proposed to traditional authorities or relevant members of the village in order to please them by providing better housing conditions, however analysing several photographic materials it is clear that these latter typologies were the most executed.

Ilustração 08 – Dwelling typology designed by António Moreira Veloso (1970)



Source: AHU/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/1972/00857.

The resettlement solution accomplished by the army did not consider, for example, the variety of traditional ways of living of the main ethnic groups, neither the importance that the spatial organization of the house and its implantation had in social and family inter-relationships. The resettlement plans resulted in a profound violation of the rural environment (interior and exterior) through a logic of spatialization control which employed the standardization of both the dwelling unit and the settlements' implantation.

In 1970, the *Grupo de Trabalho de Urbanização da Província da Guiné* (Guinea Urbanization Working Group) led by the architect António Moreira Veloso designed a solution which would suit to the traditional way of living of the rural population, without undermining the efficiency and economic viability of the military solutions (Milheiro, 2017). The dwelling typology developed was characterized by a less rigid interior space organization than the one implemented by the army, with hygienic facilities and kitchen attached to the house and covered areas for communal activities²⁵. It remains uncertain whether the Guinea Urbanization Working Group dwelling typology had been implemented or not²⁶. In any way, the revisited settlement's implantation proposed by the Guinea Urbanization Working Group responded to a spatial strategy of order and control that did not differ much from the logic of the army implantation, and to a different extent would have affected the traditional ways of living.

Between 1968 and 1973, under the António de Spínola's propaganda policy "A Better Guinea", approximately 8,300 houses²⁷ and more than 110 strategic villages were built, regrouping almost 66,500 people, corresponding to 24 % of the rural population. The impact of the resettlement plan in rural areas had been significant, especially in a territory where before the outbreak of the War of Independence had experienced few direct contacts with the colonial authorities (Ledda, 1973).

Officially, the Governor General António de Spínola was encouraging the construction of a "Better Guinea" for a renovated Africa, while at the same time and under the same slogan he was confidentially ordering the army the control the Guinean population and the territory through physical and psychological actions. Regrouping, controlling, persuading, distancing,

²⁵ AHU/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/1972/00857. Report of the study mission by António Moreira Veloso, 1970.


²⁶ A dwelling-unit designed by António Moreira Veloso Guinea Urbanization Working Group was implemented in Farim in 1970. We do not know if more units were implemented. AHU/ID-OP/OP12497, "Experiência de loteamento a partir do 'habitat' natural" (Parcelling experience from natural 'habitat'), Guinea Urbanization Working Group, 1970.

²⁷ AHM/DIV/2/4/124/15, *op. cit.*

were some of the words that were recurrently used by colonial authorities in confidential documents. Under António de Spínola Government (1968-1973), civil and military purposes were very tight together and the border between promoting and manipulating, developing and controlling the territory and the population remained very blurred.

Bibliographic references

- AA. VV. (1972), *Perspectiva do desenvolvimento económico e social da Guiné*, Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.
- (1963), *O Exército na Guerra Subversiva*, Lisbon: Ministério do Exército.
- Afonso, Aniceto e Gomes, C. de Matos (2016), *A conquista das almas. Cartazes e panfletos da acção psicológica na Guerra Colonial*, Lisbon: Tinta da China.
- Cabral, Amílcar (1974), *Guiné-Bissau. Nação africana forjada na luta*, Lisbon: Nova Aurora.
- Cann, John P. (1997), *Counterinsurgency in Africa. The Portuguese Way of War, 1961-1974*, Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Caria, Emília Maria (1966), *Documentação fotográfica recolhida durante a missão entre Fevereiro e Abril de 1966* [PT/IPAD/MU/DGOPC/DSUH/2070/11341-11346].
- Chichorro, Martim Afonso Sousa (1968), *Estudo sobre o habitat de Bissau*, [PT/IPAD/UM/DGE/RPAD/1413/08295].
- Da Mota, Avelino Teixeira e Neves, Mário G. Ventim (1948), *A habitação indígena na Guiné Portuguesa*, Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa.
- De Oliveira, Mário (1958), *Relatório da viagem à Guiné*, [AHU/DSUH/2073/01004].
- De Spínola, António (1970), *Por uma Guiné melhor*, Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- GEAEM – Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos da Engenharia Militar (2014) *A Engenharia Militar na Guiné. O Batalhão de Engenharia*, Lisbon: Direção de Infra-Estruturas do Exército.
- Henni, Samia (2017), *Architecture of Counterrevolution. The French Army in Northern Algeria*, Zürich: GTA Verlag.
- Ledda, Romano (1973), *Una rivoluzione Africana*, Bari: Donato Editore.
- Magro, Fernando (2005), *Memórias da Guiné*, Lisbon: Polvo Ed., Fernando Magro.
- Milheiro, Ana Vaz (2017), *Arquitecturas Coloniais Africanas no fim do “Imperio Português”*, Lisbon: Relógio d’Água Editores.
- Rodrigues, Luís Nuno (2010), *Spínola*, Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros.
- Schiappa, Fernando de Campos (1970), *Habitats Tradicionais Da Guiné Portuguesa*, Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.
- Vita, Francesca (2023a), *Between coding and decoding. Inquiring on the late colonial need for surveying the native settlements in Guinea-Bissau*, (Communication to be presented), Society of Architectural Historians 76th Annual International Conference: Montreal.
- (2023b), *Domestic architecture in dialogue. The role of the Portuguese colonization in the production of domestic spatiality in contemporary Guinea-Bissau*, (PhD thesis unpublished), University of Porto, Faculty of Porto University.



EM COMEMORACAO DE
BOERS SUL - AFRICANOS,
DO TRANSVAAL A ANGOLA
DESDE 1874 e depois.
FESTA DE HONRA EM 5-8 DE JULHO 1957

Divided Urbanism – On the Spatial Production of Transportation Infrastructures in Livingstone during Late Colonialism [□]

Carl-Philipp Bodenstein*

pp. 71-83

Introduction

Different modes and structures of segregation and exclusion that separated European and African populations were central features of urban areas in colonial Africa. However, the degrees of segregation as well as their specific manifestations – materially and symbolically, visible and concealed – varied not only between different colonialisms, but also between colonial states under the same rule and in some instances even between different districts and urban areas within one and the same colonial state. The official colonial rationale shifted during World War II and thereafter from a “civilising” paradigm that combined ideas about racial superiority with economic pragmatism to a “modernising” paradigm that was concerned with the development and welfare of Africans (Wolton, 2003, Cooper, 2002). In practice, however, it did not entirely trickle down to the local level. When in the pre-war era towns and cities were spaces where “*many ideological and pragmatic imperatives met*” (Jones, 2012: 26) under the new paradigm they transformed into spaces where old and new colonial imperatives clashed, fuelled by a growing African involvement in local and territorial political affairs.

In the British colony of Northern Rhodesia (today’s Zambia) this growing involvement was manifest in the formal establishment of advisory bodies on the local level, between the late 1930s and mid-1940s in the face of African Urban Advisory Councils, and later on the provincial (Provincial Councils) and territorial (Legislative Council) level. African Urban Advisory Councils (AUAC) were installed to advise and brief District Commissioners on issues and problems within compounds¹ and townships (Rotberg, 1965: 180). Its members were composed of African representatives from different compounds with the District Commissioner serving as the Advisory Council’s chairman. Other than the African representation in the Legislative Council, however, the function of the AUACs and the Provincial Councils, whose members were composed of representatives of Urban and Rural Advisory Councils to advise the Provincial Commissioner, did not include any executive

□ <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a6>

* University of Vienna, Department of African Studies.

¹ African compounds in Northern Rhodesian towns were employment based. Every employer had to provide housing for employees clustered in compounds. On the history of compounds in Northern Rhodesia (Home, 2000).

powers². Since in Northern Rhodesia like in other British settler colonies the decentralisation and distribution of powers enabled municipalities, mainly administered by European settlers, to gain considerable freedom in forming local policies on urban laws and developments, the executive powers of Africans in the Legislative Council as well as growing liberal tendencies of Europeans within the central government did not reach far into the urban political sphere. In Livingstone the possibilities for Africans to shape the urban space seems to have been particularly difficult. Being a tourist town in the very South of Northern Rhodesia and having served as its capital till 1935 Livingstone was in many ways different from the rest of Northern Rhodesia (Lewis, 2011). Trying to promote “their” town as the “*cultural capital*” (MacGregor and Schumaker, 2006: 652) and “*brain capital*” (Lewis, 2011: 159) after 1935, the traditionally high proportion of upper and middle class white settlers produced strong segregationist attitudes³ mixed with – or rather fuelled by – romantic feelings towards “*their good-time town*” (Ibid: 161). This conservatism and racism which was increasingly challenged by the modernisation paradigm coming not only from London, but also international organisations (c.f. Pearson 2017) since the 1940s was concealed in technical, economical, political and legal discourses which become apparent when looking at the provision and negotiation of infrastructural services for Africans.

Against this backdrop, this contribution revolves around the following questions. How was the provision and practise of public transportation discussed and negotiated? And what conclusions can be drawn from these local discourses and negotiations processes concerning the everyday spatial dynamics in colonial urban areas and the ideologies guiding these discourses and negotiations? In order to specify the use and conceptualisation of infrastructure I will put the term under theoretical discussion and attune it with spatial theory. To shed light on the two questions, I will first contextualise urban transportation infrastructures in British settler colonialism to then discuss the case of public transportation in Livingstone during the 1940s and 1950s by looking into negotiations between the AUAC and the Municipal Council.

Infrastructure as Social Space

Infrastructures and built environments in general are not only material structures, but “*principle materialization[s] of the relationship between people (citizens and non-citizens alike) and otherwise abstract state and supra-state authorities*” (Dalakoglou, 2016: 823). While many academic perspectives on infrastructure have been based on materialist theory focussing on connections between the materiality of infrastructures and the realm of politics and economy, recent approaches progressively tend to focus on the social and cultural aspects of infrastructure (Dalakoglou, 2016: 828; Low, 2017: 61). By suggesting that not necessarily the “*what*”, but the “*when*” and “*for whom*” is important when it comes to make sense of infrastructure in a social dimension, Susan Leigh Star conceptualises infrastructure as a “*fundamentally relational concept*” (Star, 1999: 380). In that sense, infrastructure reveals something about the social composition and the power relations in a given space. Another dimension of infrastructure, discussed by Dourish and Bell, is its role within the experience of space (Dourish and Bell, 2007). Thus, infrastructure can be conceptualised as a constituent of social space as it “*generate[s]*

² For further details on the constitution of the Provincial Councils see: NAZ LGH 7/8/18, African Affairs. African Provincial Council, 1951-53. Part 1 – Constitution.

³ For instance, when a member of the Parliamentary Commonwealth Party from Antigua of African descent visited a restaurant in Livingstone, in 1954, together with a man named Mr. Bird the owner, Mr. Robinson, told Mr. Bird that he could only serve Europeans. When they were finally still served after some discussion some people immediately left the restaurant leaving their drinks behind. NAZ SP 1/1/1, Race Relation Ordinance 1951-64, Letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province, September 16, 1954.

Ilustração 01 – Livingstone, Southern Province and Zambia. Street network as of around 1960.

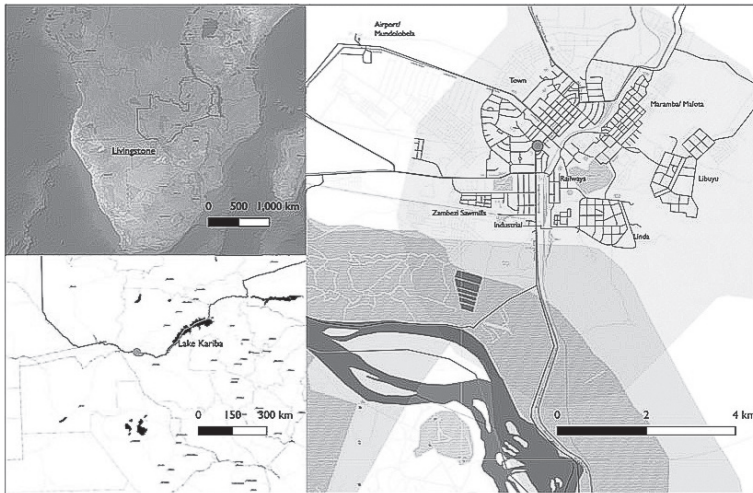
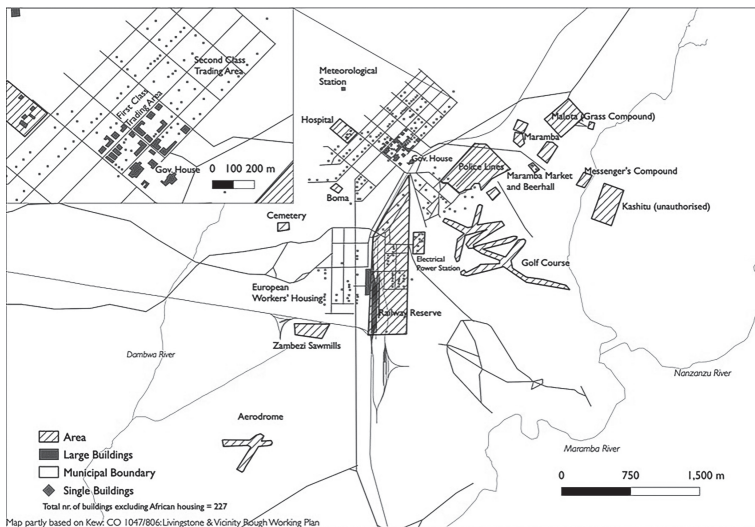


Ilustração 02 – Livingstone Compounds and Areas, 1930



the ambient environment of everyday life” (Larkin, 2013: 328). Especially in spaces (and places) where networks of infrastructure are insufficient or not existing the sociality of these networks becomes even more apparent (Chu, 2014). Yet another approach towards (urban) infrastructure, especially in the context of urban settings in the Global South, is Abdu Maliq Simone’s notion of *people as infrastructure* (Simone, 2004) and *assemblage theory* (Amin and Thrift, 2017). Sometimes criticised for their indeterminacy and eclecticism (Scott and Storper, 2016: 1132) these theories both identify human networks and non-human material objects as fluid infrastructures within a structurally contingent urban space.

The social dimension of infrastructure with its different layers within social space is important to acknowledge, either as a form to experience space, to be included or excluded from it, or as a node that connects different spatial elements. If dissected using Lefebvre's spatial triad (Lefebvre, 2010: 41-52 and 116), infrastructures can be understood not only as elements of space, but as a form of (social) space itself. Therein, space is constituted by a material and physical dimension, a mental dimension, where space is produced through plans for example, and an ideological dimension that combines the two. In the same sense, infrastructures are represented through plans, policies and designs, they are practiced through usage as well as access or restriction, and they consciously as well as in concealed ways represent space in its ideological and normative dimension.

Colonial Urban Infrastructures in Historical and Geographical Context

The roles and workings of public services and infrastructures in colonial urban areas have to be understood in relation to the specific historical and geographical settings in which they occurred. Since urbanisation took many forms throughout Africa (Freund, 2007, O'Conner, 1983), urban infrastructures, too, developed in various ways⁴. While public bus services in Lagos for instance were not only for Africans but also operated by African business people from the very moment mass produced cars were available by the 1920s (Olukaju, 2004), in Northern Rhodesia the question of urban public transportation was not even raised before the late 1940s.

Differences in urban histories become especially relevant in the context of settler colonialism and its specific trajectories. Lorenzo Verazini states that

"Settler colonialism is a relationship. It is related to colonialism but also inherently distinct from it. As a system defined by unequal relationships (like colonialism) where an exogenous collective aims to locally and permanently replace indigenous ones (unlike colonialism), settler colonialism has no geographical, cultural or chronological bounds" (Verazini, 2017: 4).

Equally important when specifying settler colonialism are the reasons of settlers to move, since

"they often move to return – return to a pristine social order disturbed by modernity, return to appropriate social mores disturbed by gender and other revolutions, return to the land and return to the ability of genuinely owning it" (Ibid: 6).

Yet, notions or expectations of modernity for instance serve different ideological functions for the same set of people. On the one hand, modernity is rejected as stated in the quote above. On the other hand, it does serve as a mode of othering and exclusion which becomes particularly relevant in the cases discussed in this paper. Thus, signs of modernity such as public transportation – often concentrated in urban spaces and symbolised in urban life styles – become a means of displaying (racial) superiority and of producing a *sense of place*⁵ through regulations and restriction to enjoy or access them. Such *sense of place* is after all what perhaps most noticeably distinguishes settler urbanism from different (non-settler) forms of colonial urbanism, since settlers have an interest and aspiration in the creation of home, which is reflected in settlers' spatial production, practice and representation.

⁴ Urban life in coastal towns in West Africa for instance flourished already in pre-colonial times and produced many vernacular forms in urban culture, architecture and social organisation as opposed to the colonial planned cities of southern and central Africa.

⁵ Citing Erving Goffman (1959) Pierre Bourdieu (1989: 19) uses the notion of "*sense of place*" to describe the structuring effects of the habitus and explain the inner and mostly unconscious workings of hierarchical relations within social space.

Therefore, in the context of settler colonialism urban infrastructures are relevant for a couple of reasons. Firstly, they reflect social relations. Access to infrastructures means access to towns and, ultimately, access to ideas of modernity as well as inclusion to an urban society. In this regard, social divisions between the colonial society and Africans, patterns of exclusion and structures of segregation are sometimes rendered visible in the (non)-materialisation of infrastructures. Idalina Baptista speaks in this sense of a “*dual urban form of many cities, whereby segregation along racial lines dictated the provision of infrastructure and access to utility services*” (Baptista, 2016: 225). Secondly, infrastructures as ideas as well as in their physical form are relevant within political discourse and action. The lack or insufficiency of public transportation systems in colonial urban areas can for instance be regarded as imminent infrastructures in reference to what Peter Thomas calls “*imminent mobilities*” (Thomas, 2014: 220), that is, infrastructures that are materially in a non-existing state. They exist only on plans or as contingencies, but still, symbolically, contribute to the political, cultural or social imaginaries of a given space. Thirdly, as a *tool of empire* infrastructures not only become means and methods of control, segregation and exclusion (Njoh, 2009: 312), but also – and at times even more so – stand witness to a state or condition of colonial uncertainties, ambiguities and contradictions (c.f. Jackson, 2017: 231, Chatterjee, 1986: 3-4) which shaped many aspects of the colonial state, its (urban) spatial units and subsequently (social) space itself.

In the following, the infrastructural divide in Livingstone is understood within a wider context of colonial urban struggles particularly at work in settler colonies. Infrastructures in this sense resemble visible or at least visualisable features of urban social relations and consequently power relations within urban spaces. They inform about who is entitled to have access to the urban space and how this access is provided or restricted⁶. The degrees of segregation or exclusion and integration of different groups and individuals in an urban context might be defined by the relative accessibility to and distribution of these social and physical spaces and infrastructures. Robert Home highlights that “*significantly, the term ‘segregation’ (in the context of some formal residential separation of races) seems to have arisen at the same time as ‘town planning’ [around 1908]”* (Home, 2013: 118), which renders the relation between urban structures (both social and physical) and segregation/ integration even more apparent. Thus, the urban form as well as social formations reflect how societies distribute power and resources. Social and spatial practices then reflect these (un)equal distributions and the segregational or integrative logics on which they are based.

Furthermore, colonial uncertainties, ambiguities and contradictions manifest in urban infrastructural policies are reflected by the history of urbanisation in Northern Rhodesia. They give a sense of the anti-urban and exclusionary ideology manifest within large parts of colonial settler society and local politics (Heisler, 1971). In this context, Jonathan Hyslop (2020: 37) writes on the wider region of Southern Africa that settler urbanism was

“anti-modernist at a cultural level, while at the same time being invested in the idea of technological modernity [... with] a particular emphasis on shielding subaltern whites from the supposedly disintegrating effects of cosmopolitan culture.”

Thus, settlers’ expectations of modernity follow the course of a conservative revolution, which is perhaps just as materialistic and technical in style as those expectations of modernity on the part of colonial and industrial bureaucrats and of the African working class, whose very notion of modernity, as Ferguson (1999) showed, is deeply connected with urban housing

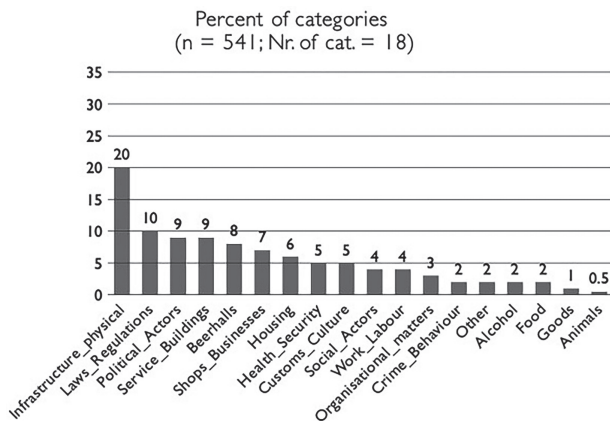
⁶ For another interesting aspect of infrastructure, namely the dimension of exploitation through infrastructure, that is not discussed within this paper, but equally relevant to the working of colonial systems with regard to infrastructure, see Olanrewaju, 1987, Oshin, 1988.

and commodity products. Settlers' expectations of modernity, however, seem quite different to those just mentioned in terms of both their magnitude as well as their temporal direction. In a sense, modernisation takes the form of a conservative revolution resembling Gramsci's notion of the passive revolution, which

"[i]n its broadest sense [...] for Gramsci signified a distinctive process of (political) modernization that lacked the meaningful participation of popular classes in undertaking and consolidating social transformation" (Thomas, 2013: 37)⁷.

Although the general acceptance of Africans in towns developed throughout the last two decades of colonial rule, the tendency to control and limit their mobility had not faded until the end of colonial rule. The fear of crime and "social ills" gave reason to call for "a system of influx control" as to hinder Africans "attracted by the bright lights or perhaps the relative gay life or perhaps by the lack of tribal discipline"⁸ to move to urban areas, as Councillor Sampson from Lusaka put it at a conference of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1960. But also within urban areas, movement and social amenities needed to be controlled and curtailed in the eyes of settlers. The significance of urban infrastructures can therefore not be overlooked. This is not only so in a discursive sense, but also in a rather literal sense as well. A descriptive statistic generated from the minutes of the AUAC, which I digitised, coded, and fed into an SQL-database, reveals that twenty percent of all issues that were discussed in the council were about infrastructures such as transportation, water and sanitation, roads, or electricity (see Table 01).

Table 01 – Percentage of types of issues presented before AUAC



Spatial Production of Transportation Infrastructures in Livingstone

Since freedom of movement for Africans was limited due to pass laws that should prevent uncontrolled migration into, between and within towns, not much attention was directed towards public transport services for Africans, especially within municipal boundaries and

⁷ Passive revolution was at first a concept Gramsci used to describe the modern state formation in Italy in the Risorgimento, through which "dominant classes managed to exclude the popular classes from autonomous and organized participation in the process of modernization" (p. 30). Later, he "began to extend the concept, in a comparative manner, in order to analyse other social formations [...] lacking a radical Jacobin moment such as had accompanied the French Revolution." (Ibid.).

⁸ NAZ LGH 1/8/5, Local Government, Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Annual Conference, 1960-1961. Report of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Conference, Kitwe, May 4-6, 1961.

the surrounding areas. Livingstone itself was and still is a rather small town after all. However, the spatial segregation of African and European areas made short distances rather long. Even more immediate than busses within town, however, were connections between Livingstone and the Victoria Falls which are located about 10km outside of town, and therefore only practically reachable for those few Africans who owned a bicycle (Tanner, 1977: 196). Apart from serving as an attraction and a place to spend one's leisure time, to Africans the falls were even more important as a place of economic opportunity. Because the Falls have served as a tourist sight since the very time Livingstone and its sister town Victoria Falls across the Zambezi were founded, locally made arts and crafts could be sold to tourists (Arrington-Sirois, 2017: 138).

The first request of the African Urban Advisory Council (AUAC) to install a bus for Africans to the falls on weekends and public holidays was made on June 7, 1949⁹. A month later the council members raised the matter again suggesting that Africans would also be willing to pay the same fare as Europeans, if they would be allowed on the European bus¹⁰. The Native Affairs Committee¹¹ rejected this proposition, but followed the first suggestion made by the AUAC that a bus for Africans could be provided with possible losses to be compensated by the beer hall revenues¹². However, since the municipality did not want to use a European bus for Africans, it decided to purchase one for them.¹³ After a trial period of a couple of weeks between December 1949 and January 1950 the municipality came to the conclusion that a continuation of the service was uneconomical, because not enough people, although steadily increasing,¹⁴ were using the weekly bus service on Sundays. Over a period of seven weeks costs of 42£ for running the bus stood against total takings of 12£. It has to be noted, that the period which was chosen is the middle of the rainy season (usually between October and April). Not only few Africans would therefore use the bus, but equally few Europeans. It was therefore only logical for Mr. Malenga from the AUAC to ask the council as to why the nearly empty European bus to the falls was nevertheless kept in service¹⁵. As with most unequal service provisions as well as the denial of African votes and representation in municipal elections and councils,¹⁶ the municipalities used the popular ratepayers argument which basically said that "the African does not [via property taxes] contribute to the rates"¹⁷ and is therefore not entitled to certain infrastructures if they were not economical. Still, another member of the AUAC, Mr. Chilalama, proposed as a resolution

*"[t]hat the African bus service should be discontinued, but that the Municipality should be asked to make seats available for Africans in the back of the European bus on Sundays and weekdays"*¹⁸.

⁹ NAZ SP 4/6/3, African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, 1943-52, June 7, 1949.

¹⁰ NAZ SP 4/6/3, July 15, 1949.

¹¹ The Municipal Council consisted of committees and sub-committees such as the Native Affairs Committee that dealt with various matters, ranging from finance and public works to matters concerning African urban areas.

¹² Beer Halls were monopolised facilities in African urban areas where "native beer" and food was served to Africans. They essentially had two functions. The first was to control alcohol consumption in African urban areas. The second function was to use the revenues of the beer halls through the channel of the municipalities' general revenue fund for different purposes of African welfare (Ambler, 1990, Whelan, 2015). See also: NAZ LGH 1/18/3, African Affairs. African Beer Brewing, 1945-67. The Production and Distribution of Kaffir Beer, 1951.

¹³ NAZ SP 4/6/3, September 20, 1949.

¹⁴ NAZ SP 4/6/3, January 18, 1950.

¹⁵ NAZ SP 4/6/3, February 17, 1950.

¹⁶ For the property rate-based election system in general see Freund, 2007: 186. For Lusaka see Myers, 2006: 296.

¹⁷ NAZ LGH 1/16/64, Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia, 1950-56. Ninth Annual Conference, Rhodes Livingstone Museum Library, May 12-13, 1956.

¹⁸ NAZ SP 4/6/3, February 17, 1950.

It took the Municipal Council two months to answer and object to the request made by the AUAC. Instead, in April 1950 it let the AUAC know that “*it was hoped that a bus service would be made available to Africans when the new Libuyu compound¹⁹ was completed*”²⁰. However, Libuyu was not completed until the end of 1951.²¹ Eventually, seats were made available in the back of the European bus to the falls, which, in leading to new problems, was not a solution after all. Even though Mr. Malenga’s observation concerning the nearly empty bus seven years earlier still proved to be true in 1957, Africans were regularly left behind at the bus station, although there would have been free seats in the European bus section. Mr. Ross, the representative of the Rhodesian Omnibus Company, answered to Mr. Lubinda, who issued the complaint, that in future the bus times will be changed to overcome the problem²².

The back and forth between the AUAC, the Municipal Council and the Bus Company over nearly a decade illustrates the enormous efforts made and fortitude shown by Africans to achieve even some degree of participation within the urban sphere. The infrastructure of the bus is not only important here as a mere object of transportation and mobility, but as one of urban integration, or rather integration into the amenities of urban life. The Municipal Council was eager to ensure that the segregation which defined the built and immobile structures within town was implemented and maintained at other infrastructural levels as well. Segregation within the struggles over transportation infrastructure is a salient yet silent discourse. Instead, economic arguments and technicalities obscure the underlying motivation. Furthermore, due to the lack of a proper bus service, the Victoria Falls as a place of encounter between Europeans and Africans – of which there were not many – becomes important here as well. When Henri Lefebvre observed for mid 20th Century Europe that the urban society is producing spaces which are lacking “*places of simultaneity and encounter*”²³ (Lefebvre, 1996: 148), for the (Southern) African cities of that time one could say that the European minority was eager to create spaces that prevented simultaneity and encounter. The insufficiency of transportation to the Falls thus spatially regulates the Falls at the same time.

The issue concerning the bus service to the Victoria Falls was, however, not the only transportation problem Africans in Livingstone faced. The bus services within the boundaries of the town, hence between compounds and workplaces, was another issue discussed within the AUAC. Buses for Africans operating in town were put into service not earlier than 1954. The first request was made by Mr. Kabalata in April 1954²⁴. When the deal between the municipality and the Rhodesian Omnibus Company was finalised different problems were arising, ranging from the inadequacy of the buses’ interior, to inappropriate bus times or stops, and discriminatory practices in running the bus.

Since, for example, the municipality did not want to spend much money on the bus service for Africans, the buses did not have proper seats. In September 1954 Mr. Kabalata put forward that “*Africans would be prepared to pay higher fares for the greater comfort of cushioned seats*”²⁵. The chairman’s response was that the municipality would already subsidise the

¹⁹ The municipality of Livingstone had its own compounds where African civil servants and self-employed traders, artisans and craftspeople were housed, the oldest and largest being Maramba and the Grass Compound. As they became overcrowded already in the early 1940s, new compounds such as Libuyu and later Linda were being planned.

²⁰ NAZ SP 4/6/3, April 18, 1950.

²¹ NAZ SEC/NAT/66E, VOL. IV, LOC. SEC 2/139: Southern Province Annual Report, 1951-53. Annual Report on African Affairs Southern Province, 1951.

²² NAZ SP 1/4/11, African Urban Advisory Council: L/Stone, 1957-59. January 7, 1957.

²³ While Lefebvre’s critique was directed towards the economisation of urban spaces, where exchange is always linked to exchange value, and despite the different historical and socioeconomic contexts in Europe and Africa the notion of *encounter* still resembles the possibility of social relations to form.

²⁴ NAZ SP 4/12/66, African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, 1953-56. April 5, 1954.

²⁵ NAZ SP 4/12/66, September 7, 1954.

(private) service, since it did not make any profit.²⁶ While many of the nearly empty European buses did not make profits either, it was no question after all that their condition and service in general were still subsidised by the general revenue fund of the municipality. Again, the economic argument here based on the ratepayer system ensured that a visible and tangible (or feel-able) difference was maintained that translated the unevenness of service provisions to the wider European claim over the urban space. The visibility of European entitlements in town is therefore yet another way to display (spatial) superiority and hegemony. Interestingly, Mr. Kabalata made use of the economic argumentation put forward by the municipality to stress the willingness of Africans to compensate their position as non-ratepayers with higher ticket fares to enjoy a comfortable bus service.

When cushioned seats were finally made available in 1957 it was important to Mr. Ross to appeal *“to members to use their good offices and influence in restraining their fellow Africans from wilfully damaging seats and windows at present”*²⁷. While these incidents are hard to definitively make sense of, using Michel de Certeau’s notion of strategy and tactics, one could assume here that the strategy of the white minority (in de Certeau’s words “owners and producers”) to control and organise their space is counteracted by the tactics of Africans to “consume” or appropriate and therefore “produce” that space (2011: 35-36). In any case, either if these acts of damage and/or theft – some of the seats and windows were apparently dismantled – are ascribed to some kind of political motivation, or simply to an economic motivation to get hands on a window or a piece of furniture for one’s house – no other possible use for a piece of glass and a bus seat comes to my mind –, they are still a reminder of the urban divide and the inaccessibility of and exclusion from social and economic accumulation processes.

Problems in connection with bus stops ranged from a lack of them, to inconvenient locations of the stops. On November 14, 1954 Mr. Brown Mapani of the AUAC suggested that the inconvenient bus stop at Zambezi Saw Mills road should be exchanged for a stop at the Saw Mills railway station.²⁸ While the chairman did not oppose to Mr. Mapani’s suggestion in principle, he was of the opinion that such a bus stop would not be possible at the moment due to the bad state of the road, and that the AUAC should wait for said road to be repaired before forwarding the suggestion to the Municipal Council. In May 1955 the issue was still not resolved, although it was observed by Mr. Mapani that repairs had been carried out on the road. Mr. Ross answered to the renewed request by stating that the difficulty now would be the capacity of the entry bridge to support a bus which has to be certified by the district municipal engineer prior to being used. The second problem mentioned by Mr. Ross was the lack of a turning point.²⁹ Issues with the bus to Zambezi Saw Mills continued the following years.

Requests for new bus lines were also put forward by the AUAC, however, on several occasions turned down for financial reasons. Propositions for new service lines were evaluated by approximating possible users so as to determine the costs of running the service. For instance, a request for a school bus service to Coillard Memorial School was made in January 1957, but turned down for the above mentioned reason in April of the same year³⁰. Instead, the chairman proposed to build a hostel for the pupils, since schools would be built in the compounds in the future. Furthermore, the chairman argued that a hostel would solve the problem of insufficient housing accommodation within the compounds³¹. The same problem existed for the airport compound. In 1955 the bus service to the compound was withdrawn.

²⁶ NAZ SP 4/12/66, September 7, 1954.

²⁷ NAZ SP 1/4/11, January 7, 1957 (Unfortunately, I have no detailed information about these incidents).

²⁸ NAZ SP 4/12/66, November 14, 1954.

²⁹ NAZ SP 4/12/66, May 10, 1955.

³⁰ NAZ SP 1/4/11, January 7, 1957.

³¹ NAZ SP 1/4/11, February 2, 1957.

In September 1957 Mr. Mwale from the AUAC suggested that it should be reinstated, since there were 500 workers living in the compound and the lack of passengers was only due to the fact that the bus had not driven to the compound, but only to the terminal building. The chairman suggested that Mr. Mwale should organise a meeting to determine the amount of possible users and accurate times to run the service profitably³².

While the municipality could not dismiss or ignore the need for a work-related bus service in general, and therefore the need of industries to ensure that efficiency was maintained and workers would appear (on time), the negligence of providing sufficient bus stops and times, as the above mentioned cases illustrate, point to the overall tendency not to provide infrastructures that reach beyond the basic needs, not merely of Africans but also of industries. Therefore, this type of provision of infrastructure has to be understood as one that stems from purely technical and economic considerations, and does not point to a deeper acknowledgement of a stabilised African urban society and workforce. The efforts to ameliorate the way this service was provided and improve its deficiencies were solely on the African side; no tendency from the European side can be deduced from such cases that would help Africans to feel comfortable within Livingstone. The negligence and lack of support are yet again a reminder of how spatial divisions and ideologies are mediated through infrastructure, while likewise the efforts to improve them are a means to further access the urban social space.

Conclusion

The provision of bus services discussed in this paper serves as an example to illustrate the mechanisms of exclusion and segregation that were deeply embedded in the planning, formation and distribution of colonial infrastructures. The infrastructural divide in Livingstone has to be understood within a wider context of colonial urban struggles particularly at work in colonies with settlers and, within these, especially characterising settler towns like Livingstone – as opposed to the industrial mining towns of the Copperbelt for instance. Infrastructures display not only underlying urban (power) relations. As a potentially complex web of interdependent elements that guarantees the very functioning of agglomeration processes inherent in towns and cities (Scott and Storper, 2015), infrastructures also produce and structure ideas and imagination of the urban itself. Segregation in this context is not first and foremost a matter of clear lines, but rather shifting (things of) boundaries (i.e. Abbott, 1995) that are negotiated between Africans, settlers, colonial administrators and industries. Since the colour bar did not exist officially, infrastructures and services could not simply not be provided. Instead their provision was subject to technical and economic conditions that rendered their realisation and materialisation impossible or at least difficult, or that would confine the very functioning of the infrastructure. These conditions would then also act as a means of concealing the underlying colour bar. The spatial production of infrastructures for Africans, the thing of boundary, was realised by detaching and de-centralising them from European infrastructures in order to be able to maintain the underlying boundary. Especially the provision of transportation has another important dimension as well, namely, personal mobility. Thus, confining or constraining such infrastructures is a means of keeping people in place and constraining their mobility. In this sense, on the one hand the negotiations and discourses on infrastructure resemble the general colonial struggle of Africans over (urban) social, economic and political participation and integration. On the other hand they highlight the modes and means with which municipalities and local governments tried

³² NAZ SP 1/4/11, September 9, 1957.

to maintain hegemony and power through segregation and exclusion. As reified images of late colonial modernisation and development discourse propagated by the Colonial Office and international actors, infrastructures like bus services display at the same time the segregationist ideologies of the settler society. In this sense infrastructures stand witness to the ambiguities, uncertainties and contradictions of the (settler) colonial system in Northern Rhodesia.

Bibliographic references

- Abbott, Andrew (1995), *Things of Boundaries, Social research*, vol. 62(4), pp. 857-882.
- Ambler, Charles (1990), *Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, The Journal of African History*, vol. 31, pp. 295-313.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel (2017), *Seeing Like a City*, Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Arrington-Sirois, Andrea (2017), *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination in British Southern Africa Turning Water into Gold*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baptista, Idalina (2016), Prepaid Electricity in Maputo, Mozambique: Challenges for African Urban Planning, in Silva, Carlos Nunes (Ed.), *Urban Planning in Lusophone Africa*, New York: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1989), *Social Space and Symbolic Power, Sociological Theory*, vol. 7, pp. 14-25.
- Chatterjee, Partha (1986), *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press and Zed Books.
- Chu, Julie (2014), *When Infrastructures Attack: The Workings of Disrepair in China, American Ethnologist*, vol. 41, pp. 351-367.
- Cooper, Frederick (2002), *Africa since 1940. The Past of the Present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalakoglou, Dimitris (2016), *Infrastructural gap. Commons, state and anthropology, City*, vol. 20, pp. 822-831.
- De Certeau, Michel (2011), *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkley/ LA/ London: University of California Press.
- Dourish, Paul and Bell, Genevieve (2007), *The Infrastructure of Experience and the Experience of Infrastructure: Meaning and Structure In Everyday Encounters with Space, Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science*, vol. 43, pp. 414-430.
- Ferguson, James (1999), *Expectations of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Freund, Bill (2007), *The African City. A History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goffman, Erving (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Heisler, Helmut (1971), *The Creation of a Stabilized Urban Society: A Turning Point in the Development of Northern Rhodesia/Zambia, African Affairs*, vol. 79, pp. 125-145.
- Home, Robert (2013), *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*, London: E & FN Spon.
- (2000), *From barrack-compounds to single-family house: planning worker housing in colonial Natal and Northern Rhodesia, Planning Perspectives*, vol. 15, pp. 327-347.
- Hyslop, Jonathan (2020), Workers Called White, Classes Called Poor. in, Money, Duncan and van Zyll-Hermann, Danelle (Eds.), *Rethinking White Societies in Southern Africa 1930s-1990s*, London: Routledge.
- Jackson, Will (2017), Settler Colonialism in Kenya, 1880-1963, in Veracini, Lorenzo and Cavanagh, Edward (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, London: Routledge.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd (2012), *Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times, Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 6, pp. 23-40.

- Larkin, Brian (2013), *The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 42, pp. 327-343.
- Lefebvre, Henri (2010), *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- (1996), *The Right to the City*, in, Kofman, Eleonore and Lebas, Elisabeth (Eds.), *Writings on Cities: Henri Lefebvre*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Lewis, Joanna (2011), *Rivers of White: David Livingstone and the 1955 Commemorations in the Lost 'Henley upon Thames of Central Africa*, in, Gewald, Jan-Bart et al. (Eds.), *Living in the end of Empire. Politics and Society in late Colonial Zambia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Low, Setha (2017), *Spatializing Culture. The Ethnography of Space and Place*, New York/London: Routledge.
- McGregor, Joan and Schumaker, Lyn (2006), *Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 32, pp. 649-665.
- Myers, Garth (2006), *The unauthorised city: Late colonial Lusaka and postcolonial geography*, *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 26, pp. 189-308.
- Njoh, Ambe (2009), *Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa*, *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 23, pp. 301-317.
- O'Conner, Anthony (1983), *The African City*, London: Hutchinson.
- Olanrewaju, S. A. (1987), *The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, etc.*, in, Falola, Toyin (Ed.), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, London: Zed Books.
- Olukoju, Ayodeji (2004), *Urban Transport in Metropolitan Lagos*, in, Falola, Toyin and Salm, Steven, eds., *Nigerian Cities*, Trenton: African World Press.
- Oshin, Olasiji (1988), *Developing Infrastructure of Exploitation: The Example of Colonial Transport on the Bauchi Tin Fields, 1902-1914*, *Transafrican Journal of History*, vol. 17, pp. 123-138.
- Pearson, Jessica (2017), *Defending Empire at the United Nations: The Politics of International Colonial Oversight in the Era of Decolonisation*, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 45, pp. 525-549.
- Rotberg, Robert (1965), *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Scott, Allen and Storper, Michael (2016), *Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment*, *Urban Studies*, vol. 53, pp. 1114-1136.
- (2015), *The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 39(1), pp. 1-15.
- Simone, AbdouMaliq (2004), *People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg*, *Public Culture*, vol. 16, pp. 407-429.
- Star, Susan Leigh (1999), *The Ethnography of Infrastructure*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 43, pp. 377-391.
- Tanner, Nina (1977), *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1965*, Doctoral Thesis, Howard University.
- Thomas, Peter (2014), *Railways in Adey Peter et al. (Eds.), The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*. London/ New York: Routledge.
- Thomas, Peter D. (2013), *Hegemony, Passive Revolution and the Modern Prince*, *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 117, pp. 20-39.
- Veracini, Lorenzo (2017), *Introduction: settler colonialism as a distinct form of domination*, in Veracini, Lorenzo and Cavanagh, Edward (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, London: Routledge.
- Whelan, Debbie (2015), *The Central Beer Hall as Social and Municipal Infrastructure in Twentieth Century Pietermaritzburg*, *Historia*, vol. 60, pp. 75-91.
- Wolton, Suke (2003), *Lord Hailey, The Colonial Office and The Politics of Race and Empire in The Second World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Archival Sources

National Archives of Zambia (NAZ)

NAZ LGH 7/8/18, LOC. 3756, African Affairs. African Provincial Council, 1951-53.

——— 1/18/3, LOC. 3502, African Affairs. African Beer Brewing, 1945-67.

——— 1/16/64, LOC. 3478, Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia, 1950-56.

——— 1/8/5, LOC. 3396, Local Government. Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Annual Conference, 1960-61.

NAZ SEC/NAT/66E, VOL. IV, LOC. SEC 2/139, Southern Province Annual Report, 1951-53.

NAZ SP 4/12/66, LOC. 5194, African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, 1953-56.

——— 4/6/3, LOC. 5142, African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, 1943-52.

——— 1/4/11, LOC. 3030, African Urban Advisory Council: L/Stone, 1957-59.

National Archives of London (Kew)

CO 1047/806. Livingstone & Vicinity Rough Working Plan.



In between on all levels – [Applied] Foreign Affairs¹

Baerbel Mueller*

pp. 85-91

Since I started teaching at the University of Applied Arts Vienna in 2002, I have been responsible for the so-called “special projects,” such as student realizations and transdisciplinary courses. In 2011, I had the opportunity to establish the [Applied] Foreign Affairs lab within the Institute of Architecture. [A]FA investigates spatial, infrastructural, environmental, and cultural phenomena in rural and urban sub-Saharan Africa. This description might sound vague, but it implies an understanding of architecture and spatial practice as a very broad field, and illustrates how diverse [A]FA’s interests are, and how extensive its scope of (potential) projects is. I define the work in the lab – the same as I do in my own practice – as navigations in the field of architecture and urban research within diverse cultural contexts. Some projects are conceptualized as pure artistic research, others are based on design tasks or commissions, and some combine both. Most projects center on distinct questions, or clear missions, and culminate in field trips and residencies through which mappings, rural growth patterns, visionary art spaces, and relational physical interventions are produced. So far, [A]FA has been working on 11 schemes for eight distinct sites located in four countries within the scope of 16 onsite residencies. From an initial concentration on a pure interest in rural and urban sub-Saharan Africa within carefully selected project settings, [A]FA’s emphasis has shifted towards developing specific research methods, alternative project strategies, and decolonizing objectives within this very context.

A laboratory is per definition a facility that provides conditions in which research and experiments in a field of study may be performed, a place for testing, observing, and practicing. This is done in an applied manner – as [A]FA’s name and the logic of a lab implies. A purely academic, projective, and digital environment is what is left behind. From the very beginning of a new project, students are sent out to investigate, to test out on a 1:1 scale, and to encounter (spatial) situations in the world outside of university. To come up with another body of knowledge, new approaches, and alternative solutions, one needs to engage oneself with the unknown. This refers to both the work and professional contribution itself, as well as the encounter with the not-yet-familiar – and maybe forever foreign – (African) cultural context. To achieve this, the educational agenda is conceptualized as an alternating process of unlearning and learning. A kind of reset is needed to explore alternative, critical forms of knowledge production, other spatial practices, and new prospects for collaboration. Whenever possible, an experimental and playful approach is created and upheld throughout

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a7>

* University of Applied Arts Vienna, Institute of Architecture.

¹ This article was first written in 2019.

the entire process of a project, allowing for an open-ended experience, without too many constraints. Given briefs are intensely interrogated and reflected upon, often reduced or shifted into other directions. This might happen on a conceptual level, or a programmatic one, or is just manifested in a change of scale. To a certain extent, the respective project partner needs to be involved in this process. Invented projects follow their own logic and are translated as artistic research, temporary interventions, or events. Here, the starting points are self-defined topics, which cover a research interest of either [A]FA or that of an individual in the team. The specific “what” and the “how” are always interdependent. On site, the process of relating and making is conceptualized in a reactive and slowed-down manner. Thereby, openness, tolerance, and the breaking of routines are required from all parties involved. Conventional relationships between client, community, and architect; teacher and student and NGO; studio, university, and field are questioned, or subverted. Every process and outcome is generated by the individual commitments and specific constellations of all the actors involved. Conditions of uncertainty and fragility are deliberately embraced. At best, spatial and programmatic hybrids of diverse ownership emerge.

Besides rather speculative and experimental proceedings, projects are based on an interdisciplinary and transcultural approach. Again, the kind of interdisciplinarity which is considered productive depends on the respective project brief and collaborative frame. Around a core team of students of architecture, mostly students of related disciplines – or young professionals – participate. [A]FA has been working with students of landscape design, environmental studies, and water management on projects in rural settings, or when environmental and infrastructural topics are being addressed. For more experimental labs, art students of diverse disciplines have been selected, and young artists, who are based locally, or constitute the future users of the space in the becoming, have been invited to partake. But the reverse strategy has also been applied: artists have been involved in projects with a technical, infrastructural focus, as well as scientists in artistic ones. The interdisciplinary approach also manifests itself in collaborations with (local) academic and non-academic professionals and with colleagues from a diverse set of disciplines. Team sizes are exceptionally small. The largest [A]FA group consisted of nine individuals travelling to Ghana. Reasons for that are manifold: From the moment [A]FA was formed, it felt wrong to bring any larger groups of students from the North into a postcolonial context. This condition had to be negotiated, and was only fully accepted by the university administration when some of [A]FA’s tangible successes legitimized its relevance, and thereby its specific operational mode. Other reasons for small teams have been their better group dynamics, more balanced collaboration with local stakeholders, deeper individual engagements, practical advantages when travelling, and also, clearly, limited budgets. While an interdisciplinary *modus operandi* was actively chosen, a transcultural approach has been inherent in [A]FA’s work. In every single project, there is a local counterpart, and due to the fact that [A]FA’s geographic focus lies in rural and urban sub-Saharan Africa, collaboration is transcontinental, transnational, and transcultural. Thereby, a purely north-south constellation has never really materialized: Even though [A]FA’s home base is in Vienna, the core student teams have always been international or global. Altogether, the 37 students who have joined [A]FA to Africa have so far been from 22 different countries from all five continents. The scope of spatial knowledge resulting from this diversity of (cultural) backgrounds in the core team itself has been extremely beneficial and productive, and constitutes one of the strengths of [Applied] Foreign Affairs.

Above and beyond the “who,” the “where” and the “with whom” defines the real process and characteristics of a project evolution. In her article, “Migration from [a] to A,” Hannah le Roux reads [A]FA’s relationship to Africa as follows:

“There is nothing a priori about the social needs, the nation, the institutions, or even the toolkits of the projects [a]FA undertakes. Rather than bringing an agenda to Africa, [a]FA encounters on reading and reacting to situations. These moments tend to emerge from encounters between the north and south, pauses in the circulation of practices and people from Africa to Austria and back again. With both partners simultaneously using the projects as ways to escape, settle, consolidate, or experiment [...]. The specific objects of fascination of this lab are slippery things: the event, the social, the performative, textiles, liquids, wind, propagation, and education. These forces and the shapes they form are orchestrated by youth, but follow the wisdom of the experience of the elders with whom the lab typically seeks out an adoptive relationship. [...] Their collaboration with [a]FA hinges on the co-development of a sense of radical localness and absolute openness that lies between the affection for home and the dream of getting beyond its limitations. This apparent tension makes for unique, visionary, and yet entirely appropriate projects at each site.” (Le Roux, 2015).

Indeed, the appropriateness, impact, and sustainability of a project are strongly dependent on the sincerity and passion of the joint forces behind it. Thereby, each collaboration is of a very different nature and its parameters need to be set anew each time.

Ilustração 01 – [A]FA Haduwa Apata, Apam, Ghana: a transdisciplinary process



Photos: D. Aschwanden, J. Lanoo.

Working with a collective of artists in an urban setting is fundamentally different from partnering with village authorities and an NGO operating in the development sector. It is obvious that the kind of reciprocal engagement and communication, and the level of mutual understanding, are strongly affected by a whole set of factors, such as locations, educational backgrounds, and generational constellations. Going through an artistic process together with Ghanaian students of architecture – urban, on the same academic level, of the same age – is mostly balanced, inspiring, and fun. Mapping coastal erosion, investigating the environmental and economic problems of a fishing village, debating illegal sand mining on its beaches with unemployed fishermen – as a student coming from outside – is another story.

In a constellation like this, the common ground is way more limited, and the first challenges to overcome are assumptions, clichés, and prejudices from both parties involved – on “the other,” on poverty and wealth, on Africa or Europe. And often these behavioral mechanisms cannot be seen or decoded by the individuals involved. Expectations of “help” or “solutions” are almost categorical, and hard to fully overcome. To resist them in a productive way – while coming from outside – is especially challenging within contexts that are associated with the urgent need for development, and are heavily loaded with ideas regarding “help for the better.”

Decolonizing Strategies in Design-Build and Spatial Practices

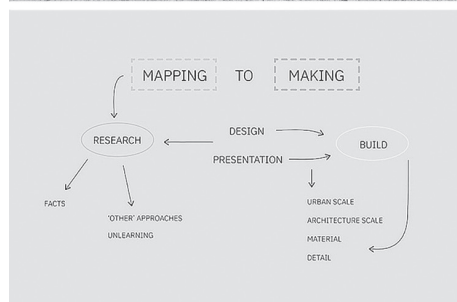
[A]FA tries to face these challenges by applying policies which subvert them:

Firstly, by avoiding working in constellations that originate from unequal power relations – which is definitely the case in the development sector, and when working on (design-build) projects within communities with serious needs. Instead, [A]FA introduces project settings where its outsider perspective, engagement, and expertise can create a beautiful and meaningful surplus. This is achieved by collaborating with artists who have a specific agenda within a challenging environment and who dream of, or work on, “other spaces.”

Or by refusing certain design commissions, and instead offering applied or participatory research on given issues which an institution or community needs to deal with or become aware of. There is only a very fine line between listening and learning through mapping and making, an imposed and patronizing form of intervening. [A]FA claims that the process of relating and creating must be much more about questioning than stating.

Reflecting on some of the aftermaths of the design-build movement in the Global South, [A]FA has also introduced stricter working strategies that favor more balanced power

Ilustração 02 – [A]FA New Guabuliga Market, Ghana: from mapping to making, with local labor forces



Photos: [A]FA.

relations when it comes to realization projects. Design-build is not *per se* a social approach in architecture – especially in the context of Africa, where there are enough examples in which design-build projects have even caused harm. Today, it is no longer justifiable to allow students of architecture to fly somewhere far and remote in order to gain personal hands-on experience by taking over the shovels themselves, only to learn how to build or apply certain building techniques. Students working with [A]FA are encouraged to step into the roles of researcher, designer, consultant and communicator, rather than maker or construction worker. Within environments where professional craftsmen and (un)skilled workers are available, fully capable of doing manual labor, local manpower should not be replaced by students of architecture, or guests. In this way, the socio-economic implications are healthier, local empowerment can be fostered, and a win-win can evolve for all parties involved.

Collaborative, transdisciplinary, and transcultural approaches further imply the necessity to work in a reactive and slowed-down manner. It is very much about time and presence. Thereby, one's own presence needs to correspond with the given rhythms of daily life, the local culture, and available resources. A key factor is a generous time frame, and when it comes to built realizations, continuity as well. [A]FA has been quite successful in creating and maintaining long-term relationships, engagements, and projects. But its biggest challenge is still facing the notion of time – on many levels. As architects and researchers, we always come from outside, and we always operate within a (tight) timeframe, which has potential, but is also very limiting. Hardly ever do we speak or operate from within or over extensive periods of time; even more so when coming from a far. Compared to other professions – such as social sciences or anthropology, for example – what is considered a long (field) research phase for architecture or architectural education is laughable. In addition, labs such as [A]FA, most design-build units, and transnational life projects

Ilustração 03 – [A]FA Lagos Legacy, Ebute-Metta Lagos: creating shared (event) space instead of designing



Photos: A. Gaestel, K. Joannides, drawing: Toms Kampars.

run parallel to semester studios in academic settings. Therefore, students have limited capacity and time to fully engage, and are constrained within the tough framework of their compulsory curriculum. This is especially unfortunate, as the transformative experience and biographical impact gained from these kinds of projects can be tremendous, and truly sustainable. Of course, local collaborators or “clients” and users should always be beneficiaries who profit equally.

After about two decades, the design-build approach has reached an impasse in terms of repeating operational modes which are not acceptable anymore – and never really have been. It needs to emancipate itself from the good-will intervening that accompanies neo-colonial attitudes, just like what is occurring in the architectural world in general. The so-called “social turn” in architecture has its negative repercussions when it comes to projects transferred to or located in the Global South.

“Neo-colonialism is an urgent issue but one which most of the profession is ill-prepared to interrogate. In order to address the underlying questions of the appropriateness of architectural concepts and their technical implementation, local and foreign experience needs to come together in an unbiased way to negotiate the challenges of intercultural communication. This is an indispensable prerequisite if such cooperation is to have sustainable and productive results.” (Berlanda, 2015)

Who tells whose story? Who builds whose buildings? How to enter a space (which is not yours)? How to connect? How to break stereotypes? How to create a shared space, professionally?

A Plea for the In Between

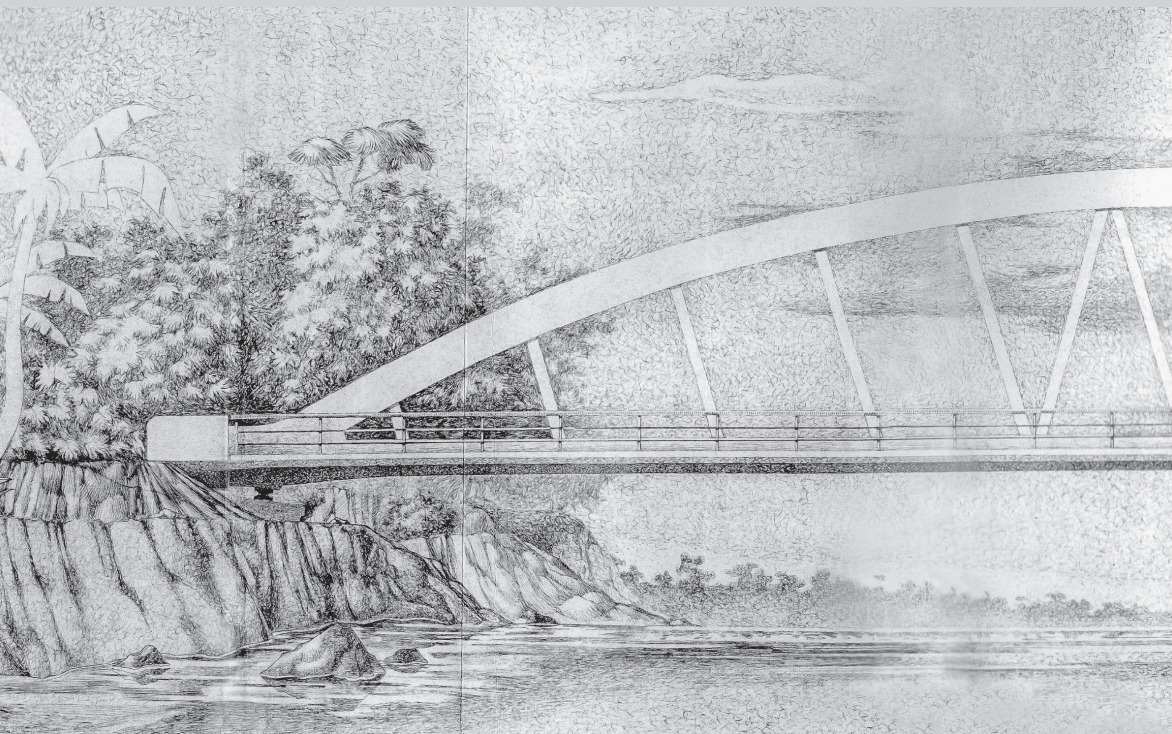
Operating in postcolonial contexts requires decolonizing strategies; and “othering needs to be translated into bridging” (John A. Powell, 2018). We need to recalibrate relationships in which difference continuously emerges, and counternarrate the common binary of self and other. Edward Glissant’s concept of relation, which moves beyond the oppositional discourse of the same and the other, with a new vision of difference as an assembler of the “dissimilars,” might serve as a conceptual starting point for alternative practices.

Applying this aspiration to the fields of architecture and spatial practices, the first thing we need to do is shift our focus from the product to the process. In this way, unlearning, embracing co-creation with paradox, recognizing “contingency as an opportunity rather than as a threat to architectural practice” (Morrow and Brown, 2012), and operating in between on all levels – with all the potentials and limits this implies – need to be incited. The normative models of architectural education and practice need to be hybridized and radically transformed if we are aiming for a new kind of connectivity, a universal discourse with regional cohesion, and alternative spatial imaginations. These paradigms should not only be thought through, but also translated into new kinds of architecture and spatial practices.

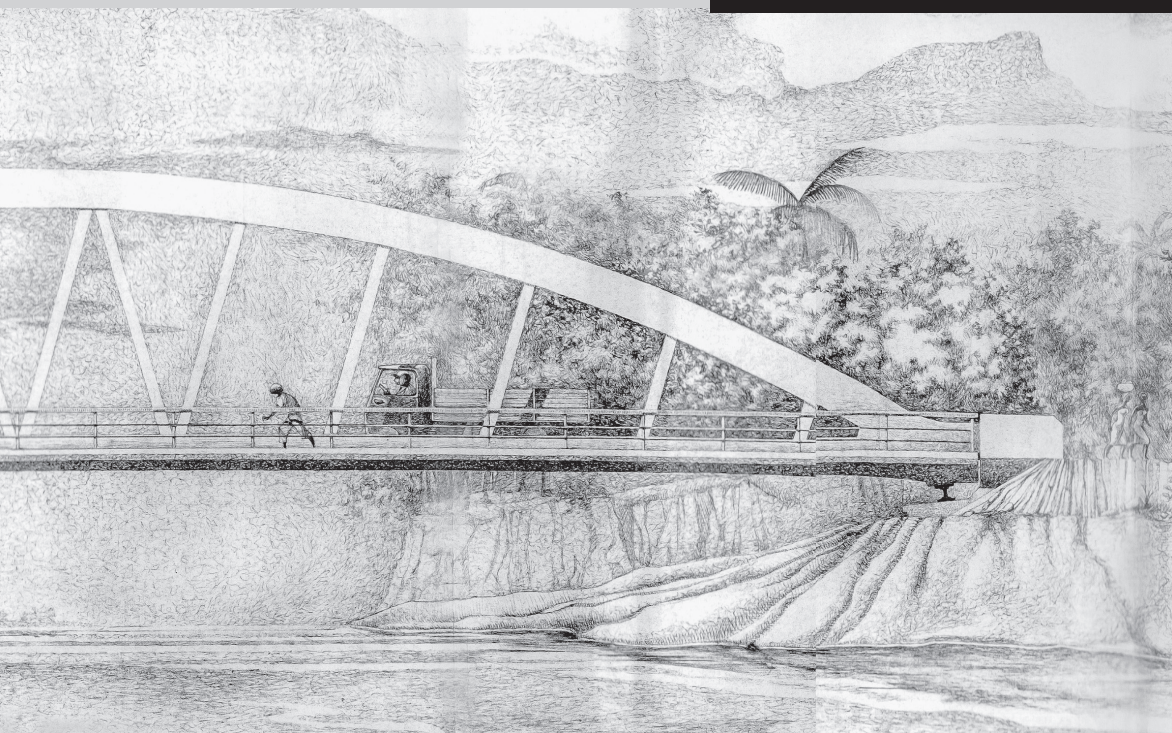
Bibliographic references

Berlanda, Tomá (2015), “Shade of Meaning: Clinic in Turkana, Kenya, by Selgas Cano, Ignacio Peydro and MIT students”, *The Architectural Review*, February 23, 2015. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.architectural-review.com/today/shade-of-meaning-clinic-in-turkana-kenya-by-selgas-cano-ignacio-peydrro-and-mit-students/8678837.article>.

- Diawara, Manthia (2017), “Édouard Glissant’s Worldmentality: An Introduction to One World in Relation”. [Online]. Available at: http://www.documenta14.de/en/south/34_edouard_glissant_s_worldmentality_an_introduction_to_one_world_in_relation.
- Le Roux, H. (2015), Migration from A to [a]. In Mueller, Baerbel (2017), *[applied] Foreign Affairs – investigating spatial phenomena in rural and urban Sub-Saharan Africa*, Vienna: Birkhauser.
- Mueller, Baerbel (2017), *[applied] Foreign Affairs – investigating spatial phenomena in rural and urban Sub-Saharan Africa*, Vienna: Birkhauser.
- Morrow, R. and Brown, J. B. (2012), Live Projects as Critical Pedagogies. In, Dodd, Harrisson, Charlesworth (Eds.), *Live Projects: Designing with People*. RMIT Training Pty Ltd.
- Morrow, R. (2014), Live Project love: building a framework for Live Projects. In, Harriss, Widder (Eds.), *Architecture Live Projects: Pedagogy into Practice*, pp. xviii-xxiii. London, England: Taylor and Francis.
- powell, j.a., Menendian, S. (2018), “The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging”. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/>.



Entrevista



JOHAN LAGAE

We should go beyond the nationalist framework that has been so dominant in scholarship on colonial architecture



Johan Lagae

We should go beyond the nationalist framework that has been so dominant in scholarship on colonial architecture. The colonial framework still helps to better understand the conditions which produced the architecture and infrastructures in the former colonized territories

Entrevista conduzida por Ana Vaz Milheiro e Ana Silva Fernandes
Ghent, agosto 2023

Johan Lagae is a full Professor at Ghent University, where he teaches 20th century architecture with a focus on the non-European context. His work on the history of architecture in the former Belgian Congo, currently DRC, is a reference for contemporary historiography where he opened new perspectives on fundamental topics such as the issue of colonial-built heritage. During the COST-Action 'European Architecture beyond Europe', financed by the European Commission, where he was vice-chair, Lagae contributed to the formation of an international network of researchers.

Ana Vaz Milheiro (AVM) and Ana Silva Fernandes (ASF): What challenges do concepts such as “place of speech” (standpoint) pose to architectural historians, in particular from the western world (global north)? Will they contribute to changing perspectives over the analysis of colonial legacies in contemporary times, or do you consider they will structurally contest legitimacy?

Johan Lagae (JL): I started doing research on colonial architecture in the mid-1990s, in the context of a PhD research at Ghent University. As such, I'm, of course, part of 'the problem' which Anthony D. King already pointed at explicitly in the early 1990s, namely that the knowledge on the built environment in formerly colonized territories is being produced (almost) exclusively in western-based academic centers. Within the discipline of architectural history, this situation has only started to change rather recently, and large part of the research is still dominated by scholars working and publishing in

the north, even if they may originally come from the south. One step in addressing this challenge has been that more and more researchers are starting to acknowledge their positionality, the impact it has on the way they conduct their research and the limitations it inevitably entails. Another important recent shift has been the emergence of scholarship that unveils the fundamental racial biases which underscore architectural thinking and theory. The 2020 book *Race and Modern Architecture* edited by Cheng, Davis and Wilson is an important reference here, as is Itohan Osayimwese's radical revision of the origins of the theoretical foundations of modern architecture in Germany or Ginger Nolan's 2021 book *Savage Mind to Savage Machine*.

Yet, the strong call to decolonize the academe which has emerged in recent years confronts us with a more fundamental questioning of the production of knowledge in architectural history, in particular regarding whose voices should be included in the discussion and what sources should be used.

While I endorse the overall claim that we need more multivocality and should critically assess the epistemic bases of our discipline, I must confess that for someone like me, who has had the chance to be introduced into circles of Africanist scholars and historians of colonialism in the early 2000s, this call to decolonize architectural history comes rather late. Since many years, my work has indeed been shaped by many and intense conversations with Congolese scholars, such as Jacob Sabakinu Kivilu or Donatien Dibwe, as well as historians working on, and for many years also in Congo like Jean-Luc Vellut and Nancy Hunt. These encounters have enabled me, or at least I hope, to transcend the disciplinary boundaries of architectural history in my own work. At the same time, lessons learned from these scholars also make me rather sceptic about an argument common among decolonial scholars that the colonial archive should be rejected as a viable source. Rather, I follow Ann Laura Stoler's argument that we need to engage in an ethnography of the colonial archive, while the work of contemporary (African) artists and curators like Dominique Malaquais opened up ways for me to mobilize the colonial archive differently, through acts of performing, remixing and even violating. That we need to confront the colonial archive with other sources goes without saying, but then again, oral history and memory work have been part and parcel of Congo research for decades. This is why the discovery of the research of the *Mémoires de Lubumbashi*-collective during my first field trip to Congo in 2000 has been so fundamental in my trajectory as a researcher, or that I have found reading the work of scholars like Jan Vansina or Johannes Fabian always very illuminating and relevant for my own work.

AVM and ASF: Do you predict that more interactions/interceptions between different perspectives and geographies may be possible, or that there will be an even more radical split?

JL: I would deeply regret it if future scholarship on colonial architecture would retreat in different factions that remain isolated from one another, as I firmly believe that interaction and dialogue are essential to gain a more profound understanding on the topic. This is why it has been so important for me to build long term relationships with local scholars as well as artists in Congo and confront my research with their perspectives and viewpoints to see how these can complement mine or invite me to think differently. I am thankful for having had to opportunity of such exchanges which have shaped my own reflection over the many years in very significant ways, as well as for the commitment my interlocutors in Congo have shown in engaging with members of my research unit, as well as the with my students working on Congo related topics in research seminars and the context of master dissertations. I am aware that this is a rather peculiar situation, which may be linked to the 'white privilege' I have as a researcher from the north. Having been able to tap into substantial research funding indeed has made several of these conversations and interactions possible in the first place, although it inevitably also brings with it certain power relationships that we should not ignore: when you bring the money, you are most often also setting the agenda of the research. Hence, I have learned a lot from being in the position of the one who was invited to contribute to projects defined by partners in the south, who had secured their own funding. In that sense, my interactions with Congolese historians, but certainly also with artists like Sammy Baloji and Patrick Mudekereza have taken multiple forms, from some direct, 1:1 collaborations and moments of genuine co-creation, to situations where I only contributed a specific part to a larger project, or just shared information in order to let others take ownership of the material and construct their own stories with it. For me, all of these forms of interaction are equally valid. Moreover, I have come to understand over the years that I do

not necessarily need to share the same viewpoints on certain topics or source material with my partners from the south, but rather that it makes much sense to present explicitly the differences between our respective perspectives to stimulate an active stance of the reader or, in case of exhibitions, the viewer. I see differences in perspective thus not necessarily as a problem, but as a potential asset, although I have to admit that it requires a relationship of trust with one's partners to present such an open-ended research outcome where no attempt is made to come to a shared conclusion or consensus.

AVM and ASF: Can you be more specific as regards the geographical standings?

JL: On the question of geographies, I have a very outspoken position: for many years, I have been making a plea that we should go beyond the nationalist framework that has been so dominant in scholarship on colonial architecture, since it first emerged in the 1980s. Even today, quite a number of researchers tend to focus on one colony or imperial network, highlighting exclusively the colony-metropole connection. My own research on the (production of the) built environment in colonial Congo has confronted me head-on with the limitations of the Belgian-Congolese perspective. I need to thank historian Jean-Luc Vellut, who I consider one of my intellectual fathers, for making me aware of this already in the early 2000s, when I was finalizing my PhD even if at the time I did not fully grasp the importance of his advice. He pointed me, for instance, at the importance of looking at the border dynamics with Angola when investigating colonial architecture in the Lower Congo region, and not only at the transnational flows of expertise and models that I was researching at the time. His research, as well as that of Congolese historians I met during fieldwork trips to Lubumbashi from 2000 onwards also made me understand quite quickly that one cannot write an urban history of this mining city in Katanga without

taking into account the role played by so-called “gens d’ailleurs”, a description used in contemporary sources for Greek, Italian, or Portuguese small traders, as well as members of the Jewish diaspora arriving from Europe and South Africa via the railway. I consider the work I’ve been able to do on this topic with my research unit, and which has resulted among others in a PhD dissertation by Sofie Boonen, as a very significant phase in my development as a researcher. One day I hope to be able to conduct a more profound investigation into Indian traders who started to develop activities in Congolese cities during the interwar period. But such an endeavor will no doubt will require setting up interactions with scholars in India. Establishing interactions between research on different geographies, in order to gain new insights and reveal overlooked connections, was at the core of the agenda of the COST-Action entitled ‘European Architecture Beyond Europe’ which I co-chaired with Mercedes Volait between 2010 and 2014. That experience was in many ways eye-opening. It confronted me with the fact that there are indeed still large differences in academic culture (within Europe but also elsewhere), some remaining more documentary and descriptive in scope than the often theoretically inclined, interpretative research tradition in US-based universities. The COST-Action, which brought together researchers from more than fifteen countries, also demonstrated that very few scholars actually read sources and literature in various languages, which inevitably hampers their capacity to see connections that are relevant but might be less evident to see, let alone investigate. For me personally, the COST-Action did allow me to get acquainted with geographies I was much less familiar with, lusophone Africa being an important one, and I’m grateful to have been able to expand my interaction with scholars working on these contexts, Ana Vaz Milheiro in particular. Thanks to a more recent collaboration with Monika Motylinska, who is leading a research project entitled *Conquering with*

Concrete. German Construction Companies as Global Players in Local Contexts, part of the current work in my research unit is engaging with the presence of German technological expertise in Congo and the fact that I'm able to read German sources is definitely an asset. But then again, I must admit not mastering Lingala nor Swahili, as do several of my colleagues from the north working on Congo, and I'm well aware that this remains an important limitation for my interactions both with Congolese researchers and when venturing into the field.

Enhancing language proficiency and setting up research collaborations based on equal power relationships between partners of the south and the north constitute major challenges for the development of a truly global historiography of colonial architecture which is able to, on the one hand, embed its production in transnational networks of knowledge transfer, building expertise and economic production, and, on the other, situate it in local contexts with their own specificities and small scale dynamics. But doing so will also require broadening our disciplinary frameworks, and I would argue that we, as architectural historians, can still learn quite a lot in this respect from global historians and scholars working on the history of migration.

The built environment is also a powerful lens to gain a more nuanced understanding of colonialism itself

AVM and ASF: Do you feel that the term “colonial” will lose its relevance as a reference from the perspective of the produced architecture and urbanism?

JL: No, I do not feel that the term “colonial” will lose its relevance, as I strongly believe that the colonial framework still helps to better understand the conditions which produced the architecture and infrastructures in the former colonized territories in the

first place. Colonialism implied very specific regimes of resource extraction, of the organization of labor, but also of modes of living together in a segregated society, which I feel are crucial to make sense of some of the particularities of buildings, urban sites and transformed landscapes we encounter in formerly colonized territories. In this respect, I still endorse what Zeynep Çelik wrote in the late 1990s on the relevance of colonialism as a framework to understand 20th century architecture and I agree with her that the built environment is also a powerful lens to gain a more nuanced understanding of colonialism itself as architecture “bears the potential to express social relationships and power structures at certain critical moments in crystallized forms” and as “a physical frame to human activity [...] it constitutes an essential part of human experience”. This is also why I have been reluctant to endorse the elimination of the label “colonial” in discussions around “shared built heritage” that emerged in the 1990s within institutional milieus like ICOMOS, as I feel that these discussions should address the “dissonant histories” which are intrinsically linked to the buildings and sites under scrutiny.

However, I do feel that the “colonial” framework alone does not suffice to make full sense of some of the realities we see occurring in colonial cities, for instance. And it is here that lessons from other historical sub-disciplines, such as global history, migration history or even business history can be useful. Indeed, not all dynamics within a colonial milieu follow the power structures we normally link with the regime of colonialism, and actors at times seem to have agencies that one cannot easily explain through a colonial framework alone.

AVM and ASF: Is colonial just an historical reference?

JL: I must confess that in recent years I have started to think differently about the temporal dimension of the “colonial”. For a long time, I viewed my subject of research

as belonging solely to the past, and my work primarily as an endeavor of understanding what had happened in a particular time and place. In other words, I have remained quite hesitant to draw connections to the present and think of how colonial history speaks to the present, beyond the question of heritage. Decolonial scholarship, and the introduction of the term “coloniality” in particular, is forcing me to reconsider my earlier position and think more carefully about continuities that I have avoided for a long time. Ann Laura Stoler’s work on imperial debris and the “rot that remains” has equally been important in this respect, just like a recent and intense collaboration with anthropologist Wenzel Geissler, who confronted me with the radical archaeological tenet of scholars like Laurent Olivier that “the place of the past is the present and only the present” and that, by extension, “the place of a building is the present and only the present”. This has raised quite unsettling questions of why I engage with the specific topic of colonial architecture in the first place and why, for instance, I teach it to my students. Is it indeed only about a historiographical issue, of questioning the canonized histories of architecture, as I have been arguing for many years? Or should such research also have its *raison d’être* in thinking differently about our current place in the world today? And what about questions of accountability that are central in the decolonial debate? I must confess that I have yet to come up with a clear answer to such questions, but I feel less and less comfortable than I used to with the argument that I’m doing historical research just for the sake of history.

AVM and ASF: The history of colonial architecture followed a line that began with the isolated architectural object, migrated to the agents involved, inquired into technology and infrastructure, questioned the sense of progress spread by northern western society and only more recently addressed the political contexts and agendas, as well as so-

cial backgrounds and impacts. Is there a possible meeting point between these narratives? And if so, is this desirable?

JL: For me, a major shift occurred in the scholarship on colonial architecture in the early 1990s. While previous research most often started from a conventional framework, looking at architecture in former colonial territories within a nationalist framework (following what one could call an ‘overseas’-perspective), and placed the architect and the isolated building at the center, around 1991-1992 scholars like Gwendolyn Wright and Zeynep Çelik introduced a ‘Politics of Design’-perspective, borrowing insights from postcolonial studies. Less than one decade later, in 1998, Sibel Bozdoğan rightly questioned if such an approach was not reducing architecture to politics, and I still feel her remark holds a very relevant challenge for architectural historians working on colonial architecture.

One way of tackling this challenge that I have been pursuing with members of my research unit in recent years has been to re-center our focus on the building and its materiality by drawing on a Construction History-perspective. Investigating the mode of production of colonial architecture allows us to highlight overlooked actors, beyond the figure of the architect or the commissioner (especially when engaging with questions of the distribution of labor). But it also enables us to situate colonial buildings in broader discussions on global resource extraction, on transnational networks of material procurement and building expertise, and on the situatedness of knowledge underlying the definition of (thermal) comfort, topics that are gaining currency in architectural historiography at large, as the work of scholars like Kiel Moe, Jane Hutton, Jiatt-Hwee Chang, Daniel Ryan or Sascha Roesler demonstrates. In this sense, we are not just drawing on Construction History but inversely also seeking to re-calibrate this particular disciplinary field through a

confrontation with latest research in various historical subdisciplines.

At the same time, however, an important part of my research still takes on a more Urban History-perspective on the colonial built environment, engaging with what Spiro Kostoff once coined as the “urban process”, that “intriguing conflation of social, political, technical and artistic forces that generates a city’s form”. Apart from investigating the emergence of urban form and landscapes, and those involved in shaping them, this strand of research furthermore engages with a users’ perspective in order to critically assess the extent to which colonial architecture, in fact, acted as a “form of dominance”, as Nezar Alsayyad argued in the early 1990s. Well aware that I am writing from a privileged position in the north and while I do acknowledge the blunt violence and clear power inequalities which are intrinsic to the colonial regime, I am nevertheless particularly interested in the messiness of what Georges Balandier coined as “la situation coloniale”. My work on spatial segregation in Congolese cities aligns with that of urban historian Carl Nightingale, who in his 2012 book *Segregation. A Global History*

of Divided Cities, argues that “putting a coerced residential color line in place [...] involves enormous amounts of power” and that “wielding that power always involves negotiation and conflict”.

Finally, landscapes and large scale infrastructures, such as railroads and their connected architectures, have become a topic of interest within my research unit in the last decade, and current work is often seeking to make connections across scales, while assessing both the spectacular and the more mundane part of colonial built environments. All of this is to say that, in response to your question, rather than thinking in terms of one specific research approach, I have tended to engage in various strands of research in parallel. While a search for a meeting point between these narratives has never been an explicit goal in itself, it is ultimately in the combination of these various lines of inquiry that for me lies the best way to gain a profound understanding of colonial architecture in DR Congo.

África em debate



Poderes e identidades



11

La configuration inachevée de la modernité: l'expérience narrative qualifiante d'Idrīss al-Ġu'aydī, voyageur marocain en Europe durant l'été 1876 [□]

Nizar Tajditi*

pp. 103-122

«Je pris ainsi cette habitude de noter partout ce qui me frappe... sans me laisser intimider par de possibles critiques ou d'éventuels blâmes.»

Ġu'aydī, *Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens*, 1876, p. 53.

Introduction: des voyageurs marocains peu connus

Bien avant que les aventuriers et explorateurs portugais et espagnols puissent lancer leurs caravelles à l'assaut des côtes de l'Afrique et du Nouveau Monde à partir du XV^e siècle, les pèlerins et voyageurs marocains se déplaçaient aisément d'un continent à l'autre. Tel est le cas très connu du globe-trotter Ibn Battūta (m. 1368) considéré, par Ross E. Dunn, comme le plus grand explorateur musulman du *the pre-mechanical age* (Dunn, 1986: 1-XVI). Son admirateur britannique Tim Mackintosh-Smith, devait, à la fin du XX^e siècle, poursuivre son rêve et redécouvrir quelques-uns de ses itinéraires fabuleux, tant en Afrique subsaharienne qu'en Asie (Mackintosh-Smith, 2001: VIII). Ou l'exemple beaucoup moins connu d'Estebanico le Nègre, révélé au monde à travers le récit époustouflant d'Álvar Núñez, sous ce nom étrange: un natif d'Azemmour téméraire, qui avait participé à l'expédition espagnole d'exploration de la Floride, dans la première moitié du XVI^e s. (Cabeza de Vaca, 1542: 149). Mais, devant la domination de plus en plus affirmée des européens sur les océans et mers, du XVI^e s. jusqu'au XIX^e s., la carte du globe se rétrécissait peu à peu au désavantage des voyageurs marocains. S'ils devaient débarquer à contrecœur sur les côtes européennes hostiles (Ziyyānī, 1991: 265), ce n'était que de manière occasionnelle et temporaire: pèlerins en transit, membres d'ambassades officielles, réfugiés ou captifs de courses maritimes, écoliers en formation professionnelle, etc.

□ <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a8>

* University of Tetouan & Ceaup.

Or, si l'on peut retrouver les récits d'aventure ou les notes de voyage de la plupart des explorateurs et touristes occidentaux à travers la planète, on ignore aujourd'hui les relations de voyage de ces écrivains méditerranéens dits orientaux. La raison n'est pas due uniquement à la rareté des éditions de manuscrits marocains, classiques et modernes. D'autres facteurs scientifiques, culturels ou idéologiques sont en cause: les préjugés religieux et ethniques, l'eurocentrisme, le manque sensible de traductions européennes des récits de voyage en langue arabe, etc.

La preuve, s'il en faut, est la publication assez tardive de la relation d'ambassade d'Iḍrīss b. Muḥammad al-Ġu'ayḍī en Europe occidentale durant l'été 1876, *Ithāf al-'akhyār bi-gharā'ib al-akhbār* (= Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens), à la fin du XIX^e s. Une œuvre narrative importante qui atteste, entre autres, l'ampleur de l'action diplomatique du sultanat chérifien au dernier quart du XIX^e s. Puis, autre signe de ce retard, sa première traduction intégrale en français il y a quelques années dans le cadre d'une thèse universitaire (Sbiti, 2014-2015). Sa publication l'année récente dernière, quoique partielle (Sbiti, 2020), vient à point nommé pour combler une lacune dans notre perception de ces voyageurs et missionnaires marocains oubliés du XIX^e s.

1. Sortir d'un monde clos

1.1. L'heureuse conjoncture de la mission de Ġu'ayḍī

Trois ans après son investiture, en 1876, Hassan I^{er} (m. 1894) envoie une grande ambassade en Europe. Commandée par un notable de Rabat, le diplomate expérimenté al-Ḥaġ Muḥammad b. at-Tāhir az-Zibḍī (Ġu'ayḍī, 2020: 50), celle-ci est initialement destinée à la France. Une décision plus réfléchie l'avait finalement élargie à quatre états européens parmi les plus industrialisés hormis l'Allemagne: en plus de la France, la Belgique, l'Angleterre et l'Italie.

– Quels étaient les véritables motifs de cette importante députation, ses résultats politiques et économiques immédiats?

– Cette mission officielle avait-elle ouvert les yeux de l'élite marocaine conservatrice sur les enjeux et défis considérables de la révolution industrielle en cours?

– Face aux expressions surprenantes de la modernité tant intellectuelle que technique, le narrateur, emballé, réussissait-il à trouver les mots justes pour en décrire les aspects fondamentaux et transmettre, à ses lecteurs, des impressions et images significatives?

C'est à ce genre de questions aussi bien politiques et historiques qu'intellectuelles et poétiques que nous allons essayer de tirer au clair, en premier lieu. Pour cela, nous retraçons, grâce à l'émissaire curieux, sinon l'itinéraire exact de ses déplacements officiels du moins ses rencontres et surprises les plus remarquables dans les villes et campagnes européennes. En plaçant la relation d'ambassade de Ġu'ayḍī (m. 1890) au nœud de notre réflexion, nous tenterons de montrer, ensuite, tout le gain qu'une approche pluridisciplinaire relève dans ce terrain littéraire. Le précieux *témoignage anthropologique* du voyageur laisse déceler quelques signes précurseurs du réveil du Maroc impérial au XIX^e s. D'ailleurs, notre faqīh esquisse un profil pratique, proche de celui d'un vrai *'alem*. Car, l'homme fut plus versé dans les calculs arithmétiques et astronomiques utiles de son office religieux (*muwaqqit*) que dans les pirouettes rhétoriques vaines de la littérature décadente de son époque.

1.2. Un geste d'ouverture

Répondant favorablement à la visite de courtoisie que des diplomates européens lui avaient rendue lors de son intronisation (Ġu'ayḍī, 2020: 50), cette initiative d'Hassan I^{er} ne manque

pas de renseigner sur les soucis et attentes du nouveau maître de l'ancien Maroc. D'après les *Souvenirs* d'un ancien chargé d'affaires consulaires à Tanger, «on avait souvent trouvé Moulay el Hassan désireux d'éviter les difficultés extérieures; sa nature assez généreuse lui faisait accepter des réclamations parfois injustes ou même fausses...» (Martinière, 1919: 156).

En confirme cette bonne disposition du jeune sultan au commencement de son règne, la relation volumineuse jamais rédigée par un missionnaire marocain en Europe, au sommet de la révolution industrielle de 1832. Son titre aux consonances alléchantes peut un instant faire omettre, au lecteur actuel, sa valeur globale. Sa relecture repère rapidement tant ses hauts enjeux politiques et militaires que son intérêt à la fois narratif et culturel.

À défaut des impératifs secrets (*asrār*) de la mission que Ğu'aydī tient à garder jalousement, son auteur fait allusion, dès le prélude, au motif primordial de cette tournée, qui débute par l'hexagone. Il s'agit de rappeler les gouvernements européens les plus influents sur la scène maghrébine au respect des traités signés avec l'empire chérifien. À entendre par-là, les règles et clauses qui concernaient les «protégés» de manière particulière. Ces derniers, nuisaient, non seulement à «l'autorité du Makhzen» (Michaux-Bellaire, 1921: 128), mais également à ses maigres finances et sa gestion des richesses agricoles du pays.

En d'autres termes, Hassan I^{er} demande à ces états européens de limiter le «droit de protection» dont usaient et abusaient à leur guise leurs délégués et consuls, à un strict minimum d'agents, d'associés et de serviteurs marocains résidant dans les cités portuaires de l'empire chérifien.

1.3. L'épineux problème des «protégés»

Il faut savoir que, dans la réalité des choses, les excès en question étaient tels qu'ils annulaient *de facto* la souveraineté de l'état chérifien. Aussi bien sur son territoire impérial que sur ses propres sujets, musulmans et israélites à la fois, ce mal infectait la vie quotidienne du sultanat. Les drogmans juifs, qui dominaient les légations étrangères comme celle française de Tanger,¹ surenchérisaient sur ce passe-droit et surpassaient leurs patrons européens dans leurs outrances. Les coursiers musulmans n'étaient pas du reste moins tentés par cette aubaine. Le nom exécré de l'un d'eux, al-faqīh Muhammad al-M'saourī at-Tangī, ne se trouve pas par hasard gravé par Ğu'aydī, au seuil de son récit (2020: 73).

Engendré par les conditions de la défaite militaire, ce fléau desservait sérieusement le vieil empire chérifien, au niveau économique et commercial comme au niveau politique et social. Si, les atteintes portées au prestige du Makhzen, aux fonctionnaires de son administration et ses agents d'autorité, devenaient graves, d'autres le furent davantage. Aussi, relate le diplomate français déjà cité, «[les conseillers du sultan] furent unanimes à déclarer que la mesure demandée par les Chrétiens [la libre exportation des grains et du bétail] serait néfaste, car, loin de profiter aux populations, il en résulterait un renchérissement général de la vie et l'appauvrissement du peuple» (Martinière, 1919: 159).

Il faut dire que, par cette drôle prérogative coloniale, les commerçants européens pouvaient ni plus ni moins s'approprier, par l'intermédiaire de leurs protégés, la monographie d'Earl Fee Cruickshank (1935) l'élucide parfaitement, la gestion directe d'une part non négligeable du capital agricole impérial et du commerce marocain extérieur (les céréales, le bétail, etc.). D'autant plus que le dernier domaine (exportation) dépend du premier (surplus économique rural), les deux étant étroitement liés aux «variations climatiques extrêmes», auxquelles est cycliquement soumis le Maroc (Kebbaj, 1963: 30).

¹ Sur le processus d'europanisation rapide de cette cité portuaire depuis la fin du XIX^e s., lié à l'expansion coloniale dont la protection constitue l'indice révélateur, voir Michaux-Bellaire, 1921: 128-129.

Toujours est-il que Londres, Paris ou Rome se montraient jusqu'alors indifférentes aux doléances du sultan. Ces métropoles du monde capitaliste devaient sitôt changer d'attitude. Du moment où les menaces répétées des navires de guerre espagnols au nord du Maroc vers 1875 inquiétèrent leurs intérêts commerciaux, la stabilité politique de l'empire chérifien devint une priorité. Ce revirement de situation poussa vite les chefs des affaires étrangères britanniques et françaises à agir, d'un commun accord, à Madrid, en faveur de l'indépendance du Maroc. Par le biais du ministre plénipotentiaire Ch.-J. Tissot (m. 1884), Hassan I^{er} remercia le duc Louis Decazes (m. 1886), pour son rôle positif dans cette affaire délicate.

1.4. Une ère d'entente cordiale

Cet arrière-plan politique, connu à travers la correspondance consulaire, explique la satisfaction des autorités marocaines. Particulièrement tendre, la formule adoptée par Ġu'aydī, pour désigner ces délégués anglais et français, atteste à quel degré ces derniers furent bien vus à la cour chérifienne: «*ahl al-mawadda mina r-Rūm*» (nos amis européens affectueux), (2004: 99).

Diamétralement opposé aux noms d'oiseaux auxquels recouraient habituellement les secrétaires d'ambassade marocains, ce changement de langage nous montre dans quel nouveau décor les émissaires marocains apparaissent, agissent et réagissent sur la scène internationale.

Bref, deux nouveaux éléments encadrent de près l'énonciation de ce récit d'ambassade:

- la fermeté du «*warrior-sharif*» quant à l'application des conventions internationales sur la «protection» consulaire, d'une part;
- le contexte politique propice dans lequel s'engagent les pourparlers avec les états impérialistes, d'autre part.

Très affaiblie, après sa défaite devant l'Allemagne prussienne à Sedan en septembre 1870, la France a d'autres soucis. Aussi, se voit-elle plus proche que jamais de la position pragmatique prise par le très influent ambassadeur anglais sir Drummond-Hay au nom de la Grande Bretagne, - «the champion of Moroccan independence», au dire de Magali Morsy (1984: 203). Quant à l'Espagne, elle n'a plus vraiment l'initiative. Écartée de son arrière-jardin africain, elle se contente de consommer au jour le jour les revenus énormes de la dette marocaine. Comme le déplore le Père Castellanos, cité par un historien espagnol, le Royaume catholique n'a pas su bien garder tous les «bénéfices matériels et morales» de sa dernière croisade au Nord de l'Afrique (García Figueras, 1939: 87-89).

2. Trois règles: sauvegarder, réformer et négocier

2.1. La léthargie du sultanat chérifien

Mieux disposé que ses prédécesseurs à l'impérieuse idée d'une ouverture, somme toute limitée, de l'ancien Maroc sur le monde occidental fort avancé, Hassan I^{er} n'était pas pour autant moins tourmenté qu'eux.

À dire vrai, nombreuses furent les raisons qui poussèrent le Chérif à agir de la sorte. À l'intérieur, avant tout. La pacification (*tamhīd*) des quatre coins de son immense empire,² nécessitait un armement moderne et efficace. Dès son intronisation, le sultan devait affronter maintes troubles urbains et révoltes tribales, même sous les remparts de sa capitale

² Quoiqu'approximatifs et motivés idéologiquement, les Atlas français du début du XX^e s. laissent facilement estimer la largeur du territoire nord-africain qu'occupait l'empire chérifien d'Hassan I^{er}, deux fois plus vaste que le Maroc actuel.

impériale, Fès (Nāssīrī, s. d.: 141-142). Des régions entières d'accès difficile furent rendues, par la crise financière que traverse l'état et la disette, fragiles et plus contestataires à l'égard du pouvoir central (Makhzen). C'est le cas de l'Oriental éloigné, du Rif, du Moyen et du Grand Atlas ou de l'avant-Sahara. Toutes ces provinces berbères, montagneuses pour la plupart, se soulevaient et se révoltaient de temps à autre (*sība*), soit entraînées par les promesses de faux prétendants, soit enrégés par la concupiscence des grands caïds.

Vient, après, le danger imminent de l'ennemi extérieur, à savoir l'Europe impérialiste. À deux reprises au moins, celle-ci recourt à la brutalité militaire pour écraser son voisin africain immédiat. À la bataille de la vallée d'Isly en 1844 menée par l'armée française à partir de la régence d'Alger comme à la campagne espagnole en Afrique de 1859-60, l'affaiblissement et la décrépitude du vieux *maghreb al-'aqsā*, se découvraient à l'œil nu. De l'autre rive, il n'offrait, au regard européen, que le spectacle accablant d'«un empire qui s'écroule» de toutes parts (Montbard, 1886: V).

Les rapports des touristes étrangers, même s'ils noircirent les traits et leur plume versait souvent dans la caricature, percent-là le fond de la réalité sociohistorique. Complètement ruiné par la dette espagnole contractée à l'issue de la guerre de Tétouan susmentionnée (Ayache, 1958: 97-138), l'empire chérifien ne se croit plus au pinacle. Défait par un adversaire sous-équipé, il maintiendra, malgré les efforts déployés par le Chérif énergique, cette terrible image d'homme «moribond», dix ans après l'étonnante ambassade dont nous suivrons ici la première partie du périple européen (France-Belgique).

Lors de son escapade au nord-ouest du Maroc en 1835, un publiciste suisse trouvait un malin plaisir à souligner l'état de suffisance dans lequel se complaisait l'administration impériale archaïque, au milieu du XIX^e siècle:

Les Marocains sont très jaloux de leurs armes, et s'en font une idée ridicule; la sortie en est sévèrement prohibée; car disent-ils si les chrétiens parvenaient à s'en procurer, ils les imiteraient, et alors quels dangers ne courrait pas l'empire! (Didier, 1844: 45).

Cela nous éclaire, non pas tant sur le sous-équipement de l'artisanat marocain (Joly, 1906-1909), dû à la permanence des outils démodés, des techniques obsolètes de production et de l'insuffisance des investissements financiers apportés à l'industrie locale (Pascon, 1986: 223-228). Mais l'isolement profond du pays attire l'attention sur un autre inconvénient, le conservatisme endémique de l'ancien état marocain. Cet handicap majeur peut expliquer en partie pourquoi le tournant industriel du XVIII^e s. est manqué par le Makhzen. Au faite de sa puissance politique, économique et militaire, au moment de la prise de l'imprenable forteresse de Mazagan en 1769 occupée par les Portugais depuis 1514, le sultan victorieux Mohamed b. Abdallah (Host, 1791/1998: 54), adopte le traditionalisme comme mode intellectuel de référence (Ziyyānī, 1992: 419-420). Ainsi, censure-t-il, les '*Akhbār* (discipline historique) qui mettent en relief les grands changements sociaux qu'amènent les temps nouveaux et encourage, à la place, les sciences religieuses classiques (*hadīth*, *tafsīr*, *figh*, etc.). Car, ces dernières connaissances, en renforçant le dogme malékite, maintiennent intactes les mentalités collectives ainsi que les structures sociales (Ziyyānī, 1991: 64).

Combien de pressions exerça-t-il le monde industriel pour venir à bout de sa résistance farouche? Comment pourrait-il faire, au sein de ce que les porte-parole du lobby colonial appellent de leurs vœux le «lac européen» (Didier, 1844: 8), l'économie des avancées techniques et des inventions mécaniques du XIX^e s.? Se lamentaient la plupart des observateurs européens intéressés de l'empire chérifien, en visite de travail ou d'agrément.

2.2. Ouverture du Maroc impérial au marché européen

Aussi, l'assainissement de la corruption au niveau de l'état-major, la levée des hommes, la réorganisation des bataillons (*askar aš-šarīf*) furent, selon son chroniqueur, la toute première et lancinante préoccupation de Hassan I^{er} (Nāssīrī, s. d.: 144).

D'autre part, face à la gloutonnerie des empires coloniaux,³ autant chercher intelligemment à se rapprocher des plus importantes capitales industrialisées. Il n'est pas impossible, dans ce contexte international favorable, de tirer profit de leur progrès technique, administratif et économique dont le dernier modèle mécanique s'impose désormais partout.

Même si cela vient longtemps après les tentatives de réforme des sultans ottomans (Yerasimos, 1988: 9) et d'Ali Pacha en Égypte (Louca, 2006: 117-149), la modernisation de l'armée chérifienne est désormais à l'ordre du jour. L'économie archaïque du pays, l'intégrité du territoire et la cohésion du peuple marocains nécessitent d'autres soins et renforcements. Devraient suivre quelques rénovations urgentes: la réforme des vieilles structures de l'administration, l'amélioration de la gestion des impôts, la création d'une flottille maritime à vocation commerciale, la construction de manufactures militaires et fabriques alimentaires à fin de produire les matières de première nécessité (munitions, poudre, sucre, etc.), la création de la Poste chérifienne et l'envoi des missions scientifiques en Europe (Manūnī, 1973: I, 55-78). Entre 1874 et 1888, pas moins de huit missions totalisant environ 350 étudiants furent effectivement envoyées en France, en Allemagne, en Angleterre, en Belgique et en Italie, parangons de la modernité technique et de l'industrialisation massive (Laroui, 1977: 286). Les réformes et ajustements de toutes sortes étaient alors en cours.

Dès lors, deux règles de la politique extérieure d'Hassan I^{er}, fixent, au corps des émissaires expérimentés, la ligne de conduite diplomatique à adopter:

- Garder coûte que coûte le *statu quo* des puissances européennes au Maroc en cherchant en permanence à les mettre en concurrence (arrangements mutuels, avantages commerciaux, achats d'armes, etc.);
- Tenter de faire des grands états industriels comme l'Angleterre, la France, l'Italie, la Belgique et l'Allemagne des associés et partenaires, à la fois raisonnables et responsables.

Cette nouvelle stratégie diplomatique consiste, d'un côté, à restreindre la "protection consulaire" et, de l'autre côté, à contracter, en échange, de juteux marchés auprès de l'industrie active des voisins coloniaux du Maroc impérial.

3. Au paradis des prouesses industrielles

3.1. Quelques soucis de l'élite marocaine

Si Ġu'aydī ne dévoile pas tout-à-fait les résultats politiques immédiats de la mission,⁴ sa relation illustre en partie ce que l'ancien Maroc pourrait attendre de son ouverture modérée sur l'Europe industrialisée: réformes administratives, financières, économiques et militaires, en gros. Mais pas seulement. L'intérêt, voire l'aspect toujours actuel, de son récit dépasse de loin ces circonstances et vicissitudes de l'instant présent.

³ Quelques mois après le retour de cette ambassade, les responsables français proposèrent, à Hassan I^{er}, de lui vendre, entre autres, un train et un télégraphe.

⁴ Lors de ses discussions avec le duc Decazes, Zibdi obtint gain de cause sur les deux points de sa requête: 1) le maintien du privilège des chorfa alouites de l'Algérie colonisée exonérés des impôts à condition qu'ils ne bougent pas; 2) la limitation du droit de protection (Caillé, 1960: 71).

3.2. L'altérité marocaine mise à l'épreuve

Bien que raillés ou simplement *remarqués* par la foule indiscrète à cause de leur habit exotique, signe immédiat de leur différence culturelle, notre émissaire et ses acolytes ne se sentent point offensés. Loin de là. Puisque leur altérité demeure, pour eux, une source d'authenticité et fierté. Ravis par la beauté exquise du lieu panoramique et l'arrangement esthétique qui y règne grâce au labeur continu des jardiniers, ils poursuivent tranquillement leur excursion dans le parc public le plus important de la région bruxelloise.

Ne l'ayant point suspecté, alors qu'ils se trouvaient sur le territoire de l'ancienne Abbaye de Cambre, au croisement des quatre éléments de l'univers terrestre (terre, eau, air, lumière), ils choisissent un endroit pour faire leur prière le plus naturellement du monde:

Le jour même, dans la soirée, nous sortîmes en coches pour une promenade aux environs de la ville... Là, nous trouvâmes une immense forêt où serpentaient de larges allées de tous les côtés [...] Nous choisîmes un coin de cette forêt pour y accomplir la prière d'al-'asr (prière de l'après-midi). Comme il y avait des maisons et des habitations tout aux alentours de ce parc, une grande foule d'hommes et de femmes se regroupèrent, par curiosité car les musulmans visitaient rarement leur pays. Après la prière, nous marchâmes dans ce parc, sous des arbres gigantesques, presque tous bien droits et sans la moindre déformation (Ġu'aydi, 2020: 129-131).

Le cadre spatiotemporel attise leurs sens: le calme de la périphérie bruxelloise, le bois du parc aménagé à l'anglaise, la douceur estivale du soir. Les motifs de cette belle échappée dans le merveilleux bosquet de Bruxelles stimulent leur enthousiasme: fuir les murs, le bruit et le confort, le besoin de changer l'air, l'envie de se mettre au contact du règne végétal, etc. Se révèlent, derrière l'intercalation des énoncés narratifs et descriptifs de ce paragraphe si expressif, les états d'âme déchirants de nos promeneurs solidaires: éloignement et quiétude, extériorité et ressourcement, appréhension et enchantement, étrangeté et dévotion, etc.

Dans la dernière scène perceptive qui vient juste après l'instant du recueillement et de la méditation, nous tenons à relever la pensée du faqīh qui suit instantanément sur la grandeur, la solidité et la droiture des êtres végétaux superbes: leçon de morale sociale et politique. On perçoit alors la sensibilité esthétique du voyageur. En action, celle-ci s'allie parfaitement avec les considérations morales et sociales latentes du narrateur en herbe. La beauté et l'harmonie font, en pays civilisé, bon ménage avec l'ordre et la discipline, comme le prouve la nature apprivoisée de ce bois si captivant (Ouellet, 2000: 9-10).

Néanmoins, en terre lointaine, à travers plusieurs scènes, paysages et postures, tout semble indiquer que notre visiteur s'attache davantage à l'essentiel. Voire à l'utile. Pour lui, rien n'explique mieux, en fin de compte, le progrès et la puissance de ces nations européennes que les sociétés d'ordre et de justice. C'est dans ce cadre idéal que les hommes libres naissent, grandissent et s'épanouissent.

Certes, le voyageur examine là inquiet l'être et le paraître de son moi collectif. Dans les divers miroirs différentiels que lui tend tour à tour l'*ailleurs européen ensorcelant*, son regard semble captif des merveilles exposées. Partout où l'entraîne le programme foisonnant des sorties et visites, son étonnement saisissable révèle le cortège passionnel des impressions et influences intérieures: châteaux et palais, ministères et institutions publiques, ateliers, manufactures et usines, boulevards et hôtels, écoles et bibliothèques, jardins et places publiques, etc.

Son but primordial demeure cependant la description de l'*autre* dont il ausculte autant les vertus que les défauts. Menant à bien les tâches du parfait secrétaire qui s'informe sur tout, son être est piqué au vif. Ne coupant point avec la poétique médiévale de l'étrange et du merveilleux comme le confirme le titre coquet de sa relation, l'homme enregistre le menu détail.

Au-delà des envoûtements imprévus de son périple aux quatre pays de l'Europe visités, Ğu'aydī s'interrogera incessamment sur la problématique fondamentale de la réforme et du renouveau: comment changer et progresser, sous l'effet de la nécessité et de l'émulation à la fois, tout en restant fidèle à soi? Dilemme quasi insurmontable, pour un faqīh marocain authentique qui appartenait à l'ancienne génération.

3.3. Exploits de la civilisation matérielle

Les descriptions trop détaillées du bâti, du mobilier et des infrastructures modernes peuvent nous surprendre aujourd'hui dans la relation de Ğu'aydī. Or, elles mettent, souvent de façon implicite, l'accent sur des retards impardonnables. Ou bien elles expriment, tout simplement, des besoins fondamentaux. Des services qui manquent cruellement dans son pays natal. À savoir, le développement de l'urbanisme en dehors des cités antiques et l'aménagement efficace du territoire impérial resté presque à l'état sauvage, au seuil du XX^e siècle.

Par rapport à l'évolution du monde moderne dont l'Europe n'est plus désormais le seul exemple à suivre (l'Amérique du Nord proposait déjà un modèle plus dynamique et pragmatique), tout manque au vieil sultanat: avenues illuminées, réseau élargi de routes, ponts, tunnels et barrages, ports modernes et leurs magasins et dépôts annexes, moyens de transports rapides et confortables, fabrique de monnaies, écoles, lycées et universités modernes, bibliothèque nationale, musées, jardins publics. Et la liste est trop longue pour que nous y insistions davantage:

Des réverbères s'alignaient le long des arbres et restaient allumés pendant toute la nuit. Certains lieux de la ville [Bruxelles] étaient magnifiquement plantés d'arbres. Ils étaient entourés de barres en fer dressées sur leur pointe, tels des javelots dorés, rapprochées les uns des autres d'une distance de moins d'un empan, entrecoupées d'autres barres, mais parfaitement soudées, de sorte qu'elles formaient un grillage pour ce parc qui n'était accessible que par les portes (Ğu'aydī, 2020: 130).

Par contre, ses impressions spontanées sur le savoir-faire technique des européens, leur patrimoine culturel et leurs initiatives industrielles, justifient des interrogations d'ordre collectif, celles de l'élite marocaine. Quelquefois, des sensibilités individuelles émergent à la surface du texte descriptif: vieille éducation et discipline, rôle de la femme dans la vie active, habitude des cafés et passion pour les nouvelles du monde, la lecture des gazettes et feuilles d'information:

Quant aux rues de Paris, remarque Ğu'aydī, elles étaient beaucoup plus larges que celles de Marseille. Elles étaient soulevées sur des poteaux en cuivre façonné dont la partie inférieure était large, et se rétrécissait progressivement vers le haut. Je me demandais pourquoi ces arbres étaient droits sans aucune torsion. Je découvrais l'astuce en voyant les petits arbres. Ils les soutenaient en les attachant à de longs bâtons en bois [...]

Dans certaines rues, de grands espaces étendus, tous plantés d'arbres, embellis de différentes fleurs multicolores. Entre les arbres, étaient installés des bancs. Certains endroits étaient aménagés en café, d'autres en marché de légumes, de fleurs ou autres (2020: 86-87).

Beaucoup de services municipaux utiles et accessibles trouvent ainsi grâce à ses yeux: marchés propres, usines florissantes, musées et zoos étranges, théâtres et maisons d'opéra, arts et métiers de création, manufactures d'argenterie et de lustres étincelants, beaux paysages séparant les villes des campagnes, etc.

Tout attire pratiquement son attention. Les toilettes des grands hôtels où les marocains résidaient entre Marseille et Paris. Les égards civiques et militaires rendus à l'ambassadeur marocain. Le grand défilé militaire célébrant la victoire de la France. Plus particulièrement, notre homme est stupéfait par la réception fastueuse donnée par le Président Mac Mahon et son épouse à l'honneur de Zibđi et sa suite réduite. Dans un palais doré de la République, où le soin de l'étiquette est inséparable des bonnes manières de table françaises, nos invités sont séduits par ce banquet charmant:

Plus de quarante hautes personnalités de l'État français assistèrent à ce festin royal. Chacun d'eux, raconte-t-il, prit place sur une chaise et avait devant lui une serviette blanche qu'il déposa sur les genoux au moment du repas, un plat vide, un verre à eau, un couteau et une fourchette. Lors du service du repas, des hommes portant de grands plats métalliques plein de nourriture les présentaient aux invités attablés et chacun d'eux se servait de la quantité désirée au moyen d'une louche qu'il remit dans son plat. On débarrassait les petites assiettes et on les échangeait par d'autres lors du service du mets suivant [...] Les convives étaient gratifiés dans ce banquet de seize sortes de menus comme il était mentionné sur une feuille écrite en français⁵ et présentée au début de l'agape (Ğu'aydi, 2020: 102).

Tout provoque l'exaltation du voyageur. Les spectacles de la capitale animent son imaginaire poétique latent. Ce faisant, ils ravivent sa galanterie autocensurée au paradis des infidèles. À la vue foudroyante de quelques belles comédiennes du somptueux théâtre parisien, le faqih pudique, déjà transporté par les étoiles du décor magnifique, n'échappe pas à la tentation:

Je me souviens alors des anecdotes vécues et des excentricités que nous avions vues à la maison du théâtre. [Mon] compagnon, confesse le narrateur, m'avait sincèrement conseillé et sermonné, tout en promettant présomptueusement de dissimuler cette faute. Il me dit: «Comment tu as pu suivre ce chemin camarade, l'introduire dans ces maisons, violer les tabous, balancer toutes les excuses, planter cette mauvaise plante dans le sol de ton cœur, adorer la danse de ses filles, alors que le juge te considérait parmi les éminents notaires (adūl)...!? (Ğu'aydi, 2014-2015: 327-328).

Même s'il relativise le fait sous couvert du comique, ce revers anecdotique, inséparable de l'aventure européenne d'un notaire musulman dévot à Paris à la fin du XIX^e siècle, illustre l'humeur du voyageur. Mieux, à l'épreuve de l'écriture, il révèle le relativisme du narrateur et la souplesse religieuse de l'auteur: tout blâmable qu'il soit par les fidèles stricts, le théâtre français s'impose comme une grande institution culturelle et, à ce titre, il mérite bien le détour du visiteur.

4. Les limites du savoir ancestral

Même les oublis de Ğu'aydi, voire ses silences, sont révélateurs de ses émois dans l'espace étranger, sa formation scolastique et rigide, ses goûts et tabous rituels. Ici, ils indiquent soit une chasteté ou une ignorance soit un manque de science ou d'information. Là, ils renseignent sur les limites de son horizon de connaissance. Ils confirment même la faiblesse de sa formation traditionnelle, coupée totalement des acquis philosophiques et politiques du siècle des Lumières.

Dès son arrivée à Marseille, première étape de son voyage, le faqih ne cache point son ravissement, ni devant les devantures des boutiques du décor mobilier et d'ameublement, ni en face des commodités et joies de la vie citadine moderne qui éblouissent l'œil du voyageur aux aguets des nouveautés matérielles:

⁵ Le menu.

Les cochers nous firent visiter, écrit l'auteur, les ruelles et les marchés de la ville. Nous admirions dans les vitrines de leurs magasins de magnifiques chefs d'œuvres et des meubles aussi bizarres qu'agréables. On ne pourrait décrire ce luxe ni par la plume ni par les mots. Les rues de la ville étaient tellement larges que l'avenue centrale se composait de quatre voies dont la principale était celle des carrosses et diligences (Gu'aydi, 2020: 73-74).

Aux salons de Paris, lors du dîner officiel en hommage à l'ambassadeur marocain et ses adjoints, l'étonnement de Gu'aydi à la table laisse réfléchir sur son ignorance totale des sciences physiques modernes:

Je demandais à celui qui était à mes côtés [pendant le repas]: pourquoi cette glace qui devrait en principe se fondre pendant son exposition à l'air, ne s'était pas encore fondue chez vous?! Chez nous, la neige se fondait sitôt qu'elle tombait (Gu'aydi, 2020: 102)

Cette remarque innocente pointe du doigt les origines d'une insuffisance flagrante. Grand est l'abîme, scientifique et technique à la fois, qui séparait en fait «chez nous» de «chez vous». Bloqué au sous-sol de l'ascenseur historique de l'humanité, l'empire chérifien est trop distancé par l'Europe dans tous les sens du progrès, depuis la renaissance italienne du XVI^e siècle.

Parfois enfantines, comme nous l'avons déjà constaté, ses interrogations impromptues reflètent en réalité le bagage culturel très insuffisant d'un lettré marocain traditionnel à l'apogée de la révolution industrielle. À son premier contact direct avec l'incarnation prodigieuse de la civilisation matérielle de l'Europe, Gu'aydi avoue sincèrement son inaptitude:

Ce port comportait d'immenses bâtiments et de nombreux entrepôts étendus à droite et à gauche. D'autres constructions dont les dispositions variées selon l'usage s'élevaient au-dessus de ces derniers. Ces constructions étaient toutes d'une grande perfection et se composaient de différents établissements suivant la nécessité... Leur recensement dépassait les capacités humaines (2020: 67).

S'il avoue ainsi son trouble émotionnel à propos du nombre des comptoirs, des magasins, des équipements et des services portuaires de la première ville maritime française approchée, Marseille, il est loin de soupçonner la suite. Après la ville-lumière, Paris, il n'imaginait nullement les merveilles et chefs-d'œuvre qui allaient provoquer son désarroi soit à Bruxelles, Londres ou Rome.

5. Belgique, carrefour des prodiges industriels

Chaque pays européen visité de l'Europe occidentale, en plein essor industriel, la France, la Belgique, l'Angleterre et l'Italie, offrait, à notre voyageur et ses compagnons marocains, un spectacle inédit d'invention technique à base de fer, de vapeur et de gaz.

Mais c'est surtout en Belgique, pays pionnier dans la nouvelle industrie de fer où se rend l'ambassade chérifienne après le succès de sa mission diplomatique principale à Paris, que les importantes infrastructures et le réseau ferroviaire moderne vont se révéler singuliers. Les surprises techniques et les découvertes industrielles se multiplient au gré des visites poursuivies. Aux usines, fabriques et musées, à l'intérieur de Bruxelles et sa banlieue comme à l'extérieur dans les autres villes belges voisines, l'entendement des diplomates marocains est mis constamment à l'épreuve:

Le train roulait ainsi à travers onze tunnels, certains furent parcourus en une minute, d'autres en six minutes, et enfin d'autres en dix minutes. Ces tunnels étaient toujours éclairés à certains endroits. Il y avait plusieurs voies ferrées et souvent deux trains s'y croisaient, chacun roulant en toute sécurité sur sa voie [...]

[Le train] s'arrêta d'abord à la gare de Louvain à dix heures trente, puis celle de la ville de Tirlemont à onze heures et quart, à celle d'Ans à midi six minutes, à Wavre à midi et quart. Nous arrivâmes à la gare de la ville de Liège à midi vingt minutes (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 147).

Recommandées par le Roi, ses ministres et préfets, tous très contents de trouver au sultanat chérifien un nouveau débouché commercial à leurs industries opulentes, ces sorties, presque quotidiennes, rythment le déplacement des hôtes en Belgique. Accompagnés par Abraham Succic, premier interprète au consulat belge de Tanger, ces découvertes agrémentent le séjour des membres de l'ambassade.

Ayant un cahier de commandes pour le sultan Hassan I^{er}, ce dernier leur avait demandé parmi d'autres achats privés une jumelle (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 1461), nos émissaires s'intéressent à tous les produits industriels introuvables dans leur pays. Bien renseignés sur place, ils énumèrent de près toutes sortes d'objets en verre, en laiton et en cuivre de l'industrie manufacturière et trouvent souvent leur propre compte:

Cette ville regorgeait de chefs-d'œuvre et de très belles choses que l'on voyait rarement chez nous au Maroc (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 147).

Nos émissaires furent ainsi envoûtés par les charmes de la ville de Liège, ses magasins remplis, ses fabriques créatives et ses grosses machines nouvelles.

Connue en Europe par ses grandes forges et fonderies, la Belgique frappe l'esprit des marocains par son industrie de fer soit à vapeur soit à gaz. Outre le haut niveau des infrastructures urbaines et interurbaines (routes, ponts, tunnels, barrages, etc.) et les moyens de transport variés (trains, bateaux à vapeur, etc.) dont jouissent les Pays-Bas, l'œil friand de nos visiteurs fut spécialement interpellé par l'importance des pôles industriels de sidérurgie et de métallurgie. Notamment, celui très célèbre, installé par l'entrepreneur anglo-belge John Cockerill au Château de Seraing (De Boer, 1924: 527-552).

6. Les assises de l'invention technique

C'est là justement que le narrateur, souvent intrigué par l'âge jeune des ingénieurs belges rencontrés dans les usines et ateliers, perçoit tout à coup l'un des facteurs majeurs du succès industriel de ce petit pays du Nord de l'Europe. L'univers rationnel de l'apprenti belge ne ressemble point à celui superstitieux de l'écolier marocain (Bourgeois, 1959: 36-48).

En plus de l'expérience pratique acquise dans les ateliers de travail, un des secrets réside dans la qualité de la formation scientifique que reçoit son élite professionnelle dans les universités et les instituts publics et privés. Dès lors, sa classe ouvrière bien encadrée dans les écoles de métiers, les ateliers et les manufactures, s'avère très performante:

Neuf mille ouvriers et douze ingénieurs travaillaient dans ces houillères, relate le narrateur ahuri, l'un d'eux était venu vers nous, il était jeune et mince. Je me suis dit que ce jeune homme n'atteignait pas la trentaine; on lui demanda son âge, il répondit qu'il aura dans quelques jours vingt-six ans. Cela n'avait rien d'étrange pour quelqu'un qui s'était formé dans les sciences de l'ingénierie et des mathématiques (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 155).

En prenant conscience des assises modernes de l'invention technique, le voyageur met aussitôt le doigt sur l'une des causes principales du retard historique qu'accuse son propre

pays dans presque tous les domaines de la vie moderne⁶: la stagnation et l'inactualité de la formation traditionnelle accordée aux élèves et jeunes gens dans les écoles coraniques et mosquées.

En voyageant entre Bruxelles et Liège, Seraing, Charleroi et Namur, l'ambassadeur marocain et son secrétaire attentif sont plus que séduits par les usines, fonderies et manufactures visitées. Et, sur tous les ustensiles de bronze ou métal et produits de verre et de laine qui y sont exposés, les deux hommes s'informent longuement sur le fonctionnement, l'efficacité et le prix avant de prendre des notes conséquentes:

On demanda le prix de ce canon; ils dirent qu'il coûtait mille quatre cents rials avec cinq cents cartouches d'essai, alors que les autres cartouches avaient leur propre prix. On demanda le prix des petits canons; ils répondirent que leur ambassadeur à Tanger en connaissait le prix (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 134).

Les fabriques d'armes neuves, tels que les canons mitrailleurs légers et transportables ou les fusils à plusieurs tirs, monopolisent leur intérêt, car l'armée chérifienne en avait un besoin pressant. Les usines des grandes glaces, verres à verre, cristalleries à Charleroi et Namur émerveillent également les émissaires marocains qui trouvent leur prix cependant élevé pour le pouvoir d'achat de leurs compatriotes (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 160, 169-173).

7. Comment rendre le jamais vu?

7.1. Le choc de la modernité

Bien que relativement jeune (il avait 43 ans), parvenu à l'âge mûr, le monde européen fait subséquemment soumettre au jeune faqīh marocain à un rude exercice de discernement et d'assimilation. Creusé par les progrès de la dernière révolution industrielle de 1832, un *écart historique* sépare dorénavant l'ancien Maroc de l'Europe moderne. Tant au niveau des infrastructures urbaines et structures mentales et sociales qu'au niveau de la formation technique et d'éducation morale tout court, le gouffre civilisationnel est impressionnant. C'est ce qui plonge continuellement notre voyageur emporté et ses camarades de route dans ce double état passionnel qui caractérise fondamentalement le dévoilement brutal et l'enchantement scandaleux de cette Europe industrialisée: *Éblouissement et désarroi, admiration et perplexité, ravissement et étourdissement*, etc. (Tajditi, 2013: 18-19).

7.1.1. Le dilemme de l'avancement européen

Plusieurs fois, lors de ses visites des institutions, monuments et usines dans les capitales et agglomérations des quatre pays européens traversés, Ġu'aydī est agréablement surpris. Autant l'organisation administrative et les services ministériels et municipaux que les réalisations architecturales et les inventions techniques dépassent ses attentes. D'où cette gêne qu'il ressent, au moment où, de retour chez lui, il entreprend sereinement la tâche de la rédaction de sa relation, installé confortablement dans son vieil Riad à la médina de Salé. Les sensations de l'univers européen fabuleux résonnent tellement dans son imaginaire individuel qu'elles menacent en quelque sorte l'équilibre narratif précoce de son récit exotique. Sa tentative de *représenter* toutes ces choses si nouvelles, même partiellement, touche vite aux limites des mots: «Un seul et même nom s'applique indifféremment à des choses qui ne sont pas

⁶ À cet égard, la comparaison avec les impressions des voyageurs espagnols ou portugais, en visite dans les pays européens industrialisés, s'avère intéressante (Delrue, 2012: 67-186).

de même nature», souligne Michel Foucault à propos d'une «prose du monde» décidément semblable à celle de Ğu'aydĪ (1966: 65-66).

Il est certainement possible de décrire les réceptions, les spectacles, les sorties et les scènes vécus. Il est même assez agréable de peindre de près les édifices, les avenues, les places, les jardins, les statues, les lustres, les engins vus et admirés sur place. Mais pour représenter les manifestations du progrès civique qui frappèrent sa mémoire et broser les initiatives industrielles qui marquèrent son esprit, son essai débouche sur un réel dilemme:

– Comment rendre le *jamais vu* (l'inimaginable) par le *déjà vu* (le familier)?

Même si les moyens de bord que lui offre le langage habituel (la langue classique de l'élite, maniée à cette époque) sont insuffisants, le narrateur fait tout pour rendre visible, au lecteur, la nouvelle machine ou l'objet singulier perçus pour la première fois. Et, dans la plupart du temps, il faut dire qu'il parvient à décrire minutieusement leurs principaux éléments. Ğu'aydĪ réussit même à comprendre leur fonctionnement mécanique général, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit des armes à feu dont il avait une certaine familiarité au Maroc (2020: 134-135).

Toutefois, la reproduction détaillée de la machine de production ou du produit finalisé (barres de fer, canons, fusils, articles en cuivre et laiton, verres, etc.) ne signifie pas nécessairement la connaissance des bases de l'invention technique. Encore moins les réactions chimiques compliquées des matières produisant l'énergie puissante:

Pour extraire le gaz, ils introduisent le charbon dans les fours qu'ils fermaient avec des plaques de fer de la même forme que leur trou. Ensuite, ils les recouvraient d'argile blanche mouillée. Cette argile bouchait les issues qui se trouvaient entre les plaques qui servaient de couvercle; ils empêchaient de la sorte la fuite de la fumée. Lorsque le charbon brûlait dans ces fours, il dégagait une immense flamme... De grands plateaux dans lesquels l'eau coulait abondamment étaient placés en dessous des ouvertures; on nous dit qu'ils empêchaient la fusion du fer à cause de l'intensité de la chaleur (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 138).

Le descripteur qui s'attache à énumérer en détail les parties visibles du four à charbon et à relater toutes les étapes qui entrent dans la production du gaz, par exemple, ignore le mécanisme thermodynamique qui régit ce dernier. Son recours habituel, pour expliquer les effets extérieurs de la thermochimie, à des comparaisons subites avec quelques animaux domestiques, dévoile les défauts de son savoir traditionnel:

Dans une autre salle, une grande machine dégageait un gaz en produisant un bruit comme le mugissement du taureau (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 143).

En outre, sa tendance à poser trop de questions ou à demander des explications sur tout ce qu'on lui montrait agaçait parfois ses guides belges. Lesquels, devant sa volonté têtue de tout comprendre et déchiffrer, finissaient par perdre patience. Alors, ces interlocuteurs ne manquaient pas l'occasion pour se moquer de ses compétences mathématiques affichées en le qualifiant malicieusement d'*ingénieur*:

Cette salle [du musée] surplombait la vue, ce qui nous permet de voir que la ville [de Bruxelles] était immense, ses constructions s'étendaient à perte de vue. On me demanda en plaisantant: «Ingénieur, informez-nous sur toute cette ville, sur sa longueur et sa largeur»? (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 146).

Un tel défi purement cartographique ne met pas pour autant le faqĪh traditionnel dans l'embarras. L'espace citadin est mesurable. C'est le type d'architecture extramuros qui rend la ville moderne si étrange et si fuyante pour un homme de l'ancien monde.

7.1.2. Au royaume de la comparaison

En fait, la *mise en discours* du monde moderne qui était en train de se transmuier par les accélérateurs financiers et mécaniques de la Révolution industrielle à la fin du XIX^e s., n'est pas du tout aisée. Car elle nécessite, de la part du narrateur, une *langue de son temps*. C'est-à-dire, un outil de communication apte, travaillé par les connaissances considérables des Lumières et par les exploits de la nomination technique de l'ingénierie du vapeur et du gaz. Or, tout cela faisait défaut à notre faqīh. Lequel, en visite du musée de Bruxelles, ne saisit pas tout-à-fait la fonction patrimoniale de cet édifice national. Aussi pose-t-il *ici* des réflexions imprévisibles et place *là* des interrogations saugrenues. Les unes et les autres ne pouvaient à la longue que déconcerter ses hôtes impatientes:

Comme j'avais vu une grande babouche dans une grande vitrine, je leur demandais à qui elle appartenait; on me répondit qu'ils ne savaient pas à qui elle était. Alors, je dis: «Comme vous vous occupez de collectionner ces choses-là, vous devriez avoir les babouches de notre prophète Adam. Où sont-elles alors?». On me rétorqua qu'il les avait perdus en sortant du paradis, c'était donc pour cette raison qu'elles ne se trouvaient point ici! (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 145).

Mis ainsi en porte-à-faux par sa culture, si indigente en connaissances historiques et scientifiques modernes à cause de plusieurs siècles de retard, Ġu'aydī ne cède pas. Fier de son héritage classique et confiant dans la communauté culturelle à laquelle il appartient, il n'abandonne pas si vite l'entreprise. Il expérimente les potentialités du vocabulaire technique arabe (classique et dialectal) en usage au Maroc. Dans les chapitres successifs de sa relation, malgré l'éloignement et la difficulté, il tente de décrire pas à pas ce qu'il avait *vu et entendu*, ne serait-ce que *de l'extérieur*. Une certaine intimité, toute linguistique, avec les machines, les objets et les outils mémorisés s'installe peu à peu dans le discours viatique et traduit, entre les lignes, sa délectation poétique et son embarras scientifique à la fois.

Aussi, dans la narration des scènes euphoriques et découvertes inattendues comme dans la description des fonderies assourdissantes et engins démesurés, Ġu'aydī se sert de la prose la plus simple. En recourant au style informatif, il se sent plus apte sinon à livrer le réel visible, du moins à rendre le sensible par l'évocation. Si «représenter, comme le rappelle Fišerová, c'est à la fois redoubler une présence et l'exposer devant les yeux» (2013: 27), l'ordre descriptif auquel recourt l'énonciateur ne se prive pas du concours indispensable des puissances imaginaires de l'analogie et de l'iconographie.

À mi-chemin des fleurs de la rhétorique, la langue du narrateur s'approche alors de la *dariġa*, langue vernaculaire. Mais, l'auteur n'a, pour configurer cette modernité technique imposante qu'elle ne lui a auparavant jamais effleuré l'esprit, qu'une série de vocables creux et de figures de style banalisées par le langage commun. L'ensemble de formules et comparaisons habituelles qu'il met en œuvre, rappelle en fait l'univers préindustriel et précapitaliste d'où il vient et auquel il s'accroche inconditionnellement:

Les ouvriers versèrent en notre présence dans ces moules cette matière fondue, comme l'eau qui coulait dans des canalisations (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 143).

Auprès d'un lectorat marocain arabisé, son dessein s'avère modeste, en vérité: rendre ce *monde industriel insoupçonné* à peu près imaginable et concevable. D'où, le recours incessant de l'écrivain-voyageur, qui n'avait aucune formation en dessin industriel, aux figures géométriques, lignes et croquis. Afin de visualiser des machines et outils si compliqués, il crayonne volontairement tout ce qu'il pouvait montrer plus tard à ses compatriotes curieux. La représentation iconique devient, pour lui, un moyen inéluctable pour partager le *visible inimaginable*.

Sûr, par sa propre pratique, qu'il n'était pas facile à ses concitoyens d'imaginer ces engins mécaniques par le mot archaïque et la formule stéréotypée, ces illustrations ont d'abord un rôle pédagogique. En l'absence de ces machines, ces dessins lui serviraient à quelque chose de concret dans la présentation et l'explication: capter, sinon l'énergie du moteur à vapeur ou la magie de l'engin à base de gaz, au moins leur forme extérieure monstrueuse et énumérer leurs parties reconnaissables et descriptibles: plaques de fer, roues, norias, bâtons, moules, etc. (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 143).

8. Contrepartie: Les merveilleux étalons du sultan

8.1. Repères et convictions

Ceci dit, si les réalisations impressionnantes de la modernité technique bousculent le savoir-faire hérité du voyageur, ses habitudes alimentaires et pratiques rituelles ne changent point. Ġu'aydī préfère l'observation directe à la spéculation, le couscous rustique aux mets étrangers délicats, la prière au divertissement frivole, etc. La civilisation matérialiste de l'Occident dominateur sème le doute dans ses compétences et aptitudes, mais n'a pas de prise sur ses certitudes.

Nous en avons, dans la relation, au moins deux exemples. Le premier concerne son attachement au monde des saints, le second l'affection qu'il porte aux purs sangs d'Hassan I^{er}.

8.1.1. L'univers apaisant des saints

Croyant fervent dans les *karamāt* (miracles) des marabouts locaux, Ġu'aydī rend visite, avant l'embarquement au port de Tanger, au célèbre sanctuaire d'Abû Silhām, situé sur leur parcours côtier qui mène à la ville de Larache (2020: 55). Comme la plupart de ses coreligionnaires, il consulte également l'astrologie et inspecte ses bons présages:

Il parût que l'ambassadeur [Zibdī] était rentré à la ville de Tanger au moment de la séparation de la lune du soleil, astre duquel il puise sa lumière. Ce qui fut un signe de bon augure, selon les maîtres de cet art significatif, prédisant des signes qui présagent le bonheur dans cette entreprise (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 57-58).

Harmonieuse, sa vision du monde est à l'instar de sa société organique (communauté traditionnelle). Les inventions spectaculaires de la révolution industrielle (locomotive de train, moteur à explosion à essence, générateur électrique, photographie, téléphone, etc.) peuvent mettre à nu la candeur de son ardeur mystique. Elles sont impuissantes devant ses convictions spirituelles, qui résistent à la tourmente émotionnelle de l'ailleurs et ses tentations.

À son retour au pays chéri, l'auteur tient à les mettre en avant, surtout au moment glorifiant où il achève en beauté la narration compliquée de son périple:

La conclusion – que Dieu nous réserve une bonne fin-; elle exprima notre opinion vis-à-vis de ces sujets, et émit notre réserve à l'égard de ce que rapportaient nos voyageurs sur les pays européens, ne cessant de faire l'éloge de leur mode de vie et de célébrer leurs lois et de les vanter. À Dieu ne plaise cette opinion (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 53).

Ses préférences culturelles et esthétiques, aussi. Durant toute la durée de son trajet maritime en frégate entre Tanger et Marseille, puis son voyage terrestre entre Marseille et Paris en coche et en train, Ġu'aydī n'a cessé de penser au sort des étalons admirables d'Hassan I^{er}. Son récit suit de si près leur transfert prudent en pays étranger.

8.1.2. L'univers tumultueux des chevaux

D'une étape à l'autre, le narrateur étale son penchant vers ces chevaux de race. Il ne pouvait s'empêcher de se soucier de leur état, de méditer sur leur devenir, regrettant ainsi leur éloignement du milieu originel:

La nuit du mercredi, l'ambassadeur a convoqué le chef des mokhzanis (= soldats) et l'informa de prévenir ses subordonnés afin qu'ils se réveillent avant l'aube et enlèvent les fers à sabots des chevaux composant le présent officiel, de les entraîner prudemment deux par deux vers le port en vue de les embarquer [...] à bord de la frégate (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 61).

Venant des fameuses écuries impériales, ces purs sangs, destinés au président de la République française, impressionnaient le faqīh. Tant par leur splendide anatomie physique que par leur grande sensibilité, ils éveillaient en lui des défiances nostalgiques. D'une certaine manière, ces créatures superbes lui renvoyaient l'image touchante de ses états d'âme devant l'horizon inconnu de sa destination lointaine:

Que le sage observe comment le Vivant, le Créateur, le Bienfaiteur a mis au service des chevaux qui avaient quitté leur terre familière pour prendre cette mer effrayante, reprend-il ému au bord du navire militaire français, ceux qui s'en occupaient bien en mettant à leur disposition de l'eau, du fourrage, du foin et du grain, au-delà des soins prodigués (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 65).

Tout au long du déplacement en mer et en terre, Ġu'aydī sera, avec l'ambassadeur, soucieux aussi bien à l'encontre de leur sécurité et bien-être qu'à leurs réactions aux mouvements et sonorités qui suscitent leurs graves inquiétudes. Le récit des péripéties du trajet gardera, comme un traumatisme, les traces de cette passion envers les merveilleux étalons du sultan:

Mais certains chevaux... installés à bord de la frégate, furent effrayés suite à un bruit fort, tellement strident qu'ils se trouvaient fort agités et affolés, aussi avaient-ils failli détruire la cage qui les protégeait. Or si les canons avaient tiré leurs salves d'honneur, les chevaux auraient été sans doute plus effarouchés... (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 64).

Conviés par le chef de l'état français à assister à une course de chevaux à l'hippodrome de Chantilly, Ġu'aydī et ses compagnons prennent plaisir à découvrir d'en haut le spectacle grandiose qu'offre cet écrin incomparable en bordure de la forêt, au nord de Paris. Là, le faqīh devait forcément, par la suite, se rappeler les purs sangs chérifiens. En poursuivant de son regard la chevauchée infernale des cavaliers intrépides, l'ambiance hippique qui vibre parmi les spectateurs ne peut que tristement relancer ses méditations lancinantes sur le destin improbable de ces animaux d'exception:

Le principe de ce jeu selon les règles était le départ en même temps de nombreux cavaliers qui faisaient la course jusqu'à l'arrivée à un lieu qui se trouvait en face de la loge de leur chef d'Etat... Le cavalier qui arrivait le premier était gratifié de six mille rials de l'Etat français. Apparemment, ce montant provenait des recettes des places payées par ceux qui s'installaient du côté du Grand de leur pays. Il y eut trois courses durant notre présence. On entendit un vacarme assourdissant venant du public quand l'un des concurrents franchit le poteau d'arrivée... (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 90).

Certes, notre voyageur est moins renseigné, par le drogman, sur l'argent des parieurs et leurs agiotages. Il devine néanmoins le but lucratif de ce sport agité. Au-delà du rôle équestre qu'on attribue au cheval volontiers dans ce décor tumultueux, le sens éthique manque à cette distraction ahurissante de la bourgeoisie capitaliste.

Entre les vastes champs et prairies vierges du Maroc impérial et l'étroit hippodrome qui sert de divertissement aux élites et aux masses, nul doute que Ğu'aydĪ, préfère au fond de lui-même, comme destin héroïque, pour ces admirables créatures du règne animal, les premiers au second. Revenu de ses émotions, il se rassure à l'idée que son pays berbère, le *gharb* (l'Occident musulman), a donc le mérite de garder encore vivantes les traditions chevaleresques des anciens Arabes. D'autant plus que ces coutumes ancestrales sont mises à l'honneur dans le cortège des sultans aussi bien que dans les joutes tribales de chaque région de l'empire chérifien.

En cela au moins, Ğu'aydĪ est en quelque sorte un précurseur. Dans la ligne de défense de cette sensibilité romantique vis-à-vis des harmonies du monde antique, paysages et arbres, saints et chevaux, il n'est pas seul. Ni un auteur à part.

Après lui, d'autres voyageurs français, non des moindres d'ailleurs, exprimeront ouvertement cette empathie envers les charmes de la nature-mère et la beauté de ces créatures du paradis. Tels que Pierre Loti (m. 1923) et André Chevillon (m. 1957) qui visiteront l'ancien Maroc et éterniseront ses tableaux avec une grâce de style inégalée. L'un à la fin du XIX^e siècle et l'autre au début du XX^e siècle. Plus que tout, ces grands écrivains panthéistes, à cheval entre le XIX^e s. et le XX^e s., admirèrent, pendant le printemps africain, ses paysages verts aux tapis de fleurs et chevaux d'élite en totale liberté dans les pâturages naturels (Tajditi, 1999: 75-100).

9. Présence double et défi scripturaire

9.1. Ecrire pour s'affirmer

Quoique modeste et discret ne voulant point faire de l'ombre à son bienfaiteur ambassadeur, l'auteur s'impose par le talent du narrateur. L'acte d'écriture (*taqyid*) n'est d'autre que ce pouvoir illimité de la fiction qui réinvente la réalité du voyage *sur le papier*. En cela, l'attitude de Ğu'aydĪ diffère beaucoup de celle de certains voyageurs marocains de l'ère moderne tel que Muhammad as-Saffār (m. 1881) ou Ahmad al-KardūdĪ (m. 1900). Ces deux derniers écrivains occultent sciemment, dans leur relation d'ambassade en France et en Espagne respectivement au XIX^e siècle, la personne et l'action de leur chef.

9.1.1. Une présence énonciative

En mettant en relief la personne modeste de Ğu'aydĪ, le parcours narratif du périple inverse inéluctablement les rôles des principaux protagonistes. En le plaçant en première ligne des faits racontés et scènes évaluées, le récit impose un nouvel ordre, celui de l'énonciateur. La *présence active* de ce dernier met *en absence* la figure de l'ambassadeur, ZibdĪ, qui n'apparaît pour ainsi dire dans le *piège du récit* que momentanément et au bon vouloir de son discours (Marin, 1978: 75).

Ğu'aydĪ a beau protester qu'il n'est pas du tout apte à cet exercice ingénieux, notre voyageur se met à écrire pendant son séjour à Tanger, avant son départ. Il n'amorce, toutefois, la rédaction complète des six parties de sa relation que plusieurs semaines – voire des mois – après son retour au Maroc (Ğu'aydĪ, 2020: 53).

L'auteur dit avoir été poussé à contrecœur par des amis ou lettrés – tel son complice l'historien NassirĪ – à se frotter à ce genre littéraire hybride, il n'en demeure pas moins vrai qu'il accepte finalement le défi. Pour un *'alem*, habitué à manier les chiffres plus que les mots et les vers, composer un mémorandum de voyage relève d'un *challenge*:

En fait, je pensais que je n'étais pas en mesure de réaliser cette œuvre, à cause de mon incompetence en la matière. La même suggestion me fut faite quand nous étions arrivés à Tanger, par l'amīn (l'intendant) le tālib Abdelkader Ghannām. Ceci me rappela la promesse faite mais aussitôt oubliée. Mon ami an-Nāssirī ne tarda pas à m'écrire pour me rappeler que ma promesse était devenue un engagement. Je me suis aperçu alors qu'au lieu de tergiverser et de chercher des excuses, il serait indispensable de tenir ma promesse en notant, dans la mesure du possible, les choses vues (Ġu'aydī, 2020: 52-53).

Au cœur de la scène énonciative et narrative, le *je* dont se sert le narrateur omniprésent est l'optique qui rend compte des êtres et choses vues *ici*. En tant que voix personnelle, il défend ainsi la *visibilité culturelle* d'une communauté humaine minoritaire (les membres maures de l'ambassade). Ainsi, l'énonciateur configure tant bien que mal les enchantements du monde étranger *maintenant*.

9.1.2. Un filtre culturel

Plus que l'initiateur heureux d'une relation officielle qui s'accroche à peu près au *réel vécu* par le mot flottant, le chiffre exact, l'illustration iconographique approximative ou le détail significatif, son auteur modéré se pose, dans son énonciation propre, comme un filtre.

Mieux, il se présente comme un *écran culturel*, plus adapté aux besoins du regardant (le moi collectif) qu'aux attentes du regardé (l'autre voilé). Par lui, et à travers son unique *expérience narrative*, toute l'altérité sensible d'un univers charmeur monte en scène. Saisie en vrac par les membres de l'ambassade marocaine, cette différence inquiétante n'advient finalement à la représentation exotique que par les choix opérés par le narrateur.

L'incertitude devient donc, pour l'écrivain-voyageur, le prix à payer pour accéder à cette forme littéraire fragile (récit de voyage) qui vise la réalité partielle du monde étranger ou plutôt son paraître visible et trompeur. Dès lors, dans les méandres de ce récit, comme l'affirme le sémioticien, «l'imperfection apparaît un tremplin qui nous projette de l'insignifiance vers le sens» (Greimas, 1987: 99).

Conclusion: Intérêt de la relation d'al-Ġu'aydī

La relation d'ambassade de Ġu'aydī se démarque assez de celle de ses prédécesseurs marocains du milieu et du dernier quart du XIX^e s.: Muhammad as-Saffār, Idriss al-'Amrāouī, Ben-Said as-Salouī, Ahmad al-Kardūdī, etc.

Au niveau de la forme, de prime abord. Le récit de ce diplomate ne cède pas à la phraséologie archaïque. Son lexique diplomatique est, en effet, mieux inspiré. Assimilant la philosophie pragmatique du nouveau sultan, l'auteur traite, on l'a vu, les chefs d'état et leurs délégués européens («*rūm-s*») comme des partenaires.

Si le marocain de confession israélite paraît comme déjà détaché du tissu social marocain par les privilèges de la "protection" et le sentiment d'infériorité ressenti, le musulman a désormais beaucoup à apprendre des nations modernes: ouverture et tolérance, éducation et civisme, initiative et créativité, liberté et responsabilité. Que ce soit en matière d'ordre et d'organisation ou d'armement et de formation militaires, leurs sciences pratiques et inventions mécaniques sont précieuses au même titre que leur culture générale et leur savoir-faire.

De même, le style et la langue simples choisis, bien que trop proches parfois des imperfections de la *dariġa*, sont plus adaptés à la représentation colorée d'un monde nouveau et fracassant. Sensiblement différent de celui de la Renaissance ou des Lumières, ce dernier univers est devenu impérialiste autant par sa puissance financière que sa force mécanique phénoménale.

Au niveau du contenu, essentiellement. La relation de Ġu'aydī apporte du nouveau et promet des changements d'optique, de sensibilité et de valeur.

Ce récit pittoresque devance la littérature de voyage précédente, ne serait-ce que par le nombre de pays, de villes et de villages européens visités. Observé dans un élan d'exaltation, cet univers européen est brossé à envie par une âme sensible à la beauté féminine et au charme des paysages.

Quant à l'intérêt historique de cette narration, en plus de son indéniable caractère de témoignage vécu déjà relevé, il est certain. Du point de vue de l'évolution de la littérature marocaine, ce texte narratif interpelle notre attention. Au Maroc impérial, il représente à coup sûr un *premier éveil* de la prose arabe, au contact de la modernité technique de l'Europe industrialisée à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

Références bibliographiques

- Ayache, Germain (1958/1983), Aspects de la crise financière au Maroc après l'expédition espagnole de 1860 (1958). *Études d'Histoire marocaine*. Rabat: SMER, pp. 97-138.
- Bourgeois, Paul (1959), *L'univers de l'écolier marocain*. Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Sociales, Fascicule n.º 1.
- Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez (1943 [1542]), *Naufragios*. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas.
- Cailié, Jacques (1960), Ambassades et missions marocaines en France. *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 1-1, pp. 39-83.
- Cruikshank, Earl Fee (1935), *Morocco at the Parting of Ways. The story of native protection to 1885*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Reprint 2016 ed., Anniversary Collection (1890-2015).
- De Boer, M.-G. (1924), Guillaume 1^{er} et les débuts de l'industrie métallurgique en Belgique. *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 3-3, pp. 527-552.
- Delrue, Élisabeth (2012), *Voyages ou séjours d'écrivains espagnols en Europe 1890-1910. Modalités hispaniques du récit de voyage*. Paris: L'Harmattan, Préface de Jean-Claude Rabaté.
- Didier, Charles (1844), *Promenade au Maroc*. Paris: Jules Labitte Libraire-Editeur.
- Dunn, Ross E. (1986), *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta. A muslim Traveler of 14th Century*. Londre-Sydney: Croom Helm (three ed.: 2012).
- Foucault, Michel (1966), *Les mots et les choses*. Paris: Gallimard. Coll. Bibliothèque des Sciences humaines.
- Fišerová, Michaela (2013), *Partager le visible. Repenser Foucault*. Paris: L'Harmattan, Préface d'Etienne Tassin.
- García Figueras, Tomás (1939), *Marruecos. La acción de España en el norte de África*. Barcelona: Ediciones Fe.
- Greimas, Algirdas-Julien (1987), *De l'imperfection*. Périgueux: Pierre Fanlac.
- Gu'aydī, Al- d'Irīss al-Ġu'aydī as-Salaouī (2004), *Ithāf al-'Akhār bi-gharā'ib al-Akhbār (Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens)*. Abou Dhabi: Dar as-Soufīdī, éd. arabe critique de Izz al-Maghrib Maaninou.
- Host, Georg (1998), *Histoire de l'Empereur du Maroc Mohamed Ben Abdallah*. Rabat: Editions La Porte (1^{re} éd.: Copenhague, 1791). Traduction F. Damgaard et P. Gailhanou. Préface Jean-Louis Miège.
- Joly, Alexandre (1906, 1907, 1909), L'industrie à Tétouan. *Archives Marocaines*, Vols. 8, 11, 15.
- Kebbaj, Abd El Khalek (1963), *L'économie céréalière au Maroc. Etude statistique*. Tanger: Editions Marocaines et Internationales.
- Laroui, Abdallah (1977), *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain*. Paris: François Maspero. Coll. Textes à l'appui.
- Louca, Anouar (2006), *L'Autre Égypte de Bonaparte à Taha Hussein*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

- Mackintosh-Smith, Tim (2001), *Tavels with a Tangerine. A Journey in the Footnotes of Ibn Battutah*. London: John Murray.
- Manīni, Al- Mohamed (1973), *Aspects du réveil du Maroc moderne* (en arabe). Rabat: Autoédition.
- Marin, Louis (1978), *Le récit est un piège*. Paris: Editions du Minuit.
- Martinière, Henri de La (1919), *Souvenirs du Maroc*. Paris: Plon, Préface de Jules Cambon.
- Michaux-Bellaire, Edouard (1921), *Tanger et sa zone*. Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, Coll. Villes et tribus du Maroc, Vol. VII. Rééd. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Rabat (2013), Présentation Mohammed Saād Zemmouri.
- Montbard, Georges (1886), *À travers le Maroc. Notes et croquis d'un artiste*. Paris: Librairie illustrée J. Taillandier.
- Morsy, Magali (1984), *North Africa 1800-1900. A survey from the Nile Valley to the Atlantic*. New York: Longman Group.
- Nāssīri, Al-Ahmad (s. d.), *Histoire exhaustive du Maroc* (en arabe). Casablanca: Dar al-Kitāb, Vol. IX.
- Ouellet, Pierre (2000), *Poétique du regard. Littérature, perception, identité*. Limoges: PULIM – Sepentrion.
- Pascon, Paul (1986), Pour un développement des études de technologie quantitative (1984). *Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc* (30 ans de sociologie du Maroc), pp. 155-156.
- Sbiti, Samira (2014-2015), *La découverte de l'Europe à la fin du XIX^e s. À partir de la relation d'ambassade d'Idriss al-Ġu'aydi as-Salaoui*. Université de Tétouan, Thèse de Doctorat sous la dir. de Nizar Tajditi, Vol I: Présentation et étude critique, 175 p., Vol II: Essai de traduction française intégrale, 331 p.
- (2020), *Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens, Rihla d'Idriss al-Ġu'aydi as-Salaoui en France, en Belgique, en Angleterre et en Italie, 1876*, Vol I: Visite de la France et de la Belgique. Traduit et présenté par S. Sbiti, Préface de Nizar Tajditi, pp. 7-23. Tétouan: Bab al-Hikmat, 209 p.
- Tajditi, Nizar (2013), *L'enchantement mauresque. Anthologie des voyageurs français au Maroc*. Tétouan: Al-Choubbak, 3^{ème} éd.
- (1999), *De la mise en image. Le Maroc d'André Chevrillon (Champs de remords et jardins de retour)*. Tétouan: Autoédition, Préface de Boussif Ouasti.
- Yerasimos, Stéphane (1998), Trois turcs à Paris ou l'archéologie de la modernité. *Deux ottomans à Paris sous le Directoire et l'Empire. Relations d'ambassade*. Traduit de l'ottoman, présenté et annoté par S. Yerasimos. Arles: Sindbad/Actes Sud.
- Ziyyāni, Abou I-Qāssim (1991²), *La grande histoire du monde* (en arabe). Rabat: Dar našr al-Maarifa, éd. critique de Abdelkrim al-Filālī (1^{re} éd. 1967).
- (1992), *Le jardin exquis* (en arabe). Rissāni: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Alaouites, éd. critique de Rachid az-Zaouiya.

L'itinéraire d'un orientaliste au Portugal et ses réseaux européens. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, militaire et éthiopisant¹

Hervé Pennec*

pp. 123-143

Dès le XVI^e siècle, la constitution de savoirs spécialisés sur les mondes orientaux fut au cœur des préoccupations de l'Europe. Son expansion coloniale en direction de l'Amérique et commerciale et religieuse jusqu'à l'Extrême Orient formalisa de nouveau les savoirs acquis. Dès lors se mirent en place au sein des institutions (bibliothèques, musées, sociétés savantes, écoles) les capacités d'accueillir des manuscrits, des choses, des images, des récits. Ils furent les objets d'études d'un cercle de savants et de spécialistes de langues et de littératures orientales que le mot d'orientalistes désigna. Cet orientalisme académique fut à son apogée durant tout le XIX^e siècle et la première partie du siècle suivant (Valensi, 2012: IX-XIII). L'orientalisme qui nous préoccupe ici correspond à la définition large qu'en donnait François Pouillon: «Il incluait tous ceux qui, au cours des siècles, et quelles que fussent leurs motivations, s'étaient attachés à étudier, décrire, illustrer, faire connaître la mosaïque des formations historiques, des langues et des cultures découvertes, pour les uns, dans le silence des bibliothèques, pour les autres, à l'issue de voyages et d'investigations archéologiques hors de l'espace des civilisations classiques» (Pouillon, 2012: XVII).

La quête des manuscrits éthiopiens écrits en guèze – la langue classique éthiopienne – au cours des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles renvoie à cet orientalisme. Les Européens qui séjournèrent en Éthiopie à cette période revinrent chargés de manuscrits, peintures et objets qui furent déposés dans les différentes institutions européennes. Ils y furent classés, répertoriés, catalogués (Dillmann, 1848, Abbadie, 1859, Zotenberg, 1877, Wright, 1877, Goldschmidt, 1897, Bosc-Tiessé *et al.*, 2008) et devinrent des sujets d'études philologiques, littéraires et culturels. Certaines sources manuscrites, quant à elles furent traduites à un rythme soutenu tout au long du XIX^e siècle, dans les langues européennes par une poignée d'érudits du monde académique dans le cadre d'un vaste mouvement de circulation des matériaux, des méthodes, des savoirs entre pays européens. Les disciplines orientalistes, et en particulier les études éthiopiennes, se développèrent dans différents espaces à travers l'Europe, en France, en Allemagne, en Grande-Bretagne, en Russie, en Italie, au Portugal. Ce phénomène demanderait une étude générale, comme l'appelaient de leurs vœux Pascale Rabault-Ferhahn

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39a9>

* Institut des mondes africains (CNRS/IRD/EHESS/Paris 1/EPHE/AMU).

¹ Une version différente de ce texte est parue dans les *Annales d'Éthiopie*, 34, 2022.

et Céline Trautmann-Waller en introduction à un dossier sur les liens entre les orientalistes de France et d'Allemagne. Il leur semblait fondamental d'étudier davantage la manière dont l'orientalisme savant s'était articulé avec des réseaux au niveau de l'Europe (Rabault-Feuerhahn *et al.*, 2008: 5-8).

L'article proposé ici souhaite modestement participer à cette perspective de recherche en regardant de nouveau l'itinéraire d'un orientaliste portugais, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (1854-1924), à travers ses œuvres et ses interactions avec certains de ses contemporains européens. S'intéresser à sa production textuelle conduit à regarder plus précisément les actions et les réalisations qu'il engagea plutôt qu'au profil de l'homme. Dans la suite de Renata Ago, il s'impose de passer «des acteurs aux actions et *vice et versa*» (2006: 239-250); et de considérer «les savoirs du point de vue des opérations et des acteurs qui les construisent plus qu'à travers les contenus auxquels ils aboutissent et auxquels on les identifie le plus souvent» (Jacob, 2011: 15, Jacob, 2014)². C'est en insistant sur la dimension pratique de son œuvre, en mettant en perspective sa production scientifique et le contexte d'élaboration de ses travaux que les relations avec les autres savants peuvent émerger. Les matériaux sur lesquels il travailla en les traduisant et en les annotant sont à considérer dans leur intégralité. Communément, ce sont les sources qui intéressent les historiens et qui constituent la matière première leur permettant de livrer une analyse. Ce qui importe ici sont les atouts de cet ensemble de sources car leur observation met en lumière les processus impliqués dans leur construction et leur élaboration. En considérant la documentation non pas comme un stock d'informations à collecter et à traiter, mais plutôt comme le moyen d'engager une réflexion sur la genèse des documents eux-mêmes, cela invite à porter une attention particulière aux revendications et remet au premier plan la capacité d'agir de l'«observé» (Raggio & Torre, 2004: 5-37, Torre, 2007: 101-107, Torre, 2019, Cerutti, 2008: 147-168, Grangaud, 2008: 563-573, Cerutti & Grangaud, 2013: 91-102).

Les différentes notices biographiques consacrées à Esteves Pereira dans les encyclopédies (Lopes, 1940-1: 121-33, Boavida, 2005a: 389), soulignent ses qualités d'érudit, de spécialiste du guéze appris de manière autodidacte; de ses différentes affiliations à des sociétés savantes, au Portugal³ mais également en Europe, en France en particulier⁴, mais elles se préoccupent assez peu de la manière dont il créa des liens avec d'autres érudits européens. Les travaux de Esteves Pereira édités avec tout le sérieux scientifique, celui du XIXe siècle, ont été et sont encore des œuvres de références. Elles sont venues enrichir un «corpus» avec lequel l'ensemble des savants postérieurs a toujours dû compter (Bausi, 2010: 142-4). Se constituait ainsi un champ spécifique du savoir sur l'Éthiopie chrétienne. Il ne s'agira pas de revenir sur la qualité de ces travaux ce que d'autres, comme Manfred Kropp, par exemple, ont pu faire d'un point de vue philologique près de cent ans après la première édition des chroniques éthiopiennes grâce aux apports de la critique textuelle et philologique (Kropp, 1983-84, 1988), mais plutôt d'avoir à son égard une «attitude d'empirisme critique» (Raggio *et al.*, 2004, Torre, 2019).

Il s'agira dans un premier temps de suivre au plus près l'itinéraire de Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, à travers les archives militaires. Elles donnent à voir l'articulation entre ses activités

² Parmi les travaux les plus récents qui ont contribué au renouvellement de l'histoire des savoirs, Jacob (2007, 2011); Pestre (dir.) (2015), Van Damme (dir.) (2015), Raj, Sibum (dir.) (2015), Bonneuil, Pestre, (dir.), 2015; sur la question des savoirs coloniaux pour la France, voir Sibaud, 2002; des savoirs co-construits, voir Raj, 2007, et des savoirs missionnaires, voir Romano (2016).

³ Admission à la Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa en 1886 (Actas das sessões da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Sessão em 15 de Novembro de 1886. «Extracto das propostas para admissão de socios», «ordinarios, o sr. Francisco M. Esteves Pereira, proposto pelos srs. G de Vasconcellos Abreu, D. Maria Luiza Duarte, e J. P. Diogo Patrone Junior», *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1892, p. 108; Admission à l'Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa en 1908, dossier: Esteves Pereira, Classe de letras, Académico correspondente, eleito em 14-05-1908. Falecido em 1924.

⁴ Admission au *Journal Asiatique* lors de la session du 13 janvier 1888 (11), 1888, p. 281.

professionnelles et scientifiques et permettent d'observer ce qu'il était en train «de faire» au moment où il le faisait; de s'intéresser aux actions davantage qu'à l'acteur. Dans un deuxième temps sont examinées les relations qu'il développa avec d'autres savants et érudits européens afin de comprendre comment il parvint à s'imposer comme spécialiste de l'éthiopien ancien et moderne. Enfin, dans un dernier temps, cette étude met en lumière ce qui fut au centre des préoccupations d'études de Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira pour la période de 1886 à 1900: les relations entre le Portugal, les jésuites et l'Éthiopie aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. À travers l'analyse des textes qui s'y rapportent, nous verrons comment il revendique clairement cette posture intellectuelle.

1. Esteves Pereira: militaire et orientaliste

1.1. Le fonds d'archives: un dossier personnel à l'Arquivo Histórico Militar

Deux dossiers sur Esteves Pereira, l'un à l'Arquivo Histórico Militar⁵ et l'autre à l'Academia das Ciências⁶, permettent de reconstituer sa carrière de militaire, mais également celle de philologue orientaliste. Outre son état civil, ces archives donnent à voir l'ensemble de son parcours de soldat, depuis son incorporation jusqu'à son décès. Esteves Pereira est né le 9 août 1854, dans le nord du Portugal, à Miranda do Douro (District de Bragança) fils de D. Ambelina Maria de Jesus Rebelo et de Paulo José Esteves Pereira. Il est incorporé à l'armée comme volontaire le 4 août 1875 et rejoint le 3^e bataillon des *caçadores*. Il suit sa formation militaire d'ingénieur à l'*Escola Politécnica* de 1875 à 1882. Il est nommé capitaine de 1^{ère} classe en 1903, sous-inspecteur des fortifications de Lisbonne en 1910 et exerce sa carrière de militaire jusqu'au 27 juin 1914 comme inspecteur général des fortifications et œuvres militaires. Enfin, ayant atteint la limite d'âge, il poursuit ses activités comme réserviste à partir du 31 août 1916. De cet itinéraire militaire retracé à grands traits, il ressort qu'il ne connut aucune expérience dans les colonies portugaises. Ce fut donc exclusivement à Lisbonne qu'il exerça son métier de militaire ainsi que sa carrière d'orientaliste.

1.2. Un dossier au-delà de la carrière militaire: vie personnelle et académique

Son dossier militaire outre le fait de rassembler des notes de ses supérieurs, des évaluations le concernant et le suivi tout au long de sa carrière, renferme également deux coupures de journaux collées sur une feuille volante insérées *post-mortem*. Chacune comporte un portrait photographique différent pour chaque article sur Esteves Pereira, habillé en tenue militaire. Aucun de ces entrefilets ne porte de signature. Le premier, issu d'un journal non identifié, mais dont la date est du lendemain de son décès, soit le 10 décembre 1924. Le second, du 9 décembre 1932, du journal *O Seculo*⁷ faisant la publicité d'une exposition autour de son œuvre littéraire à l'occasion du neuvième anniversaire de sa mort.

La première coupure contient les informations suivantes:

«Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira.

Mourut hier [soit le 9 décembre 1924], à l'âge de 70 ans, monsieur Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, colonel d'ingénierie, membre effectif et trésorier de l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne. Il fut un officiel très savant et zélé. Il exerça de nombreuses activités: fut [...] membre de différentes commissions et de l'assistance des militaires

⁵ AHM, Cd, 1542, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira. Il ne me semble pas pertinent de donner dans le détail l'ensemble des documents du dossier, ce qui n'apporte que peu de choses à la reconstitution de sa carrière.

⁶ ACL, dossier: Esteves Pereira, Classe de letras, Académico correspondente, eleito em 14-05-1908.

⁷ La mention du journal a été ajoutée à la main sur la coupure.

tuberculeux, directeur de nombreuses œuvres militaires dans le pays, etc. Il fut un passionné des lettres et d'histoire, laissant surtout un nom vénérable dans les études orientalistes, étant dans ce domaine plus connu à l'étranger que dans son propre pays. Il se dédia surtout à l'étude de la langue et de la littérature de l'Abyssinie, sur lesquels il publia de nombreux textes de valeur, les uns imprimés dans la presse nationale, les autres à l'étranger. L'une d'elles la plus remarquable «La Chronique de Susenyos» lui valut une renommée européenne. Il collabora au «Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientaliū» et à la «Patrologia orientalis» au côté des meilleurs noms de l'orientalisme. Dans les dernières années il se consacra avec monsieur Dalgado, à l'étude du sanscrit et dans ce domaine nous légua aussi un travail de valeur. Il fit ainsi honneur au nom portugais dans les grands centres d'Europe. Il reçut la croix d'Aviz et de Santiago, la médaille militaire et de l'ordre du Lion, de l'Éthiopie, des mains de l'empereur Ménélik II qui voulut le récompenser de ses travaux sur ce pays. Il légua les livres de ses spécialités à l'Academia das Ciencias [de Lisbonne]. Il laisse veuve madame D. Madalena Martins de Carvalho Esteves Pereira»⁸.

Cette notice nécrologique écrite aussitôt après sa mort offrait un condensé biographique de la vie de Esteves Pereira et donnait à voir le personnage dans les multiples facettes de sa vie professionnelle et personnelle. La dernière phrase de l'article de journal mentionnant qu'il «laissait veuve une certaine D. Madalena Martins de Carvalho Esteves Pereira» mérite que l'on s'y arrête quelques instants, d'autant que les notices savantes postérieures n'ont pas retenu l'intérêt des auteurs sur cet épisode personnel de Esteves Pereira. Or il importe ici d'en donner les principaux éléments.

La consultation de son dossier militaire offre l'opportunité de reconstituer les principales étapes de cette union matrimoniale qui eut lieu au crépuscule de sa vie. L'ensemble de son dossier jusqu'au mois de juin 1924 porte la mention: «célibataire». Mais ce même carton comprend une lettre de Esteves Pereira adressée au ministre de la guerre, du 2 juin 1924, qui demandait: «Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, célibataire, colonel d'ingénierie, réserviste, résidant dans cette ville [Lisbonne], au n.º 4 rue de Damas, 3^{ème} étage, désirant se marier avec D. Magdalena Martins de Carvalho, célibataire, de 52 ans, native de Regerogios, fille de Nuno Maria de Carvalho, et de D. Maria Ignacia Martins Ramalho, résidant dans cette ville [Lisbonne], au n.º 4 rue de Damas, 3^{ème} étage, vient solliciter une autorisation nécessaire». Un autre feuillet, cette fois-ci du président de la «Junta de freguezia de Sao Tiago do 1.º Bairro da cidade de Lisboa», attestant au registre civil Magdalena Martins de Carvalho, de 52 ans, célibataire, domestique de profession et résidant au n.º 4 rue de Damas, 3^{ème} étage, depuis plus d'une année⁹.

La réponse positive du ministère de la guerre parvenait le 9 juillet 1924¹⁰. Ainsi environ six mois avant sa mort, Esteves Pereira épousait D. Magdalena Martins de Carvalho, sa domestique résidant depuis au moins une année au 4 rue de Damas, à Lisbonne. Sans héritier, Esteves Pereira faisait de D. Magdalena Martins de Carvalho Esteves Pereira son héritière, ne la laissant pas sans protection. Quand en 1940, David Lopes (1867-1942) publiait son article «Um orientalista português. Esteves Pereira», il citait une lettre du Comte de Sabugosa adressée à Pereira (du 28 mai 1918) qui était en possession de sa veuve (Lopes, 1940-1: 124). La correspondance privée de Esteves Pereira se trouvait donc, à cette date, entre les mains de la Senhora D. Madalena Esteves Pereira, probablement encore au 4 rue de Damas, à Lisbonne. Lopes dans ce même article indiquait avoir bénéficié du concours pour l'établissement d'une

⁸ AHM, Cd, 1542, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, article de journal non identifié et sans auteur. Je formule l'hypothèse, compte tenu des informations précises qui figurent dans cette notice nécrologique que l'auteur est peut-être David Lopes, son collègue de l'Académie des sciences de Lisbonne.

⁹ AHM, Cd, 1542, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, N.º 21, Res. 512.

¹⁰ AHM, Cd, 1542, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, Doc 237 ou 337, N.º 3153.

bibliographie de l'auteur du neveu de Esteves Pereira, le Sr. Major Esteves Pereira (Lopes, 1940-1: 127).

Ce que nous apprend également cette notice nécrologique c'est le legs de sa bibliothèque avant sa mort à l'Académie des sciences de Lisbonne, encore consultable en partie à la bibliothèque de cette institution dont il fut un membre actif. En plus des ouvrages légués réunis sous le fonds «Esteves Pereira», l'Académie des sciences possède un dossier sur le personnage comme membre de cette institution. C'est ce dossier qui donne l'occasion de faire aussi le lien avec Lopes et de reconstituer le parcours de Esteves Pereira au sein de l'Académie des sciences dont voici les principaux moments. Il fut sociétaire correspondant de seconde classe le 14 mai 1908; puis sociétaire effectif de seconde classe le 11 avril 1918; et enfin membre du conseil d'administration de la seconde classe le 28 novembre 1918. Son entrée à l'Académie des sciences de Lisbonne est l'aboutissement d'une longue carrière et c'est précisément en raison de ses travaux qu'il put devenir «sociétaire effectif» comme le précisait le rapport réalisé par Lopes, le 14 mars 1918, dans ces termes:

«Voici de manière générale quel a été le travail littéraire du monsieur Esteves Pereira: ce sont trente années de travail dans cette branche du savoir dans laquelle il a contribué puissamment pour le progrès des études orientales au Portugal et honore ainsi le nom portugais dans les centres les plus cultivés d'Europe. Pour cela, l'Académie se doit de récompenser un tel effort et le nommer sociétaire effectif en lieu et place laissée par la disparition de Jaime Moniz. Je le propose ainsi à votre section d'histoire»¹¹.

L'autre élément qui permet de suivre les derniers témoins qui eurent accès à cette correspondance privée de Esteves Pereira se trouve dans ce dossier: une lettre du 3 juin 1965, de Lisbonne de son neveu, Monsieur le brigadier José do Amaral Esteves Pereira adressée au président de l'Académie des sciences de Lisbonne, H. Amorim Ferreira, résumée ici: Il a décidé d'offrir à l'Académie quelques souvenirs de son oncle, comme par exemple, son portrait photographique (absent du dossier), une «étoile d'or» d'Éthiopie et le diplôme offerts par l'empereur éthiopien Ménélik II le 10 de Hedar de 1890 de l'an de grâce (absents du dossier), une photographie de son bureau situé au 4, rue de Damas (Lisbonne) et deux manuscrits guèze recopiés par les bons soins de deux collègues orientalistes¹². Le président de l'Académie accusait réception le 22 juin 1965.

Ce détour par sa vie personnelle conduit à quelques réflexions. Tout en étant militaire, il exerça une activité de philologue autodidacte, comme le soulignent les notices biographiques. Celle de Lopes, qui décrivait l'homme «aux habitudes casanières» et disposant de temps libre pour ses travaux de traduction (Lopes, 1940-1: 122) et celle d'Isabel Boavida parlant de son activité de traduction comme d'un «loisir privé» (Boavida, 2005a: 389). Lopes mentionnait, «qu'il étudia l'hébreu, l'arabe, l'éthiopien et le sanscrit – celui-ci dans les dernières années de sa vie nous pensons avec Monsieur Dalgado, professeur de cette langue à la faculté de lettres de Lisbonne» (Lopes, 1940-1: 122). À la différence du sanscrit où Lopes indiquait le nom de son professeur, pour les autres langues aucun linguiste de l'époque n'est signalé. Pour l'hébreu et l'arabe il put suivre les cours qui étaient enseignés à la Faculté des lettres de Lisbonne, ce qui ne put pas être le cas pour le guèze et pour l'amharique qui n'étaient pas enseignés. Cependant, en cette fin de XIXe siècle les outils et ouvrages de références sur l'éthiopien classique et moderne étaient disponibles. Par exemple, August Dillmann (1823-1894) publiait tout d'abord une grammaire guèze, puis un dictionnaire guèze-latin

¹¹ ACL, dossier: Esteves Pereira, Classe de letras, Académico correspondente, eleito em 14-05-1908. Falecido em 1924.

¹² ACL, dossier Esteves Pereira, exemplaire (cahier manuscrit en guèze) de «Lucta e martirio de s. Gregorio, Patriarcha da Armenia. Ms fol. 117 da bibliotheca imperial de Berlim. Copia feita pelo Dr. Enno Littmann; le second, «Vida de Takla Haymanot (Ms da Bibli. Nac. De Paris, n.º 56 fonds éthiopien (cat. De Zot[enberg] n.º 136) Copia feita por M. R. Basset. Lisboa, 1 de setembro de 1888.

et enfin une chrestomathie guèze (Dillmann, 1857, 1865, 1866); et pour l'amharique, Antoine d'Abbadie éditait un dictionnaire (1881). On peut supposer que sa maîtrise de l'hébreu et de l'arabe contribua à l'apprentissage du guèze, ces trois langues appartenant à un univers linguistique commun. À partir d'une pratique autodidacte de la langue éthiopienne classique, Esteves Pereira traduisit la chronique du roi Minas, roi d'Éthiopie (1559-1563), qu'il publia en 1887, si l'on s'en tient aux notices biographiques citées précédemment. Même si cette idée est recevable, il n'en demeure pas moins que la mise en lumière d'un milieu dans lequel il entretenait des liens singuliers donne à saisir comment ses compétences linguistiques s'affirmèrent (Abbadie, 1881).

Le second point concerne le choix des textes et manuscrits qu'il a traduits ou réédités, choix qui soulignent ses intérêts particuliers et plus largement ceux de ses compatriotes, puisque ces textes couvrent la période où le Portugal, puis la Compagnie de Jésus, ont été en contact avec le royaume chrétien éthiopien, du milieu du XVI^e au milieu du XVII^e siècle. En ces temps de conquêtes coloniales, les récits portugais prennent de la valeur de par leur statut de pionnier sur ces zones demeurées *terra incognita*.

Si la traduction portugaise de la chronique du roi éthiopien Minas (1559-1563) et son édition en 1887 peut apparaître comme son premier *opus* comme traducteur, il est un travail – qui n'est pas à proprement parlé une traduction – qui permet de situer à une date antérieure son initiation à l'éthiopien classique. Il s'agit d'une notice qu'il rédigea sur un ouvrage écrit en langue guèze par un jésuite et édité, à Goa, en 1642, le *Magseph Assetat*. Elle fut traduite du portugais en français par René Basset (Esteves Pereira, 1886: 1-16). Relire cette notice en tenant compte des liens interpersonnels permet d'éclairer la question de son apprentissage de l'éthiopien ancien.

2. Ses débuts comme spécialiste de guèze

2.1. Un premier essai comme traducteur de guèze avec le *Magseph Assetat*

Si l'on s'attarde sur cette notice du *Magseph Assetat*, quelle était l'intention d'Esteves Pereira en publiant un texte de 16 pages sur un ouvrage de plus de 230 folios? Il semble important de souligner, tout d'abord, la dimension savante de l'opération. Éditer la notice d'un ouvrage en langue guèze écrit par un père jésuite (Antonio Fernandes) et publié à Goa en 1642, c'était informer la communauté savante de son existence. L'usage de la langue française et la collaboration avec Basset n'étaient probablement pas anodines et donneraient davantage de visibilité à ce premier travail le faisant reconnaître par des pairs. Aussitôt après son édition, l'article se trouvait parmi les ouvrages reçus par la revue de la Société asiatique, le *Journal Asiatique* (1887: 291)¹³, pour lequel Basset publia plusieurs articles (Basset, 1881: 3-5, 315-434, 93-183, 285-380; 1882). Lors de la séance du 13 janvier 1888 de la Société du *Journal Asiatique*, Esteves Pereira («lieutenant du génie à Lisbonne», à cette date) était reçu comme membre de la Société et présenté par Basset et Barbier de Meynard¹⁴.

Mais comment Esteves Pereira présentait-il cette notice et quel en était son contenu? Après avoir dressé rapidement une biographie du missionnaire jésuite António Fernandes présent en Éthiopie dès 1604 (Pennec, 2003: 264-8; Boavida, 2005b: 529-30)¹⁵, il donnait le contexte

¹³ *Journal Asiatique*, fév.-mars 1887, p. 291.

¹⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 11, 1888, p. 281.

¹⁵ Il fut l'un des compagnons du père Pedro Paez arrivé un an après lui en 1604 (Paez, 1906: 269; 2011, vol. 2: 186). En 1619, il occupait la fonction de supérieur de la mission éthiopienne, fonction occupée précédemment par le père P. Paez (Beccari, C., (éd.), *R/ESOI* 11, 1911, p. 484). À la différence de ce qu'avancait Esteves Pereira, à savoir qu'A. Fernandes «obtint, par une bulle du pape Grégoire XIII, la juridiction et les pouvoirs d'un patriarche» (p. 6), la documentation missionnaire publiée par Beccari ne permet pas de lui attribuer une telle fonction.

de la rédaction du *Magseph Assetat* ainsi que la description matérielle du volume. Puis venait la présentation du frontispice, du prologue et du chapitre 1 avec le texte guèze. Faisait suite la traduction française des extraits précédents. Enfin, la notice reprenait les titres en latin des 63 chapitres repris tels quels de la table des matières de l'ouvrage. Somme toute, une présentation sommaire mais qui pouvait fournir un aperçu de la nature du texte: il s'agissait d'une réponse théologique des jésuites en Éthiopie (au début du XVIIe siècle) face à leurs adversaires chrétiens éthiopiens. Esteves Pereira en publiant cette notice atteignait un double objectif. D'une part, il faisait ressurgir du passé un texte qui au moment de son édition (en 1642) ne semble pas avoir connu une large diffusion, et, d'autre part, offrait à la communauté des orientalistes une pièce qui pouvait être digne d'intérêt et par la même occasion devenir un des leurs.

Enfin, il y a la question de la documentation sur laquelle il s'appuya pour l'écriture des deux premières parties de la note (la biographie de A. Fernandes et le contexte de la rédaction du *Magseph Assetat*)? Si l'on regarde son appareil critique, sont mobilisés les documents publiés entre le XVIIe et XIXe siècle. Tout d'abord, celle de l'ordre des jésuites qui fait éditer par un des leurs les nouvelles des missions où les jésuites sont présents (Guerreiro, 1607); mais également comme ce fut le cas pour la mission d'Éthiopie, d'une Histoire rédigée à Lisbonne (Tellez, 1660) à partir d'un manuscrit écrit par un missionnaire en Éthiopie, Manuel de Almeida (encore inédit à cette date)¹⁶. Ce premier type de matériel servit à Esteves Pereira à l'écriture de sa notice. Les dictionnaires biographiques rédigés aux XVIIIe et le milieu du XIXe siècles (Barbosa Machado, 1741: 269-1, Silva, 1858: 137) sont sa deuxième source de référencement. Enfin, le troisième ensemble est constitué des travaux parus dans le dernier tiers du XIXe siècle, comme le catalogue de manuscrits de Wright (1877) et des *Études* de Basset (1882).

L'ouvrage étant entièrement en guèze (à part le frontispice et l'index des chapitres – colonne de droite – en latin), Esteves Pereira devait forcément avoir quelques connaissances de cette langue. En effet, la notice, qui livrait le texte guèze suivi de la traduction française du «début du livre» (Esteves Pereira, 1886: 9-12) ainsi que la «division du livre» où étaient repris l'index latin des 63 chapitres (Esteves Pereira, 1886: 12-6) présentaient les principaux arguments de l'ouvrage. Il est donc évident qu'il commença à apprendre le guèze avant la publication de cette note, ce qui laisse entendre que sa familiarité avec la langue remontait à quelques années auparavant. Cependant, comme rien n'indique *a priori* qu'il ait reçu une formation en éthiopien ancien, on peut penser qu'il a dû l'apprendre par lui-même. En revanche, on peut noter que la traduction française de son texte par Basset témoigne d'une collaboration entre les deux hommes.

2.2. Le *Magseph Assetat*: genèse et chronologie d'un traité théologique

Ce dont ne disposait pas Esteves Pereira à cette date fut la documentation missionnaire qu'édita Camillo Beccari vingt ans plus tard (Beccari, 1903-17, Pennec, 2020: 495-523) qui permet de reconstituer les différentes étapes du texte qui fut publié en 1642 sous le titre *Magseph Assetat*, en langue guèze (Un traité catholique pour «réfuter les erreurs théologiques éthiopiennes» figure n.º 1 Page de titre du *Magseph Assetat*; figure n.º 2 Index guèze – latin) et de rectifier quelques inexactitudes historiques commises par Esteves Pereira dans la première partie de sa notice. Le père António Fernandes, missionnaire jésuite arrivé

¹⁶ En revanche, la référence à l'*Historia Societatis Iesu* de Sacchini, 1615, est peu pertinente car elle rappelle les débuts de la mission autour de la nomination du patriarche, en 1544, qui pourrait être envoyé en Éthiopie, ce qui a peu de rapport avec le texte en question; il cite également l'édition italienne des Lettres annuelles de 1620 à 1624; et enfin, Antonio Franco, *Imagem de virtude em o noviciado de Evora*, 1714, t. 3, chap. 49-52.

en Éthiopie en 1604, fut un de ceux qui se consacra dès le départ à relever les différences entre les deux christianismes. Les éléments d'un travail en cours se trouvent dans la lettre annuelle de la province de Goa de 1610¹⁷ contenant un mot de A. Fernandes adressée au visiteur de l'Inde, dans laquelle il déplorait de ce que l'on n'ait pas fait à Goa un livre afin de réfuter les «erreurs» des Éthiopiens. Il envoyait à nouveau un catalogue, mais considérait qu'il serait préférable qu'un livre soit écrit en Éthiopie (Beccari, 1911: 201-3).

En 1621, il était encore, selon ce que laisse entendre Diogo de Mattos, arrivé en 1620 (Beccari, 1911: 473), occupé par la rédaction d'un texte visant à réfuter les «erreurs» théologiques éthiopiennes, qui avait dû être complété afin de répondre aux controverses survenues depuis 1610 (Beccari, 1911: 484).

Enfin, le dernier élément qui permet de retracer le lien entre un travail débuté dès l'arrivée de A. Fernandes et l'ouvrage qui paraît à Goa en 1642 sous le titre: *Magseph Assetat* [*Mäqsäftä Häsetat*]/*Le fouet des mensonges*] est proposé par un autre jésuite d'Éthiopie, Manuel d'Almeida, qui dans son *Historia de Ethiopia...* (manuscrit achevé à Goa en 1646) reconstituait la genèse de l'ouvrage de la manière suivante:

«Il [le père António Fernandes] n'écrivit pas peu, parce que dès qu'il arriva en Éthiopie il se renseigna à propos des erreurs des Abyssins et bientôt il commença à écrire contre eux un livre dans lequel il les réfutait, lequel fut par la suite augmenté, prouvant les vérités catholiques [...]. Ce livre, après que le père vint d'Éthiopie, avec l'aide de quelques Abyssins, qui de là vinrent, il le traduisit dans leur langue du livre [guèze] et avec les caractères abyssins (que sa sainteté le pape Urbain VIII envoya de Rome au patriarche dom Afonso Mendez), il fut imprimé au collège de saint Paul [de Goa] pour pouvoir envoyer les volumes (comme déjà furent envoyés quelques-uns) en Éthiopie. Il s'intitule *Magseph Assetat* [*Mäqsäftä Häsetat*], ce qui veut dire: *Flagellum mendaciorum* [*Le fouet des mensonges*]» (Almeida, 1908: 475-6).

Ce livre imprimé au collège de saint Paul à Goa en 1642 (Silva, 1993: 136-7, Palomo, 2022: 427-61) fut, comme l'indique M. d'Almeida, commencé en Éthiopie, augmenté au cours des années passées en ces lieux et traduit dans la langue classique éthiopienne, le guèze, grâce à la collaboration d'Éthiopiens devenus catholiques qui accompagnèrent les pères dans leur fuite après leur expulsion, en 1633. Expédier quelques exemplaires en Éthiopie permettrait aux pères restés sur place et maîtrisant le guèze de poursuivre avec les lettrés éthiopiens les débats théologiques. Même si les jésuites avaient été forcés de quitter ce terrain missionnaire (seulement quelques-uns restèrent), la publication du *Magseph Assetat* [*Mäqsäftä Häsetat*] près de dix ans après leur expulsion renforce que l'idée d'un retour n'était pas totalement écarté (Pennec, 2003: 266-7).

Au XIX^e siècle, des exemplaires du *Magseph Assetat* [*Mäqsäftä Häsetat*] se trouvaient à Lisbonne. I. Francisco da Silva signalait qu'un exemplaire se trouvait à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne (Silva, 1858: 137) et la bibliothèque personnelle de Esteves Pereira léguée à l'Académie des Sciences de Lisbonne en contient un également¹⁸. À part cette notice éditée en 1886, les travaux postérieurs de l'orientaliste ne font aucun état de la poursuite d'un travail sur ce texte qu'il avait exhumé et qui lui permettait de faire ses premières armes en tant que «guèzisant» au Portugal. La collaboration avec Basset se poursuivit l'année suivante avec un autre manuscrit: l'*Historia de Minas* (1559-1563), le successeur du roi éthiopien Galawdéwos (1540-1559).

¹⁷ ARSI, *Goa 33 I*, doc. 31, fol. 333-4.

¹⁸ ACL, Fondo F. Esteves Pereira, côte 131820.

Ilustração 01 – Page de titre du *Mageph Assetat*, 1642

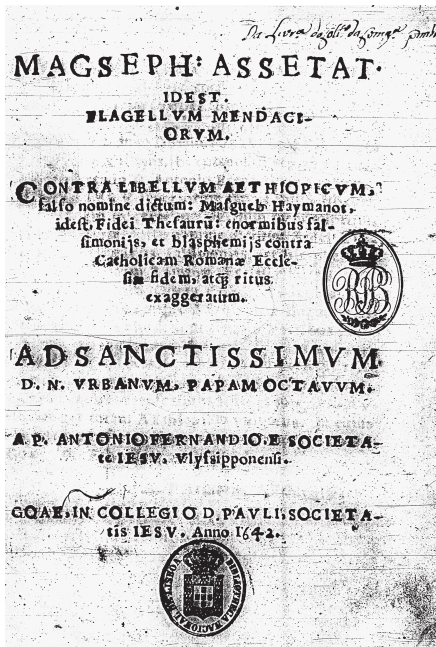
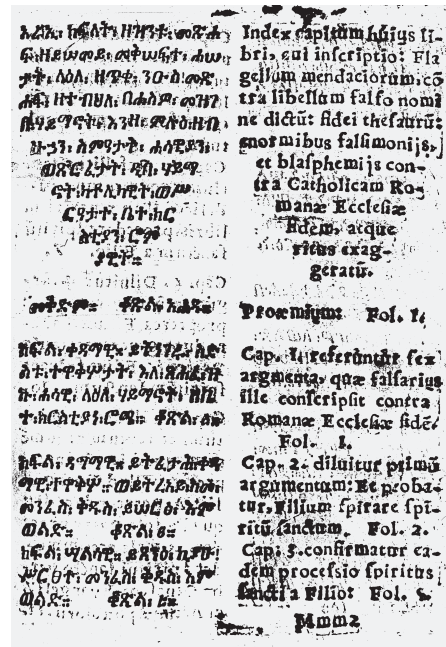


Ilustração 02 – Page de l'index guèze – latin du *Mageph Assetat*, 1642



2.3. L'Historia de Minas: une seconde collaboration avec Basset

En 1887, Esteves Pereira publiait dans le Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Lisbonne (dont il devint membre l'année précédente), l'*Historia de Minas (Zena Minas)* (Esteves Pereira, 1887: 743-827, 1888: 89 pages – un opuscule indépendant). Il s'agissait de traduire le troisième chapitre d'introduction à la chronique du roi Sarsa Dengel (1563-1597)¹⁹ à partir du manuscrit du fonds éthiopien de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, le Ms. 143 (Zotenberg, 1877). Dans l'introduction de l'édition, il reconnaît expressément et remercie Basset pour son aide (Esteves Pereira, 1888: 7). Les deux hommes se connaissaient en personne, puisqu'ils s'étaient rencontrés à Lisbonne, comme en témoigne le rapport fourni par Basset au *Journal Asiatique* pour l'année 1888.

Basset devant se rendre à Dakar pour de nouvelles enquêtes autour des langues berbères²⁰ relatait aux membres du Journal l'itinéraire qui avait décidé de suivre: «Je m'embarquai à Alger à la fin de décembre [1887], et je préférai traverser le nord de l'Espagne pour attendre à Lisbonne, plutôt qu'à Bordeaux le bateau qui devait me mener à Dakar. Ce séjour au Portugal me permit d'examiner les manuscrits orientaux de trois des principales bibliothèques de Lisbonne: j'y trouvai grâce aux indications de M. le lieutenant Esteves Pereira, membre de

¹⁹ Le premier chapitre consacré à celle de Lebna Dengel (1508-1540), le deuxième à celle Galawdéwos (1540-1559).

²⁰ *Journal Asiatique*, «Rapport annuel», juillet-août, 1890, p. 126: «Il [R. Basset] fut envoyé en mission au Sénégal par l'Académie des inscriptions, y est allé étudier la langue des Zenaga, qui ont donné leur nom au pays et qui représentent pour nous le groupe le plus accessible du berbère méridional».

la Société asiatique, un certain nombre d'ouvrages et surtout des chartes et de documents intéressant l'histoire des relations du Portugal avec l'Afrique septentrionale et occidentale»²¹. La coïncidence des dates suggère une collaboration, où Esteves Pereira aurait fait lire et corriger ses traductions de guèze en portugais par son collègue français lors de sa présence à Lisbonne. En 1888, une réimpression de la *Chronique de Minas* sous la forme de tiré à part qu'Esteves Pereira avait traduite fut envoyée au *Journal Asiatique*, comme indiqué dans la section «ouvrages reçus» du numéro d'avril-mai-juin 1889²². Bien que les raisons qui ont poussé Esteves Pereira à se consacrer à l'apprentissage du guèze afin de produire des traductions de qualité à la fin du XIX^e siècle restent encore une énigme, nous pouvons au moins établir que l'acceptation d'Esteves Pereira dans la communauté orientaliste n'était pas sans garant, et Basset était clairement l'un d'entre eux.

Alain Messaoudi retraçait le parcours savant et institutionnel de Basset en insistant sur l'envergure scientifique du personnage. Constituant autour de lui une véritable école, celle d'Alger, il développa les études orientales en s'entourant d'une équipe de jeunes savants (Messaoudi, 2015a: 442-54). Il apparaissait en cette fin de XIX^e siècle comme le savant autorisé parmi la communauté des orientalistes à rédiger le «rapport sur les études berbères, éthiopiennes et arabes pour les années 1887-1891» lors du 9^{ème} Congrès international des orientalistes (1891). Il s'agissait de dresser un bilan des activités savantes pour les années 1887-91 et de les inscrire dans une généalogie des savoirs pour chacun de ces trois domaines. Celui sur les études éthiopiennes lui échoit également et Basset établit un rapport sur ce qui se fait en Europe à cette époque. Quand il en vient à parler du Portugal, il souligna le rôle essentiel de Esteves Pereira ainsi: «Nous devons à M. Esteves Pereira qui a restauré, ou plutôt créé les études éthiopiennes au Portugal, l'édition avec la traduction et un commentaire très soigné de la chronique de Minas [...]. Comme on le voit, le Portugal et la France occupent une place prépondérante dans l'exécution du plan que je signalais en commençant [...]. À Lisbonne, M. Pereira prépare l'édition des annales de Galâoudéouos et de Sousënyos; enfin que dans cette même ville doit paraître l'histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie, écrite par le secrétaire d'Ahmed Grañ, le chef musulman» (Basset, 1892: 8). Le projet en question était de «présenter un cadre où viendraient s'ajuster les différents morceaux historiques, dont l'ensemble forme la série, parfois interrompue, des annales d'Éthiopie depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours» (Basset, 1892: 5). Ce qu'exposait Basset était l'actualité de la recherche en cette fin de XIX^e siècle et celle à venir. Et à cet égard, les travaux annoncés de Esteves Pereira quant à l'édition de la *Chronique de Galawdéwos* ne correspond pas à ce qui se fit. Cette dernière était éditée par les bons soins de William El. Conzelman, en 1895, à Paris.²³ Mais il est fort probable que le projet d'éditer la *Chronique de Galawdéwos* fut au programme du savant portugais, car le manuscrit 143 de la Bibliothèque Nationale lui ayant servi pour l'édition de l'*Historia* de Minas contient également celle de Galawdéwos (Zotenberg, 1877)²⁴. Il y a tout lieu de penser que son collègue militaire, M. Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade ne se soit pas limité de commander les photographies des seuls folios de la chronique de Minas mais qu'il ait demandé le manuscrit 143 dans son intégralité, ce qui expliquerait la raison pour laquelle Esteves Pereira projetait l'édition de ce texte. En revanche, à cette date il était à la tâche en travaillant à l'édition du texte

²¹ Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, avril-mai-juin 1888, p. 550.

²² Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, avril-mai-juin 1889, p. 500.

²³ Conzelman, W., El., *Chronique de Galawdéwos (Claudius) roi d'Éthiopie*, 1895. L'auteur à l'issue de son introduction indiquait: «J'adresse ici mes plus sincères remerciements à mon maître, M. Joseph Halévy, qui a bien voulu m'indiquer le sujet de mon travail et y apporter son précieux secours. Je remercie également M. Jules Perruchon, qui a eu l'obligeance de revoir ma traduction française et qui m'a aidé de ses bons conseils» p. XI.

²⁴ La chronique de Galawdéwos occupe les fol. 95v-117r; et celle de Minas les fol. 117r-125.

3.1. L'*Historia de Minas* et la mise au jour de l'*Historia de Ethiopia a alta* de Manuel de Almeida

À propos de cette *Historia de Minas* dont il a été souligné la collaboration avec Basset, un autre élément est à signaler: l'annexe au texte de la chronique et la mise au jour de l'*Historia de Ethiopia a alta* du jésuite Manuel de Almeida. Elle fait suite au texte guèze et à la traduction portugaise de la chronique. En cette fin de XIXe siècle, si l'on suit ce qu'écrivait Basset dans son introduction de *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, publiée en 1881, il était admis que le texte de Almeida avait été perdu, mais que l'on en connaissait l'existence grâce au texte de Baltasar Teles (Basset, 3-1881: 316)²⁵. En 1886, quand Esteves Pereira éditait sa «notice sur le *Magseph Assetat*» il écrivait: «Le P. Manuel d'Almeida et après lui le P. Balthasar Telles...» signalant ainsi la filiation entre les deux textes (Esteves Pereira, 1886: 6 n.º 2).

Par conséquent, quand il écrivit dans l'introduction de l'*Historia de Minas* (1888) en parlant du texte de M. de Almeida, «Cette œuvre [*Historia de Ethiopia a alta*], qui encore n'a pas été publiée, et qui avait été jugée perdue, existe manuscrite au British Museum» (Esteves Pereira, 1888: 7), il révélait à la communauté scientifique sa mise au jour et son utilisation. Deux références venaient confirmer que ce fut au cours du travail qu'il mena sur l'*Historia de Minas*, qu'il eut connaissance du manuscrit de M. de Almeida (La Figanière, 1853: 266, Desborough Cooley, 1872: 532-53).

Il proposait d'en éditer l'extrait traitant de l'*Historia de Minas* tel qu'il figurait dans le manuscrit de Almeida (livre IV au chapitre 10) avec le commentaire suivant: «En comparant cette recension avec le texte que nous publions, on ne peut renoncer de reconnaître, que la traduction de l'*Historia de Minas* [de Almeida], a supprimé tout ce qui était étranger à l'histoire proprement dite; un processus employé fréquemment par les écrivains portugais des XVIe et XVIIe siècles [...]. Bien que ce soit un résumé, la recension du père Almeida est d'une certaine valeur, parce qu'il prouve de quelque manière, que l'histoire originelle ne souffre pas des altérations essentielles dans les faits qu'elle rapporte» (Esteves Pereira, 1888: 7)²⁶.

À partir de 1888, le manuscrit de M. de Almeida devint une référence citée par les savants. Des extraits de son *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, furent édités les années suivantes, comme par exemple, les «Victorias de Amda Sion rei de Ethiopia» (traduction abrégée par Manuel de Almeida avec une version française de Jules Perruchon) présentées par le savant portugais (Esteves Pereira, 1891). En 1893, J. Perruchon faisait paraître *Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yaeqob et de Ba'eda Maryam. Rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478* (Perruchon, 1893). En appendice, il faisait figurer l'extrait du manuscrit de Almeida à propos du roi Zara Yaeqob (1434-1468) dans sa version portugaise et avec une traduction française. Esteves Pereira était remercié pour avoir vérifié et rectifié le texte portugais (Perruchon, 1893: 199-201, 202-5).

Si le manuscrit de M. de Almeida s'imposa dans les références savantes au détriment du texte de B. Teles, l'histoire du manuscrit que Esteves Pereira utilisa a encore besoin d'être élucidé. La proposition, outre le fait de suivre et de rendre compte des travaux de l'érudit portugais, sera de tenter de saisir pour les années qui suivent le manuscrit de Almeida sur lequel Esteves Pereira s'appuya à travers les notes qu'il rédigea.

²⁵ «C'est à l'un de ses missionnaires, le P. Manoel d'Almeyda, qu'on doit la première histoire complète de l'Éthiopie, d'après les annales indigènes. Cet ouvrage, aujourd'hui perdu et qui ne fut jamais imprimé, ne nous est connu que par l'abrégé qu'en fit le P. Tellez».

²⁶ Ce qu'ignorait Esteves Pereira au moment de cette édition c'est que Almeida s'était appuyé et avait repris intégralement la traduction portugaise de Pedro Paez proposée dans son *Historia de Ethiopia*, et pour cause, le manuscrit Goa 42 des Archives romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus fut publié en 1905-06 par Beccari, mais «découvert» quelques années auparavant.

3.2. La *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia* (1607-1632)

Il s'agit de l'œuvre majeure de Esteves Pereira publié en deux livraisons. En 1892, il éditait le texte guèze, (manuscrit unique connu à ce jour) de l'histoire du roi éthiopien Susenyos (1607-1632) à partir des 75 premiers folios du manuscrit Oxford 30 (Dillmann, 1848: 80-1). Un travail qui fut présenté lors de la 10^{ème} session du Congrès international des orientalistes. Il s'agissait d'un document essentiel dans cette constitution des savoirs annoncée par Basset²⁷. En 1900, paraissait la traduction portugaise de la chronique (Esteves Pereira, 1900: 1-657). La «découverte» faite quelques années auparavant du manuscrit de l'*Historia de Ethiopia a alta* de Manuel de Almeida (BM, Ms. Add. 9861) était à nouveau signalé et abondamment cité (Esteves Pereira, 1892: XXXI, note 1)²⁸. Un commentaire de Esteves Pereira mettait en avant ce qu'avaient été les intentions de Manuel de Almeida, à savoir la description précise des activités missionnaires, tandis que les événements politiques arrivaient en second plan. Par conséquent, cela faisait de l'œuvre un document historique précieux permettant d'offrir un point de vue complémentaire. Il terminait ce commentaire de la manière suivante: «La *Chronica de Susenyos* qui fut écrite en même temps que l'*Historia de Ethiopia e alta*, est aussi citée dans cette dernière quelques fois. [...] Ce qui montre bien que Manuel de Almeida en eut connaissance» (Esteves Pereira, 1892: XXXI). Cette information amène à deux réflexions. La première concerne la contemporanéité de l'écriture de la *Chronica de Susenyos* et de l'*Historia de Ethiopia e alta*. Cette affirmation est erronée, car Manuel de Almeida, qui commença à écrire son texte à partir de 1626 (Pennec, 2003: 260-7), écrivait ceci: «Dans ce livre VI, il y aura deux parties: dans la première je montrerai ce qu'était l'Éthiopie, celle que les pères de notre Compagnie trouvèrent ». Dans la deuxième, je placerai l'histoire de la chronique de l'empereur Seltan Çagued [Susenyos], comme le chroniqueur l'écrivit, l'insigne martyr Azage Tino jusqu'à l'année 1619 [...]. Et placer ici cette chronique, parce qu'elle sert de base est une esquisse à ce que nous dirons; car son écrivain [...] écrivit seulement sur les guerres et ne traita jamais des contenus qu'il y eut sur les matériaux de la foi, ni comment elle fut rencontrée par les uns, et par les autres approuvée et reçue; ce qui est la principale intention de notre histoire, laquelle est plus ecclésiastique que politique, conforme à notre profession» (Beccari, 1907: 115)²⁹. S'il est bien exact qu'il en eut connaissance et qu'il s'en servit en traduisant de nombreux passages, l'écriture de la Chronique se fit pour la partie qu'il consulta, avant son arrivée en Éthiopie (en 1624), à savoir jusqu'en 1619 (Pennec, 2003: 287-97).

La deuxième remarque laisse supposer qu'Esteves Pereira ne devait pas avoir, en 1892, dans son intégralité le manuscrit de Almeida, mais seulement certains passages, ce qui permet de saisir les approximations dont il fit preuve.

3.3. L'apparition d'indications plus précises dans les écrits de Esteves Pereira

Avant d'en venir à la traduction portugaise de la *Chronica de Susenyos* (publiée en 1900), il faut s'arrêter sur un point: l'apparition de notes plus précises au texte de Almeida (les numéros de folio) dans les écrits de Esteves Pereira à partir de 1897. À l'occasion du Quarto Centenario do descobrimento da India, il rééditait l'*Historia das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Christovão da Gama fez nos reinos do Preste João...* de Miguel de Castanhoso (1564) sous le titre *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia* (Esteves Pereira, 1898). Il s'agit

²⁷ 46 pages d'introduction et 335 pages de texte éthiopien. Un premier compte rendu paraissait dans le *Journal Asiatique*, mars-avril 1893, pp. 352-6 par E. Drouin.

²⁸ «Manuscrit qui fut offert par William Marsden en 1835».

²⁹ Je m'appuie sur le manuscrit du British Museum (Ms. Add. 9861) qui servit à Beccari pour l'édition intégrale de M. de Almeida (ici le fol. 214v) et que Esteves Pereira signala fréquemment.

du récit à la gloire du capitaine Christovão da Gama débarqué en 1541 avec quatre cents militaires afin de prêter main-forte au souverain éthiopien Galawdéwos (1540-1559) afin de lutter contre ses ennemis musulmans conduits par l'imam Grañ. Esteves Pereira réédita le texte avec une introduction substantielle qu'il acheva d'écrire le 28 août 1897. Deux éléments sont à souligner. Premièrement, la valeur historique qu'il accordait à ce texte, en raison de sa narration «contemporaine, circonstanciée et la plus authentique, des faits de D. Christovão da Gama [...] est la source primordiale d'où dérivent tous les autres relations. Se trouve être un épisode extrêmement intéressant de l'histoire des conquêtes des Portugais en Orient, et une contribution de valeur pour l'histoire du royaume d'Éthiopie à une des époques les plus angoissantes et critiques de son existence» (Esteves Pereira, 1898: XLVI). Deuxièmement, il s'agit de la première fois, où Esteves Pereira fournit une référence précise: «P. Manuel de Almeida, *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, tomo II, fol. 63v e 64» (Esteves Pereira, 1898: XXXIII). Jusque-là la mention du manuscrit conservé par le British Museum (Ms Add. 9861) avait été la règle. Camillo Beccari qui édita l'intégralité du manuscrit Ms Add. 9861 (Beccari, 1907-08), ne signala à aucun moment plusieurs tomes, où le foliotage aurait repris à chaque début de volume. Le Ms Add. 9861 contient 620 folios en un seul volume. À titre de vérification pour cette «première» référence faite par Esteves Pereira au tome II, fol. 63v et 64, elle correspond au folios 385v et 386 du Ms Add. 9861 (Beccari, 1907: 501). Sur quel manuscrit Esteves Pereira s'appuya-t-il pour donner au lecteur des références qui devinrent de plus en plus précises, comme nous aurons l'occasion de le voir? Esteves Pereira dans l'introduction de la *Vida de Takla Haymanot pelo P. Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus* apportait un premier élément de réponse, bien que confus.

En mentionnant dans son texte l'*Historia de Ethiopia e alta* de M. de Almeida, il ajoutait une note intéressante: «De cette œuvre [celle de Almeida], encore inédite, existe un au British Museum, le ms. Add. 16255. D'elle fut faite une copie déposée actuellement à la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne» (Esteves Pereira, 1899: 6). La référence au Ms add. 9861 a disparu et une nouvelle totalement inconnue est placée dans ce document où l'on apprend qu'une copie fut faite et déposée à la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne, sans que le numéro de catalogage ne soit indiqué.

À son tour, Beccari confirmait dans le premier volume de sa collection, dès 1903 «qu'une copie du manuscrit de Londres, faite ces dernières années et se trouve maintenant à Lisbonne, à la Bibliothèque nationale, mais elle est très défectueuse et incorrecte» (Beccari, 1903: 5). Mais il ne donne pas non plus de référence précise à la copie de Lisbonne.

Cette digression permet d'en arriver à la traduction portugaise de la *Chronica de Susenyos* (Esteves Pereira, 1900). Mais elle donne également la possibilité de voir à partir de quel matériel Esteves Pereira travailla pour cette traduction et surtout pour les notes. La traduction occupe les 259 premières pages du volume tandis que les notes occupent plus de 350 pages (de la page 263 à la page 614). Le travail sur les notes est considérable, et l'érudit mobilisa l'ensemble des ressources documentaires disponibles à l'époque: dictionnaires de guèze et de l'amharique, chroniques éditées des rois éthiopiens, textes européens des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles et, ce qui nous importe, la copie de l'*Historia de Ethiopia e alta* de M. de Almeida déposée à la Bibliothèque nationale de Lisbonne. Presque toutes les pages de ces notes comportent une référence au texte d'Almeida. Esteves Pereira en cite de longs passages, qui à nouveau ne correspondent pas au foliotage du manuscrit Ms add. 9861.

Trois points doivent être soulignés. Tout d'abord, le référencement systématique au texte de M. de Almeida par rapport à l'*Historia geral de Ethiopia e alta* de B. Teles, ce qui n'empêche pas l'érudit de continuer à citer Teles et les autres, ensuite, il en vint par cet arsenal de notes où la bibliographie d'auteurs européens est prodigieuse à réaliser la critique qu'il faisait lors de l'édition du texte guèze, en 1882: à pallier aux «lacunes» du chroniqueur qui avait passé

sous silence les activités des jésuites en Éthiopie, contemporaines des événements rapportés dans la chronique, Esteves Pereira inonde de références au texte d'Almeida toutes les notes du volume de traduction. Ce faisant, il élève son nouvel ouvrage au rang de garant de la «vérité» de la chronique, ce qui témoigne de l'approche profondément européocentrique dans la constitution du savoir érudit au début du XX^e siècle. Enfin, il y a la question de la fascination d'Esteves Pereira pour son sujet d'étude et les parallèles historiques qu'il établit avec les événements du début du XX^e siècle. Dans son introduction (plutôt brève) au volume II de la *Chronica de Susenyos* (traduction) en 1900, il écrit cette déclaration inhabituellement engagée:

La vérité est que les notes de cette chronique sur les Portugais résidant en Éthiopie pendant le règne de Susenyos, principalement sur les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, sont très rares; mais cela ne doit pas provoquer l'admiration: cette chronique, écrite par le chroniqueur officiel pour célébrer et perpétuer le souvenir des actions glorieuses du roi Susenyos, ne flatte pas moins les sentiments patriotiques du peuple éthiopien, qui a toujours été très hostile à tout ce qui porte atteinte à la souveraineté et à l'indépendance de la nation. Les victoires remportées par les armées éthiopiennes et les conquêtes faites par cette nation sous le très glorieux règne de Menelik II [Ménélik], ont accru la puissance de ce royaume et lui ont donné une splendeur sans précédent; mais d'autres victoires durables et d'autres conquêtes engagent maintenant la volonté et l'énergie du vaillant roi – c'est-à-dire vaincre les restes de barbarie dans son peuple, conduire sa nation dans la civilisation moderne. La *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Etiópia*, est déjà connue aujourd'hui à la cour d'Éthiopie, rendant ainsi hommage à cette nation, dont le nom a servi de motivation aux grandes découvertes des Portugais en Orient. Et nous désirons que notre ouvrage soit un témoignage de notre profonde admiration pour les vertus héroïques du peuple qui, pendant plus de quatorze siècles, a défendu son indépendance contre tous ses ennemis... (Esteves Pereira, 1900: VI-VII).

La lecture faite par Esteves Pereira de la *Chronica de Susenyos* à l'aune de la situation politique de l'Éthiopie du début du XX^e siècle est anachronique et relève d'un discours téléologique, car l'analogie entre les deux règnes, celui de Susenyos (1607-1632) avec celui de Ménélik II (1889-1913) ne permet pas de comprendre l'histoire de l'Éthiopie du XVII^e siècle. De même l'utilisation de termes comme «les vertus héroïques du peuple», «l'indépendance de la nation pendant plus de quatorze siècles» qui causa l'admiration de l'éditeur de la chronique sont en total décalage historique et entrent davantage en résonance avec l'histoire de l'Éthiopie de la fin du XIX^e siècle en butte au partage du monde entre les différents empires coloniaux, et en particulier, avec la bataille d'Adoua (1^{er} mars 1896) où l'Italie sortait vaincue face à l'Éthiopie de Ménélik II (Labanca, 2014: 69-99, Bahru, 1991: 72-76).

Finalement, grâce à certains éléments qui jalonnent les textes d'Esteves Pereira, nous pouvons appréhender sa vision et posture intellectuelle. L'un des objectifs fut de mettre en valeur la grandeur portugaise passée, celle des «découvertes» et également celle des jésuites d'Éthiopie (portugais pour la plupart) des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles au nom de la civilisation chrétienne. Ce travail d'enquête sur la mise en ordre des traductions et des éditions de la documentation éthiopienne d'Esteves Pereira a permis de la regarder autrement et de s'intéresser davantage à l'apparat critique. Cela a souligné la dépendance aux références des sources missionnaires et européennes, ces dernières endossant la fonction d'administration de la preuve. Si Esteves Pereira édite ses traductions à la fin du XIX^e siècle, soit avant les travaux d'envergure du jésuite Beccari (dont nous avons évoqué rapidement les publications³⁰), il n'en demeure pas moins qu'ils partagent une vision similaire de la supériorité européenne, considérant les Portugais comme les pionniers des zones explorées et convoitées par les nations coloniales

³⁰ Pour une reconstitution de son itinéraire et une analyse de ses travaux voir Pennec, 2020: 497-525.

(Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, 2007: 79). Les deux hommes se rencontrent lorsque Beccari se rend à Lisbonne pour ses propres investigations dans les archives et manifeste sa reconnaissance à l'égard d'Esteves Pereira pour l'aide et les conseils qu'il reçoit pour ses recherches (Beccari, 1903: VI). De son côté, Esteves Pereira suit de près les différents travaux que publie son contemporain sur l'Éthiopie comme l'indique la conclusion d'un article consacré à l'édition par Beccari du premier volume en 1903 de la collection *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*:

Le livre indiqué du R. P. Beccari, dans lequel sont données des nouvelles et des extraits des documents relatifs à la mission d'Éthiopie a pour objectif d'appeler l'attention des érudits quant à la valeur de ces documents; et ceux-ci vont être successivement publiés intégralement et dans la langue dans laquelle ils furent composés. Le R. P. Beccari dresse de cette manière le monument le plus durable de gratitude et de souvenir à ses frères de la province du Portugal, qui se dédièrent avec le plus grand zèle et abnégation à réduire les Abyssins à la foi catholique, et que dans cette mission ils rendirent des services importants non seulement à la religion chrétienne, mais aussi à la science, et en général à la civilisation. (Esteves Pereira, 1904: 197)

Les intérêts sont communs et mettent en avant la supériorité européocentrique, un discours partagé par la communauté des érudits qui s'activent en ce début de XX^e siècle. Si Esteves Pereira se connecte au monde européen des érudits qui s'intéressent à l'Éthiopie, il mène au Portugal une carrière solitaire, indépendante et autonome. Il n'est pas connu pour avoir formé des disciples ou établi une «école éthiopienne». Il crée néanmoins les conditions d'une insertion et d'une reconnaissance d'un champ d'un savoir éthiopien au sein des sociétés savantes portugaises mais sans pour autant mettre en place des synergies collectives. Il apparaît comme un électron libre, un amateur éclairé, qui a certainement, comme l'écrit Basset, «créé des études éthiopiennes au Portugal», néanmoins instantanément éteintes lorsque l'électron a cessé de vibrer.

Le fil rouge de son activité d'orientaliste se résume à sa passion pour les langues sémitiques et, vers le crépuscule de sa vie, pour le sanskrit. Entretenant avec ses langues une relation technique, pratique et scientifique, il a analysé, documenté et présenté sa documentation textuelle avec le plus grand soin et la plus grande rigueur, selon les canons de la critique textuelle de l'époque. Cependant, nous devons admettre que nous ne sommes pas en mesure de saisir pleinement les enjeux de son engagement.

À travers notre article, nous avons voulu souligner que les savoirs produits sur cette période de l'histoire éthiopienne et européenne sont le résultat d'une fabrication dont il convient de saisir les processus à l'œuvre pour la construction d'une connaissance historique. Les examiner est une condition préalable à leur utilisation, ce qui demande une reconstruction minutieuse. Nous espérons avoir contribué à la réflexion sur la mise en ordre des sources en accordant une attention critique à leur structure et à leur genèse qui doit être au cœur de l'analyse historique (Torre & Tigrino, 2020: 681-692). Il s'agissait d'associer le lecteur au parcours de la recherche et des questionnements autour de notre objet d'étude et de le conduire au plus près de ce qui est à notre disposition dans les méandres d'une multitude de détails textuels et contextuels qui, pris dans leur ensemble et recoupés, peuvent donner du sens et de l'intelligibilité au travail de l'érudite d'un autre siècle. Loin de proposer une énième biographie, ce sont plutôt les choix et les actions d'Esteves Pereira qui nous ont intéressés. Cette démarche nous permet de réfléchir aux savoirs sur l'Éthiopie qu'il contribua à construire à son époque et jusqu'à maintenant.

Références bibliographiques

- Abbadie, d'A. (1881), *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña*, Paris, F. Vieweg.
- (1859), *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale.
- Ago R. (2006), Cambio di prospettiva: dagli attori alle azioni e viceversa, in Revel J. (dir.), *Giochi di scala. La microstoria alla prova dell'esperienza*, Rome, Viella, pp. 239-250.
- Almeida d' M. (1908), Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia, imperio do Abexim, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam, in Beccari C. (éd.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 7, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- (1907a), Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia, imperio do Abexim, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam, in Beccari C. (éd.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 5, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- (1907b), Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia, imperio do Abexim, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam, in Beccari C. (éd.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 6, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- Bahru, Zewde (1991), *History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1974*, Londres, Athens Ohio, Addis Abeba, James Currey-Ohio University Press-Addis University Press.
- Barbosa Machado, D. (1741), *Bibliotheca Lusitana, Historica, Critica e Chronologia*, vol. 1, Lisboa, Francisco Luiz Ameno.
- Basset, R. (1892), Rapport sur les études berbères, éthiopiennes et arabes, 1887-1891, in *Publications du Neuvième Congrès International des Orientalistes 1891*, London, Woking, Oriental University Institute, pp. 5-10.
- (1882) (éd.), *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.
- (1881a) (éd.), *Études sur l'histoire de l'Éthiopie*, *Journal Asiatique*, 3, pp. 315-434.
- (1881b) (éd.), *Études sur l'histoire de l'Éthiopie*, *Journal Asiatique*, 4, pp. 93-183.
- (1881c) (éd.), *Études sur l'histoire de l'Éthiopie*, *Journal Asiatique*, 5, pp. 285-380.
- Bausi, A. (2010), Philology, research, in Uhlig S. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 4, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 142-144.
- Beccari, C. (1911) (éd.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 11, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- (1903-1917) (éd.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- (1903) (éd.), Notizie e saggi di opere i documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia d'Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII, vol. 1, in *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- Bendana, K. & Messaoudi, A. (2012), Journal asiatique, in Pouillon F. (éd.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, Karthala, pp. 526-527.
- Boavida, I. (2005a), Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, in Uhlig S. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 389.
- (2005b), Fernandes António, in Uhlig S. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 530.
- Bosc-Tiessé, C., Derat, M.-L. & Wion, A. (2008), Inventaire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens, *Ménestrel*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.menestrel.fr/spip.php?rubrique694&lang=fr>.
- Castanhoso de, M. (1564), *Historia das cousas que o mui esforçado capitão Dom Christovão da Gama; réimprimé dans la Coleção de opúsculos relativos à história das navegações, viagens e conquistas dos Portugueses*, vol. 1, n.º 2, 1855; publié à nouveau sous le titre *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, Esteves Pereira (éd.), 1898.

- Cerutti, S. (2008), *Histoire pragmatique, ou de la rencontre entre histoire sociale et histoire culturelle, Tracés. Revue de sciences humaines*, 15, pp. 147-168.
- Cerutti, S. & Grangaud, I. (2013), Sources et mises en contexte. Quelques réflexions autour des conditions de la comparaison, in Brayard F. (dir.), *Des contextes en histoire*, Paris, Éditions de l'EHSS, pp. 91-102.
- Chabot, J.-B. (1918), *Histoire de l'Éthiopie*. Premier article [Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad saeculum XIX, curante Camillo Beccari S. I], quinze vol. in 4.º, Rome, C. de Luigi, 1903-1917, *Journal des savants*, 16, pp. 83-92.
- Cohen, Shabot L. (2009), *The missionary strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555–1632)*, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag.
- Conzelman, W. (1895) (éd.), *Chronique de Galawdewos (Claudius), Roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris, Librairie Émile Bouillon, Bibliothèque de l'EPHE.
- Desborough Cooley, M. W. (1872), Notice sur le Père Pedro Paez, suivie d'extraits du manuscrit d'Almeida intitulé *Historia de Ethiopia a alta*, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, 6 (3), pp. 532-553.
- Dillmann, A. (1866), *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig, T.O. Weigel.
- (1865), *Lexicon linguae aethiopiae cum indice latino*, Leipzig, T.O. Weigel.
- (1857), *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig, Tauchnitz.
- (1848), *Catalogus codicum manuscritorum bibliothecae boldeiane oxoniensis. Pars VII codices Aethiopi*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Esteves Pereira, F. M. (1907) (éd.), Homilia de Proclo, bispo de Cyzico, acerca da encarnação de nosso Senhor Jesus Christo, *Actes du XIVe congrès international des orientalistes*, vol. 2, Paris, Leroux, 199-218.
- (1904), Os trabalhos da geografia e da cartografia de Ethiopia na primeira metade do seculo XVII: A proposito de um livro recentemente publicado, *Revista portuguesa colonial marítima*, 14 (79-7), pp. 193-197.
- (1900) (éd.), *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, (trad. portugaise), vol. 2, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia, Imprensa Nacional.
- (1899) (éd.), *Vida de Takla Haymanot pelo P. Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisbon, Imprensa Lucas.
- (1898) (éd.), *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional.
- (1892) (éd.), *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia, Imprensa Nacional.
- (1891) (éd.), *Victorias de Amda Sion rei de Ethiopia* (tradução abreviada pelo Manuel de Almeida com uma versão franceza por Jules Perruchon); memoria apresentada por F.M. Esteves Pereira, *Boletim da Sociedade de geographia de Lisboa*, 10 & 11, pp. 1-40.
- (1888) (éd.), *Zena Minas. Historia de Minas, Ademas Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, pp. 1-89.
- (1887) (éd.), *Zena Minas. Historia de Minas, Ademas Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, *Boletim da Sociedade de geographia de Lisboa*, 7 (12), pp. 743-827.
- (1886), Notice sur le Magseph Assetat du P. A. Fernandes, *Extrait de Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, 4, pp. 1-16.
- Franco, A. (1714), *Imagem de virtude em o noviciado da Companhia de Jesus do Real Collegio do Espirito Santo de Evora do reyno de Portugal*, vol. 3, Lisboa, Officina real deslandesiana.
- Goldschmidt, L. (1897), *Die Abyssinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main (Rüppel'sche Sammlung). Nebst Anhängen und Auszügen verzeichnet und beschrieben*, Berlin, S. Calvary.
- Grangaud, I. (2008), Società post-coloniali: ritorno alle fonti, premessa, *Quaderni storici*, 129 (3), pp. 563-573.

- Guerreiro, F. (1607), *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesu na partes da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 604 & 605 & do processo da conversam & Christandade daquellas partes. Tiradas das cartas dos mesmos Padres que de la vieram. Vai dividida em quatro livros, o primeiro de Japam, o segundo da China, terceiro da India, quarto de Ethiopia & Guiné*, Lisboa, Pedro Craesbeeck.
- Jacob, C. (2014), *Qu'est-ce qu'un lieu de savoir?*, Marseille, OpenÉdition Press. [Online]. Available at: <https://books.openÉdition.org/oep/423?lang=fr>.
- (2007, 2011) (dir.), *Les lieux de savoirs. Espaces et communautés, Les lieux de savoirs*, vol.1, *Les mains de l'intellect*, vol. 2, Paris, Albin Michel.
- Kleiner, M. (2005), Dillmann, Christian Friedrich August, in Uhlig S. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 160-161.
- Kropp, M. (1988) (éd.), *Die Geschichte des Lebna-Dengel, Claudius und Minas, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium – Scriptorum Æthiopicum*, 83 (texte) et 84 (trad.), Louvain, E. Peeters.
- (1983-1984), La réédition des chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers résultats, *Abbay*, 12, pp. 49-69.
- La Figanière, F. de (1853), *Catalogo dos manuscritos portuguezes existentes no Museu Britannico*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional.
- Labanca, N. (2014), *Outre-mer. Histoire de l'expansion coloniale italienne*, Grenoble, Ellug.
- Lejeune, D. (1993), *Les sociétés de géographie en France et l'expansion coloniale au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Albin Michel.
- Lopes, D. (1940-1941), Um orientalista português – Esteves Pereira, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 7, pp. 121-133.
- Marrassini, P. (2007), Kebrä nägäst, in Uhlig S. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 364-368.
- Martínez, d'Alòs-Moner A. (2015), *Envoys of a human god. The Jesuit mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557-1632*, Leiden, Brill.
- (2007a), Colonialism and Memory: The Portuguese and Jesuit activities in Ethiopia through the Colonial-looking Glass, *Studies of the Department of African languages and cultures*, 41, pp. 73-91.
- (2007b), Europe and Ethiopia's Isolation: The Ethio-Jesuit Paradigm revised (17th cent.), in Gerhardt L., Mähle H., Oßenbrügge J. & Weisse W., (eds.), *Umbrüche in afrikanischen Gesellschaften und ihre Bewältigung Beiträge aus dem Sonderforschungsbereich 520*, Hamburg-Munster, pp. 223-233.
- Messaoudi, A. (2015a), *Les arabisants et la France coloniale 1780-1930*, Lyon, ENS Éditions.
- (2015b), *Les arabisants et la France coloniale 1780-1930. Annexes*, Lyon, ENS Éditions. [Online]. Available at: <http://books.openÉdition.org/ensÉditions/3730>.
- Páez, P. (2011), *History of Ethiopia, 1622*, Tribe C. (trad.), Boavida I., Pennec H & Ramos M. J. (Eds.), Hakluyt Society (3rd Series, 24), London, Ashgate.
- (1906), *Historia Æthiopiæ*, in Beccari C. (ed.), *Rerum Æthiopicarum Scriptorum Occidentales Inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol. 3, Rome, Casa Editrice Italiana.
- Palomo, F. (2022), Production et circulation des savoirs dans une monarchie polycentrique. Goa, la chrétienté éthiopienne et l'empire portugais du XVII^e siècle, *Annales. Histoire Sciences Sociales*, 77 (3), 2022, pp. 427-61.
- Pennec, H. (2022), *An Ethiopian Mille-feuille: Unearthing the history of the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (21th-16th)*, Lisbonne, collection EBook'IS. <https://cei.iscte-iul.pt/publicacao/an-ethiopian...>
- (2020), Camillo Beccari (1849-1928). A “Holiness specialist” and publisher of sources on Ethiopian in the Early Modern period, *Quaderni Storici*, 164 (2), pp. 497-525.
- (2003), *Des jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean. Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation (1495-1633)*, Paris, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.

- Perruchon, J. (1893) (éd.), *Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yaeqob et de Ba'eda Maryam. Rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478*, Paris, Librairie Émile Bouillon.
- Pestre, D. (2015) (Dir.), *Histoire des sciences et des savoirs*, Van Damme S. (dir.) *De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, vol. 1, Raj K. & Sibum H. O., (dir.), *Modernité et globalisation*, vol. 2, Bonneuil C. & Pestre D. (dir.), *Le siècle des technosciences*, vol. 3, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
- Pouillon, F. (2012), Avant-propos, Chemin Faisant, in Pouillon F. (éd.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, Karthala, XVI-XX.
- Rabault-Feuerhahn, P. (2010), Les grandes assises de l'orientalisme. La question interculturelle dans les congrès internationaux des orientalistes (1873-1912), *Revue germanique internationale*, 12, pp. 47-67.
- (2008), Introduction, *Revue germanique internationale*, 7, pp. 5-8.
- Raggio, O. & Torre, A. (2004), *In altri termini, Etnografia e storia di una società di antico regime*, Milano, Feltrinelli, pp. 5-37.
- Raj, K. (2007), *Relocating Modern Science. Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900*, Hampshire, Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Romano, A. (2016), *Impressions de Chine. L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)*, Paris, Fayard.
- Sibeud, E. (2002), *Une science impériale pour l'Afrique? La construction des savoirs africanistes en France, 1878-1930*, Paris, Éditions de l'EHESS.
- Silva, C. da (1993), Evangelização e Imprensa nos séculos XVI e XVII na Índia, in *Actas do Congresso Internacional de Historia: Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas, Africa Oriental, Oriente e Brasil*, vol. 2, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, pp. 125-148.
- Silva, I. F. da (1858), *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 137.
- Tellez, B. (1660), *Historia Geral de Ethiopia a Alta ou Preste loam e do que nella obraram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus. Composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo Padre Manoel d'Almeyda, natural de Vizeu, Provincial e Visitador, que foy na India. Abreviada com nova releyçam e methodo pelo Padre Balthasar Telles, natural de Lisboa, Provincial da Provincia Lusitana, ambos da mesma Companhia*, Coimbra, Manoel Dias Impressor da Universidade.
- Tewelde, Beiene (1983), *La politica Cattolica di Seltan Sägäd I (1607-1632) e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia. Precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche 1589-1632*, Roma, Universitatis Gregoriana.
- Torre, A. (2019), *Production of Locality in the Early Modern and Modern Age: Places (Microhistories)*, London, Routledge.
- (2007), "Faire communauté". Confréries et localité dans une vallée du Piémont (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle), *Annales. Histoire et sciences sociales*, 62 (1), pp. 101-135.
- Torre, A. & Tigrino, V. (2020), Des historiographies connectées? Les *Annales*, *Quaderni storici* et l'épreuve de l'histoire sociale (trad. G. Calafat), *Annales. Histoire et sciences sociales*, 75 (3), pp. 681-692.
- Valensi, L. (2012), Avant-propos, in Pouillon F. (éd.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Paris, Karthala, IX-XII.
- Wright, W. (1877), *Catalogue of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1847*, London, British Museum.
- Zotenberg, H. (1877), *Catalogues des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale.

Acronymes

- ACL – Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.
- AHM – Arquivo Histórico Militar.
- ARSI – Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

Fonds Manuscrits

ARSI, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.

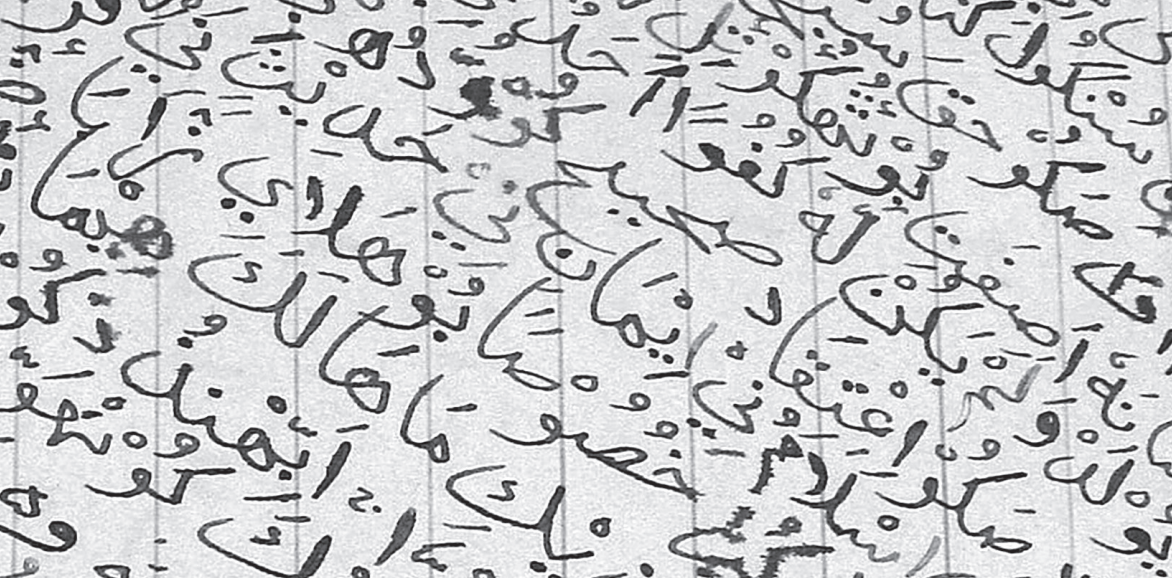
Fondo Generale – Goa 33 I-II (*Goa 33 I*, doc. 31, fol. 333-334).

AHM: Arquivo Histórico Militar.

Cd, 1542, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira: N 21, Res. 512, doc. 237 et 337, n.º 3153.

ACL – Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.

Fondo F. Esteves Pereira, cote 131820.



Notas de leitura



Watson, J. (2021), *Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization*. New York: Fordham University Press

Miguel Filipe Silva* e Abiud Bosire**


pp. 147-148

Introduction

In this thought-provoking book, Jini Kim Watson addresses two critical topics spanning the turbulent Cold War era; decolonization and the authoritarianism that resulted from it in East and Southeast Asia. Throughout *Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization*, Watson uses artefacts of material culture, especially dissident texts, film, and contemporary literature, to counterpose authoritarian regimes with the so-called “free world” of independent non-communist Asian countries within which they were located. Four regimes are scrutinized: Park Chung-Hee’s South Korean dictatorship (1961-1987), Ferdinand Marcos’s Philippine rule (1965-86), Lee Kuan Yew’s illiberal Singapore (1959-90), and Suharto’s Indonesian regime (1965-98). Watson’s focus is the fictional cultural productions that emerged from these places.

Watson focuses on PEN Asian writers and PEN International Asian Writers Conferences between 1955 and 1988 to highlight the debates and agendas regarding decolonization. These conferences (Manila 1962 and 1981, Bangkok 1964, and Taipei 1970 and 1976) brought together critics, academics, and dissent writers to exchange ideas within a pan-Asian framework. Furthermore, she provides a condensed cultural history based on these writers’ attempt to theorize a decolonized Asian sphere by using the imagined nature of freedom and autonomy, in which freedom is caught between communist takeovers and their betrayal in the form of authoritarian regimes. She references the United States’s role in these developments with the decision by President Richard Nixon in 1971 and 1972 to further open diplomatic ties to the People’s Republic of China by supporting its application for a seat in the UN Security Council. Watson also highlights underdevelopment problems as another form of unfreedom.

Watson underscores the role of Cold War dissidents such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973) and *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), Soviet writer,

 <https://doi.org/10.21747/0874-2375/afr39r1>

* IHC (Contemporary History Institute from Nova University Lisbon) and CEAUP (Centre for African Studies, Oporto University).

** Oporto University.

and uses the works of Asian writers such as Pramoedya Ananta Toer (*House of Glass*, 1988), Kim Chi-ha (poetry), and Ninotchka Rosca (*State of War*, 1988) to critique Cold War notions. Euro-American concepts, such as human rights, promoted the global economy while many countries remained police states, despite the transition to a post-colonial world. For the author, authoritarianism was not the exact opposite of liberal capitalism.

Post-1990 fiction helps contextualize Cold War history and its aftermath. In Watson's opinion, the "Bildungsroman" as a genre within the decolonization process is evident in the works of Mohamed Latiff, Jeremy Tiang, and Hwang Sök-yōng, whereby Watson relies on Gary Wilder's discussions of freedom and politics.

The author also uses these writers' productions to question the present times and existing narratives of Cold War authoritarianism, reminding "decolonization's" origins as an imperial restructuring approach and, for instance, Tan Pin Pin's *To Singapore with Love* to cross-examine the after-effects of the Cold War times, political repression, and regression in Southeast Asia, despite (or because) the economic growth.

Watson moves to inquire about the logic of post-colonial historiography and the apparent economic triumph of neoliberal capitalism. Tan's film rejects the parallelism between authoritarianism and capitalist democracy. Watson adds that these regimes cannot be the departure point toward capitalist democracies.

Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization is a handy book to question the Post-Cold War's hegemonic narratives and to examine the post-authoritarian transitional justice damages resulting from anti-communist violence in Southeast Asia. The downfall of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China's hybridized form of state capitalism is not, for Watson, the death of communist ideology. While mentioning the intrusion of capitalist democracies in Southeast Asia, Watson prefers to focus on the violence of the "free world" oppressive policies applied in Asia during and Post-Cold War and the mass persecution and massacre of communist followers with the complacency and tolerance of the United States and European liberal democracies. Watson's book reveals how this Post-Cold War neoliberalism and hegemonic economic development were *foreseen* to shape the Global South through the fusion of Cold War and violence.

Nevertheless, a topic remains unanswered. What about communist autocratic states in other Southeast Asian nations? How the Cold War injustices evolved in those states? What is their story regarding free-world authoritarianism or capitalist democracy?

In resume, the book offers readings emerging from those on the "wrong side of history"-referencing those leftists, communists, and radical nationalists who were imprisoned, exiled, or oppressed by the right-wing regimes in the Cold War era but whose imaginaries still offers transformative possibilities for our present.

Due to its well-grounded nature and discussion of the bipolar Cold War logic, I recommend *Cold War Reckonings: Authoritarianism and the Genres of Decolonization* as a valuable addition to the debate on *Cold War* and *Post-Cold War*, providing a blueprint to promote the discussion on the history of authoritarianism past (and present).

Resumos

Abstracts

Resumés

ملخصات

O “Plano de Constantino” e a utopia modernista

Ahmed El-Amine Benbernou

A cidade de Argel registou, durante a guerra da Argélia, um aumento desproporcionado de *bidonvilles*. Este termo, que foi utilizado pela primeira vez no Magrebe no final dos anos 30 (Descloîtres, 1961), representava as condições de vida das populações indígenas mais pobres. No CIAM 9 de 1953, o grupo CIAM-Argel fez uma apresentação notável do *bidonville* Mahieddine. Ao representar as silhuetas argelinas através do *Modulor*, o objetivo era ver na cultura vernácula e popular uma forma de renovar a modernidade (Abram, 1999). Este trabalho meticuloso deu origem a um esboço da célula doméstica muçulmana. Esta última foi testada e experimentada em várias aplicações, mas teve o seu apogeu nos programas de habitação do “Plano de Constantino”. Neste artigo, tentaremos compreender como os processos urbanos moldam o território e como este Plano, datado de 1958, participou na mutação da paisagem argelina através da experimentação de habitação social levada a cabo principalmente pelos arquitetos do movimento moderno.

Palavras-chave: Habitação social, *Grands Ensembles*, Industrialização, CIAM 1953.

The «Plan of Constantine» and the modernist utopia

The city of Algiers experienced during the Algerian war a disproportionate increase of *bidonvilles*. This term, which was firstly used in the Maghreb in the late 30's (Descloîtres, 1961), represented the living conditions of the poorest indigenous populations. At CIAM 9 of 1953, CIAM-Algiers group made a remarkable presentation of the *bidonville* Mahieddine. By representing Algerian silhouettes through the *Modulor*, the goal was to seek in the vernacular and popular culture a way to renew modernity (Abram, 1999). This meticulous work gave birth to a sketch of the Muslim home cell. The latter was tested and experimented in various applications but had its climax through the housing programs of the “Plan of Constantine”. In this paper, we will try to understand how urban processes shape the territory and how this Plan dating from 1958 participated in the mutation of the Algerian landscape through the social housing experimentation carried out principally by the modern movement architects.

Keywords: Social housing, *Grands Ensembles*, Industrialization, CIAM 1953.

Le “Plan de Constantine” et l’utopie moderniste

La ville d’Alger a connu pendant la guerre d’Algérie une augmentation démesurée des bidonvilles. Ce terme, utilisé pour la première fois au Maghreb à la fin des années 30 (Descloîtres, 1961), représentait les conditions de vie des populations autochtones les plus pauvres. Lors du CIAM 9 de 1953, le groupe CIAM-Alger a fait une remarquable présentation du bidonville Mahieddine. En représentant les silhouettes algériennes à travers le Modulor, il s’agissait de voir dans la culture vernaculaire et populaire un moyen de renouveler la modernité (Abram, 1999). Ce travail minutieux a donné naissance à une esquisse de la cellule domestique musulmane. Celle-ci a été testée et expérimentée dans diverses applications mais a connu son apogée à travers les programmes de logements du “Plan de Constantine”. Dans cette communication, nous tenterons de comprendre comment les processus urbains façonnent le territoire et comment ce Plan datant de 1958 a participé à la mutation du paysage algérien à travers l’expérimentation du logement social menée principalement par les architectes du mouvement moderne.

Mots-clés: Logement social, *Grands Ensembles*, Industrialisation, CIAM 1953.

“مخطط قسنطينة” واليوتوبيا الحداثية

أحمد الأمين بن برنو

شهدت مدينة الجزائر خلال حرب التحرير الجزائرية زيادة غير متناسبة في أحياء الصفيح ، وهذا المصطلح الذي استخدم لأول مرة في المنطقة المغاربية في أواخر الثلاثينيات (ديسكلويتير 1961) كان يمثل الظروف المعيشية لأفقر السكان الأصليين. في الملتقى الدولي للهندسة المعمارية الحديثة لعام 1953 ، قدمت مجموعة مدينة الجزائر عرضا رائعا لحي محبي الدين الصفيحي ، ومن خلال نظام القياسات البشرية (مودولور) كان الهدف هو البحث في الثقافة العامية والشعبية عن طريقة لتجديد الحداثة (أبرام 1999). أدى هذا العمل الدقيق إلى ظهور رسم تخطيطي للخلية المنزلية للمسلمين ، وقد تم اختبار هذا الأخير وتجربته في تطبيقات مختلفة لكنه بلغ ذروته من خلال برامج الإسكان في “مخطط قسنطينة”. سنحاول في هذه الورقة أن نفهم كيف شكلت المنظومات الحضرية المنطقة وكيف ساهم هذا المخطط الذي يعود تاريخه إلى عام 1958 في إحداث طفرة في المشهد الجزائري من خلال تجربة الإسكان الاجتماعي التي قام بها بشكل رئيسي مهندسو الحركة الحديثة

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإسكان الاجتماعي ، الفرق الكبرى ، التصنيع ، الملتقى الدولي للهندسة المعمارية الحديثة 1953

'Uma terra de minerais': extração de petróleo e concepções da colonialidade francesa no Saara argelino

Gemma Jennings

Em 1956, foi descoberto petróleo no Saara argelino. A descoberta desencadeou um enorme investimento em infraestruturas por parte da metrópole francesa, com a rápida construção de poços, estradas e zonas residenciais ao longo de todo o deserto. O Estado colonial promoveu amplamente estes desenvolvimentos como grandes "melhorias" sociais. Mas os impactos tangíveis nas comunidades locais foram largamente ignorados ou presumidos, impactando assim a história social no final do período colonial na Argélia. Este artigo examina a forma como o desenvolvimento da indústria petrolífera afetou os residentes e moldou as práticas socio-espaciais no Saara argelino entre 1952 e 1962. A análise centra-se na forma como as diretivas e ideologias coloniais condicionaram direta e indiretamente o sector petrolífero e explora as implicações daí resultantes, centrando-se nas estruturas sociais locais, nas paisagens urbanas e infraestruturais e nos arquétipos de identidade étnica e regional. O artigo postula que o sector petrolífero, uma indústria com ligações estreitas ao Estado, à mão de obra migratória e às comunidades locais, fornece uma visão crítica tanto das realidades vividas como dos mecanismos sociopolíticos do domínio colonial tardio no Mediterrâneo.

Palavras-chave: Saara argelino, colonialismo, petróleo, infraestruturas.

'A land of minerals': Oil Extraction and the Construct of French Coloniality in the Algerian Sahara

In 1956 oil was discovered in the Algerian Sahara. The discovery sparked a huge infrastructural investment from the French metropole, with wells, roads and residential areas rapidly constructed across the desert. The colonial state widely promoted these developments as vast social 'improvements'. But their tangible impacts on local communities were widely overlooked or presupposed, thus affecting the society of the late colonial era in Algeria. This paper examines

how the development of the oil industry impacted residents and shaped socio-spatial practices across the Algerian Sahara between 1952 and 1962. The analysis concentrates on how colonial directives and ideologies directly and indirectly shaped the oil sector and explores the corollary implications, focusing on local social structures, urban and infrastructural landscapes and ethnic and regional identity archetypes. As an industry with close links to the state, migratory labour and local communities, the paper posits that the oil sector provides a critical insight into both the lived realities and socio-political mechanisms of late colonial rule across the Mediterranean.

Keywords: Algerian Sahara, colonialism, oil sector, infrastructure.

'Une terre de minerais': extraction pétrolière et construction de la colonialité française au Sahara algérien

En 1956, le pétrole a été découvert dans le Sahara algérien. La métropole française a rapidement construit les infrastructures pétrolières dans le désert, y compris des puits, des routes et des zones résidentielles. L'État colonial a largement promu ces développements comme de vastes «améliorations» sociales. Mais leurs impacts tangibles sur les communautés locales ont été largement ignorés ou présumés, façonnant ainsi l'histoire social à la fin de l'Algérie coloniale. Cet article examine comment le développement de l'industrie pétrolière impactait les résidents et les pratiques socio-spatiales à travers le Sahara algérien entre 1952 et 1962. L'analyse se concentre sur la façon dont les directives et les idéologies coloniales ont directement et indirectement façonné le secteur du pétrole et explore les implications corollaires. L'article se concentre sur les structures sociales locales, les paysages urbains et infrastructuraux et les identités ethniques et régionaux. En tant qu'industrie étroitement liée à l'État, à la main-d'œuvre migrante et aux communautés locales, l'article postule que le secteur pétrolier fournit un aperçu critique des réalités vécues et des mécanismes sociopolitiques des dernières années de la domination impériale.

Mots-clés: Sahara algérien, colonialisme, pétrole, infrastructure.

أرض المعادن: استخراج النفط والاستعمار الفرنسي في الصحراء
الجزائرية
جيما جينينغز

في عام 1956 تم اكتشاف النفط في الصحراء الجزائرية وقد تلى هذا الاكتشاف استثمارات ضخمة في البنية التحتية من قبل الإدارة الإستعمارية، حيث تم بناء الأبار والطرق والمناطق السكنية بسرعة عبر الصحراء. ووجت الدولة الإستعمارية لهذه التطورات على نطاق واسع باعتبارها "تحسينات" اجتماعية واسعة النطاق، في حين تم تجاهل تأثيرها على المجتمعات المحلية مما أثر على مجتمع أو آخر الحقيبة الإستعمارية في الجزائر. يبحث هذا المقال في كيفية تأثير تطور صناعة النفط على السكان وتشكيل الممارسات الاجتماعية والمكانية عبر الصحراء الجزائرية بين عامي 1952 و1962. ويركز التحليل على كيفية تشكيل التوجهات والأيدولوجيات الإستعمارية بشكل مباشر وغير مباشر على قطاع النفط ويستكشف الآثار المترتبة على ذلك، مع التركيز على الهياكل الاجتماعية المحلية، والمناظر الطبيعية الحضرية والبنية التحتية ونماذج الهوية العرقية والإقليمية. باعتباره صناعة ذات روابط وثيقة مع الدولة والعمالة المهاجرة والمجتمعات المحلية، تقتض الدراسة أن قطاع النفط يوفر رؤية نقدية لكل من الواقع المعاش والأليات الاجتماعية والسياسية للحكم الإستعماري المتأخر عبر البحر الأبيض المتوسط.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الصحراء الجزائرية، الاستعمار، قطاع النفط، البنية التحتية

**Reconstituição da continuidade e da
descontinuidade de uma tipologia
vernacular de Habitação de Massas no
contexto colonial de Marrocos: o caso
da cidade de Casablanca**

Fatima Zohra Saaid, Najoua Beqqal, Mouna Sedreddine e Siham Elgharbi

Esta contribuição tem como objetivo explorar a tipologia da casa-pátio testada em Marrocos durante o período colonial. Para responder às necessidades de habitação em massa na cidade de Casablanca, a administração colonial lançou programas de habitação pública em grande escala. Os arquitetos estrangeiros procuraram então respostas adaptadas ao contexto local, adotando a tipologia da casa-pátio representada na habitação tradicional muçulmana para realizar programas de habitação em massa,

tanto individuais como coletivos. Da *Cité Habous* realizada em 1918, à grelha 8x8 e ao *Nid d'abeilles* em 1948, estas experiências geraram tipologias arquitetónicas e urbanas modernas. Através de uma análise arquitetónica e histórica, este artigo reconstitui as continuidades e descontinuidades da tipologia da casa-pátio do contexto colonial ao pós-colonial e investiga como a sua reinterpretação tinha evoluído de forma diferente para além dos seus próprios contextos, alimentando novas respostas teóricas e práticas.

Palavras-chave: casa-pátio, tipologia, habitação de massas, Casablanca.

**Retracing continuity and discontinuity of
a vernacular typology mass housing in the
colonial context of Morocco: the case of the
city of Casablanca**

This contribution aims to explore the courtyard house typology experimented in Morocco during the colonial period. In order to answer the needs of mass housing in the city of Casablanca, the colonial administration launched large-scale public housing programs. Foreign architects were then seeking responses adapted to local context, adopting courtyard house typology depicted on traditional Muslim dwelling in order to achieve both individual and collective mass housing programs. From the *Cité Habous* realized in 1918, to the grid 8x8 of and the *Nid d'abeilles* in 1948, these experiences generated new architectural and urban modern typologies. Through an architectural and historical analysis, this article retraces continuities and discontinuities of courtyard house typology from colonial to postcolonial context and investigates how its reinterpretation had evolved differently beyond its own contexts, feeding new theoretical and practical answers.

Keywords: Courtyard house, typology, mass housing, Casablanca.

**Retracer la continuité et la discontinuité
d'une typologie vernaculaire d'habitat de
masse dans le contexte colonial du Maroc:
le cas de la ville de Casablanca**

Cette contribution explore la typologie maison à patio expérimentée au Maroc en période coloniale en réponse aux besoins en logements dans la ville de Casablanca. Les architectes étrangers de l'administration coloniale ont lancé de vastes programmes d'habitat de masse aussi bien individuels que collectifs.

Cherchant une solution adaptée au contexte local, ils ont adopté la typologie maison à patio en se référant à la maison musulmane traditionnelle. De la *Cité Habous* réalisée en 1918, à la grille 8x8 et au Nid d'abeilles en 1948, ces expériences ont généré de nouvelles typologies architecturales et urbaines modernes. À travers une analyse architecturale et historique, cet article retrace les continuités et les discontinuités de la typologie maison à patio du contexte colonial au contexte postcolonial, en analysant comment ses réinterprétations ont évolué différemment au-delà de leur propre contexte et ont nourri de nouveaux discours théoriques et pratiques en architecture moderne.

Mots-clés: Maison à patio, typologie, habitat de masse, Casablanca.

تقفي استمرارية وعدم استمرارية صنف سكني دارج في سياق سياسات السكن الاجتماعي في فترة الاستعمار بالمغرب : دراسة حالة مدينة الدار البيضاء
فاطمة الزهراء السعيد، نجوى البقال، منى صدر الدين، سهام الغربي

يهدف هذا المقال إلى دراسة صنف السكن ذو الفناء الذي تم تبنيه خلال فترة الحكم الاستعماري الفرنسي، من أجل الاستجابة لحاجيات السكن الاجتماعي بمدينة الدار البيضاء. حيث أطلقت الإدارة الفرنسية برامج للإسكان واسعة النطاق موجهة للعاملين والمهاجرين من الفري لأجل توفير مساكن فردية وأخرى من نوع شقق كلها كانت من صنف المنازل ذات فناء. فقد حاول المهندسون المعماريون الأجانب آنذاك البحث عن حلول معمارية وعمرانية تراعي الثقافة المحلية وأنماط الحياة، فقاموا بتبني هذا الصنف من السكن إستناداً على نمط المنازل الإسلامية التقليدية، ابتداءً من برنامج حي الخبوس الذي تم إنشائه في عام 1918، ونموذج السكن الجماعي 8 × 8 متر وكذا السكن الملقب "عش النحل" ابتداءً من عام 1948، كلها تجارب مصممة لمعالجة مشكل المهاجرين من الفري والتي أفرزت أنماطاً معمارية وحضرية حديثة جديدة. من خلال التحليل المعماري والتاريخي، يتبنت هذا المقال استمرارية وعدم استمرارية نماذج السكن ذات الفناء في السياق الاستعماري إلى ما بعد هذه الفترة كما يبحث في كيفية تطورها بشكل مختلف خارج هذا السياق، بما يغني التفكير النظري والتطبيقي في مجال الهندسة المعمارية الحديثة

الكلمات المفتاحية: المنازل ذات الفناء، التصنيف، الإسكان الجماعي، الدار البيضاء

Estudando essências, fazendo Cultura: paisagens virgens e a invenção arquitetônica do Império português tardio

Rui Aristides Lebre

Arquiteturas ditas *glocais* têm um papel central nas normas e formas arquitetônicas do presente. Este é também o caso em Portugal, onde arquiteturas reputadas utilizam alguma forma de tradição local ou reificação cultural como credencial de qualidade. Este artigo argumenta que esta situação resulta em parte dos discursos culturais desenvolvidos pela ditadura portuguesa do Estado Novo, com o seu projeto colonial no pós-guerra, combinando modernização com reorganização imperial e no qual os ideais de autonomia e liberdade avançados pela arquitetura modernista tiveram um contributo direto. O artigo avança a hipótese de que a apropriação destes ideais precisa de ser entendida simultaneamente como um sinal de progresso para uma elite profissional e uma nova máscara para um antigo e violento sistema de desigualdade.

O artigo explora a infraestruturização colonial do conhecimento arquitetónico no pós-guerra, discutindo o papel de paisagens "virgens" na recriação de práticas profissionais à luz da modernização colonial. O artigo analisa como processos etnográficos foram integrados pela criatividade arquitetónica, inspirando formas "Portuguesas" de modernismo e imperialismo que se diziam "culturalmente comprometidas". Oferecendo uma crítica e debate cultural das imbricações entre arquitetura, antropologia, nação e império, o artigo tem por objetivo contribuir para a historiografia política de arquitetura, bem como para debates sobre o papel de práticas espaciais modernas na criação de categorias raciais.

Palavras-chave: Arquitetura, etnografia, modernismo, colonialismo.

Surveying essences, producing culture: virgin landscapes and the architectural reinvention of the late Portuguese empire

Discursively *glocal* architectures play a key role in today's architectural norms and forms. This is also the case in Portugal where modern pedigree architecture harnesses some form of local tradition and cultural reification as credentials. This article

argues this is partly rooted in the cultural discourses developed within the post-war colonial project of the Portuguese dictatorship (Estado Novo), intersecting modernization with imperial reorganization, and in which architectural modernist ideals of autonomy and liberty played a direct role. The article contends the appropriation of these ideals needs to be considered in a double light: as a sign of progress for a professional elite and as a new mask for an old and violent system of inequality.

The article explores the colonial infra-structuring of post-war architectural knowledge, questioning the role of “virgin” landscapes in re-creating professional practice rallied by colonial modernization. The article examines how ethnographic processes were integrated into architectural creation, inspiring “culturally committed” forms of “Portuguese” modernism and imperialism. Offering a critique and cultural debate of the entanglements between architecture, anthropology, nation and empire, the article aims to contribute to architecture’s political history and to debates on the role of modern spatial practices in the creation of racial categories.

Keywords: Architecture, ethnography, modernism, colonialism.

Arpenter les essences, produire la culture: les paysages vierges et la réinvention architecturale de la fin de l’empire portugais

Les architectures locales décourageantes jouent un rôle clé dans les normes et les formes architecturales d’aujourd’hui. C’est aussi le cas au Portugal, où l’architecture moderne à pedigree exploite une certaine forme de tradition locale et de réification culturelle comme références. Cet article soutient que cela est en partie enraciné dans les discours culturels développés avec le projet colonial d’après-guerre de la dictature portugaise (Estado Novo), croisant la modernisation avec la réorganisation impériale, et dans lequel les idéaux architecturaux modernistes d’autonomie et de liberté ont joué un rôle direct. L’article soutient que l’appropriation de ces idéaux doit être considérée sous un double angle: comme un signe de progrès pour une élite professionnelle et comme un nouveau masque pour un système d’inégalité ancien et violent.

L’article explore l’infra-structuration coloniale du savoir architectural d’après-guerre, remettant en question le rôle des paysages “vierges” dans la

recréation d’une pratique professionnelle ralliée par la modernisation coloniale. L’article examine comment les processus ethnographiques ont été intégrés dans la création architecturale, inspirant des formes “culturellement engagées” du modernisme et de l’impérialisme “portugais”. Proposant une critique et un débat culturel sur les liens entre l’architecture, l’anthropologie, la nation et l’empire, l’article vise à contribuer à l’histoire politique de l’architecture et aux débats sur le rôle des pratiques spatiales modernes dans la création de catégories raciales.

Mots-clés: Architecture, ethnographie, modernisme, colonialisme.

دراسة الجوه و إنتاج الثقافة: المناظر الطبيعية العذراء وإعادة
الابتكار المعماري للإمبراطورية البرتغالية المتأخرة
روي أريستيدس ليير

تلعب البنى الخطابية المحلية دورًا رئيسيًا في المعايير والأشكال المعمارية الحالية، وهذا هو الحال أيضًا في البرتغال حيث تستغل الهندسة المعمارية الحديثة شكلًا من أشكال التقاليد المحلية والتجسيد الثقافي كأوراق اعتماد. يعتبر هذا المقال بأن الأمر متجذر جزئيًا في الخطابات الثقافية التي تم تطويرها ضمن المشروع الاستعماري للديكتاتورية البرتغالية بعد الحرب والذي ربط عملية التحديث مع إعادة تنظيم الإمبراطورية، والذي لعبت فيه مثل الحداثة المعمارية للاستقلال والحرية دورًا مباشرًا. يؤكد المقال أن الاستيلاء على هذه المثل يجب أن يُنظر إليه في سياق مزدوج، كدليل على تقدم النخبة المهنية من جهة وكفناح جديد لنظام قديم وعنيف تجسده عدم المساواة من جهة أخرى. يستكشف المقال البنية التحتية الاستعمارية للمعرفة المعمارية في فترة ما بعد الحرب، ويتساءل عن دور المناظر الطبيعية “العذراء” في إعادة خلق الممارسة المهنية التي حشدتها التحديث الاستعماري. يتناول المقال كيفية دمج العمليات الإثنوغرافية في الإبداع المعماري، مما ألهم أشكال الحداثة والإمبريالية “البرتغالية” الملتزمة ثقافيًا. يقدم المقال كذلك نقدًا ونقاشًا ثقافيًا للتشابكات بين الهندسة المعمارية والأنثروبولوجيا والأمة والإمبراطورية، ويهدف إلى المساهمة في التاريخ السياسي للهندسة المعمارية وفي النقاشات حول دور الممارسات المكانية الحديثة في إنشاء الفئات العرقية

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهندسة المعمارية، الأجناس البشرية، الحداثة، الاستعمار

“Uma Guiné Melhor”: A ação psicológica e a espacialização do controlo populacional em meio rural. As aldeias estratégicas na Guiné-Bissau entre 1968 e 1973

Francesca Vita

Na última década da colonização portuguesa na Guiné-Bissau, aceleraram-se processos de ocupação territorial por parte das autoridades coloniais. Enquanto a administração colonial tentou promover um discurso baseado sobre o melhoramento das condições de vida da população nativa, os meios de contrainsurgência operaram uma profunda violência na esfera pública e privada das populações autóctones. A ocupação do território e a confrontação com as populações rurais teve o seu ápice durante o conflito armado que levará à independência do país (1974) e mais especificadamente com o mandato do governador-general António de Spínola (1968-1972). O estudo da propaganda “Uma Guiné Melhor” promovido por António de Spínola revela um projeto de ocupação militar do território alcançado pela construção de “aldeamentos estratégicos que aprisionavam” as populações locais (Ledda, 1970: 119). O objetivo deste artigo é estudar a construção desses *reordenamentos* e as tipologias habitacionais propostas, questionando o impacto social, espacial e económico na vida da população rural. Pretende-se ainda enquadrar a controversa política de integração promovida na propaganda “Uma Guiné Melhor”, através do estudo das estratégias de espacialização das populações entre 1968-1973.

Palavras-chave: Guiné-Bissau, António de Spínola, reordenamentos, guerra de independência.

“Uma Guiné Melhor”: the psychological action and the spatialization of population control in rural areas. The strategic villages in Guinea-Bissau between 1968-1973

In the last decade of colonial Portuguese Guinea (now Guiné-Bissau), the Portuguese government accelerated the process of territory occupation. While colonial administration announced to promote and improve living conditions of the Guinean population, nevertheless the population experienced a violent intrusion in their private and public life by the colonial authorities. The effective territory occupation and the clash with the rural population started during the War of Independence and especially during the

government of Governor General António de Spínola (1968-1972) under the so-called “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” (“A Better Guinea”) plan. This plan was not only a psychological-propaganda campaign, but also a clear military occupation strategy to achieve the implementation of “strategic camps that imprison” the local population (Ledda, 1970: 119). The aim of this paper is to examine the construction of those strategic camps, to explore the housing typologies and to question the social, spatial and economic impact on the life of the rural Guinean population. This article also aims to frame the controversial messages of the integration policy acclaimed in the “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” plan by exploring and analysing the strategies of spatialization of people in action between 1968-1973.

Keywords: Guinea-Bissau, António de Spínola, resettlements, War of Independence.

“Uma Guiné Melhor”: L'action psychologique et la spatialisaton du contrôle de la population en milieu rural. Les villages stratégiques en Guinée-Bissau entre 1968-1973

Au cours de la dernière décennie de la colonisation de la Guinée-Bissau, le gouvernement portugais a accéléré le processus d'occupation du territoire. Alors que l'administration coloniale annonçait promouvoir et améliorer les conditions de vie de la population guinéenne, celle-ci a néanmoins subi une intrusion violente des autorités coloniales dans sa vie privée et publique. L'occupation effective du territoire et l'affrontement avec la population rurale ont commencé pendant la guerre d'indépendance et surtout sous le gouvernement du gouverneur général António de Spínola (1968-1972), dans le cadre du plan “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” (“Une Guinée meilleure”). Ce plan n'était pas seulement une campagne de propagande psychologique: il s'agissait aussi d'une stratégie d'occupation militaire claire dont le but était le développement de “camps stratégiques qui emprisonnent” la population locale (Ledda, 1970: 119). L'objectif de cet article est d'examiner la construction de ces camps stratégiques, d'explorer les typologies de logement et de questionner l'impact social, spatial et économique sur la vie de la population rurale guinéenne. Cet article vise aussi à encadrer les messages controversés de la politique d'intégration acclamée dans le plan “*Uma Guiné Melhor*” en explorant et en analysant les stratégies de spatialisaton des personnes en action entre 1968-1973.

Mots-clés: Guinée-Bissau, António de Spínola, réinstallations, guerre d'indépendance.

"نحو غينيا أفضل": العمل النفسي والمكاني للسيطرة السكانية في المناطق الريفية. القرى الإستراتيجية في غينيا بيساو ما بين 1973-1968
فرانزيسكا فيتا

في العقد الأخير من استعمار غينيا البرتغالية (غينيا بيساو الآن)، قامت الحكومة البرتغالية بتسريع عملية احتلال الأراضي. بينما أعلنت الإدارة الاستعمارية عن تعزيز وتحسين الظروف المعيشية للسكان الغينيين، إلا أن السكان تعرضوا لتدخل عنيف في حياتهم الخاصة والعامية من قبل السلطات الاستعمارية. بدأ الاحتلال الفعلي للأراضي والاشتبك مع سكان الريف خلال حرب الاستقلال وخاصة خلال حكومة الحاكم العام أنطونيو دي سيبينولا (1968-1972) في ظل المخطط المسمى "نحو غينيا أفضل". لم يكن هذا المخطط مجرد حملة دعائية نفسية، بل كان أيضًا استراتيجية احتلال عسكرية واضحة لتحقيق تنفيذ "المعسكرات الاستراتيجية التي تسجن" السكان المحليين (لندا: 1970: 119). الهدف من هذا المقال هو دراسة تشييد تلك المعسكرات الاستراتيجية واستكشاف أنواع الإسكان والتساؤل عن التأثير الاجتماعي والمكاني والاقتصادي على حياة سكان الريف الغيني. تهدف هذه المقالة أيضًا إلى تطويع الرسائل المثيرة للجدل لسياسة التكامل المشهود لها في خطة "نحو غينيا أفضل" من خلال استكشاف وتحليل استراتيجيات التوزيع المكاني للأشخاص أثناء العمل بين عامي 1973-1968

الكلمات المفتاحية: غينيا بيساو، أنطونيو دي سيبينولا، إعادة التوطين، حرب الاستقلال

Um urbanismo dividido – sobre a produção espacial de infraestruturas de transporte em Livingstone durante o colonialismo tardio

Carl-Philipp Bodenstern

Embora a segregação e a exclusão fossem características centrais do colonialismo em África, os graus de segregação, bem como as suas manifestações específicas – materiais e simbólicas, visíveis e ocultas – variavam. As leis, as políticas e a sua implementação diferiam não só entre colonialismos mas também entre territórios coloniais sob o mesmo domínio e, nalguns casos até, entre distritos e áreas urbanas dentro de um mesmo território colonial. A segregação e a exclusão não são visíveis apenas na divisão física entre as áreas urbanas europeias e africanas mas também em

práticas discriminatórias de provisão, distribuição e acesso às infraestruturas urbanas. Este artigo procura explorar o fornecimento de infraestruturas de transportes públicos em Livingstone (Zâmbia) durante os finais da década de 1940 e a década de 1950, debatendo os processos de negociação envolvidos neste empreendimento e lançando luz sobre as dinâmicas e ideologias espaciais que orientam estas negociações e discursos. Os dados utilizados nesta contribuição baseiam-se em fontes dos Arquivos Nacionais da Zâmbia em Lusaca, realizada em 2017 e 2018.

Palavras-chave: História urbana, Infraestruturas de transportes, Colonialismo, Rodésia do Norte.

Divided Urbanism – On the Spatial Production of Transportation Infrastructures of Livingstone during Late Colonialism

While segregation and exclusion were central features of colonialism in Africa, the degrees of segregation as well as their specific manifestations – materially and symbolically, visible and concealed – varied. Legal procedures, policies and their implementation differed not only between colonialisms but also between colonial territories under the same rule and sometimes even between districts and urban areas within one and the same colonial state. Segregation was not only rendered visible in the physical divide between European and African urban areas but also in the discriminatory practices and uneven provision, distribution of and access to urban infrastructure. This paper seeks to explore the provision of public transportation infrastructure in Livingstone (Zambia) during the late 1940s and 1950s by discussing the negotiation processes involved in this endeavour and the spatial dynamics and ideologies guiding these negotiations and its discourses. The data used in this contribution rely on archival documents consulted at the National Archives of Zambia in Lusaka in 2017 and 2018.

Keywords: Urban History, Transportation Infrastructure, Settler Colonialism, Northern Rhodesia.

Urbanisme divisé – La production spatiale des infrastructures de transport à Livingstone au cours du colonialisme tardif

Si la ségrégation et l'exclusion étaient des caractéristiques centrales du colonialisme en Afrique, les degrés de ségrégation ainsi que leurs manifestations spécifiques – matérielles et symboliques, visibles et cachées – variaient. Les lois, les politiques et leur mise

en œuvre différaient non seulement d'un colonialisme à l'autre, mais aussi parmi les différents territoires sous le même régime et même entre les districts et les zones urbaines d'un même territoire. La ségrégation et l'exclusion n'étaient pas seulement visibles dans le fossé physique entre zones urbaines européennes et africaines mais aussi dans les pratiques discriminatoires de la fourniture, distribution et accès inégaux aux infrastructures urbaines. Cet article cherche à explorer la mise en place d'infrastructures de transport public à Livingstone (Zambie) à la fin des années 1940 et dans les années 1950, en discutant des processus de négociation impliqués dans cette entreprise et en mettant en lumière les dynamiques spatiales et les idéologies qui ont guidé ces négociations et leurs discours. Les données utilisées dans cette contribution sont basées sur des recherches archivistiques menées en 2017 et 2018 aux Archives Nationales de Zambie, à Lusaka.

Mots-clés: Histoire urbaine, Infrastructure de transport, Colonialisme de peuplement, Rhodésie du Nord.

العمران المنقسم: الإنتاج المكاني للبنية التحتية للنقل في

ليفينغستون خلال الاستعمار المتأخر

كارل فيليب بودنشتاين

حين كان الفصل والإقصاء من السمات الأساسية للاستعمار في أفريقيا، كانت درجات الفصل وكذلك مظاهره المحددة مادياً ورمزياً، مرئية كانت أو مخفية فقد كانت كلها متباينة. اختلفت الإجراءات والسياسات القانونية وتنفيذها ليس فقط بين المستعمرات ولكن أيضاً بين المناطق الاستعمارية الخاضعة لنفس الحكم وأحياناً بين المقاطعات والمناطق الحضرية داخل نفس الدولة الاستعمارية. لم يصبح الفصل واضحاً فقط في الفجوة المادية بين المناطق الحضرية الأوروبية والإفريقية، ولكن أيضاً في الممارسات التمييزية وعدم المساواة في توفير البنية التحتية الحضرية وتوزيعها والوصول إليها. يسعى هذا المقال إلى دراسة البنية التحتية للنقل العام في ليفينغستون (زامبيا) خلال أواخر الأربعينيات والخمسينيات من القرن الماضي من خلال مناقشة عمليات التفاوض المتضمنة في هذا السعي والديناميكيات المكانية والأيدولوجيات التي توجه هذه المفاوضات وخطاباتها. تعتمد البيانات المستخدمة في هذه المساهمة على الوثائق الأرشيفية التي تم الرجوع إليها في الأرشيف الوطني لزامبيا في لوساكا في عامي 2017 و2018

الكلمات المفتاحية: التاريخ الحضري، البنية التحتية لوسائل النقل، الاستعمار الاستيطاني، روديسيا الشمالية

No meio de / a todos os níveis – [Applied] Foreign Affairs

Baerbel Mueller

O [Applied] Foreign Affairs é um laboratório que investiga fenômenos espaciais, infraestruturais, ambientais e culturais na África subsariana. Os projetos são baseados numa abordagem interdisciplinar, transcultural e experimental. Os estudantes são expostos à diversidade espacial e à vibração cultural das condições africanas contemporâneas. Seguem-se cursos intensivos que se centram na realidade e no potencial de um local ou situação específicos e trabalho de campo durante o qual se criam padrões de crescimento rural, protótipos urbanos, espaços artísticos imaginários e intervenções físicas relacionais. As relações convencionais entre cliente, comunidade e arquiteto; ateliê, universidade e campo são questionadas. Os processos de relacionar e fazer são conceptualizados de uma forma reativa e desacelerada, integrando condições de incerteza e de fragilidade. Idealmente, surgem híbridos espaciais e programáticos de diversos autores.

Durante a formação da [A]FA, considerei ser significativo que, sempre que se tratava de África, as escolas de arquitetura do Norte oferecessem ou seminários altamente teóricos sobre teoria pós-colonial ou simplesmente ateliês de conceção-construção muito práticos – muitas vezes com uma abordagem acrítica e quase neocolonial. O objetivo da [A]FA tem sido o de trabalhar no espectro intermédio.

Palavras-chave: Transdisciplinaridade, conceção-construção, Estratégias descolonizadoras, Práticas espaciais transculturais.

In between on all levels – [Applied] Foreign Affairs

[Applied] Foreign Affairs is a laboratory that investigates spatial, infrastructural, environmental, and cultural phenomena in sub-Saharan Africa. Projects are based on an interdisciplinary, trans-cultural, and experimental approach. Students are introduced to the spatial diversity and cultural vibrancy of contemporary African conditions, followed by “intensive” courses which focus on the status and potential of a specific place or situation, and field work that creates rural growth patterns, urban prototypes, imaginary art spaces, as well as relational physical interventions. Conventional relationships between client, community and architect; studio, university and field

are questioned. The process of relating and making is conceptualized in a reactive, slowed-down manner, embracing conditions of uncertainty and fragility. Ideally, spatial and programmatic hybrids of diverse ownerships emerge.

While forming [A]FA, I found it problematic that whenever it was about Africa, (northern) schools of architecture either offered highly theoretical seminars on post-colonial theory or very down-to earth design-build studios – often with an uncritical, close-to-neo-colonial approach. The objective of [A]FA has been to work in the spectrum in-between.

Keywords: Transdisciplinarity, Design-build, Decolonizing strategies, Transcultural spatial practices.

Entre les deux à tous les niveaux – [Applied] Foreign Affairs

[Applied] Foreign Affairs est un laboratoire qui étudie les phénomènes spatiaux, infrastructuraux, environnementaux et culturels en Afrique subsaharienne. Les projets sont basés sur une approche interdisciplinaire, transculturelle et expérimentale. Les étudiants sont initiés à la diversité spatiale et à la vitalité culturelle des conditions africaines contemporaines, suivis par des cours "intensives" qui se concentrent sur le statut et le potentiel d'un lieu ou d'une situation spécifique, par un travail de terrain qui crée des modèles de croissance rurale, des prototypes urbains, des espaces d'art imaginaires et des interventions physiques relationnelles. Les relations conventionnelles entre le client, la communauté et l'architecte, le studio, l'université et le terrain sont remises en question. Le processus de relation et de création est conceptualisé de manière réactive et ralentie, en tenant compte des conditions d'incertitude et de fragilité. Idéalement, des hybrides spatiaux et programmatiques de diverses propriétés émergent.

En créant [A]FA, j'ai trouvé problématique qu'à chaque fois qu'il s'agissait de l'Afrique, les écoles d'architecture (du Nord) proposaient soit des séminaires très théoriques sur la théorie post-coloniale, soit des studios de conception-construction très terre-à-terre – souvent avec une approche non critique, proche du néo-colonialisme. L'objectif d'[A]FA a été de travailler dans l'entre-deux.

Mots-clés: Transdisciplinarité, Conception-construction, Stratégies de décolonisation, Pratiques spatiales transculturelles.

البينية على جميع المستويات - مخبر الشؤون الخارجية التطبيقية بيريل مولر

الشؤون الخارجية [التطبيقية] هو مخبر يبحث في الظواهر المكانية والبنوية والبينية والثقافية في أفريقيا جنوب الصحراء الكبرى. تعتمد مشاريعه على منهج تجريبي متعدد التخصصات والثقافات حيث يتم تعريف الطلاب بالتنوع المكاني والحيوية الثقافية للظروف الأفريقية المعاصرة، تليها دورات "مكتفة" تركز على حالة وإمكانات مجال أو موقف معين، إضافة إلى العمل الميداني الذي يخلق أنماط النمو الريفي والنماذج الحضرية والمساحات الفنية الخيالية فضلاً عن التدخلات الجسدية العلائقية. يدرس المقال العلاقات التقليدية بين العميل والمجتمع والمهندس المعماري والاستوديو والجامعة والميدان ليتم تصور عملية الارتباط والتصنيع بطريقة تفاعلية وبطينة تتبنى عدم اليقين والهشاشة، أما من الناحية المثالية، فتظهر عمليات هجينة مكانية وبرمجية ذات ملكيات متنوعة.

أثناء إنشاء المخبر وجدت أنه عندما يتعلق الأمر بإفريقيا، فإن مدارس الهندسة المعمارية (الشمالية) إما تقدم ندوات نظرية للغاية حول نظرية ما بعد الاستعمار أو استوديوهات بناء تصميم واقعية قريب من الاستعمار. للغاية - غالباً ما تكون غير نقدية، وهذا نهج الجديد. لقد كان الهدف من إنشاء المخبر هو العمل في نطاق يكون وسطاً بين الاثنين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تعدد المناهج، التصميم والبناء، استراتيجيات إنهاء الاستعمار، الممارسات المكانية العابرة للثقافات

A configuração inacabada da modernidade: a experiência narrativa de Idriss al-Ġu'aydi, viajante marroquino na Europa durante o verão de 1876

Nizar Tajditi

O relatório da embaixada do marroquino Idriss al-Ġu'aydi em França, Bélgica, Inglaterra e Itália durante o verão de 1876, Ithāf al-akhyār (Das curiosidades da Europa que espantam as pessoas honestas) é importante em vários aspetos. Depois da sua recente tradução para francês procurámos, neste estudo, levantar pelo menos três pontos: em primeiro lugar, o

seu contexto político internacional e motivações internas; depois, o impacto da revolução industrial sobre os membros da embaixada, tal como o deixa ver o precioso testemunho do narrador; e, finalmente, os meios linguísticos e icónicos utilizados pelo autor tanto para traduzir do espelho europeu ao leitor marroquino a imagem de uma modernidade inimaginável até então.

Palavras-chave: Literatura de viagens, Marrocos imperial, Revolução Industrial, Imagologia.

The Unfinished Configuration of Modernity: The Narrative Experience of Idriss al-Ġu'aydī, Moroccan Traveler in Europe during the Summer of 1876

The embassy report of the Moroccan Idriss al-Ġu'aydī in France, Belgium, England and Italy during the summer of 1876, *Ithāf al-'akhyār* (Of the curiosities of Europe which amaze honest people) is important in several respects. After its recent translated into French, this paper tries to raise at least three points within it: first, its international political context and its internal motives; then, the impact of the industrial revolution upon the members of the embassy, as seen through the precious testimony of the narrator; and finally the means both linguistic and iconic used by the author to translate from the European mirror to the Moroccan reader the image of a modernity so far unimaginable.

Keywords: Travel literature, Imperial Morocco, Industrial Revolution, Imagology.

La configuration inachevée de la modernité: L'expérience narrative d'Idriss al-Ġu'aydī, voyageur marocain en Europe pendant l'été 1876

La relation d'ambassade du Marocain Idriss al-Ġu'aydī en France, en Belgique, en Angleterre et en Italie durant l'été 1876, *Ithāf al-'akhyār* (Des curiosités de l'Europe qui étonnent les honnêtes gens) est importante à plus d'un titre. Traduit en français très récemment, nous avons tenté, dans cette étude, de soulever au moins trois points: d'abord, son contexte politique international et ses motivations internes; ensuite l'impact de la révolution industrielle sur les membres de l'ambassade à travers le précieux témoignage du narrateur; enfin, les moyens à la fois linguistiques et iconiques utilisés par l'auteur pour

traduire tour à tour la visibilité du miroir européen au lecteur marocain l'image d'une modernité inimaginable jusqu'alors.

Mots-clés: Littérature de voyage, Maroc impérial, Révolution industrielle, Imagologie.

التشكيل غير المكتمل للحدثة: التجربة السردية التأهيلية للكاتب إدريس الجعيدي خلال رحلته إلى أوروبا في صيف 1876م
نزار التجديتي

تعد الرحلة السفارية التي قام بها إدريس الجعيدي إلى فرنسا وبلجيكا وإنجلترا وإيطاليا صيف عام 1876، بعنوان "إتحاف الأخيار بغرائب الأخيار" هامة لاعتبارات عدة. ويمناسية ترجمتها إلى الفرنسية مؤخرًا، حاولنا، في هذه الدراسة، معالجة ثلاث نقاط: أولاً، سياقها السياسي الدولي وحوافزها الداخلية، وثانياً، تأثير الثورة الصناعية على أعضاء السفارة المغربية من خلال الشهادة الأدبية الثمينة للسارد، وأخيراً، الوسائل اللغوية والأيقونية التي وظفها المؤلف بذكاء لعكس مرئيته في المرأة الأوروبية ونقل صور الحدثة التي لم يكن ليتخيلها القارئ المغربي وقتئذ.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أدب الرحلات، المغرب السلطاني، الثورة الصناعية، الصوريات

O itinerário de um orientalista em Portugal e as suas redes europeias. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, militar e especialista sobre a Etiópia

Hervé Pennec

A proposta deste artigo é reconstituir e seguir o mais fielmente possível o itinerário de Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, um académico orientalista português de finais do século XIX. Para além da sua carreira militar, Esteves Pereira desenvolveu uma paixão pelas línguas etíopes e tornou-se um dos melhores especialistas da sua geração na matéria. É através dos arquivos militares, por um lado, e do estudo das redes europeias de estudiosos orientalistas, por outro, que podemos compreender melhor como se tornou um grande conhecedor da Etiópia, antiga e moderna. Daqui resulta um convite à releitura das fontes sobre as relações entre Portugal, os jesuítas e a Etiópia nos

séculos XVI e XVII, tendo em conta as construções desses objetos de conhecimento e as pretensões que os animam, que conduzem o leitor a uma “atitude de empirismo crítico”.

Palavras chave: Relações entre a Etiópia e Portugal, orientalismo, jesuítas na Etiópia, rede de estudiosos, produção de conhecimento.

The Itinerary of an Orientalist in Portugal and his European Networks. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, Military and Expert on Ethiopia

The proposal of this article is to reconstruct and follow as closely as possible the itinerary of Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, a Portuguese Orientalist scholar of the late 19th century. In addition to his military career, he developed a passion for Ethiopian languages and became one of the best specialists of these subjects in his generation. It is through the military archives, on the one hand, and the study of European networks of Orientalist scholars, on the other, that we can better understand how he became such an expert in ancient and modern Ethiopia. From this results an invitation to reread the sources on the relations between Portugal, the Jesuits and Ethiopia between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, highlighting the constructions of these objects of knowledge and their claims, which lead the reader to an “attitude of critical empiricism”.

Keywords: Relationship between Ethiopia and Portugal, Orientalism, Jesuits in Ethiopia, scholars' network, production of knowledge.

L'itinéraire d'un orientaliste au Portugal et ses réseaux européens. Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, militaire et éthiopisant

La proposition de cet article est de reconstituer et de suivre au plus près l'itinéraire de Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, un érudit orientaliste portugais de la fin du XIX^e siècle. Outre son métier de militaire, il

développa une passion pour les langues éthiopiennes et devint pour sa génération l'un des meilleurs spécialistes sur ces sujets. C'est à travers les archives militaires, d'une part, et l'étude des réseaux européens des savants orientalistes, d'autre part que l'on peut mieux saisir de quelle manière il put devenir un spécialiste de l'éthiopien ancien et moderne. De cette contribution résulte une invitation à relire les sources sur les relations entre le Portugal, les jésuites et l'Éthiopie aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, en prenant davantage en compte les constructions de ces objets de savoirs, ce qui éclaire les revendications qui les animent et conduisent le lecteur à une «attitude d'empirisme critique».

Mots-clés: Relations luso-éthiopiennes, orientalisme, jésuites en Éthiopie (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles), réseaux savants, productions et éditions de sources.

على خطى مستشرق في البرتغال وشبكاتة الأوروبية: فرانسيسكو ماريا إستيفيس بيريرا ، عسكري وخبير في شؤون إثيوبيا هيرفي بينيك

يقترح هذا المقال إعادة بناء وتتبع خط سير رحلة فرانسيسكو ماريا إستيفيس بيريرا العالم والمستشرق البرتغالي الذي عاش في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر. فبالإضافة إلى مسيرته العسكرية، نما لدى الرجل شغف باللغات الإثيوبية فأصبح من أفضل المتخصصين في جيله. من خلال الأرشيف العسكري من ناحية، ودراسة الشبكات الأوروبية للباحثين المستشرقين من ناحية أخرى، يمكننا أن نفهم بشكل أفضل كيف أصبح خبيرًا في إثيوبيا القديمة والحديثة، وتمثل هذه النتائج دعوة لإعادة قراءة المصادر المتعلقة بالعلاقات بين البرتغال واليسوعيين وإثيوبيا بين القرنين السادس عشر والسابع عشر، مع تسليط الضوء على تركيبات هذه المعارف التي تقود القارئ إلى "التجريبية" النقدية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: العلاقة بين إثيوبيا والبرتغال، الاستشراق، اليسوعيون في إثيوبيا، شبكة العلماء، إنتاج المعرفة

Legendas das ilustrações

- 1 e 2. Edifícios da época colonial em barro central. Argel, Argélia, 2018. Foto: Carmo Matos.
3. Composition végétale associant bougainvillier, jacarandas et palmiers dans une rue de la ville coloniale (quartier Guéliz). Marrakech, Maroc, 2014. Foto: Mustapha El- Hannani.
4. Edifício Central da Missão da Huíla. Huíla, Angola, 2022. Foto: Carmo Matos.
5. Estação do Caminho de Ferro de Moçamedes (CFM). Lubango, Angola, 2022. Foto: Carmo Matos.
6. Monumento em cemitério boer. Humpata, Angola, 2022. Foto: Carmo Matos.
- 7 A e B. Paisagem urbana. N'Djamena, Chade, 2023. Foto: Carmo Matos.
8. Bridge over Mansoa River, Guinea-Bissau. Jorge Perloiro & José Jacinto Alves, 1959-1964, Ing. Edgar Cardoso (courtesy of Carlos Ferraz).
9. Johan Lagae. Foto: Inge Elewat, 2021.
10. Mercado em Ondjiva (Cunene). Angola, 2022. Foto: Carmo Matos.
11. Jacaranda de la ville de Kasba. Tadla, Maroc, 2014. Foto: Mustapha El- Hannani.

Crítérios para publicação

- A *Africana Studia* só publica trabalhos inéditos.
- A *Africana Studia* aceita trabalhos científicos de qualquer área de investigação cuja temática seja África e sociedades africanas.
- Os trabalhos só poderão ser aceites em português, inglês ou francês.
- A publicação de trabalhos está sujeita à apreciação dos Conselhos Científico e Editorial, bem como, de um painel de árbitros constituídos por membros internos e externos ao CEAUP.

Normas para apresentação de originais

- Os originais devem chegar no programa WORD para Windows ao seguinte endereço eletrónico: *africanastudia@letras.up.pt*.
- Os originais devem vir acompanhados pela identificação do autor (nome, instituição e contactos).
- O corpo de letra deverá ser em fonte Arial ou Times New Roman. Tamanho: 12 pontos para o corpo do texto e 10 pontos para as notas. Espaço entre linhas: 1,5.
- As imagens (mapas, quadros, figuras, fotografias, etc.) devem ser numeradas de 01 em diante. A localização de cada imagem no texto deve ser indicada pelo autor. As imagens devem ser entregues em ficheiros individuais (com a extensão XLS para ficheiros Excel ou JPEG, TIFF ou EPS). As imagens devem ter no mínimo 10x6 cm com 1200x800 pixel (300 dpi).
- Os artigos terão no máximo 50 000 caracteres, incluindo espaços, notas e bibliografia (não serão contadas as imagens).
- Cada artigo será acompanhado de resumos em **duas línguas** escolhidas do seguinte conjunto: português e/ou inglês e/ou francês e/ou árabe. Cada resumo não poderá ultrapassar um máximo de 1000 caracteres do alfabeto latino. O resumo deverá incluir um conjunto de palavras-chave (máximo de quatro).
- As resenções não poderão exceder os 25 000 caracteres.

Normas de revisão e citação bibliográfica

- Os autores terão a possibilidade de rever provas dos seus trabalhos.
- Os autores comprometem-se a devolver as provas uma semana após o seu envio. Em caso de indisponibilidade, deverão declarar por escrito que prescindem dessa revisão de autor.
- As referências a autores, no texto, seguem a norma (autor, ano: página).
Exemplo: (Rodrigues, 2000: 15).
- Se houver uma referência a um mesmo autor no mesmo ano, este deve ser acrescido de uma letra minúscula.
Ex: (Rodrigues, 2000a: 15).
- Se a referência citada for de vários autores ficará:
(Rodrigues *et al.*, 2000: 15).
- As transcrições deverão ser em *itálico*, assim como quaisquer vocábulos em língua estrangeira.
- As notas de rodapé e outras deverão limitar-se a informações complementares de interesse substantivo, não ultrapassando cinco linhas em corpo 10.
- A lista das Referências bibliográficas será colocada no fim do artigo e deverá conter apenas as referências introduzidas no texto, listando-as por ordem alfabética e por ordem cronológica crescente quando forem do mesmo autor.
- A bibliografia deve seguir os seguintes exemplos:
 - Livros: Rodrigues, Carlos (2001), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
 - Coletâneas: Rodrigues, Carlos, Matos, A. e Silva, António (orgs.), (2002), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
 - Artigos em revistas: Rodrigues, Carlos (2001), *Os novos poderes em África*, *Africana Studia*, n.º 8 (ou vol.), pp. 12-35.
 - Artigos/capítulos em coletâneas: Matos, A. (2002), “Os novos políticos africanos”. In: Rodrigues, Carlos, Matos, A. e Silva, António (orgs.), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
- As traduções deverão indicar sempre que possível o ano da primeira publicação.
- Nas Referências bibliográficas eletrónicas deverá indicar-se sempre o site/path, a data do artigo e a data da consulta.
Exemplo: Portal da Língua Portuguesa, 2011. *Vocabulário ortográfico do português* [Em linha]. [Consult. 21.mar.2012]. Disponível em: <http://portaldalinguaportuguesa.org>.

- As referências das fontes primárias deverão vir em notas de rodapé e começar pelo acrónimo do arquivo/instituição, seguindo-se as unidades de arquivo numa ordem do geral ao particular.
Exemplo: AHU, maço 1665.1 - Governo de Angola, SNI, Nota n.º 136, 02-01-1935.
- Os acrónimos deverão ser desdobrados na lista das Referências bibliográficas.
- Após a publicação, os direitos de autor passam a ser pertença da *Africana Studia*.
- As imagens, no caso de serem originais e enviadas por via postal, serão devolvidas se assim for explicitado pelos autores.

Estatuto editorial e normas éticas

Ver o seguinte link: <http://www.africanos.eu/index.php/pt/africana-studia/estatuto-editorial-e-normas-%C3%A9ticas>.

Editorial Criteria

- *Africana Studia* publishes only original articles.
- *Africana Studia* accepts papers from every scientific field whose main object regards Africa and African societies.
- Papers are only accepted in Portuguese, English or French.
- Acceptance for publication depends on the validation of the Scientific and Editorial Boards of *Africana Studia* as well as on the validation of peer-reviewers.

Editorial Norms

- Articles should be sent in Windows-Word files to the following e-mail address: *africanastudia@letras.up.pt*.
- Articles must include the author's identification (name, institution, contacts).
- Characters should preferentially be Arial or Times New Roman font. Size: 12 for body text and 10 for footnotes. Spacing: 1,5.
- If the article includes images of any sort they should be numbered from 01 onwards. In the original the location of each image should be indicated by the author. The images should have the extension XLS - Excel and/or JPEG, TIFF or EPS. Images should have at least 10x6 cm with 1200x800 pixels (300 dpi).
- Articles should not exceed 50 000 characters, including spaces, references and bibliography (images excluded).
- Each article should include abstracts (maximum 1000 characters of the Latin alphabet) in **two languages** chosen out from Portuguese, English, French and/or Arabic. Abstracts must come with a set of key-words (maximum of four).
- Book reviews should not exceed 25 000 characters.

Revision and reference norms

- Authors can review their proof-readings.
- Authors are asked to send the proofs back within the next 10 days after their reception. In case of unavailability for doing so, they should inform the *Africana Studia* Editorial Board by written statement.
- References within the text should follow the norm (author, year: page).
Example: (Rodrigues, 2000: 15).
- If there is more than one reference to the same author a minor character should be added to the name.
Example: (Rodrigues, 2000a: 15).
- If there is more than one author in the quotation, the reference should be:
Example: (Rodrigues *et al.*, 2000: 15).
- Quotations and foreign words should come in italic.
- Footnotes will only be used only for complementary information, preferentially not longer than five lines in size 10.
- A list of Bibliographic references should come at the end of the article and must only quote the books, articles and manuscripts mentioned in the footnotes. The order of appearance is by ascending chronological when there is more than one reference of the same author.
- The bibliographical list should come as follows:
 - Books: Rodrigues, Carlos (2001), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
 - Colective books: Rodrigues, Carlos, Matos, A. e Silva, António (org.), (2002), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
 - Articles in Journals: Rodrigues, Carlos (2001), *Os novos poderes em África*, *Africana Studia*, n.º 8 (or vol.), pp. 12-35.
 - Articles/chapters in collective books: Matos, A. (2002), Os novos políticos africanos, in, Rodrigues, Carlos, Matos, A. e Silva, António (orgs.), *Os novos poderes em África*, Porto: Campo das Letras.
- Translated books should include, if possible, the year of the first printing.
- Quotations from online databases must always show the site/path, date of publishing and date of reading. Example: Portal da Língua Portuguesa, 2011. Vocabulário ortográfico do português [Online]. [Consult. 21.mar.2012]. Available at: <http://portaldalinguaportuguesa.org>.

- References to archival sources should come in footnotes and start by the acronym of the institution, followed by the archival units in descending order.
Example: AHU, maço 1665.1 - Government of Angola, SNI, minute n.º 136, 02-01-1935.
- Acronyms should be written out in full and be included in the bibliographical list.
- Copyrights of all published material belong to *Africana Studia*.
- Original images supplied by authors will be returned to them if requested.

Editorial statute and ethical norms

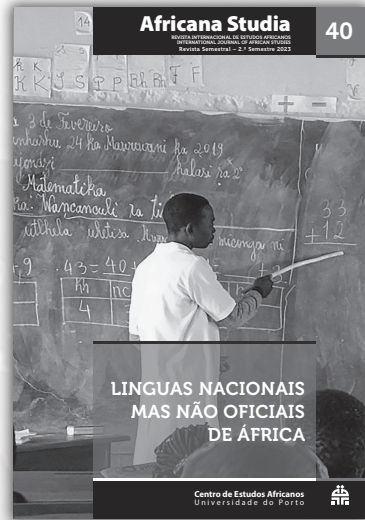
See: <http://www.africanos.eu/index.php/en/africana-studia-2/estatuto-editorial-2>.

Africana Studia

REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

N.º 40 – 2.º semestre – 2023

LÍNGUAS NACIONAIS MAS NÃO OFICIAIS DE ÁFRICA



Assinatura Anual (Annual Subscription)

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS U.P. – FLUP

Africana Studia – Via Panorâmica, s/n – 4150-564 PORTO – Portugal
Telephone / Fax (00-351-226077141)

Dois números semestrais (Two issues/year)

Portugal	22 €
U.E. (European Union)	28 €
PALOP's	32 €
Resto do Mundo (Rest of the world)	32 €

Desconto para estudantes (Student's discount) = 20% (*)

(*) Add copy of student's card

Nome (Name) _____

Morada (Address) _____

Telefone / Fax _____

Endereço electrónico (E-mail) _____

Modalidade de Pagamento (Payment by)

Transferência Bancária para: (Bank Transfer) _____

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS U.P.

IBAN: PT50 0035 0194 0000 2032 53053 – BIC/SWIFT: CGDIPTPL

Cheque Bancário N.º (Bank Cheque Nr.) _____

Necessário juntar comprovativo (add copy of bank transfer)

