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Bonnie Effros, *Incidental Archaeologists: French Officers and the Rediscovery of Roman North Africa*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018. xiii + 371 pp. Map, figures, notes, bibliography, and index. \$49.95 U.S. (hb). ISBN: 9781501702105; JSTOR eISBN: 9781501718540.

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The ancient Romans had a way to mask dynastic disruption: an upstart emperor could have himself retroactively adopted by a deceased predecessor. This was the case for the Libyan senator and general Septimius Severus who seized power in 193 CE. Official inscriptions thereafter described him as the son of the well-respected Marcus Aurelius, who had died thirteen years before. As a specialist in the Roman Empire and the historiography of its monuments, I often think of this ploy when reading about imperializing excavations in the nineteenth century. There were certainly no legal mechanisms for rulers such as Napoléon III to have themselves adopted into Rome's favored dynasties. Excavations of Roman sites occurring in the course of conquest and colonization, however, offered opportunities to craft tales of cultural kinship that bolstered claims of rightful inheritance. In her latest book, Bonnie Effros parses this kind of rhetoric with admirable nuance.

Based on extensive archival work, *Incidental Archaeologists: French Officers and the Rediscovery of Roman North Africa* focuses on the formative era of French archaeology in Algeria, from 1830 to 1870. Given that there was no centralized institutional approach to ancient remains at this time, Effros constructs a history based on the individual stories of men on the ground. What emerges are tales of individual fascination working against initial institutional indifference. Effros is especially attentive to the ensuing devastation, both archaeological and humanitarian. Although Roman antiquities were consistently put to rhetorical use justifying colonization, they were also regularly destroyed in military maneuvers, repurposed for practical use, and left vulnerable to decay and looting. Moreover, the men taking the initiative to care for Roman sites and artifacts were often the same ones leading violently punitive expeditions. One of the book's key contributions is its insistence on confronting the bloodshed and suffering caused by these incidental French archaeologists.

The book makes a valuable addition to the historiography on imperializing archaeology, which continues to reveal how the agents of European empires engaged with antiquities in foreign lands. The edited volume *Scramble for the Past: a Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* is one of the many exemplary studies that Effros cites.[1] For French activities in Algeria, the work of Monique Dondin-Payre and Nabila Oulebsir has been fundamental, as Effros likewise acknowledges.[2] Given that these authors publish primarily in French, much of their criticism

has been inaccessible to undergraduates in Anglophone classrooms. For advanced students and affiliated specialists who want to read their way into this subject, *Incidental Archaeologists* now offers an excellent point of entry. For those already familiar with the topic, the book makes a contribution by focusing on the early development of French archaeology in Algeria, a phenomenon that has been hard to see because of its unofficial and disjointed nature.

Effros also makes a contribution to the study of classics and colonialism. This related field addresses how Greek and Roman sources were employed in rhetoric justifying colonization and, conversely, how imperial endeavors shaped the very formation of Classics as a discipline.^[3] She is attentive, for instance, to the misreading of Greek and Latin texts by those proposing that France needed to return Algeria's lands to the full productivity that they had last known under Roman rule (pp. 74-6, 109). She also describes in detail how the first international schools and cataloguing projects emerged in the nineteenth century (chapter four). Scholars heeding the call to de-colonize the field of Classics will find much to ponder here.

The book comprises an introduction, five chapters, and an epilogue, all devoted to critiquing the use of Roman precedents by the agents of empire in Algeria. The introduction ("War and the Destruction of Antiquities in the Former Ottoman Empire") establishes the study's place in current scholarship and explores the historical background for France's invasion of Algeria. Topics briefly addressed include Napoleon's use of antiquities, the education of officers in France (with relevant training in drawing and mapping), the naval blockade of Algiers in 1827, the lack of institutional directives regarding cultural heritage, and the consequent necessity to look at individual actions. The chapter concludes by considering the alleged indifference of the land's long-term residents to the antiquities in their midst. Claims of ignorance can be countered by anecdotes of French officers interacting with nearby residents at the sites (these are taken up in detail at the end of chapter three, pp. 159-65)

The first chapter ("Knowing and Controlling: Early Archaeological Exploration in the Algerian Colony") opens with an account of the French naval blockade of Algiers (1827-30), the land invasion that followed, the subsequent disregard for the negotiated terms of surrender, and the chaos that resulted when the Ottoman governmental structure was dismantled in Algeria and when Louis Philippe came to power in France. Amidst this turmoil, documents record that the Minister of War granted permissions for digging in Algeria and that individuals amassed personal collections. No further records exist of the artifacts thus found and amassed, however, which should not be surprising given that cultural heritage protocols were just then beginning to develop in metropolitan France. The chapter also introduces several key protagonists. Adrien Berbrugger, initially secretary to the Governor-General, founded what would become the colony's leading library and museum in Algiers in 1835; he also followed French troops on their missions in order to seize Arabic manuscripts and gather Roman antiquities. The officer and watercolorist Adolphe Delamare and the architect Amable Ravoisié participated in the *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* (1839-41) and produced a series of publications documenting Algeria's archaeological heritage. These volumes are still consulted in the present day.

The second chapter ("Envisioning the Future: French Generals' Use of Ancient Rome in the 1840s") addresses the formalization of occupation (1840), the division of the territory into provinces focused on Algiers, Oran, and Constantine (1841), and the violence of punitive razzias, which entailed slaughtering entire communities and destroying their land. At the time, officers

likened their efforts to Rome's notable campaigns against Jugurtha, king of Numidia in the second century BCE, and Tacfarinas, leader of a rebellion there in the first century CE. They also pointed to Roman remains as a map for effective occupation. Yet the same remains were often dismantled for building materials, as was the case for the amphitheater at Roman Russicada (colonial Philippeville, modern Skikda). Individual officers nonetheless fought for preservation. Franciade Fleurus Duvivier, for instance, tried to protect those under his command at Guelma (Roman Calama). From Paris, the Minister of War issued repeated orders that antiquities belonged the state and that an inventory should be made, orders largely ignored by the Governor-General. The architect Charles Texier arrived in 1845 to establish a system intended to parallel the one for historical monuments in France. In his words, "French domination, in bringing civilization to Africa, is thus connected above all to the great monuments of Roman domination" (p. 123). Yet his lack of authority over soldiers and civilians meant that there was little he could do to prevent destruction or punish looting.

The third chapter ("A View from Ancient Lambaesis") presents a case study of an important site.^[4] Roman Lambaesis had served both as a military base and a provincial capital. Europeans travelling in the 1700s had published descriptions and images of its ruins, which sparked the interest of French ministers and officers. The Duc d'Aumale, as Minister of War, ordered a new overview of the remains. Texier visited in 1848 and identified the Roman praetorium (headquarters). Military excavations began in earnest that year, under the orders of Colonel Carbuccia based at nearby Batna. A statue of Asclepius that was unearthed was transported to Batna in a "triumphal procession;" a column and base were relocated and set up as a monument to the Duc d'Aumale; and the ashes of a Roman officer (Titus Flavius Maximus) were ceremonially reburied. Digging at Lambaesis was considered beneficial for the discipline and devotion of both soldiers and deported French civilians. The latter participated in the construction of their own prison made up of stones stripped from the amphitheater. They also established an open-air museum in the praetorium.

The fourth chapter ("Institutionalizing Algerian Archaeology") charts the rise of learned societies, as well as academic and museological competition, especially in the years following Algeria's incorporation into France in 1848. France's international endeavors around this time are surveyed. These include the founding of the *École Française d'Athènes* in Greece in 1846, Paul-Émile Botta's excavations at Khorsabad, Iraq, in 1843-6, and Auguste Mariette's finds at Saqqara, Egypt, in 1851. The well-known work of Léon Renier is also highlighted. This Sorbonne librarian transcribed and published Algeria's Latin inscriptions in the 1850s. It is telling that when the epigrapher Gustav Wilmanns ventured to Lambaesis in 1873 to verify Renier's work for the international *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, only half of the inscriptions recorded could be located. By the 1850s, Algeria's primary cities (especially Algiers and Constantine) had flourishing antiquarian societies, which were thought to help French settlers bond with their new home. Municipal museums competed with each other for artifacts and resources, while the Louvre's curators received hundreds of crates of antiquities, few of which met their high standards. A planned Musée d'Alger at the Louvre never came to fruition. In 1854, Berbrugger was appointed inspector general of historical monuments and archaeological museums, a position he used to advance the collection in Algiers.

The fifth chapter ("Cartography and Field Archaeology during the Second Empire") considers the state of archaeology in Algeria and France during the reign of Napoléon III. On a visit to Lambaesis in 1865, this ruler selected a statue of Jupiter from the open-air museum and had it

sent to the Louvre. He also praised the communities then rebelling (due to horrific living conditions) by comparing them to the Gauls who had benefited from Roman conquest. Back in France, military officers with training in Algeria and Italy helped advance the work of the Commission de Topographie des Gaules and the excavation of Gallic sites such as Alésia, endeavors sponsored by Napoléon III. It was in this context that the military translator Laurent-Charles Féraud began to publish his theory that stone formations in Algeria had been set up by Gauls (a notion based on similar arrangements of dolmens in France, but which was not widely accepted).^[5] In Algeria, Berbrugger undertook excavation of a tumulus known (falsely) as the Tombeau de la Chrétienne, work that benefited from funds and military labor provided by the Minister of War. The use of explosives to clear debris and of drilling to find the entrance caused permanent damage. This ancient mausoleum nonetheless began to attract tourists, an imperial concern that Algeria's antiquities would increasingly support.

The epilogue ("Classical Archaeology in Algeria after 1870") begins by discussing the uprising of 1871 and its violent suppression. One minor consequence of this conflict was the vandalism of Lambaesis' open-air museum by French soldiers stationed in the region. The army once again caused damage, yet civilians increasingly had authority to supervise antiquities. With the law regulating France's historical monuments extended to Algeria in 1887, the land's Roman antiquities gained official protection.

In the end, this is a book about people in a particular place, more than about the sites and antiquities themselves.^[6] One consequence of focusing on agents of empire is that the story toggles back and forth in time, as career trajectories are traced. Protagonists with lengthy careers, such as Berbrugger, make appearances in sequential chapters. Anyone reading the book in its entirety will therefore find some repetition, which nonetheless allows chapters to be excerpted effectively (on syllabi, for instance). A timeline and list of key characters would have made this lucid multi-vocal, multi-decade story all the easier to follow.

I was struck by the contemporary resonances of the events the book describes. Rather than the art therapy that might be prescribed in the present day, French soldiers and prisoners were thought to benefit from what we might call "antiquities therapy," with excavations offering a respite from violence and boredom (chapter three). Salvage archaeology occurred in the scramble to record inscriptions at Lambaesis before they were used as building material (pp. 178-81). The public shaming prompted by heritage destruction is evident in Wilmanns' complaints about the disappearance of these same inscriptions (p. 183). The impulse to liquidate collections to pay urgent expenses is illustrated by the mayor of Constantine's sale of inscriptions to pay for road work (p. 197). The competition for resources pitting metropolitan, regional museums, and local museums against each other can be seen in the export of masterpieces to the Louvre (pp. 185-87, 197-98, 200) and the maintenance of some in place to foster a sense of community among settlers (p. 205). In turn, the clearing of the Tombeau de la Chrétienne highlights the conflicts between preservation, excavation, and tourism (pp. 238-47).

The preceding list ignores the loss of life and livelihood occasioned by geopolitical crises. Familiar artifacts can still inspire more concern than foreign peoples. This sentiment was evident in the international outrage that followed the Islamic State's destruction of ancient sites in Iraq, Syria, and elsewhere. Effros opens her book with those recent events in order to argue that imperializing archaeology played a role in creating antagonistic relations to cultural heritage in former colonies (pp. 1-4). In the case of Algeria, France's occupation caused catastrophic

bloodshed as well as the widespread destruction of Roman sites. This is the message that Effros wants us to take away from her book: that the knowledge produced by France's incidental archaeologists came at cost that defies comprehension.

NOTES

[1] Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

[2] Monique Dondin-Payre, *Le Capitaine Delamare: la Réussite de l'Archéologie Romaine au sein de la Commission d'Exploration Scientifique d'Algérie* (Paris: Boccard, 1994); Monique Dondin-Payre, *La Commission d'Exploration Scientifique d'Algérie: une Héritière Méconnue de la Commission d'Égypte* (Paris: Boccard, 1995); Nabila Oulebsir, *Les Usages du Patrimoine: Monuments, Musées et Politique Coloniale en Algérie* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2004).

[3] Effros cites Richard Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2000). Readers might also consult Phiroze Vasunia, *The Classics and Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Grant Parker, ed., *South Africa, Greece, Rome: Classical Confrontations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[4] For the ancient site, readers might also consult Agnès Gros Lambert, *Lambèse sous le Haut-Empire Ier - IIIe siècles: du Camp à la Cité* (Lyon: Boccard, 2011).

[5] There is evidence for Celtic mercenaries serving the Carthaginian general Hannibal during the Punic Wars. Luc Baray, *Les Celtes d'Hannibal: Pour une nouvelle approche de l'emploi tactique des Celtes. L'exemple de la deuxième guerre punique* (Paris: CNRS, 2019). They should certainly not be credited with any dolmen-building in Algeria.

[6] The recently updated reference for Algeria's antiquities is Jean-Marie Blas de Roblès, Claude Sintès, and Philip M. Kenrick, *Classical Antiquities of Algeria: A Selective Guide* (London: Society for Libyan Studies, 2019).

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