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The view of Patara from the theatre in 2012
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EDITORIAL

Conforme mencionamos no Editorial do número 1 de 2018, seguimos com nosso projeto de internacionalização da História: Questões e Debates. Nesse sentido, é com grande satisfação que apresentamos a segunda parte do dossiê organizado por Allison Bain, colega da Universidade de Laval, Quebec, Canadá. O dossiê tem caráter interdisciplinar e discute História, Memória e Patrimônio em diferentes contextos. Os artigos, como terão a oportunidade de ler, foram escritos por estudiosos da cultura material e patrimônio e em consonância com as preocupações atuais de discutir políticas públicas para uma democratização do acesso ao passado e gestão de patrimônio. São experiências realizadas em diferentes países que participaram, em 2016, do seminário da Association for Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) que inspiraram um debate sobre História e Memória levando em conta a materialidade do passado. Além do dossiê, na sessão livre de artigos contamos com o artigo de Marion Brephol, da História da UFPR, que reflete sobre a figura do eu-revolucionário, em diversos momentos da obra de Hannah Arendt e, com um segundo artigo, que discute o ensino de História para os Estudantes com Deficiência Intelectual (EDI) no Ensino Fundamental II no Brasil, dos seguintes pesquisadores da área de Educação da UNESP-SP: Anna Augusta Sampaio de Oliveira, Katia de Moura Graça Paixão, Glacielma de Fátima da Silva e Ângelo Ântonio Puzipe Papim, além de uma resenha realizada por Daniel de Souza Lemos (UFPEL) do livro Um olhar sobre o impeachment de Dilma Rousseff, de Rodrigo Almeida.

Organizar os números de 2018, com dossiês que contemplam artigos de especialistas de diferentes países, foi uma experiência ímpar e, portanto, um desafio acadêmico diferente para nossa equipe. Com essa iniciativa, a HQD passou a circular em meios internacionais e os levantamentos de acesso feitos por Willian Funke, bolsista, indicam que estamos atingindo um novo patamar de reconhecimento como um periódico de qualidade internacional para a publicação de trabalhos na área de História. Como se trata de um projeto iniciado na gestão anterior, buscaremos manter as metas de melhor indexação para a HQD e, portanto, somos gratas ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da UFPR, ao Setor de Periódicos da UFPR, ao Conselho Editorial, à APAH e às/aos pareceristas que têm colaborado para que a HQD siga um caminho inovador no debate de ideias na área de História no Brasil e no exterior.

As Editoras.

INTRODUCTION

Within this issue, readers will find the remaining papers resulting from the session we organized at the 2016 meeting of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS), in Montréal, Canada. The first papers of the session were published in early 2018, in volume 66, issue 1, of História: Questões & Debates. While some papers in that issue relate to the practice of archaeology and the management of buried heritage locally, in the Province of Quebec, other papers explore international examples, such as management of heritage in Turkey and the impact of archaeology on the local population in Egypt, a centre for cultural tourism since the 19th century. A methodological case study presents the classification of Chinese large-scale archaeological sites. Several First Nations were present at the meetings, and five of these Nations presented papers or participated in our session. The Waban-Aki Nation contributed to the first set of published papers, presenting its approach to co-managing cultural heritage and natural resources.

The present group of papers brings together a variety of topics surrounding how heritage studies can serve the development of identity. Their contents span community archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador, a 14th-century mythical figure having built castles in southern France, a hermit living on a small island in the St. Lawrence River, the need for an emic perspective in archaeological research into Huron-Wendat heritage, the Cherokee conception of landscape, the memory of enslavement in French Guiana, and public archaeology in Brazil.

What do these seven papers have in common? First, they all answer the question “What does heritage change?” The answers stem from a thoughtful and purposeful archaeology that considers visitor interest and the development of knowledge. Second, they all relate to the theme of economics, reminding us of a question asked two years ago by economists concerning heritage. They argued that, rather than asking “What does heritage cost?” to a society that values the study of its past, we should be asking “How much does heritage contribute to societal development?” Through the spirit and meaning it gives to a place, heritage can be a means of creating a sense of belonging. Together, economic benefits and a sense of belonging enhance the quality of life.

As we mentioned above, the ACHS meetings are an appropriate venue for bringing together scholars who have chosen to study heritage as a field of critical inquiry. Critical heritage studies challenge conservative views and encourage inclusive, participatory practices while increasing dialogue and debate among researchers, practitioners, and communities. Critical heritage studies also contribute to the decolonization of the humanities through the encouragement and training of communities and through collaborations with indigenous communities (BAIN & AUGER, 2018).

In the current issue, the first paper, by Gaulton and Rankin, discusses the use of archaeology as a catalyst for public engagement. The authors eloquently demonstrate how the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador was the first to ask itself "What does heritage change and what can it bring to the province?" rather than "How much does it cost?" Through conscious community engagement – first at the World Heritage Red Bay site and now at the Ferryland site, which has become an important purveyor of employment – archaeology has been making a difference in Newfoundland and Labrador since 1979. The authors' most recent community archaeology project, in southern Labrador, has brought a sense of identity and recognition to Labrador Métis communities. Their public engagement "prioritized community-based research agendas, promoting social justice at the local scale by providing education; training; and economic opportunities; and, more recently, paths toward reconciliation with indigenous communities." Gaulton and Rankin show how each project learned from the previous ones about the economy of heritage studies.

What characterizes the next two papers is that both of these projects in public archaeology were initiated at the request of the local community, both involved a local legend, and both were intended to stimulate the economy through tourism. The archaeology undertaken went beyond simply reinforcing local lore and, instead, documented history properly, through good archaeological practices.

Béague challenges the existence of a legend from the Middle Ages which insists that a particular style of castle construction can be attributed to a larger-than-life figure, that of Gaston Fébus. Béague developed a project in the Béarn region of southwestern France, where the mythical figure was supposed to have built a defensive line as protection against an English invasion. This is an exemplary project in public archeology, as it demonstrates that a scientific approach to archaeology can appeal to a wider audience in search of a sound explanation of history and legend.

As for Savard and Beaudry's contribution, they took the opportunity that was offered to them, in a project conceived by a well-intentioned group of laypeople, and went beyond proving what was already known about a mythical figure reputed to have lived during the 18th century on an island in the estuary of the St. Lawrence River, opposite the town of Rimouski, Quebec. They used the assignment at hand to show their sponsor that anchoring a regional tourism attraction with a single event or character is problematic. They eventually expanded their mandate to include the interpretation of the prehistory of a wider area. Although the project was short-lived, it did allow for the creation of a field school to train students registered in the history and geography programs at the University of Québec in Rimouski.

Two other papers examine indigenous history. The first paper, by Sampeck, discusses how research on landscape heritage is used as a tool for the development of self-identity, while the second paper, by Hawkins and Lesage, takes the reader one step further in making explicit the need to draw up a research design which tries to take into account an emic perspective when practicing archaeology with First Nations peoples.

The central argument of Sampeck's paper is that cultural dispossession has worked against the Cherokee Nation. Their culture was almost destroyed during the contact period, when trans-Atlantic colonists took half of their territory. The current collaboration helps restore the Cherokee's connection to their lands. Spaces that were previously simply considered "empty" have been identified as being crucial to the construction of Cherokee communities.

As exemplified by the first set of papers published in História: Questões & Debates, a theme that has developed over the past decade is the decolonization of archaeology and anthropology. The paper on Huron-Wendat heritage is an example of what the practice of decolonization can mean in archaeology. The authors show that First Nations are now actively making decisions related to the study of their past. Citing Warrick and Lesage (2016), Hawkins and Lesage define the respective limits of competence and responsibility of each: "… archaeology can make meaningful contributions to interpretations about technology, economy, and settlement patterns but […] archaeologists are not qualified to make pronouncements on the ethnic identity of past peoples." Quoting Warrick and Lesage (2016, p.139), they state, "Indigenous people know best who they are and where they come from." This position highlights two contrasting, yet valid, paradigms of their history.

The paper by Auger, on the work he and his collaborators conducted on a plantation cemetery in French Guiana, discusses their experience of making archaeology socially relevant. They created a lieu de mémoire, with the intention of memorializing the place occupied by the local population and their ancestors in France's colonial history and of thus beginning a dialogue about this history. They discuss the dilemma of working on the delicate issue of slavery in the Caribbean and the reaction of the local, French authorities.

The last paper, presented by three Brazilian scholars, Garraffoni, Funari, and de Almeida, focusses on the use of archaeology and material culture as tools of social inclusion in Brazil. The authors discuss the history of Brazilian archaeology across various political regimes and examine how archaeology can be "instrumentalized" to suit a specific political vision. During the 20th century, archaeology in Brazil was heavily influenced by European practices. Today, Brazil is strongly invested in developing its own brand of public archaeology, which strives to be inclusive, while being aware of the present political climate.

Our Ontario colleague Gary Warrick, who was present at the ACHS meetings in Montréal, has kindly prepared a discussion that addresses the conference's main question: "What does heritage change?" Covering both sets of papers, this discussion is presented at the end of this issue. He has grouped the papers into two themes: ownership and management of archaeological heritage and community-based archaeology. While his discussion highlights both strengths and challenges facing our discipline, Warrick rightfully reminds us that "archaeological heritage is best conserved, examined, and interpreted through collaborative partnerships of archaeologist and community members, in which ownership […] and production of knowledge is shared."

Acknowledgments

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Réginald Auger & Allison Bain*

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O que o patrimônio muda? (Parte 2)
What does heritage change? (Part 2)

Organizadora: Allison Bain

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AS A CATALYST FOR PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT, RURAL REJUVENATION, AND RETHINKING OUR SHARED PAST: PERSPECTIVES FROM A QUARTER CENTURY OF COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Patrimônio arqueológico como catalisador para o envolvimento público, o rejuvenescimento rural e o repensar de nosso passado comum: perspectivas de um quarto de século de arqueologia comunitária em Terra Nova e Labrador

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Barry C. Gaulton
*Lisa K. Rankin**

ABSTRACT

Archaeological research in Canada's easternmost province has enjoyed a long and evolving history of community partnerships. This is due, in part, to Memorial University's unique mandate, as well as the Department of Archaeology's strong commitment to working with individuals and organizations where excavations are conducted. Three case studies from Newfoundland and Labrador shed light on the motivations, experiences, challenges, and outcomes that community–university research partnerships can foster, and demonstrate that archaeology has the potential to make valuable local contributions.

Keywords: Archaeology; community–university partnerships; traditional knowledge; rural rejuvenation; social justice.

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RÉSUMÉ

La recherche archéologique dans la province canadienne située le plus à l'Est du pays a longtemps profité d'une histoire de partenariats avec les communautés qui a su évoluer dans le temps. Cela s'explique, en partie, par le mandat exceptionnel de la Memorial University, ainsi que par l'engagement prononcé du département d'archéologie pour travailler avec les individus et les organisations locales lors des excavations. À partir de trois études de cas de Terre-Neuve et Labrador, cet article met en lumière les motivations, les expériences, les défis, et les résultats que les partenariats communauté–université peuvent générer, et démontre le potentiel de la discipline archéologique à réaliser des contributions importantes au niveau local.

Mots-clés: archéologie; partenariats communauté–université; savoir traditionnel; rajeunissement rural; justice sociale

RESUMO

A pesquisa arqueológica na província mais oriental do Canadá se beneficiou de uma longa e expansível história de parcerias com as comunidades. Tal deve-se, em parte, ao mandato excepcional da Memorial University, assim como ao engajamento forte do departamento de arqueologia em trabalhar com indivíduos e organizações locais durante escavações. A partir de três casos de estudos da província de Terra Nova e Labrador, este artigo revela as motivações, as experiências, os desafios, como os resultados que podem surgir das parcerias comunidade-universidade, e atesta do potencial da arqueologia em contribuir localmente de forma vantajosamente.

Palavras-chave: arqueologia; parcerias comunidade–universidade; saber tradicional; rejuvenescimento rural; justiça social

Introduction

The following paper presents an overview of community–university research partnerships on archaeological sites in Canada's easternmost province, Newfoundland and Labrador. Using three culturally and geographically distinct case studies, it demonstrates how this province's archaeological resources play an integral part in engaging the public, in rejuvenating the social and economic fabric of rural and Indigenous communities, in working towards reconciliation, and in rethinking the past for the benefit of our shared future.

Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) was established as a memorial to those who lost their lives during the First and Second World wars and was designed to help build a better future for the people of the province. As such, it has a unique mandate, which includes the phrase “a special obligation to the people of Newfoundland and Labrador” (MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY, 2013). This obligation prioritized community-based research agendas, promoting social justice at the local scale by providing education; training; economic opportunities; and, more recently, paths toward reconciliation with Indigenous communities. All this began long before community engagement and knowledge transfer were institutionalized elsewhere.

Social scientists at Memorial University embraced applied, community-based research in the years following Newfoundland and Labrador’s confederation with Canada (1949), when urbanization and industrialization threatened the continuity of the new province’s largely rural lifeways (WEBB, 2015). The initial goals were twofold: to record a way of life before it disappeared, but also to encourage a participatory democracy through which communities could find local solutions to the social and economic issues arising from the transformation to modernity. Archaeologists, operating largely in rural settings, witnessed this disenfranchisement first hand and integrated training, employment, and tourism strategies into their research to assist the communities in which they worked.

Starting in 1979 in Red Bay, Labrador, local residents partnered with MUN archaeologists to unearth, interpret, and preserve the remains of the sixteenth-century Basque whaling industry. These excavations provided summer employment and training opportunities, local businesses thrived, and the discovery became an immense source of pride for the community. The social and economic benefits of the annual archaeological excavations, combined with the national and international interest in these discoveries, transformed this sleepy fishing village into one of Newfoundland and Labrador’s premier tourist attractions, first as a designated National Historic Site of Canada, in 1979, and more recently as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, in 2013.

The early 1990s saw an important shift in the nature of partnerships between archaeologists and the communities in which they conducted research. Following the collapse of the cod fishery in 1992, many communities requested assistance from the university to help find local, culturally appropriate solutions to the ensuing economic crisis. Having witnessed earlier implementations of archaeological tourism, communities came prepared to develop partnerships with the Department of Anthropology (now Department of Archaeology) that formalized co-management strategies that would equalize power relations between academics and locals and ensure that both community and research goals guided the development of archaeological resources (RICHARDSON and ALMANSA-SÁNCHEZ, 2015). These formalized strategies often spawned not-for-profit community organizations, the members of which – ranging from fishers and business people to teachers and accountants – brought valuable perspectives to the table and steered these research partnerships in directions that sought to maximize education and retraining opportunities, increase public input and engagement, develop/expand tourism potential, and maintain an equal stake in how their local history was represented.

More recently, our partnerships with Indigenous communities have taken the process a step further by implementing research agendas established by the communities themselves, helping to centre the Indigenous voice in the presentation of their own history (ATALAY, 2012). These new partnerships have developed around the themes of social justice and reconciliation rather than particular archaeological sites. Their focus is on the creation of a body of archaeological, historical, and cultural material informed by both traditional knowledge and academia that could serve as a community resource used to bolster everything from land claims and identity to education and economic initiatives.

Today, the majority of publicly accessible archaeological sites in Newfoundland and Labrador involve strong community-based management, whether from a community council, not-for-profit foundation, or historical society. The recognized stakeholders have also grown: government officials, the interested public, local historians, avocational archaeologists, sport divers, and descendants of those who lived and worked on the same lands where archaeologists conduct their excavations all have a voice in the interpretation, dissemination, and preservation of the past.

These partnerships, and the resultant approaches taken by MUN archaeologists and community stakeholders, are not unique to Newfoundland and Labrador. Notable community–academic partnerships have taken place in many parts of Canada, from the Arctic to the Maritimes to the Prairies (AUGUSTINE et al., 2007; BROOKS, 2007; FRIESEN, 2002). The same can be said for collaborations in the United States at such places as Little Rapids, Minnesota, and Ozette, Washington (KIRK and DAUGHERTY, 1978; SPECTOR, 1993). The partnerships involving MUN are highlighted here for their frequency, longevity, and commitment to social justice. Of equal importance is the fact that both the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and Memorial University recognize community archaeology as socially, economically, morally, and pedagogically valuable in its own right. We would argue that this provides fertile ground for the further development and application of community-based approaches.

From a conceptual standpoint, the terms “community” and “heritage” are utilized in the broadest possible sense. A community is not easy to define, nor is it monocultural or necessarily unified in thought or purpose (JAMESON and BAUGHER, 2007, p. 4-5; MARSHALL, 2002, p. 215). As outlined by Marshall (2002, p. 216), two kinds of community often emerge as a result of archaeology: nearby residents with a stake in the project and/or descendants of those who once occupied the lands under investigation. These two communities are not mutually exclusive, nor do their interests fully represent the goals of other stakeholder groups; however, this dual construct provides a useful starting point for the following discussion. Heritage is an equally problematic and diffuse concept, but one which can be envisioned in both its tangible and intangible forms, encompassing everything from landscapes, seascapes, oral histories, and traditional knowledge to excavated hearths and stone walls, preserved flora and fauna, and extant buildings.

Case Study 1: An evolving partnership at Ferryland, Newfoundland

Our first case study is the archaeological site at Ferryland, Newfoundland, located on the east coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. Much of the research on Ferryland has focused on the 1621 colony established by Sir George Calvert (the 1st Lord Baltimore) and the succeeding plantation of Sir David Kirke and family, from 1638 to 1696 (GAULTON, 2013; GAULTON and TUCK, 2003; TUCK, 2013; TUCK and GAULTON, 2013). This site is a treasure trove of information because Ferryland is an archaeologically rich and well-preserved seventeenth-century North American colony for which there are only a handful of primary sources. Archaeological investigations have demonstrated that Ferryland was occupied for at least 100 years prior to official colonization in 1621. So it is through excavation that we are obtaining a more holistic understanding of all the past residents of this community – including the Beothuk, the Indigenous people who lived on what is now the island of Newfoundland, as well as migratory fishers from Europe – and each group is represented through our program of interpretation and dissemination.

Large-scale archaeological investigations at Ferryland coincided with the 1992 Atlantic cod moratorium, an event that forced approximately 25,000 fishers and plant workers in Newfoundland and Labrador to abandon their traditional livelihoods (GIEN, 2000, p. 121). The moratorium "triggered the largest industrial closure in Canadian history," and many rural communities hit rock bottom socially and economically (DOLAN et al., 2005, p. 202). A federal–provincial agreement had already been put in place in 1991 to excavate the Ferryland site, and this academic research, slated to begin in 1992, had the added benefit of providing employment and retraining opportunities for community members in both Ferryland and the surrounding region (TUCK, 1993, p. 296). Locals were trained in archaeological fieldwork techniques, the conservation and stabilization of artifacts, and best practices in collections management. Following the formative years of the early 1990s, as more was uncovered, interpreted, and made available to the public, our vision for the Ferryland site evolved, in close collaboration with staff and community members.

The local not-for-profit Colony of Avalon Foundation was established in 1994 with a mandate to “investigate, interpret, preserve and develop the archaeological remains of Lord Baltimore’s Colony of Avalon.” Volunteer board members from all walks of life, working within the parameters of the Foundation’s core mandate – and in close collaboration with archaeologists from Memorial University – strove to make this archaeological site a key tourist attraction for the region. Of equal importance was the fact that we as archaeologists sought to make it a source of collective pride for the community and a way to embrace our past to build a viable and vibrant future. In partnership with the Foundation, our level of interpretation, public dissemination, and infrastructure grew in leaps and bounds, spurring subsequent growth and diversification at the community level.

Within five years, an interpretation centre, conservation lab, and collections room were built not far from the archaeological site to display, conserve, and store our finds. Guided tours were available throughout the summer months, and three heritage gardens – a gentlemen’s garden, herb garden, and kitchen garden – were established using period plans and construction techniques. A gift shop was opened, and directly behind it, a reproduction seventeenth-century kitchen room, staffed by costumed interpreters who educate visitors about the challenges of life in Newfoundland during the early modern period. Integrated into the kitchen’s interpretative program are reproductions of ceramic and glass vessels and clay tobacco pipes found during the excavations.

Figure 1

Costumed interpreter Lori Pittman demonstrating how a seventeenth-century puzzle jug works. The jug is a reproduction of a vessel found during excavations at Ferryland. Image courtesy of the Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Visitors learn about where and when the original historic objects were made, how they were used, and where on the site they were found, allowing them to directly relate to the processes of archaeological excavation, analysis, and interpretation. These same site-specific reproductions are available for purchase in the adjacent gift shop.

With the addition of these new components, community members receive further training and employment opportunities as tour guides, heritage gardeners, living history interpreters, and retail staff. Local artists are commissioned to produce a variety of site-specific objects for sale in the gift shop, including ceramics, jewellery, clothing, and paintings. Local gardening groups participate in the planting and maintenance of the three gardens, and the Ferryland Historical Society and the Folk Arts Council partner with the Colony of Avalon Foundation in celebrating Ferryland-Maryland Day through a variety of onsite activities that incorporate the archaeological discoveries.

Local businesses flourish. Since 1995, the number of nearby bed-and-breakfasts has increased from one to four. Entrepreneurs utilize the popularity of the archaeological site and its thousands of annual visitors to open restaurants and other cultural venues, such as the Colony Cafe, the Lighthouse Picnics, the Tetley Tea Room, and the Southern Shore Dinner Theatre. All provide local employment as well as an opportunity to highlight the scenic beauty and unique history and folklore of the Ferryland area.

In retrospect, it is within the context of growth and diversification in archaeological tourism that we see two distinct trajectories in staff employment, retention, and involvement. On one path, we have a core group of employees who remained with the project, even when Newfoundland's economy improved and well-paying jobs in the oil industry were readily available. For this group, the archaeological site and its associated collections instill a deep appreciation of their community's history and pride of place. On a personal and professional level, our core staff are invested in and identify with this project and as such remain active stewards of the archaeological site and its associated infrastructure year-round, despite the fact that we can only provide seasonal employment.

On the other path, we have local high school and post-secondary students who work for several summers but then move on to complete a degree or trade training and gain full-time employment. It is worth noting that some pursued undergraduate and graduate degrees in archaeology, history, or folklore. Despite the relatively brief duration of employment, this group's bond with the archaeological project and its core staff endured. Many paid forward their positive archaeological experiences by later volunteering their time and expertise on the Foundation's Board of Directors, or by contributing in other ways through donations and/or promoting the site through word-of-mouth.

Promotion and positivity at the local level have provided an added benefit in the form of intra- and inter-generational staffing. Siblings and extended family members of former field and lab crews later worked as archaeological assistants, laboratory staff, tour guides, living history interpreters, or gift shop staff. On other occasions, children of early staffers were employed, or the parents of former students became interested in working on the project after hearing about their child's experiences on "the dig". Continuity in staffing was not restricted to local residents. MUN undergraduate students working in the field and laboratory were groomed to take supervisory positions and eventually lead roles following the retirement of James A. Tuck and Catherine Mathias, Ferryland's first site director and conservator, respectively.

The end result is a long-term exercise in relationship building, trust, and mutual respect. University faculty, staff, and students become part of the local community; community members, in turn, are integrated into every aspect of university research and outreach. The importance of camaraderie and trust for a viable and enduring community–university research partnership such as this cannot be understated. James A. Tuck provides but one small example: "Countless times these friends [community members] picked up trowels or pumps or wheelbarrows and stored them safely until the next morning; no better security could have been hired from Brinks" (TUCK, 2013, p. 270-271).

An increase in local and regional visibility afforded by community-based research has borne unexpected fruit by way of improved communication and interaction with avocational archaeologists, sport divers, and recreational metal detectorists. Open dialogue with these groups – all of whom impact archaeological resources to a greater or lesser degree – should be viewed as a means to gain additional insight into buried or submerged cultural remains, as well as an opportunity to promote careful recording or preservation of the same. Several new archaeological sites around the Avalon Peninsula and beyond have been identified as a result, one of which was later surveyed and excavated in collaboration with the recreational metal detectorist who first found it (VENOVCEVS, 2016). Instead of isolating or denigrating this oft-maligned group of stakeholders, we need to find ways, when appropriate, to better educate and assimilate them into the study of the past.

From a research and training standpoint, the Ferryland archaeology project has proven to be an immense benefit to archaeology faculty, graduate students, and undergraduate students at Memorial University, as well as to archaeological conservators at Fleming College and Queen's University. Our ongoing efforts have led to two post-doctoral fellowships, three PhD dissertations, 20 master's theses, and 12 honours essays, and we have hosted 20 conservation interns and provided hands-on-training for more than 100 undergraduate students.

Despite all of the positive things happening at Ferryland, archaeologically based heritage attractions such as this cannot and should not remain stagnant. To survive and to flourish, we must evolve. Starting in 2014, we embarked upon the next stage of this community–university partnership, one that involves a greater variety of experiences and opportunities for visitors and locals of all ages and interests. While still maintaining the core experience of the ongoing archaeological investigation and interpretation, visitors can now participate in further educational and experiential learning opportunities, such as working alongside dig staff as part of the Archaeologist for a Day program or attending one of several annual public lectures. The general public are challenged to recreate a colonial recipe with the weekly program The Great Colonial Cook Off, while children participate in scavenger hunts and artifact identifications as part of the popular Baltimore's Backpacks program.

Figure 2

"Explorer's Passport," on-site scavenger hunt activities, and backpack from the Colony of Avalon Foundation's Baltimore's Backpacks program. Image courtesy of the Colony of Avalon Foundation.

Further educational opportunities for children can also be found in the recently published children's book The Great Ferryland Dig (MOULAND, 2014). Finally, local knitting groups have also partnered with the Foundation on the Stitching Nine over Time project, which seeks the public's assistance in producing a large, hooked rug with nine panels, each representing an important part of Ferryland's history, largely inspired by our archaeological findings.

In the context of Ferryland, archaeology is a catalyst for social and economic change at the local and regional levels. It is a source of pride for the affiliated academic institution as well as for members of the community. These kinds of long-term archaeological investigations enrich the lives of everyone involved; they provide a collective sense of identity and, probably most important, a renewed sense of optimism for the future.

Case Study 2: Archaeology with the People of NunatuKavut

In 2001, after a 13-year absence, a new generation of Memorial University archaeologists began work in coastal Labrador. In the interim, the cultural landscape of this region had been transforming. Inuit, Inuit-Métis, and Innu had made varying degrees of progress in their quest for provincial and federal recognition and had become more engaged in vetting the work of outside researchers. At first, interactions between archaeologists and these communities were basic and aimed to simply keep communities informed of research results through presentations and school visits, while allowing relationships of trust to develop. In 2006, we received the first formal request for a research partnership from the Labrador Inuit-Métis Nation (now the NunatuKavut Community Council).

Following the excavation of a small Inuit winter village near Cartwright, Labrador, the Inuit-Métis approached Memorial archaeologists to help them learn more about Inuit history in southern Labrador. The Inuit-Métis trace their ancestry to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century marriages of Inuit women and European settlers. By 2006, their land claims case was in development, and their legal team had determined the need to make a case for the continuity of Inuit occupation in southern Labrador because their oral traditions alone would not satisfy the provincial and federal Canadian court systems. Unfortunately, both archaeological and historical research in the region up until that time had been limited. Previously published literature made it impossible to be certain if the Inuit had ever resided in southern Labrador and did not address how Inuit-Métis ethnogenesis developed (RANKIN and CROMPTON, 2013).

We initiated the project with a retreat that brought together Inuit-Métis leadership and community members from southern Labrador, as well as scholars with an interest in the history of occupation of the region. Over four days, we collectively drafted a research plan that ultimately led to a successful application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada for a five-year, million-dollar project. There were many concerns expressed by the academics upon entering the partnership, not the least of which was the inability to predict what, if any, archaeology might be found to support the Inuit-Métis claim. In the same vein, we fretted over our role as social advocates; none of the academics involved in the project were trained social strategists, and we wondered how seriously our research would be taken by the academic and legal communities if it were perceived as such. However, it became clear at the retreat that what the Inuit-Métis wanted from this particular partnership was for us to undertake traditional academic research and disseminate the results following normal academic procedures, in order to make their history more accessible to the widest possible audience and to provide them with the background context required for their land claim. All parties strove to create a research project that would include a variety of tangible outcomes for both the Indigenous community and the academic partners, including specialist and general audience publications; accessible research tools, such as websites; skills training; films; and educational resources that would be valuable to the local Inuit-Métis communities regardless of the results of the archaeology.

We need not have worried. From the beginning, the Inuit-Métis told us, "We know who we are." It was not long before we discovered ways to demonstrate this history archaeologically. By the end of the project, more than 40 Inuit and Inuit-Métis sites had been identified in southern Labrador, of which 10 had been subject to intensive excavation. The research has contributed to the establishment of a chronology of Inuit occupation in the region and has demonstrated the manner in which Inuit-Métis ethnogenesis occurred (KENNEDY, 2014; RANKIN et al., 2015). This information is now being integrated into land claims documentation by the Inuit-Métis and their lawyers. However, it was the other initiatives we put in place which made the partnership thrive, built lasting relationships between communities and academic researchers, and heightened the sense of shared identity in the various communities represented by the Labrador Inuit-Métis Association.

The partnership emphasized educational initiatives from the beginning. Between 2009 and 2014, we worked with the various provincial school boards to have Inuit-Métis people recognized at all levels of the history and social studies curricula. This community is now represented in all the relevant textbooks in the province. We also ran school workshops throughout Inuit-Métis territory. Younger students learned to replicate traditional artifacts, while high school–level students (and their teachers) were trained in movie production and editing so that each graduating class produced movies with cultural themes. Various members of the team produced websites, but the central project website, Understanding the Past to Build the Future (www.mun.ca/labmetis), allowed students and teachers to directly download all project reports and publications, as well as pictures of artifacts and historical images of their communities. An interactive exploration of an Inuit winter house, interviews with elders, and family trees based on each of the original European/Inuit families were also featured. To this day, we continue to have at least 2000 site visits per month, with the majority coming from Labrador as locals access information relevant to their own history. Our final contribution to education, due in 2018-2019, , is “Lab-Life,” a virtual world portal allowing teachers and students to explore the historic Inuit-Métis world of southern Labrador in an online game format.

Skills training was also an important element of the partnership. Each summer, high school students from Inuit-Métis communities worked on archaeological excavations and in our field laboratories. The goal was not to create a new generation of Inuit-Métis archaeologists, but to expose students to team-building skills and enhance self-confidence. Every one of the 12 students we employed continued on to post-secondary education, which exceeded our expectations given the generally low graduation rate of Inuit-Métis high school students in the region. Furthermore, all of those students have remained in Métis communities, building local capacity. We also worked closely with the fledging tourism industry in the region, providing destination stops at our excavations for boat and kayak tours and developing heritage-interpretation skills with those involved in the industry to enhance economic opportunities. We also developed products, such as heritage-based placemats requested by local restaurants, to promote local culture and destinations.

Figure 3

Heritage placemat requested by the hospitality providers in Inuit-Métis communities. Image courtesy of the Understanding the Past to Build the Future Project.

Finally, in addition to creating academic publications that brought awareness of our research to historical scholars, we publicized research for a general audience through radio, television, newspaper, and magazine articles and the production of two films. One of these films, The People of NunatuKavut, has been accepted to various national and international film festivals and was recently broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to a television audience of more than 60,000 Canadians. The Inuit-Métis story is now widely known and accessible. Interestingly, the academic publications, which include three books, are among the most sought-after products of the research in Inuit-Métis communities, as locals recognize their own history and the contributions they made toward its dissemination.

Together, these outcomes delivered what the community wanted from the research: data which could be integrated into their land claims case, identity-building tools to be used by their members, and media resources to create an external awareness of their culture. Throughout this process, the Inuit-Métis continued on their own journey of self-discovery. They now proudly self-identify as Southern Inuit, and their membership is represented by the NunatuKavut Community Council, which has established its own research wing and continues to build and develop new research partnerships as their land claims enter the final stages. As archaeologists, we also benefitted; at the academic level, we made an influential contribution to the culture history of a people and region, but, more importantly, we saw firsthand the significance that well-derived partnered research can have in local communities and the opportunities for social justice that our skills can facilitate. This partnership established a pattern of Indigenous community engagement that we continue to build and expand.

Case Study 3: Partnering with the Nunatsiavut Government

In 2015, archaeologists helped establish a new and ongoing partnership with Inuit in northern Labrador. Tradition and Transition Among the Labrador Inuit is a five-year SSHRC partnership between a large, interdisciplinary group of scholars and the Nunatsiavut Government. In 2015, this Indigenous government celebrated its tenth anniversary, and it is now in the process of implementing a number of wide-ranging Inuit-driven policies, including a regional tourism strategy, the development of the new Illusuak Cultural Centre, and local responses to the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Hoping to embed both traditional Inuit ideals and Western research results in their endeavours, the Nunatsiavut Government initiated this partnership to draw on the skills and expertise of Memorial University faculty and graduate students to develop, combine, and compile these data. At the same time, academics realized that many of our own scholars were nearing retirement age and there was a real need to both publish extant data and reinvigorate humanities and social science research in northern Labrador. The overall aim of the project is one of reconciliation, which brings local knowledge bearers together as partners with academic researchers to share data and interpretations openly, respectfully, and equally. Only archaeological projects requested by the communities, and vetted by an Inuit-driven partnership-management board, are pursued. Thus, archaeologists are playing numerous roles, by excavating and monitoring Inuit sites at risk due to climate change or mandated as tourist centres; offering skills development; helping integrate oral histories into the narratives of past Inuit lifeways; providing access to artifacts and literature; assisting with the development of territorial heritage and tourism policies; and, perhaps most significant, establishing practices which allow for knowledge transfer between youth and elders — both Inuit and academic.

Inuit sites near Rigolet, Hopedale, and Nain are being excavated to expand local tourism strategies, as the Nunatsiavut Government increasingly opens northern Labrador to cruise ship traffic and invites visitors to the co-managed Torngat Mountain and Mealy Mountain national parks. To date, excavation has taken place at the Double Mer Point site, near Rigolet. In preparation for an increase in tourists associated with the new Mealy Mountain National Park, the community of Rigolet wants to offer culture-based tourism options to visitors. The site of Double Mer Point lies at the end of a nine-kilometre boardwalk constructed by the town to take hikers through a variety of local coastal ecosystems. The site itself, a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century Inuit winter village, was likely the last settlement occupied by the Inuit in a traditional fashion before the establishment of the modern community of Rigolet. For the past three years, the excavation has been advertised as a tourist destination, and a working lab has been established near the Rigolet ferry dock for tourists and community members to view the finds daily. Because of its central location and open-door policy, the laboratory has become a hub of community activity where elders and youth meet daily to examine artifacts and help archaeologists interpret the finds.

Figure 4

Interactions in the archaeology lab in the Net Loft Museum, Rigolet, Labrador. Image courtesy of the Tradition & Transition Partnership.

Access to the artifacts sets the scene for storytelling and knowledge transfer between youth and elders. Undergraduate and graduate archaeology students work side by side with high school, college, and university students from the local community in the lab and at excavations and, through these daily interactions, learn the significance and impacts of locally based partnerships as well as more traditional archaeological skills. There are plans to reconstruct the village upon completion of the excavation and to provide local interpretation to visitors. Local students, along with archaeologists and elders, will develop the format for interpretation. In the meantime, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network chose to highlight the excavation of the site in their new program Wild Archaeology, adding further publicity.

The partnership will also be supporting the work of many graduate students undertaking a full range of archaeological work, from traditional excavations, like those underway at Double Mer Point, to archaeology policy development and reconciliation initiatives. At Double Mer Point, master’s student Kayley Sherret is working with the community to provide 3D replicas of artifacts for display in the town. PhD student Jamie Brake is currently the Nunatsiavut Government archaeologist, and his dissertation will result in the first Nunatsiavut-driven archaeological policy, which seeks to integrate typical resource management protocols with traditional Inuit knowledge, such as the protection of important landscapes. His dissertation will be subject not only to traditional academic protocols, but also to vetting through community consultation prior to implementation. Another PhD student, Michelle Davies, has begun work on the Hebron Family Archaeology Project, designed to map and excavate twentieth-century homes in Hebron with Inuit elders who were forced to abandon the community when it was closed by the Moravian missionaries in 1959. This project is part of a community healing program initiated by the Nunatsiavut Government and supported by their Department of Health and Social Development. Over the next three seasons, the program will involve both elders and youth in an effort to confront the multigenerational trauma associated with relocation policies of Canadian federal and provincial governments in the past. Other archaeologists will monitor remote sites in danger of destruction through storm surge and peat degradation associated with climate change, create GIS maps of local toponyms, and integrate oral histories and archaeological data concerning the arrival and expansion of Inuit in Labrador.

All the archaeological work will be accessible to the Nunatsiavut communities on the project website, on Facebook, and in publications. As well, many of the details and artifacts will be integrated into exhibits at the Illusuak Cultural Centre/ Illusuak IlikKusiligijingita SuliaKapvinga, or through travelling exhibits and locally established data hubs over the next five years.

Most importantly, this work is about reconciliation. Youth and elders from Inuit communities and academia are coming together to transfer, perpetuate, and expand local knowledge. This partnership also establishes new protocols for community research that prioritizes and respects local goals and decision making and where the value of traditional knowledge and academic knowledge is equalized in hopes that youth, both Inuit and academic, will embrace a new way forward.

Discussion and Conclusion

What have these experiences taught us? For one, it is imperative that archaeologists be sensitive to and cognizant of the varying perspectives and interests of community members. Our interpretations – our storytelling – cannot be holistic or broadly meaningful unless we incorporate multiple voices. The archaeological study of the past is multifaceted, and academia is but one face among many. Archaeologists and community members often have disparate agendas (POPE and MILLS, 2007, p. 183), and we sometimes see things from different, occasionally contradictory perspectives: What is important? What should be preserved and presented to the public? What can be discounted as a superfluous theory or idea? But whose history are we really representing here, and who is our intended audience? The power of community archaeology lies in its ability to serve as both a grounding mechanism and a means of mutual learning and sharing. Simply put, "the involvement of local communities in archaeological investigations from the outset results in better archaeology" (MOSER et al., 2002, p. 222) and in better archaeologists.

Community-based archaeology also takes outreach and dissemination in exciting new directions. As competent and capable as we believe we are as academics, we should not operate in isolation. Community-driven ideas and initiatives, including heritage-based placemats for restaurants, interactive onsite children's activities, and online gaming based on archaeological finds, are all non-traditional forms of archaeological outreach and dissemination. They are made possible thanks to the diverse backgrounds and the personal and professional experiences of community members. Educational initiatives and resources are likewise identified as being a highly neglected feature of community archaeology (TULLY, 2007, p. 168) but have been integrated into the above-mentioned projects though film, children's books, updated history and social studies curricula, and school workshops in Indigenous territories. These types of educational initiatives are best achieved, and most influential, when developed in a collaborative context.

Important among Indigenous communities, but also other communities marginalized by geography or economic circumstance, is that archaeology has the potential to contribute to social justice, by bringing skills training, by emphasizing social cohesion, and pride in their heritage to communities that have felt powerless. An archaeology of reconciliation places power back in the hands of the community and brings community members together through a sense of ownership of their heritage (TULLY, 2007:158). It also allows archaeologists to use their skills and knowledge in new ways that benefit local communities; compiling and archiving data and making it accessible might seem basic, but this is often beyond the capacity of small, remote communities. However, access to archaeological materials is one way to generate further communication and knowledge transfer, not only between archaeologists and communities, but also between elders and youth within communities, to keep history and traditions alive.

To conclude, community-based archaeology has a long history in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, and Memorial University has been part of the process for nearly 40 years. Throughout this time, there has been an increasing awareness and acceptance of the ways in which archaeology and traditional knowledge can overlap. In turn, this has increased the number and types of questions we have sought to address together and has pushed archaeology in new, socially relevant directions. Archaeological heritage and its interpretation and dissemination are no longer the exclusive purview of academia. At Memorial University, almost all of our students participate in community archaeologies over the course of their programs, and the relationship between archaeologists and communities in Newfoundland and Labrador is balanced as we collectively move toward many common goals.

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GASTON FÉBUS OU LA CONSTRUCTION D'UNE LÉGENDE BÉARNAISE

Gaston Fébus ou a construção de uma lenda da região de Béarn

*Nadine Béague**

ABSTRACT

The Béarn region of southern France, benefits from a rich history that is often personified by the history of Count Gaston Fébus (1331-1391). For several decades the region has been trying to develop local tourism. The 2015 restauration of the Morlanne castle owned by the Department of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques provided archeologists with the opportunity to research the castles of this strategically important region situated at the border between the kingdoms of France and England. This project also encouraged a discussion on the future of these sites and the role of the local population.

Keywords: tourism; castle; defensive architecture; medieval; France

RÉSUMÉ

Le Béarn est une région touristique du sud de la France qui bénéficie d'un riche passé historique incarné par Gaston Fébus (1331-1391). La réhabilitation du château de Morlanne, propriété du Département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques en 2015 nous donne l'occasion de mettre en perspective nos découvertes dans cette région riche en sites castraux située à la frontière des royaumes de France et d'Angleterre. La réflexion portera aussi sur le devenir de ces sites et l'implication des habitants.

Mots-clés: tourisme; château; architecture défensive; médiéval; France

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RESUMO

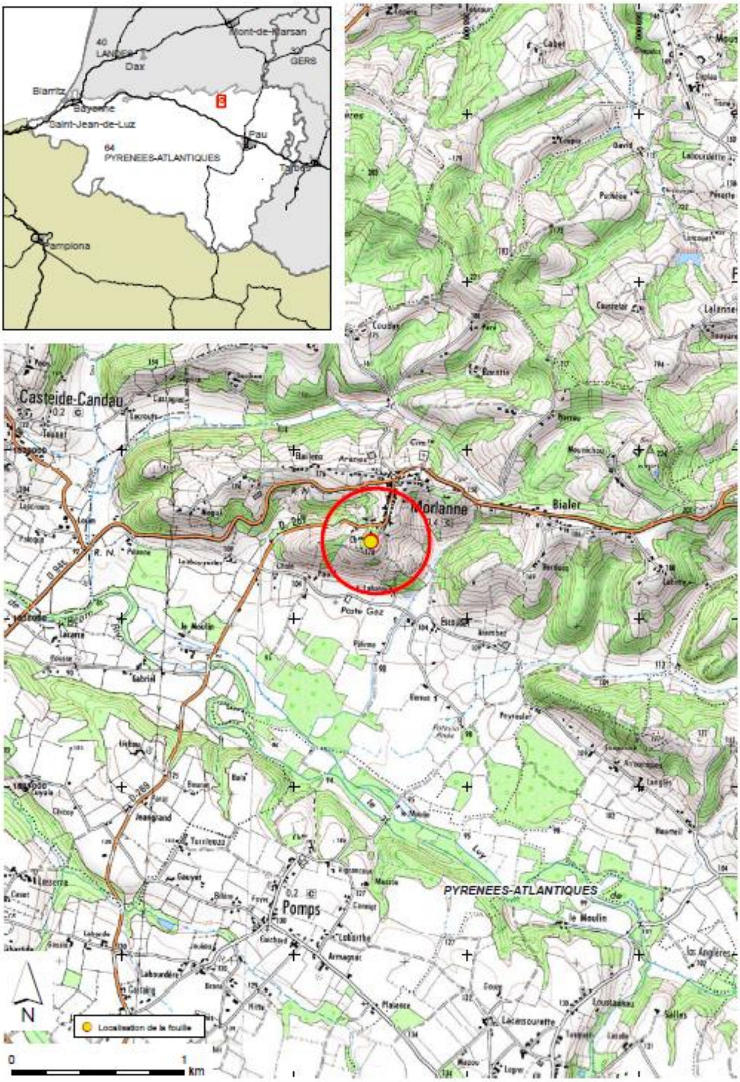
A região turística do Sul da França, o Béarn, é privilegiada por um rico passado histórico representado pela pessoa de Gaston Fébus (1331-1391). A reabilitação, em 2015, do castelo de Morlanne, propriedade do Département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, representa uma ótima oportunidade para os arqueólogos pesquisar esta região rica em sítios de castelos e localizada na fronteira entre os reinos da França e da Inglaterra. A presente reflexão também tratará do porvir destes sítios como da implicação dos residentes.

Palavras-chave: turismo; castelo; arquitetura defensiva; medieval; França

Histoire et archéologie du Béarn, l' « invention » du concept de « château fébusien »

Pour développer le tourisme, le Conseil Départemental des Pyrénées-Atlantiques prétend depuis les années 70 que « l'histoire de ce territoire ne commencerait vraiment qu'au Moyen Âge », sous prétexte d'une absence quasi totale de sites archéologiques antiques. Cet argument employé par l'Office de Tourisme est erroné puisque des sites importants de l'Âge du Bronze à l'Antiquité tardive illustrant le potentiel archéologique du piémont pyrénéen ont été mis au jour par les archéologues bénévoles ou professionnels depuis plus de cinquante ans. Cette richesse patrimoniale est sous-exploitée, car il est plus confortable de s'appuyer sur l'architecture défensive médiévale et sur un personnage historique très médiatique : Gaston III de Foix, dit Fébus (1331-1391). Ce seigneur fut à la tête d'un comté (Foix) et de vicomtés (dont celle de Béarn) situées sur le passage des armées entre Atlantique et Méditerranée, entre Nord et Sud des Pyrénées pendant la guerre de Cent Ans. Ce prince qui se proclama lui-même "Fébus" (1358) dans ses actes, ses florins d'or et ses forteresses (Febus me Fe) monnaya sa neutralité face aux grandes monarchies, et créa le concept d'autonomie du Béarn.

Figure 1



Localisation du site au 1/25 000 © Inrap

Selon les historiens Raymond Ritter (1953) et Pierre Tucoo-Chala (1993) ses outils de dissuasion furent plus ses châteaux et fortifications qu'une armée bien équipée et efficace. Raymond Ritter (1894-1974) était avocat, mais nourrissait une véritable passion pour l'histoire et l'archéologie et il publia de nombreux ouvrages sur l'architecture militaire du Moyen Âge. Très sensible à la protection du patrimoine dès les années 30, il s'efforça d'alerter l'opinion publique dans la presse face à la disparition de monuments des Pyrénées-Atlantiques ayant servi de carrière de pierres après la Révolution française de 1789. Après avoir acheté le château de Morlanne en ruines en 1969, Raymond Ritter lui redonne un caractère de forteresse médiévale sans bénéficier d'aucune aide financière et ayant à l'esprit un "ailleurs imaginé dans le lointain des siècles" (CHADEFAUD, 1988), il l'intègre dans son itinéraire touristique appelé "Route des Preux et des Maréchaux". En 1971, il reçoit le 2e prix de l'émission "Chefs d'œuvre en péril", puis lègue le château au Département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques en 1974.

À une époque où l'archéologie médiévale n'existait pas encore, Ritter et Tucoo-Chalaa, (1924-2015) professeur d'université spécialiste de l'histoire du Béarn, président de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau ainsi que de l'Académie du Béarn, ont forgé l'histoire d'un Gaston Fébus construisant à partir des années 1370 une ligne de forteresses contre les Anglais. Selon eux, des châteaux relevant tous d'une même conception architecturale s'imposèrent aux endroits stratégiques du Béarn. Le château dit "fébusien" se composait d'une enceinte polygonale contre laquelle étaient adossés des logis et communs disposés en continu autour d'une cour intérieure, d'une tour quadrangulaire à cheval sur cette enceinte, et d'un fossé qu'enjambait un pont-levis donnant accès à l'entrée. Gaston Fébus aurait simplifié au maximum le plan architectural du château, économisé en achetant de grandes quantités de matériaux de qualité constante produits sur place (la brique), en ne faisant pas appel à des artisans spécialisés, mais en utilisant une main-d'œuvre locale.

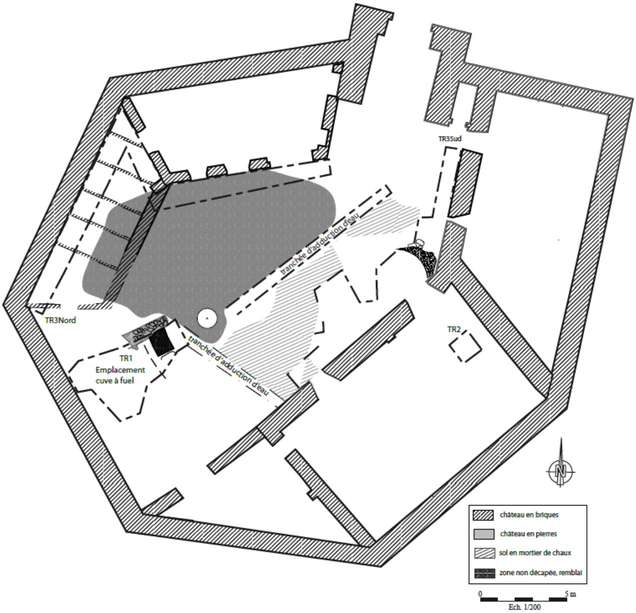
Le château de Morlanne aurait été construit en briques vers 1373-1374, mais, comme il a subi d'importants travaux à différentes époques pour le rendre plus confortable, il est à présent difficile de se faire une idée de ce à quoi il pouvait ressembler à l'origine. En 2012, le Conseil Départemental des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, devenu propriétaire du château à la mort de Raymond Ritter, a décidé de le réhabiliter. La Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles de nouvelle-Aquitaine a délivré un permis de réhabilitation comportant la création d'un musée de 400 m2, la réalisation d'un accès sécurisé des visiteurs au donjon via le chemin de ronde en prenant en compte le public handicapé, tout en sous-entendant que le caractère « fébusien » du château devait être respecté. Il y est stipulé qu' « il parait indispensable de faire une analyse critique des constructions intra-muros avant de reconstruire un état néomoderniste s'ajoutant à l'état néo-médiéval ».

Figure 2

Cour intérieure du château avant réhabilitation© Photo N. Béague, Inrap

L'opération archéologique menée au château de Morlanne entre 2012 et 2015 (BÉAGUE, 2016) a donc eu pour cadre la restauration et l'amélioration des espaces ouverts au public. La surveillance de travaux pour l'aménagement du réseau d'assainissement et le creusement de la cage d'ascenseur assortis d'un relevé partiel du bâti à l'occasion du décrépissage des élévations devaient permettre d'établir un bilan stratigraphique et archéologique du site. Le sous-sol du château n'étant pas documenté à ce jour d'un point de vue archéologique, c'était l'occasion unique de restituer l'image des bâtiments originels adossés à la face interne de la muraille tels qu'ils étaient avant les restructurations et restitutions des différentes époques, et ainsi, de faire le point sur les hypothèses historiques et architecturales émises à propos de cet édifice. Le diagnostic réalisé dans la cour intérieure du château a débouché sur une fouille préventive en raison d'un résultat très positif.

Figure 3



Plan de détail des tranchées de diagnostic © DAO F. Bernard et N. Béague, Inrap

Les vestiges découverts

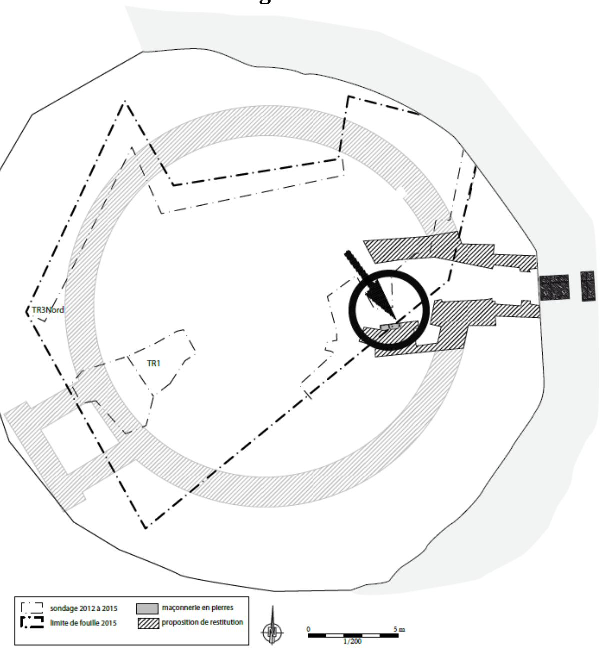
La fouille archéologique préventive a permis de mettre au jour les vestiges d'un bâtiment construit en pierres de taille antérieur au château en briques. L'interprétation de ces vestiges est rendue difficile par une récupération des matériaux de construction par les bâtisseurs du château de l'époque de Gaston Fébus. Les éléments très arasés d'une base d'escalier sous le perron actuel du château et d'une cour intérieure circulaire permettent de proposer la restitution du premier château de Morlanne tel que nous le notons dans les prochains paragraphes.

Figure 4

Motte féodale d'Haurou, commune de Castillon-d'Arthez © N. Béague, Inrap

Une imposante couche de remblai argileux observée dans le sondage réalisé à l'intérieur du château actuel pour le creusement de la cage d'ascenseur atteste qu'une motte constituée de main d'homme formait l'assise d'un château en terre et en bois ou "moated site" au XIe ou XIIe siècle (figure 4). Le parement externe d'une maçonnerie en pierres de grand appareil mis au jour témoigne qu'une fortification en pierres succède à ce premier état en terre et en bois, peut-être au XIIe siècle. Cette maçonnerie dégagée sur une longueur d'1,10 m et se prolongeant sous le château actuel pourrait se rapporter à une tour maîtresse polygonale ou à une salle fortifiée pour ce que l'on peut en juger.

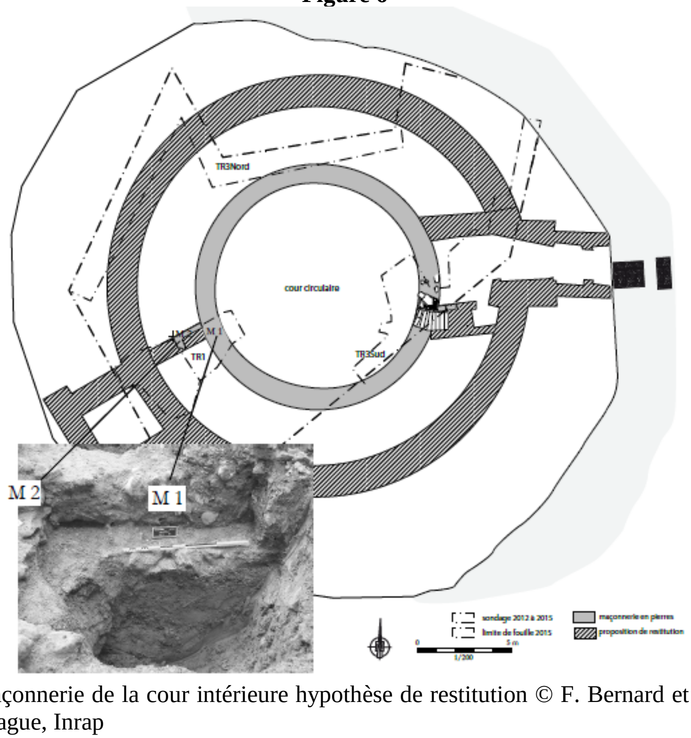
Figure 5



Mur en grand appareil, hypothèse de restitution © F. Bernard et N. Béague, Inrap

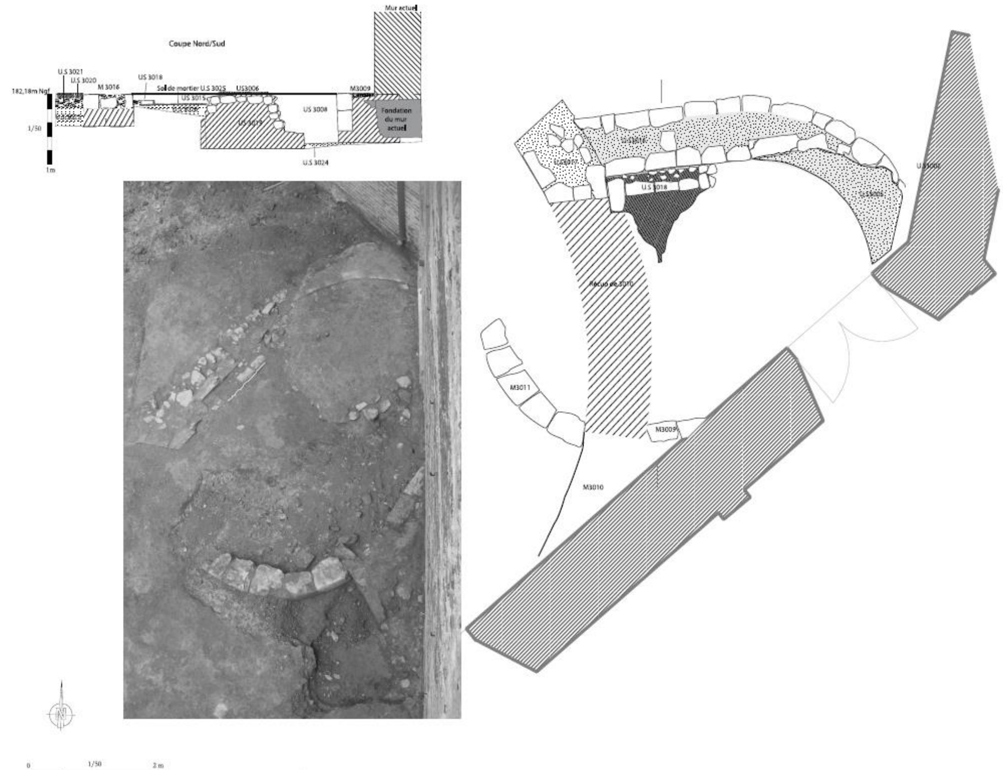
Une cour intérieure circulaire d'un diamètre interne de 11 mètres délimitée par une maçonnerie en pierres couronne ensuite la motte. La fondation de mur mise au jour dans le tout premier sondage (TR1) prouve qu'un bâtiment prenait appui sur la maçonnerie de la cour intérieure pour se développer en direction de la porte d'entrée occidentale du château actuel. Donc la cour intérieure était vraisemblablement bordée de bâtiments résidentiels répartis entre la cour intérieure et une enceinte circulaire plus large (non reconnue, car hors emprise). Nous pouvons comparer ce type de résidence offrant une distribution des pièces du château tout autour de la cour centrale avec Restormel Castle en Cornouailles (Angleterre), probablement construite vers 1100. Dans les terres d'obédience Plantagenêt, des châteaux de type shell-keep bien connus comme Gisors, Guingamp, Clisson, Fougères et Carentan (MESQUI, 1993) se retrouvent également dans le reste du territoire français continental, mais Morlanne serait le premier château de type anglo-normand à avoir été identifié en Béarn (GARDELLES, 1972). Un double tournois de Philippe IV le Bel frappé entre 1285 et 1314, issu des terres rapportées dans la fondation du mur de la cour intérieure, nous en donne le terminus post quem.

Figure 6



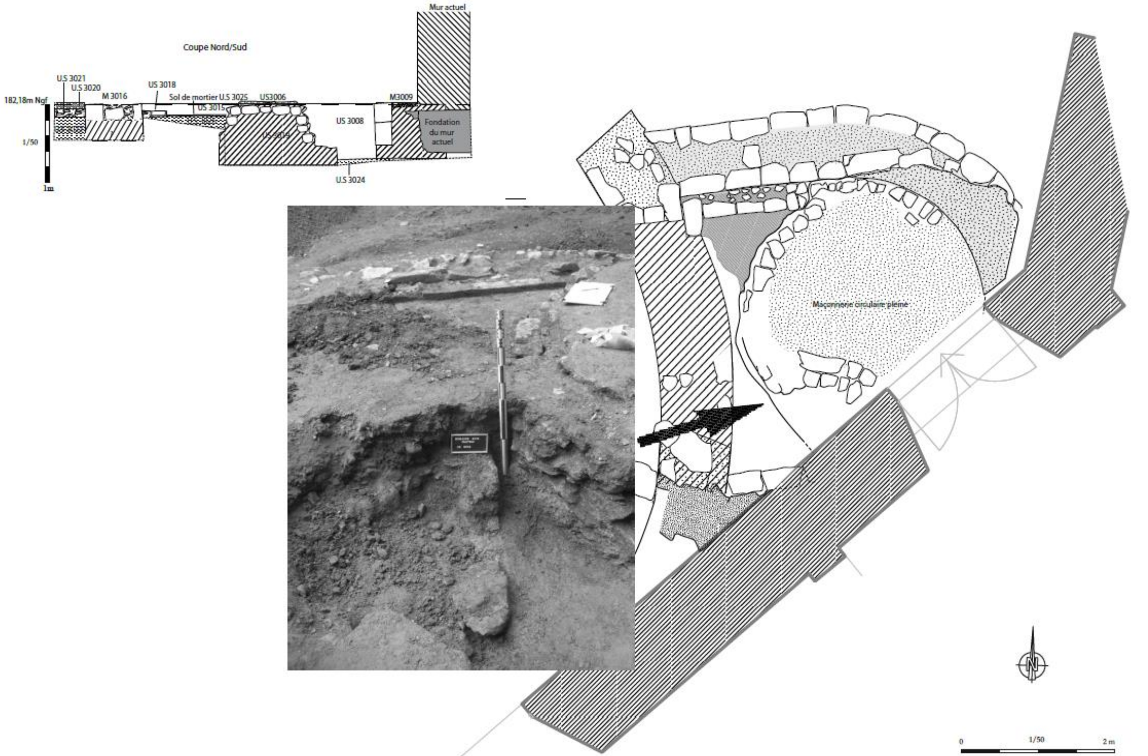
Maçonnerie de la cour intérieure hypothèse de restitution © F. Bernard et N. Béague, Inrap

Figure 7



Maçonnerie en fer à cheval © F. Bernard et N. Béague, Inrap

Figure 8



Maçonnerie de l'escalier circulaire © F. Bernard et N. Béague, Inrap

Une portion de la maçonnerie de cette cour circulaire est détruite au cours du XIIIe ou au début du XIVe siècle pour aménager une entrée en forme de fer à cheval (figure 7). Un escalier en vis desservait l'étage d'un bâtiment que l'on ne peut pas restituer, puisqu' il est situé à l'emplacement du château actuel (figure 8). La maçonnerie en fer à cheval est à son tour réaménagée au plus tard au milieu du XIVe siècle en tour-escalier qui devait desservir une pièce qui ne nous est pas non plus connue. Vers 1373-1374, les matériaux du château primitif en pierres sont récupérés jusqu'aux fondations pour permettre la construction du château en briques dit "fébusien" sur les ruines des états précédents. L'étude du bâti faite sur les murs intérieurs et extérieurs du château montre bien une réutilisation systématique des matériaux récupérés sur place.

Figure 9

Réutilisation de matériaux plus anciens dans le château en briques © N. Béague, Inrap

Une légende historique démentie par l'archéologie ?

Sur quoi repose l'hypothèse de Ritter et Tucco-Chala selon laquelle Gaston Fébus aurait construit à partir des années 1370 en une dizaine d'années des châteaux d'un caractère stéréotypé, original et distinctif directement associé au nom du comte, cette œuvre de construction marquant l'apogée de l'indépendance du Béarn?

L'opération d'archéologie du bâti que nous avons réalisée parallèlement à la fouille archéologique permet de restituer l'état du château tel qu'il fut conçu à l'époque de Gaston Fébus, en faisant abstraction des multiples reconstructions qui se sont succédé pendant 600 ans. Le bâtiment d'origine donne l'image d'un château qui n'a jamais eu de vocation défensive : aucune meurtrière n'est présente en dehors de celle du donjon, les salles destinées à la réception et les chambres réservées au seigneur et à ses invités sont équipées de fenêtres à coussièges, de cheminées, de lavabos, d'éviers et de latrines. Morlanne a été construit pour le demi-frère de Gaston Fébus et non par lui dans un but de résidence. Il n'a jamais été un lieu de garnison, car il n'a jamais eu à se défendre contre l'ennemi, pas plus que le château de Montaner. Situé au centre géographique du territoire de Gaston Fébus, le château de Montaner, construit de façon certaine par Fébus, n'est pas sur une frontière à protéger! Plus qu'un élément de défense, il s'agit pour Fébus d'un élément de dissuasion, d'un symbole de domination sur son territoire et face à ses ennemis. Il n'y a d'ailleurs jamais vécu.

L'archéologie permet aussi de compléter les manques des textes à la fois pour les périodes antérieures à Gaston Fébus et contemporaines de ce grand seigneur. La fouille archéologique prouve qu'à Morlanne, un château de type anglo-normand très important par la taille et la qualité de son architecture a été habité, entretenu et agrandi avec un luxe certain pendant au moins un siècle et demi bien avant Gaston Fébus. Rien n'était connu, si ce n'est qu'un seigneur qui s'appelle Guilhem Arnaut de Morlanne est témoin du testament du vicomte de Béarn Gaston VII en 1290, puis il sert d'intermédiaire en 1319 et en 1326 entre le roi Édouard II d'Angleterre et le comte de Foix (MARCA, 1912, p. 459). Mais rien n'est précisé concernant la résidence en Béarn de ce seigneur qui a une position importante. En 1374, il est fait mention de Jeanne de Morlanne et de son époux Arnaud Guilhem, qui est le demi-frère de Gaston Fébus, mais là encore nous n'avons aucune indication sur leur lieu de résidence. Il est impossible de savoir d'après les textes si le château en pierres est déjà détruit ou si c'est Gaston Fébus qui ordonne de le faire raser. La fouille de la cour intérieure du château de Morlanne a permis de mettre en évidence l'extrême récupération des matériaux de construction. Les relevés du bâti montrent aussi un réemploi fréquent de matériaux datant parfois du XIIe siècle, prélevés sur place, ce qui tend à prouver que le château a été consciencieusement démonté. Il est fréquent de voir dans les textes contemporains de Gaston Fébus que des économies de moyens et de matériaux sont faites en récupérant les pierres du château précédent. Sur les chantiers des résidences vicomtales de Pau ou de Montaner, par exemple, les maçons recrutés par Gaston Fébus doivent abattre et charrier les matériaux contenus dans la tour de Morlaàs, pour les employer à la nouvelle construction. Les textes contemporains de Gaston Fébus nous montrent aussi un seigneur qui met en défense ses domaines : il oblige les habitants des villes et villages à assurer l'entretien des murs d'enceinte, il fait réparer et entretenir sa dizaine de châteaux (GALES, 2002).

Parmi les châteaux que Gaston Fébus possède en propre, beaucoup sont des réappropriations de sites acquis ou conquis par ses ancêtres : Bellocq, Labastide-Villefranche, Sauveterre-de-Béarn, le château Moncade d'Orthez, Morlaàs, Morlanne, Pau, et Montaner. Les textes prouvent que le château de Bellocq existait bien avant 1288, puisque le roi Édouard 1er d'Angleterre y est passé, mais Gaston Fébus lui a apporté des défenses supplémentaires pour abriter une garnison relativement importante et en faire la plus grande place fortifiée de la vicomté de Béarn. Ce château a été fouillé clandestinement dans les années 70, mais le rapport de fouilles ne peut rien apporter sur l'état antérieur à Gaston Fébus. Le château et le bourg de Sauveterre-de-Béarn ont été fortifiés un siècle avant Fébus par Gaston VII Moncade (1229-1290) et Fébus a ici aussi repris et complété l'ensemble fortifié du XIIIe siècle.

Le château de Mauvezin, d'architecture militaire, doit son essor à Gaston Fébus, qui s'efforça de récupérer ce château et la Bigorre dont sa famille avait été injustement spoliée en 1292. Il obtint

Mauvezin en 1379 et le transforma en forteresse inexpugnable en faisant construire un énorme donjon carré de 37 mètres de haut sur une enceinte rectangulaire pourvue de contreforts très saillants aux angles. Il n'y a jamais eu et il n'y aura jamais de véritables fouilles archéologiques dans ce château détenu par l'association Escòla Gaston Fébus qui a en charge la restauration et la valorisation de ce monument inscrit à l'Inventaire Supplémentaire des Monuments Historiques. La présence d'un château à Navailles est mentionnée pour la première fois en 1046. Il s'agit alors d'un château « à motte » et siège de la seigneurie de Navailles, dont les seigneurs se déclarent vassaux du roi d'Angleterre Édouard Ier Plantagenêt et entretiennent des relations conflictuelles avec les vicomtes de Béarn. Les seigneurs de Navailles auraient, par goût ou poussés par Gaston Fébus, fait rebâtir leur château selon le modèle du château fébusien.

Au cours des années 1930, Raymond Ritter s'est souvent rendu à Navailles et il s'en est inspiré pour la restauration du château de Morlanne. Étant donné qu'il appartient à un propriétaire privé, il sera très difficile d'y faire de véritables fouilles archéologiques. Orthez, fut capitale de la vicomté de Béarn de 1242 à 1466 et a construit son identité autour de Gaston Fébus, reprenant sa devise, Toca-i si gausas (Touche si tu l'oses). Les récentes opérations archéologiques préventives que nous y avons réalisées montrent qu'un urbanisme dynamique a été mis en place plus d'un siècle avant lui. Enfin, en ce qui concerne le château de Montaner, celui-ci existait également au XIIe, car la reine d'Angleterre y a séjourné à plusieurs reprises. Gaston Fébus l'a entièrement reconstruit, sans doute comme Morlanne. Les fouilles clandestines des années 70 ont permis d'entrevoir un état ancien, mais ces travaux n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une publication. Ce château est essentiel pour la compréhension du supposé dispositif défensif de Gaston Fébus. Les textes faisant souvent défaut, seule la fouille archéologique permettrait peut-être de dire si ces châteaux étaient déjà en ruine ou ont été volontairement rasés à l'époque de Gaston Fébus. Pour savoir si leur reconstruction procède d'une réelle volonté politique et stratégique de Gaston Fébus nous allons devoir, quand cela sera possible, orienter notre travail de recherche vers une étude archéologique exhaustive.

Le château que nous avons mis au jour à Morlanne est donc contemporain de tous ces châteaux construits dès le XIIe siècle par des seigneurs partagés entre l'Angleterre et la France. Les textes montrent que ce sont de puissants seigneurs, engagés dans un système d'alliances et d'obligations vis-à-vis des royaumes voisins : France capétienne, Gascogne anglaise et royaume d'Aragon. Influencés par l'Angleterre, ils ont souhaité construire leur château à la mode anglaise. Fébus a-t-il justement fait démolir ces châteaux parce qu'ils étaient trop « anglais »? En prêtant à Gaston Fébus cette volonté de (re) – construire à partir des années 1370 ses châteaux suivant un caractère stéréotypé, R. Ritter et P. Tucoo-Chala ont aussi construit sa légende. C'est cette image de champion de l'indépendance du Béarn que ces historiens ont toujours voulu mettre en avant jusqu'à présent, parfois au mépris des preuves archéologiques démentant cette image.

Faut-il déconstruire la légende de Gaston Fébus ? Est-ce le rôle des archéologues de mettre en évidence une facette méconnue de l'histoire du Béarn, celle de seigneurs partagés entre l'Angleterre et la France ? L'archéologie permet de rétablir la vérité et de proposer une autre approche de la période de la guerre de Cent Ans, où tout n'était pas noir ou blanc. Il est nécessaire de nuancer nos propos vis-à-vis du public qui visite les châteaux du Béarn puisqu'il s'agit aussi bien d'enfants, de scolaires, que d'étrangers qui ne connaissent pas forcément les différents aspects de cette période de troubles, d'alliances et de traîtrises. Le public ne doit plus être considéré comme le réceptacle d'un discours péremptoire et univoque, mais doit pouvoir avoir accès aux faits établis par la recherche archéologique. Les habitants de Montaner souhaitent à l'avenir se réapproprier le site du château pour qu'à la place d'un musée à la gloire d'un seul homme ils aient un lieu de mémoire pour tous. Au château de Morlanne, le public pourra désormais être informé des dernières propositions d'interprétation par des panneaux d'information crées en collaboration avec l'Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (Inrap).

Conclusions

L'archéologie préventive, qui a fait un énorme bond en avant ces 20 dernières années permet de réécrire l'Histoire (ou les histoires). Les idées évoluent à la faveur des dernières découvertes archéologiques, le public envisage plus l'archéologie comme une enquête scientifique d'experts du passé que comme une contribution à l'histoire : il attend des preuves scientifiques sur des faits tangibles. Il faut savoir s'affranchir de la personnalité écrasante de Gaston Fébus pour s'intéresser à la fois au Béarn d'avant la guerre de Cent Ans et aux anonymes qui ont fait ce que le Béarn est devenu. Maintenant que l'État est bien engagé dans la préservation du patrimoine historique, il se pourrait que les habitants commencent à être plus critiques vis-à-vis des travaux effectués jusqu'à présent. Toujours réfractaires à la centralisation étatique, les Béarnais commencent à se réapproprier leurs villes, leurs châteaux et leur langue béarnaise.

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ARCHÉOLOGIE ET MISE EN VALEUR DE L'ÎLE SAINT-BARNABÉ (RIMOUSKI, QUÉBEC) : DE LA MATÉRIALISATION D'UN MYTHE À LA PERFORMANCE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE

Arqueologia e valorização da Ilha Saint-Barnabé (Rimouski, Québec): da materialização de um mito à performance arqueológica

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ABSTRACT

This article offers reflections on the experience of a long-term archaeological investigation in an academic context and is interested in the evolution of the objectives, expectations, and interests of its various actors. The project combined research, education, and development, seeking a balance among these three dimensions of the project that fed each other. This balance allowed a place for the interests of each of the actors: those of the university professor-researchers and students, those of the local municipality and its tourism promotion agency, and those of the general public. Over time, the education mission of the project has taken on a more important role and the development has gradually taken the form of an archaeological performance. The authors question the long-term viability of this type of development.

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Keywords: Public archaeology; Archaeological pedagogy; Development; Archaeological performance

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose un retour sur une expérience d'intervention archéologique de longue durée en contexte universitaire et s'intéresse à l'évolution des objectifs, des attentes et des intérêts de ses différents acteurs. L'intervention conciliait recherche, enseignement et mise en valeur, cherchant un équilibre entre ces trois dimensions qui se nourrissaient mutuellement. Cet équilibre permettait de répondre aux intérêts de chacun des acteurs : ceux de l'université, les professeurs-chercheurs et des étudiants, ceux de la municipalité et de son organisme de promotion touristique, ceux du public en général. Au fil du temps, l'enseignement a pris une dimension de plus en plus affirmée et la mise en valeur a graduellement pris la forme d'une performance archéologique. Les auteurs s'interrogent sur la viabilité à long terme d'une telle forme de mise en valeur.

Mots-clés: archéologie publique; enseignement de l'archéologie; mise en valeur; performance archéologique

RESUMO

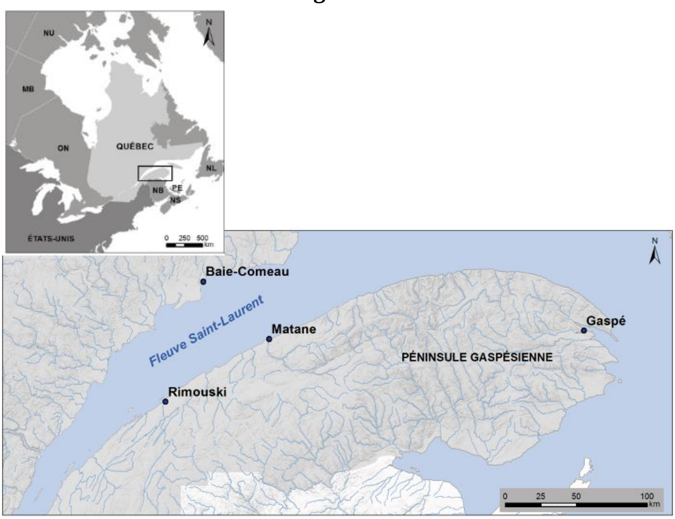
Este artigo estuda a evolução dos objetivos, das expectativas e dos interesses dos diferentes atores de uma experiência de intervenção arqueológica de longo prazo realizada no contexto universitário. A intervenção conciliava pesquisa, ensino e valorização, buscando equilibrar estas três dimensões que alimentavam reciprocamente. Este equilíbrio permitiu responder aos interesses de cada um dos atores: os da universidade, dos professores-pesquisadores e dos estudantes, os da municipalidade e do seu órgão de promoção turística, e os do publico em geral. Ao longo do tempo, o ensino assumiu uma importância cada vez maior e a valorização progressivamente assumiu a forma de uma performance arqueológica. Os autores questionam-se sobre a viabilidade à longo prazo deste tipo de valorização.

Palavras-chave: arqueologia publica; ensino da arqueologia; valorização; performance arqueológica

Introduction

De 2009 à 2014, des professeurs-chercheurs et des étudiants de l'Université du Québec à Rimouski (UQAR) ont mené chaque été des opérations archéologiques sur l'île Saint-Barnabé, au large de Rimouski (Québec, Canada), dans l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent[2] (figure 1). Les objectifs, le caractère et le déploiement des activités archéologiques ont connu des changements profonds au cours de ces six saisons. Alors que le projet devait initialement contribuer à une mise en valeur éclairée du site et de l'île, cette mise en valeur a graduellement pris la forme d'une performance archéologique. Cet article présente le projet et son contexte; il relate l'évolution du projet et des intérêts de ces principaux acteurs, puis propose quelques réflexions sur la performance archéologique comme forme de mise en valeur.

Figure 1



Localisation de Rimouski (Marie-Andrée Roy, UQAR)

2 Ces travaux ont été financés par la Ville de Rimouski et, de 2012 à 2014, par le projet PATER (UQAR-Cégep de Rimouski, Québec), lui-même financé par le ministère Québécois de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport. Il a également bénéficié de contributions de l'UQAR et de la Fondation Héritage Canada.

Rimouski et l'île Saint-Barnabé

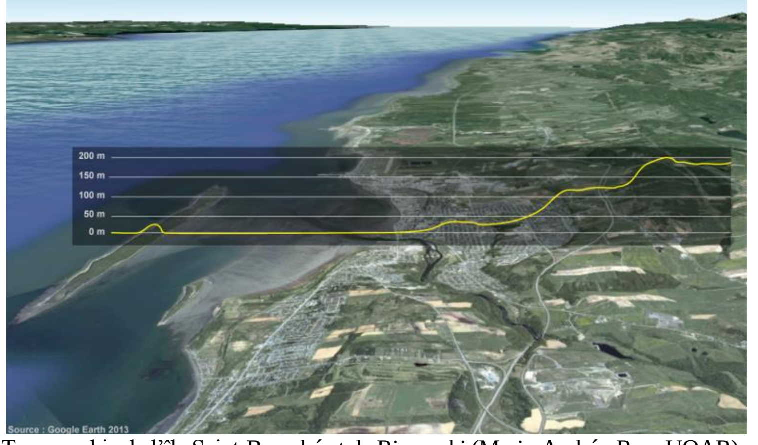
L'ile Saint-Barnabé est située à 3 kilomètres au large de Rimouski, la capitale administrative de la région québécoise du Bas-Saint-Laurent, sur la rive sud de l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent[3]. Il s'agit d'une barre appalachienne formée de schiste qui se présente comme une longue et étroite bande de terre (6 kilomètres de longueur par moins de 0,5 kilomètres de largeur) qui ferme la baie de Rimouski. Sa topographie présente peu de variations, à l'exception d'une crête rocheuse dont l'altitude dépasse à peine 10 mètres; son sommet, appelé la Petite Montagne, atteint 17 mètres. La ville elle-même est établie sur des paléo-terrasses marines qui se déploient comme les gradins d'un immense théâtre naturel dont l'île Saint-Barnabé serait la scène (figure 2). L'île Saint-Barnabé domine l'imaginaire des Rimouskois autant qu'elle domine leur paysage. Elle n'est qu'à faible distance de la côte et peut facilement être atteinte en chaloupe ou en kayak quand la mer est calme, voire à pied lorsque la marée est très basse, mais les conditions maritimes peuvent changer rapidement dans l'estuaire et l'île peut alors être beaucoup plus lointaine qu'elle ne le semble. Son accès a longtemps été restreint par ses propriétaires et leurs gardiens.

L'île est la scène de récits plus ou moins légendaires de naufrages, de baleines échouées, de vigies à l'affût de navires anglais et de sous-marins allemands, de contrebande d'alcool, de parties de chasse des élites rimouskoises, tous encore très vivants dans l'histoire écrite et orale. Des cultivateurs aux contrebandiers et aux bûcherons, les insulaires habitent encore la mémoire collective des Rimouskois[4].

3 La Ville de Rimouski compte 49 197 habitants en 2017 (Ville de Rimouski, données statistiques de 2017, http://www.ville.rimouski.qc.ca/fr/decouvrezRimouski/nav/portrait.html?iddoc=140513).

4 MASSICOTTE, Marie-Andrée, et LECHASSEUR, Antonio. *De verdure et de rêves, l'île Saint-Barnabé*. Rimouski: Société Joseph-Gauvreau pour le patrimoine, 1988; FORTIN, Jean-Charles, et LECHASSEUR, Antonio. *Histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent*. Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1993; MASSICOTTE, Marie-Andrée. Une île au large de la ville. *Revue d'histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent*, n. 19 (2), 1996, p. 57-62; CHASSÉ, Béatrice. *Rimouski et son île. Les seigneurs Lepage et l'île Saint-Barnabé*. Rimouski: Société d'histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent / Groupe de recherche interdisciplinaire sur le développement régional de l'Est du Québec, 2003;

Figure 2



Topographie de l'île Saint-Barnabé et de Rimouski (Marie-Andrée-Roy, UQAR)

La plus grande partie de l'île appartient aujourd'hui à la Ville de Rimouski, qui en a fait un parc. Tourisme Rimouski assure un service de navette par bateau pneumatique pendant la saison touristique, c'est-à-dire de la fin juin à début septembre ; elle occupe aujourd'hui une place enviable dans l'offre touristique de la région de Rimouski.

Toussaint Cartier, l'ermite de l'île Saint-Barnabé

L'un de ces insulaires occupe une place particulière dans l'imaginaire des Rimouskois : le premier habitant connu de l'île, Toussaint Cartier, dit l'ermite, qui y a vécu en solitaire d'environ

SAVARD, Manon, BEAUDRY, Nicolas & LALANDE, Dominique. Un bilan des travaux archéologiques récents sur l'île Saint-Barnabé (Rimouski). *L'Estuaire*, n. 71, 2011, p. 27-35.

1728 jusqu'à sa mort en 1767[5]. Il suscitait déjà la curiosité de son vivant, comme en témoigne une note dans le journal du commandant des troupes françaises en Amérique du Nord, le marquis de Montcalm, alors qu'il passe au large de l'île[6]. Moins de deux ans après sa mort, il apparaît dans un roman de l'anglaise Frances Brooke sous la forme d'un veuf qui se serait retiré du monde pour pleurer sa bien-aimée[7]. Près d'un siècle plus tard, l'archevêque de Québec, Mgr Joseph Signay, publie le portrait d'un dévot qui aurait consacré son existence à la contemplation et à la prière[8]; ce personnage de chrétien exemplaire a été largement instrumentalisé par l'Église de Rimouski, ce qui explique des regains d'intérêt lors de l'érection canonique de la paroisse de Rimouski en 1827 et, de nouveau, à la veille de l'érection du diocèse de Rimouski en 1867, 100 ans après la mort de l'ermite. Depuis, les personnages de Brooke, de Signay et d'autres auteurs[9] se sont croisés, contribuant à construire un personnage légendaire, ambigu et changeant, auquel les Rimouskois sont restés très attachés et qui continue de les intriguer. D'autres

5 MIMEAULT, Mario. La légende Toussaint Cartier : critique des sources. *Revue d'histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent*, n. 14(1), 1990, p. 23-30; GOSSELIN, Sylvain. Le territoire et ses premiers occupants, In: Paul Larocque (éd.). *Rimouski depuis ses origines*. Rimouski: Société d'histoire du Bas-Saint-Laurent / Société de généalogie et d'histoire de Rimouski / GRIDEQ, 2006, p. 19-91; SCALLON-CHOUINARD, Pascal. Un homme à la marge. Toussaint Cartier, ermite de l'île Saint-Barnabé. *Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Sherbrooke*, n. 3 (1), 2012, < www.rhus.association.usherbrooke.ca/wp-content/articles/312.pdf . ; LA CHARITÉ, Claude. L'érémitisme en Nouvelle-France et la vocation singulière de Toussaint Cartier au XVIIIe siècle. *Études d'histoire religieuse*, n. 79(2), 2013. p. 5-19.

6 "L'île Saint-Barnabé […] est habitée par un gentilhomme breton des environs de Morlaix, qui par singularité ou dévotion y mène la vie d'un ermite, et se sauve même dans les bois, si on cherche à l'aborder lorsque les bâtiments y mouillent" : MONTCALM, Louis-Joseph de. *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759*, éd. par H.-R. CASGRAIN, Québec: Imprimerie L.-J. Demers et frères, 1895.

7 BROOKE, Frances. *The History of Emily Montague*. Londres: J. Dodsle, 1769. V. aussi MIGNEAULT, Yvon. Que devons-nous à Frances Brooke, 1724-1789, au sujet de Toussaint Cartier, l'ermite de l'île Saint-Barnabé, 1707-1767? *Revue d'histoire du Bas Saint-Laurent*, n. 13(1), 1988, p. 3-11.

8 SIGNAY, Joseph, Notice sur le nommé Toussaint Cartier surnommé l'ermite de l'île Saint-Barnabé, mort et enterré à Rimouski en 1767. *L'Abeille*, n. 10 (22), 31 mai 1862.

9 Le personnage du dévot a reçu sa forme la plus achevée et la plus influente sous la plume de Joseph-Charles Taché, écrivain polygraphe et homme politique rimouskois . voir TACHÉ, Joseph-Charles. L'île Saint-Barnabé dans le comté et dans la paroisse de Rimouski. Les soirées canadiennes, n. 5, 1865, p. 341-365; TACHÉ, Joseph-Charles. *Les Sablons (l'île de Sable) et l'île Saint-Barnabé*. Montréal : Librairie Saint-Joseph, Cadieux & Derome, 1885, p. 135-154.

poètes et des écrivains[10] l'ont évoqué depuis Frances Brooke; il réapparaît régulièrement dans la presse régionale[11]; des historiens et des érudits poursuivent leur enquête sur le personnage[12] et des artistes s'en inspirent[13]. Le personnage de l'ermite a même donné son nom à une discothèque rimouskoise[14], qui n'a cependant pas vécu très longtemps.

Les objectifs de l'intervention archéologique

Les premières interventions ont été initiées à l'invitation de l'organisme gestionnaire de l'île, Tourisme Rimouski, qui souhaitait enrichir l'offre touristique régionale par l'interprétation historique de l'île qui appartient presque entièrement à la Ville de Rimouski et qui accueille randonneurs et campeurs pendant la saison estivale. On attendait des archéologues qu'ils valident un discours historique centré sur le premier habitant connu de l'île au XVIII^{e} siècle, l'ermite Toussaint-Cartier, et qu'ils l'illustrent en fournissant des artefacts qui seraient exposés dans un aménagement prévu sur le site où il aurait vécu. Les travaux ont plutôt livré la matière d'un récit plus riche, qui dépasse la seule personne de l'ermite et qui a ouvert des perspectives plus larges de mise en valeur, de la préhistoire jusqu'au XX^{e} siècle. L'implication d'étudiants dans les travaux archéologiques se faisant plus soutenue, le caractère pédagogique des interventions s'est développé jusqu'à leur donner la forme d'une école de fouilles. Le

10 LA CHARITÉ, *op. cit*.

11 SCALLON-CHOUINARD, *op. cit.*

12 On mentionnera en particulier Claude La Charité, professeur à l'UQAR et titulaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en histoire littéraire et patrimoine imprimé. Ses recherches donnent lieu à une série d'articles dans Le *Mouton NOIR* (Rimouski) : voir LA CHARITÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 2.

13 En 2013, Guillaume Boudrias-Plouffe présentait au Centre d'art Caravansérail de Rimouski une installation intitulée *Coudon ! Yé pas sorti du bois !*, inspirée de la vie de Toussaint Cartier : voir MATHIEU, S., Caravansérail : incursion dans l'univers de Toussaint Cartier. *L'Avantage*, Rimouski, 10 avril 2013, p. 20.

14 MICHAUD, Pierre. Le Chiff cède sa place au Toussaint Cartier. *Le Progrès Écho*, Rimouski, 22 mars 2009.

site étant ouvert au public, les visiteurs ont été intégrés à la fois dans la démarche d'enseignement et dans la démarche de recherche. Leurs intérêts et ceux de Tourisme Rimouski s'ouvraient alors à d'autres occupations que celle de l'ermite et à d'autres personnages, jusqu'aux occupations récentes et jusqu'aux archéologues eux-mêmes. Ces derniers comptent désormais parmi les insulaires et leur performance archéologique contribue à l'animation de l'île.

L'archéologie et la mise en valeur de l'île Saint-Barnabé

Un chantier touristique : les attentes suscitées par un projet de mise en valeur

Afin de retenir les touristes de passage[15], de prolonger le séjour des visiteurs et d'en attirer de nouveaux, Tourisme Rimouski a entrepris dans les années 2000 de diversifier son offre touristique en mettant en valeur l'histoire de l'île Saint-Barnabé et de ses habitants, en plus de son milieu naturel. Le projet consistait entre autres à aménager sur l'île des stations comprenant des panneaux d'interprétation, des objets et, dans certains cas, des chaises, des tables à pique-nique ou un abri. Les thèmes retenus comprenaient les naufrages autour de l'île, son rôle dans la contrebande d'alcool, les cultivateurs de l'île (dont ceux de la famille Lepage, étroitement associée aux origines de Rimouski)[16] et surtout l'ermite Toussaint

15 Rimouski est sur la route de la Gaspésie, une destination touristique privilégiée des touristes québécois et étrangers. Dès la fin du XIXe siècle, la péninsule gaspésienne faisait partie de la *Tourism Belt*, un réseau de sites de villégiature des élites urbaines canadiennes et américaines ; avec l'ouverture de la route, le "tour" de la Gaspésie a offert l'une des premières expériences d'un tourisme populaire basé sur des circuits à parcourir en automobile. Voir GAGNON, Serge. *L'échiquier touristique québécois*. Sainte-Foy : Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2003, p. 119-125 et p. 264-273.

16 Installé dès la fin du XVIIe siècle, René Lepage de Sainte-Claire a été le premier seigneur résident de Rimouski. Son fils et son petit-fils, Pierre Lepage de Saint-Barnabé et Pierre Lepage de Saint-Barnabé II, ont signé en 1728 et en 1764 les documents qui autorisaient Toussaint Cartier à habiter l'île Saint-Barnabé. Un autre descendant du Seigneur, Louis-Jacques Lepage,

Cartier. La station portant sur l'ermite devait être installée sur le site même où, selon la tradition orale, il aurait vécu.

Pour les responsables de cette mise en valeur, l'archéologie pouvait offrir des artefacts à exposer *in situ*, intégrés à la station sur Toussaint Cartier. On attendait donc de la culture matérielle qu'elle illustre et valide un discours établi d'avance, et non qu'elle l'alimente. Il est vrai que Rimouski elle-même avait été relativement peu exposée à l'archéologie et à la mise en valeur de la ressource archéologique, les rares travaux archéologiques ayant été menés dans des contextes préventifs et par des équipes de l'extérieur. L'opération la plus remarquable en archéologie historique, encore récente (2002-2003), avait été la fouille du premier cimetière de Rimouski (1712-1863), au centre-ville, à l'emplacement où devait être bâtie une salle de spectacle ; une vitrine dans le hall de cette dernière présente depuis quelques artefacts provenant des latrines du premier évêché (1870-1920), découvertes à cette occasion[17].

Or, un nouveau créneau d'enseignement et de recherche en archéologie prenait alors forme à l'UQAR, à la faveur de l'embauche récente d'une professeure de géographie et d'un professeur d'histoire qui sont aussi archéologues. En 2008, à l'occasion de rencontres publiques sur l'avenir de l'île, une des archéologues de l'UQAR a établi un dialogue avec des employés de la Ville et pu ainsi faire valoir l'intérêt d'intégrer l'archéologie plus tôt dans la démarche, afin que ses résultats puissent contribuer à une mise en valeur éclairée.

C'est dans ce contexte que le nouveau Laboratoire d'Archéologie et de Patrimoine (LAP) de l'UQAR a été invité à

agriculteur, pêcheur et marinier, s'est établi sur l'île Saint-Barnabé avec sa famille dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle et il y a vécu jusqu'à sa mort en 1903. La maison familiale a ensuite été laissée à l'abandon, servant de refuge aux chasseurs et aux excursionnistes jusqu'à sa destruction par un incendie accidentel en 1942; un panneau marque aujourd'hui son emplacement. Théodore Lepage, petit-fils de Louis-Jacques, venait d'acquérir les lots Lepage et s'y construisit un chalet; il cultiva les terres de son grand-père jusqu'en 1973, quand il mit fin à ses activités sur l'île pour s'établir à Rimouski (CHASSÉ, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53). Il continua cependant à fréquenter son chalet sur l'île.

17 L'archéologue Gilles Rousseau et l'anthropologue Robert Larocque ont présenté leurs résultats à la population lors d'une conférence publique livrée dans la nouvelle salle de spectacle. Cet événement a connu un grand succès. Voir aussi ROUSSEAU, Gilles. Le cœur religieux de Rimouski : les interventions archéologiques de 2002 et 2003. In : Jean-René THUOT, Kurt VIGNOLA et Nicolas BEAUDRY (eds.). *La cathédrale de Rimouski. Parcours, mémoires, récits*. Rimouski : Les Éditions de l'Estuaire, 2017, p. 199-214.

entreprendre des travaux archéologiques sur l'île Saint-Barnabé à l'été 2009. Tourisme Rimouski voyait d'un bon œil ce partenariat avec un organisme régional. La participation d'étudiants et les retombées éducatives étaient perçues comme des plus-values, même si cela pouvait se traduire par un rythme de travail plus lent que celui qu'aurait pu fournir une équipe professionnelle. Par ailleurs, comme les travaux devaient être menés durant la saison estivale alors que l'île est accessible aux visiteurs, Tourisme Rimouski souhaitait que l'équipe puisse les accueillir et échanger avec eux mais sans imposer de formule à cet égard. Quant au nouveau LAP, ce projet lui permettait de s'engager résolument dans la communauté locale et dans la mise en valeur de son patrimoine.

Un chantier universitaire : de l'archéologie préventive à la recherche appliquée

De 2009 à 2014, le LAP a mené six interventions archéologiques annuelles de quatre semaines chacune sur l'île Saint Barnabé. Cinq ont porté sur le site où Toussaint Cartier aurait vécu, la saison 2011 ayant été consacrée à la pointe est de l'île.

Les travaux de 2009 et 2010, menés en collaboration avec Ruralys[18], ont eu à la fois le caractère préventif d'une intervention préalable à un aménagement et le caractère académique d'une intervention menée dans le but d'acquérir des connaissances. Les questions demeuraient cependant déterminées par le projet de mise en valeur. Les représentants de la Ville souhaitaient notamment valider la localisation du site où, selon la tradition orale, aurait vécu Toussaint Cartier : sur sa rive sud de l'île, vers son centre, face à l'église et au noyau villageois. On espérait également préciser la forme de la maison de l'ermite, sur laquelle les témoignages de deuxième main du XIX^{e} siècle se contredisent : elle est tantôt décrite comme une maison en colombage de 35 pieds sur 20 pieds avec un solage et une cheminée en pierre, tantôt comme une simple

18 Ruralys est un organisme patrimonial sans but lucratif basé à La Pocatière, dans la région du Bas-Saint-Laurent.

« maisonnette » d'une pièce[19] ; une gravure représentant les derniers moments de l'ermite, parue à la une du quotidien *La Presse* en 1906, la représente comme une cabane en bois rond[20]. Il a fallu cependant modérer les attentes : une intervention archéologique pouvait peut-être confirmer une occupation du XVIII^e siècle, contemporaine de l'ermite, mais il serait peu probable qu'elle puisse être associée avec certitude à Toussaint Cartier puisque d'autres ont pu fréquenter l'île de son vivant ou après lui.

Les sources historiques et la tradition orale promettaient déjà un excellent potentiel du site pour le XVIII^e siècle, mais aussi pour les périodes antérieures et postérieures. En 1993, un inventaire archéologique s'intéressant à l'occupation amérindienne des îles du Saint-Laurent n'avait livré que des sondages négatifs à la pointe est de l'île[21], mais celle-ci est battue par les vents alors que la rive sud de l'île est plus clémente; le site est en outre près de l'embouchure du seul cours d'eau de l'île. La période la plus prometteuse était le Sylvicole (3000 à 500 AA), la période la plus récente de la préhistoire : le site, à une altitude de 4 à 6 m, appartient en effet à la paléo-terrasse marine de Mitis formée il entre 3000 et 1000 ans AA[22]. Après l'ermite, l'île a été habitée par des agriculteurs; elle a été fréquentée par des villégiateurs et des chasseurs; sa forêt a été exploitée au cours des XIX^e et XX^e siècles.

Dès les premiers jours de l'intervention de 2009, les travaux ont livré des artefacts du XVIII^e siècle, mais aussi des artefacts autochtones du Sylvicole, ainsi que de riches assemblages du XIX^e siècle et de la première moitié du XX^e. Ils ont aussi livré une assise de la fondation d'un bâtiment du XIX^e siècle, qui semble avoir remployé l'emplacement et des matériaux d'une occupation du

19 La Charité, Claude. Toussaint Cartier, l'ermite de l'île Saint-Barnabé (I) : La maison du solitaire, petite cabane en bois rond ou grand ermitage ? *Le Mouton Noir*, n. 15(1), septembre-octobre 2009.

20 Gravure d'Albert-Samuel BRODEUR, *La Presse*, Montréal, 29 septembre 1906.

21 TREMBLAY, Roland, et VAILLANCOURT, J.-B. (1994). *Rapport des activités archéologiques menées sur les îles du Bas-Saint-Laurent*, Rapport déposé au ministère de la Culture du Québec, Montréal : Université de Montréal, Département d'anthropologie, 1993.

22 Dionne, Jean-Claude. État des connaissances sur la ligne de rivage Micmac de J. W. Goldthwait (estuaire du Saint-Laurent). *Géographie physique et Quaternaire*, n. 56(1), 2002, p. 97-121.

XVIII^e^. Toussaint Cartier n'aurait donc été ni le premier habitant de l'île, ni le dernier occupant de ce site[23].

Le site a été inscrit à l'Inventaire des sites archéologiques du Québec sous le code DcEd-9. Il a été perturbé par les occupations successives et par des labours, mais depuis 2009 il a été possible de circonscrire des zones présentant une plus forte densité d'artefacts du XVIII^e^ siècle. Les travaux ont également livré un niveau préservé du XVIII^e^ siècle sous l'emprise du bâtiment, des dépotoirs et des vestiges d'autres bâtiments et aménagements des XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles, ainsi que des lambeaux d'un site préhistorique et un bel assemblage d'artefacts préhistoriques dont certains datent peut-être de l'Archaïque (6000-3000 AA).

Un chantier étudiant : l'apprentissage de la pratique archéologique

Le développement du LAP et de la recherche en archéologie à l'UQAR s'est accompagné du développement d'une offre de cours théoriques et pratiques, mais avant 2009, seul un petit nombre d'étudiants pouvait s'initier à la pratique archéologique outre-mer dans le cadre d'ententes bilatérales. L'ouverture du chantier de l'île Saint-Barnabé a permis d'offrir localement, et à un plus grand nombre, des formations pratiques en archéologie bien ancrées dans la pratique québécoise. Aux plus motivés, ce chantier a permis d'acquérir une expérience plus poussée et d'encadrer à leur tour des débutants.

En 2011, les travaux se sont déplacés à la pointe est de l'île Saint-Barnabé pour explorer des présumées caches de contrebande. Ils devaient contribuer à un projet de maîtrise en histoire sur la patrimonialisation de la contrebande pendant les prohibitions canadienne (première moitié du XX^e^ siècle, dates différentes selon les provinces) et américaine (1919-1933). L'intervention devait notamment valider la fonction de fosses associées à la contrebande par la tradition orale, matérialisée par un panneau d'interprétation et une station de mise en valeur[24] ; les travaux ont permis de dater une

23 SAVARD *et al.*, *loc. cit.*

24 La station de mise en valeur présente un contenant de *Hand Brand*, un alcool qui était distribué dans le golfe et l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent à partir du territoire français de Saint-

de ses fosses du premier tiers du XX^{e} siècle, mais pas d'en confirmer la fonction.

En 2012, l'équipe du LAP est revenue sur le site DcEd-9, où aurait vécu l'ermite. À la faveur du projet PATER (patrimoine, enseignement, recherche), porté par l'UQAR et le Cégep de Rimouski, dont l'objectif était de favoriser la valorisation du patrimoine bas-laurentien dans l'enseignement et la recherche [25], l'intervention archéologique a formellement pris la forme d'une École de fouilles archéologiques[26] (figure 3), dont les trois premières éditions ont été offertes sur le site DcEd-9 de l'île Saint-Barnabé.

Figure 3

Un groupe d'étudiants de l'édition 2012 de l'école de fouilles (Nicolas Beaudry)

Pierre-et-Miquelon. Le contenant provient d'une fosse au Bic, en amont de Rimouski, mais sa présence sur l'île contribue à y matérialiser un récit de contrebande.

25 Le projet PATER a été financé par le ministère québécois de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport de 2011 à 2014 ; voir Beaudry, Nicolas, Hébert, Karine, Marie, Guillaume, Pagniez, Renaud, Savard, Manon, Thuot, Jean-René, & Vignola, Kurt. Patrimoine, enseignement et recherche (PATER) : le patrimoine bas-laurentien au service de la formation collégiale et universitaire. In : Marie-Claude Larouche, Joanne Burgess, Joanne & Nicolas Beaudry (éds.), *Éveil et enracinement : approches pédagogiques innovantes du patrimoine culturel*, Québec : Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2016, p. 229-246.

26 Savard, Manon, et Beaudry, Nicolas, Le patrimoine investi par l'archéologie. L'expérience du chantier-école de l'île Saint-Barnabé, dans LAROUCHE *et al., op.cit.*, p. 171-187.

Un chantier public : de la matérialisation du mythe à la performance archéologique

Les missions d'une université comprennent l'enseignement, la recherche et le service à la collectivité. Cette troisième est particulièrement importante pour une université régionale, qui agit comme un pôle scientifique et culturel, prend part au développement régional et contribue à la vitalité et au rayonnement du milieu. En tant que nouvel acteur régional, le LAP se devait de développer une pratique de l'archéologie adaptée aux réalités de l'Est du Québec et bien ancrée dans le milieu. Cela s'est manifesté notamment par le développement d'axes de recherche et d'intervention en archéologie environnementale, en archéologie des passés récents, ainsi qu'en archéologie publique, un champ de pratique et de recherche qui s'intéresse aux dimensions publiques de la pratique archéologique ainsi qu'aux interactions entre les archéologues et le public[27].

Les travaux sur l'île Saint-Barnabé ont donné lieu à un effort de communication soutenu, de la part de Tourisme Rimouski comme de la part du LAP. Les médias locaux et le public local ont manifesté un grand intérêt pour les travaux avant même qu'ils ne commencent, en grande partie parce qu'ils devaient se dérouler sur le site où aurait vécu un personnage mythique cher aux Rimouskois[28]. Les travaux ont bénéficié chaque été d'une importante couverture médiatique à l'échelle locale et nationale sous la forme d'entrevues, de reportages et, à l'occasion de la création de l'École de fouilles en 2012, d'un documentaire[29]. Des résultats ont été partagés avec le public par

27 MCDAVID, Carol. Bibliography of public archaeology sources, *Archaeologies: Journal of the world Archaeological Congress*, n. 7 (3), 2011, p. 657-666. Cette définition rend compte de deux approches de l'archéologie publique, en premier lieu celle du chercheur-acteur qui vise, dans ses interactions avec divers publics, la démocratisation de la ressource ou du savoir archéologique. Richardson, Lorna-Jane, et Almansa-Sánchez, Jaime. Do you even know what public archaeology is? Trends, theory, practice, ethics. *World Archaeology*, n. 47 (2), 2015, p. 194-211; Schadla-Hall, Tim. Public archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology*, n. 2 (2), 1999, p. 147-158. La seconde approche est celle du chercheur-observateur, qui s'intéresse à la production, à la consommation et aux représentations de l'archéologie. Voir Moshenska, Gabriel, What is public archaeology? *Present Pasts*, n. 1, 2009, p. 46-48. Ces deux positions ne s'excluent pas mutuellement et le LAP se réclame de l'une comme de l'autre.

28 SAVARD *et al.*, *loc. cit.*

29 Voir par exemple CHAGNON, Sophie I., L'archéologie sur l'île Saint-Barnabé, *Canal Savoir, Campus*, émission 41, 12 février 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYzRkPv12LA .

l'intermédiaire des médias, à l'occasion de conférences publiques, de publications[30] et, à partir de 2013, par la mise en vitrine de quelques artefacts et l'affichage d'un panneau explicatif dans un petit bâtiment situé sur l'île, l'Espace Jaco-Lepage[31].

L'île Saint-Barnabé étant ouverte aux visiteurs, c'est le site lui-même qui a été le principal lieu de rencontre entre les archéologues et le public (figures 4 et 5). Un questionnaire proposé aux visiteurs a permis de mieux connaître ce public et d'évaluer la contribution de l'activité archéologique à la fréquentation de l'île. Bon an, mal an, environ le tiers des personnes qui ont débarqué sur l'île pendant la durée des travaux s'est arrêté sur le site, soit environ 275 visiteurs sur le site en 2009, 575 en 2010 et environ 600 par saison par la suite (la fréquentation de l'île peut varier considérablement d'une saison à l'autre en fonction des conditions météorologiques et maritimes). Plus de la moitié provenaient de Rimouski ou des environs ; les autres étaient des touristes provenant majoritairement des régions de Montréal et de Québec. La majorité des visiteurs visitaient l'île pour la première fois[32]. Les médias locaux et Tourisme Rimouski ont beaucoup contribué au succès du chantier auprès du public régional et des touristes, puisque plus des trois quarts des visiteurs sondés sur le site ont déclaré être au courant des travaux archéologiques et ont nommé l'archéologie parmi les motifs de leur visite; l'inscription du chantier au Mois de l'archéologie a aussi contribué à la visibilité des travaux à l'extérieur du Bas-Saint-Laurent et a attiré un public plus spécialisé. Le site a en outre reçu chaque été la visite de représentants des médias et de groupes d'enfants.

30 Savard *et al., loc. cit.*

31 L'Espace Jaco-Lepage a été inauguré en 2013 sur le site de la grange de la famille Lepage, démolie l'année précédente pour des raisons de sécurité. Il présente aussi des outils agricoles et divers objets récupérés de la grange; un panneau propose des versions différentes du personnage de Toussaint Cartier.

32 SAVARD et BEAUDRY*, loc. cit.*

Figure 4

Signalisation à l'été 2014 (Nicolas Beaudry)

Figure 5

Groupe de visiteurs lors de l'édition 2013 de l'école de fouilles (Manon Savard)

Figure 6

Groupe du club des Petits Débrouillards en visite sur l'île en 2013 (Manon Savard)

En 2009 et 2010, les attentes des visiteurs locaux étaient essentiellement les mêmes que celles de Tourisme Rimouski et des médias locaux : la plupart cherchaient à matérialiser l'histoire de Toussaint Cartier, à tel point que la visite sur l'île prenait pour certains le caractère d'un pèlerinage. En plus des questions auxquelles sont habituées les archéologues (« Que cherchez-vous ? Pourquoi cherchez-vous ici ? »), ces visiteurs posaient des questions sur l'ermite Toussaint Cartier sans nécessairement sentir le besoin de le nommer (« Est-ce qu'il a vraiment existé? Avez-vous trouvé sa maison ? »). En mai 2011, la brasserie artisanale rimouskoise Le Bien, le Malt et Tourisme Rimouski lançaient conjointement la bière Toussaint-Cartier et un verre à l'effigie de l'ermite, premier souvenir mis en vente par Tourisme Rimouski et premier produit dérivé des excursions à l'île Saint-Barnabé[33]. Entre-temps, cependant, les

33 THÉRIAULT, Carl, La brasserie artisanale Le Bien, le Malt lance une bière inspirée par un ermite. *Le Soleil*, Québec, 6 juin 2011, http://www.lapresse.ca/le-soleil/affaires/agro-

résultats des travaux archéologiques avaient largement dépassé la seule figure de l'ermite. Les visiteurs, les médias et Tourisme Rimouski ont pu découvrir une histoire beaucoup plus riche et les intérêts des uns comme des autres se sont étendus à d'autres phases d'occupation du site, de la préhistoire jusqu'au XX^{e} siècle, qui a livré les assemblages d'artefacts les plus riches et les plus variés. En se déplaçant à la pointe est de l'île en 2011, les archéologues se sont détachés du personnage de l'ermite; la thématique de la contrebande d'alcool, résolument ancrée dans le XX^{e} siècle, a aussi contribué à élargir les perspectives du public et des médias face à l'archéologie. Réduite pour l'occasion, l'équipe comprenait pour la première fois un étudiant dont la tâche était d'accueillir les visiteurs sur le site, ce dont la directrice du chantier s'était chargée jusque-là.

Depuis 2012, l'interaction avec le public est pleinement intégrée dans la démarche pédagogique de l'École de fouilles archéologiques de l'UQAR. L'accueil des visiteurs et l'interprétation du site est désormais assurée par les étudiants qui, à tour de rôle, deviennent guide d'un jour. En outre, depuis l'été 2013, les étudiants animent une activité de simulation de fouille offerte aux enfants sur le site (figure 7). Pour répondre aux attentes d'un public très divers et les nuancer au besoin, les étudiants doivent connaître l'histoire de l'île, les récits qui s'y déploient et les valeurs patrimoniales qui y sont associées, mais ils doivent aussi pouvoir les aborder de façon critique, confronter les contradictions des sources, apprécier les différences d'échelles entre l'histoire et l'archéologie. Ils doivent pouvoir présenter les objectifs et les méthodes de l'intervention archéologique et suivre les interprétations préliminaires et changeantes des vestiges mis au jour[34].

alimentaire/201106/05/01-4406231-la-brasserie-artisanale-le-bien-le-malt-lance-une-biere-inspiree-par-un-ermite.php . consulté le 3 avril 2017.

34 Savard et BEAUDRY, *loc. cit.*

Figure 7

Activité de simulation de fouilles archéologiques en 2014 (Nicolas Beaudry)

Réciproquement, l'interaction avec les étudiants enrichit l'expérience des visiteurs. Les visites et la simulation de fouille permettent aux étudiants d'expliquer les processus de formation du site, la stratigraphie, les méthodes de la fouille, l'interprétation de la culture matérielle. Ils partagent leurs trouvailles, leur découverte de l'archéologie et leur patient apprentissage de sa pratique, à la première personne et dans leurs propres mots[35]. Leur regard et leur perspective ne sont pas ceux des professeurs ou des experts, mais ceux d'archéologues débutants, des néophytes dans lesquels les visiteurs peuvent aisément se projeter et dont ils peuvent partager l'émotion de la découverte. Les visiteurs sont d'autant plus à l'aise de leur proposer leur propre interprétation du site et des vestiges, particulièrement quand la fouille d'un dépotoir récent met au jour une culture matérielle qui leur est familière et leur permet de partager leur

35 Ce qui n'empêche pas d'exercer une certain vigilance sur la qualité de l'information qui est transmise aux visiteurs et, à plus forte raison, sur l'utilisation que certains seraient tentés d'en faire. Voir Richardson et Almansa-Sánchez*, loc. cit.*, p 197-198.

propre expérience avec les fouilleurs. Les dimensions pédagogique et publique du projet s'enrichissent ainsi mutuellement : alors que les contraintes imposées par la législation et la règlementation limitent la participation du public aux fouilles elles-mêmes, ces échanges entre les étudiants et les visiteurs contribuent à maintenir un dialogue ouvert entre les archéologues et la communauté et donne à celle-ci une voix dans la formation des étudiants comme dans l'interprétation du site[36].

Au fil des saisons, les archéologues se sont ainsi ajoutés aux insulaires à la suite des cultivateurs, des pêcheurs, des contrebandiers, des forestiers ou des villégiateurs qui les ont précédés. L'île est désormais aussi celle des archéologues, comme en témoigne un roman-jeunesse publié en 2013 qui met en scène une école de fouilles archéologiques sur un site préhistorique de l'île Saint-Barnabé, sans la moindre mention d'un ermite[37]. Comme ceux des autres insulaires, les gestes et les pratiques des archéologues se prêtent désormais à l'interprétation et à la mise en valeur : l'intervention archéologique est devenue une performance offerte aux visiteurs par Tourisme Rimouski, qui a suspendu le projet d'une station de mise en valeur dédiée au seul personnage de l'ermite. On apprécie l'animation ordonnée du chantier, la virtuosité déployée dans la fouille et le nettoyage des tranchées, la richesse et la complexité des dépotoirs récents, le pouvoir d'évocation des vestiges et des artefacts in *situ,* la proximité avec les acteurs, le pittoresque du décor où s'étagent en arrière-plan la baie, la ville et les Hauts-Pays. En 2014, un calendrier promotionnel distribué par Tourisme Rimouski représentait l'île Saint-Barnabé en juin, quand débutent les excursions, par une photo du chantier-école dont rien ne laissait voir le caractère insulaire[38].

L'École de fouille de l'UQAR a fait relâche en 2015 pour des raisons budgétaires[39]. Une activité de simulation de fouille a été

36 L'École de fouilles archéologiques s'est mérité en 2014 la *Distinction Pascal-Parent* de la Fondation de l'UQAR pour sa contribution à l'enseignement. En 2016, elle était lauréate des *10e Prix du patrimoine du Bas-Saint-Laurent,* décernés par le Conseil de la culture du Bas-Saint-Laurent, pour sa contribution à la diffusion et à l'interprétation du patrimoine régional.

37 Roberge, Sylvie. *Le voleur d'artefacts*. Lanoraie : Les Éditions de l'Apothéose, 2013.

38 L'École de fouilles se tenait alors en juillet et août.

39 Les activités de formation pratique du LAP se sont déplacées en 2015 sous la cathédrale de Rimouski et dans la vallée de la Matapédia et elles n'ont concerné qu'un petit nombre

offerte pendant le Mois de l'archéologie à l'extérieur de l'Espace Jaco-Lepage, où sont exposés quelques artefacts, mais elle n'a pas été aussi fréquentée que les chantiers des années précédentes. Elle n'a pas été offerte sur l'île l'année suivante, alors que l'École de fouilles se tenait dans le parc national du Bic, en amont du centre de Rimouski, sur un autre site ouvert au public. L'équipe du LAP est retournée sur l'île en 2017, financée pour près de 50% par la Ville de Rimouski qui souhaitait relancer l'animation archéologique sur l'île.

La performance archéologique comme forme de mise en valeur

Rétrospectivement, on constate que cette performance offerte par l'École de fouille résulte de la convergence d'évolutions parallèles (tableau 1) : les attentes de Tourisme Rimouski ont évolué au contact des archéologues et à la lumière de leurs résultats; un projet de recherche appliquée, puis de recherche fondamentale, est devenu une activité d'enseignement; l'offre touristique et les intérêts du public, d'abord centrés sur un personnage, se sont élargis aux différentes occupations du site puis à la pratique de l'archéologie. Si l'enseignement est en soi une performance, la diversification de l'offre d'animation proposée aux visiteurs et, notamment, l'ajout en 2013 d'une activité de simulations de fouilles archéologiques ont intégré les étudiants, responsables à tour de rôle de l'animation sur le site, et ceux-ci ont transmis aux visiteurs une partie de leurs apprentissages. Les étudiants sont donc devenus à leur tour les acteurs d'une performance pédagogique, ce qui a contribué à accroître la place de la pratique archéologique dans le discours offert aux

d'étudiants. voir BEAUDRY, Nicolas, Une exploration archéologique de la cathédrale Saint-Germain de Rimouski. In : THUOT *et al., op. cit.,* p. 215-235, et SAVARD, Manon, et BEAUDRY, Nicolas. *Reconnaissance et prospection archéologiques dans la MRC de la Matapédia, août 2015*, Rimouski : UQAR, LAP, 2016. Dans les deux cas, le LAP a cherché à entretenir un dialogue avec le public bien que les sites eux-mêmes n'aient pas été accessibles.

visiteurs. L'attention accordée sur le site aux vestiges récents a aussi pu donner un relief particulier à la performance archéologique : en effet, l'archéologie du passé récent est volontiers associée à des pratiques artistiques qui exploitent un matériau très évocateur pour explorer des émotions esthétiques et susciter des réflexions relatives, en particulier, à la matérialité du monde contemporain et au passage du temps[40].

Tableau 1

Acteur	Évolution des intérêts pour l'intervention archéologique				
Promoteur touristique	Illustration et validation *a posteriori* d'un projet de mise en valeur	→	Données nouvelles pour une mise en valeur bonifiée	→	Performance archéologique
Université	Recherche appliquée : validation d'un potentiel archéologique	→	Recherche fondamentale : caractérisation des occupations successives	→	Enseignement
Visiteurs	Validation et matérialisation d'un mythe local	→	Histoire de l'île	→	Performance archéologique

Évolution des intérêts des acteurs impliqués dans les interventions archéologiques sur l'île Saint-Barnabé et de l'interaction entre la performance archéologique, la recherche et l'enseignement.

40 Voir notamment HARRISSON, Rodney, et SCHOFIELD, John. *After modernity: archaeological approaches to the contemporary pas*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2010; OLSEN, Bjørnar, et PÉTURSDÓTTIRr, Þóra (éds.). *Ruin memories: materialities, aesthetics and the archaeology of the recent past*. Londres : Routlegde, 2014.

Discussion

Le vide apparent laissé sur l'île par l'absence de l'École de fouilles en 2015 et 2016 invite à une réflexion sur la performance archéologique comme forme de mise en valeur. Cette performance est un produit de consommation[41] que l'on pourrait classer parmi les « expériences archéologiques », telles définies par Moshenska[42]. C'est cette « expérience archéologique » dont Tourisme Rimouski a fait la promotion auprès des visiteurs, en même temps que celle des expériences de randonnée et de camping offertes par l'environnement naturel de l'île[43]. L'expérience de 2016 au Parc national du Bic démontre que la performance de l'École de fouilles archéologiques peut être transposée sur d'autres sites accessibles au public. Pour être « authentique » aux yeux du touriste comme du visiteur local, cependant, une telle performance doit rester fermement ancrée dans l'histoire locale, dans ses lieux et dans ses personnages. Une performance qui ne serait fondée que sur la seule pratique archéologique n'aurait évidemment pas le pouvoir d'évocation du site, de son environnement, de sa culture matérielle, ni l'émotion et l'empathie avec le passé que suscitent la découverte. Ce serait faire de l'archéologie une fin en soi, réduite à un ensemble de méthodes et de savoirs techniques.

La première leçon qu'apprend l'apprenti-fouilleur est que la fouille archéologique est une opération destructrice, d'où l'importance de mettre en œuvre des méthodes de fouille et de documentation appropriées pour que l'archive matérielle détruite par la fouille donne lieu à une archive documentaire aussi complète et accessible que possible. On se contentera même souvent de ne fouiller qu'une partie d'un site pour préserver au moins une partie de l'archive matérielle, d'autant plus que la fouille génère des assemblages d'artefacts et d'écofacts et des obligations envers ces

41 Holtorf, Cornelius. *Archaeology is a brand : the meaning of archaeology in contemporary popular culture*. Walnut Creek, California : Left Coast Press, 2007.

42 Moshenska, *op. cit.*

43 Le rayonnement de cette « expérience » a assuré à l'École de fouilles une place privilégiée dans la promotion par l'UQAR de son offre de formation en sciences humaines.

collections qui doivent être inventoriées et analysées, conservées, entreposées et rendues accessibles aux chercheurs.

Comme les minerais, les ressources archéologiques ne sont pas renouvelables ; d'où aussi l'importance de justifier l'intervention archéologique si le site n'est pas menacé. Si l'acquisition de connaissances peut être un motif valable, la performance de la fouille peut-elle, à elle seule, justifier une activité archéologique?

Pour le moment, le site DcEd-9 continue de susciter plusieurs questions de recherche: le plan, la date, la nature et la fonction des bâtiments; la succession des occupations et des fonctions du site et le remploi des matériaux; la relation entre les occupations préhistoriques et les paléo-environnements, en fonction notamment de la fluctuation locale des niveaux marins. L'équipe du LAP est disposée à offrir une performance archéologique tout en poursuivant son enquête sur ces questions. Cependant, une telle performance archéologique sur l'île Saint-Barnabé ne pourra être pérenne et malgré son succès, une transition vers une autre forme de mise en valeur devra être prévue pour le site.

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CHEROKEE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES AS COMMUNITY ACTION

Paisagens arqueológicas Cherokee como ação comunitária

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*Johi D. Griffin Jr.***

ABSTRACT

An ongoing, partnered program of research and education by the authors and other members of the Tribal Historic Preservation Office of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians contributes to economic development, education, and the creation of identities and communities. Landscape archaeology reveals how Cherokees navigated the pivotal and tumultuous 16th through early 18th centuries, a past muted or silenced in current education programs and history books. From a Cherokee perspective, our starting points are the principles of *gadugi*, which translates as "town" or "community," and *tohi*, which translates as "balance." *Gadugi* and *tohi* together are cornerstones of Cherokee identity. These seemingly abstract principles are archaeologically detectible: *gadugi* is well addressed by understanding the spatial relationships of the internal organization of the community; the network of relationships among towns and regional resources; artifact and ecofact traces of activities; and large-scale "non-site" features, such as roads and agricultural fields. We focus our research on a poorly understood but pivotal time in history: colonial encounters of the 16th through early 18th centuries. Archaeology plays a critical role in social justice and ethics in cultural landscape management by providing equitable access by

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First Nations to the potential benefits of cultural landscapes and meaningful participation in plans and actions regarding them.

Keywords: Collaborative archaeology, Landscape archaeology, Early Modern period, Southeastern United States, Research ethics

RÉSUMÉ

Un programme de recherche et d'éducation actuellement développé par les auteurs et d'autres membres du Tribal Historic Preservation Office de la Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians contribue directement au développement économique, à l'éducation ainsi qu'à la création d'identités et de communautés. L'archéologie du paysage révèle en effet comment les Cherokees ont traversé les années du tumultueux et fondamental seizième siècle jusqu'au début du dix-huitième, un passé tu ou ignoré dans les programmes actuels d'éducation ou les livres d'histoire. Du point de vue Cherokee, nos origines sont liées aux principes du *gadugi*, qui se traduit par 'ville' ou 'communauté,' et *tohi*, 'équilibre'. *Gadugi* et *tohi* constituent ensemble les pierres angulaires de l'identité Cherokee. Ces principes apparemment abstraits sont archéologiquement détectables : *gadugi* se comprend aisément via l'étude des relations spatiales de l'organisation interne de la communauté, le réseau de relations parmi les villes et les ressources régionales, les artefacts et écofacts inhérents aux activités, et les éléments à grande échelle « non sites » comme les routes et les champs agricoles. Notre recherche se concentre sur un temps historique peu étudié mais pourtant crucial : les rencontres coloniales du seizième siècle jusqu'au début du dix-huitième siècle. L'archéologie joue un rôle crucial dans la justice sociale et l'éthique de l'aménagement du paysage culturel en fournissant aux Premières Nations un accès équitable aux bénéfices potentiels des paysages culturels ainsi qu'à une participative significative au sujet des plans et actions les concernant.

Mots-clés: Archéologie collaborative; archéologie du paysage; période moderne; États-Unis du Sud-Est; éthiques de la recherche

RESUMO

Um programa de pesquisa e educação atualmente desenvolvido pelos próprios autores e outros membros do Tribal Historic Preservation Office of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians contribui diretamente para o desenvolvimento econômico, para a educação, e para a criação de identidades e comunidades. De fato, a arqueologia da paisagem revela como os Cherokees atravessaram o fundamental e tumultuado período entre o século dezesseis e o inicio do século dezoito, um passado silenciado nos programas de educação atuais e nos livros de história. Do ponto de vista Cherokee, as nossas origens são ligadas aos princípios de *gadugi*, traduzido por 'cidade' ou 'comunidade,' e *tohi*, 'equilibro.' *Gadugi* e *tohi* juntos são os pilares da identidade Cherokee. Estes princípios aparentemente abstratos são arqueologicamente perceptíveis: *gadugi* se entende claramente pelo estudo das relações espaciais da organização interna da comunidade, a rede de relações entre cidades e recursos regionais, artefatos e ecofatos ligados às atividades, e elementos de grande escala "não sítios", como os caminhos e os campos agrícolas. Nossa pesquisa está concentrada sobre um tempo histórico essencial ainda que pouco estudado: os encontros coloniais do século dezesseis até o inicio do século dezoito. A arqueologia tem um papel capital em termos de justiça social e ética da gestão da paisagem cultural, fornecendo às Primeiras Nações um acesso equipável aos benefícios potenciais de paisagens culturais assim como à uma participação significativa nos planos e ações a respeito deles.

Palavras-chave: arqueologia colaborativa; arqueologia da paisagem; época moderna; Sudeste dos Estados-Unidos; ética de pesquisa

1. Introduction

How is a community made? The social sciences, humanities, and biological sciences have devoted considerable efforts to understanding this deceptively simple question. The genesis and sustenance of communities invite us to consider both people and places, both the social and the geographic, and how their histories provide foundations for the future.[1] One way to answer the question about how people create and sustain communities is from a Cherokee perspective, by evaluating evidence in terms of the principle of ᎦᏓᏁ (*gadahu*), which can be translated as "town," that is, the physical place, architecture, and other elements of a settlement. Cherokees, one of the largest federally recognized Native American nations in the United States, have their origin in the southeastern United States and

1 This research was supported by funding from the Cherokee Preservation Foundation, the Tribal Historic Preservation Office of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and Illinois State University.

speak a language in the Iroquoian linguistic group. Many Cherokees today live in western Oklahoma, a consequence of their forcible removal in the 19th century from their southeastern homeland in western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, northeastern South Carolina, and western Virginia. Eastern Cherokees are those who originate from this southeastern homeland, while Western Cherokees are those who hail from Oklahoma and adjacent regions. Acts of daily life to create, re-create, and sustain *gadahu* are referred to as ᎦᏚᎩ (*gadugi*). Cherokee perspectives link the actions of people to their physical results, making a community a process with tangible outcomes. Anthropologists have written about *gadugi* work groups created for collective work details.[2] When a person needs help, so teach the Elders, it is only proper to lend a hand, because intrinsic in the way the world should work is balance, ᏙᎯ (*tohi)*, created through mutual aid. So, *gadugi* is much more than one work crew and *gadahu* is more than a dot on a map – both constitute networks of social relationships whose origin is geographic. A community is not a thing, but a practice of social action that results in enduring connection to and stewardship of the social and physical landscape.

This perspective implies two consequences: first, the devastating effects of colonial policies of treating the landscape as a palimpsest from which Native American presence needed to be erased, and second, the opportunity for archaeology to aid in the effort to restore Cherokee connections to their heritage that have been severed or damaged by settler colonialism and its persistent legacies. Land is the site and embodiment of generations of legal travesties, memory, beauty in enduring practice, poetic semantic positioning, and brutal struggle. Colonial policies and processes, however, have done much to imbalance perceptions and experience of the land, an inequity for which the phrase landscape injustice is appropriate. One way to work towards restoring justice through equitable access to cultural landscapes and recognition of cultural heritage is to do what

2 FOGELSON, Raymond D. & KUTSCHE, R.P. Cherokee Economic Cooperatives and the Gadugi. In: FENTON, W.N. & GULICK, J.(eds.). *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180, 1961, p.83-123.

seems impossible: reveal and recover that made invisible. Fortunately, archaeology can detect those tangible results and places created through the community action of *gadahu*. To illustrate these points, we offer an overview of a few examples of work conducted by the staff of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Sampeck that show how a Cherokee presence in the landscape is being restored through archaeological research and education. By finding ways to hear a silenced past of Cherokee community building, we restore landscape justice and build a more equitable foundation for sustaining *gadahu* in the future.

2. Understanding Cherokee communities

Since 2009, the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) and Sampeck have collaborated to build a program of archaeological research on the network of historic Cherokee towns. This research has a methodological and theoretical framework of landscape archaeology, which involves understanding the kinds of activities that took place in settlements; the urban spatial organization of domestic and public space; and the location and scope of agricultural fields and gardens, hunting grounds, and areas of gathering wild plants and other resources. This also involves understanding sacred places, as well as the roads and rivers that connected people and places. Excellent previous and ongoing work by other researchers work has focused on particular settlements[3]; our research orientation of *gadahu* highlights

3 DICKENS, Roy S. *Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976; DICKENS, Roy S. *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations at the Plum Grove Site (40W gl7)*, Washington County, Tennessee. Unpublished MS on file, Atlanta: Department of Anthropology, Georgia State University, 1980; GREENE, Lance K. *The Archaeology and History of the Cherokee Out Towns*. Volumes in Historical Archaeology, 40. Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the University of South Carolina, 1999; KEEL, Bennie C. *Cherokee Archaeology: A Study of the Appalachian Summit*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976; MARCOUX, Jon Bernard. Cherokee households and communities in the English Contact period, A.D. 1670–1740. Ph.D.

how these areas beyond the immediate settlement are not just spaces between, but, in fact, the crucial context for community making. Our *gadahu* orientation shows that the landscape was not partitioned and segregated into urban versus rural settings, but instead people freely, necessarily circulated from river, field, mountain forest, and town to enact *gadahu*. Movement and action across the landscape created community rather than the settlement acting as an isolated unit apart from the countryside and/or forest. In the 16th through 18th centuries, trans-Atlantic colonists targeted these and other native cultural landscapes for undoing and destruction.

3. Settler colonialism and Cherokee landscapes

Colonial reordering of space, expressed as civilizing, moral order, was a way to exert power for achieving imperial schemes by physically preventing access for some people to crucial resources and by segregating people into controllable spaces.[4] Sixteenth-century Spanish strategies in the Southeast were parasitic: Spanish colonists found major native settlements and built forts and towns alongside or in those native spaces in order to extract human and material resources as efficiently as possible. They gave Spanish names to the new constructions but continued to use native names as well. Later

dissertation. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2008. RIGGS, Brett. Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation. Ph.D. dissertation. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1999. STEERE, Ben. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in the Native Southeast. Ph.D. dissertation. Athens: University of Georgia, 2011.

4 ETHRIDGE, Robbie. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006; ETHRIDGE, Robbie. Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone. In: R. ETHRIDGE & S.M. SHUCK-HALL (eds). *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009, p. 1-62; ETHRIDGE, Robbie. *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010; SMITH, Marvin. *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987.

British and American strategies involved systematic removal and resettlement, a re-landscaping to obscure or obliterate native presence.

The extreme violence of settler colonialism did not just contain indigenous residents in new ways through forced resettlement; even worse, it was an unseeing of their very presence. Though colonists judged and recorded resources – and saw people as one of the valuable resources – they did not connect native residents to the land. Instead, colonial policies were founded upon treating land as one thing and its residents as something separate, objectified, commodified, and thus removable.[5]

One of the earliest examples of landscape injustice from what eventually became the southeastern United States occurred in early January 1567. Pedro Menéndez de Áviles, the Governor of La Florida, ordered Juan Pardo to colonize and pacify the interior. Pardo founded the city (*ciudad*) of Cuenca and Fort San Juan, in the region of today's Morganton, North Carolina.[6] Pardo explained that he chose this location, known by the Native American name Joara, for the Spanish town because of the large number of "Indians and *caciques*" (political leaders) who were resident or had come to the place (Figure 1).[7] Despite vivid accounts of fertile agricultural fields and large towns filled with people, these Spaniards committed the first unseeing of southeastern Native Americans, erasing them from the landscape:

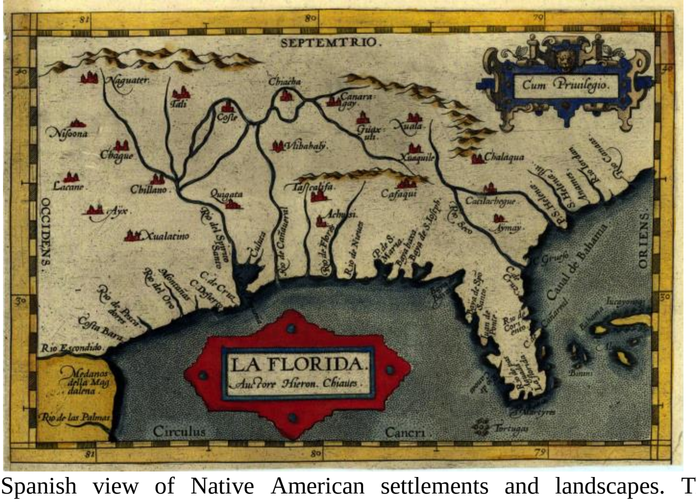
5 DENT, Joshua. False Frontiers: Archaeology and the Myth of the Canadian Wilderness. *The University of Western Ontario Anthropology Journal*, n. 21(1), 2013. p. 59-71.

6 BECK, Robin A., Jr., Christopher B. RODNING & David G. MOORE (eds.). *Fort San Juan and the Limits of Empire*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016; BECK, Robin A. *Chiefdoms, Collapse, and Coalescence in the Early American South*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; BECK, Robin A., Jr., MOORE, David G., & RODNING, Christopher B. Identifying Fort San Juan: A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Occupation at the Berry Site, North Carolina. *Southeastern Archaeology,* n. 25, 2006, p. 65–77; HUDSON, Charles. *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Explorations of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990; DEPRATTER, Chester, HUDSON, Charles & SMITH, Marvin. Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566–1568. *Florida Historical Quarterly,* n. 62, 1982, p. 125–158.

7 BANDERA, Juan de la, II [1569] Proceedings for the Account Which Captain Juan Pardo Gave of the Entrance Which He Made into the Land of the Floridas. Translated by Paul HOFFMAN. In: Charles HUDSON (ed.). *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Explorations of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–1568*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990, p. 205–296 [f5]; WORTH, John. *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007.

Pardo described that his goal was to work so that the "place called Joara should not remain a wilderness."[8] Neither the people nor the communities, architecture, agriculture, and political regimes that so impressed and even nourished and safeguarded Spanish colonists counted as substantial endeavours. The ideology and processes of referring to and treating land as "wilderness," uninhabited, or widowed created a mandate for colonizing "empty" land that was in actuality the locale of Native American settlements or of subsistence, ritual, and other activities.

Figure 1



A Spanish view of Native American settlements and landscapes. The settlement of Joara is represented by "Xuala". La Florida (between 1582 and 1601), by Geronimo Chiaves and Abraham Ortelius (Digital ID: USFLDC:U15-0006). Special & Digital Collections, Tampa Library, University of South Florida.Activité de simulation de fouilles archéologiques en 2014 (Nicolas Beaudry)

These places of native life and labour had names, of course, and some were more prominent – larger in size and/or population, or

8 BANDERA 1990[1569]:f5v.

with residents who produced key resources or performed crucial activities. One of the most important places for Cherokees was, and still is, ᎦᏚᏩ (Kituwa).[9] Archaeological survey and remote sensing have shown that Kituwa was not one of the largest settlements or an economic centre. Rather than being a centre of trade or political power, Kituwa was and is instead a reference point in Cherokee identity. Cherokees today refer to themselves as Ani-kituwagi, people of Kituwa[10]; everyone belongs to Kituwa, even if one lives or was born somewhere else. Kituwa was and is a crucial anchor for the network of Cherokee communities, referred to in colonial accounts as the Mother of all Cherokee Mother Towns.[11] Despite this early recognition of Kituwa in historical records, Kituwa largely disappeared from documentary history by the 19th century. Colonial efforts to appropriate the landscape and people's connections to it involved killing the use of native names.

This erasure for unjust goals continues today. Many Cherokee community names, such as Kituwa, that appear in the 16th-century conquest and colonization records of Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo are still known today by members of the Cherokee community, but are overwritten by current, Anglo city names in official signs, and correspondence – and even in the way historians and educators refer to the places. The Native American part of history in these places is affixed to the remnants of town house mounds, while the rest of the settlement is obscured by contemporary development of "Franklin" or "Bryson City" or an unnamed agricultural field. The process of erasing Cherokee names from Cherokee places, making them seem vacant and therefore in need of development, continues today. This unseeing is a most brutal violence, as it unmakes one's very existence. There is nothing to survive if it is seen as never to have existed in the first place. Understanding past communities is one of the most relevant and effective ways to counteract centuries of concerted efforts to unmake

9 MOONEY, James. *Myths of the Cherokee*. Extract from the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902.

10 MOONEY, 1902, p. 15.

11 MOONEY, 1902, p. 187.

the Cherokee world and restores to a respectful place knowledge of the community that has been ignored or maligned.

4. Goals and methods of community-centred archaeology

The way investigators conduct research – the who and how – is as important as the research questions they ask of past Cherokee landscapes – the why and when. One of the tenets of this work is "it's not about us without us," meaning that Cherokees not just consult, but plan and implement research, and then we share the results of that research in multiple modes to engage different segments of the community in beneficial ways. We have also worked for long-lasting, positive effects for participants in the work, such as providing professional training, educational experiences at different levels, and experience with innovative and cutting-edge methodologies. The goal is to achieve landscape justice in research, planning, and education.

4.1. Advanced supervisory experience

The field research has provided opportunities for professional development in graduate-level supervisory work. As field director, Beau Carroll, an enrolled member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and a THPO archaeologist, has trained graduate students from Illinois State University to supervise and train undergraduates from Illinois State University and other colleges in archaeological field and laboratory methods (Figure 2). Carroll organized and managed the field laboratory as well as the day-to-day implementation of the archaeological research plan. This is the kind of career-building experience that far too few Native archaeologists have had.

Figure 2

Beau Carroll and Damon Ayen excavating at Nvnvnyi in 2014. Photograph by Sampeck.

4.2. Undergraduate and high school learning

Every field season, we have had Native students, including enrolled Cherokee undergraduates and high school students. It is vitally important that community members are not just hearing about the work, but are doing it themselves. This on-the-ground experience is a building of awareness and appreciation of the community; the past is touched (artifacts, soil, topography) and felt (an emotional experience). It also changes the nature of the questions asked – research questions come from Cherokee experiences today and from the knowledge they have learned through friends and family.

4.3. Conversations with community leaders and residents

At the end of every field season, students and staff present research findings to the Elders' Advisory Board. This event is a highlight for the students because they get a chance to get feedback from Elders as well as other stakeholders. The presentations have two parts, a formal presentation, followed by an interactive display (Figure 3). Students learn how to create and deliver a professional research presentation and respond effectively to questions. The interactive display involves selecting artifacts or other examples that give people a better chance to understand their research. Each student stands near his or her research poster (another valuable tool in communicating to professional and general audiences) and encourages attendees to ask questions and touch artifacts related to the presentation. The event fosters a community of common interests.

Figure 3

Interactive lab in 2015 at the Cherokee High School, Cherokee, North Carolina. Photograph by Sampeck.

4.4. Communicating with scholars, professionals, and the public

Disseminating results is the most important part of the research process, and to this end, we share findings in several different ways to reach different communities of academics, heritage preservation planners, and policy makers; the Cherokee community at home and abroad; and the general public. The archaeological work is steadily being published by peer-reviewed academic journals as well as shared in presentations at professional conferences, such as the Society for Historical Archaeology and the Southeastern Archaeological Conference annual meetings. To make the work as accessible as possible, students and staff also contribute to a website that presents a day-to-day perspective on archaeological discoveries. We are currently working on a mobile phone application that will link "hot spot" locations that will trigger a display of the Cherokee name of the place as well as historic photographs and compelling archaeological finds that illustrate the Cherokee heritage of that spot. In this way, appropriate information for different publics is available, with the goal of fostering a more equitable experience that restores a Cherokee presence to Cherokee places.

5. Research Results and Landscape Justice

This community-centred approach to investigating the Cherokee past has also made contributions to practices and understanding in the broader field of archaeology. Many of the innovations that helped us realize these insights came from the synergy with Cherokees in multiple, decisive roles and from the fresh perspectives that resulted from these roles. The research questions for investigation are better and the methodologies more appropriate, with results that speak for themselves. Three examples highlight ways in which archaeology can achieve landscape justice.

The first example recovered the actions of *gadahu* in the 16th century, interrogating specifically how to maintain connections between regions separated by imposing distances and topographical features. The consequence of approaching the work with Cherokee theoretical modelling of *gadahu* is a benefit for all archaeology in that it improves anthropological modelling of mobility.

The second example, dealing with the historic Cherokee town of Nvnvnyi, restores landscape justice by rendering visible a community's way of engaging with colonial pressures, showing that Cherokee communities participated in colonial networks on their own terms.

The final example of archaeological work, at the historic Cherokee town of Cowee, is a community-centered counterpoint to that of Nvnvnyi. The landscape justice in this case more fully comprehends the influential role of this place within the tumultuous dynamics of the Revolutionary War, not as a victim of British and revolutionary forces, but, rather, as an urban center and pivotal point in a network that addressed multiple Cherokee needs. Justice also occurs through recognizing how this place continues to hold a powerful role in the Cherokee cultural landscape today, including the common use of the toponym in signage as well as in common speech.

6. Western Cherokee landscapes

One important question to investigate was: When did European chronicles first describe Cherokee people or places? At the centre of this question is timing, which then lets us evaluate whether subsequent historical and archaeological narratives are fair or balanced. Were those descriptions of Cherokee places and people distinctive enough to match them to archaeological evidence? Several 16th-century accounts relate the travel of Hernando de Soto and his army in the Southeast in spring 1540 and the forays of Juan Pardo and his soldiers from the fort, San Juan, and town, Cuenca, that they established in 1567.[12] Both the documentary record and archaeological evidence indicate that these Spaniards had dealings in the Cherokee communities just west of the Appalachians.[13]

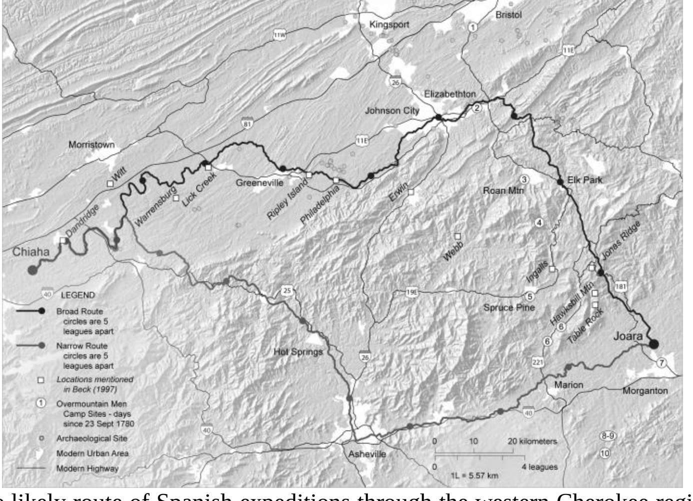
Our work in the Nolichucky Valley of today's Greene and Washington Counties in eastern Tennessee employed methodologies of landscape archaeology. We completed an intensive survey of artifact distributions and studies of "non-site" landscape features, such as roads, viewsheds, and access to resources, as well as

12 CLAYTON, Lawrence, KNIGHT, Jr., Vernon James & MOORE, Edward C. (editors). *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543*. 2 vols. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993.

13 BECK, Robin A. From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540–1568. *Southeastern Archaeology*, n.16, 1997, p.162–169, 1997; HUDSON, Charles, SMITH, Marvin, & DEPRATTER, Chester. The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha. *Southeastern Archaeology*, n. 3, 1983, p. 65–77; SAMPECK, Kathryn, THAYN, Jonathan, & EARNEST, Jr., Howard. H. Geographic Information System Modeling of De Soto's Route from Joara to Chiaha: Archaeology and Anthropology of Southeastern Road Networks in the Sixteenth Century. *American Antiquity*, n. 80 (1), 2015, p. 46–66.

excavation of structures and features. This archaeological evidence shows that 16th- to 17th-century Cherokee settlement was aligned to access a wide travel route ample enough to accommodate armies as large as de Soto's, a main artery of exchange in the Southeast interior that continued in use from de Soto's to Pardo's time despite substantial shifts in the political landscape (Figure 4).[14] Identifying the location of routes helps better characterize the nature of political shifts by identifying who was connected to whom and the nature of their linkages.

Figure 4



The likely route of Spanish expeditions through the western Cherokee region in the sixteenth century. Map by Jonathan Thayn.

This study made an important contribution to archaeological research in that this instance of modelling travel routes showed that all archaeologists and geographers must consider the number of members in the travelling party. The most favourable route varies dramatically depending on how many people are travelling together.

14 SAMPECK et al. 2015.

In other words, movement of people is an anthropological problem, and like other sorts of social phenomena, the number of people participating affects logistics and dynamics of interaction. Our *gadahu* research orientation – asking how people formed communities and social networks through action and movement – was fundamental for contributing this anthropological insight.

That Cherokee settlements during the 16th and 17th centuries were all aligned along the road big enough for an army revealed a heretofore unappreciated aspect of social and political dynamics during the period. This is some of the first research focused on this time period in this part of the Cherokee world. The accommodations made for the movement of large groups seem to have fostered power for these Western Cherokee communities, suggesting that it was an emphasis on mobility and flexibility, rather than a large territory, that made Cherokee polities durable. Stability in Cherokee-ness came from strategic manoeuvring among and within community connections. Our research results presented exciting new ways to understand colonial developments and re-introduced this region as an innovative part of the Cherokee landscape. In other words, this research contributed to a more equitable view of the past and of Cherokee cultural landscapes.

7. An Eastern Cherokee community: Nvnvnyi

Our efforts to understand Cherokee cultural landscapes reaches also to the communities on the east side of the Appalachians. Although it is not indicated on contemporary maps, the settlement of Nvnvnyi lies near the downtown area of the contemporary city of Cherokee, North Carolina. The earliest written record of the settlement is the census of Cherokee towns by Varnod, in 1721, that records a population of 61 men, 56 women, and 60 children, a sizeable town at the time.[15] Several other 18th-century maps also indicate the existence of the settlement. Historical documents, such as maps and trading accounts, suggest that Nvnvnyi was either abandoned or sparsely occupied after 1761,[16] but archaeological evidence indicates the continued presence of people there. Nvnvnyi is an excellent example of making visible a past that documentary evidence only partly records. This knowledge contributes to landscape justice by providing better information for planning, conservation, and education.

Archaeology has not always done a service to preserving heritage. Excavations at Nvnvnyi began in the 1880s, conducted by the Valentine family, who in many ways did all they could to dig up some of the most notable Cherokee public places and monuments. The destruction wrought by the Valentines was extreme because, in the absence of a THPO or State Historic Preservation Office, and of state or federal laws, there was no legislation in place to hold them in check. Edward Valentine excavated three trenches into the Nvnvnyi townhouse mound in 1882. Cherokees consider this a violation of sacred space that held the potential to extinguish the living core of the place. Further violation of Cherokee ethics was Valentine's excavation of 26 burials. Thankfully, the Valentines hardly excavated in the village portion, leaving much of the community space of Nvnvnyi relatively pristine.

Further disturbance and damage to the remains of Nvnvnyi occurred during the 20th-century construction of an amusement park. The "Cherokee Wonderland" amusement park began construction in the early 1960s, and the most damaging activities were the extensive landscaping and excavations to construct the water slide. The excavation of a drainage ditch just east of the mound triggered

15 VARNOD, Francis (1967 [1724]) "Letter to the secretary of [the] honorable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to be left at the late Archbishop of Canterbury's library near St. Martin in the Fields," in Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Great Britain) (ed.) Papers, 1635–1911. Microform. Ser. B, vol. 4, item 173. New York: Recordak.

16 GREENE, Lance K. The Archaeology and History of the Cherokee Out Towns. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN, 1996; MCDOWELL, W.L., Jr. (ed.), Documents Relating to Indian Affairs May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958; SAUNDERS, William P. (ed.) *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, volume 10 (1775-1776). Raleigh, NC: State of North Carolina, 1890.

archaeological mitigation in the form of recording of trench wall profiles. The construction of the Cherokee High School in 1975 further damaged remains of the historic settlement. The most problematic issue is that despite abundant remains, archaeological work on the one hand salvaged some information before its destruction, but on the other hand in some ways cleared a path for development of the area.

Subsequent archaeological work at Nvnvnyi included surface collection, test pit excavations, and gradiometer and ground penetrating radar surveys in the area of the village. All of this work was much less destructive than the disturbances of the Valentines. These projects were carried out in coordination with the Museum of the Cherokee Indian and funded by the National Park Service rather than EBCI official departments or programs.

Although remote sensing studies have the advantage that they do not disturb archaeological remains, they have the disadvantage that they do not tell us when the area was occupied – questions best addressed through careful excavations. The collaborative project between Illinois State University and the EBCI THPO placed three 2 by 2 m test units in areas indicated by remote sensing to have a high likelihood for structural remains. Preliminary results are clear: the units were almost devoid of nonlocal (that is, British or other European) goods. It is not likely that the people of Nvnvnyi had no access to trade goods, since British traders chose to locate there. It seems that Cherokees chose not to make those goods part of how they stored, prepared, or consumed food and drink.

This work has addressed several community landscape justice issues. It has shown how the current private landholders can best manage the cultural resources of the place. It has also shown the high quality of those resources, despite a disruptive past. And it has provided a much more nuanced view of Cherokee engagement with colonial commerce – an unwritten but powerful part of community history.

Eastern Cherokee power of place: Cowee

Another vivid place in Cherokee and colonial US history was the settlement of Cowee. Mooney[17] recounted some highlights about Cowee:

> Cowee', properly Kawi'yi, abbreviated Kawi', was the name of two Cherokee settlements, one of which existed in 1755 on a branch of Keowee river, in upper South Carolina, while the other and more important was on Little Tennessee river, at the mouth of Cowee creek, about ten miles below the present Franklin, in North Carolina. It was destroyed by the Americans in 1876 [sic 1776], when it contained about a hundred houses, but was rebuilt and continued to be occupied until the cession of 1819. The name can not be translated, but may possibly mean "the place of the Deer clan" (Ani'-Kawi'). It was one of the oldest and largest of the Cherokee towns, and when Wafford visited it as a boy he found the trail leading to it worn so deep in places that, although on horseback, he could touch the ground with his feet on each side.
>
> There is a story, told by Waflford as a fact, of a Shawano who had been a prisoner there, but had escaped to his people in the north, and after the peace between the two tribes wandered back into the neighborhood on a hunting trip. While standing on a hill overlooking the valley he saw several Cherokee on an opposite hill, and called out to them, "Do you still own Cowee?" They shouted in reply, "Yes; we own it yet." Back came the answer from the Shawano, who wanted to encourage them not to sell any more of their lands, "Well, it's the best town of the Cherokee. It's a good country; hold on to it."

17 MOONEY, 1902, 377.

Cherokees agreed with the advice of the Shawnee, but it took some time to recover ownership of Cowee after the disruptions of the 19th century. Our work concentrates on the site near Franklin, North Carolina. The current status of Cowee is nearly the opposite of that of Nvnvnyi. In 2006, The EBCI purchased a large parcel of land that has most of the dwellings, public constructions, related agricultural fields, and garden spaces of the settlement. The naturalist William Bartram, during his 1776 trip across the Southeast, said Cowee consisted of about 100 homes.[18] Atop a mound, he wrote, was a council house "capable of accommodating several hundred people." While historical documents from as early as 1684 show that Cowee was a centre of commerce, with residents playing pivotal roles in political negotiations of the 17th and 18th centuries, these documents do not give us a detailed view of many important realms of Cherokee life.

Three kinds of archaeological information – imported glass beads, architectural remains, and fragments of metal – provide a view into what life was like at Cowee. Non-destructive analysis of artifacts and structural remains show how Cowee was part of a commercial network that spanned the Atlantic, that Cherokees worked iron, and that they conducted these activities in and around buildings and spaces that were uniquely Cherokee in their form and town plan. Our fieldwork has involved extensive survey using non-destructive techniques of Ground Penetrating Radar, magnetometry, and electrical resistivity to detect and assess patterns of anomalies. We have conducted two field seasons of strategically-placed test excavations to evaluate the features indicated by remote sensing. This approach maximizes the recovery of information with minimal impact to the long-term preservation of the site. In fact, the limited testing allows for much better evaluation of the remote sensing data, which inform future management plans.

Analysis of artifacts has called attention to activities that took place at Cowee, and to the relationships of Cherokee towns to goods

18 BARTRAM, William *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws; Containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of Those Regions, Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians.* Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1791.

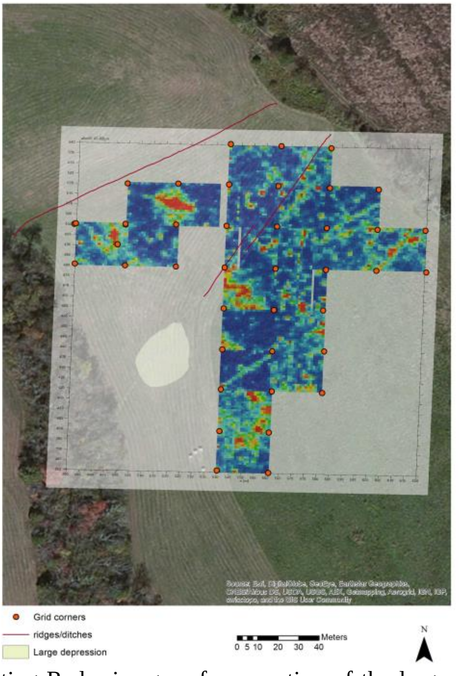
imported from Europe. X-ray fluorescence (XRF) is an efficient way to detect the chemical "recipe" of the different elements that compose glass. Different glass manufacturers used slightly different sources for their raw materials and the elements added to give different colours. The National Park Service provided both the equipment and the student training in how to use and interpret the results, an example of the benefits of multi-agency collaborative efforts.

Analysis of the chemistry of glass beads from Nvnvnyi and Cowee shows that some beads that looked slightly different from each other in fact had the same "recipe" of elements, while others that looked the same had different chemistry. The diversity of glass sources shows that a Cherokee at Cowee in the late 17th century in effect had the world on a string in a necklace or in embroidery on a belt, but that the diversity of sources was selected for consistency in appearance. Cherokees chose foreign goods that fit their aesthetic preferences and social needs; European goods served Cherokee ends.

XRF chemical analyses also show that objects recovered from test excavations in part of the urban settlement at Cowee appear to have a high iron content – likely slag from working iron, such as in a forge. This is one of the earliest occurrences of iron working in a Cherokee community. This possibility offers a view into competency in Cherokee life – they met skilled technological needs for crucial equipment right there in their own community.

These different activities took place in an environment arranged according to Cherokee design. The remote sensing imaging of buried features provides very good evidence of the form and spacing of buildings, revealing an urban plan that emphasized paired round and rectangular structures and large public plazas (Figure 5). The archaeological findings have yielded compelling details of ways in which Cherokees connected to each other and the colonial world. More detailed knowledge about Cowee contributes to landscape justice by highlighting the complexity and deep connections of this Cherokee community to both Cherokee and others' commercial, political, and social networks. The archaeological research at Cowee also enhances community education and heritage preservation activities, both of which are crucial in true landscape justice.

Figure 5



Grand Penetrating Radar imagery for a portion of the large plain at Cowee. Several likely structures are indicated by red and yellow zones. Image courtesy of Michael Seibert of the Southeastern Regional Office of the National Park Service.

8. Discussion

A pervasive pattern in the agenda of colonization was to erase Cherokee cultural memory by renaming places that were already established towns and dig up or build over physical remains. This disconnect continues with a remarkable silence about Cherokee contributions to American history in current education curricula. Co-created and -managed archaeological research applying scientific methods can inform high-quality educational programs in a way respectful of, meaningful to, and directly benefiting the Cherokee people. The archaeological record is not an easy, straightforward read of a singular truth. Its advantage is that it can inspire dialogue and bring alternative evidence to dispute notions about the past and reclaim a heritage too often silenced.

Other papers in these two issues of *História: Questões & Debates* rightly point out that archaeology can be a contested method for interpreting past communities and identities. Certainly, early phases of archaeological work at Nvnvnyi violated sacred contexts. By taking an approach that articulates the past, present, and future tenses of the living landscape, this project critically evaluates the ethics of cultural landscapes, particularly the crucial role played by archaeology in determining how people experience and understand the landscape and the implications of that knowledge for heritage conservation or transformation.

The research itself is an exercise of *tohi*, to restore some balance to the current dominance of the historical record, to broaden regions of research, and to balance Anglo history and understandings with Cherokee ones. The study of past relationships among people, other living things, and the material environment unveils how they inform life today and presents an opportunity for landscape justice. Landscape justice involves equitable access to the potential benefits of cultural landscapes and meaningful participation in plans, decisions, and actions regarding them, particularly the specific aspects of cultural heritage to sustain and transmit to future generations.

Deploying landscape ethics and justice has three crucial elements: (1) investigate the social, material, ecological and human-ecological relationships, processes, and practices through which a landscape has been lived; (2) evaluate how investigations shed critical light on present-day relationships; and (3) connect the understanding of the past landscape with public discourse about its future and collaborate on planning for the landscape as it will and should be.[19] While these three elements generally happen in stages, in our case they are all in play and have recursive effects on each other.

For example, the discoveries about routes connecting the Nolichucky Valley to areas east of the Appalachians brought to the fore the current cultural disconnect to that region, resulting in a stronger emphasis in educational materials to better demonstrate that this part of the Appalachians, too, has an indelible Cherokee past. Productive planning depends on understanding both the positive and the negative elements of landscape relationships and how they came to be. The differences in land ownership between Nvnvnyi and Cowee offer contrasting challenges and opportunities for community enhancement. The promise is that understanding the history of positive relationships will help sustain them in the future, while thorough evaluation of negative relationships can help determine how and why they might be dismantled or transformed. The social and political dimensions of interpretive tasks about heritage are significant; shared contribution, the partnership of archaeologists and community members, is one way to arrive at a tremendous mutual benefit. Together, we can co-create a powerful understanding of the past and the present that strengthens education and community development: we can work towards fulfilling the promise of *gadahu*.

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HURON-WENDAT ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE: BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS TOWARDS COLLABORATION

Patrimônio arqueológico Huron-Wendat: construindo relações para a colaboração

*Alicia L. Hawkins**
*Louis Lesage***

ABSTRACT

There is a long history of academic interest in the Huron-Wendat people of the seventeenth century in Ontario. Despite this interest, archaeologists and other academics have only recently begun to engage with the Huron-Wendat community regarding excavations of Huron-Wendat sites in Ontario. This engagement is a first step, and it does not represent true collaboration, because in most cases investigations are not partnerships and do not arise from questions posed by members of the Nation. In 2015, to mark the four-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Champlain in Ontario, members of the Huron-Wendat Nation and archaeologists co-organized a conference focussed on subjects of interest to the Nation, including their relationship with the "St. Lawrence Iroquoians," Wendat and Wyandot history after 1650, and bioarchaeological analyses. This paper presents a brief history of archaeological research on the Huron-Wendat past and outlines some new, more collaborative avenues of present and future research.

Keywords: Huron-Wendat Nation, collaborative archaeology, Ontario

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RÉSUMÉ

L'intérêt universitaire pour la population Huron-Wendat du dix-septième siècle en Ontario est loin d'être nouveau. Malgré cela, ce n'est que très récemment que les archéologues et autres chercheurs travaillent avec la communauté Huron-Wendat autour des excavations de sites Huron-Wendat en Ontario. Cette implication est un premier pas, mais ne peut être vue comme une réelle collaboration car dans la plupart des cas les investigations ne sont pas des partenariats et ne répondent pas à de questions directement posées par les membres de la Nation. En 2015, pour le quatre-centième anniversaire de l'arrivée de Champlain en Ontario, les membres de la Nation Huron-Wendat et des archéologues ont co-organisé un colloque autour de sujets significatifs pour la nation, parmi lesquels la relation avec les « Iroquoiens du Saint-Laurent », les Wendat et l'histoire Wyandot après 1650, ainsi que les analyses bio-archéologiques. Cet article présente une brève histoire de la recherche archéologique sur le passé Huron-Wendat et dégage de nouvelles et plus collaboratives voies de recherche présentes et à venir.

Mots-clés: Nation Huron-Wendat; archéologie collaborative; Ontario

RESUMO

Existe uma história longa de estudo acadêmico do povo Huron-Wendat no século dezessete no Ontario. Apesar disso, é muito recente o engajamento dos arqueólogos e de outros acadêmicos com a comunidade Huron-Wendat em relação às escavações de sítios Huron-Wendat no Ontario. Este engajamento constitui um primeiro passo, porém não representa uma verdadeira colaboração considerando que na maioria dos casos as investigações não são parcerias e não se baseiam em perguntas diretamente formuladas pelos membros da Nação. Em 2015, para marcar o aniversario de quatrocentos anos da chegada de Champlain no Ontario, membros da Nação Huron-Wendat e arqueólogos co-organizaram um colóquio sobre temas de grande interesse para a Nação, incluindo a relação com os "St. Lawrence Iroquoians," os Wendat e a história dos Wyandot depois de 1650, assim como análises bio-arqueológicas. Este artigo apresenta uma breve história da pesquisa arqueológica sobre o passado dos Huron-Wendat e revela alguns novos, e mais colaborativos, caminhos de pesquisas presentes e futuras.

Palavras-chave: Nação Huron-Wendat; arqueologia colaborativa; Ontario

> Collaborative indigenous archaeology is fundamentally about making better histories, better sciences, and better communities.
> — Stephen Silliman, *Collaborative Indigenous Archaeology: Troweling at the Edges, Eyeing the Centre*

Situating Research on the Huron-Wendat

Four hundred years ago, when Samuel de Champlain visited some parts of Ontario, ancestors of people who call themselves Huron-Wendat and Wyandot[1] occupied, notably, the lands on the southern part of Georgian Bay, referred to now as the region of northern Simcoe County (Biggar, 1936). At that time, they formed a confederacy made up of several Nations of different sizes who, according to oral tradition, had arrived in the area at different times during the previous several centuries (Sioui, 1999; Tooker, 1991). Archaeological and oral history suggests that some of the Huron-Wendat had previously lived in the St. Lawrence valley, in present-day Québec (Ramsden, 2016b; Richard, 2016; Warrick, 2008).

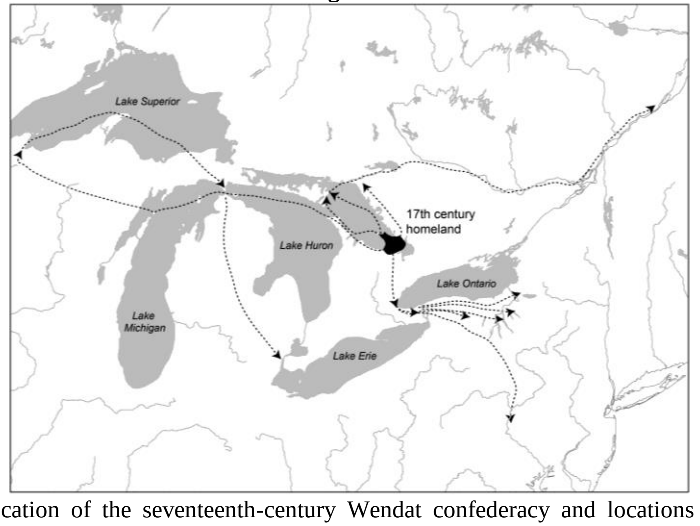
Between 1615 and 1649, French traders and missionaries lived among the Huron-Wendat, establishing both a special-purpose

1 Several different ethno-linguistic terms are used in this paper. The term Huron comes from the French and is a pejorative term, but was widely used by ethnographers, historians and archaeologists until the late twentieth century. The term Wendat is the self-appellation used in the 17th century. Petun is the term applied by Europeans to people from the Collingwood area; in this case the self-appellation is Tionnontaté. Attawandaron is a term that the Huron-Wendat people assigned to their Iroquoian-speaking neighbours in southwestern Ontario. Wyandot(te) is the self-appellation of peoples who moved westwards in the mid-seventeenth century and eventually settled in Detroit/Windsor, Okhahoma and Kansas.

In this paper, except when referring to specific work by previous researchers, we use the term Huron-Wendat as an encompassing one that refers to the Iroquoian peoples who lived in what is known today as southern Ontario in the early time of New France, spoke the same language, and identified as "Wendat" (i.e., the Huron and the Petun/Tionnontaté). The Conseil de la Nation huronne-wendat does not believe that the distinction made by Champlain and the Jesuits between the Huron and the Petun/Tionnontaté reflected actual ethnic differences and considers both groups and their descendants (i.e., the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot nations) to be Huron-Wendat. When referring specifically to the contemporary community of Wendake, the term Nation huronne-wendat (Huron-Wendat Nation) is privileged.

mission site (Sainte-Marie among the Hurons) and a number of missions within Wendat villages (Thwaites 1896-1901). In Canada, this was one of the most focussed, sustained, and earliest efforts to convert an Indigenous population to Christianity (Blackburn, 2000). The relationship between the French and the Huron-Wendat was multifaceted, however, with trade and alliance building also being important (Blackburn, 2000; Trigger, 1976). Champlain (Biggar, 1936), Sagard (1939), and the Jesuits (Thwaites 1896-1901) chronicled their time among the Huron-Wendat. Their works, each of which reflects the different purposes and perspectives of the authors (Tooker, 1991), provide us with insight on seventeenth-century French perspectives about their lives among their Huron-Wendat hosts. By the 1630s, the European presence in Huron-Wendat communities led to the introduction of several waves of different European-introduced disease, causing major population decline (Warrick, 2003). After struggling for some years and facing conflict from Haudenosaunee peoples, in 1649, the Wendat people left what is now Simcoe County and decided to move in several different directions (Labelle, 2013).

Figure 1



Location of the seventeenth-century Wendat confederacy and locations of movement, after Trigger (1976: 822).

The seventeenth-century ethnohistoric documents provided rich fodder for non-Huron-Wendat scholars. Historians, anthropologists, and geographers built their reputations and credibility upon interpretations of these seventeenth-century works. In the 1960s and 1970s, several important books synthesized Wendat life in the seventeenth century from different perspectives. Notably, Elisabeth Tooker's work *An ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649* (Tooker, [1964]1991), Conrad Heidenreich's *Huronia* (Heidenreich, 1971), and several of Bruce Trigger's books (Trigger, 1976, 1990) were read and cited widely. Innumerable undergraduate students read Trigger's short work *The Huron: Farmers of the North,* which was published in a series entitled *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology*. Today, it is gratifying to see a shift towards *Heritage of the Circle*, by Huron-Wendat historian Georges Sioui (1999).

While longer works by Trigger were historical in nature, and notwithstanding the specific date range for Tooker's work, it can be argued that the rich ethnohistoric record, and the synthetic works based on them, led to a situation in which "Huron-Wendat" became synonymous with the Huron-Wendat of the early to mid-seventeenth century as viewed and interpreted by European missionaries; traders; and, at a later date, scholars. These works examine the first half of the seventeenth century and are clearly situated in Ontario. Ramsden (1996) argues that this record has been a detriment to Wendat archaeology.

That the Huron-Wendat lived on after leaving Simcoe County appeared, unfortunately, to be of little academic interest, and despite the well-known work of ethnographer and linguist Marius Barbeau (1915, 1960), conducted in 1911–1912, by the late twentieth century, it had become commonplace to assert that the Huron-Wendat had been destroyed (Labelle, 2013) (Figures 2 and 3). Johnston and Jackson (1980, p. 173), for example, begin their paper on the Le Caron site by stating "Although the Huron were destroyed in the middle of the 17th century by their traditional enemies, the Five Nations Iroquois of New York..." We attribute this situation to three different but related phenomena.

Figure 2

The Huron-Wendat who were NOT destroyed. A studio photograph from about 1880 of three Sioui family members. In the center Élie (1798-1884) flanked by his two sons Honoré et , Élie Junior. Photograph from the National Archives of Quebec.

Figure 3

A Huron-Wendat elder during a festival in from of the chapel at Wendake. Circa 1900-1910.

First, because of the major academic works based on seventeenth-century documents, the image of the Huron-Wendat in the minds of researchers crystallized as the “Farmers of the North.”

Second, there was little anthropological interest in the Huron-Wendat of the twentieth century. The exact reasons for disinterest in the “survivors” are unclear, but factors that may be relevant are that Wendake was then seen as a small, “Canadianized” village, with “Euro-Canadian” architecture, where some members of the community had adopted Catholicism and where the economy was based in large part on commerce. Descendants seemed to conform to a “Canadianized” image rather than the “brave and courageous Indian” popular image and, thus, garnered little attention and research interest. In other words, an earlier anthropology that was defined as filling the “savage slot” (Cobb, 2005) would not take as a subject something that did not conform well to the category of “Other.” By contrast, the Wendat of the seventeenth century or earlier were exemplars of a “pre-Columbian Other” and fit well within the scope of study.

Third, the story of a flourishing civilisation where villages of thousands of people prosperously directed commercial and diplomatic missions, and which collapsed in the face of wars and epidemics, represents a strong, dramatic, Hollywood-style image imprinted in the subconscious of Canadian people.

Archaeologists, who are traditionally concerned with material aspects of culture, may have lacked the will or imagination to seek connections between living Wendat and the traces of their ancestors found on archaeological sites. We argue that this lack of anthropological interest led outsiders to *assume* that the Huron-Wendat had suffered “cultural loss” and were disconnected from their past. Geographical and linguistic challenges also faced archaeologists or anthropologists from the English speaking world who may have wished to engage with Huron-Wendat descendants living in a French-speaking environment.

Archaeological Research on the Huron-Wendat in Ontario

In 2001, the renowned scholar Bruce Trigger wrote:

> I hope that in the near future one or more Wendat professional archaeologists will be exploring their homeland along-side Euro-Canadian colleagues. Even before that happens, however, Wendat interests and concerns should have begun to influence Wendat archaeology by encouraging archaeologists to investigate questions that are of special interest to modern Wendats (Trigger, 2001, p. 10).

The history of the archaeology of Wendat sites is clearly rooted in Canada's colonial past, as are many investigations of Indigenous sites in other regions of the world (Atalay, 2006; Trigger, 1984). We argue that, despite recent advances, we have not yet managed to shed this legacy.

Investigation of Huron-Wendat sites has a particularly long history. Trigger (1985, p. 9) identifies nineteenth-century research of seventeenth-mission sites as among the earliest archaeological research in Canada. Initially interest came from Jesuits who wished to identify and describe the locations of their missions (Jones, 1908). However, these people also excavated numerous Huron-Wendat ossuaries (communal burials), demonstrating interests extending beyond Jesuit history (Trigger, 1985). Unfortunately, much of the nineteenth-century work was never published, and there are few remaining records of it (Kapches, 2014; Trigger, 1985). This time also saw major land clearance for farming and, in some locations, urban development, resulting in the accidental exposure of numerous villages and ossuaries. By the nineteenth century, the Huron-Wendat cultural landscape of the 1600s and earlier had been transformed into "wilderness," and European settlers accidentally discovered evidence of the traces of the Huron-Wendat taskscape (Dent, 2013). Andrew

Hunter's (e.g., 1899, 1902,1904, 1907a, 1907b) surveys at the end of that century and the beginning of the twentieth century recorded this Huron-Wendat landscape in the form of numerous site locations; according to Trigger (2001), these surveys were remarkable in that they aimed to examine where the Wendat had lived (i.e., they were an early form of landscape archaeology).

These two themes, examination of the European presence and general survey of the region, continued well into the twentieth century. The first is best exemplified by the work of Kidd (1949) at Ste. Marie I and of the Jurys, also at Ste. Marie I, but also at other possible mission sites (Jury, 1946; Jury & Jury, 1954, 1955). The second type of work, survey, was conducted in large part by Frank Ridley, an avocational archaeologist trained by Kidd, who also engaged in an attempt to relocate sites described historically (Ridley, 1947). However, the bulk of his work can be considered an extension of the surveys by Hunter, in which Ridley relocated and undertook small excavations at many of the Hunter sites, the main goal of which appears to have been refining initial interpretations of the site's chronologies (e.g., Ridley, 1975, 1973, 1972).

In the mid-twentieth century, a third theme emerged in Huron-Wendat archaeology: the use of Huron-Wendat sites as locations for university field courses. This began with the work of Emerson (University of Toronto) at Warminster, but later included the very long-lived excavations led by Knight at Ball (Wilfrid Laurier University), the excavations by Latta (University of Toronto) at Auger and Thomson Walker, by Johnston (Trent University) (Johnston & Jackson, 1980) at Le Caron, by Glencross and Warrick (Wilfrid Laurier) at Ahatsistari, and by Hawkins (Laurentian University) at Ellery. While field schools may have research goals, their primary purposes, at least in the moment of excavation, are pedagogical. Work at Warminster, for example, investigated the possibility that this was the location of the village of Caihague, where Champlain had wintered in 1615. Artifact collections produced by field schools are typically housed within universities, and have therefore served as research materials for many later students. Field schools may adopt methodologies reflective of current practice within the discipline, or they may attempt to set higher standards of practice (Glencross et al., 2017).

Discovery and excavation of sites outside of Simcoe County led to the realization that the ancestors of the Huron-Wendat had a geographical distribution that was much larger than the small area in northern Simcoe County where they were documented in the seventeenth century. Trigger (2001) has identified the themes and debates in these works, some of which were clearly influenced by the assumptions and/or theoretical backgrounds of the researchers themselves and appear to have little grounding in archaeological evidence. Ferris (2014) illustrates this with the case of the "conquest theory," which, in Wright's (1992) formulation, explains changes in pottery style by means of a kind of ethnic cleansing.

Major changes to the practice of archaeology in the province of Ontario occurred in 1975, with the introduction of the *Ontario Heritage Act*[2] and the licensing of archaeological fieldwork. Rescue excavations had occurred previous to this, and initially these were funded by museums – a situation that clearly was not sustainable. The first "cultural resource management" firm was founded in the early 1970s, and major rescue excavations at the Draper site, a Wendat site on the north shore of Lake Ontario, was a *de facto* training ground for many of the people who would go on to be major players in the industry from the 1980s until the present. Over the course of the twentieth century, archaeology as a discipline in Ontario moved from the domain of academics and hobbyists to that of professionals working under a number of different legislative parameters. Today, close to 500 people are licensed to practice archaeology in Ontario, and many more people work under the supervision of these licensees. The vast majority of the archaeological work licensees do is "consulting" in nature or is compliance archaeology (98% according to James Sherratt of Ontario's Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, personal communication, 2016). Interestingly, many licensed Ontario archaeologists undertook training or research on Huron-Wendat archaeological sites as part of their studies. A group of Huron-Wendat youth from Wendake participated in excavations at the the Kondiaronk site in Ontario in 1979 (Fig. 2), but the Huron-

2 *Ontario Heritage Act,* 1974, http://digitalcommons.osgoode.yorku.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3857&context=ontario_statutes.

Wendat participation in management of archaeological sites in Ontario did not occur until the 2000s.

Figure 4

The Kondiaronk Site. From left to right: Raymond Sioui, Carlo Gros Louis, Christian Sioui, Don Sioui & René Picard. July1979.

Recent Supreme Court decisions in Canada have made it clear that the Crown (which, in the case of Canada, refers to both the federal and provincial governments) is required to consult with First Nations on projects where Aboriginal and Treaty rights are at stake (MacCallum Fraser & Viswanathan, 2013). Prior to that, in the early 2000s, the Huron-Wendat Nation was one of the First Nations who came together to form the Founding First Nations Circle (Nahrgang, 2013). This group was comprised of legal representatives of a number of First Nations with interests in the archaeological cultural heritage of southern Ontario. Because the heritage of this region is shared, with different groups present at different times and with overlapping traditional use areas, the Circle provided an opportunity for shared protection and stewardship.

By 2011, the ministry responsible for archaeology in Ontario (at that time called the Ministry of Tourism and Culture) published a document entitled *Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario*. Directed only at archaeologists carrying out compliance archaeology, it defines engagement as "involving Aboriginal communities in each stage of an archaeological project, to the extent and in the manner that best suits their interests and the needs of the project" (Ministry of Tourism and Culture, 2011a, p. 1). It is unfortunate that the Ontario government did not require all licensed archaeologist to engage with First Nations. However, given that the vast majority of archaeology carried out in the province is consulting in nature (as opposed to academic, public, or avocational), this requirement may be viewed as generally positive in that most archaeologists are mandated to engage. However, the requirements only insist upon engagement relatively late in a project, that is, at "Stage 3," when sites have been identified and the archaeologist embarks on further investigation to determine cultural affiliation, site size, and temporal placement. The requirements thereby imply that the only places within a landscape that would have heritage value would be ones where there are identifiable physical remains in the form of archaeological artifacts. Clearly this is not the case (Colwell, 2016).

We do not view this engagement process as *collaborative*. It is reactive: when development has the potential to impact treaty rights, government insists upon dialogue with the First Nations determined to be culturally or geographically closest (Hiawatha v. Ontario 2007, Ministry of Culture 2011). This situation clearly represents a unique phenomenon in Canada: there are a very large number of Huron-Wendat archaeological sites and locations of cultural importance in Ontario, and the authority that should be engaged in a dialogue about this heritage (i.e. the Band Council) is in Québec. Hope for a better dialogue has yet to be formalized.

Two common outcomes of engagement are the presence of First Nations monitors on archaeological sites during survey or excavation and suggestions to redirect proposed development away from archaeological sites. While these outcomes are an improvement upon a situation in which First Nations were never engaged, the discussions between Indigenous people and archaeologists that occur in this context only pertain to landscapes potentially impacted by development interests. They do not ask the questions "Can archaeology contribute to addressing questions of interest to Indigenous peoples? And if so, what are best practices for doing so?"

New Directions

In 2015, the Huron-Wendat Nation hosted a session at the annual symposium of the Ontario Archaeological Society[3]. Representatives of the Nation proposed the session topics and speakers, and they participated in applications for funding that would ultimately allow a large number of Wendat and Wyandot participants to travel to Ontario to participate in the conference. Other sessions at the conference were organized in partnership with the Nation. One of the components of the conference was that we asked Wendat and Wyandot representatives in attendance to identify papers of particular interest, so that they could be written up for publication on the Web. This provided us with insights about Wendat and Wyandot concerns and viewpoints. In the remainder of this paper, we outline three of the themes that came out of this conference and which indicate potential avenues of research and *collaboration* for Wendat and Wyandot, archaeologists, historians, linguists, biological anthropologists, and other researchers. Successful models for collaborative projects involving First Nations and academic researchers exist (e.g.,

3 The symposium was a joint event of the Ontario Archaeological Society and the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, but the organizing and program committees were comprised of members of the OAS only.

Edmunds et al., 2013; IPinch, 2016), and these demonstrate the importance of involvement of all parties from the inception of the project. Open communication will allow researchers to come to understand not only what questions are of importance to the community, but also how community members can be involved in the process throughout the research project. Collaborative projects are reflexive, with modifications to the methodologies and/or questions arising through the process of dialogue.

St. Lawrence Iroquoians and the Huron-Wendat

A subject of fundamental interest to the Huron-Wendat is the archaeological entity or construct known as “St. Lawrence Iroquoians” (SLI). When Cartier arrived in the Gaspé in 1534, he encountered a group of Iroquoian-speaking people led by the chief Donnacona, who were there for fishing and seal hunting (Trigger, 1976). Cartier’s travels in 1535 and 1536 brought him to the area of present-day Québec City, where Donnacona’s people were living in the unpalisaded village of Stadacona. Cartier also visited the Montréal area, where a people were settled in a single, large, palisaded village called Hochelaga. Cartier documented approximately five other Iroquoian villages lying between Stadacona and Hochelaga. Starting six years later, in 1541, and continuing until 1543, the French attempted and failed to establish a colony in the area of Québec City at what is now known as the Cartier-Roberval site. When the French returned to the region in 1603, they found these villages abandoned (Biggar, 1936).

Archaeologists traditionally have framed this in terms of a “disappearance” and have sought explanations for this the “mystery” of where the St. Lawrence Iroquoians went. Causes that have been proposed include: European-introduced disease; warfare; environmental change, causing agriculture to be untenable in the area; and changes in trade routes (see Trigger 1976, p. 214-218, and TREMBLAY 2006, p. 118-121, for examples of the range of explanations). Over time, archaeologists described a set of artefact types common on sites in the St. Lawrence valley, including, most notably, pottery of particular styles (e.g., Jamieson 1990). An archaeological construct ("St. Lawrence Iroquoians") came to represent the people encountered by Cartier. "St. Lawrence Iroquoian" can be defined by particular pottery motifs, styles of pipes, and bone and stone tool forms (Jamieson, 1990). Furthermore, the attributes of this constellation of materials differ in small ways from the attributes of similar materials found on Ontario sites attributed to the Wendat and the Attawandaron. This led archaeologists to conclude that the Wendat were a different ethno-political group from the people Cartier encountered in the St. Lawrence valley in the sixteenth century.

Various items of research presented at the conference showed archaeological evidence of the presence of "St. Lawrence Iroquoian" artifacts in Huron-Wendat villages (Ramsden, 2016; Williamson, 2016). These artifacts can also be interpreted as evidence that people using the St. Lawrence valley (Gates St-Pierre, 2016) were also present in Ontario west of the St. Lawrence valley, in an area that is more commonly considered to have been territory of the Huron-Wendat. Linguistic similarities between Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian were also presented (Steckley 2012, 2016). Finally, research presented at the conference by Marianne Gaudreau and Louis Lesage (Gaudreau and Lesage 2016), and other research published by Richard (2016), demonstrates other indications of a close relationship between the peoples occupying these areas.

The Huron-Wendat assert that they are the same people as the St. Lawrence Iroquoians. This is not new idea, but can be found in multiple historical documents and oral tradition (Gaudreau and Lesage 2016, Richard 2016). This assertion presents a significant but not insurmountable challenge to archaeologists' understanding of the past, mainly because archaeologists have come to conflate ethnic identities and archaeological constructs.

It is important to decouple Huron-Wendat identity or ethnicity from the Huron-Wendat political entity of the seventeenth century as recorded by French explorers and missionaries. The confederacy was something that existed for a period of time under socio-political circumstances that will probably never be explained in detail. On the other hand, Huron-Wendat ethnic identity both pre-dates and post-dates the seventeenth-century confederacy.

Material culture and ethnic identity should not be expected to align perfectly. Gaudreau and Lesage point out that "ethnicity… is understood as a large-scale social group identity founded on a real or assumed shared belief in a common ancestry, and involves a process of self-identification" (Gaudreau and Lesage 2016, p. 9). Archaeologists, without access to belief systems, are hard pressed to define or delineate ethnic groups. In light of this, while there are distinctive attributes of the material culture of the St. Lawrence valley in the sixteenth century, we cannot take this to mean that the people of the St. Lawrence valley were distinct ethnically from Iroquoians living farther west, including in Ontario.

Warrick and Lesage (2016, p. 139) point out that archaeological data and subsequent interpretations are stronger in some areas than in others. They argue that archaeology can make meaningful contributions to interpretations about technology, economy, and settlement patterns but that things like ethnicity and religion are more difficult for archaeologists to reconstruct. They reiterate the position of Chrisomalis and Trigger (2004) who indicate that archaeologists are not qualified to make pronouncements on the ethnic identity of past contemporary Indigenous peoples. Rather, "Indigenous people know best who they are and where they come from" (Warrick and Lesage, 2016, p. 139).

Post-relocation Huron-Wendat and Wyandot

As we have already described, in the mid-seventeenth century the Huron-Wendat left the Simcoe County area. The people who made up the confederacy made choices to pursue different alliances in light of the difficulties in Ontario. In several waves, Wendat arrived in the St. Lawrence valley area (mainly the Québec City area) – an area of traditional importance and with which many were familiar because of trade in earlier the century. Others joined the

Tionnontaté, and eventually the Odawa, through the second half of the seventeenth century. These people lived in a number of communities in the Upper Great Lakes region, and their descendants are found in Wyandot communities in the Detroit/Windsor area and in Kansas and Oklahoma (TRIGGER 1976, p. 820-25, GARRAD 2014, p. 499-523). One of the member nations of the confederacy, the Tahontaenrat, negotiated to join the Seneca, in present-day New York, where they established the town of Gandougarae (TRIGGER 1976, p. 828).

Kathryn Labelle's (2013) recent historical work addresses the post-relocation era based mainly on historical sources. The subject has garnered almost no archaeological interest, and it is worth considering the reasons for this. To some degree, the reasons may lie in the nature of the archaeological record. Unlike pre-relocation sites, which included large, palisaded villages, these post-relocation settlements were occupied for shorter periods of time. They are fewer in number and not geographically connected or circumscribed within a small region. Furthermore, the people who created these sites were ethnically diverse, because the Wendat had joined with the Tionnontaté and the Odawa. While European settlers accidentally encountered many Wendat villages in Huronia, this was not the case in the areas occupied by post-relocation Wendat in the Upper Great Lakes. Thus, the cultural landscapes of the post-relocation Wendat are not recognized as such, the region being seen instead as wilderness, or a modern version of *terra nullius* (Dent, 2013). However, as John Creese (2015) points out, these sites exist and are interesting from the vantage point of resiliency. To ignore them, and to ignore the post-dispersal history, is to contribute to the myth that the Wendat and Wyandot disappeared or were destroyed. The archaeology of the post-relocation period has potential to contribute to our understanding of how people experienced and negotiated population-level movement. This is a question that could not be more relevant today.

Researching Ancestors

One of the most sensitive research areas for Indigenous peoples, and one which has changed considerably in recent years, pertains to the excavation and study of buried human ancestors. The reasons for the sensitivity are deeply rooted in Huron-Wendat beliefs. One of the souls of a person remains with the bones of the deceased. In the words of Georges Sioui (1999: 142), “Contact between the living and the dead was not severed by death.” Bones, then, are people. They are not simply organic remains of individuals to be viewed as specimens worthy of scientific examination. Many Huron-Wendat ossuaries have been disturbed and some have been desecrated over the past two centuries. Andrew Hunter describes in detail disturbance to ossuaries that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century (Hunter, 1902), but ossuaries continue to be accidentally discovered and disturbed into the twenty-first century. During the twentieth century, a number of Huron-Wendat ossuaries were excavated, and the bones were subject to numerous academic studies (e.g., Forrest, 2010; Gruspier, 1998; Jerkic, 1975). Historically, communication about the findings of these studies to the Huron-Wendat Nation was minimal: in 2005, Wendat elder Annette Vincent explained to one of us (AH) that the archaeologists had had the bones for a long time and done nothing with them and that the time had arrived to return the ancestors to where they came from (Annette Vincent, personal communication , 2005). We have, however, seen significant improvements in the treatment of human ancestors and communication about them in the course of the past 15 years.

Beginning with Ossossané

In 1946, an avocational archaeologist, Frank Ridley, (re)discovered an ossuary that he believed fit the description of the Ossossané ossuary where Jean de Brébeuf witnessed the Wendat feast of the dead in 1636 (Ridley, 1947). Over the course of two field seasons, staff from the Royal Ontario Museum excavated this ossuary (Kidd, 1953). While a number of ossuaries had been discovered and excavated prior to 1948, these were informal excavations, sometimes carried out by local curiosity seekers. The excavation of Ossossané was one of the first academically oriented excavations, and this kind of excavation continued in Simcoe County and southern Ontario until the *Ontario Heritage Act* (1974) was enacted in 1975. Subsequently, ossuaries have been excavated, but only in the context of development work, when they have been encountered accidentally during construction or trenching (Keenleyside, 2013; Williamson & Pfeiffer, 2003). While some of these ossuaries have been moved, the Huron-Wendat Nation has indicated by a resolution dating from 2015 that from now on, in the unfortunate event that ancestors' bones are encountered accidentally, the burial ground will not be moved and development must be rerouted.

The ancestors' bones and accompanying funerary items from Ossossané were studied by a number of scholars after 1948, but it would appear that these findings were not effectively shared with the Huron-Wendat descendants (Kapches, 2010). In the late 1990s, after lobbying by descendants from Wendake, the Royal Ontario Museum entered into an agreement with the Huron-Wendat Nation to repatriate the ancestors and funerary materials from Ossossané (Kapches, 2010). The 1999 repatriation can be seen as pivotal for two reasons: first, it marked the first time in 350 years that Huron-Wendat and Wyandot from across Canada and the United States had come together to participate in ceremonies in their seventeenth-century homeland (Labelle, 2013). The event brought together long-separated relatives who would go on to participate in future conferences, events, and projects, thereby strengthening connections between communities. Second, it set the stage for future repatriations. It would be disingenuous to suggest that all archaeologists and anthropologists in Ontario were, at the time, in agreement with the return of the Huron-Wendat ancestors. With time, however, those opposed have come to a clearer understanding of the position of the Huron-Wendat and Wyandot with respect to their ancestors, and most now accept that repatriation is the correct thing to do.

In 2013, after years of planning, a second large repatriation (known as the Thonnakona repatriation) was carried out, involving more than 1600 Huron-Wendat ancestors. Like the Ossossané repatriation, the Thonnakona repatriation was a complex process, as was documented by two of the people who spearheaded it: Susan Pfeiffer and Louis Lesage (Pfeiffer & Lesage, 2014). One significant difference between the Ossossané repatriation and the Thonnakona repatriation is that, researchers asked and, after careful consideration, the Huron-Wendat agreed to place one tooth from each individual and samples of diseased bone in a repository at the University of Toronto for future study. The Huron-Wendat made this decision based on the premise that they believed the ancestors would be willing to make the gift of a tooth if it would contribute to knowledge about their people and to help their descendants to better understand their lives and times. The change in the practice of study is indicated by the fact that these teeth can only be studied through an application process to the Huron-Wendat Nation (Pfeiffer & Lesage, 2014).

The research that Dr. Susan Pfeiffer and her colleagues presented at the conference based on these tissue samples was of a high degree of interest to Huron-Wendat and Wyandot participants, as evidenced by the excellent attendance at her early morning presentation and by the request of the Huron-Wendat to include this presentation specifically in the Web summaries. To date, the work of Pfeiffer and her colleagues has focussed on diet and age of weaning; but ongoing analyses will focus on genetic ancestry and health (Pfeiffer, 2015; Pfeiffer *et al*. 2016, 2017).

The Huron-Wendat are now preparing for the reburial of many other groups of ancestors in the coming years, including many hundreds of individuals who are conserved in government ministries, museums, and universities, or with licensed archaeologists and private corporations. It will probably take a generation to rebury all the ancestors that have been exhumed during the past hundred years. This is the duty that the present generation of Huron-Wendat descendants has accepted out of respect for the souls of the ancestors who are still living in these bones. The negotiation of agreements such as the one between the University of Toronto and the Huron-Wendat Nation leaves open the possibility of future studies of these ancestors, but places the decision making about the questions to be addressed and the nature of the analysis in the hands of the members of the Huron-Wendat Nation.

Conclusions: Challenges and Opportunities

The examples that we have outlined demonstrate that archaeologists, who have been the self-appointed and, later, government-mandated "custodians" of Indigenous heritage (Ferris, 2003), including that of the Huron-Wendat, may find themselves in uncomfortable or unfamiliar positions. The challenges that arise through dialogue between the Huron-Wendat Nation and archaeologists also present opportunities for researchers. They have the potential to contribute meaningfully, not only to archaeological bodies of knowledge and methodologies, but also to Huron-Wendat and Wyandot communities. Widely accepted culture-historical classificatory categories, such as "St. Lawrence Iroquoian," may have little validity in the eyes of Huron-Wendat descendants who see ethnicity in a different way than do archaeologists. Archaeologists are asked, then, to think more carefully about what these constructs represent, and to assess how the use of them may impact people today. Archaeological research is pushed to move beyond identification of small differences in ceramic styles – the reasons for which are not well understood. Researchers are called upon to use multiple lines of evidence, including oral traditions, archives, and historical and linguistic documents, in describing the past. Work on the post-relocation Huron-Wendat and Wyandot past will entail tackling low-visibility, multi-ethnic sites that are disconnected in space but are important for understanding Huron-Wendat and Wyandot resilience. Research on human ancestors is providing results about changing diet, among other things, and researchers are challenged to (a) ensure that research questions are relevant to Huron-Wendat and Wyandot people and (b) employ minimally destructive analysis techniques to allow for future research.

We argue that, while these research directions may mean shedding some deeply held ideas, collaborative partnerships in which descendant communities such as the Huron-Wendat Nation set the research agendas ultimately lead to work that is relevant to communities and that is carried out in a fashion that is culturally appropriate and acceptable to descendants.

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CREATING A COMMEMORATIVE SPACE AT A CEMETERY LOCATED ON A JESUIT SUGAR PLANTATION IN FRENCH GUIANA

Criação de um espaço comemorativo em um cemitério localizado em uma plantação jesuíta de cana-de-açúcar na Guiana Francesa

Réginald Auger[*]

ABSTRACT

This paper reflects on the creation and development of a commemorative space within an archaeological site, the Loyola plantation in French Guiana. We created this space to recognize the enslaved people who lived and died at the plantation, to attempt to show compassion towards descendants of enslaved people in French Guiana, and to prompt a discussion on the history of the colonial period. The memory of slavery is a sensitive issue among residents of the region, most of whom are descendants of enslaved people. We use the experience working on the cemetery of the Loyola plantation to present the various questions with which we are confronted in order for the local population to appropriate their own history through the spirit of place.

The plantation is located 10 km from Cayenne, the capital of French Guiana. Under Jesuit rule, the plantation measured more than 1000 hectares, and at one point, nearly 500 enslaved people toiled there to produce sugar, coffee, indigo, and rum, among other products, under the supervision of a handful of missionaries. Following the discovery and sampling of burial pits in the cemetery, where approximately 1000 enslaved people of African descent, indigenous people, settlers, and missionaries were interred, we decided to create a memorial space to commemorate the enslaved people who lived and were buried at

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the plantation. As a tool to launch meaningful exchanges with the local population, we erected a calvary cross in the centre of the cemetery, as was depicted in an illustration dating from the 1730s. This action resulted in a positive response from the local population, and the cemetery became a focal point for discussion. Curiously, our intention provoked a visceral reaction from local agents of the French government.

Keywords: Commemoration; Slavery; Jesuits; Loyola plantation; French Guiana

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article revient sur la création et le développement d'un espace commémoratif au sein d'un site archéologique : la plantation Loyola en Guyane française. Nous avons créé cet espace pour la reconnaissance des esclaves qui ont vécu et sont morts sur la plantation, dans le but d'exprimer une compassion envers les descendants d'esclaves en Guyane française, et de susciter une discussion sur l'histoire de la période coloniale. La majorité des habitants de la région descendant des anciens esclaves, la mémoire de l'esclavage est un sujet sensible. À partir de 20 ans de recherches conduites à la plantation Loyola et sur son cimetière, nous mettons en lumière les questions auxquelles nous avons dû faire face pour que la population locale s'approprie l'esprit du lieu.
La plantation se situe à 10 km de Cayenne, capitale de la Guyane française. À l'époque des jésuites, la plantation mesurait plus de 1 000 hectares, et à un moment, près de 500 esclaves y travaillaient sous la supervision d'une poignée de missionnaires à la production de sucre, de café, d'indigo, et de rhum, entre autres produits. À la suite des découvertes de sépultures dans le cimetière, où à peu près 1000 esclaves d'ascendance africaine, des indigènes, colons et missionnaires ont été enterrés, nous avons décidé de créer un espace mémoriel en commémoration des esclaves ayant vécu et été enterrés dans la plantation. S'inspirant d'une illustration datant des années 1730, nous avons érigé une croix de calvaire dans le but de lancer des échanges de fond avec la population locale. Cette action a entrainé une réponse directe de la part de la population, et le cimetière est devenu un point central de la discussion. Curieusement, notre intention a provoqué une réaction viscérale de la part des agents locaux du gouvernement français.

Mots-clés: commémoration; esclavage; jésuites; plantation Loyola; Guyane française

RESUMO

Este artigo reflete sobre o processo de criação e desenvolvimento de um espaço comemorativo dentro de um sitio arqueológico: a plantação Loyola na Guiana francesa. Nós criamos este espaço para o reconhecimento dos escravos que viveram e morreram na

plantação, para demostrar compaixão com os descendentes de escravos, bem como para provocar uma discussão sobre a história do período colonial. A memoria da escravidão é um assunto sensível para dos residentes da região, cuja maioria é descendente de escravos. A partir de vinte anos de pesquisa na plantation Loyola e seu cemitério, apresentamos aqui várias questões que encontramos no processo de apropriação do espirito do lugar pela população local.
A plantação está localizada à 10 km de Cayenne, capital da Guiana francesa. Durante o domínio jesuíta, a plantação media mais de 1000 hectares, e chegou a ter cerca de 500 escravos trabalhando na produção de açúcar, café, índigo, e rum, entre outros produtos, supervisionados por alguns missionários. Depois de ter descoberto sepulturas no cemitério, onde aproximadamente 1000 escravos descendentes de Africanos, povos indígenas, colonos, e missionários foram enterrados, decidimos criar um espaço memorial para comemorar os escravos que viveram e foram enterrados na plantação. Inspirando-se numa ilustração dos anos 1730, erigimos uma cruz do Calvário no centro do cemitério, no âmbito de criar discussões relevantes com a população local. Esta ação teve como efeito de produzir uma resposta imediata da população local, e o cemitério tornou-se um ponto central para a discussão. Curiosamente, nossa intenção provocou uma reação visceral dos agentes locais do governo francês.

Palavras-chave: comemoração; escravidão; Jesuítas; plantação Loyola; Guiana francesa

Introduction

Loyola was a Jesuit plantation located 10 km from Cayenne, the capital of French Guiana. Between 1668 and 1763, the plantation produced sugar, indigo, coffee, cocoa, and cotton to finance the evangelization of indigenous people in South America, relying, at any one time, on the labour of as many as 500 enslaved people of African heritage. After 20 years of archival and archaeological research at the Loyola plantation and its cemetery, a collaboration between the Association pour la protection du patrimoine archéologique et architectural de la Guyane and the Laboratoires d'archéologie de l'Université Laval, we have started to communicate the results of our research to the local population, most of whom are descendants of enslaved Africans brought to French Guiana during the colonial period, forcibly placing them into the economy of the Atlantic world and into Atlantic history (Coclanis, 2006).[1]

This paper details our attempt to develop a memorial space relating to this sensitive period in French Guiana history, as well as the subsequent ordeal of having the concept of a memorial accepted by the local French administration. Our motivation and challenge have been to disseminate the results of our excavation of the Loyola cemetery, where enslaved people of African descent, indigenous people, French owners of small plantations, and Jesuit missionaries were interred, while being mindful to avoid blurring the line that separates memory and commemoration of a brutal period of European economic expansion in the Americas. The memory of the slave trade is a sensitive issue in most of the Caribbean region, and we use the results of our research on a plantation as a place to open up a dialogue on history.

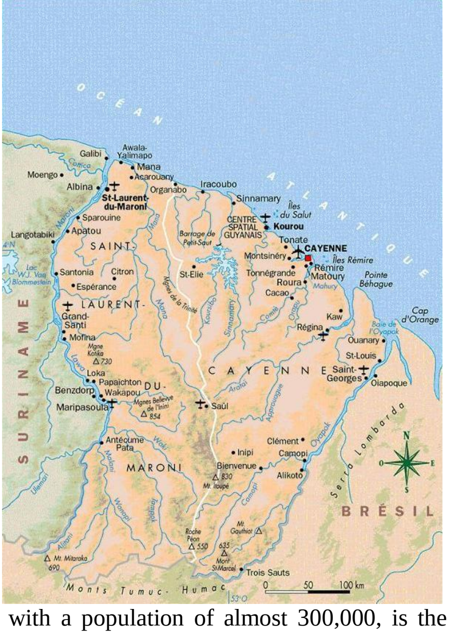
Historical Context

French Guiana is an overseas French department (*Département outre-mer*) on the northern coast of South America, covering an area of 83,846 km^2 of the Guiana Shield between Brazil and Suriname (Figure 1). As a department of France, it is part of the European Union and has the euro as its currency; it is literally Europe in South America, but with a difference. Covered by dense tropical forest and possessing an equatorial climate, French Guiana, with its high humidity and seven-month-long rainy season, differs markedly in climate from France, and also from French departments elsewhere in the Caribbean region. That humid equatorial climate is punctuated

1 I follow Bernard Bailyn's simple and direct proposition that during the "early modern" period (circa 1500–1800 CE), Western Europe, West Africa, and the Americas were sufficiently integrated in many ways to lend themselves to treatment as a single unit: the Atlantic world (Bailyn, 1996 cited in Coclanis, 2006: 726).

by the Guyanese intertropical convergence zone and an annual rainfall that reaches up to 3000 mm on the coast. The equatorial forest soil is very acidic, which makes agricultural production difficult. After deforestation of the lowlands, agriculture was made possible through the creation of polders, an agricultural technique which the Dutch introduced to Suriname and which was adopted in French Guiana by the second half of the 18th century (Le Roux et al., 2012).

Figure 1



French Guiana, with a population of almost 300,000, is the largest French overseas *Département*.

This region of South America was occupied by many indigenous nations and was explored and colonized during the 17th century by, simultaneously, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English, and the French, who took turns at controlling the region. During the 17th and 18th centuries, all colonists regularly experienced shortages of goods due to navigational hazards, namely, trade winds that tended to send ships off course in a northerly direction, combined with the shallow waters of the harbour of Cayenne. As a result, traders neglected French Guiana in favour of the wealthier French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, which were easier to reach and had more productive lands. Nevertheless, possession of French Guiana represented somewhat of a strategic advantage, as it is positioned on the route to Central and South America. Its position was used to hinder Portuguese and Spanish access to those parts of the Americas.

Between 1604 and 1674, several attempts were made by Europeans to settle what later became known as French Guiana. The Capuchin monks arrived in Cayenne in the 1630s. The Dutch occupation, from 1654 to 1663, saw the arrival not just of Dutch settlers, but also of a small Jewish population which had fled Brazil in 1657 (Le Roux et al., 2009, p. 21-25; Polderman, 2004, p. 32-33). Under the Dutch occupation, a plantation system was developed by the settlers familiar with the technology needed for the development of sugar production (Le Roux, 1994; Polderman, 2004; Le Roux et al., 2009).

In 1664, the Jesuits arrived (Le Roux et al., 2009; Bain et al., 2011; Losier, 2012; Loyer Rousselle et al., 2017). The Jesuits had been long-time insiders to the realm of Portuguese and Spanish culture; until their expulsion from Portugal in 1759 and from Spain in 1767, they were very active in schooling these countries' elites. The Jesuits obviously saw in the indigenous population of the Americas many potential converts, and they focussed on the teachings of the Catholic Church (LE ROUX et al., 2009, p. 43). The Jesuits swiftly imposed their monopoly over the spiritual life of the colony. Five years after their arrival, they established the first sugar plantation, and shortly thereafter they owned and operated several plantations, created in order to generate revenue needed to support their missions and schools among the indigenous population. They also maintained small plantations where the local native population lived under their direct protection and spiritual guidance (Le Roux, 1994). It is paradoxical that the Jesuit plantations in French Guiana employed enslaved Africans and their descendants to enrich the Society of Jesus, which supported missions among indigenous peoples so that, by their conversion, indigenous peoples would be free from slavery. The influence of the Jesuit congregation was felt over a large area of the Amazon Basin, extending as far as Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia. This larger area was referred to as the Mission Province. Located between the Spanish and Portuguese empires, the various Jesuit missions founded at the turn of the 17th century were the scene of clashes over control of the territory by slave traders from São Paulo who were eager to enslave the now-evangelized Guarani indigenous people (Acosta, 2016).

The Jesuits abided by the outcome of the Valladolid controversy, which centred on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the enslavement of Native peoples and argued that indigenous peoples of the Americas were entitled to their freedom (LAVALLÉ & COTTREL, 2007). Thirteen years before the controversy of Valladolid, in 1537, in the papal bull *Sublimis Deus* and in the letter *Veritas ipsa*, Pope Paul III had already condemned, officially, in the name of the Catholic Church, the enslavement of indigenous peoples. As a consequence, the Jesuits tried to maintain peaceful relations with the indigenous population of South America and to ensure that France would never submit them to slavery. Through the Jesuits' political manoeuvring, French settlers were denied access to large tracts of land that had been set aside for the protection of indigenous peoples and to prevent them from assimilating. "The desire to isolate Native people from what the Governor and the Jesuit themselves called, the rabble, led them to ask the Minister in 1729 for the concession of all properties of a vast area stretching from the Kourou to the Sinnamary River [...] in order to prevent any inhabitants to settle near Native settlements" (Hurault, 1972, p. 125-126). These efforts notwithstanding, several archival sources suggest that French colonists attempted to enslave indigenous peoples as recently as 1723 (CAOM, C14 R. 16 F. 435, 1723).

In comparison with other settlers, the Jesuits were wealthy and influential land owners with a measured contempt for the law. For example, contrary to what had been previously agreed upon, the sheer size of the Loyola plantation showed that they owned more land than 100 enslaved people could cultivate, and their property had several times the prescribed number of enslaved people, numbering close to 500 at the height of production (Le Roux et al., 2009, p. 43). Their plantation, known at one time as the largest producer of sugar in French Guiana, was founded in 1668 by the Jesuit Father Grillet, on a parcel of land the Jesuits had bought from the Vicomte de Quincy, to which they added another small property acquired from a Jewish landowner named Isaac Drague.

Within a short period of time, Loyola became a profitable enterprise, powered by the work of hundreds of enslaved men, women, and children of African origin. Under Jesuit rule, the plantation measured more than 1000 hectares, and at one point, nearly 500 enslaved people toiled there, under the supervision of a handful of missionaries. The 1734 census reveals that the Loyola plantation produced sugar, cocoa, and coffee. By this time, the production of indigo had already ceased. Under orders from Commander Philype Choisela, “114 Negroes and 85 black women” were at work, along with 47 “disabled.” Other personnel included “58 negroes and 59 négrittes,” for a total of 363 enslaved people. This comprehensive census also tells us that the Jesuits had 6 guns, numerous swords, and 186 canoes. Their livestock holdings were also impressive, including 75 horses, 111 cattle, 59 wool cattle (meaning sheep and goats), 9 pigs, and doves, the latter housed in a dovecote (CAOM, C14, R. 16 F. 417, 1737). Another document, dated 1764 and transcribed by Le Roux et al. (2009, p. 117-126), refers to a plantation staffed with 305 people and led by 2 commanders. The Jesuits generated wealth through the farming of sugar and coffee and the production of pottery and agrarian tools from their forge, which they sold to small-scale planters. All in all, Loyola was the largest and most important plantation in French Guiana, and profits from the enslaved craftsmanship and agricultural labour were a vital source of income to support the development of the Jesuits’ missions (Le Roux et al., 2009, p. 43).

Unlike other religious orders, and despite their low numbers, the Jesuits clearly played an important role in the economy of the colony. They totalled approximately 100 clergy members during the century which spanned their presence in French Guiana. Loyola was the only plantation with enough land to withstand a diversified economy; smaller plantations did not have the luxury of experimenting with marginal crops which were less profitable. Loyola also served as a place of rest and spiritual recovery for missionaries returning from their isolated missions in Amazonia.

Slavery and Memory in French Guiana

The memory of slavery in what were French possessions is a sensitive topic in both France and the Caribbean. France took a significant position when it adopted what is commonly known as the Taubira law, in 2001.[2] With the adoption of that law, the French Republic recognized that the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the Indian Ocean, the Americas, and the Caribbean constituted a crime against humanity. The second article of that law implied that the national school history curriculum must be restructured to reflect that reality and that research projects in various fields of the humanities must be developed in order to explore this aspect of French heritage. May 10th was proclaimed the annual day of commemoration of the 1848 abolition of slavery in the French colonies. Each May 10 since 2006, France and all of its overseas departments have commemorated the victims of the slave trade, slavery, and its aftermath.

However, the adoption of the Taubira law and the annual day of commemoration did not go as smoothly as had been hoped by the French Government. A few highly controversial events surrounding the adoption of the Taubira law are indicative of some of the emotions around the memory of slavery. The historian Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau (2004a, 2004b) openly criticized the text of the Taubira law. In 2006, following the serving of a summons to Pétré-Grenouilleau, a group of historians under the banner "Freedom for history" demanded the repeal of the law and of other so-called memorial laws. Other organizations have called for the repeal of the section of the law concerning the teaching of the history of slavery[3]

Despite the polemics surrounding its adoption, the law was maintained, as was the memorial day. Tools to develop awareness – such as museums, tourism visits to places of memory,

2 Loi n° 2001-434 du 21 mai 2001 tendant à la reconnaissance de la traite et de l'esclavage en tant que crime contre l'humanité. www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000405369

3 Histoire coloniale et postcoloniale. L'appel des 19 historiens : "Liberté pour l'histoire !" http://histoirecoloniale.net/l-appel-des-19-historiens-Liberte.html .

commemoration days, and renewed school curricula – were introduced. Nonetheless, nearly 20 years after the adoption of the Taubira law, the memory of slavery remains a sensitive issue, and tangible actions towards reconciliation remain to be seen in many places.

Until recently, aside from the monument erected in 1897 dedicated to the memory of Victor Schoelcher, who signed the 1848 decree for the abolition of slavery, French Guiana had only one other monument dedicated to the memory of slavery. In 2008, in the wake of the movement for national awareness, the monument *The Maroons of Freedom* was inaugurated by local authorities. The work, by artist Lobie Cognac, represents a couple resisting oppression.

At the inauguration of the statue, the artist said about his bronze that the attainment of this work is a symbol of the essential historical perspective and for the construction of a regional identity capable of uniting all components of the French Guiana community. For his part, the president of the region, Antoine Karam, wrote words that translate as follows: The duty of memory that I claim from tangible physical signs for all Guyanese is designed to assemble all; be they progressive, humanist or democrats committed to the empowerment of man and the universal values of dignity, respect and justice for all. [...] French Guiana authority had the duty to erect a memorial in the name of all. He also said that in doing so, French Guiana's population has a memorial place which speaks to its present and its future.[4] In my opinion, it is unfortunate that the above dedication by Karam avoids stating that the collective memory for many in French Guiana is rooted in its colonial history; enslavement took a heavy toll on the population’s collective memory. It is in this socio-political context that we have been doing archaeology at the Loyola plantation.

4 Excerpts from the papers read at the inauguration of the *Statue des Marrons de la liberté* in French Guiana, in 2008, translated by the author.

Our Motivation to Develop a Memorial Space at the Loyola Plantation

In the midst of the debate around the Taubira law, I asked myself a difficult question: How should we go about remembering the past when working in a country where racial tensions have many facets of which an outsider has no personal experience, one of them being the painful period of slavery in the colonial period?

We had reasoned that the Loyola plantation, built by the enslaved people toiling on the plantation, could become a tangible memorial to present to the Guyanese citizenry and a tool to link the population’s history to the egalitarian values and ideals they struggle for today. However, the locals’ attitude to our excavation work at the Loyola plantation until 2012 can best be described as apparent indifference. While the local descendant communities are fully aware of France’s colonial hold on their ancestors, they seem doubtful of the notion of studying their own past through archaeology. I ask myself why.

“Whose responsibility is it to bring back the memory of enslavement?” you may legitimately ask. Although enslavement is at the root of French Guiana’s population, archaeological research on slavery is not the result of concern expressed by local descendant communities, for reasons that may be disturbing to read. We work in a social context where the local population has not yet claimed its past, much like the situation that the American scholars Theresa Singleton and Charles Orser (2003) experienced in their attempts to link people with their pasts. As was the case in other regions, the official memory of that period of French history has been lost or, perhaps deliberately, ignored by the community, and until recently there was little interest in the past. What is the mechanism behind this? What has created such alienation in French Guiana?

I argue that this state of affairs may have its roots in the overseas department’s policies towards archaeological practices and lukewarm interest with regard to the colonial past. Until 10 years ago, when the situation changed dramatically, the archeology of the colonial period in French Guiana, similar to that of the broader

Caribbean region, was undertaken by only a handful of dedicated researchers. Moreover, archeological research on the colonial and modern periods in mainland France received little interest among scholars. André Delpuech (2001, p. 24) has mentioned that, until recently, people who worked on historical structures simply cleared them to in order to perhaps open them to the public, but little attention was paid to their contextual history. In the opening pages of a recent publication, Journot and Bellan (2011, p. 11) have suggested that, nowadays, archaeologists seek to understand the relationships between societies and their environment, the establishment of habitats in the landscape, and the history of technology in its relationship with culture (translation by the author). This statement suggests a shift in the practice of archaeology in France.

But the history of French archaeology may not be the only reason for the relative lack of interest in their history among descendant communities in French Guiana. I posit that this state of affairs may also have its roots in the lingering discomfort among the local people about the ravages of slavery. Being the product of an unsettling past, the local people may use their lack of interest as a means of protecting themselves. This hypothesis originates from a situation I experienced while teaching at the National State University of Haiti, the first Black republic that freed itself from the grapnel of slavery, in 1804, and where people have asked that we do archaeology on their sugar plantations, which I understand to be important places in voodoo rituals.

Our Intervention to Create a Memorial Space at the Loyola Plantation

Recognition of the interaction sphere between religion and agricultural production through death and sanctity would be a first step towards reconciliation among the diverse cultures that constitute French Guianese society today. Having worked in other areas of the plantation for 20 years, we therefore decided to shift our focus to the cemetery. We also decided that the creation of a space to discuss history at a distance from the political debate would bring awareness that there exists a story, a parallel historical narrative about enslavement, which has been marginalized by the dominance of France’s national history.

We opened the first test trenches at the Loyola cemetery in 2012. Our excavations in 2013–2014 have allowed us to identify more than 40 burial pits (Houle Wierzbicki & Le Roux, 2014; 2015; Loyer Rousselle et al., 2015). Some of them overlapped, and at times the edges of the burials were impossible to determine because of multiple reuse of the same space. Their shape, size, and depth varied, suggesting that perhaps both adults and children and both free and enslaved peoples were buried there. The written sources refer to a sacred place dedicated to the burial of children (HOULE WIERZBICKI & LE ROUX, 2014, p. 76), and we did find small pits that may have been used for the interment of children; however, these were distributed among graves clearly tailored for adults. The fact that we have been unable to precisely identify any spatial patterning of the burials has limited our interpretations.

The few objects found inside the pits include fragments of French faïence, coarse earthenware, and dark green French glass, all identical and contemporary to other material culture found on the plantation. The ceramic sherds are either too small or too fragmentary to serve a utilitarian purpose; we therefore assume their presence may represent mortuary offerings. Other graves contained specific objects that may relate to the paraphernalia usually associated with burials. These include a small copper crucifix, a silver ring, and a few glass beads. The number of beads recovered is too small to allow us to determine whether they were used as adornment. One burial pit contained several nails forming a rectangular pattern suggestive of the outline of a coffin, which is perhaps an indication of social stratification on the plantation, as most individuals were likely just placed in the burial pit wrapped in a shroud.

A further indicator used to determine the extent of the burial ground is the alignment of what seems to be post moulds. At 20–30 cm in diameter and oriented East–West, these “post moulds” occurred at regular intervals (1.70 m) and all reached a similar depth. Are these the remains of wooden post holes to mark burials, or traces of posts forming a fence? The latter is seemingly the most logical interpretation since they are found at regular intervals.

In marked contrast to the indifferent attitudes towards our research when we worked in other parts of the Loyola plantation, the positive interest we received when we started to work on the cemetery was a revelation. Visitors became engaged with our work on the cemetery, and we saw in their unexpected and enthusiastic interest a possibility to use the sanctity of the cemetery as a focal point to articulate the interpretation of our work for the public.

If we accept the premise that public interpretation is important, we need to ask ourselves “What can we do to make a meaningful interpretation of our results?” We felt that showing broken pot sherds and restored walls to the public was simply not good enough. When we began to explain that 1000 people of diverse origins – enslaved people, native people, landowners, and missionaries – were all buried in the same space within the site, visitors started to pay attention.

Having collected information and artefacts from the cemetery to make the link between agricultural production and religion, we then moved on to creating a physical space for people to talk about history. We decided to force a dialogue by using the cemetery as a memorial space, aiming to open up a discussion on history in general and to shed light on an aspect of the unwritten history of France and Guiana in particular. In 2015, to avoid a lengthy administrative debate, without asking for permission from government authorities, we erected a calvary cross in the middle of the cemetery (Figure 2), in the location in which such a cross is depicted in the 1730 illustration of the plantation (Figure 3). Planting a cross, a simple but powerful structure, has attracted visitors to identify with the lieu and to adopt it as a place to congregate in order to talk about history.

Figure 2

The calvary cross erected in the cemetery of the plantation in 2017 in order to create a memorial space.

Figure 3

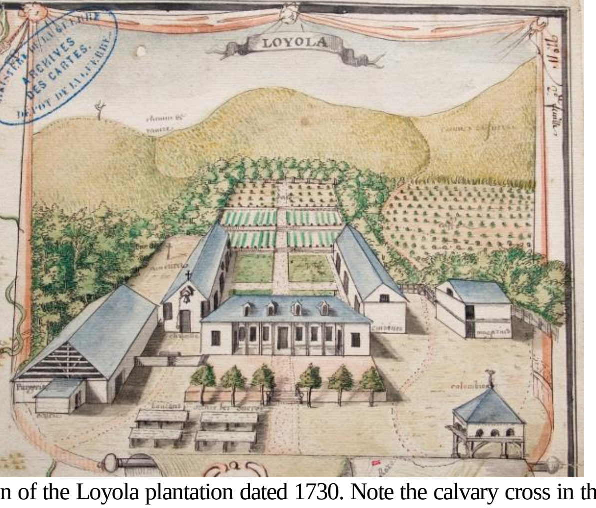


Illustration of the Loyola plantation dated 1730. Note the calvary cross in the centre of the cemetery, in the left-centre portion of the image (Vincennes, SHAT, 8 F 62).

Reactions from the authorities were swift. The concrete poured to keep the cross upright had not yet set when the owner of the land received a letter from the regional director of archaeology Affairs inviting us to dismantle the cross immediately to avoid a €3500 fine – an order with which we complied. The director's words translate as follows:

> acknowledge receipt of your letter and I invite you to proceed with the removal of the cross as soon as possible. We do not question the relevance or the appropriateness of such an approach, but rather the regulatory instruction of a file, in strict compliance with the law […]. We cannot act, in the name of heritage conservation in the context of more or less complacent building permits and accept the use of concrete on significant sites by the defenders of heritage that we support and accompany, to free themselves from the laws and regulations.[5]

Discussion

After we realized that the excavation of the plantation itself did not resonate with the local population, we conceived our archaeological interventions in the cemetery in order to make visible the thread between the colonial period and contemporary society and to revive the past, weaving a historical web that, we hope, will shed light on the sobering effects of the colonial period. The results of our investigations in the cemetery have all the characteristics and potential to be used as a commemorative space to address the memory of slavery and its long-term effects on national identity (Figure 4).

5 Excerpt from a letter written on September 1, 2015, by Paul Léandri, Director of the Service régional de l'archéologie, to Conservatoire du littoral, owner of the land. Translation by the author.

Figure 4

In 2017, around 10,000 people visited the Loyola plantation, which has now started to play its role as a memorial space promoting discussions about history.

The locals' reaction to our work in Guiana prompted several questions: Have the descendants of the enslaved in French Guiana really thrown off the yoke of slavery and colonialism? Is the relative lack of interest by the descendant population *vis-à-vis* its history a reflection of apathy towards the colonial question? Or, as I suggest above, is their relative lack of interest a means of protecting themselves?

It is our belief that our excavations and study of the cemetery could help address a chapter of colonial history which has apparently been voluntarily ignored by the population of French Guiana. The development of a place for remembrance at the burial ground of the plantation, where enslaved people, Native people, and white settlers are buried, could provide an opportunity to restore a sense of history and allow for the development of an identity among the Guyanese population which will necessarily be different from the identity presented in official histories.

We believe that by rooting our action directly in memorial history, we recognize the Loyola plantation as a place to celebrate the abolition of slavery and to encourage the people of French Guiana to take ownership of their past and use it as a tool to understand their present. However, such action must be done in a collaborative manner, in consultation with the population, and not imposed upon them. Using archaeology as a teaching tool could act as the foundation for the construction of a symbol of regional cultural identity capable of uniting all components of French Guianese society.

Using Loyola and its cemetery would be a first step because, to our knowledge, colonial plantations in the Caribbean have not previously been used to document the lives and deaths of its residents with specific reference to slavery. Such action would also allow the population of French Guiana to capture the essence of a colonial enterprise – and the role it still plays in shaping current ways of life.

Acknowledgments

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ARCHAEOLOGY, MATERIAL CULTURE, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN BRAZIL

Arqueologia, cultura material e inclusão social no Brasil

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ABSTRACT

Heritage is a most controversial subject. It may be considered a way of upholding received wisdom and traditional mores, but it may also be considered a potent way of challenging established ideas and practices and fostering critical thinking and action. It all depends on the stand we take about heritage. The aim of this paper is to discuss the second perspective: the authors focus on three case studies in Brazil to argue that material culture, when understood in a progressive way, can promote social inclusion and community empowerment.

Keywords: Public archaeology, heritage, social inclusion

RÉSUMÉ

Le patrimoine est un sujet complexe. Il peut être considéré comme un moyen de transmettre des savoirs ou connaissances morales, tout comme il peut se révéler être un instrument de premier plan pour remettre en cause des pratiques et des idées toutes faites, générant dans le même temps une action et une pensée critique. Tout dépend de la manière dont on aborde le patrimoine. L'objectif principal de cet article est justement

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d'aborder cette question de diversité d'approches, en étudiant les significations de la seconde perspective sur le patrimoine : les auteurs y discutent trois études de cas au Brésil pour soutenir l'idée que la culture matérielle, quand elle est pensée de manière progressive, peut promouvoir l'inclusion sociale et l'empowerment.

Mots-clés: archéologie publique, patrimoine, inclusion sociale

RESUMO

Patrimônio é um tema complexo. Pode ser considerado uma maneira de transmitir sabedorias ou ensimanento morais, mas também pode se tornar instrumento importante para desafiar ideias e práticas estabelecidas, provocando o pensamento crítico e a ação. Tudo depende de como entedemos o que é patrimônio. O objetivo central desse artigo é discutir exatamente essa questão, explorando os significados dessa segunda perspectiva: os autores discutirão três estudos de caso no Brasil para arugumentar que cultura material, quando entendida de maneira mais progressiva, pode promover inclusão social e empoderamento.

Palavras-chave: Arqueologia pública, patrimônio, inclusão social

Introduction

The notion that the past needs to be conserved for the benefit of future generations is well known in different disciplines, such as archaeology or heritage management. As a result, traditionally, cultural heritage – tangible or intangible – was considered a source of national or ethnic identity and social cohesion. Archaeology and heritage thus were often used for the purposes of conserving the status quo. A glimpse at pictures of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt convinces us that archaeology started as a military endeavour linked to nationalism and imperialism, as was proposed by the Canadian archaeologist Bruce G. Trigger (1984) more than three decades ago. What a contrast to compare those images with recent ones, showing hands-on archaeological activities and community involvement in Brazil. In Brazil, archaeology serves as a tool for social inclusion, enlightenment, and critical thinking and practices. Archaeology and heritage studies have thus come a long way, from conservatism and social exclusion to more inclusive and democratic practices and perspectives. We interpret modern history, and consequently archaeology, in a progressive way, from nationalism and imperialism to social inclusion and democracy, even if we do not shy away from the contradictions and perils inherent in modernity as destruction (GONZALES-RUIBAL 2008) and narrow-minded nationalism and xenophobia. These are important issues and we are also uncertain about what the futre will bring. However, we consider that the past 200 years in general, and the most recent decades in particular, witnessed a growing awareness of diversity and justice as key values (FUNARI 2009; LITTLE 2009). Women's and feminist perspectives, for instance, are particularly meaningful in challenging social relations and scholarly practices, as is a historical approach.

In this paper,[1] we argue that recognizing present challenges, especially the rights of communities to manage their cultural properties and create their own narratives of the past, can be important tools for local empowerment and new narratives of the past. Worldwide, archaeology has contributed to new practices, particularly since the establishment of the World Archaeological Congress in 1986, when indigenous peoples, ordinary citizens, and scholars from different backgrounds began interacting more regularly. Brazil has been a very active participant in this innovative approach, at least in part because the concept of learning with the people was fostered by the Brazilian education scholar and practitioner Paulo Freire (1967; 1996). Our case studies deal with two institutions in Brazil, involved in two projects: one in Campinas (southeastern Brazil) and the other in Curitiba (southern Brazil). Both of them deal with archaeology, material culture, and heritage in a progressive way, aiming at social inclusion and the education of citizens who are critical and open to diversity and respect for differences.

1 Parts of this paper were originally presented at the 2016 conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, held in Montréal, Canada. In light of the new partnership between the Museo Paranaense and Universidade Federal do Paraná, established in 2017, we have updated some of the information and analysis presented at the conference.

A Historical Approach and the Brazilian Context

According to Bruce Trigger, “A historical approach offers a special vantage point from which the changing relations between archaeological interpretation and its social and cultural milieu can be examined” (1990: 4). In this section, we will situate the context of archaeology in Brazil.

Brazil is a huge country, with an area of 8,514,877 km^2, twice that of the European Union (4,324,782 km^2). It has a population of more than 190 million and a GDP of $2.493 trillion USD. The number of practising archaeologists is difficult to establish, but whereas it was a few hundred 20 years ago, the number is now probably in the thousands, with most of them working in cultural resource management (SCHAAN & BEZERRA DE ALMEIDA, 2009).

Funari and Garraffoni (2016: 282-286) have recently pointed out that archaeology started earlier in Brazil than it did in most parts of Latin America. The Portuguese crown decided to move the capital of colonial power from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. When the Portuguese regent, the future Pedro I declared Brazil independent from Portugal in 1822, he also established Brazilian archaeology, importing archaeological artifacts from other countries, such as Egyptian mummies (FUNARI & FUNARI, 2010). Archaeology flourished in the independent colony, the Empire of Brazil (1822–1889), under the rule of Pedro I and his son, Pedro II. It is important to emphasize that the imperial thrust was followed by a deep *horror indigenae* – indigenous people had a minor role to play in the early nationalistic politics, relegating archaeology to a most humble endeavour. In the 1930s, nationalism gave a new impetus to history and heritage: the colonial ideal and the indigenous past became relevant and served to build the nation. The colonial period (ending in 1889) became the main period to define Brazilian society, particularly during the fascist New State dictatorship period (1937–1945), and archaeology, as a scholarly endeavour, started during this period as a reaction against this move (FUNARI, 1999).

Paulo Duarte (1899–1984) was a key figure (FUNARI & SILVA, 2007) as a democratic political activist during the later years of the oligarchic republic, when he contributed to the founding of the first Brazilian university, the University of São Paulo (1934), modelled on a humanist approach to scholarship. But Duarte did not tolerate the country's dictatorial rule (1937–1945), preferring exile. During this period, his humanist ideals led him to American and French anthropology and to the struggle for human rights, particularly those of indigenous peoples. The Musée de l'Homme in Paris served as the model for considering indigenous peoples to be of equal importance to any other humans. Upon returning to Brazil, Duarte spearheaded a movement for Amerindian rights; as a consequence, prehistoric and humanist archaeology flourished during the liberal period (1945–1964). Thanks to his efforts and to allies engaged in similar pursuits, the Brazilian Congress approved the first and only law protecting archaeological remains, in 1961. However, the country would suffer under military rule for 21 long years (1964–1985), and humanism, prehistory, and archaeology were direly affected. Soon after the military coup, a national archaeological study program, titled Programa Nacional de Pesquisas Arqueológicas (Pronapa), was set up to initiate an archaeological survey across the country. The survey focused on militarily strategic areas and contributed to the effort to maintain Brazilian sovereignty during the Cold War. The empirical and theoretical tenets of ProNaPA were highly reactionary and anti-humanist, promoting the concept that native peoples were lazy and were responsible, in part, for the poor economic conditions of the country (NOELLI & FERREIRA, 2007). The survey commenced in 1965, and it moved to the Amazon basin in 1970, when guerillas were fighting against the dictatorship. During the long dictatorial rule, which hindered freedom and humanism, a network of archaeologists brought up in those dire circumstances shaped the practice of archaeology. The country also faced a wave of persecution, exile, killing, and missing people (FUNARI, 1994).

The restoration of civilian rule (1985), the new constitution (1988), and the transfer of power to states and municipalities led to new developments in academia in general and had a positive influence on archaeology. The new democratic constitution established a series of general principles related to environmental and heritage protection and thus concerned archaeology in new and revolutionary ways. Consequently, archaeology is now a practice reaching all 27 states and the Federal District of the Union, and it is a highly popular endeavour, as attested by its presence in a number of publications available in newsstands all over the country.

This leads us to public archaeology, a relatively recent field in the discipline worldwide, but one in which Brazil has been at the forefront (FUNARI & BEZERRA, 2012). Public archaeology is the direct result of awareness of the political character of the discipline. It has been shown that archaeology is as much the study of power as it is the study of the past, as stressed by Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley (1987). This reversal of meaning of the discipline has caused a sea change: from the study of the past to the study of the present, from remembrance to reenactment. It is beyond dispute that archaeology has been a dream-driven endeavour from the start, a unique way of voyaging in time and in space, and this is still the most enticing aspect of the discipline. The practice of public archaeology is thus a consequence of the realization by scholars that scholarly disciplines, including archaeology, are relevant to the present and to contemporary social issues. Public archaeology has been a growing pursuit worldwide since the 1990s, and it has developed quickly in Brazil in the past few years. School kids, the wider adult population, maroon populations, and indigenous populations have not just been put into contact with archaeology, but have helped forge the discipline itself.

The interaction of archaeologists with ordinary people aims at producing scholarship relevant to society at large as well as specific groups. Brazil, along with other countries in Latin America, such as, notably, Cuba, Mexico, and Colombia, is characterized by its cultural diversity, comprising indigenous peoples; European colonists of a variety of origins; peoples of African descent; as well as populations from Japan, China, the Middle East, and beyond. Every human society is multiethnic and mixed, but Latin American ones are particularly so, and the Brazilian one no less than any other. One of the results of this is the fact that, considering their variety, interaction with the people may prove epistemologically enriching. This was the stand spearheaded by Paulo Freire, so that learning with the common people was understood as being important for scholarship. Brazilian archaeology has used this epistemological position in its development of public archaeology (BEZERRA, 2012; EREMITES DE

OLIVEIRA, 2005; FUNARI et al., 2007; GREEN et al., 2010; OLIVEIRA and FUNARI, 2011).

Social Inclusion through Archaeology

As Little (2007) has already pointed out, the past is an important aspect of modern life. If what we learn from history can shape our lives, it is then urgent to discuss our attitudes towards the past. Little also argued that it is possible to use material culture as a glimpse into human history and as a tool to promote hope and thereby renew our present. It is important to discuss difficult or traumatic elements of the past as a way to promote social justice or engagement in a common struggle that reach different marginalized social groups. To discuss denied, hidden, or distorted pasts will not give us harmonious narratives, but it will give more realistic and worthwhile references for communities' lives. Little (2007: 136) also stated that public archaeology should include archaeologists' collaborations within communities to increase the sense of social responsibility beyond professional self-interest, to support social engagement, and to promote civic renewal. Although she refers to the American experience, this perspective can be an important means with which to think about social justice, Brazilian history and our difficult past. Brazilian public archaeology should be a powerful tool to express diversity and express the complexity of the past, which was denied or silenced during different authoritarian periods.

The case studies we shall focus on are examples of how public archaeology and engaged museology can play an important role for social and political empowerment, help us to construct new ways to learn from the past, and create more inclusive paths for the future. They also emphasize that interdisciplinarity and social responsibility are part of this process and that public discussion of how we commemorate the past allows us to create more positive contributions for future generations. To discuss those issues, we shall focus on case studies we have been working on for the past few years:

the Laboratorio de Arqueología Pública/Public Archaeology Laboratory at a state university, the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (usually referred to as UNICAMP), and the partnership between a federal university, Universidade Federal do Paraná (usually referred to as UFPR), and a state museum, the Museo Paranaense.

The Public Archaeology Laboratory

At UNICAMP, located in southeastern Brazil, a social inclusion program has been created. The Public Archaeology Laboratory has been developing activities with high school students since 2013. Brazilian education is imbalanced, as most of the pupils go to free public schools, while the middle and upper echelons have access to a much better education by paying to attend private schools. To help remedy this appalling situation, UNICAMP has established several programs to foster social inclusion. Sometimes other scholarly agencies, such as the Brazilian science foundation, Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Cientifico e Tecnologico (known by the acronym CNPq), also support social inclusion programs. One of the programs, encourages the best pupils in free high schools in Campinas, a city with more than one million inhabitants, to participate in laboratories and research centers at the university (MORAES & ALMEIDA, 2016).

The Public Archaeology Laboratory program encourages pupils to explore archaeology as a way of understanding the world in its materiality. This engagement also fosters a critical understanding of archaeology. The laboratory has also included those same pupils in another program, sponsored again by the Brazilian Science Foundation, to produce a booklet for children about archaeology, explaining its scope, subjects, and goals. This program produced an innovative book for children, which were then used in several schools in different states of the country. The booklet was published in paper in two editions and is available free of charge for download.[2] Several

2 The authors may be contacted for a copy of this or it can be downloaded at the following address: https://www.academia.edu/28968822/Arqueologia_uma_atividade_divertida_-_Edi%C3%A7%C3%A3o_Zanettini_2016_e_Onze_mil_anos_em_S%C3%A3o_Manuel_-_Zanettini

good references to activities in schools that involve use of the book attest to its success.[3]

The booklet, *Arqueologia: uma atividade muito divertida* (*tr.* archaeology: a fun activity), presents archaeology as the study of the material world, from the past to the present. It includes among its topics underwater sites, fieldwork, laboratory analysis and storage, museum exhibits, the first inhabitants of the country, extinct fauna, rock art, lithics, pottery, metallurgy, museums, maroons, and repression and resistance during dictatorships. It also addresses what to do when someone finds archaeological remains, how to study archaeology, and where do practice it, as well as the professional perspectives. It includes a word on three inspiring archaeologists and humanists: Vere Gordon Childe, Peter Ucko, and the Brazilian pioneer Paulo Duarte. The book concludes by inviting children to draw in the book itself inspired by what they read and did, as well as to participate in practice of archaeology.

It is worth mentioning that the volume mentions and encourage the participation of local communities, so that it presents archaeology as an activity for everybody in order to promote universal human values. The inclusion of a disabled person among the archaeologists signals that there are no barriers for those wishing to take part. Several of those features are new in Brazil, for there has a perception that archaeology is for a few people, possibly rich, and that it does not deal with issues that are relevant for society. The book teaches that rock art is not only beautiful, but also proof that indigenous peoples in what is now Brazil produced culture and that indigenous peoples are not barbarians. Exploitation, inequality, and the struggle against it is present in the archaeology of maroons and of repression and resistance. By including Childe, Ucko, and Duarte as role models, the book indicates that archaeologists may be interested in social justice, contrary to the common perception of them as imperialist agents and upper crust adventurers. This is particularly relevant in the Brazilian context of past use of archaeology for authoritarian and conservative tenets and practices. The laboratory

3 http://www.unicamp.br/unicamp/noticias/2014/10/21/lap-lanca-livro-infantil-abordando-arqueologia; http://www.unifal-mg.edu.br/comunicacao/projetoarqueologiaumaatividadedivertida

focus is on an inclusive approach and promoting a critical dialogue between community and university.

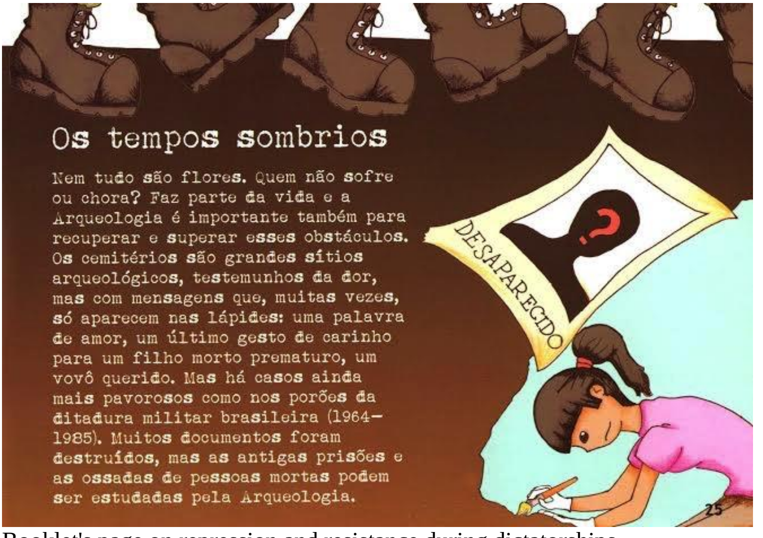
Figure 1

Dr. Maria Aparecida Almeida and pupils from public high schools at Campinas

Figure 2

Booklet's cover

Figure 3



Booklet's page on repression and resistance during dictatorships

The partnership between Universidade Federal do Paraná and Museu Paranaense

Feminist theory can be a powerful tool to challenge archaeologists to confront silences and exclusions. As Gilchrist (1999) has stated, archaeology has experienced a paradigm shift resulting from feminism: feminism heightened concern for the lack of publications by women and promoted gendered (or gender-aware) approaches to material culture. Despite these historic changes, the state-owned Museo Paranaense presented a male-centered narrative and display; women were misrepresented. In 2013, when one of us (RG) was head of the Programa de Educação Tutorial (*tr.* program for tutorial education), which encourage high achievement among undergraduate students,[4] she proposed to the museum's director, Renato Carneiro, Jr., a partnership involving the students of UFPR's Departamento de História, the Museo Paranaense, and the community

4 Garraffoni was the head of the program from September 2010 to August 2016; the partnership mentioned operated during 2013 and 2014.

to problematize the absence of women's history in the museum's exhibits.

Research was carried out over the course of 2014, and the students were encouraged to do research in the storage rooms, and they found a great diversity of material culture linked to elite women's daily lives—mainly clothes, shoes, hats, and bathing suits, but also baby clothes – from the end of the 19th century to the early 1960. All items were well preserved and represented different moments in elite women's lives: marriage, parties, motherhood, the baptism of a baby, and death. Our study of those moments and their meanings involved locating some of the donors or their families and interviewing them to understand why they had decided to donate those items to a state museum. We also organized a workshop, to which we invited Maria Claudia Bonadio (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora), who studies fashion and gender; the donors; and members of the general public. The encounter raised conflicting ideas and prompted a spirited discussion on memory and heritage.

The workshop was a success, and the community became interested in the subject. Encouraged by this progress, the museum's director decided to open a new wing dedicated to the industries that were important for the development of Paraná State. Tatiana Takatuzi, head of the museum's department of history, considered the Venske factory to be a crucial element in the state's past and proposed it as a topic of research to the students. The Venske factory produced ribbon and textiles throughout the 20th century, and women composed a majority of the factory labour force (BOSCHILIA, 2010). Including Venske in the museum's main exhibit became a starting point to discuss gender, labour, class, fashion, women's rights, and women's struggles. This new exhibit also challenged the students to go back to the museum storage room with another perspective, and they found different photos and documents of those women's lives which contrasted to indigenous textiles and material culture held in the Museum. This research showed us the diversity of material culture relating to women's daily lives in the city and traditional communities and allowed us to discuss heritage, cultural diversity, memory, and display.

Figure 4

Museu Paranaense's main exhibition – the Venske factory

After this experience and community feedback, Garraffoni realized that the museum could be an important place to discuss gender inequality in both the present and the past. Therefore, she, together with Dr. Priscila Piazentini Vieira, proposed a wider research project titled *Gênero e cultura material: A História das Mulheres no Museu Paranaense* (Gender and Material Culture: The History of Women at Paranaense State Museum). This new project was approved by the Proec (University council for culture), and it began in March 2017. It is a two-year program and has two main aims: research and public debate. The research will be led by Garraffoni and Vieira and a group of students, who will organize and classify the artifacts on women's history in the museum's storage rooms. Three main subjects will be considered: women's labour, art (the museum has a huge collection of works by women painters and of women's portraits that have not yet been studied) and daily lives (clothing). Because neither scholars nor the community have any idea of the diversity of this material in the museum's storage rooms, the main goal of this new project is to share knowledge by organizing the material and publishing catalogues.

Regarding public debate, we have been promoting two different types of encounter. The one type has a more academic perspective. We invited colleagues to give talks on gender, feminism, memory, the history of women, and material culture for students and professors who had become interested in the project. These presentations were also an opportunity to engage the museum's staff with new approaches to the past; they could then use this information in the development of new exhibits. The other type of public debate is totally informal. We invited women from the community – photographers, artists, activists, and women from social movements that fight for civil rights – to discuss the role of the museum in society to fight gender inequality and promote social inclusion. Those debates started in April 2017 and are planned to take place twice a month for the rest of the year. The informal debates are well attended, with more than 50 persons in each session. These debates will provide the basis for us to organize the new exhibit in a way that considers the community's point of view and provides new narratives of women's pasts. Considering initial results, especially the critical approach from women who are activist in black movement, it is possible to argue that a sizeable gap exists between the white male–centered exhibits and the people who visit the museum. This realization challenged us to develop new perspectives on conservation and heritage management. Public archaeology became an important tool to reconstruct the links with the community and develop a more pluralist approach to the past and to women's history.

Discussion

In the 1970s, the Peruvian archaeologist Luís Lumbreras argued that archaeology has played a reactionary role and been a tool for oppression (Lumbreras 1974). However, archaeology has also been a tool for social inclusion and liberation in the world in general, and in Latin America most of all. This means we should foster awareness of critical issues related to the way we study and commemorate the past. The development of the field of archaeology in Brazil, for instance, has been marked by a number of peculiarities: it initially developed during the imperial period, and over the course of the 20th century it underwent both humanist and authoritarian phases. One legacy, that of Paulo Duarte, who resisted academic and political persecution, has inspired generations of archaeologists since the end of the 20th century. With the democratic opening of Brazil that began in 1985, Duarte's intellectual legacy inspired new approaches. With the concurrent development of public and post-processual Archaeology, the quest for more pluralist approaches to the past began to flourish throughout the nation. This development also promoted theoretical and methodological renewal, as well as increased public involvement.

The work targeting children and youth developed by the Public Archaeology Laboratory at the UNICAMP helps school children question the notion of archaeology as something pertaining to the world of adventure and the exotic and thereby enables them to understand the importance of material culture in constructing less normative notions of the past and a more pluralist present. The partnership between UFPR and Museo Paranaense shows how public archaeology is important for rethinking relations between an institution and a community and questioning memory and gender inequality. The experiences we have discussed here, albeit briefly, demonstrate how material culture is fundamental for empowerment, questioning the *status quo*, and aiding in the quest for more pluralist narratives of the past and, thereby, the construction of a more democratic and inclusive present. Our examples show that archaeological tools, both theoretical and methodological, are important for a more critical interpretation of the past. Multivocal history may not be harmonious, but debate is fundamental in order to build a different future. The initiatives of public archaeology illustrated by the case studies in this paper have thus been fostering social inclusion. The main goal is to promote justice and critical awareness (FUNARI, 2009). This is no simple task.

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DISCUSSION
ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES: A FORCE OF CHANGE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Discussão
Patrimônio arqueológico e comunidades locais: uma força de transformação no mundo contemporâneo

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ABSTRACT

The 2016 conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, held in Montréal, Canada, posed the question "What Does Heritage Change?" A session organized by Allison Bain and Réginald Auger focussed on archaeological aspects, under the title "What Does Heritage Change? Case Studies in Archaeology." Presented papers had an international scope but provided a common message: contemporary archaeology best serves humanity when governments protect archaeological sites with legislation, funding, and effective management; heritage ownership is acknowledged; community-based research is followed; and archaeologists become long-term partners with local communities. Archaeology can be a force of change in the contemporary world, especially to the health and well-being of local communities.

Keywords: community-based archaeology; Indigenous peoples; heritage management

RÉSUMÉ

Le congrès de l'Association of Critical Heritage Studies tenu à Montréal au Canada en 2016 posait la question suivante : « Qu'est-ce que le patrimoine change? » La séance intitulée «

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Qu'est-ce que le patrimoine change? Études de cas en archéologie», organisée par Allison Bain et Réginald Auger, se consacrait aux aspects archéologiques du patrimoine. Les conférences présentées, à portée internationale, avançaient toutes un message commun: l'archéologie contemporaine sert le mieux les besoins de l'humanité lorsque les gouvernements protègent les sites archéologiques par une législation, un financement et une gestion efficaces; lorsque la propriété du patrimoine est reconnue; lorsque la recherche communautaire est suivie; et lorsque les archéologues deviennent des partenaires à long terme des communautés locales. En ce sens, l'archéologie apporterait des changements bénéfiques dans le monde contemporain, en particulier pour la santé et le bien-être des communautés locales.

Mots-clés: Archéologie communautaire; peuples autochtones; gestion de patrimoine

RESUMO

A Conferência da Associação de Estudos Críticos de Patrimônio de 2016, ocorrida em Montreal, Canadá, colocou uma questão "O que o patrimônio muda?". A sessão organizada por Allison Bain e Réginald Auger teve como objetivo analisar os aspectos arqueológicos sob o título "O que o patrimônio muda? Estudos de caso na Arqueologia." Os artigos apresentados, de escopo internacional, passam uma mensagem comum: arqueologia contemporânea serve melhor a humanidade quando os governos protegem sítios arqueológicos com legislação, financiamento e gestão; quando a propriedade patrimonial é reconhecida; pesquisa comunitária é realizada; e quando arqueólogos estabelecem parcerias de longa duração com a comunidade local. Arqueologia pode se tornar um instrumento de mudança no mundo contemporâneo, em especial para o bem-estar das comunidades locais.

Palavras-chave: Arqueologia comunitária; população indígena; gestão de patrimônio

Introduction

Asking the question "What does archaeological heritage change?" is essentially the same as asking "What are the practical benefits of archaeology?" Aside from the obvious popular appeal of archaeology as a form of time travel to the past and the search for buried treasure, as captured in headline news stories, TV shows, National Geographic, and Hollywood films, the majority of people worldwide have received little benefit from the investigation and development of heritage sites, and a number of Indigenous and descendant communities see archaeology as cultural appropriation of and interference with their ancestors, history, identity, and collective rights (Chirikure et al., 2010; Dawdy, 2009; LaRoche, 2012; McNiven & Russell, 2005; Smith, 2006). These justifiable critiques are the cumulative result of archaeologists and related heritage institutions having claimed exclusive and privileged stewardship of archaeological heritage for more than a century and having ignored the local and descendant communities on whose lands the archaeological sites and remains are situated (Smith, 2006). Over the past three decades, however, archaeologists have adopted an ethical responsibility to local and descendant communities, both directly, in response to political action and new legislation requiring consultation with and involvement of the public and descendant communities in archaeological projects, and indirectly, in response to the neoliberal demand of governments and taxpayers for accountability (e.g., World Archaeological Congress http://worldarch.org/code-of-ethics/). Archaeologists are in the process of relinquishing their monopoly on archaeological heritage and engaging in public and community-based projects in close partnership with and for the benefit of the people, with a high degree of success (Atalay, 2012; Atalay et al., 2014; Colwell-Chanthaphonh & Ferguson, 2008; Little & Shackel, 2007; Lyons, 2013; LaRoche, 2012; Nicholas et al., 2011; Pratap, 2009; Schmidt & Pikirayi, 2017; Smith, 2006). Archaeology can be a force of change in the contemporary world, particularly at the local community level.

Archaeology is entering a new era, exemplified by the papers from the session "What Does Heritage Change? Case Studies in Archaeology," at the 2016 conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS). Presented papers had an international scope but provided a common message: contemporary archaeology best serves humanity when governments protect archaeological sites with legislation, funding, and effective management; ownership (control and stewardship) of heritage is shared equitably with local communities and put entirely in the hands of descendant communities (Zimmerman, 2013); community-based research is followed; and archaeologists become long-term partners with communities. Archaeology can be a force of change in the contemporary world, especially to the well-being and identity of local and descendant communities (Schaepe et al., 2017). The papers were published in two separate issues of this journal and all of the papers are bound together by two mutually reinforcing themes: ownership and management of archaeological heritage and public (community-based) archaeology.

Ownership and Management of Archaeological Heritage

Archaeological heritage in its raw state is embedded in the land. Modifying George Orwell's oft-cited quote from *1984*, "Who controls the past [...] controls the future: who controls the present controls the past," we can argue that who controls the land controls archaeological heritage, and who controls archaeological heritage controls the past and the future. In nation states without Indigenous populations (those in much of Europe, Asia, and Africa), archaeological heritage is managed and protected by the state for reasons of national interest (i.e., national identity and history). In colonial states (New Zealand, Australia, and states in the Americas and parts of the other continents) that assumed control of Indigenous lands, archaeological heritage privileges the history of the colonial power at the expense of Indigenous history. In both types of nation states, land is developed for private gain (e.g., housing, industry, forestry) and the public good (e.g., transportation and power corridors), and archaeological remains on the land are frequently salvage excavated to make way for the future. Until recently, nation states have had exclusive control over in-situ preservation or removal of archaeological heritage, sometimes taking into consideration the wishes of local and descendant communities. Globally, Indigenous communities, a special category of descendant communities, have had little control over the fate of their ancestral sites. However, the 2007 adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) affirmed that Indigenous peoples have an inherent right to maintain, protect, and develop their archaeological heritage; the declaration thereby challenges state ownership or control of Indigenous heritage (Warrick, 2017).

Archaeological heritage is typically protected and managed by nation states through legislation. From a Western perspective, cultural heritage in general is considered the property of humanity (e.g., UNESCO) or a nation because it represents human achievement and links the present to the past, which is a pillar of national identity. In most nation states, archaeological sites and remains are legally the property of the state and protected from destruction by land development or looting. As state property, archaeological heritage is carefully managed by government and professional archaeologists. Access to archaeological sites and remains is legally restricted and in the hands of government bureaucrats (e.g., planners), trained archaeologists, and museum curators. In the context of land development, archaeological sites are evaluated for their contribution to knowledge of the past. Only archaeological sites deemed to be regionally, nationally, or internationally significant (i.e., old, authentic, grand, and monumental, to use terms from the "authorized heritage discourse" [Smith, 2006]) are protected from land development and preserved as national treasures. Laurajane Smith (2004, 2006) and John Carman (2005) have characterized contemporary state-managed archaeology as Orwellian, serving the dominant political structure and elites and excluding the average citizen.

Most archaeological sites threatened by land development are excavated in the context of cultural resource management (CRM). Globally, CRM archaeology constitutes well over 90% of all archaeological survey and excavation (Williamson, 2018). Prior to the 1990s, there was little opportunity for involvement of local or descendant communities in CRM. In fact, CRM archaeology has been labelled capitalist archaeology (La Salle & Hutchings, 2012; McGuire, 2008) because it is driven by public- and private-sector land development, facilitated by the government (in order to promote the economy), and carried out by private sector archaeologists (seeking gainful employment). CRM archaeology seldom includes local or descendant communities, except for Indigenous peoples in some nation states. Archaeological heritage and expressed community value for that heritage rarely result in a stop to development.

However, while archaeological heritage is tightly controlled by the state, archaeological remains are tied to a place and mean the most to the local community living on or near them. Indigenous communities claim ownership of archaeological sites in their traditional territories, supplanting claims of nation states. In nations such as Canada, Indigenous sites and artifacts constitute more than 85% of significant archaeological remains and cover the landscape, but more than 99% of archaeologists are non-Indigenous and more than 90% of the archaeology is CRM (Williamson, 2018). In the course of land development, archaeological sites are identified and, typically, excavated to make way for construction. Better protection of archaeological heritage from land development should be the goal of every nation state, especially those with Indigenous communities.

One clear example of inadequate protection of archaeological heritage (particularly Indigenous) is the province of Québec, Canada. The province has a rich archaeological record, but the majority of archaeological work is conducted on previously known sites in the course of land or tourism development (CRM) (Desrosiers, 2018; Moss, 2018; Savard & Beaudry, this volume). Heritage legislation in Québec privileges protection and tourism of historically important French colonial sites, especially in UNESCO-designated Quebec City, at the expense of Indigenous sites, effectively ignoring the heritage of Indigenous communities and highlighting Québécois heritage (Moss, 2018). In fact, Québec heritage legislation generally does not require archaeologists to examine a development property to find sites. If the site has not been previously reported and is not already included on a plan or has no visible ruins, it is not systematically checked or surveyed for the presence of sites as required in other jurisdictions. Note in this context that almost all Indigenous archaeological sites in Québec have no visible surface indication (Desrosiers, 2018; Moss, 2018). Fortunately, some Indigenous nations in Québec, such as the Huron-Wendat (Hawkins & Lesage, this volume; Lesage, personal communication 2018) and the Waban-Aki (Treyvaud et al., 2018), have partnered with university research archaeologists to undertake their own archaeological surveys in an effort to demarcate ancestral territories, travel routes, and land use patterns, indigenizing and decolonizing the Québec landscape in the process.

Archaeological heritage in modern states is managed for the public good, but this management often does not serve the best interests of local communities and can sometimes displace and harm community members. Normally, the key stakeholders in the management of archaeological heritage are government, private developers, tourists, and local and descendant communities. In addition, international pressure can be brought to bear on nation states to preserve and develop tourist potential of highly significant archaeological sites, especially those worthy of designation by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites. An excellent example of win-win archaeological research and development is Patara, in western Turkey (Tanaka, 2018). Patara is an ancient city with standing ruins on the shores of the Mediterranean. Local residents were initially opposed to archaeologists excavating the site because it was declared a highly significant heritage site by the Turkish government, hindering their livelihood and prohibiting land development. However, the uncovering of Patara and the rustic, undeveloped nature of the local community became tourist attractions. The local residents now embrace archaeology as a contributor to their economic sustainability (Tanaka, 2018). Another success story in research and development of archaeological heritage is the case of Ferryland. Barry Gaulton and other archaeologists and students from Memorial University, Newfoundland, have conducted community-based research with the residents of Ferryland, formerly a cod fishing community that experienced economic disaster with the closure of the fishery in 1992. Spanning two decades, archaeological research at Ferryland, one of the first English colonies in North America, has involved community members in fieldwork, museum, interpretive events, and tourism, not only revitalizing the local economy, but instilling the importance of archaeological heritage in future generations (Gaulton & Rankin, this volume).

Unfortunately, not all archaeological heritage development benefits communities economically. Local communities can be seriously harmed by archaeological site development when they are not included as equal partners with the state and its heritage institutions. In China, for example, world-class archaeological sites are managed by multiple levels of government or museums, in a complex spider web of interconnected and overlapping responsibilities, with little regard for the lives of local residents. Residents near internationally significant sites are relocated without fair compensation and rarely benefit from tourism. Funding is inadequate, and some sites are maintained through ticket sales (Wang and Nakamura, 2018). Wang and Nakamura (2018) suggest that development and interpretation of significant large-scale archaeological properties is best achieved by committees whose members are archaeologists and both government and local authorities. They also note that educational and economic benefits must be provided to the local community. Another example of local residents being harmed by archaeological site development is Luxor, Egypt (Hesham & Baller, 2018). The Egyptian temples and sphinx-lined avenue of ancient Thebes are a UNESCO site, and increased tourism development is planned. Sadly, this site has a long history of displacing local residents and preventing them from participating in the local economy. Medieval-era buildings and homes are being demolished to enable the construction of modern hotels and an IMAX theatre. No heritage impact assessment has been carried out on the physical, socio-cultural, economic, and environmental problems created by tourism development of the archaeological site. Hesham and Baller (2018) recommend that development of ancient Thebes must engage and benefit local residents as full partners, minimizing relocations and increasing economic and cultural life, as well as avoid environmental and economic damage. Heritage impact assessments must become a standard feature of developing internationally important archaeological sites as tourist destinations.

Community-based Archaeology

Community-based archaeology or community-oriented archaeology is a subset of the more encompassing public archaeology. Broadly speaking, public archaeology “is any endeavour in which archaeologists interact with the public, and any research (practical or theoretical) that examines or analyses the public dimensions of doing archaeology" (McDavid & Brock, 2015:165) or "practice and scholarship where archaeology meets the world" (Moshenska 2017, p. 3). The international journal *Public Archaeology* publishes papers that address "archaeological and heritage issues as they relate to the wider world of politics, ethics, government, social questions, education, management, economics and philosophy." For the purposes of this discussion, public archaeology will be more narrowly defined as archaeology done collaboratively and ethically with stakeholders (government, private sector, local and descendant communities, and archaeologists) that provides real benefits to as many people as possible. In this sense, public archaeology is about social justice and making change in the world. It is best achieved by practicing archaeology in close collaboration with local and/or descendant communities, empowering those communities to lend their voice to the archaeological process and end products, and disseminating the results of the archaeological work to as broad a public as possible (McDavid & Brock, 2015; Richardson & Almansa-Sánchez, 2015).

Community-based archaeology is public archaeology in which archaeologists and local and/or descendant communities work together equitably in some form of archaeological practice ranging "from the pursuit of intentional research partnerships to the (often) more circumscribed consultations that arise from commercial development, government practice, resource management by Indigenous communities, and other contexts" (Lyons & Blair, 2018). Community-based archaeology offers a direct challenge to state control of archaeology because it puts archaeology in the hands of a local or descendant community that rightfully claims control or ownership of its ancestral past (Marshall, 2002). Community-based archaeological projects are collaborative and participatory-action oriented, and most often with descendant communities (Atalay, 2012; Colwell, 2016).

Community-based archaeology in Brazil is an excellent example of archaeology as a form of empowerment of previously oppressed or marginalized peoples and as a tool of social justice, through the righting of the wrongs of the past. Brazilian archaeology honours the multicultural history and citizenry, and local communities are regularly involved. Since the establishment of democracy in 1985, Brazilian archaeologists have been educating the general populace about the importance of archaeology and reinforcing this through community-based projects. Garraffoni et al. (this volume) provide a couple of case studies that demonstrate efforts made by Brazilian archaeologists to make archaeology more socially accessible and inclusive, such as instilling archaeological values in school children using easy-to-read booklets, training underprivileged students in field and lab techniques, and feminizing museums. Those of us working in North America should take some lessons from Brazil in public archaeology.

The benefits of the discovery, ownership, management, and use of archaeological heritage are most clearly felt at the local community level. For local and descendant communities (often one and the same in Europe, Africa, and much of Asia), archaeological sites are touchstones to the past and can facilitate commemoration of people and events and enhance socio-cultural identity (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). Réginald Auger's (this volume) research on a 17th–18th century Jesuit plantation and cemetery in French Guiana offers a fascinating example of how archaeology motivated archaeologists to challenge the French colonial government to acknowledge the multi-cultural nature (African, Indigenous, and French) of French Guianese history and heritage. Despite 20 years of archaeological research on the plantation, the local community showed no interest in the archaeology. However, the 2012 testing of an associated cemetery, which revealed a mix of burials of the enslaved, Indigenous people, landowners, and missionaries, generated enormous interest because it mirrored contemporary French Guianese society. The cemetery has become a "space to discuss history" and a locus of commemoration of African ancestors, the abolition of slavery, and the historical evolution of contemporary French Guiana (Auger, this volume).

The myths of local and regional history can be confirmed or overturned by archaeology, and local communities construct and maintain their history through storytelling. Stories about the past become enshrined as truth among local residents and are rarely scrutinized. Development of archaeological sites for tourism purposes often generates interest in knowing the truth about the past. Nadine

Béague (this volume) provides a clear example of how archaeological research can challenge local history. In southeastern France, archaeological work in advance of restoration of the Morlanne castle as a tourist site discredited the myth, propagated by the rich owner and his friends, that Gaston Fébus, a 14th-century aristocrat, built a series of castles in a particular style to defend French borders in the Hundred Years War. Archaeological work revealed that the castles were not new fortresses but, rather, older castles remodelled as symbols of seigneurial domination of the region. Fébus was not the heroic figure who saved France from English invaders. Another example of the importance of archaeological work in the validation of myths of history is the research of Manon Savard and Nicolas Beaudry (this volume) on l'île Saint-Barnabé (Rimouski, Québec). At the request of Tourism Rimouski, Savard and Beaudry conducted a field school on the island with the goal of confirming the presence of an 18th century hermit, a local legend. While definitive archaeological evidence of the hermit's dwelling was not found, 18th century artifacts confirm an occupation or use of the island. A noteworthy feature of this project is the fascination of local residents in witnessing the performance of archaeology and sometimes participating in the excavation, connecting them to that mythical past and making it real.

Archaeology carried out in full partnership with and for the benefit of an Indigenous people, that is, Indigenous archaeology, has developed over the past 20 years, mainly in Canada, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand (Nicholas et al., 2011). Ideally, an Indigenous community should be in control of any archaeological work in its territory, as enshrined in the aforementioned principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In practice, however, Indigenous peoples only have control of archaeology on lands reserved for their exclusive use (i.e., reserves or reservations) or under their territorial jurisdiction (e.g., the Inuit territories of Nunavut and Nunatsiavut, in Canada). Public and private lands situated on former Indigenous lands (i.e., lands under treaty or stolen lands, such as the Cherokee homeland in the southeastern USA) are subject to development with little real effort made to preserve Indigenous archaeological remains on the land (Warrick, 2017). Fortunately, this is beginning to change (Supernant, 2018).

There are several examples in the session papers of praiseworthy archaeology being carried out under the control of Indigenous nations. The Nunatsiavut and Southern Inuit of Labrador, in partnership with archaeologists and students from Memorial University, Newfoundland, have taken control of their archaeological heritage and are using archaeology to assert their Indigenous rights to land, resources, and cultural identity (Gaulton & Rankin, this volume). La Nation Waban-Aki (Bureau du Ndakinna) is using archaeological data to enhance data from other disciplines (e.g., geography, wildlife biology, fisheries, history) and Indigenous knowledge (oral history) to demarcate its territory and to manage natural resources (Treyvaud et al., 2018). Similarly, the Huron-Wendat (Bureau Nionwentsïo) are collaborating with archaeologists to gain control of ancestral sites and human remains, to decolonize archaeology and their history, and to strengthen territorial and resource sovereignty (Hawkins and Lesage, this volume). Lastly, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Tribal Historic Preservation Office) is engaged in archaeological research to map the pre-colonial Cherokee landscape, locating town sites and trail networks as a form of “landscape justice,” in an effort to re-establish a Cherokee presence on the land in the southeastern USA from which their ancestors were removed in the 18th and 19th centuries (Sampeck & Griffin, this volume). Archaeological heritage is changing the Indigenous–settler political landscape in the 21st century, and indigenous peoples are employing a colonial discipline (archaeology) as a tool of decolonization – a brilliant irony.

One critical area that was not covered by any of the papers in the session is the threat to and destruction of archaeological heritage from climate change. Arctic communities of Indigenous peoples are at risk over the next few decades of losing tens of thousands of archaeological sites to shoreline erosion and loss of permafrost (Hollesen et al., 2018). Sites are threatened in other parts of the world as well, particularly in riverine, coastline, and alpine regions, as well as in areas prone to wildfires. There are simply not enough archaeologists and funds to mitigate all sites threatened by climate change. The most effective way of identifying and saving as many sites as possible lies in partnerships among government agencies, archaeologists, and local citizens – effectively recruiting and training local community members as citizen scientists (Dawson et al., 2017). Ameliorating the impacts of climate change on archaeological heritage will demand community archaeology on an unprecedented scale over the coming decades.

Concluding Comments

The discipline of archaeology has changed dramatically from its late 19th century roots. The pith-helmeted colonial archaeologist peering through a magnifying glass to decipher inscriptions on an Egyptian tomb, the stereotypical image that most people hold and that is reinforced by popular magazines and Hollywood films, is an artifact of the past. In the 21st century, archaeology has abandoned its pith helmets and ivory tower elitism and has become a force of change in the contemporary world. The set of papers from the "What Does Heritage Change? Case Studies in Archaeology" session at the 2016 ACHS conference relay a common message: archaeological heritage is most important to descendant and local communities and is an important tool of social justice. Furthermore, nation states and international organizations (e.g., UNESCO) must work toward sharing the ownership, control, and management of archaeological heritage with descendant and local communities. At present, most people have no awareness of the archaeological record in their local community because it has been exclusively controlled and managed by government heritage bureaucrats and professional archaeologists and because this information is rarely shared. Public archaeology and community-based archaeology over the past three decades have begun to democratize archaeology through popular media (books, websites, TV shows, and films), education, and public involvement, but there are still too many examples (captured in a number of the session's papers) where the professional heritage elite in government and their political masters are reluctant to share the reigns of power and control with the people – descendant and local communities.

Archaeology is a political endeavour, and it is as much about living people as it is about sites and things of the past (Smith, 2006).

The ACHS 2016 papers demonstrate that archaeological heritage has the capacity to make changes for the benefit of local and descendant communities. The legislation and management of archaeological heritage in most nation states is outdated and does not serve the average citizen. They must be changed to conform with the realities of 21st century archaeology. The archaeologists in this session have a unified voice: archaeology must engage descendant and local communities that have a vested interest in the protection, control, and management of the past, and archaeological heritage is best conserved, examined, and interpreted through collaborative partnerships of archaeologists and community members, in which ownership (control of and access to) and production of knowledge of the past is shared. If archaeological heritage must be sacrificed to private and public land development, local and descendant communities deserve a voice in the decision making and compensation for loss of that heritage in the form of educational resources and tourism and museum facilities. And if community member livelihoods are impacted as a result of archaeological site preservation and tourism development, compensation must be offered with the guarantee of no net loss of personal property or income. Archaeological heritage can and should provide tangible benefits to local or descendant communities (e.g., economic, social justice, education and skills training, empowerment, and identity). Archaeologists have an ethical responsibility to the people for whom heritage matters the most, often the descendants of those who created it.

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Conference participants in the ACHS session "What does Heritage Change? Case Studies in Archaeology"*

Front row, left to right: Maria Aparecida de Almeida, Dongdong Wang, Nadine Béague, Eman Shokry Hesham, Chief Christine Zachary-Deom.
Back row, left to right: Allison Bain, Barry Gaulton, Steve Pendery, Pierre Desrosiers, Eisuke Tanaka, Réginald Auger, William Moss, Pedro Funari, Manon Savard, Susan Rowley, Sophia Perdikaris, Nicolas Beaudry.
* Alicia Hawkins and Kathryn Sampeck also presented papers and are absent from this photo.

Artigos

A PAIXÃO MILITANTE; OS ESCRITOS DE HANNAH ARENDT SOBRE O EU REVOLUCIONÁRIO

The militant passion; Hannah Arendt's writings on the revolutionary self

*Marion Brepohl**

RESUMO

Partindo de excertos sobre temas como "revolução", "classe trabalhadora", "engajamento" e "promessa", analisados nos livros e artigos de Hannah Arendt, pretendo refletir sobre a figura do eu-revolucionário, ilustrado pela autora em diversos momentos de seu trabalho.
Trata-se do feito extraordinário (ainda que aquele em pequena escala), realizado pelo homem comum, que se destaca devido a seu compromisso, resistência, oposição. O objetivo deste artigo é, a partir de algumas leituras de Hannah Arendt, discutir os sentimentos e sensibilidades que motivam o engajamento político, sua linguagem e dinâmica interna, tanto quanto a quase inevitável oscilação ente o desejo de liberdade e a disposição à obediência, o sincero amor à causa e a tendência à mentira.

Palavras-chave: militância; paixão revolucionária; Hannah Arendt; movimentos sociais; partidos; política

ABSTRACT

Starting with the excerpts on themes like working class, revolution, engagement and promise, contained in Hannah Arendt's books and articles my purpose is to reflect on the concept of the revolutionary self, illustrated by the author in several occasions of her writings.It refers to the "extraordinary" (although small scale) accomplishment of the common man, who stands out due to his commitment, resistance, opposition.

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The goal of this article is to discuss, folowing some reflections of Hannah Arendt, the feelings that motivate political commitment, its language and internal dynamics, as well as the almost inevitable oscillation between the desire of freedom and the disposition to obedience, between the sincere love for the cause and the tendency to lie.

Keywords: militancy; revolutionary passion; Hannah Arendt; social movements; parties; politics

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Mundos do trabalho, resistência à disciplina, greves, protestos, associações, tantas são as temáticas suscitadas a partir dos movimentos operários. Principalmente, mas não só, a historiografia inglesa de inspiração marxista, com uma densa leitura de Antonio Gramsci, orientou as pesquisas de diversos historiadores. No Brasil, a apropriação desta literatura se deu em uma conjuntura de extrema importância, pois coincidiu com o retorno à normalidade institucional e a criação do Partido dos Trabalhadores.

Neste e em diversos outros países, principalmente a partir dos movimentos de 1968, a conexão aparentemente indissolúvel classe/sindicato/partido foi sendo colocada em dúvida, abrindo espaço para outros questionamentos e arranjos políticos que envolviam os conflitos entre capital e trabalho (Garrido, 2015).

Muito frequentemente, neste contexto, estimularam-se estudos que passaram a problematizar os movimentos sociais em sua pluralidade e suas especificidades, quando não, suas divergências internas. Daí derivaram diversos aportes teóricos, dos quais ressalto os *subaltern studies*, protagonizados, entre outros, por Ranajit Guha (2009). Esta corrente, a partir dos conceitos gramscianos de hegemonia e contra-hegemonia, propõe uma combinação entre o marxismo e categorias próprias dos nativos (Balestrini, 2013). Importante citar ainda os estudos pós-coloniais, os estudos de gênero, as análises sobre formas de resistência no cotidiano, a cultura popular que são, entre outros, desdobramentos das primeiras análises. E eu me detenho aqui, não por desconsiderar outras correntes, mas para não desvirtuar-me do tema a que me proponho.

Este artigo pretende retomar a experiência da militância da classe trabalhadora a partir dos escritos de Hannah Arendt, principalmente aquela desenvolvida pelos movimentos de esquerda de orientação marxista. Pretensiosa ambição; afinal, o que ainda não foi dito a este respeito? Mais estranho ainda pode soar a associação do tema a Hannah Arendt, a quem se atribui, muitas vezes, o estigma de elitista, em virtude de suas críticas a Karl Marx que, segundo a autora, definiu o homem como *animal laborans*, submetendo, com isto, a política ao reino da necessidade e atraindo as massas ao espaço público em nome de seus interesses privados.[1]

Na contracorrente da crítica marxista, e consciente que esta, dada a sua densidade, mereceria outro artigo, o que pretendo neste artigo bibliográfico é lançar o desafio de acompanharmos a autora em suas considerações sobre a paixão militante, suas possibilidades de criação de momentos de liberdade, ou seja, a ação política, bem como chamar a atenção para os riscos inerentes à organização hierarquizada que a moldura.

Arendt e o engajamento político

As energias afetivas que envolvem ações coletivas de esquerda são semelhantes, mas não uniformes. Os movimentos sociais, desde a Revolução Francesa até a queda do muro de Berlim, como nos ensina Hobsbawm (1989), tinham como ideário comum a esperança revolucionária. Tinham também seus líderes e seus projetos, definidos com programas e táticas de ação.

Esta ética pode ser ilustrada com os seguintes exemplos:

1 Sobre a redução do homem moderno ao estatuto de animal laborans, ver CORREIA, 2013. Sobre a crítica à divisão entre o econômico e o político na teoria da ação arendtiana, ver: HOBSBAWM, 1973 e HABERMAS, 1980.

> O modo habitual de procedimento nessas reuniões semanais era o seguinte. O presidente (cada homem era presidente por rodízio) lia algum livro... e as pessoas presentes eram convidadas a fazer observações sobre o lido, todas as que quisessem, mas sem se levantar. Então lia-se mais um outro trecho e havia uma segunda rodada. Então lia-se o restante e fazia-se um terceiro convite, quando se esperava que os que não tinham falado antes dissessem algo. Então havia uma discussão geral.
>
> Sociedade Londrina de Correspondência, 1771.
> (Thompson, 1987: 170)

> Os comunistas são, pois, na prática [*praktisch*], o sector mais decidido, sempre impulsionador, dos partidos operários de todos os países; (...) O objetivo mais próximo dos comunistas é o mesmo do que o de todos os restantes partidos proletários: formação do proletariado em classe, derrubamento da dominação da burguesia, conquista do poder político pelo proletariado.
>
> Manifesto do Partido Comunista, Londres, 1847.[2]

> El bien más preciado es la libertad
> hay que defenderla con fe y valor.
> Alza la bandera revolucionaria
> que llevará al pueblo a la emancipación.
> En pie pueblo obrero, ¡a la batalla!
> hay que derrocar a la reacción.
>
> Hino da Confederação Nacional do trabalho, Espanha, 1936.[3]

> Aquí se queda la clara,
> La entrañable transparencia,

2 Disponível em http//www.pcp.pt/manifesto-do-partido-comunista-edições-avante-1997. Pesquisa realizada em julho de 2016.

3 Apud SIMÕES, Dulce. Memórias e canções da Guerra de Espanha. Disponível em http://www.academia.edu/2592815/memórias_e_canções_da_Guerra_de_Espanha_1936-1939. Pesquisa realizada em Agosto de 2016.

De tu querida presencia
Comandante Che Guevara.
(…)
Tu amor revolucionario
Te conduce a nueva empresa
Donde esperan la firmeza
De tu brazo libertario (…).
Hasta siempre comandante Che Guevara, 1998.[4]

Eu poderia multiplicar os exemplos de elaborações estéticas que atravessam a história do movimento operário, mais particularmente, de movimentos sociais animados pelo ato revolucionário, definido por Arendt "como abertura e momento de incandescência do político no qual a história se abre à liberdade da ação" (1988:23). São manifestos, hinos e poesias compostos com palavras emocionadas que não cessam de conclamar o povo ao ativismo e à participação.

Trata-se predominantemente da militância de esquerda. Independentemente de suas variantes, alguns denominadores comuns precisam ser ressaltados: a ânsia por libertação e por igualdade, o engajamento, a crença na possibilidade, necessidade e irreversibilidade da história, a esperança na felicidade pública.

É a partir desta ideia-força que Arendt se inspira para redigir seu livro, "Da revolução", publicado originalmente em 1963, no período próximo à publicação de a "Condição Humana" (1958) e "Entre o Passado e o Futuro" (1961).

Segundo Enégren (1984), estes três livros significam uma tentativa, da parte da autora, de reconciliação com o mundo, e apontam para experiências ou instituições que seriam capazes de enfrentar o deserto provocado pelo totalitarismo. Para a Arendt, o oásis seria a política, entendida não como administração ou governo, mas a política como ação plural entre os diferentes e divergentes partícipes do espaço público.

4 Wilson, R. A. Jr. PUEBLA, C. 1998. *Hasta siempre comandante Guevara*. Disponível em https://www.letras.mus.br/carlos-puebla/235419/.

Dado meu objetivo, tomemos primeiramente o livro "Da revolução*"*, um ensaio cujo tema é a revolução a partir de dois casos, a Revolução Francesa e a Revolução Americana, tendo como pano de fundo o socialismo soviético.

Trata-se de um texto muito criticado entre os historiadores de profissão: a pouca relevância conferida ao trabalho escravo nos Estados Unidos no momento mesmo da proclamação da independência e da fundação da república; a tentativa de dividir o poder econômico do poder político, distinguindo-os em "esfera do social" e esfera do poder decisório ou consultivo (Aguiar, 2014); a pouca consideração dispensada a outras experiências revolucionárias, como China e Cuba, por exemplo (Hobsbawm, 1985).

Como historiadora, também tenho reservas a este livro, afinal, a própria tradição de conselhos locais se origina de movimentos sociais de pessoas mais pobres que, embora orientadas pelo primado do reino da necessidade, não tinham como único objetivo ordenar seu mundo exclusivamente pelos imperativos da vida material, conforme sugere a autora (Arendt, 1988: 70). Há uma excessiva idealização da experiência norte-americana; dentre outras questões, ressalte-se, a pouca problematização do sistema escravista nos Estados Unidos e a vigência do sistema bicameral que foi uma forma de tratar de forma desigual os cidadãos. O livro parece mais um ensaio que constrói um tipo ideal de revolução do que um estudo ancorado na historiografia sobre o tema.

No entanto, não quero me deter nestes aspectos. Meu objetivo é refletir sobre os sujeitos privilegiados da revolução – a figura do *eu*–revolucionário, analisado pela autora em diversos de seus escritos.

A expressão *eu*-revolucionário não se traduz como uma identidade essencializada, atributo de um sujeito idealizado como herói, com características extraordinárias. Adoto tal expressão como imagem de um "eu" que é ao mesmo tempo "nós", como cidadãos que, em suas relações intersubjetivas produzem, pela vontade, um novo acontecimento em seu mundo (Heuer, 2009).

Segundo Habermas, a propósito da ação movida pelas convicções comuns:

> É fascinante observar como H. Arendt percebe em diferentes ocasiões o mesmo fenômeno. Quando os revolucionários se apropriam do poder que está nas ruas; quando a população que optou pela resistência passiva enfrenta tanques estrangeiros, com mãos desarmadas; quando minorias convictas disputam a legitimidade das leis existentes e organizam a resistência civil; quando no movimento de protesto dos estudantes, o "puro desejo de ação" se manifesta – em todos esses momentos parece confirmar-se a tese de que "ninguém possui verdadeiramente o poder; ele surge entre os homens que atuam em conjunto, e desaparece quando eles novamente se dispersam (...) Esse conceito enfático da práxis é mais marxista que aristotélico; Marx o denominava "atividade crítico-revolucionária" (1980, p. 107-108).

Por outro lado, o "eu" revolucionário pode refletir um comportamento massificado e uniformizado, resultante de uma ação que, embora não diretamente coercitiva, resta petrificada pela ideologia e pela orientação do "chefe" (ARENDT, 1978, p. 580 e ss.). Neste caso, a obediência, e não a liberdade conforma as atitudes e os sentimentos.

Tendo em vista estas oscilações, detenhamo-nos, primeiramente, na ação revolucionária, que chamou a atenção de Arendt por ser identificada como ato fundador por excelência. Ela enseja o extraordinário, realizado pelo homem comum (como também, bem-entendido, pela mulher), que se destaca em virtude de seu compromisso, militância, resistência, oposição. Este herói que parece surgir do futuro para transformar o presente, ao chegar, enfrenta um, para ele, estranho *topoi*: o passado, a causalidade, o conformismo.

Para quem o presente é a preparação e o futuro a consumação, o ativismo o consome: quer agir, quer poder, tem coragem e imaginação. É um herói que aspira a liberdade, mas no entanto está preso, já que necessita do grupo "para que sua revolta se transforme em ação" *(*Arendt, 2003: 163). Sobretudo, e esta é a finalidade mesma da política; segundo Arendt, desde Roma Antiga aos nossos dias, o herói precisa prometer. Necessita entrar em cena com palavras, num palco bem visível e com audiência. Ali, faz a promessa (Arendt, 2008).

O comportamento militante, seja aquele manifesto individual ou coletivamente, suscitou a atenção de Arendt, ela mesma, militante em organizações sociais de resistência judaica e esposa e parceira intelectual de Heinrich Blücher, militante do Partido Comunista de Oposição da Alemanha (KPO). Mesmo quando no exílio, Blücher prosseguiu sua atuação com um grupo denominado "Conciliadores" (*Die Versöhnlergruppe*), com o objetivo de formar quadros para as esquerdas e combater os fascismos (Bielefeld, 2012). Graças à influência de Blücher, Arendt aprendeu a interessar-se por política e a admirar a possibilidade da revolução, sua organização espontânea, criativa e, pelo menos no início, emergindo de baixo para cima. Sobretudo, chamou-lhe positivamente a atenção a estruturação dos movimentos sociais a partir da organização de poderes locais – o que reflete a dispersão dos poderes – "o poder de todos contra um" (Arendt, 1973: 121).

Por outro lado, seus escritos sobre o perfil de Robespierre e sobre as massas *enragées*,[5] explicitados em "Da revolução" e, em outro texto, intitulado "Da violência", (1973), fazem-me crer que Arendt nutria certa prudência, até algum temor pelo *ethos* militante. Sim, porque o "modelo" Robespierre é o da ação em nome do amor pelo povo, amor que se transformou em bondade absoluta, a qual, por sua vez, ao negar-se à argumentação, transformou-se em seu outro – segundo a autora, o mal ilimitado (1988: 48 e ss.). De semelhante forma, considera a apologia à violência de alguns segmentos do movimento estudantil da geração de 1968, notadamente de jovens inspirados em Mao Tsé Tung, Jean Paul Sartre e Frantz Fanon, muito mais uma reação irrefletida à democracia representativa (francamente em crise) e ao armamentismo do que um compromisso com mudanças concretas em seus respectivos países (1973, p. 105-115).

5 Estamos conscientes de que Hannah Arendt não foi uma estudiosa da trajetória de Robespierre, tampouco do grupo social que lhe dispensava apoio e lhe conferia legitimidade. Dele, a autora extrai um exemplo de militante, quase de maneira literária, para refletir sobre a paixão pela causa, que se traduz no ativismo radical. Disserta também, em diversos momentos, sobre os riscos da intromissão das paixões na política, principalmente quando associada ao poder político institucional. A este respeito, ver: Roviello, 1987.

As razões da simpatia, prudência e temor da autora ao *ethos* militante me fazem concluir pela ambiguidade dos movimentos sociais irrigados por tais sentimentos: de um lado, opera-se a resistência – portanto, situa-se num contra-poder, e, por outro, deseja o poder, de preferência, o poder sobre o futuro, que se opera, na maioria dos casos, pela governamentalização. É sobre este paradoxo que pretendo tratar a seguir.

O militante contra o poder

Inicio minhas considerações sobre a ética da resistência que, conforme Odílio Aguiar, realiza-se no agir. "Resistir, mais do que reagir, assumir um lugar passivo diante das forças de destruição, é fundar. A reação é o lugar da impotência e da violência, a fundação é o lugar da potência e da criatividade" (2004: 252).

Todavia, de onde deriva a ética da resistência? Encontro algumas respostas nas reflexões expostas no livro "A vida do espírito", (1991), em especial, as considerações de Arendt sobre o querer, experiência que se situa entre a razão e o desejo.

A autora afirma que a vontade é uma capacidade adquirida da mente, ou seja, não é inata ao homem, tal como o desejo e a razão. Esta capacidade, segundo a autora, traduzida na vontade de fazer, de mudar, de contestar é filha da teologia. E não de qualquer teologia, mas exclusivamente da teologia cristã, em virtude da percepção de que Deus, ao criar e ao redimir o homem, o fez (o faz) por sua vontade. Isso se encontra nos textos bíblicos desde o livro de Gênesis até os Evangelhos, quando Jesus, também por sua vontade convida os homens para segui-lo, <u>se</u> quiserem. Entretanto, o que é aparentemente irônico, somente com o processo de secularização, a partir do Renascimento é que a vontade se desloca do campo religioso e se generaliza como motivadora da ação, no campo secular.

Certamente, a faculdade do querer, que Arendt denomina como "ego volitivo", já encontrava suas raízes na Antiguidade Clássica. Contestando Platão, que julgava os desejos como cegos e incontroláveis, Aristóteles identificava outro desejo que não aquele voltado ao apetite, o desejo de aparência de excelência na polis (Arendt, 1991: 202). Contudo, tal experiência – participação e não participação à polis, parece ainda muito presa a uma decisão de caráter eminentemente racional.

Com Paulo Apóstolo, observamos outra ambiguidade de caráter religioso: a vontade de submissão voluntária, ato de converter-se a Cristo sem qualquer imposição. No entanto, como a vontade humana se inclina para o mal, fica-se à mercê da graça divina.[6]

Poderia multiplicar as menções da autora sobre a teologia cristã e seu contributo à emergência da vontade como fenômeno coletivo, mas prefiro deter-me nas reflexões do monge franciscano Duns Scotus (?-1308) citado por Arendt. Segundo ele, se Deus criou o homem do nada (diferentemente do que professam as crenças orientais, para quem a criação é resultado da emanação) e o criou à sua semelhança, pela sua vontade, também o homem aprende a agir não pela razão, mas pela vontade. A vontade não pode ser confundida nem com intelecto nem com desejo, e mais: a vontade tem ou pode ter primazia sobre ambos. Que vontade? Aquela que recusa a fatalidade enquanto tal. Por isto, o ego volitivo

> compraz-se consigo mesmo – *condelectari sibi* – a ponto de o “eu quero” antecipar um “eu posso”; o eu–quero-e-eu-posso é o prazer da vontade.
> Quanto a este aspecto [...] a habilidade que a vontade tem de tornar presente o ainda não, é exatamente oposta à lembrança. A lembrança tem uma afinidade natural com o pensamento: todo o pensamento, como dissemos, é um re-pensar (1991: 214).

Assim sendo, enquanto o ego pensante é sereno e silencioso (retiramo-nos do mundo quando pensamos), o humor do ego volitivo é impaciente, inquieto e preocupado.

6 Epístola de Romanos 7:15: Realmente, não consigo entender o que faço: pois não pratico o que quero, mas faço o que detesto. *Bíblia de Jerusalém*, 2006. p. 1977.

Dadas estas características, com todos os riscos implícitos em tais procedimentos que, de resto, são raros, o extremo do ego pensante seria o absoluto quietismo, e o extremo da vontade o ativismo militante, pois em resumo, "a vontade sempre quer fazer algo, menosprezando assim implicitamente o pensamento puro cuja atividade depende totalmente de "não fazer nada" (1991: 214). O ativismo militante sorve da alegria entusiasmada por "estar realizando" e da indignação pelo objeto de sua revolta, ainda que em suas motivações subjetivas também esteja presente o senso de dever.

Retornemos, mais uma vez, a Duns Scotus. Para ele, até pode ser muito difícil para o homem não aceitar o que a razão dita, mas isso não é impossível. É como se seu intelecto o advertisse contra a precipitação, pois somos sempre inclinados a aceitar as evidências. Também é fato que resistir ao desejo seja extremamente difícil – todavia não é impossível. É como se seu desejo o advertisse contra a frustração.

Por via de consequência, nem o desejo, ou seja, as paixões, que também são carências – que nos impulsionam a agir para evitar a dor, sendo assim uma necessidade de nosso apetite, nem o intelecto, que aspira ao conhecimento da verdade, equiparam-se à vontade. Pois a paixão nos arrebata, tanto quanto pode nos abandonar. E o intelecto pode recusar ou confirmar uma verdade, mas nada faz com ela, senão quando esta verdade é de algum proveito para o seu trabalho ou o seu labor.[7] Já a vontade é autônoma e livre, sorve do intelecto e do desejo para colocar-se em movimento.

Conforme Arendt, Scotus estabelece uma distinção nítida entre vontade e desejo, porque somente a vontade não é transitória. Um prazer inerente à vontade em si mesma é tão natural para a vontade quanto entender e conhecer o são para o intelecto (1991: 293). Seguindo tal reflexão, Scotus nos sugere a emergência de um fenômeno novo que se espraiaria até a atualidade: primeiro, a percepção da contingência (contra o fatalismo e a causalidade), uma vez que os homens passam a almejar e a contar com o inesperado, o

7 Não é demasiado lembrar que, para Hannah Arendt, trabalho e labor são atividades efêmeras e associadas à necessidade. Já a ação pressupõe agir no mundo para construir algo inteiramente novo. A este respeito ver: (Arendt, 1983: 90 e ss.).

inusitado, novos acontecimentos e novas instituições; segundo, que a vontade é que move os homens, e por isso, ela também é poder; um poder que não se compreende como dominação, mas como capacidade, fortaleza, vigor, coragem; terceiro, que a vontade não depende de fins pré-determinados, mas é uma inclinação que proporciona prazer no agir em si mesmo; e, finalmente, que a vontade nasce e mantém toda autonomia e liberdade na interioridade do ser, daí a singularidade de cada indivíduo e a pluralidade da ação.

Prosseguindo com estas reflexões, não deixa de ser curioso que, conquanto a vontade tenha se cristalizado a partir da teologia e da vivência devocional, é somente após o processo de secularização que ela passa a permear a mentalidade coletiva, traduzida pela ética de resistência ou pela desobediência civil.

Dúvida, senso de missão, oposição, resistência, participação, tantas são as atitudes que podem refletir o ânimo das sociedades (pelo menos, as europeias) desde a Primeira Modernidade. Mas é o pensamento (sentimento?) revolucionário que melhor ilustra este movimento de negação da fatalidade e de ansiedade pela mudança; reside aí a abertura para a transformação e a auto-transformação.

O militante e o poder

Feitas estas breves considerações sobre a vontade como propulsora da resistência ativa, característica do mundo moderno, dedico-me agora a pensar as relações do militante com o poder.

Para tanto, levo em conta as reflexões de Hannah Arendt sobre o movimento operário. Contrariamente ao que muitos de seus críticos comentam, a autora não destrata o movimento como eminentemente preocupado com a esfera do social, o que o colocaria na condição de uma mera instância de representação de interesses privados. Neste tocante, Arendt procura distinguir a dinâmica dos partidos políticos, mesmo aqueles derivados dos sindicatos operários, e aquela que pode ser observada nos conselhos populares.

O livro *A condição humana* foi escrito na década de cinquenta do século XX, período em que ocorre a desradicalização ideológica dos partidos no Ocidente, atribuída ao *Wellfare State* keynesiano. Dada a intervenção cada vez mais pronunciada do Estado na esfera do social, as utopias revolucionárias arrefeceram em nome da utopia reformista, cedendo às negociações que implicassem em melhor distribuição da renda. Tal redirecionamento político, conquanto os razoáveis ganhos nos níveis de vida, levou ao arrefecimento da capacidade transformadora da própria história por parte desta classe social.

Já no que se refere ao período que se estende desde 1848 até 1956, com a revolução húngara, o que os operários fizeram foi alargar o espaço público, promovendo *uma igualdade de desiguais que precisam ser igualados*, condição para a participação política. Menos pelo que falavam e queriam, sua mera presença foi surpreendente por reivindicar liberdade e justiça para todos, logo, a democratização do poder.

> Não menos surpreendente, porém, é o papel súbito e muitas vezes extraordinariamente produtivo que os movimentos operários desempenharam na política moderna. Das revoluções de 1848 até a revolução húngara de 1956, a classe operária europeia, por ser o único setor organizado e, portanto, o principal setor da população, escreveu um dos mais gloriosos capítulos da história recente e talvez o mais promissor [ao propor] uma nova forma de governo e (...) a abolição do requisito de propriedade para o exercício do direito ao voto. (Arendt, 1983: p. 227-229).

Esta classe (segundo o conceito marxista), não se dedicava até então apenas a questões corporativas, mas à política como um todo. Segundo a autora, “as revoluções populares vêm, há mais de cem anos”, pelo seu próprio modo de organização e ação, “propondo sem êxito, o sistema de conselhos populares em substituição ao sistema partidário continental, que já nasceu desacreditado" (Arendt, 1983: 228).[8] E desacreditado por boa parcela dos próprios trabalhadores, porque os partidos, mesmo quando instituídos como representantes da classe trabalhadora, tendem a criar uma burocracia hierarquizada à semelhança da própria administração da fábrica ou do próprio poder executivo. Por mais programáticos que sejam rumo à igualdade, seu funcionamento acaba por exigir a divisão entre elite e militância. Em virtude desta, os militantes se veem diante de dois chefes, o da causa e o do mundo do trabalho (Cohen, 2013).

Uma vez conformada tal estrutura, o militante, face ao poder, fica diante de um superego duplicado - o poder dos chefes da empresa e o poder dos chefes do partido, quando não, também dos chefes de estado em países cuja legislação prevê a intermediação institucionalizada dos conflitos entre capital e trabalho.

No entanto, o partido exerceu e ainda exerce atração sobre as pessoas, quer por sua linguagem, que apela ao "povo" como um todo, quer por seus símbolos, prenhes de signos comoventes. Ao filiar-se a um partido, o indivíduo sente superar-se de sua condição ordinária, parecendo adquirir uma segunda vida, a qual percorre e transtorna todo o seu cotidiano (Monteiro, 2013; Silva, 2014; Santana, 2001).

Isto porque, segundo o historiador Pierre Ansart (1983:110), o partido não é somente o *locus* da ideologia. É também um aparelho afetivo, quase que uma segunda morada, na qual o reconhecimento e o diálogo são apreciados. É um "nós" fortalecido, que se coloca contra os outros, vistos como alvo de afetos negativos, motivadores de emoções violentas. A força de atração do partido não reside apenas em sua plataforma, e sim, em alguns casos, muito mais, em sua capacidade de agregar.

Este sentimento de pertença provoca uma enorme compensação para quem convive, como é o caso do trabalhador urbano industrial, com diversos sentimentos de perda: sua

8 *A condição humana* é um livro da década de cinquenta, e é a partir das experiências de seu tempo que Arendt redige o capítulo sobre o movimento operário. Para ela, enquanto que o movimento sindical se deixa orientar por reivindicações atinentes a questões econômicas, o movimento político dos operários ultrapassa os programas partidários de reformas econômicas, reivindicando sua emancipação política, ou seja, o exercício do poder como cidadãos de direito. Todavia, nas democracias ocidentais em que se pratica o *wellfarestate*, os operários sindicalizados não fazem senão defender seus interesses privados, como quaisquer outros membros da sociedade.

propriedade, (o pequeno negócio, a terra, seu *know-how*), os vínculos familiares, o prestígio entre os seus.

A literatura do século XIX nos dá conta de sua angústia em face ao desemprego, o medo da miséria, o horror à solidão, a humilhação do patronato (Frevert, 2013). Por estes motivos, a pertença a um partido tende a responder a problemas afetivos vinculados à falta. Esta se deve à destruição dos vínculos tradicionais existentes no século XVIII, período em que a paróquia, a vizinhança e a família moldavam as relações de convívio.

Contudo, embora os trabalhadores encontrem no partido "seus iguais", há diferenças significativas nas funções que exercem no grupo, o que frequentemente, provoca tensões e conflitos, principalmente pela hierarquia ali instituída: o chefe nacional ou mesmo internacional, o chefe local, a diretoria, o orador, o intelectual, os deputados. A hierarquia suscita esperanças, ambições, mas principalmente, e quase nunca de maneira explícita, rivalidades (Ansart, 1983: 117).

Na base da pirâmide, encontra-se o militante: distribui panfletos e organiza a passeata, participa das greves como quem obedece à boa lei, sentindo que seus líderes, não impostos mas desejados, seriam os melhores governantes. Obedecer aí não é sinônimo de ser dominado, mas de participação. Por isso a importância dos jornalistas, "poetas do partido": suas palavras reforçam a identidade dos membros. Os panfletos são estetizados por eles e servem como força de persuasão afetiva tanto para o recém-ingresso como para o "velho" militante. Com apelos ainda mais fortes, citem-se os hinos, as bandeiras, o culto aos heróis (Monteiro, 2013: 137 e ss.).

Quanto ao chefe, é visto como alguém que não se deixa conduzir pelo prazer de exercer poder, nem somente pela satisfação de ser reconhecido, mas por encarnar o ideal dos adeptos e de ser amado por isto (...) "ele é objeto de reverência, mas carrega consigo um enorme senso de responsabilidade" (Ansart, 1983: 117).

Entre o chefe e o militante, diversas outras funções, mas a mais conflitiva é a do deputado que, conquanto obedeça ao chefe, sente-se e de fato se encontra numa função mais elevada. Sua atuação é vulnerável porque é nela que a eficácia das estratégias é posta à prova: de sua negociação depende a vitória ou a derrota.

Dado o segredo e o compromisso que quase toda negociação exige, o representante suscita a suspeição, pois parte de seu poder reside na realização de concessões. E não raro, comete pequenas ou grandes traições aos membros do partido em nome dos fins que justificam os meios. Daí também sua tendência à mentira; as acusações de Trotsky a Stalin relativamente às suas intrigas e ambição, bem como os conluios para ocupar o lugar de Lenin, (Trotsky,1929), são exemplo daquilo que Hannah Arendt comentou sobre o homem de estado. Dissimulado e autoritário, ele fabrica uma sociedade cujo fim ele mesmo produziu. Ao proceder assim, e assim convicto de precisar agir de maneira sagaz, a classe trabalhadora não se torna senão um instrumento ”de que o déspota usa e abusa” (Arendt, 2003: 80). Por essas razões, segundo Arendt, inflar o poder em nome de um fim tido como verdadeiro seja talvez mais perigoso do que inflá-lo por vaidade.

Estas são algumas razões pelas quais o militante não é convocado a falar, estando condenado às tarefas rotineiras, seja do partido, quando a figura do chefe já se pronuncia de maneira autocrática, seja nos movimentos que “animam” os governos totalitários, quando o chefe é alvo de todos os olhares da população. Nestas circunstâncias, as tarefas do militante são semelhantes àquelas realizadas na fábrica. Apesar de tudo, ele é fiel à causa, principalmente nos momentos políticos mais contundentes. Nos momentos de monótona calmaria, seu entusiasmo arrefece. Mesmo assim, ele vê tudo aquilo como um sacrifício que faz para libertar-se, a si e a sua família, principalmente seus filhos. É uma verdade histórica, um futuro certo, sem erro. A liberdade depende ironicamente de sua obediência.

Sobre esta estrutura afetiva, Ansart tece a seguinte consideração:

> ao final, já no que concerne a um partido unânime e sem dissensões ou falhas, perfilam-se as grandes linhas de um regime totalitário, pois o partido desperta os vínculos, amplia a euforia do amor político, mas acha no controle

> destas emoções uma fonte de poder de seus adeptos (1983: 130).[9]

Considerações finais

Desde 1951, quando redige o livro “Origens do totalitarismo”, ao discutir o advento da sociedade de massas, Arendt, nos passos de Rosa de Luxemburg, ressaltou o declínio da representatividade dos partidos políticos, dado o distanciamento entre sua base e a elite (1978: 213). Tal enfraquecimento se deve também a sua dinâmica interna e sua linguagem: a oscilação entre a liberdade para agir e a obediência cega, a espontaneidade e a verdade científica, entre amizade e a apropriação do outro, da imaginação à mentira, da coragem à *hybris.*

Preocupada com o papel reservado ao militante (que pode encontrar-se num partido ou num movimento social que acaba por aproximar-se de algum partido, nem que seja episodicamente), procurei analisar as reflexões de Hannah Arendt sobre o movimento operário, que foi uma das experiências políticas mais elogiadas pela autora, dada sua capacidade de promover a igualdade entre os desiguais e por sua capacidade de ampliação da esfera pública. Fiquei atenta também às suas reservas quanto à estrutura partidária, na qual o militante acaba por tornar-se uma presa da burocracia do partido e de promessas que correspondam aos interesses imediatos do *homo laborans*.

Fiz este percurso com certa liberalidade, uma vez que os escritos de Arendt sobre a paixão militante encontram-se dispersos em sua obra, tanto quanto o estudo sobre as relações entre movimentos sociais, sindicatos e partidos. Mesmo não sendo seu foco central, no que se refere a estes temas, a autora apontou o risco que incorremos quando traduzimos movimento sindical por movimento político dos trabalhadores, o que leva a eleger um governo cujas

9 Tradução livre da autora

ações se orientam para a defesa dos que se encontram no "reino da necessidade", como o fizeram os jacobinos na França e os bolcheviques na União Soviética, transformando os pobres em *raison d ´être* do Estado e elidindo-se da esfera pública todos aqueles que fossem considerados seus "adversários".

De maneira semelhante, incorria em tal risco, segundo a autora, a esquerda do Ocidente democrático das décadas de cinquenta e sessenta do século passado que, de posse dos ensinamentos da Revolução Francesa e da Revolução Russa, prosseguia em adotar um comportamento elitista, esperando que a "massa" lhe obedecesse ou ao menos reconhecesse nela seu papel protagônico. (Arendt, 1985, p. 12 e ss.). Esta esquerda parecia chancelar e, mais arriscado ainda, parecia acreditar que fosse produtiva a máxima de Gramsci: "O elemento popular sente, mas não compreende nem sabe; o elemento intelectual sabe mas não compreende e especialmente não sente*".*[10]

Em quaisquer dos casos apontados, a paixão, em especial, pelo poder decisório, encontrava-se presente muito mais entre os chefes do que entre os governados, donde o malogro do caráter democrático da revolução.

Segundo minha compreensão, o pensamento de Arendt ainda guarda atualidade. Vivenciamos um período em que por mais sinceras que sejam as promessas dos partidos políticos que defendem a melhoria de vida dos mais pobres, enfrenta-se o obstáculo da globalização que resultou, entre outros aspectos, na perda de soberania dos governos nacionais. Hoje, há mais poder decisório nas agências internacionais (como o Banco Mundial, por exemplo), do que em programas de governos legitimamente eleitos; hoje, o poder se concentra nos imperativos do complexo financeiro-empresarial com dimensões globais; estes não se apoiam nos partidos políticos, mas naqueles que lhes garantam a supremacia do mercado e do lucro.[11] Por sua vez, os partidos, com o final do socialismo soviético, a democracia competitiva e o *marketing* eleitoral, transformaram-se em mera ante-sala do poder executivo, a ele submetidos, como se a

10 Citado por RAGAZZANI, 2005, p. 53

11 Le monde diplomatique, 24/05/2017. http://diplomatique.org.br/13-pontos-para-embasar-qualquer-analise-de-conjuntura/. Pesquisa realizada em 16 de julho de 2017.

disposição à obediência fosse o preço a pagar para o comando de amanhã, em qualquer cargo do departamento de estado e sem a "necessidade" de cumprir ou fazer cumprir a promessa.

Contudo, esta crise é, a meu ver, uma possibilidade de devolver ao político o lugar de onde veio: do debate, da vontade por mudanças, da luta *por direitos a ter direitos* (Arendt), da ação concertada e da lei (incluindo aí a lei que autoriza a desobediência civil). Sobretudo, como anteparo à violência, seja das massas despolitizadas que, uma vez experimentada a deserção cívica, aderem ao crime organizado, seja da violência praticada pelos governos em nome da ordem interna, ao que parece ter se reduzido seu papel segundo a lógica neoliberal.

Entretanto, em que pese a fragilidade dos pactos políticos tendo em vista esta nova configuração do estado, bem como a desconfiança dos programas de médio e longo prazo, a paixão militante prossegue seu trabalho. Motiva iniciativas, faz circular mensagens comoventes, destitui de legitimidade, pelo menos na imaginação, seus opositores. Entre a liberdade e a obediência, assume diversos riscos, inclusive, o de transformar-se naquilo que nega; todavia, em suas manifestações, escapa, ainda que por pouco, do horizonte restrito do mero ato de consumir e de comportar-se a contento.

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O LUGAR DA DEFICIÊNCIA INTELECTUAL NA PRODUÇÃO CIENTÍFICA SOBRE O ENSINO DE HISTÓRIA

The place of intellectual deficiency in scientific production on the teaching of history

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RESUMO

O artigo busca levantar e analisar a produção científica sobre o ensino de História para os Estudantes com Deficiência Intelectual (EDI), no Ensino Fundamental II, focando as dissertações e teses produzidas sobre essa temática, no Brasil. Delimitamos o período de 2005 a 2016 para a pesquisa, feita na base de dados da CAPES. Como resultado, encontramos apenas dois (2) trabalhos que consideraram as possibilidades de ensino e aprendizado de história para os EDI. A escassez de pesquisas na área aponta o reflexo de uma política educacional, que, apesar do movimento

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de inclusão, não favorece o ensino e aprendizado do EDI, todavia, apenas garante a matrícula escolar.

Palavras-chave: Ensino de História; Estudantes com Deficiência Intelectual; Produção científica.

ABSTRACT

The article seeks to analyze and analyze the scientific production on the teaching of History for Students with Intellectual Disabilities (SID), in Elementary Education II, focusing on dissertations and theses produced on this subject in Brazil. We delimit the period from 2005 to 2016 for the research, made in the CAPES database. As a result, we found only two (2) papers that considered the possibilities of teaching and learning history for SID. The lack of research in the area points to the reflection of an educational policy that, despite the inclusion movement, does not favor SID teaching and learning, however, it only guarantees school enrollment.

Keywords: History teaching; Students with Intellectual Disabilities; Scientific production.

Introdução

Com o fim do período em que o Brasil foi governado pela Ditadura Militar (1964-1985)[1] e a restauração do regime democrático, iniciou-se um processo de reestruturação do sistema educacional brasileiro. É nesse cenário de mudanças sociopolíticas que o ensino de História, antes substituído pela disciplina de Estudos Sociais, nas séries de 5ª a 8ª (atual Ensino Fundamental II, 6º ao 9º ano)[2], voltou a

1 A ditadura militar foi implantada no Brasil em 1º de abril de 1964, com substancial apoio de pessoas e entidades da sociedade civil, de órgãos representativos do poder econômico nacional, de uma parte considerável dos superiores da hierarquia católica e ainda de importantes órgãos de comunicação de massa, os quais se proclamam tradicionalmente liberais. O sistema ditatorial, que durou de 1964 a 1985, teve diversas etapas e apresentou algumas características peculiares, como o fato de que o poder ditatorial não se apoiava num líder carismático, mas foi imposto e exercido sempre por grupos dominantes. (DALLARI, 2013).

2 O Parecer 853/71 (BRASIL, 1972), imposto pelo Conselho Federal de Educação, fixou o núcleo comum obrigatório para os currículos do 1º e 2º graus. A doutrina do Currículo da Lei n. 5692/71 (BRASIL, 1972) define os Estudos Sociais como integrante do currículo. Dessa forma, os conteúdos poderiam ser tratados como atividades (1ª a 4ª série do Primeiro Grau, sob o

configurar no currículo oficial. Em consonância com as novas demandas daquele momento histórico, vários pesquisadores e professores passaram a discutir o *lócus* e a função do ensino de História na educação.

Zamboni (2000), ao analisar os trabalhos apresentados no III Encontro de Pesquisadores do Ensino de História, realizado em Campinas, em 1997, conclui, observando as diferentes linhas de pesquisa e os variados temas debatidos no encontro, que o ensino de História passava por um período de ressignificação, marcado por uma variedade de temas, choques de interesses e prioridades sociopolíticas.

É justamente nesse período que germina a discussão sobre os direitos das pessoas com deficiência. A Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (LDB) incorpora, em seu capítulo V, a perspectiva mundial de inclusão escolar e a matrícula preferencial na rede regular de ensino também para as pessoas com deficiência, as quais, naquele momento, como registra o documento, eram caracterizadas como "com necessidades especiais"[3] (BRASIL, 1996). A LDB aqueceu a discussão sobre a inclusão, no cenário escolar nacional, contudo, ainda não se observa esse debate nas linhas de pesquisa de ensino de História com o foco no público-alvo da educação especial (PAEE) e, mais especificamente, no estudante com deficiência intelectual (EDI)[4], o que se pode observar nos estudos de Zamboni (2000) e, posteriormente, de Silva (2009; 2016).

nome de Integração Social); Áreas de Estudo (5ª a 8ª série do Primeiro Grau, sob o nome de Estudos Sociais) e Disciplina – História (somente no 2º Grau). Como se pode observar, o ensino de História ficou restrito ao 2º Grau, inserido na grade curricular com carga horária máxima de duas horas semanais, durante um ano desse curso. A obrigatoriedade do ensino de Estudos Sociais percorreu todo o período da Ditadura Militar Brasileira (1964-1985), período no qual, principalmente os professores e profissionais da História, foram objeto de perseguições e censuras. A imposição dos Estudos Sociais foi acompanhada de um grande movimento de resistência e luta pela volta do ensino de História, nas escolas brasileiras, configurando um novo momento na construção do código disciplinar da Didática da História. (SCHMIDT, 2006).

3 Após 2008, com a publicação da Política Nacional da Educação Especial na Perspectiva inclusiva, a terminologia necessidades educacionais especiais recebe a redação: Público-Alvo da Educação Especial (PAEE), o que se refere às pessoas com deficiências, altas habilidades/superdotação e transtornos globais de desenvolvimento. (BRASIL, 2015b, p. 12).

4 A deficiência intelectual nos documentos orientadores do MEC é caracterizada "[...] por alterações significativas, tanto no desenvolvimento intelectual como na conduta adaptativa, na forma expressa em habilidades práticas, sociais e conceituais." (BRASIL, 2015b, p. 46).

Focamos, neste estudo, a escolarização do EDI, sobretudo do ensino de História, tendo em vista que mais da metade dos alunos da Educação Especial matriculados em classes comuns da Educação Básica é constituído por pessoas com deficiência intelectual, conforme apontam os dados do Censo Escolar (BRASIL, 2015a), sendo, portanto, uma problemática muito recorrente no âmbito escolar que demanda estudos nessa área.

Tendo em vista que, amparado pela Convenção sobre os Direitos das Pessoas com Deficiência – ONU/2006 (BRASIL, 2011), da qual o Brasil é signatário, pelo Decreto n° 5296/2004 (BRASIL, 2004), o Censo Escolar/INEP "[...] considera estudantes com deficiência aqueles que têm impedimentos de longo prazo, de natureza física, intelectual ou sensorial, os quais, em interação com diversas barreiras, podem obstruir sua participação plena e efetiva na sociedade em igualdade de condições com as demais pessoas." (BRASIL, 2015b, p. 46).

A inclusão escolar de estudantes com deficiência intelectual, inclusive nas aulas de História, deve estar para além das limitações no funcionamento individual, entendendo que a deficiência "[...] não é fixada nem dicotomizada. Ela é fluida, contínua e mutável e, além disso, é possível reduzir a deficiência através de intervenções, serviços e apoios." (OLIVEIRA, 2011, p. 12).

Oliveira (2009, p. 73-74) aponta que "a condição de deficiência intelectual não pode nunca predeterminar qual será o limite de desenvolvimento do indivíduo. [...] Cabe à escola criar as condições necessárias [...] para a superação de seu próprio limite."

DDessa forma, é atribuído à escola um papel insubstituível, uma vez que, por meio do ensino, serão impulsionados novos processos de funcionamento mental no estudante (VYGOTSKI, 2000; OLIVEIRA, 2015) e, portanto, pesquisas sobre a escolarização do EDI são fundamentais.

A discussão das pesquisas, no âmbito da História, parece se concentrar nas questões de etnia e de gênero, igualmente importantes, mas insuficientes para que se possa pensar na amplitude do processo inclusivo, porque ao PAEE estão garantidas a matrícula e a permanência nas classes comuns do ensino regular.

A intensificação do movimento educacional inclusivo, no sentido da constituição de uma política nacional brasileira, teve maior impacto com a Declaração de Salamanca (BRASIL, 1997), da qual o Brasil se tornou signatário e que impulsionou a discussão do acesso de crianças, jovens e adultos, naquele momento denominados “com necessidades educacionais especiais”, à educação.

Entretanto, nesse período, o Brasil iniciava a elaboração de diretrizes e ações inclusivas na direção apontada pelos documentos internacionais e pela própria LDB. Esse movimento se intensificou, com a publicação da Resolução CNE/CBE nº 02/2001, a qual instituiu diretrizes nacionais para a educação especial na educação básica (BRASIL, 2001a), e do Parecer CNE\CBE nº 17/2001(BRASIL, 2001b). É importante destacar que, nos Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (PCN) de História para os 3º e 4º ciclos do Ensino Fundamental (de 5ª a 8ª séries, 6º ao 9º ano), estipulados nesse período, reconheceu-se “[...] a realidade brasileira como diversa, e as problemáticas educacionais das escolas, das localidades e das regiões como múltiplas [...]” (BRASIL, 1998, p. 15), e, de certa forma, a proposta dos PCN permitiu à escola estabelecer novas abordagens pedagógicas para o ensino de História. Essas abordagens poderiam ser mais favorecedoras com respeito ao aprendizado de todos os estudantes e, por consequência, também ao aprendizado dos EDI, embora fosse um período no qual eles ou ainda estavam ausentes do ciclo II do Ensino Fundamental ou, graças ao seu número reduzido, não provocavam impacto nesse âmbito do ensino.

Conhecer o estudante, entender o contexto no qual ele está inserido e avaliar suas necessidades individuais, a fim de fixar as metodologias de ensino mais adequadas, são pontos fundamentais para garantir o sucesso de sua inclusão na escola regular. Porém, esses pontos nem sempre foram considerados, no cenário educacional brasileiro.

O processo histórico que assegurou as medidas que deveriam ser tomadas como forma de efetivar a inclusão deu-se com a aprovação da Resolução do Conselho Nacional de Educação/Conselho Pleno (CNE/CP) 1, de 18 de fevereiro de 2002, que definiu a meta de formar professores capazes de promover a aprendizagem do público-alvo da educação especial, inclusive os EDI (BRASIL, 2002).

Com essa Resolução, estipularam-se mudanças nas Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Formação de Professores da Educação

Básica, nos cursos de licenciatura; assim, conforme previsto no seu art. 2º, o futuro docente deveria ser preparado para "o acolhimento e o trato da diversidade" (BRASIL, 2002, p. 1) e possuir "conhecimentos sobre crianças, adolescentes, jovens e adultos, aí incluídas as especificidades dos alunos com necessidades educacionais especiais [...]."

No entanto, as dificuldades para concretizar as deliberações da Resolução, que determinou aos cursos de formação de professores que se adaptassem às novas exigências no prazo de dois anos, deflagraram um cenário pouco receptivo a novos processos inclusivos. E, próximo do final do prazo para a adequação, a Resolução CNE/CP nº 2, de 27 de agosto de 2004 (BRASIL, 2004b), prorrogou o prazo para 15 de outubro de 2005. Contudo, em 2005, uma nova Resolução foi publicada, na tentativa de viabilizar a implantação da Resolução CNE/CP 1/2002. Foi acrescentado à Resolução CNE/CP nº 1, de 17 de novembro de 2005, um novo parágrafo no art. 15 da Resolução de 2002: "§3º As instituições de ensino superior decidirão pela aplicação, ou não, das Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Formação de Professores da Educação Básica, em nível superior [...]" (BRASIL, 2005, p. 17).

Apesar de todos os percalços, a Resolução foi implantada em 2005. Assim, escolhemos o ano de 2005 como data para o início de nosso levantamento, por estipular um marco legal que propulsionaria o levantamento de pesquisas com foco em adequações metodológicas na inclusão do PAEE. Dessa maneira, o presente estudo teve por objetivo mapear a produção científica sobre os métodos de ensino de História para os EDI, no Ensino Fundamental, ciclo II, entre o período de 2005 até 2016, focando as Dissertações e Teses produzidas.

Procedimentos Metodológicos

O levantamento foi realizado no *site* do Banco de Teses e Dissertações da CAPES. A busca contou com os seguintes descritores: Ensino de História AND Deficiência Intelectual; Métodos de Ensino; Ensino Fundamental II –obtendo-se um total de 866 resultados.

Para refinar os resultados, optamos pela escolha dos seguintes Programas de Pós-Graduação: Diversidade e Inclusão; Educação; Educação (Psicologia da Educação); Educação (Currículo); Educação - Processos formativos e desigualdades sociais; Educação e Contemporaneidade; Educação Escolar; Educação Especial (Educação do Indivíduo Especial; Educação, Contextos Contemporâneos e Demandas Populares; Educação: História, Política, Sociedade; Ensino; História; Processos Socioeducativos e Práticas Escolares; Psicologia do Desenvolvimento e Aprendizagem; Psicologia Escolar e do Desenvolvimento Humano.

Com essa filtragem, obtivemos 332 resultados. Essa opção por realizar o refinamento por nome do programa deveu-se à constatação de que, na ferramenta de filtragem Área de Concentração, havia um grande número de resultados (625 resultados) que não traziam a informação a qual tema de pesquisa pertenciam, ou seja, esse resultado não trazia maiores informações sobre o campo Área de Concentração.

Com o objetivo de restringir ainda mais os resultados, passamos à aplicação da ferramenta de refinamento Área de Concentração, quando selecionamos as alternativas que mais se aproximavam do nosso tema em estudo: Desenvolvimento e aprendizagem; Diversidade e Inclusão; Educação; Educação Brasileira; Educação do Indivíduo Especial; Educação e Formação; Educação Escolar; Educação Escolar e Profissão Docente; Educação Social; Educação, Contextos Contemporâneos e Demandas Populares; Educação, Sociedade e Práxis Pedagógica; Ensino na Educação Brasileira; Formação de Educadores; Planejamento Educacional; Processos Socioeducativas e Práticas Escolares.

Observamos que, com esse refinamento, resultaram, com o filtro Área de Concentração, 234 Teses e Dissertações, apresentadas entre parênteses e sem nenhuma informação adicional. Por não sabermos quais trabalhos foram agrupados no resultado 234, optamos por mantê-lo para análise mais aprofundada. Desse modo, chegamos ao resultado final de 304 dissertações e teses.

A partir desse resultado, passamos à seleção das Dissertações e Teses, através da leitura de seus títulos e resumos. Nessa seleção, retornamos às palavras-chave, a fim de buscar trabalhos que abordassem o ensino de História para o EDI e suas metodologias de ensino, no Ensino Fundamental, ciclo II, selecionando Dissertações e Teses produzidas entre os anos de 2005 a 2016. Foi necessário que essa seleção por período ocorresse a partir da leitura dos trabalhos pré-selecionados. Devemos ainda esclarecer que o trabalho com as palavras-chave norteou nossa seleção, pois nos concentramos em Dissertações e Teses que abordassem o ensino de História para EDI, no Ensino Fundamental II, e suas metodologias de ensino.

Devido à dificuldade de encontrar todos os descritores contidos nos trabalhos, priorizamos, por meio da leitura, a busca de trabalhos que considerassem, ao menos, o Ensino de História para o EDI. Os trabalhos selecionados para a análise foram dois (2): uma Dissertação de Mestrado, denominada *A concepção de êxito no ensino de História para alunos com deficiência intelectual*,[5] e uma Tese de Doutorado, com o título Const*rução, Aplicação e Análise de Proposta de Formação Continuada de Professores para o Ensino de História a Alunos com Deficiência Intelectual*[6], ambas do mesmo pesquisador (SILVA, 2009, 2016).

Resultados e Discussão

Os resultados obtidos com o uso dos descritores anteriormente mencionados e selecionados para análise encontram-se contemplados no Quadro 1.

O Quadro 1 contém os dois resultados obtidos no levantamento das Dissertações e Teses no Banco de Dados da CAPES, eleitos para análise, por se aproximarem mais do objetivo da pesquisa. Os dados foram dispostos em quatro colunas, contendo: autor, título do trabalho, natureza do trabalho e ano de publicação, para melhor identificação.

Em sua Dissertação de Mestrado, Silva (2009) realizou entrevistas com 14 EDI matriculados em classes regulares do Ensino Fundamental II e de 11 professores de História desses estudantes. Para a seleção dos sujeitos da pesquisa, Silva utilizou os dados contidos no Mapa de Atendimento de uma Diretoria Regional de Ensino do interior de São Paulo. Seu objetivo consistiu em compreender "a concepção de êxito no ensino de História para alunos com deficiência intelectual" (p. 01). O autor procurou, em sua pesquisa, comparar se essa concepção dos estudantes era semelhante à construída pelos professores desses estudantes.

Destaca-se um trecho que fundamenta a discussão proposta por Silva:

> [...] vimos durante análise das "Condições Iniciais", que a História antes da presença dos alunos com deficiência intelectual, é compreendida pelos professores entrevistados como espécie de produto que deve ser entregue aos alunos responsáveis por "guardá-la".
> Vimos ainda que esta mesma História possui objetivo funcional e imediato, mais precisamente voltado para uma boa nota na prova mensal, nos exames vestibulares ou nos concursos públicos [...].
> As dificuldades para o aprendizado desta História estão em sua plenitude voltadas aos alunos, compreendidos como únicos responsáveis pelo fracasso na aprendizagem, ou seja, na aquisição e posterior reprodução do conteúdo que lhe foi entregue verbalmente ou através da leitura do livro didático (SILVA, 2009, p. 122).

Silva (2009) inferiu que a presença do EDI na classe comum modificou as intenções de ensino dos professores, pois eles deixaram de esperar que os EDI reproduzissem por escrito, em sala ou nas avaliações, o conteúdo transmitido, começando a avaliar apenas o comportamento dos estudantes, esperando que estes se adaptassem e não atrapalhassem o andamento da aula. Contudo, Silva (2009) concluiu que os EDI compreenderam o desempenho que era esperado deles e procuraram adaptar-se, o que nem sempre foi possível. Sobre isso, observe-se o apontamento do autor:

> Por fim, aponta a importância do silenciamento e da adequação do comportamento de acordo com o esperado pelo professor como procedimento comum, pois reconhecem que ambos estão notavelmente associados ao êxito. (SILVA, 2009, p. 123).

O trabalho de Silva (2009) nos fornece pistas a respeito da contradição existente entre como e o que o professor deseja ensinar e a realidade do como e o que o aluno aprende. Essa contradição, segundo o autor, estende-se aos objetivos do ensino de História:

> O ensino de história discursivamente voltado à humanização, reorganiza-se neste espaço de modo que promova o cíclico processo de sujeição através da entrega da maior quantidade possível de informações que serão cobradas logo a frente. Não há tempo para o debate, o aprendizado e mesmo à percepção do outro (SILVA, 2009, p. 125)

Porém, ele compreendeu que a inclusão dos EDI na escola regular tem o potencial de reverter essa situação, pois os mecanismos de adaptação usados com o corpo discente, em geral, podem não ser eficientes com os EDI, o que pode favorecer a reflexão e a mudança nas concepções de êxito, objetivos, métodos e práticas do ensino de História, por parte do professor de História e de toda a comunidade escolar.

Entretanto, enfatiza-se que o objetivo do trabalho de Silva (2009) não consistiu em oferecer alternativas metodológicas ao ensino de História para o EDI, apesar de trazer um avanço para a área, ao considerar o ponto de vista do estudante, e não apenas o do professor.

Na sequência de seus estudos e reflexões sobre o ensino de História, Silva (2016) aprofundou-se sobre o tema, em sua Tese de Doutorado. Sua pesquisa, dessa vez, teve por objetivo “construir, aplicar e analisar um modelo de formação continuada direcionada a professores de História para o ensino de alunos com deficiência intelectual” (p. 20). Ele abordou, em sua Tese, a necessidade de formação continuada que possibilitasse aos professores repensar suas concepções (não só a de aprendizado, ou êxito, como ele coloca em sua Dissertação de Mestrado, mas também a própria concepção de ensino de História e Deficiência Intelectual). Para alcançar esse objetivo, ele desenvolveu e aplicou um modelo de formação destinada a professores de História, com as seguintes características:

> Esse modelo de formação propõe a realização de encontros de reflexão entre os professores e o pesquisador, com suporte de roteiros norteadores previamente estabelecidos, tendo como ferramenta propulsora da reflexão, a análise dialógica de filmagens do trabalho cotidianamente desenvolvido pelo professor em sala de aula. (SILVA, 2016, p. 69)

A pesquisa de Silva (2016) contou com a participação de 4 (quatro) integrantes: 2 professoras (1 de escola pública e 1 de escola particular) e 2 EDI matriculados no Ensino Fundamental II (1 na escola pública e 1 na escola particular). Através da observação das filmagens, ele comprovou algumas hipóteses. A principal delas é que o ensino de História se dividia em três fases: “a contação, a associação básica e a associação plena [...]”.

Para Silva (2016), na fase da contação, o professor “conta/apresenta” a História, sem exigir a participação do estudante; na associação básica, o professor possibilita ao estudante relacionar o conhecimento a ser aprendido com outros saberes, em nível primário (inicial); e, por fim, na associação plena, estabelece-se, por meio do questionamento e do diálogo, uma relação aprofundada entre o conteúdo apresentado e o contexto histórico, estendendo-os às situações cotidianas dos estudantes. Nesse último nível, como descreve o autor, ocorreria o aprendizado significativo, sendo esse o objetivo que os professores de História deveriam perseguir. Silva (2016), ao analisar os dados, constatou que até mesmo os EDI apresentaram possibilidades de fazer associações plenas.

Por ser a escola, o local onde se configura o ensino formal, consideramos que a Escola de Vygotski ou Teoria Histórico-Cultural (THC) possibilita algumas contribuições para as dificuldades encontradas no ensino escolar, ao voltar-se, principalmente, à importância e papel do educador no processo de aprendizagem. Essa teoria atribui ao educador um papel de essencial importância, para que ocorra a aprendizagem.

Pino (2005), a partir do estudo das obras de Vygotsky, afirma que a constituição cultural do ser humano só é possível através do outro, ou seja, da inter-relação. É pelas relações sociais que a mediação cultural entre o adulto e a criança acontece. Nessa relação, ocorre a apropriação do conhecimento socialmente construído pela criança. Vygotsky assim descreve a mediação:

> La aplicación de medios auxiliares y el paso a la actividad mediadora reconstruye de raíz toda la operación psíquica a semejanza de como la aplicación de las herramientas modifica la actividad natural de los órganos y amplia infinitamente el sistema de actividad de las funciones psíquicas. (VYGOTSKY, 1995, p. 94)

O conceito de mediação foi uma importante contribuição de Vygotsky ao pensamento pedagógico. Na mediação, o papel do professor é fundamental na escolha dos recursos pedagógicos para os EDI. O processo de mediação oferece a possibilidade de desenvolvimento dos Processos Psicológicos Superiores (PPS), pois favorece o estabelecimento de recursos e estratégias pedagógicas que se colocam entre a cultura e o estudante.

Libâneo (2004, p. 5-6) afirma que

> [...] a escola continua sendo uma instância necessária de democratização intelectual e política; (e) [...] que uma política educacional inclusiva deve estar fundamentada na ideia de que o elemento nuclear da escola é a atividade de aprendizagem, lastreada no pensamento teórico, associada aos motivos dos alunos, sem o que as escolas não seriam verdadeiramente inclusivas. (2004, p. 5-6)

Com base na Teoria Histórico-Cultural (THC), pode-se realizar uma reflexão sobre o ensino de História para os EDI, utilizando os conceitos de mediação e de compensação ou supercompensação da deficiência. Vygotsky (1997) apresenta, por meio de seus estudos com pessoas com deficiência, a possibilidade de que elas compensem déficits, mas não como um processo natural, porque isso só se torna possível com uma intervenção adequada, sendo a mediação uma delas. Para Vygotsky, o movimento que promove a compensação no EDI, parte do professor, que deve

> [...] conocer la peculiaridad del camino por el qual debe conducir al niño. La clave de la peculiaridad la brinda la ley de transformación del menos del defecto en el más de la compensación.[i](VYGOTSKY, 1997, p.17)

O professor, ao conhecer as particularidades de seu aluno, avaliará a sua forma de apresentar o conteúdo, questionando-se: qual forma mais adequada para ensinar História ao EDI? Porém, ao se voltar para os PCN de ensino de História, para tentar responder a essa questão, o professor se depara com a seguinte problemática: a caracterização dos objetivos do ensino de História.

Ressaltam os PCN de História:

> A História tem o papel de difundir e consolidar identidades no tempo, sejam étnicas, culturais, religiosas, de classes e grupos, de Estado ou Nação. Nele, fundamentalmente, têm sido recriadas as relações professor, aluno, conhecimento histórico e realidade social, em benefício do fortalecimento do papel da História na formação social e intelectual de indivíduos para que, de modo consciente e reflexivo, desenvolvam a compreensão de si mesmos, dos outros, da sua inserção em uma sociedade histórica e da responsabilidade de todos atuarem na construção de sociedades mais igualitárias e democráticas. (BRASIL, 1998, p. 29).

O papel da História, na educação, não deixa claro ao professor se essas competências podem ser desenvolvidas por todos os indivíduos, principalmente pelo EDI. E, portanto, levanta-se a questão de se seria possível estender esses objetivos para os EDI.

Barroco, Leonardo e Silva (2012), em comentário à concepção expressa pela Teoria Histórico-Cultural acerca do desenvolvimento humano, afirmam que objetivar-se como ser humano significa alcançar o desenvolvimento pleno de todas as potencialidades humanas, tornar-se um ser genérico, ou seja, um arquétipo de humanidade. Para isso, os autores reconhecem a importância da História, sublinhando que o indivíduo deve não só se inserir na História, como também se apropriar dos seus resultados e fazer deles órgãos de sua individualidade.

Desse modo, como é possível fazer com que o estudante se insira na História e se aproprie de seus resultados? Fazendo com que ele se compreenda como parte integrante da História, sujeito dela e produtor de si mesmo; permitindo que ele aprenda os conteúdos da disciplina e, por meio desse aprendizado, seja capaz de dar seu próprio significado ao conhecimento da História, que foi historicamente acumulado; finalmente, mostrando que ele é produto do processo histórico e agente desse mesmo processo.

Somente com um conhecimento e entendimento da História e das relações humanas como histórico-culturais e socialmente construídas, o estudante com ou sem DI poderá tomar consciência do seu tempo histórico (contexto), suas contradições e possibilidades. E, para atingir esse nível de desenvolvimento, o EDI dependerá de uma aprendizagem com mediações que favoreçam a apropriação dos conteúdos historicamente construídos.

Oliveira (2002) salienta, a partir do estudo das obras de Vygotsky, a relação entre o desenvolvimento dos PPS e o contexto histórico cultural em que o indivíduo vive. Enfatiza a autora:

> A chave do pensamento de Vygotsky, que impulsionou seus estudos e suas pesquisas, é, certamente, a formação histórica e social da mente. No seu entender, os processos psicológicos superiores têm origem sociocultural e, as relações sociais se configuram como parte essencial da constituição da natureza humana. (OLIVEIRA, 2002, p. 33)

No entanto, o ensino de História, como se observou pelo próprio levantamento bibliográfico, ainda não corresponde a esses objetivos, e sua estrutura de ensino apresenta-se como de uma educação tradicional, também chamada por Paulo Freire de educação bancária. Para Freire (1996), a educação bancária (educação tradicional) tem o seguinte fundamento metodológico:

> A narração, de que o educador é o sujeito, conduz os educandos à memorização mecânica do conteúdo narrado. Mais ainda, a narração os transforma em "vasilhas", em recipientes a serem "enchidos" pelo educador. Quanto mais vá "enchendo" os recipientes com seus "depósitos", tanto melhor educador será. Quanto mais se deixem docilmente "encher", tanto melhores educandos serão. (p.57, aspas do autor.)

A essa educação, denunciada por Freire (1996), contrapomos o que denominamos métodos de ensino de História diversificados, ou alternativos, que seriam responsáveis por superar a educação bancária/tradicional baseada na narração, no depósito de saberes desconectados de significado, a qual não problematiza o conteúdo e nem promove a reflexão.

A ausência de práticas pedagógicas diversificadas pode ser explicada, como aponta Calissi, pelo aumento da reprodução e distribuição de livros didáticos, no Brasil, a partir da década de 1960, o que, por um lado, contribuiu para a instrumentalização do professor e acesso do estudante a um suporte de leitura e ao conhecimento histórico; "[...] criou, porém, ao mesmo tempo, a problemática da massificação da informação e desfavoreceu metodologias alternativas." (CALISSI, 2004). O livro didático, muitas vezes, se torna um manual didático para toda aula de História e único instrumento pedagógico de muitos professores.

Para além dessa educação bancária, Schmidt defende que a docência na área de História contribui para o empoderamento dos estudantes: "A aula de História é o momento em que, ciente do conhecimento que possui, o professor pode oferecer a seu aluno a apropriação do conhecimento histórico existente, através de uma atividade com a qual ele retome a atividade que edificou esse conhecimento." (2010, p. 57).

No caso do EDI, o professor de História deve considerar as particularidades do processo de aprendizagem desses sujeitos, tendo em vista os conteúdos e conceitos a serem apreendidos do currículo escolar, o que demanda do professor uma atuação pedagógica planejada e intencional.

Entretanto, é preciso buscar pontos de intersecção entre os elementos constituintes do sujeito, seu modo de pensar e as estratégias de ensino, as quais tornem o estudante sujeito do seu processo de aprendizagem, em coautoria com o professor, para além dos limites impostos por sua deficiência.

A escola deve ensinar os estudantes a pensar, ou seja, desenvolver ativamente neles os fundamentos do pensamento contemporâneo, de sorte a organizar um ensino tal que impulsione o desenvolvimento, configurando-se, dessa forma, em um *ensino desenvolvente* (DAVIDOV, 1988).

Os trabalhos analisados por esta pesquisa nos ofereceram algumas indicações de caminhos a seguir, pois discutiram problemas estruturais inerentes à educação brasileira, os quais frustram as tentativas de inclusão dos EDI e impossibilitam o aprendizado e o desenvolvimento, não somente desses estudantes, como de muitos outros.

Concordamos com esses trabalhos quanto à necessidade de mudança de concepção no que concerne ao papel da História, seu ensino e sobre o EDI, frente a esse ensino, mas consideramos que as pesquisas sobre métodos que apresentem maior potencialidade de apropriação do conhecimento para o EDI provocariam também mudanças de concepção sobre a educação e o papel da escola, porque essas pesquisas levariam a variadas discussões, como, por exemplo: como o EDI aprende melhor? Quais recursos o professor deve utilizar para ajudá-lo a aprender mais? Os trabalhos também nos indicaram lacunas na formação inicial dos professores e assinalaram, na formação continuada, uma oportunidade de sanar essas falhas. Referindo-se aos cursos de formação inicial de professores de história, Silva (2016, p. 40) assinala:

> [...] não encontramos nos centros de formação pesquisados, nenhuma disciplina específica com vistas a um melhor atendimento pedagógico do aluno com deficiência intelectual, mas conteúdos inseridos nas disciplinas de didática, prática de ensino e estágio supervisionado [...].

A situação exposta pelo autor é alarmante, visto que nos revela que a Resolução CNE/CP 1 de 2002 não surtiu efeito e está, ainda, distante dos resultados desejados em sua implementação. Em geral, os futuros professores de História terminam seus cursos de formação inicial sem nenhuma experiência quanto ao modo de ensinar ao EDI, o que faz com que adotem os métodos de ensino dos quais possuem maior conhecimento, ou seja, os métodos de ensino tradicional.

Conclusões

O levantamento sobre o ensino de História para EDI revelou que, apesar da obrigatoriedade de sua matrícula no Ensino fundamental II ser uma realidade, ainda é preciso que a formação inicial e a formação continuada ofereçam ao professor novas concepções de ensino e perspectivas metodológicas para o ensino de História aos EDI. Esse movimento em busca de diferenciados processos de ensino deve ocorrer em todo o processo educacional, segundo aponta a THC e não somente nos casos de inclusão escolar de estudantes com deficiência intelectual. Tal processo, considerando esse público, precisa oferecer condições adequadas de aprendizagem, o que configura um caminho para promover a inclusão.

Os trabalhos analisados apontam que o ensino de História para os EDI ainda se encontra em estágio embrionário e longe de ser efetivado. Apesar de termos, na LDB (1996) e nas Resoluções apresentadas, parâmetros que orientam os professores, em sua atuação, ou que procuram assegurar uma melhor formação dos futuros docentes para possibilitar aos EDI participar de uma escola preparada para ensiná-lo, constatamos que essas orientações e resoluções quase não provocaram modificações nas práticas e concepções dos professores. A realidade revelada pelo levantamento da produção de Teses e Dissertações, num período de 11 anos, apresentou apenas dois trabalhos que discutem essa temática, representando uma preocupação irrisória sobre o ensino de História para os EDI.

Como discutimos logo na introdução deste trabalho, a partir do estudo de Zamboni (2000), inferimos que a escassez de trabalhos que abordam o ensino de História para o EDI pode significar que ainda não superamos a inclusão efetiva de outros grupos historicamente excluídos, haja vista a luta por garantir a obrigatoriedade do ensino de História Afro-Brasileira e Indígena, no currículo oficial de História. Consideramos que essa luta é legítima e extremamente necessária, porém, reafirmamos o imperativo de entender que a inclusão do PAEE não é um processo idêntico à inclusão de outros grupos, social e economicamente excluídos.

A finalidade do ensino de História é garantir que todos os estudantes, com ou sem deficiência, se apropriem do conhecimento historicamente construído, como prescrevem as leis e os regimentos que constituem o ensino nacional. Os processos educacionais, por sua vez, precisam ser humanizados, ou seja, capazes de oferecer aos estudantes acesso ao conhecimento humano, a fim de que esse conteúdo seja apropriado e possibilite o desenvolvimento de seres humanos integrais, não fragmentados, dotados de consciência e entendimento de seus papéis como seres sociais e integrantes da História.

A História, ao facultar a aprendizagem dos conceitos científicos, conforme as mediações realizadas pelo professor, em situações concretas e problematizadoras, assume um papel fundamental no desenvolvimento das Funções Psíquicas Superiores (como memória, atenção, linguagem, pensamento).

Conforme aponta Libâneo (2004, p. 22), devemos entender que “[...] o papel da educação escolar no mundo contemporâneo implica saber que a aquisição de conhecimentos e o desenvolvimento de capacidades mentais dos alunos incluem o conhecimento teórico, juntamente com o desenvolvimento de competências cognitivas complexas.”

A mediação é um recurso pedagógico fundamental para o processo de aprendizagem do EDI, mas, para que seja empregada, é necessário que o professor compreenda a forma adequada de operacionalizar esse recurso, em sala de aula, de modo a explorar todas as suas possibilidades pedagógicas. A escola e os métodos adotados, na perspectiva da THC, inclusive para o ensino de História, necessitam se voltar para o desenvolvimento do potencial humano de seus estudantes, inclusive dos EDI, suscitando o aparecimento de novas formas de pensamento. Dessa forma, poderemos oferecer um cenário educacional que desenvolva o homem ao máximo de suas possibilidades.

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Resenha

UM OLHAR SOBRE O IMPEACHMENT DE DILMA ROUSSEFF

Resenha de: ALMEIDA, Rodrigo de. *À sombra do poder*: Bastidores da Crise que Derrubou Dilma Rousseff. São Paulo: Leya, 2016. 224p.

Daniel de Souza Lemos[*]

RESUMO

Resenha do livro do cientista político e jornalista Rodrigo Almeida, então Secretário Imprensa da Presidência da República, nos meses finais do segundo mandato de Dilma Rousseff antes de seu impedimento. À sombra do poder: bastidores da crise que derrubou Dilma Rousseff, narra os fatos que constituíram o pano de fundo da crise que pôs fim prematuramente ao segundo mandato da primeira presidenta do Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Dilma Rousseff; Impeachment; Golpe

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A Revolução Russa de 1917 completou cem anos e no calor dos eventos que tiveram impacto na História John Reed – jornalista socialista estadunidense – escreveu "Dez dias que abalaram o mundo". O livro de leitura indispensável é o resultado do olhar de alguém que foi testemunha ocular daquela revolução. Anos antes, no

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Brasil, durante a Guerra de Canudos (1896-1897), ocorrida no interior da Bahia, Euclides da Cunha presenciou parte do conflito como correspondente do jornal O Estado de S. Paulo e, narrando os episódios desse importante acontecimento da história do Brasil República escreveu Os Sertões, que foi publicado em 1902.

Na história recente do Brasil, em uma posição privilegiada, diante da crise política que culminou com o impedimento do segundo mandato presidencial de Dilma Rousseff, Rodrigo de Almeida era o Secretário de Imprensa da Presidência da República, "em um governo nada afeito a se comunicar", de acordo com o próprio. Antes disso, o jornalista e cientista político doutorado pelo Instituto de Estudos Sociais e políticos (Iesp) da UERJ havia ocupado o cargo de assessor de imprensa do Ministro da Fazenda, Joaquim Levy – talvez o mais questionado de todos os ministros dos dois mandatos de Dilma Roussef. Nessa condição, como observador e partícipe do fato mais impactante da política brasileira recente, o impeachment, chamado pelos apoiadores da então presidenta de golpe, é que o autor se propõe a escrever "*um livro de observação. Um registro para a história de uma época profundamente trágica para o país*." (2016, p.12)

As 224 páginas do livro de Rodrigo de Almeida estão divididas em 24 capítulos – precedidos de uma explicação – onde são apresentados os elementos que compõe o contexto geral da crise, ou das crises, que levaram à queda de Dilma Rousseff da Presidência da República. Para delinear tal quadro o autor escolhe o último dia da presidenta no exercício do mandato presidencial, ou seja, o silencioso, melancólico e quente (passaria de 30ºC aquela quinta-feira) 12 de maio de 2016. Que foi o resultado do que Almeida chama de "a versão brasileira das dez pragas do Egito", os fatos que constituíram a crise do Governo Dilma.

Logo na "explicação", capítulo inicial do livro, Almeida enumera aquilo que em sua opinião são os dez principais episódios que compuseram o pano de fundo da crise do Governo, que foi interrompido com o impeachment:

> Ao longo daqueles meses, entre a Esplanada e o Palácio, o governo viveu e padeceu sob a versão brasileira das dez pragas do Egito. Listei: inflação de dois dígitos,

> desemprego também de dois dígitos, recessão econômica, o mar de lama deixado pelo rompimento da barragem de Mariana, em Minas Gerais, o vírus Zika, a Operação Lava Jato, a delação premiada do senador Delcídio Amaral, preso no exercício do mandato, a polêmica sobre a compra da refinaria de Pasadena, a ação no Tribunal Superior Eleitoral que pedia a cassação da chapa Dilma-Temer, e o processo de impeachment no Congresso. (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 09)

E, então, passa a registrar as observações – colhidas nos bastidores e nas informações publicadas pela imprensa – de quem não se classifica como um "militante ou assessor ressentido", mas um auxiliar que buscou ajudar o governo e o país, dentro de seus limites subjetivos e institucionais.

As equipes ministeriais do segundo mandato

"*Eleição nova, governo novo, equipe nova*"
(ALMEIDA, 2016, p.41)

O ministério do segundo mandato presidencial de Dilma Rousseff foi questionado desde o início da formação. Que começou com a escolha de Joaquim Levy, para o Ministério da Fazenda. Este representava a presença do mercado financeiro no governo, e a adesão à política econômica do candidato derrotado, o neoliberal Aécio Neves, do PSDB, conforme as acusações do setor petista da coalizão governamental.

O principal apoio de Joaquim Levy para Ministro da Fazenda veio de Luiz Carlos Trabuco. Presidente do Bradesco, "homem forte de um dos maiores bancos do país" (p. 77), pertencia à mística dinastia, de apenas quatro indivíduos, que controlou o Bradesco em 70 anos de história. Ele articulava ainda, outros empresários que afiançavam e, inclusive chantageavam o governo, pela permanência de Levy no cargo mais importante da economia, a saber, Carlos Jereissati, Pedro Moreira Salles e Josué Gomes da Silva.

Também compunham a equipe econômica do segundo mandato Nelson Barbosa, Ministro do Planejamento – e depois com a demissão de Joaquim Levy – da Fazenda e Alexandre Tombini, presidente do Banco Central. Estes, em várias ocasiões se engalfinharam em disputas ao longo do período em que estiveram em seus cargos. Dois exemplos destacam-se: a maneira como encaminhar o ajuste fiscal, idealizado por Levy, e a proposta de orçamento deficitário enviado ao Congresso em 2016, que o ministro da fazenda se opunha e Nelson Barbosa e Aloísio Mercadante defendiam.

Entre os petistas da equipe destacavam-se: Aloízio Mercadante, Ministro chefe da Casa Civil e, depois, Ministro da Educação; Pepe Vargas, Ministro das Relações Institucionais (depois Ministro da Secretaria dos Direitos Humanos); Miguel Rossetto, Ministro Secretário Geral da Presidência, posteriormente do Trabalho e Previdência Social; José Eduardo Cardoso, Ministro da Justiça e, depois Advogado geral da União; Gilles Azevedo, Assessor Especial; Jaques Wagner, Ministro chefe da Casa Civil (substituindo Mercadante com o agravamento da crise); Ricardo Berzoini, Ministro das Relações Institucionais (substituindo Pepe Vargas); Tereza Campello, Ministra do Desenvolvimento Social; Eleonora Menicucci, Secretaria de Políticas para as Mulheres.

Outros membros da equipe ministerial ocuparam posição coadjuvante durante o curto período do segundo governo Dilma. Destacando-se: Luís Inácio Adams, Advogado-geral da União; Aldo Rebello, Ministro da Defesa; Kátia Abreu, Ministra da Agricultura; Carlos Gabas, Ministro da Previdência Social; Eliseu Padilha, Ministro da Aviação Civil; Gilberto Kassab, Ministro das Cidades; Cid Gomes, Ministro da Educação (substituído pelo filósofo Renato Janine Ribeiro após desentendimento daquele com o deputado Eduardo Cunha); Marcelo Castro, Ministro da Saúde; Celso Pansera Ministro da Ciência e Tecnologia; entre outros.

Nomes que, nas palavras de Jânio de Freitas, *"*um jornalista com um olhar habitualmente mais favorável ao governo Dilma*"* (ALMEIDA, p.90) são "os retalhos que vêm formar um pretenso ministério não tem o mínimo de ideia e de substância" (ALMEIDA, p.90).

A oposição sai fortalecida da eleição de outubro de 2014

"*A tese virou clichê: o Brasil saiu dividido da disputa presidencial de 2014*" (ALMEIDA, 2016, p.33)

A ação da oposição começou quatro dias após o anúncio da reeleição de Dilma Rousseff, no domingo dia 26 de outubro de 2014. Aécio Neves, "o candidato que não soube perder", acompanhado de seus correligionários Fernando Henrique Cardoso e José Serra, ajuizou no Supremo Tribunal Eleitoral um pedido de "auditoria especial", questionando o resultado eleitoral. A margem apertada de votos – 51,65% dos votos para Dilma Rousseff, versus os 48,36% de sufrágios obtidos por Aécio Neves – nunca foi assimilada pelos tucanos. E, motivou ação patrocinada pelo deputado federal paulista Carlos Sampaio, do PSDB, coordenador jurídico da campanha do candidato derrotado. A estratégia adotada pela oposição foi a de questionar a legitimidade do mandato presidencial de Dilma Rousseff.

Outro flanco oposicionista ficou a cargo das lideranças parlamentares reunidas em torno de Roberto Freire, presidente do PPS, José Agripino Maia, presidente do DEM, Paulo Pereira da Silva, presidente do Solidariedade, José Luiz Penna, presidente do PV, cuja missão era avançar com o pedido de impeachment.

Conforme Almeida, o "cretinismo parlamentar" daqueles que fizeram do legislativo algoz do mandato presidencial de Dilma Rousseff, foi amplificado com a sabedoria regimental dos oportunistas da Câmara dos Deputados. Que eram liderados pelo seu então presidente, o Deputado Eduardo Cunha do PMDB, e constituíam os chamados "moralistas sem moral" denunciados nos discursos da ainda presidenta.

Além da oposição parlamentar, a presidenta enfrentava a frente única constituída por FIESP – VEM PRA RUA – PSDB, que patrocinou as ações de rua contra o governo e atraía a atenção da grande mídia. Representava o segmento social que elegeu a oposição e, deu o suporte "popular" do processo de impedimento da presidenta.

Ao contrário de Fernando Henrique Cardoso e Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, seus antecessores na presidência, Dilma Rousseff não sabia dialogar com o legislativo, tampouco se dedicava ao "penoso trabalho de conversar com parlamentares" (p.56). Prática, esta, que sem dúvida constitui o modus operandi do presidencialismo de coalizão, que é característica maneira de governar o Brasil constituindo alianças de base parlamentar. Amplificando as dificuldades políticas do governo que perdeu, bem cedo, a capacidade de impor a agenda de governo e aprovar iniciativas que tramitavam no Congresso, o que irritava o ex-presidente Lula (p. 75)

Somada aos críticos do governo, a mídia potencializa a voz da oposição como dizia o cientista político Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos *"prática habitual da imprensa de enxergar o ruim quando está bom e o péssimo quando está ruim"* (ALMEIDA, 2016, p.55). Veículos da imprensa tradicionais como a Folha de São Paulo, o Estado de São Paulo, o Globo, Valor Econômico, Jornal da Globo, Jornal Nacional, entre outros engrossavam o coro do impeachment.

Os aliados de ocasião e os traidores

"*era preciso criar um novo bloco de apoio no Congresso*"
(ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 85)

Uma das ações políticas mais frustrantes e que teve grande impacto negativo, foi a operação para construir uma maioria parlamentar que não fosse dependente do PMDB, maior partido da Câmara. Idealizada pelo Ministro Aloizio Mercadante (iniciativa nunca confirmada publicamente) e tendo como operadores para a criação de um novo partido, os ministros Gilberto Kassab, PSD, e Cid Gomes, PROS, despertou a ira dos lideres do PMDB, em especial Eduardo Cunha e Michel Temer.

Para acalmar os ânimos com o PMDB, a presidenta Dilma, entregou a articulação política do governo para o Vice-presidente Michel Temer, que auxiliado por Eliseu Padilha, começaram então a conspirar contra Rousseff abertamente. Isso confirmava a tese do ex-ministro Ciro Gomes, que chamava Temer de “capitão do golpe”.

A precária coalizão política que apoiava o governo Dilma era constituída pelos seguintes partidos: PT, PMDB, PTB, PR, PSD, PDT, PCdoB, PRB, e PP, ou seja, nove partidos, que com poucas exceções se encontravam divididos sobre o apoio ao governo.

Conseqüências do desprezo da presidenta pela arte da política: o Impeachment

“fazer a coisa certa depois de se esgotarem todas as demais alternativas” Winston Churchill (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 82)

> Jeitoso no trato com a imprensa, boa-praça com os colegas de trabalho e bom articulador com os partidos aliados e até mesmo com os adversários, Jaques era a antítese do antecessor, Aloízio Mercadante. (ALMEIDA, 2016, p. 91)

A presidenta Dilma Rousseff começou tardiamente a fazer a coisa certa para enfrentar a crise política, a saber, trocar os ministros que tumultuavam o ambiente político por nomes que viessem contribuir com a articulação política. O primeiro nome com essa missão foi o ex-governador da Bahia, Jaques Wagner, que substituiu Aloízio Mercadante na chefia da Casa Civil da Presidência. Junto com o político baiano, Dilma Rousseff recrutou Ricardo Berzoini como Ministro das Relações Institucionais, substituindo Pepe Vargas, outro quadro muito criticado.

Outras crises de diferentes naturezas apareceram e forçaram a criação de “grupos de gestão de crise” ou grupos de trabalho (GT), cabe citar, GT da microcefalia, GT da Zika, GT do impeachment. Mas a maior de todas as crises era produzida e disseminada pelo presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, Eduardo Cunha, do PMDB carioca. Este ameaçava, chantageava, enfrentava, combatia e articulava contra o governo Dilma desde o dia em que a presidenta se reelegeu, e Cunha começou a preparar sua candidatura a presidência da Câmara Federal. Mesmo tendo sido procurada por Michel Temer, que temia o fortalecimento político de Cunha no PMDB, a presidenta Dilma Rousseff não deu a atenção devida ao fato.

Logo, o grande movimento do xadrez do processo de impeachment foi dado na quarta-feira, dia 02 de dezembro de 2015, quando o Presidente da Câmara dos Deputados acolheu o pedido de impeachment apresentado pelos advogados Hélio Bicudo, Miguel Reali Júnior e Janaína Pascoal. Foi o xeque-mate. O que, no entanto, nas palavras de ALMEIDA, configurava:

> um processo deflagrado como um ato de retaliação, a reação indignada de uma presidente que não aceitou ser chantageada e expôs, com firmeza, uma comparação de biografias entre ela e Cunha. (ALMEIDA, 2016, p.115)

Conclusão

> "Governo, aprendi, é para os fortes. E mais do que ninguém Dilma Rousseff demonstrou sua fortaleza diante das tempestades que atravessou" (ALMEIDA, 2016, p.11)

Além de Almeida se apresentar como um observador participante dos fatos que culminaram com a queda de Dilma Rousseff da presidência do Brasil, o trabalho recorda um emaranhado de fatos, que em maior ou menor grau, contribuíram para o desfecho da crise. A principal fonte utilizada por Almeida para a reconstituição dos episódios narrados foi a imprensa nacional. Os periódicos – de oposição e de situação – são mencionados em todo o livro. Este, igual os livros mencionados no primeiro parágrafo desta resenha constituem relevantes depoimentos. Porém, a obra de Almeida tende a ser convertido em fonte histórica de pesquisas que buscam aprofundar os fatos narrados, visto a superficialidade analítica do texto.

Ainda o autor registra com perspicácia os atributos pessoais dos protagonistas do principal evento da história política recente do país. Desde a personalidade forte de Dilma Rousseff que jamais enfrentava um tema sem ter "feito o dever de casa", estudado com afinco o assunto a ponto de desestabilizar os interlocutores menos previnidos. Até a maneira jeitosa, gentil de "dizer não" do Ministro Jaques Wagner, oposta de seu antecessor Mercadante. Ou a disciplina, capacidade de trabalho e conhecimento das regras do jogo, que marcam a personalidade de Eduardo Cunha, segundo reportagem da revista Veja.

A história política do Brasil é marcada fortemente por golpes, renúncias e deposições de quadros das elites governantes. O livro de Rodrigo de Almeida merece ser lido por abordar, mesmo que de maneira limitada analiticamente, por abordar o processo do impedimento da primeira mulher a presidir o país, porém um caso entre tantos, de violação da voz das urnas que caracterizam a história política brasileira.

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