

2018

Les Éléments de l'Empire: Cultural Construction and Civilization in 19th Century French Algeria

David Wells

Chapman University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/vocesnovae>

Recommended Citation

Wells, David (2018) "Les Éléments de l'Empire: Cultural Construction and Civilization in 19th Century French Algeria," *Voces Novae*: Vol. 6, Article 8.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.chapman.edu/vocesnovae/vol6/iss1/8>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Chapman University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Voces Novae by an authorized editor of Chapman University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact laughtin@chapman.edu.

Voces Novae: Chapman University Historical Review, Vol 6, No 1 (2014)

[HOME](#) [ABOUT](#) [USER HOME](#) [SEARCH](#) [CURRENT](#) [ARCHIVES](#) [PHI ALPHA THETA](#)[Home](#) > [Vol 6, No 1 \(2014\)](#)

Les Éléments de l'Empire: Cultural Construction and Civilization in 19th Century French Algeria

David Wells

In July of 1830 France captured the city of Algiers, initiating a deeply conflicted relationship with Algeria that lasted until Algeria's violent decolonization and independence in 1962. Throughout this period, the cultural interaction between France and its colonial territories in North Africa inspired an artistic and intellectual movement in France, organized around the concept of the Orient. This cultural interaction manifested itself in a slightly different manner in Algeria itself, and one institution in particular clearly demonstrated this attitude; *La Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger*. Founded in 1838 in Algiers, this French library and museum acted as the central institution for a new scholarly discourse surrounding Algerian history, standing as an extension of a 19th century French intellectual tradition that positioned France as the successor to the Roman Empire. The museum's abundant collection of Roman artifacts found throughout North Africa, and much smaller number of Islamic artifacts, indicated a preferred past for the newly acquired Algeria, one similarly Latin and imperial. Yet despite this initial concern with connecting ancient Rome to the imperial ambitions of 19th century France, the museum and its contributors increasingly focused on Islamic and other aspects of Algerian history and culture throughout its colonization. By closely examining the museum's contents as well as the work of intellectuals closely connected to the institution, it can be shown that the Musée d'Alger offers a unique perspective on French cultural hegemony in Algeria. In this regard, the situation of a single building can become a means by which to study the behavior of an entire empire.

Following the wave of decolonization in the mid-20th century, a substantial amount of scholarly discussion has approached the vast array of interaction between Western Europe and the Near and Middle East, particularly during the period of colonization and imperialism. One of, if not the single-most influential scholar in this area, has been Palestinian-American author Edward Said, who revolutionized the field of post-colonial studies. His 1978 work *Orientalism* examined the discourse of 19th century British and French writers, and argued that essentially all such scholarly discourse on the subject had reduced the Middle East to a strange, fantastic, exotic "other." This fascination with and imagination of "the Orient" created an image of the Middle East and North Africa completely separate from reality. A complex concept, Said defined this discourse of "Orientalism" in several interconnected ways. It was an "academic tradition" concerned with researching, teaching, or writing about the Orient, with whatever misinformation that entailed. It was the "ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and . . . the Occident," where the Orient was transformed into "the other," the fundamental opposite of the West.^[1] And by reinforcing this unrealistic image and dichotomy within a colonial context, it then became "the Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient," placing the Western European in a superior position to the alien "Oriental."^[2]

The overarching theoretical framework behind Said's interpretation of historical literature was explicitly drawn from French author Michel Foucault, specifically his writings on the discourse of power.^[3] In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault inverted the maxim "knowledge is power," positing instead how power is knowledge. "Power and knowledge directly imply one other; there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations."^[4] In applying this approach to the colonization of the Near and Middle East, Said asserted that the conceptualization, interpretation, representation, and of "the Orient," was a means by which Western Europe established control over the region.^[5] Comparable to the notion of "docile bodies" also outlined by Foucault

David Wells

in *Discipline and Punishment*, the Orientalism perpetuated and disseminated by 19th century individuals and institutions reduced its inhabitants to easily understood, and thus easily controlled, entities, suitable or even appropriate for colonization.^[6] Indeed, one could argue how cultural institutions such as the Musée d'Alger likewise inscribed, on Algiers itself, a particular understanding of the place of Algerian culture within the French Empire. Yet the Musée d'Alger does not completely fit Said's rather monolithic model. It might be reasonably argued, for instance, that the much greater emphasis given to Roman artifacts sought to establish that France and Algeria had a history in common, that they were in fact the "same." Furthermore, while the relative lack of Islamic artifacts was meant to clearly illustrate Algeria's status as the "other," the museum did not disregard "native" culture entirely, but rather displayed a genuine, if initially limited interest that grew over time.

In the case of this museum and its position between Western and "Oriental" culture, the concept of fetishism merits particular discussion. Although not explicitly mentioned by Said in *Orientalism*, fetishism is associated with the process by which the "other" became acceptable, palatable, or even desirable to the West.

Something patently foreign and distant acquires, for one reason or another, a status more rather than less familiar... not so much a way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established view of things... the threat is muted, familiar values impose themselves, and in the end the mind reduces the pressure upon it by accommodating things to itself as either "original" or "repetitious"... The Orient at large, therefore, vacillates between the West's contempt for what is familiar and its shivers of delight in -- or fear of -- novelty.^[7]

Essentially, "the West does not make the unknown in the known by learning about it," but by arbitrarily assigning it certain qualities in comparison with the standard of the West.^[8] To a degree, this mode of thought is indicative of the Musée d'Alger and its attempt to comprehend "Algeria" via the reassertion of a familiar Roman history. However, this relationship is significantly complicated by the role this shared history had in augmenting France's own identity, promoting an attitude of glorification in lieu of contempt, since it was not necessarily the "other" that was on display in the first place. Furthermore, with over a century of interaction, French intellectuals made a gradual but consistent effort to learn about the other "unknown" aspects of the Algeria's history and to understand them on their own terms, challenging the otherwise narrow and static mentality examined by Said.

While criticized for his universal application of Orientalism to virtually all interactions between Western Europe and the Middle East, Said nonetheless supplied a crucial, newfound understanding of Europe's historical perspective towards the Orient and how it was expressed. Likewise, the tremendous impact of *Orientalism* provided a significant foundation and inspiration for numerous contemporary historians, who have since expanded, dissected, and contested Said's ideas. By applying these ideas specifically to the French colonial experience in North Africa, and by exploring the actions of the French and the motivations behind them, historians have examined multiple facets of the gradual process by which Algeria was conquered, colonized, and fully incorporated into a French empire. However, only a handful of these historians have explicitly mentioned the Musée d'Alger in connection with the French imperial mentality, and only sparingly at most. And while the history and situation of the museum has received some small amount of attention, there has been no comprehensive study of the museum's actual holdings. However, it is precisely through the treatment of its collection of material history that the Musée d'Alger embodied the colonialist and imperialist ideology involved in its creation; although it also demonstrated a more nuanced and varied approach in its representation of Algerian history than might be expected.^[9]

The inception of the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger coincided with the early phases of French colonization in Algeria, following the brief war in 1830 between King Charles X of France and the Ottoman ruler of Algeria, the Dey. The conflict ultimately stemmed from outstanding debts owed by France for Algerian grain supplied during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1827, the French consul obstinately refused to discuss the issue with the Dey, who then allegedly hit the consul with a flyswatter. Quickly exaggerated as a grand insult to French honor, this incident prompted a blockade of Algiers, and negotiations continued to deteriorate over the next several years until the French declared war. Although the war was promoted as both a matter of honor and as a means to remove the

threat of Barbary Pirates from the Mediterranean, it also served as an attempt to bolster support for the increasingly unpopular Charles X.^[10] Setting out in May, the French navy swiftly captured Algiers by July 5. Following the victory, a pamphlet published in Marseille profusely celebrated the defeat of the "barbarians," claiming it secured newfound safety for Christian nations and avenged France's honor. Notably, the pamphlet decreed the victory worthy of the phrase "*Veni, vidi, vici*" -- "I came, I saw, I conquered" -- famously attributed to Julius Caesar, immediately establishing a direct comparison between Roman and French conquests.^[11] Yet despite the praise also lavished upon Charles X in this pamphlet, he was nonetheless overthrown by the end of the month. After significant debate, the new government decided to officially colonize Algeria in 1834, but the process of conquering and colonizing the rest of the country proceeded slowly and met heavy opposition and resistance from the indigenous inhabitants.^[12] In 1848, Algeria transitioned from a colony to an official *département* of France, divided into the three provinces of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, beginning a shift from military control to civilian rule as the territory was gradually incorporated under the Second Republic and later Second Empire of Napoleon III. After defeating the last major insurrection against colonial rule in the 1870s, the Third Republic began a more dedicated effort of assimilating Algeria into France, an effort that extended well into the 20th century.^[13]

Considering the native resistance to the conquest and subsequent colonization of Algeria, it was remarkable that "the thought to create an establishment, where local curiosities would be collected and stored, occurred . . . to everyone from almost the first day," according to the museum's first curator, Adrien Berbrugger.^[14] From the very start of the colonial enterprise, this French museum remained in close relation to the French colonial administration. The *Musée d'Alger* initially began in 1838 as a component of the *Bibliothèque d'Alger*, a public library first proposed in 1832. The French governor-general at the time, Marshall Clauzel, approved the plan for the library in 1835, appointing his own secretary Adrien Berbrugger as its first librarian. In 1848, coinciding with the change of regime in France, French civil administrator M. Bresson secured a larger budget for the library, allowing it to relocate to a more suitable building. It was also Bresson's specific request that a museum be fully incorporated into the library, whereupon Berbrugger assumed the role of the museum's first curator.^[15] In 1863, the library and museum relocated again, this time near the edge of the present-day Kasbah; a former ghetto for the city's Muslim population. It now stood not far from the *Place du Gouvernement* and the *Palais du Gouverneur* at the center of the colonized city.^[16]

As its founder and first curator, Berbrugger was the central figure in the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger as well as the most influential 19th century French scholar in the field of Algerian history. He first arrived in Algeria with governor-general Clauzel in 1835 after having studied at the *école de Chartes*, an elite Parisian university that trained historians, librarians, and archivists in Classical history. In addition to holding his roles as librarian and curator until his death in 1869, Berbrugger also served as an active and highly-respected member of colonial society. He participated in numerous archeological expeditions in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, gathering many of the manuscripts and artifacts that composed the library and museum's collection. For his work, he was elected to the prestigious *Legion d'honneur* in 1856. In the same year, he also established the *Société historique algérienne* and its internationally renowned journal, *La revue africaine*, which published a significant amount of archeological research and scholarly articles on Algerian history.^[17]

An important moral and intellectual concept applied to the French colonization of Algeria, as well as France's later colonial efforts elsewhere in North and West Africa and Indochina, was that of the *mission civilisatrice*, the "civilizing mission." Comparable to the infamous rhetoric of the "White Man's Burden" similarly promoted by Rudyard Kipling, the French civilizing mission strove to elevate the "backward" people that came under its control. In Algeria specifically, this mostly manifested itself in attempts to stop nomadic animal husbandry and grazing - believed to have caused the desertification of the region - and instead transform the local population into sedentary farmers. The myth of Algeria's once-great fertility under the Roman Empire proved to be a profoundly influential concept in the French approach towards colonization there, and prompted a significant amount of immigration from France and land-acquisition over several decades. French officials assumed that Arab invaders and nomads had destroyed this fertility -- in lieu of environmental causes -- which negatively influenced French attitudes towards Algeria's

David Wells

Islamic population. Throughout this period, an association between imperial Rome and imperial France continued to grow, with France envisioned as the rightful inheritor of the imperial mantle in Algeria.^[18]

Although there was no set doctrine clearly defining the civilizing mission, the notion appeared from an early point in the colonization process, as in an 1839 letter from the President of the Colonial Society of Alger to the French Chamber of Legislatives. Although focusing primarily on the efforts to eliminate persistent Algerian resistance, he also discussed the establishment of European communities, and rather notably suggested a "good theatre" for Algiers.^[19] Subsidized by the government, it would encourage rich families to participate and so boost the prosperity of the city, mentioning that "the dramatic arts also exercise a powerful civilizing action on the natives."^[20] Naturally, this begged the question of how the local population would participate in such cultural events, which were invariably in French. This small but suggestive example provides some perspective on the function of other cultural institutions, such as the Musée d'Alger. In addition to fostering "civilization" and fulfilling a grand, idealistic mission, such institutions clearly benefited the French colonial effort on a practical level. Built by the French and for the French, these cultural institutions legitimized the colonial effort, therefore encouraging further immigration and colonization. In the Musée d'Alger, this appeal to narrowly French interests was evidenced by the simple fact that the museum provided all of its material exclusively in French, and no serious attempt was made to address the local Algerian population, at least at first.

This notion of bringing "civilization" was clearly influential in motivating the foundation of the Musée d'Alger and similar cultural institutions. Berbrugger himself argued for "the importance of providing the people of Europe, who came here to build a new empire, the elements of intellectual culture specifically to prevent it from falling to the level of the *Barbaresques*." ^[21] By using the term *Barbaresques*, a reference to the Barbary Pirates, Berbrugger implicitly placed the local Algerian (Berber) population on a level separate and lower than that of the French, reflecting the Orientalist perspective later addressed by Said. This intellectual tradition and nationalist attitude surrounding and containing the Musée d'Alger was well-documented by *La Revue Africaine*, which was annually published for over a century, from 1956 until Algeria acquired its independence in 1962, releasing its 106th and final volume in that year.^[22] In the opening introduction for the first issue of the *Revue*, Berbrugger wrote that this "special journal" existed to recognize and publicize the efforts of the *Société historique algérienne* for a "studious public."^[23] However, Berbrugger also admitted that the *Revue* aspired to fill an intellectual gap that would be unbecoming of "a nation that marches at the head of European civilization."^[24] Along this vein, Berbrugger elaborated on how "the thought to naturalize the scientific, literary, and artistic institutions of mainland France is contemporary with the conquest," and the conception and construction of the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger was cited as a crucial part of this early development.^[25] Notably, Berbrugger described the first part of this "double creation," not the museum, as more important in providing opportunities for intellectual work and acting as a center for exchanging information.^[26]

Physically transporting French literature to Algeria and making it available to the colonial populace, the library understandably took precedence in relation to the colonization effort and served to help legitimize it, although Berbrugger later remarked that the Bibliothèque was inherently at a disadvantage in this respect compared to contemporary mainland institutions.^[27] Nevertheless, both the *Société* and the *Revue* were closely connected to the Musée d'Alger, in part due to their common origin in Berbrugger. In his 1860 booklet cataloguing the Museum's collection, Berbrugger included an advertisement for the *Revue*, which was also sold by the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger itself. With a yearly subscription fee of 10 francs for members of the *Société*, 14 francs for others, and an additional 2 francs for foreigners, the *Revue* reinforced how it was clearly intended -- and indeed explicitly created -- for the local community of French intellectuals in the colony. Furthermore, Berbrugger mentioned that the publication was "honored" by subscriptions from the Minister of War, the Minister of Public Education, and the Minister of Algeria, among others. In this manner, the *Revue* and the *Société* sought to establish a link directly between their scholarly endeavors and the colonial authorities over the region.^[28]

On the whole, both the Musée d'Alger and the *Revue* were fundamentally directed a fairly narrow group within French Algeria, providing a platform and medium for their discourse. Each issue of the *Revue* supported this connection, providing summaries of each meeting of the *Société*, a "Bibliographic Bulletin" that listed and reviewed other works published by members of the *Société*.^[29] In 1885, an enormous "general table" was created for the *Revue*, comprehensively referencing and categorizing all of the material produced by the *Société* between 1856 and 1881. Not surprisingly, Berbrugger remained the most prolific contributor across 17 volumes.^[30] However, the *Revue* did attempt to appeal to a slightly broader audience interested in history and archeology evidenced by the Notes often found at the end of each issue, which gave suggestions and recommendations for how to identify and handle inscriptions and artifacts, as well as how to publish those findings.^[31] Interestingly enough, though, the *Revue*'s "Archeological Questionnaire" used the model of "Gallic and Celtic Monuments" for studying or determining the nature of megaliths in Algeria. Explicitly referencing the "menhirs" and "dolmens" found in France itself, this comparison suggested a common, if casual link between ancient France and ancient Algeria.^[32]

Naturally, the most overt connection between the Musée d'Alger and the *Revue* lay in the content published. The *Société* in particular contributed significantly to the expansion and analysis of the museum's collection, and thus helped form the museum's depiction of Algerian history by way of a decidedly French intellectual perspective. This perspective manifested itself in a constant discussion of Roman antiquities, which was a large portion of the material found in the *Revue*'s early issues. In the opening article for its second volume, Berbrugger's piece was titled "Northern Africa after the Division of the Roman World into the Empire of the Orient and the Empire of the Occident." In this manner, Roman history became a way of understanding and defining modern African history.^[33] Similarly, the following piece by O. MacCarthy, who would later be appointed Berbrugger's successor, contained an extensive two-part study of the occupation and colonization of the region by the Romans, "one of the most important events in the history of Rome."^[34] MacCarthy created an occasion for a rather straightforward association between the Roman and French empires, supported all the more by providing a detailed map of "Algeria Romana" to understand the physical space under Roman, and now French, control.^[35] In the decades immediately following the conquest of Algiers, French intellectuals created a detailed frame of reference around one aspect of Algerian history, and without hesitation constructed an institution supporting and transmitting this particular viewpoint to the colonial population.

Such a concern for the tenets of proper "culture" and Western civilization, and its accompanying predilection for Roman history, was vitally linked to a French mentality that had long-since been saturated by Roman imagery and myth. The early governments of the French Revolution drew heavily from the classical ideals of the Roman Republic, establishing the First French Republic in 1792, and likewise modeling the Consulate in 1799, after a Roman model. In the transition from the First French Republic to the First French Empire, with Napoleon's transformation from First Consul to Emperor, ancient Rome gained further influence over numerous aspects of French culture. Napoleon I deliberately and frequently utilized with Roman imperial regalia, as is clear in Jacques-Louis David's famous depiction of Napoleon being crowned with a gilded laurel wreath.^[36] Similarly, Napoleon commissioned the iconic *Arc de Triomphe*, inspired directly by Roman architecture, and establishing a visible connection between his military victories and those of Rome. Furthermore, his Napoleonic Code created a unified and centralized legal system that introduced legal ideas from Roman law into French law.^[37] Despite his defeat in 1815, Napoleon's utilization of Roman culture had a demonstrable effect that persisted throughout the French regimes that followed.

Not coincidentally, the model of the French museum was first developed during this period of radical political change and growing attraction to the Roman legacy, which was not too distant from the founding of the Musée d'Alger in 1838. Naturally, it was the *Musée du Louvre* which became not only the preeminent French museum, but the model for all French museums to follow. Originally the *Palais du Louvre*, it possessed an extensive collection of artwork acquired over centuries by French royalty. The early Revolutionary government devoted a notable amount of attention and money towards the prospect of this first national museum which opened on August 10, 1793, exactly one year after the monarchy had been overthrown. Initially, the gallery was available to the general public for only three days each week, with more time allotted for artists, scholars, and administrators, but it was nonetheless an unprecedented opportunity.^[38] The museum's collection grew exponentially with each of the many military

David Wells

victories achieved by the French during its wars against other European powers. Napoleon's Italian campaign proved particularly useful in this respect, and its large bounty of captured artwork inspired Napoleon to explicitly recreate the ancient Roman custom of a triumphal parade in 1798 to celebrate his victory and show off these newly acquired riches.^[39] Establishing a more tangible connection between the French populace and French culture than had existed heretofore, the *Louvre* openly displayed the association between France and Classical history, both in the popular consciousness and in the intellectual community.

At the Musée d'Alger, the categorization of each artifact thus emulated this larger French intellectual attitude towards the preservation of Algerian history, one first and foremost concerned with Roman antiquities. In 1860, the first section of the museum's catalogue was appropriately dedicated to Roman "antiques," and included 353 objects from various periods of Roman history.^[40] The Latin inscriptions found on the majority of these objects were also transcribed and translated into French, primarily by members of the aforementioned *Société historique algérienne* and *La Revue africaine*.^[41] A similar attention to Roman antiquities was found in an 1863 travel guide for the city of Algiers. This was as much an advertisement as it was an informative "little library," and it explicitly borrowed from Berbrugger's own work for its section on "archeological curiosities."^[42] This guide also provided a small selection of "notable" objects, creating a useful starting point for what the French considered "noteworthy."^[43] This "remarkable collection" included a wide variety of "antique vases, lamps, lachrymatories, bronze and clay utensils, and Roman bricks and tiles," such as those uncovered in Algiers itself in 1863.^[44] The guide specifically recommended a series of three Etruscan vases for "the attention of lovers of antiquities."^[45] Berbrugger originally described the vases as "lovely" and having "very elegant form," and also provided highly detailed examinations of the illustrations adorning them, carefully noting the "beautiful and noble" expressions or "sensual" character of the figures depicted.^[46] Notably, these entombed vases were found in Benghazi in modern-day Libya rather than in Algeria, and were donated in 1851 by M. Pelissier de Reynaud, the French consul to Tripoli.^[47] In this instance, as in many others documented by the Musée d'Alger, the fixation upon securing Roman antiquities extended well-beyond Algeria into numerous territories throughout North Africa.

The works most prominently highlighted by this guide were, unsurprisingly, a collection of Roman statues. The list included a Neptune, a bronze statuette and a marble torso of Venus, a young girl, a group of Hermaphrodites, and a Bacchus. Being among the largest, more complete and well-preserved specimens, in addition to their Classical subject matter, it stands to reason that such works would be given a preferred status. An 1891 guide to the Musée d'Alger by Georges Doublet described these very same artifacts in even greater detail, now with hand-drawn illustrations and photographs.^[48] In particular, it described the torso of Venus as "the most beautiful piece in the museum."^[49] Yet what was also notable about this series of artifacts was how they were discovered. Several of them were found at the same site in Cherchel - a city not far to the west of Algiers - on land "belonging to the state," between 1846 and 1856.^[50] For example, the torso of Venus was found by military engineers during an excavation, and the statue of Bacchus was found by a *colon*, a French colonist, before being bought by a collector and donated to the museum.^[51] It was by the order of the Governor-General of the territory that these statues were then centralized in the Musée d'Alger, although the Musée de Cherchel would later be established and maintain its own large collection of Roman artifacts.^[52] By working directly with the state, the military, and the colonists, and making use of the appropriation of land, these archeological expeditions were quite clearly interrelated with various other aspects of the ongoing colonization. The 1891 guide further corroborated these connections, mentioning "the zeal of Berbrugger was assisted by the intelligent, but unfortunately intermittent, cooperation of the army and administration."^[53] These figures included "the governor-generals... division commanders... prefects and sub-prefects... and even the sometimes arduously competitive settlers."^[54] As a focal point for all such efforts, the Musée d'Alger thus began to construct and embody a uniquely French interpretation of Algerian history. Occupying a physical space in the conquered Algiers, and representing a French intellectual tradition, the museum's collection indicated how Roman, French, and Algerian history were thought to be interconnected.

Throughout the numerous volumes of the *La Revue Africaine*, members of the *Société historique algérienne* displayed a similar type of attention towards Roman artifacts, as with the inspection of a Christian tomb with its Latin inscriptions by Berbrugger himself in the journal's first volume.^[55] Further articles included analyses

of Roman mosaics, tombs and roads, as well as later Christian inscriptions and ruins, across the different provinces of Algeria^[56]. Naturally, the greatest contributions of the *Société* and the *Revue* to the Musée d'Alger were the artifacts themselves, and each issue of the *Revue* included a lengthy list of each of the archeological findings made in the previous year, which was frequently dominated by Latin inscriptions and Roman artifacts. The *Revue's* third volume in particular described the discovery of the several statues from Cherchel prized by the museum. Much like the later documents on the museum's collection, the *Revue* praised the beauty and the quality of the "finely polished" Neptune, the "precious" torso of Venus, the "charming" statues of Hermaphrodite and a faun, and the "lovely" figure of a young Roman girl.^[57] Although not in perfect condition, Berbrugger emphasized the importance and value of these artifacts, remarking that the torso of Venus had a certain "earthly beauty" despite not being the "ideal." Additionally, Berbrugger pointed out its resemblance to the Venus de' Medici found in the Louvre, immediately elevating the statue, and the museum by extension, by this association with the archetypal image of French civilization.^[58]

Additional artifacts and objects found during the initial decades of colonization further exemplified how the larger French colonization effort was directly involved in handling Algeria's material Roman past. The 1861 travel guide and its section on "archeological curiosities" in particular indicated how this applied to the city of Algiers itself. During its occupation and eventual annexation, the French actively sought to clearly define the connections between Roman and Algerian history, most notably in the case of "important Roman inscription" mentioned by Berbrugger.^[59] Written on an enormous square stone, the Latin text included the key word "ICOSITANORVM" referring to the inhabitants of "Icosium," the ancient Roman city once found where the Kasbah now stood.^[60] Transformed into a landmark on a neighborhood a street corner, Algeria's Roman past was openly asserted as it defining aspect. With all of the appropriate material evidence frequently and almost immediately extracted by the French, Roman history arguably began to supplant any other identity that existed prior to its colonization.

Numerous other discoveries similarly confirmed the overwhelming Roman presence in Algiers, and often involved French efforts to reconstruct the city. For example, fragments of a Roman mosaic were found in 1844 while digging the foundation of the Cathedral of Algiers, and a seat of a Roman bath, uniquely shaped like a pair of arms and legs, was found in Algeria "under a shop in the ancient square of Juba."^[61] In the same manner, a marble head of the Roman goddess Pomona "was found while digging the foundations of a house near the Kasbah," and was donated to the museum by a French marble-worker and monumental mason in 1845.^[62] The grandest result of this pattern was the unearthing of a large tomb in 1863 "while opening the trenches for the establishment of the foundations of a new secondary school."^[63] Under the direction of "the expert archeologist" Berbrugger himself, it was discovered to be a burial chamber for an ancient Roman family, dating back to at least the 1st or 2nd century CE. The objects found inside the tomb, including two lamps and eighteen "beautiful" glass vases, were naturally deposited in the Musée d'Alger. In order preserve "this precious monument" and its display of the "beautiful" Roman architecture of Icosium, part of the structure was integrated into a fountain for the new school.^[64]

However, the discovery, appreciation, and conservation of these Roman antiquities during these early phases of colonization carried a two-fold nature. In his 1860 catalogue, Berbrugger lavished glowing praise upon all of these objects, describing "natural grandeur" and "exuberant hair" carved into the white marble of the head of Pomona.^[65] A goddess of fruit and abundance, represented on the head by a ribbon adorned with a pear, this particular example also served to reinforce the commonly-held perception of Algeria's fertility under the Roman Empire. Simultaneously, the records of these archeological findings implicitly condemned of the native population and their treatment of such majestic works, long-since left buried, forgotten, or neglected by Algiers' previous Arab inhabitants. In the case of the Latin inscription of Icosium, such stones were frequently removed from Moorish ruins to be used in new constructions, and this stone in particular was found in the shop of a nail-maker who used the "precious block" as an anvil.^[66] Berbrugger communicated a similar viewpoint with his description of a pair of mosaics depicting a woman with ducks and the sea nymph Thetis, discovered in the town of Aumale in 1851 and given to the museum by the order of Governor-general Marshal Randon in 1852. Although both mosaics were also included among the exemplary works selected by both the 1861 and the 1893 guides, Berbrugger had remarked that

David Wells

"one sees on both traces of ancient restorations, made with little care and even less talent." [67] Despite not explicitly stating who was at fault for their mistreatment, there was nonetheless the connotation that these artifacts were now in the proper hands. Thus, archeological efforts such as Berbrugger's implied how France, resurrecting the imperial history of Algeria, could now provide these remnants of a once-great civilization with the respect they deserved.

However, the Musée d'Alger's treatment of Islamic and other non-Roman Algerian artifacts is equally as important as its treatment of Roman ones, and these "indigenous" works had a clear if initially subordinate place in the Musée d'Alger. The incorporation of Muslim art and architecture occurred even in the earliest period of French colonization. Numerous institutions were established in occupied and repurposed Algerian buildings, rather than new French constructions, for instance. This was certainly true of the Musée d'Alger, as each of its three locations from 1838 to 1863 once belonged to the family of Algeria's former Ottoman ruler. [68] A photograph of the museum's traditionally Algerian courtyard, lined with various Roman statues, stood as an illustration of French power, perfectly capturing the contradiction embodied by the Musée d'Alger as part of the colonization process as a whole. [69] Within the museum, the separate status of its different artifacts was decisively demonstrated through Berbrugger's label of "épigraphie indigène" - "indigenous inscriptions" - for all non-Roman artifacts, with all the negative connotations of inferiority that the word "indigenous" implied. This dichotomy between Roman artifacts and all others was manifested even more clearly in the sheer difference in quantity: only 82 "indigenous" works compared to 353 Roman ones. [70]

Consequently, the categorization and treatment of the indigenous and non-Roman Algerian artifacts in the Musée d'Alger was markedly different from its approach towards its Roman possessions. Although this hierarchy never truly changed during the period of French colonization, there was nonetheless a certain amount of variation in the French intellectual attitude towards these non-Roman artifacts, evidenced by the admittedly small selection of works that examined the whole of the museum's collection. In Berbrugger's 1860 catalogue, his section on "indigenous inscriptions" was divided into three parts based on their type: "Christian Monuments of the Turkish period," "Public Monuments," and "Graves, etc., relating to individuals." [71] The artifacts in these sections are listed roughly chronologically, with the earliest inscriptions dating to 1520, and the most recent dating to 1827, merely three years before the conquest of Algiers, demonstrating how incredibly quickly the French sought to place Algeria's Ottoman identity firmly in the past. [72] In contrast, his previous section on Roman antiquities was organized much more comprehensively and by the location, likely due to the sheer volume of objects. [73]

Interestingly enough, these two types of categorization, in addition to the artifacts themselves, effectively communicated two very different histories behind the makers of these artifacts. The large amount of Roman artifacts, scattered not only throughout the numerous provinces of Algeria, but as well as in neighboring Tunisia and Morocco, indicated how the Roman had once successfully conquered and controlled the region of North Africa. On the other hand, the indigenous inscriptions depicted a much more local history, since the majority of objects were found in the city of Algiers itself, and frequently mentioned local high officials and the ruling Ottoman *pashas* of the territory. For example, an inscription from 1520 found in an ancient mosque referenced the first pasha of Algiers, Kheir ed-Din, better known as the infamous corsair Barbarossa. [74] Another inscription found on two marble steles mentions one of Barbarossa's commanders and describes the siege of Algiers by Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1541. [75] What this artifact's description did not mention was that France fought on the side of the Ottomans and supported Barbarossa during that war, since Francis I had established the first European alliance with the Ottoman Empire in 1536. This alliance endured for nearly 300 years, until Napoleon's Egypt campaign in 1798. Naturally, this relationship proved to be profoundly influential on the early development of Orientalism in early modern France, introducing and popularizing various exotic and luxurious aspects of Turkish culture, such as cuisine and fashion. Although these details and intricacies were left unexplained by Berbrugger's catalogue, perhaps because this knowledge was assumed of the museum's scholarly and intellectual patrons, the inclusion of such Algerian artifacts greatly extended the realm of Algerian history from the Roman period to the eve of French colonization. Furthermore, it subtly hinted at a long-standing and virtually unbroken period of time when Northern Africa was not only connected to and influenced by Western Europe, but by France specifically.

A similar theme shared by both Roman and non-Roman artifacts, though, was an overwhelming presence of funerary objects, including sarcophagi, graves, tomb inscriptions, etc. The frequent usage of death-related terminology offers an interesting perspective on the function of the museum, particularly in relation to the French colonial effort, which in many ways sought to resurrect the glory of ancient Rome while burying -- although not completely -- any other associations with civilization in Algerian. This lopsided portrayal of Algerian history was more readily evident in the earlier phases of colonization, including Berbrugger's initial catalogue. Relegating non-Roman artifacts to the side, Berbrugger displayed a smaller attention to detail, clearly shown by the opening header of his section on indigenous inscriptions. Despite naming the part as "Christian Monuments," only the first two objects were in any way Christian: one was a marble disk containing the characters for "*Jésus hominum salvator*," and the other a fragment of a cemetery epitaph.^[76] Unsurprisingly, these were the only works in the entire section to have their inscriptions translated and copied into the catalogue, likely due to the simple fact that they were the only entries in Latin text. Even while pointing to the diverse religious background of the region, Berbrugger's approach indicated a certain bias towards particular artifacts, where in a collection dedicated to inscriptions, these were the only examples adequately detailed, leaving the remainder of Arabic or Turkish artifacts with only minimal attention.

Berbrugger's entry for a "Berber idol," another artifact of note found in the travel guide for Algiers, demonstrated a similar approach. ^[77] Berbrugger described the meter-tall object as "roughly" or "clumsily" sculpted, pointing out the grotesque, exaggerated features of the idol's face and body. Curiously, however, Berbrugger not only classified it as a Roman "antique," but put it first in this section, although qualifying it with a question mark. ^[78] He surmised that the idol depicted the Berber deity Gourzil, the son of Jupiter-Ammon, ostensibly a syncretic deity created from the combination of the Roman god Jupiter and the Egyptian and North African god Ammon. ^[79] Yet it was the Jupiter aspect that took precedence as far as Berbrugger was concerned. The 1891 museum guide instead maintained that the idol was "obviously" Baal-Hammon, a similarly syncretic deity, but one incorporating the Phoenician god Baal. ^[80] Although Berbrugger's description of this artifact was casually dismissive of its artistic quality, it was nonetheless recognized as worthy of inclusion in the museum's collection. Moreover, it was re-examined by later scholars who found an alternative interpretation. With multiple overlapping origins, this "bizarre" idol gradually revealed the more complex, plural nature of Algerian history, far beyond the simple dichotomy of "Roman" or "Indigenous" that the Musée d'Alger used to categorize its holdings.

While at first glance it would have appeared that Berbrugger treated both Roman and non-Roman artifacts equally, at least in terms of their physical descriptions, this was far from the case in reality. Precisely due to this kind of treatment, Albert Devoulx -- a member of the *Société historique algérienne* and one of the few members to repeatedly discuss topics pertaining to Muslim objects in *La revue africaine* -- began an extensive study in order to correct Berbrugger's work and provide a much more thorough assessment of the museum's non-Roman collection. ^[81] Contrary to repeating and recycling any misinformation regarding Arabic culture, the typical discourse presented in *Orientalism*, Devoulx's correction of earlier scholars demonstrated how the French attitude towards Algerian history experienced a certain amount of change over time. In his 1874 treatise, Devoulx explicitly criticized Berbrugger and the Musée d'Alger for not properly transcribing, translating, depicting or even understanding its Arabic artifacts. "[The museum] offers neither the text nor the translation, limiting itself to providing information often incomplete and sometimes modified." ^[82] In response, Devoulx both copied the Arabic text and provided his own French translation, systematically reviewing each of the museum's 102 inscriptions, including 76 Arab and 26 Turkish artifacts, a number that had grown since Berbrugger first wrote his catalogue. ^[83] Devoulx's first example clearly highlighted his different attitude towards these works. Where Berbrugger gave a simple, Spartan description of "a Turkish inscription on a tablet of white marble," Devoulx described the piece as a "grand and beautiful Turkish inscription." ^[84] In another example, Berbrugger mentioned an inscription that was found in "a mosque of the second order," whereas Devoulx asserted that "it was actually a mosque of the first order." ^[85] Moreover, with the text of the first example extolling how "Islam . . . will conquer the enemies of religion," Devoulx's effort made it overwhelmingly apparent that Berbrugger's earlier label for "Christian Monuments" was simply inaccurate, since the majority of inscriptions were similarly dedicated to Allah or praising the virtues of Islam. ^[86]

David Wells

Devoulx also reexamined the dating and locations of each piece in great detail, frequently disagreeing with Berbrugger's earlier claims. Again looking at his first example, which in fact referenced the work of last Dey of Algiers, Devoulx "rejected without hesitation" the mosque which Berbrugger had proposed for its origin due to the simple fact that it was chronologically impossible for the Dey to have worked on the mosque at all.^[87] However, the mosque cited by Berbrugger had been demolished in 1832 for a new construction, leading Devoulx to admit that "we find here... a difficulty that we encounter too often."^[88] Due to the length of time between the acquisition of many of the museum's artifacts and Devoulx's writing in 1874, it became virtually impossible for anyone to provide any information on the majority of inscriptions composing the indigenous section of the museum. In his efforts to trace the origins of these artifacts, and particularly in the case of the mosque mentioned by Berbrugger, Devoulx illustrated how the colonization process had gradually eroded much of the evidence that could help identify the Musée d'Alger's non-Roman collection. While accomplished well-after the French had assumed control of Algeria, and still labeled as "épigraphie indigène," Devoulx's work was one of the initial efforts to more fully understand the Muslim history of this newly French territory.

In spite of a general preference for Roman antiquity, a large portion of the *Revue's* early issues were also devoted to the more recent aspects of Algerian history, containing various studies on Algeria's Arabic and Turkish past. The *Revue's* first volume included articles on ancient Arabic inscriptions found on the amphitheater of El Djem in Tunisia, and a biography by Berbrugger on two prominent Muslim figures during the 13th century. Berbrugger also wrote an article on the history of "The Muslim Slave in France," the exact opposite of the typical French slave narrative, which focused entirely on the experience of the captured and enslaved Christian in North Africa.^[89] The second and third issues of the *Revue* continued this trend in an article by Devoulx on the cooperation between the Regency of Algiers and the Ottoman Empire during the Greek war of independence in the 1820s.^[90] Another article by A. Charbonneau focused on the Muslim writers of Algeria, specifically praising the imam *Mohammed et Tenaci* for his study of the Koran and for "perfecting all genres of Islamic literature," mentioning how his work had been preserved by the Bibliothèque d'Alger.^[91] Even with his genuine interest in Algeria's "indigenous" history, working in this field was not without difficulty. Berbrugger noted the abundance of European documents, versus the "extreme rarity" of Arabic materials in the Musée d'Alger's collection.^[92] This left an "especially regrettable gap" on any events that occurred between the native inhabitants themselves, an absence equally reflected by the comparatively sparse collection of indigenous objects.^[93]

Over the next century of colonization, *La Revue Africaine* continued to publish an increasing variety of material on Algerian history, eventually balancing its research into the remnants of the Roman Empire with studies of ancient and even contemporary aspects of "indigenous" society. On one hand, many contributors to the *Revue* remained focused almost exclusively on Roman antiquity and Latin artifacts, such as MacCarthy's 1865 "Critical Study on the Geography . . . of the African War of Julius Caesar."^[94] However, outperformed only by Berbrugger in contributing to the early issues of the *Revue*, Devoulx was one of a number of historians who consistently provided further insight into Arabic and Muslim culture.^[95] For example, the *Revue* began publishing his "Historical Notes on the Mosques and Other Religious Edifices of Ancient Algiers" in 1860, ultimately concluding after a decade of work and spanning a total of eleven volumes of the *Revue*. Much like his approach to the Musée d'Alger, Devoulx addressed and corrected the French administration, arguing that their designation of "religious corporations" for Algiers's religious environment was not entirely correct. Instead, Devoulx preferred to use the Arabic "*habous*," utilizing an actual Algerian term to better understand the specifics of Algerian society.^[96] Much later in 1893, J.D. Luciani demonstrated a long-growing concern with non-Roman Algerian history in the *Revue*, since the realm of Roman history was being progressively exhausted. For his study of a "Berber Manuscript of the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger" by Mehammed ben Ali ben Brahim, Luciani provided a brief history of the Berber people, as well as an in-depth analysis of their language.^[97] Naturally, "the rarity of documents written in Berber does not surprise us," being that Berber was a primarily spoken language, but also due to the dominance of Islam and Arabic in the region.^[98] Nonetheless, Luciani endeavored to detail the nuances of the dialect, and provided transcriptions of the original text, the translation, and an extensive series of notes, indicating how local Algerian population and culture had become well-established as topic of Algerian history.

Doublet's 1893 guide to the Musée d'Alger similarly expressed the changing attitudes towards the study of Algerian history. Fascinatingly, in his brief discussion of the library and museum's staff, Doublet mentioned "a native curator of Arabic manuscripts," indicating that the Musée d'Alger had not only approached but worked with the local population to a certain extent.^[99] Through his detailed account of the artifacts in the museum's collection, Doublet extensively documented both Roman and non-Roman pieces; Roman artifacts maintained a numerical advantage, but the guide provided an opportunity to examine other the museum's other aspects. Doublet began his analysis with seven Libyan inscriptions found in a variety of locations between 1847 and 1883, including Roman as well as neo-Punic writings, also asserting that "the collection would be richer if Berbrugger had initially shown less indifference to Libyan archeology."^[100] However, Doublet quickly indicated the direction of his analysis by stating outright that "the collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions is not the most important," also admitting that these had been frequently studied.^[101] Nonetheless, Doublet selected several notable examples, such one written in 187 CE documenting how a citizen of Philippeville provided the city's inhabitants with gladiatorial spectacle, and another marking the celebration of a successful campaign by governor of Mauretania Caesariensis, or modern-day Cherchel.^[102]

On the other hand, Doublet believed the museum's Christian inscriptions to be "represented by more curious monuments," such as one from Bou-Ismaïl commemorating two Catholics persecuted by the Arians in the 5th century CE, and another Cherchel honoring a martyr.^[103] Doublet also noted the rare circumstance of Egyptian archeology being represented in the museum by two mummies and several bronze statues of Egyptian deities.^[104] Returning to Algerian artifacts, Doublet placed particular emphasis on the museum's collection of steles and other funerary objects engraved with Latin, Punic, or Libyan. Despite all of these objects originating from the Roman period, Doublet instead affirmed not only their importance to the study of Roman and Punic interaction, but also that "these monuments are valuable for the knowledge of indigenous art in Roman times," placing the considerable presence of Carthaginian artifacts in a slightly different context.^[105] Moreover, Doublet proclaimed that "the museum also has others that are of the utmost importance for the study of purely native work," pointing to the "celebrated" and ornately detailed stele of Abizar as a "truly Berber work in which one can find no influence of Roman examples, and which is derived directly from the cave drawings or sculptures of the Tell and the Sahara."^[106] Although the remainder of Doublet's guide was primarily dedicated to the Roman works, including the Cherchel statues and the mosaics mentioned previously, considerable space was still devoted for photographs of various indigenous works. Here, the sheer variety of examples highlighted again demonstrated how the French were reconsidering Algerian history, both in the milieu of North Africa as well as within Algeria itself.

Upon celebrating the centennial of French Algeria, the perspectives towards Algerian history had shifted considerably. By the *Revue's* 71st issue in 1930, the content of the *Revue* was dominated for the most part by discussions of non-Roman Algerian history, and many other articles were tied to the current events of French colonial society. In the same vein as Luciani, J. Desparmet's study of "*The Entrance of the French into Algiers* by Sheik Abdelkader" transcribed, translated, and analyzed an Algerian poem, but also allowing a unique insight into the native perspective towards a foundational French event.^[107] First written by an unknown Algerian at an unknown date, this "patriotic elegy" prayed to God for pity and mercy in the wake of the Capture of Algiers in 1830, creating a "moving and pious lamentation on the grandeur and the fall of the Regency of Algiers."^[108] However, until Desparmet had acquired a couple copies of the text, the poem had been hidden and shared secretly among the Algerian populace. Due to its content and situation within the Algerian community, Desparmet interpreted the poem as having contributed in some part "to all the insurrectionist movements which divided the province of Algiers," from 1830 as far as 1901.^[109] In including this indigenous document as part of the discussion of Algerian history, there was thus a certain aspect of intending to expose the elements that formed "the basis of the North African mentality."^[110] Furthermore, Desparmet indicated how until "the moment when [this poem] appeared," it was often considered that effectively "there was nothing in Barbary... no political assemblies, no press, no history."^[111] As such, Desparmet's study directly refuted the characteristic attitudes of Orientalism, providing valuable documentation that the epoch of Algerian history before and during the onset of French colonization was definitively productive and creative.

David Wells

Unsurprisingly, the typical Orientalist viewpoint was nonetheless present elsewhere throughout the *Revue's* publication, even from the very beginning. In the *Revue's* second volume, General Daumas provided a supplemental article on "The Childish and Honest Civility among the Arabs" in order to educate the reader on the nuances of certain idioms and Arabic etiquette, but at the same time carrying a tone underlining the bizarre and foreign behavior of Algeria's native inhabitants.^[112] Indeed, the *Revue* became well-aware of the influential image of the foreign "Orient," to the point that J. Alazard's opening article to the centennial volume was concerned entirely with "The Taste of the Orient in France after the Conquest of Algiers," describing in detail how art, fashion, cuisine, architecture, theater, and literature had incorporated the "mysterious Africa," and Algeria specifically, into French culture.^[113] Although this mode of Orientalism never truly left the French intellectual consciousness, various members of *La Revue Africaine* worked in spite of it, either to identify the common thread of Roman history or to appreciate the local Algerian history, influencing and drawing upon and influencing the Musée d'Alger in the process.

Beyond its relationship with the overarching intellectual environment, a vitally important aspect of the Musée d'Alger was its relation to similar institutions, both in mainland France and elsewhere in Algeria. In the opening to his 1860 catalogue, Berbrugger constructed a hypothetical dialogue between himself and a guest in order to answer commonly-asked questions about the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger, and much of the conversation focused on the comparison with its French -- specifically Parisian -- counterparts. For example, the Imperial Library had a budget of 374,000 francs in 1854, was open every day except holidays from 10 am to 4pm, and had a staff of 72 librarians and other employees. In the same vein, the library of the University of Paris had a budget of 25,000 francs, was open every day from 10 am to 3 pm and from 7 pm to 10 pm, and had a staff of eleven employees. In comparison, the Musée d'Alger had a budget of only 10,000 francs, was open every day from 10 am to 3 pm, and no other personnel was mentioned other than Berbrugger himself. By addressing the various differences in terms of age, size, hours, budget, and collections between it and other French institutions, Berbrugger's fundamental argument was that the Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger -- while much smaller -- was no less capable than its contemporaries.

Berbrugger also sought to respond to those who found the museum's collections to be unusually lacking in spite of placement in ancient Roman territory, or were under the impression that "it was only with great expenses and damages that antiques arrived at the Musée d'Alger."^[114] Berbrugger admitted that the museum was indeed limited by its perpetual enemies, time and money, but asserted how the museum took great care of its acquisitions, and in fact worked with colonists to restore many parts of its collection. Berbrugger also justified the relatively small scale of the museum by arguing that enormous, comprehensive collections would be simply unfeasible with its current resources, and would effectively require "attaching a curator to each article" discovered in Africa.^[115] Nonetheless, Berbrugger believed in "the need for a central collection, a need proclaimed by the common sense of nations and the centuries . . . especially in Algeria."^[116] Although Berbrugger did not condemn the "magnificent museums of Europe that have made accessible to all the study of antiquity," he asserted the newfound opportunity provided by the Musée d'Alger, since a museum in French African territory itself naturally occupied the proper location for studying such objects.^[117]

Yet in contrast to Berbrugger's intention of centralization, numerous museums were established across the provinces of Algeria by the late 19th century. The 1891 guide to the Musée d'Alger was only one of a series of publications describing "Museums and Archeological Collection of Algeria and Tunisia," including museums in Constantine, Oran, Cherchel, Philippeville, and Lambèse, among others. In this examination of the Musée d'Alger, Doublet observed that the creation of other museums occasionally stemmed from the Musée d'Alger's own influence, but not necessarily in a positive sense. He remarked how "the excavations at Cherchel enriched the Museum until the day when they created a local museum, of which Berbrugger was jealous."^[118] In many ways, this guide not only demonstrated that the precedent established by Berbrugger did not succeed in the following decades, but in fact deconstructed the very image the Musée d'Alger had attempted to construct for itself. Hardly glowing in his depiction, Doublet explicitly stated that "there is no central museum," and moreover severely remarked that "Musée d'Alger . . . which contains several beautiful pieces is neither a museum of Algeria, nor a

museum of the province of Algiers," judging that a large part of the pieces it contained were from Tunisia. [119] Doublet's highest but rather double-edged praise was that "Berbrugger and the majority of his colleagues had nothing but zeal," but due to their situation in the developing colonial North Africa, they were simply unable to practically fulfill their idealistic intentions. [120] As a result, Doublet found that all manner of things were "still lacking at the Museum; the locale, inventory, catalog, technical staff and resources." [121] The total staff shared between the library and museum consisted of only five people: "the librarian-curator, an assistant... a watchman, and a janitor," along with the aforementioned native curator." [122] Likewise, the various museums in the other provinces lacked the appropriate management or staff, and that they "enriched themselves at random, without any plan, without any order." [123] It was thus behind these circumstances that the guide prefaced that "the museums Algeria are richer than you think, and richer than they appear." [124] Accordingly, in spite of the Musée d'Alger's numerous imperfections and shortcomings, delineating the museum's status as fairly small and obscure institution in reality, Doublet admitted that "even in its current state, the elements that are encountered here are far from being despised, and could form the core of a collection of first order." [125]

The single-greatest challenge for the Musée d'Alger, however, arose not from problems within, but from without, and specifically from the typical behavior assumed by the *Musée du Louvre* during the reign of Napoleon. Due to dramatically augmenting its collection with his conquests, the museum was renamed the *Musée Napoleon* in 1803, and gained notoriety as a war chest for looted art as well as the personal collection of Napoleon after he became Emperor. [126] In the course of time from the Revolution to Napoleon, the Louvre was transformed into an embodiment of nationalism, utilizing icons of European civilization to support a new national identity in post-Revolutionary France, but also symbolically incorporating other nations into the French sphere of French by appropriating and relocating their art. [127] However, this kind of cultural interaction soon extended outside of Europe as well, especially with Napoleon's famed expedition to Egypt in 1798. A unique "*Commission des Sciences et des Arts*" was attached to the army, which consisted of numerous artists, scientists, and engineers known as the "savants," including the first Director of the Louvre Dominique Vivant-Denon. [128] Its archeological efforts most famously included the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, along with many other artifacts destined for the Louvre, and many members of this Commission would later establish additional scholarly institutions and journals, such as the *Description de l'égypte* in 1809. [129] Edward Said specifically targeted the *Description* in *Orientalism* as prime example of the attempts to "translate" the "Orient" into an entity that could be easily grasped, also noting how the *Description* identified Egyptian history by the involvement of such Classical figures such as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. [130] Although Napoleon's Egypt campaign ultimately failed by 1801, with many of the artifacts it uncovered seized by the British, the expedition nonetheless fueled French Egyptology, profoundly influenced the image of the "Orient" in French art, and further reinforced the precedent of removing foreign art from their country of origin.

As a French museum in Algeria, the Musée d'Alger simultaneously supported and rejected the conventions established by the Louvre. Just as it utilized its collection of Roman and Muslim artifacts to shape the French conception of Algerian history, Musée d'Alger also used its collection to reshape its own identity in French Algeria: in spite of being a purely French effort, the museum paradoxically maintained a fundamentally Algerian identity. As a result, it fought strongly from the onset against attempts to remove Algerian artifacts to mainland France. Berbrugger admitted that "our poor museum has two types of enemies: the ones who would want everything to go to Paris; the others that everything should stay in the African provinces [undiscovered]." [131] As a particularly egregious example of the former, the Duke de Dalmatie wanted to transport a massive Roman "*arc de triomphe de Djimila*" to Paris in 1842, which, Berbrugger remarked, "was fortunately never executed." [132] Interestingly enough, the Musée d'Alger essentially employed the same tactic as the satellite states of the Napoleonic Empire, who created museums to officially house pieces of art and thus keep them out of Napoleon's personal collection. [133] Nonetheless, the relocation of Algerian artifacts did continue to occur, and over two hundred objects from across Algeria were in the possession of the *Musée Africain du Louvre* by 1921. [134] However, the artifacts in the two museums were viewed very differently by their respective curators. Doublet's guide to the Musée d'Alger provided a detailed list of all of its contents, with a select number represented in hand-drawn illustrations or photographs, and including a variety of Roman, Christian, and Muslim objects. [135] In comparison, the 1921 guide

David Wells

for the Musée Africain du Louvre, belonging to the same series as the 1893 guide, described each object in its collection of North African artifacts with nothing more than a single line. In addition, the vast majority of its Algerian collection consisted of little more than artifact fragments, with only a few large or well-preserved pieces. While this guide also contained a fair number of photographs of Algerian artifacts, Tunisian statues were far more prominent.^[136] Despite this differing attitude, it could be argued that Musée Africain du Louvre applied the exact same principle of cultural appropriation practiced in the Musée d'Alger. Unlike the fully incorporated territory of Algeria, Tunisia was only made a French protectorate in 1881. With an emphasis on specifically Carthaginian artifacts, bringing these artifacts back to mainland France provided yet another immediate, tangible connection to ancient Roman history. However, in the case of Algeria and its incorporation into the French state, there was no need to relocate Algerian objects to France, because Algeria had become France. By establishing a common past in Roman antiquity and by opposing the removal of its artifacts, the Musée d'Alger emulated and encouraged this mentality towards colonization, openly displaying the growing conflation of French and Algerian identities.

In one sense, this unification of French and Algerian identities ultimately proved successfully, creating a distinct French-Algerian identity firmly held by the descendants of the European colonists, the *pieds-noirs*. On the other hand, an Algerian-French identity was never truly developed, and the vast inequality and cultural disconnect between the European and Algerian populations spurred the catastrophic collapse of French Algeria by 1962. While Algerians were finally able assert their own identity, the Algerian War of Independence forced a mass exodus of the *pieds-noirs* and put their own identity into question. Although separated from the onset of French colonization by more than a century and a half of radical and dramatic change, the collection of artifacts that once belonged to the Musée d'Alger has remarkably survived to the present-day, and the current function of the museum and the different attitude towards its collection bears mentioning. Renamed the *Musée National des Antiquités*, its current facilities were constructed in 2003, with the most notable aspect being two separate buildings for the collection. One holds the "Antique section" of Punic, Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, etc., artifacts. The other houses the "Islamic section" of Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman, etc., artifacts. The equal treatment given to both realms of artifacts, both equally valued, is a significant distinction, even though the collection is more physically separated than before. And Roman and other Western artifacts still dominate most of the space in the museum's collection, the legacy of the French effort. On the other hand, the Musée National is quite different in terms of access. All previous documents detailing the Musée d'Alger and its collection were published exclusively in French, but the Musée National website is offered both in French and in Arabic, although the scrolling Arabic text on the front page clearly indicates that the intended audience is an Arabic-speaking one. Well-aware of its own history, its website has several videos describing specific artifacts, as well as detailing the development and achievements of the museum up to the present-day. In its mission statement, the Musée National makes clear its desire to represent "all of the periods and all of the details of the country's existence, from its most distant origins until today," a marked difference from the Musée d'Alger's initial desires to foster an empire.^[137]

[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Random House, Inc., 1978), 2-3.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Random House, Inc., 1995), 27.

[5] Said, *Orientalism*, 2-3.

[6] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135.

[7] Said, *Orientalism*, 58-59.

[8] Joshua Paul Dale, "Cross-Cultural Encounters through a Lateral Gaze, in *After Orientalism: Critical Entanglements, Productive Looks*, ed. Inge E. Boer (New York, NY: Rodopi, 2003), 67-68. Fetishism in this colonial context has been derived from the commodity fetishism of Karl Marx and the sexual fetishism of Sigmund Freud. See also: William D. Hart, *Edward Said and the Religious Effects of Culture* (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge, 2000); Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question....: Homi K. Bhabha Reconsiders the Stereotype and Colonial Discourse," in *Screen*, Volume 24, Issue 6 (1983), 18-36; Shai Ginsburg, "Signs and Wonders: Fetishism and

Hybridity in Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*," in *CR: The New Centennial Review*, Volume 9, No. 3 (Winter 2009), 229-250.

[9] For other mentions of the Musée d'Alger, see also: Zeynep Celik, "A Lingering Obsession: The Houses of Algiers in French Colonial Discourse," in *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, eds. Zeynep Celik, Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Terpak, (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2009), 14-15; Felicity Bodenstein, "National Museums in France." In *proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen* (Linköping, Sweden: Linköping University Press, 2011); Nabila Oulebsir. *Les Usages du Patrimoine: Monuments, Musées et Politique Coloniale en Algérie (1830 - 1930)*, (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2004).

[10] Jennifer Elson, *Making Colonial France: Culture, National Identity, and the Colonization of Algeria, 1830-1851*. (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 30-32.

[11] *Réflexions sur la prise d'Alger* (Marseille, chez Rouchon: Imprimeur, Place St-Louis), 3, 11. "Lui aussi, il peut dire: *Veni, vidi, vici*."

[12] Elson, *Making Colonial France*, 46-48.

[13] Diana K. Davis, *Resurrecting the Granary of Rome: Environmental History and French Colonial Expansion in North Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), 24-26, 32, 38, 40, 45-46, 89-94.

[14] Adrien Berbrugger, *La Bibliothèque-musée d'Alger: livret explicative des collections diverses de ces deux établissements* (Alger: Imprimerie Bastide, Libraire Editeur, 1860), 5-6. "Aussi, la pensée de créer un établissement où les curiosités locales seraient recueillies et conservées, vint-elle, pour ainsi dire, à tout le monde et presque dès le premier jour."

[15] *Ibid.*, 6-18.

[16] Georges Doublet, *Musées et collections archéologiques de L'Algérie et de la Tunisie: Musée d'Alger* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 15-16.

[17] Patricia M. E. Lorcin, "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past." *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Spring, 2002), 309-311.

[18] Davis, *Granary of Rome*, 51-88.

[19] Rozey, *Sur L'Algérie: Mémoire adressé aux Chambres Législatives* (Paris: Imprimerie Lange Lévy et Compagnie, 1839), 19-20. "...un bon théâtre..."

[20] *Ibid.* "...l'art dramatique exercerait aussi une puissante action civilisatrice sur les indigènes."

[21] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 5. "...on comprenait surtout qu'il importait de fournir à la population européenne, venue ici pour fonder un nouvel empire, les éléments de culture intellectuelle propres à l'empêcher de tomber au niveau des Barbaresques."

[22] "Revue Africaine(Société historique algérienne) : volumes à télécharger." <http://www.algerie-ancienne.com/livres/Revue/revue.htm>.

[23] Adrien Berbrugger, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 1 (Algiers: Bibliothèque Impériale Impr., 1856), 3. "...feuille spéciale," "...public studieux."

[24] *Ibid.*, "...une nation qui marche en tête de la civilisation européenne."

[25] *Ibid.*, 4. "La pensée de naturaliser ici les institutions scientifiques, littéraires et artistiques de la métropole est contemporaine de la conquête."

[26] *Ibid.*, 6.

[27] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 21-22.

[28] *Ibid.*, 168.

[29] *Ibid.*, 11, 67.

[30] Adolphe Jourdan, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne: Table Générale, 1856-1881* (Algiers: Librairie de l'académie, 1885), 6-14.

[31] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 1, 77-78.

[32] Adrien Berbrugger, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 2 (Algiers: Bibliothèque Impériale Impr., 1856), 156-158.

[33] *Ibid.*, 81. "L'Afrique Septentrionale après le partage du monde romain en empire d'Orient et empire d'Occident."

[34] *Ibid.*, 88-89. "La conquête des régions connues aujourd'hui sous le nom d'Algérie est un des faits les plus importants de l'histoire de Rome."; Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 17-18.

[35] *Ibid.*

David Wells

- [36] Jacques-Louis David, *The Coronation of Napoleon (Le Sacre de Napoléon)* (Louvre, Paris, France, 1807).
- [37] *Code Civil des Français* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1805), 476.
- [38] Jean-Pierre Babelon, "The Louvre: Royal Residence and Temple of the Arts," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Lawrence Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Colombia University Press, 1998), 278-279.
- [39] Edward Porter Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 23-26.
- [40] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 142-152.
- [41] *Ibid.*, 32.
- [42] *Petite bibliothèque du voyageur en Algérie. Guide à Alger. Alger et ses environs* (Algérie: Tissier, Libraire-Editeur, 1863), 46.
- [43] *Ibid.*, 53-56.
- [44] *Ibid.*, 56. "Le Musée possède une collection remarquable de vases antiques, lampes, lacrymatoires, ustensiles en bronze et en terre, briques et tuiles romaines."
- [45] *Ibid.* "Nous recommandons spécialement à l'attention des amateurs d'antiquités... vases étrusques, trouvés dans des sépultures."
- [46] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 119-120. "...jolie," "forme très-élégante," "belle et noble," "sensuels."
- [47] *Ibid.*
- [48] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 59-98.
- [49] *Ibid.*, 34. "Le torse de Vénus est considéré comme le plus beau morceau du Musée."
- [50] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 71-72.
- [51] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 36.
- [52] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 71-72.
- [53] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 16. "Le zèle de Berbrugger était secondé par l'intelligente, mais malheureusement intermittente, collaboration de l'armée et de l'administration."
- [54] *Ibid.*, 16-17. "Des gouverneurs généraux, surtout le général d'Hautpoul, et le maréchal Randon, le duc de Malakoff; des commandants de division, le général Thomas à Dellys, le général Yusuf à Alger même; les préfets et sous-préfets, comme Ausone de Chancel à Blida; les colons mêmes rivalisaient, à certains moments, d'ardeur."
- [55] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 1, 31.
- [56] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 2, 113, 122; Adrien Berbrugger, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 3 (Algiers: Bibliothèque Imperiale Impr., 1858), 162, 182, 184, 197.
- [57] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 3, 222-227. "...d'un beau poli," "précieux," "charmant," "jolie."
- [58] *Ibid.*, 224. "...terrestre beauté."
- [59] *Guide à Alger*, 46.
- [60] Edward Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Publishers and Department of Oriental Studies, 2004). According to Greek legend, Icosium was founded by the companions of Hercules. In reality, "Yksm" was founded by Phoenician settlers as early as the 3rd century BC. In 146 BC, it became part of the Roman Empire, and its name was transcribed as "Icosium." It remained part of the Roman Empire until the 5th century AD, when it was conquered by Vandals, and was later re-conquered by Byzantium. With the Arab conquest in the 7th century, it became "El-Djezaïr," which then became the modern "Algiers."
- [61] *Guide à Alger*, 54. "Ce siège, trouvé à Alger, sous une boutique de l'ancienne place Juba, a la forme d'un fauteuil qui aurait les bras et les pieds engagés."
- [62] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 90. "...trouvée en creusant les fondations d'une maison auprès de la Casbah, à Alger."
- [63] *Guide à Alger*, 47. "En ouvrant les tranchées pour rétablissement des fondations du nouveau lycée."
- [64] *Ibid.*, 48. "Afin de conserver ce précieux monument qui permet de se faire une idée de ce qu'était une belle sépulture romaine à Icosium"
- [65] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 90.
- [66] *Guide à Alger*, 46. "Le précieux bloc."
- [67] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 102-103. "On voit sur tous deux des traces de restaurations antiques faites avec peu de soin et encore moins de talent."
- [68] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 15-16.
- [69] Celik et al., *Walls of Algiers*, 148-151.

- [70] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 153-155.
- [71] Ibid., 124, 137, 140.
- [72] Ibid., 127-135.
- [73] Ibid., 29-123.
- [74] Ibid., 127-128.
- [75] Ibid., 128. Hernan Cortes, the infamous conqueror of Mexico, also participated in this expedition at the request of Charles V.
- [76] Ibid., 124-126.
- [77] *Guide à Alger*, 54.
- [78] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 29-30. "Tête grossièrement sculptée; nez accusé très-faiblement; petits trous ronds pour les yeux et les oreilles; bouche figurée par une ligne creuse; cornes recourbées et la pointe en bas; bras collés au corps et dont les mains viennent se joindre au-dessus du nombril. La partie inférieure du corps se termine en gaine."
- [79] Ibid. "Idole berbère? Peut-être Gourzil, le fils de Jupiter Ammon..."
- [80] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 66, 68. "Berbrugger proposait d'y voir "Gourzil, fils de Jupiter Hammon, ce dieu auquel le roi numide Iarbas prétendait devoir le jour par la nymphe Garamantis." Il s'agit évidemment de Baal Haman, figuré sous les traits bien connus de Jupiter Ammon."
- [81] Albert Devoulx, *Musée archéologique d'Alger suivie d'un musée mural à Alger* (Alger: Typographie et Lithographie A. Jordan, 1874), 3-4.
- [82] Ibid. "Le Musée archéologique d'Alger ne comprend que 102 inscriptions indigènes, dont 76 arabes et 26 turques, que je vais publier en suivant le numéro d'ordre qu'elles portent sur le catalogue de cet établissement. Ces inscriptions sont inédites et pour la plupart . . . n'en offrant ni le texte ni la traduction, et se bornant à donner quelques indications souvent incomplètes et parfois modifier."
- [83] Ibid.
- [84] Ibid., 4. "Grande et belle inscription turque." Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 135. "Inscription turque sur une tablette de marbre blanc."
- [85] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 130. "...une mosquée de 2e ordre." Devoulx, *Musée archéologique d'Alger*, 8-9. "...lequel était réellement une mosquée du première ordre."
- [86] Ibid., 5. "Et l'Islam, dans la sécurité, sera vainqueur des ennemis de la religion."
- [87] Devoulx, *Musée archéologique d'Alger*, 5-6. "...rejets sans hésitation l'attribution proposée par le Livret explicative."
- [88] Ibid., "I nous nous trouvons ici une présence d'une difficulté que nous ne rencontrerons que trop souvent."
- [89] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 1, 16, 38, 41.
- [90] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 2, 129.
- [91] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 3, 212-213. "...s'était perfectionné dans tous les genres de la littérature musulmane."
- [92] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 1, 41. "...d'une rareté extrême."
- [93] Ibid., 42. "La lacune signalée est surtout regrettable...."
- [94] Adrien Berbrugger, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 9 (Algiers: Bibliothèque Impériale Impr., 1865), 430. "Etude Critique sur la Géographie Comparée et la Géographie Positive de la Guerre d'Afrique de Jules César."
- [95] Jourdan, *Revue africaine . . . Table Generale*, 22-24.
- [96] Adrien Berbrugger, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 4 (Algiers: Bibliothèque Impériale Impr., 1860), 467-468. "Notes Historiques Sur les Mosquées et autres édifices religieux de l'ancien Alger."
- [97] Adolphe Jourdan, ed., *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 37 (Algiers: Librairie de l'académie, 1893), 150, 173. "El-H'aoudh, manuscrit berbère de la Bibliothèque-Musée d'Alger."
- [98] Jourdan, *Revue africaine*, No. 37, 151-180. 156-157. "La rareté de documents écrits en berbère ne doit donc pas nous surprendre."
- [99] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 18. "...d'un indigène conservateur des manuscrits arabes..."
- [100] Ibid., 18-19. "La collection serait plus riche, si Berbrugger avait marqué d'abord moins d'indifférence pour cette archéologie libyque."

David Wells

- [101] Ibid., 20-23. *"La collection des inscriptions latines et grecques n'est pas des plus importantes."*
- [102] Ibid.
- [103] Ibid., 22-23. *"L'épigraphie chrétienne est représentée par des monuments plus curieux."*
- [104] Ibid., 26.
- [105] Ibid., 31. *"Si ces monuments sont précieux pour la connaissance de l'art indigène à l'époque romaine et pour l'étude du mélange des éléments romains et puniques..."*
- [106] Ibid., 31. *"...le Musée en possède aussi d'autres qui sont de la plus haute importance pour l'étude du travail purement indigène. Le principal est la célèbre stèle d'Abizar, vrai type d'une oeuvre berbère dans laquelle ne se retrouve aucune influence des exemples romains, et qui dérive directement des sculptures ou des dessins rupestres du Tell et du Sahara."*
- [107] Jules Carbonel, *Revue africaine, journal des travaux de la Société historique algérienne*, No. 37 (Algiers: Ancien Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1930), 225. *"L'Entree des Français à Alger, par le Cheikh Adelkader."*
- [108] Ibid., 226-227. *"...élégie patriotique," "une pathétique et dévotieuse lamentation sur la graduer et la chute de la Régence d'Alger."*
- [109] Ibid., 225-226. *"...notre poème aurait contribué à ... tous les mouvements insurrectionnels qui ont éclaté dans la province la province d'Alger."*
- [110] Ibid., 225-226. *"Le fond de la mentalité magrébine."*
- [111] Ibid., 228. *"Il faut songer, en effet, qu'au moment où elle parut, il n'y avait en pleine inorganisation, ni assemblées politiques, ni presse, ni histoire."*
- [112] Berbrugger, *Revue africaine*, No. 2, 157. *"La civilité puerile et honnête chez les arabes."*
- [113] Ibid., 19, 33. *"Le goût de l'orient en France après la conquête d'Alger.", "l'Afrique mystérieuse."*
- [114] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 27. *"Est-il vrai -- ainsi que je l'ai lu quelque part -- que ce n'était qu'à grands frais et avec des détériorations que les antiquités arrivaient au musée d'Alger?"*
- [115] Ibid., 28. *"Outre que ce dernier point obligerait d'attacher un conservateur à chaque article. . ."*
- [116] Ibid., *"... la nécessité d'une collection centrale, nécessité proclamée par le bon sens des nations et des siècles; reconnaissons-la, surtout en Algérie..."*
- [117] Ibid. *"...ces magnifiques musées d'Europe qui ont rendu accessible à tous l'étude de l'antiquité."*
- [118] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 17. *"Les fouilles de Cherchel enrichissaient le Musée jusqu'au jour où l'on créa un Musée local, dont Berbrugger fut jaloux."*
- [119] Ibid., 5. *"Il n'y a pas de Musée central."; "Le Musée d'Alger, par exemple, qui renferme plusieurs belles pièces, n'est ni un musée de l'Algérie, ni un musée de la province d'Alger : une grosse part des morceaux qu'il contient, et presque les plus beaux, viennent de la Tunisie."*
- [120] Ibid., 18. *"Berbrugger et la plupart de ses collaborateurs n'avaient que du zèle."*
- [121] Ibid. *"Tout d'ailleurs manque encore au Musée, local, inventaire, catalogue, personnel technique et ressources."*
- [122] Ibid. *"Le personnel se compose d'un bibliothécaire-conservateur, d'un adjoint, d'un indigène conservateur des manuscrits arabes, d'un gardien et d'un concierge."*
- [123] Ibid., 5. *"Ceux qui existent dans les provinces se sont enrichis au hasard, sans aucun plan, sans ordre."*
- [124] Ibid. 4. *"Les musées d'Algérie sont plus riches qu'on ne le pense, et plus riches qu'ils ne le paraissent."*
- [125] Ibid., 18. *"Cependant, même dans l'état actuel, les éléments qui s'y rencontrent sont loin d'être à dédaigner, et pourraient former le noyau d'une collection de premier ordre."*
- [126] Edward Porter Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 23-26.
- [127] Babelon, "The Louvre," 279.
- [128] Alexander, *Museums in Motion*, 26-27.
- [129] *Description de l'égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1809), Title page.
- [130] Said, *Orientalism*, 42, 84-87.
- [131] Berbrugger, *Livret explicative*, 21-28. *"... notre pauvre Musée a deux espèces d'ennemis: les uns voudraient que tout allât à Paris; les autres que tout restât dans les provinces africaines, au lieu même où chaque chose se découvre."*
- [132] Ibid., 14. *"... par bonheur, n'a jamais été exécutée."*
- [133] Alexander, *Museums in Motion*, 27-28.

[134] A. Héron de Villefosse, *Musées et collections archéologiques de L'Algérie et de la Tunisie: Musée Africain du Louvre* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1921), 12-26.

[135] Doublet, *Musée d'Alger*, 59-98.

[136] Villefosse, *Musée Africain du Louvre*, 46-78.

[137] "Musée national des antiquités et des arts islamiques." Last modified November 11, 2013.

<http://www.musee-antiquites.art.dz/>. "Il représente toutes les périodes et tous les détails de l'existence du pays depuis ses origines les plus reculées jusqu'à nos jours."