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HISTORY, ANTHROPOLOGY & ARCHAEOLOGY



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Participatory Mapping of Mid-Holocene Anthropogenic Landscapes in Guyana with Kite Aerial Photography

By Isaac Shearn & Michael J. Heckenberger

Coppin State University

Abstract- The nature and degree of human modifications of humid tropical forests in Amazonia have been widely debated over the past two decades. Many regions provide significant evidence of late Holocene anthropogenic influence by settled populations, but the antiquity of human interventions is still poorly understood due to a lack of earlier archaeological sites across the broad region, particularly pertaining to the mid-Holocene. Here we report on Amerindian occupations spanning the period from ca. 6000-3000 BP along the middle Berbice River, Guyana, including early evidence in Amazonia of cultural practices widely considered indicative of settled villages, notably terra preta or “black earth” soils, mound construction, and ceramic technology. These more settled occupations of the mid-Holocene initiated a trajectory of landscape domestication extending into historical times, including larger-scale late Holocene social formations. Collaborative research with local indigenous communities, including archaeological excavations, landscape mapping using kite based aerial photography, and three-dimensional photogrammetry, was designed to promote the decolonization of archaeological knowledge production and encourage indigenous ownership of Amerindian history and cultural heritage in Guyana.

Keywords: *amazonia; archaeology; mid-holocene; human-natural systems; indigenous peoples.*

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Participatory Mapping of Mid-Holocene Anthropogenic Landscapes in Guyana with Kite Aerial Photography

Isaac Shearn ^α & Michael J. Heckenberger ^ο

Abstract The nature and degree of human modifications of humid tropical forests in Amazonia have been widely debated over the past two decades. Many regions provide significant evidence of late Holocene anthropogenic influence by settled populations, but the antiquity of human interventions is still poorly understood due to a lack of earlier archaeological sites across the broad region, particularly pertaining to the mid-Holocene. Here we report on Amerindian occupations spanning the period from *ca.* 6000-3000 BP along the middle Berbice River, Guyana, including early evidence in Amazonia of cultural practices widely considered indicative of settled villages, notably *terra preta* or “black earth” soils, mound construction, and ceramic technology. These more settled occupations of the mid-Holocene initiated a trajectory of landscape domestication extending into historical times, including larger-scale late Holocene social formations. Collaborative research with local indigenous communities, including archaeological excavations, landscape mapping using kite based aerial photography, and three-dimensional photogrammetry, was designed to promote the decolonization of archaeological knowledge production and encourage indigenous ownership of Amerindian history and cultural heritage in Guyana.

Keywords: *amazonia; archaeology; mid-holocene; human-natural systems; indigenous peoples.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Research in the Berbice region of Guyana provides evidence for mid-Holocene human occupations with unexpectedly early dates for ceramics, settled villages, and agricultural innovations centered on landscape management (Shearn, et al. 2017; Whitehead, et al. 2010). This included earthen mound-building, wetland management systems, and soil engineering practices designed to improve the sandy and often impoverished savannah soils into productive anthropogenic soils, generally referred to as Amazonian dark earth or ADE (Woods, et al. 2009). These findings are indicative of large settlements and regional socio-political integration by *ca.* 5000-4500 BP, extending the antiquity of these cultural innovations associated with “formative” cultures in interior tropical forest settings of

northern Amazonia (Arroyo-Kalin 2010; Burger and Rosenswig 2012; Oliver 2008).

Excavations at the Dubulay site and the mapping of associated earthworks provide a rare perspective on early settled communities and the proliferation of landscape domestication features associated with villages during the mid-Holocene in Amazonia. These document the deep antiquity and scale of human influences on these mosaic tropical forest ecologies, which do not conform to still popular views of sparse and ephemeral human interventions across most Amazonian forest environments (Barlow, et al. 2012; McMichael, et al. 2012; Piperno, et al. 2015). The six-millennial culture history of the Middle Berbice River documents substantial dynamic change in coupled human-natural systems, which has important implications for global debate regarding climate change and biodiversity, as well as indigenous cultural heritage.

a) *The Geographical and Historical Context of Moundbuilding in Guyana*

Although Amazonia was long viewed as the world’s iconic pristine tropical forest, archaeology and historical ecology over the past two decades suggest substantial human influence, rivaling other major world forest regions in antiquity, scale and density of indigenous populations in pre-modern times (Clement, et al. 2015; Heckenberger and Neves 2009; Roosevelt 2013). These views emphasize long-term change in dynamic coupled natural-human systems, including substantial pre-colonial modifications of the natural environment, climate change and catastrophic post-contact depopulation (Balée and Erickson 2006; Denevan 2001; McEwan, et al. 2001; Rostain 2012; Schaan 2012). Most regional specialists agree that parts of the region supported substantial socio-historical diversity, including cultural innovations and change similar in antiquity and scale to other parts of the Americas, including diverse forager occupations and initial plant domestication by the early Holocene, settled agricultural technologies by the middle to late Holocene and densely settled regional polities during late pre-colonial times.

The cultural history in most areas remains poorly resolved, notably for initial settled human occupations during the middle Holocene (*ca.* 6000-3000

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BP). Our findings document the deep antiquity of cultural innovations widely associated with settled communities and associated landscape modifications, including ceramics, *terra preta* (ADE) and major earthen mounds. Early mound-building marks the onset of an initial or “formative” period of settled village life and regional organization (5000-4000 BP), roughly contemporaneous with developments in US Southeast, Mesoamerica and Andean areas (Arroyo-Kalin 2010; Burger and Rosenswig 2012; Oliver 2008). Human-made mounds and early ceramics are seen to indicate the transition to settled or semi-settled communities, although typically associated with shell mounds across northern South America (Roosevelt, et al. 1991; Roosevelt 1995). The scale and uniqueness of the Dubulay mound suggests that this site was more than a structurally elaborated autonomous village and indicates participation in and some degree of integration within a regional social group, suggested by similar age ADE deposits and diagnostic Dubali ceramics at the Hitia and other sites downstream from Dubulay. Major public constructions at the Dubulay site from ca. 5000 to 4600 BP suggest that changes in social and symbolic systems, notably public ritual, were equally as important as techno-economic change tied to food procurement in the transition to more settled life (Burger and Rosenswig 2012; Flannery 1976; Lathrap 1977). The proliferation of mound sites radiating from the middle Berbice represents a pattern of agricultural innovation that parallels innovations in ceramic stylistic technologies (Shearn, et al. 2017). We propose that these innovations are associated with a shift toward more communal landscape management projects.

The mid-Holocene occupations document changes in subsistence strategies related to ADE formation, often taken to indicate early agricultural practices (Oliver 2008). The ADE deposits at the Dubulay and Hitia sites suggest domestic refuse disposal and probable associated house gardening (Arroyo-Kalin 2010), the role agricultural crops played in subsistence systems during this period awaits paleoethnobotanical and geochemical studies of ADE deposits. A variety of plants used by historically known Arawak language-speaking groups were widely available by mid-Holocene times across the broad region, including early domesticates, such as manioc and maize, but plant use likely focused on the large repertoire of useful non- and semi-domesticated species and diversified production systems (Clement, et al. 2010; Piperno and Pearsall 1998). The degree to which house gardening and other casual horticulture practices were supplemented by more extensive non-domestic farming practices, including construction and cultivation of savanna mounds, is uncertain. Forest slash-and-burn gardening and common use of small agricultural mounds are known for late Holocene

populations (Rostain 2008a; Rostain 2010), but cannot be attributed to the mid-Holocene occupations.

The enduring occupation and scale of modification reflected in the mounds, associated with early ceramic technologies in the region, and the ADE soils that were used to construct it, indicate significant landscape modification in mid-Holocene times. In Guyana, this appears to have involved the management of diverse forest, wetland and savanna resources, but did not necessarily involve clear-cutting of forests for gardening. These initial signs of settled life appear during the mid-Holocene Warm Period (Pachauri, et al. 2014; Prado, et al. 2013). Environmental changes due to climate clearly would have impacted human-nature interactions, particularly the warmer and wetter conditions of northern South America (Silva Dias, et al. 2009), and more intensive management of forest resources and plant cultivation during this time may have enhanced forest cover in the warmer climates of the mid-Holocene (Carson, et al. 2014). These occupations clearly represent a substantial footprint on the local landscape, including significant changes in human interactions with plant and animal populations, as reflected in ADE. At the very least, the complexity of the mid-Holocene landscapes of the Middle Berbice attest that detailed archaeological survey and mapping is necessary to investigate pre-colonial and historic socio-ecological heterogeneity and dynamic change, including documented intra- and inter-regional variation. Moundbuilding is well documented during the late-Holocene along coastal regions of the Guianas, however, the origins of the practice and extent to which such practices were common, remain open questions for the development of diverse agricultural practices in Amazonia (Clement, et al. 2015; Denevan 2001; Denevan 2003; Iriarte, et al. 2020; McKey, et al. 2010; Rostain 2008a; Rostain 2008b; Rostain 2010; Rostain 2012). Artificial mounds are reported in coastal regions north of the Guiana plateau in areas dominated by Arawak-speaking peoples, often associated with the Mabaruma sub-tradition (Saladoid-Barranoid tradition) (Evans and Meggers 1960; Plew 2005; Rostain 2012; Williams 2003). In addition to pre-colonial agricultural raised fields (Iriarte, et al. 2010; Rostain 2010), recent research documents many different kinds of mound landscapes of natural origin, including round mounds (Renard, et al. 2012b). The presence of naturally occurring mound features in seasonally flooded savanna landscapes has been well documented, and important recent research adopts a historical ecological approach to investigate the feedback loop created between anthropogenic inputs and other ecosystem “managers” such as termites and earthworms (Iriarte, et al. 2010; McKey, et al. 2014; McKey, et al. 2010; Renard, et al. 2012a; Renard, et al. 2012b). In Brazil, similar mound fields, or *campos de murundus* were

evaluated to test hypotheses about their construction evaluating whether termite construction or differential erosion was likely to cause the formation of mounds (Silva, et al. 2010). They conclude that erosion was more likely than termite nesting, but an anthropogenic origin was not considered. While it cannot be confirmed conclusively that the small, round mounds tested in the middle Berbice result from human intervention, there are a range of other earthen features that are clearly cultural, including large linear single mounds, large village mounds, and an excavated ditch around a circular mound interpreted as a platform for a domestic structures. Terminal pre-colonial to early historic agricultural populations developed farming in areas away from major habitation sites, including historical use of mounds by contemporary Arawak communities in the Berbice (Whitehead, et al. 2010).

b) *The Survey Area: Middle Berbice, Guyana*

The study area is located approximately 80 km from the mouth of the Berbice River at the junction with Wiruni Creek, the location of the modern Wiruni village, but the distance by boat is about 160 km along the winding Berbice River (Figure 1). As one travels upstream closed tropical rainforest dominates the landscape, but by the middle reached of the Berbice River downstream to mouth environments are a mixture of forest areas, including low-lying forests along the river and its tributaries, and open savannah. These savannahs often include small forest islands in the study areas, which may also have resulted from past management strategies, as noted elsewhere in such transitional settings (Posey and Balée 1989). Models of the topography surrounding Dubulay were developed to predict where water channels would have flowed under wetter late-Holocene conditions (Prado, et al. 2013) to further contextualize the anthropogenic features with respect to the dynamic landscape.

In total, six areas were mapped using the kite-based photography technique. Four of the areas are located on Dubulay Ranch property, including the ranch area itself (the location of 2011 University of Florida excavations), two fields of agricultural mounds (referred to here as Mound Group 2 and 3), and the well-known, yet poorly understood linear mounds west of the ranch. Two additional areas along the Wiruni Creek were mapped; Red Hill, which is located directly on the creek, and Matara, which is located approximately 1 km north of the creek, beyond the historic (Dutch) Fort Nassau.

II. METHODS

Here we adopt an archaeological and ethnographic approach augmented with photogrammetric and spatial analytical methods in order to associate specific mounds formations with other evidence of human occupations. After first being identified by Joe Singh in 1986, and identified as Amerindian in origin, preliminary archaeological

excavations in the study area were undertaken in 2009, followed by intensive fieldwork in 2011. In 2014 a return trip was made to complete the ceramic analysis of the 2011 materials with local participants in Guyana and to map the mound sites that were associated with known archaeological sites with the Wiruni/Matara indigenous community. The results of the archaeological excavations and the mapping of the mound sites are discussed here.

a) *Excavations of Village and Domestic Mound Contexts*

Research conducted in a ~400 km² study area along the middle Berbice identified 10 pre-colonial sites, including the large (5-8 ha) Dubulay and Hitia sites, situated on high (20-25 m), non-inundated river bluffs. Site survey was conducted along the Berbice River, Wiruni Creek and Kaikuchen stream and involved extensive walk-over inspection and soil augers (8 cm bucket) and test pit excavations (50-x-50-cm and 1-x-1-m).

Fieldwork at the Dubulay site included extensive surface inspection and soil augers to determine site boundaries; hand-excavated trench excavations were positioned to bisect mound 1 and test adjacent areas in eastern portions of the site and in central site areas; excavation units (1-x-1-m) were placed along trench walls and in western portions of the site (Heckenberger, et al. 2012). Trench 1 (25 m), adjacent to a 1-m-x-50-cm test pit, and trench 4 (10 m) provided cross-sections of the deepest portions of the artificial mound, maximally extending to ≈ 4.0 m deep. Two 1-x-1-m units were excavated from the west wall of trench 1 to depths of 3.6 m (N966/W998) and 2.6 m (N978/W998). One excavation unit (1-x-1-m) and two block excavations (4-x-4-m) were conducted along trench 5 to expose whole ceramic vessels and associated domestic areas adjacent to the northern part of the mound 1. Two 1-x-1-m units were excavated in western site areas (Locus 2).

Excavation of units 1-x-1-m and greater was conducted in 50-x-50-cm horizontal sub-units, or quadrants, and in 10 cm arbitrary vertical levels using sharpened shovels, trowels, and fine-grain excavation tools. All sediment was passed through 0.65 cm mesh hardware cloth. After excavation, all units were profiled, photographed, and “grab samples” (81 samples of > 500 g) were trowel-collected from all discernable strata. Soil sampling using an 8 cm diameter bucket auger was conducted across the site to 2 m depth and changes in sediment composition and color were noted, including along the mound apex to determine length and variation in depth.

b) *Participatory Mapping with Three-Dimensional Photogrammetry*

In order to contextualize the findings from the Dubulay site with features of the surrounding landscape-including forest islands and dry creeks and drainages,

and round domestic mounds, linear earthworks, and several clusters of round conical mounds produced by humans and or soil engineers in terminal mid-Holocene to mid-Holocene times-reconnaissance teams scouted and investigated many nearby areas in 2011 that were then revisited in 2014 to produce better maps of the features.

In 2014, the method utilized for mapping the mounds consisted involved participation of local community members to gain insight into the location and ecological conditions of mound areas. The team of participants from the local communities shared their extremely detailed local ecological knowledge helping us to rapidly identify locales with mounds and target those areas without having to survey random fields in search of mounds. The aim of kite mapping was to generate high resolution three-dimensional maps of the mound areas (Aber, et al. 2002). We used a pair of 7m and 9m delta kites to fly cameras over mound areas to capture aerial imagery. For this project, we used a kite for two main reasons. We wanted the mapping of the mounds to be a participatory and educational project for local communities to get involved with, and because it represents the lowest-cost solution, making it the most widely accessible and easiest entry point into the method. We cannot ignore the affect that a kite, as opposed to a drone, has on the perception of our research when abroad. The tradeoff is not in terms of the quality of data returned, but in the ability to get consistent coverage of broad areas. For that reason, our results were often irregularly shaped slices of landscape that more or less captured all mounded areas in a contiguous landform. The images were processed using Agisoft PhotoScan to utilize stereoscopic photogrammetry to produce a high-resolution digital terrain model from which a digital elevation model (DEM) and an orthomosaic were constructed.

III. RESULTS

a) *Archaeological Excavations at Dubulay Ranch*

Four mid-Holocene components were defined at Dubulay (Shearn, et al. 2017): 1) initial stratified occupations of mobile or semi-settled populations, pre-6000 BP; 2) initial settled occupations, including ADE and ceramics, ca. 6000-5000 BP; 3) construction of a major ceremonial mound, ca. 5000-4500 BP; and 4) continued occupations in areas around the mound until ca. 3,000 (Figure 2, Table 1). Occupations continued through the late Holocene, including possible mound farming in savanna areas near the Dubulay site by ca. 3000-2000 BP, and historically and archaeologically documented occupations by Berbice Arawak communities reported from the early 1600s to the present (Whitehead, et al. 2010).

Early mid-Holocene occupations, ca. 6000-5000 BP, were identified as thin stratified anthrosols (~5-10

cm thick), notably darker than basal (pre-cultural) compact clays and intervening sterile strata in western portions of the Dubulay site. They were encountered 80-150 cm deep, beneath a thick ADE deposit, and contained sporadic carbonized botanical remains and ceramics (Figure 2), suggesting repeated use of domestic areas with intervening natural eolian deposition. A basal date of 6130 BP was obtained from the base (60-80 cm) of the dark ADE anthrosol (20-80 cm), which contained abundant ceramic and organic remains. Such pronounced ADE midden deposits are commonly attributed to household disposal activities, reflecting more enduring occupations and producing rich soils for house gardening (Arroyo-Kalin 2010; Woods and McCann 1999). A charcoal-rich layer (60-70 cm) in N1390/W1319 that contained >10 small ceramic sherds was dated to 5825 BP. N1390/W1319 was excavated adjacent to the 2009 test pit that produced a C¹⁴ age estimate of 5140 BP from the lowest deposits containing cultural remains (60-70 cm). An early ADE midden (4710 BP) was also identified along the western bank of the Berbice River at the Hitia site, roughly 20 km downstream.

b) *Village and Ceremonial Mound*

By 4650 BP, a large river bluff mound was constructed at the Dubulay site, which distinguished it from Hitia and other sites in the study area. The earthen mound measures ~200 x 50 m (~20,000 m³ of moved earth) along the bluff, which plunges an additional ~25 m to the river channel, giving the mound an imposing vertical face from the river, with largely intact stratigraphy to a maximal depth of over 4 m at the mound apex (Figure 2). Radiocarbon dates suggest it was constructed during a relatively short time, perhaps a few generations. The mound was created by repeated, highly patterned construction episodes, preserved in 39 alternating "couplets" of lighter, thicker and sandier layers capped with darker ADE. Large ceramic fragments were often orientated horizontally within darker micro-strata, suggesting intentional capping and compaction over light, sandy layers to enhance structural stability. Basal light layers are mottled and extremely compact due in part to mixing with underlying clay-rich natural strata. Ceramics were associated with all micro-strata, including the deepest, but were much denser in mid- to upper dark layers.

The stratigraphy of the mound was fairly continuous across higher portions of the mound, northern portions of trench 1 and across trench 4, including well stratified mound deposits (>50 cm), dating to 4690-4614 BP, and mixed upper strata, characterized by a homogeneous dark macro-stratum created by later pre-colonial and historic hoe and mechanized agriculture and construction activities. Lower stratified strata are pinched off toward southern portions of Trench 1. The mound is composed of

substantial ADE, although not from in-situ domestic waste disposal or composting behavior. The extremely dark color, oily texture and ceramic density of these charcoal-infused deposits document substantial local ADE formation, which were intentionally redeposited as mound construction elements. The associated ceramics assemblage is also notable for the large quantity of sherds in mound fill, indicative of more than casual production. The construction of the mound also informs us about other aspects of mid-Holocene cultural industries, notably the relation between early ceramic technologies and formation of highly modified ADE.

A technofunctional and stylistic analysis of ceramic remains excavated in 2011 was conducted in 2014 (Shearn, et al. 2017), so only a brief description of the ceramics is presented here. There were two main features of the ceramic assemblages that were identified in the analysis that required explanation and were relevant to the proposed interpretation of the relationship between village sites and mound sites. These included the sequence of stylistic innovation that began during construction of the mound consisting of small- to medium-sized coiled, low-fired vessels with predominately sand tempers decorated by small appliqué strips in simple geometric designs giving way rapidly to more complex, or cross-hatched designs on the rims. The second feature of the assemblage we sought to explain was the apparently intentional deposition of five serving vessels in a cache on the outskirts of the Dubulay Village site. In 2017, the authors put forward the hypothesis that both of these innovative features of the ceramic assemblage were related to innovations in agriculture, a hypothesis we expand upon here with an analysis of innovations in relationships with the landscape.

c) *Linear Mound Group*

The linear mound features are located approximately 3-4 km west of the 2011 excavations, and just north of the Wanyabo creek, an excellent source of fresh water. Although several of the linear features can be seen in the map provided above, several are difficult to make out because of the low vertical profile that many of the linear mounds feature, as well as the high grass cover both on and off the mounds. However, when looking at the digital elevation model (generated with the same software) the linear features are easier to resolve and exhibit three distinct patterns. (Figure 3). 1) Linear, near parallel mounds that potentially radiate from a similar point, 2) S-twist linear mounds, and 3) arcing parallel linear mounds. The presence of linear and semi-circular earthwork features in savannah areas closely associated to the mound at Dubulay lends support to the interpretation of nearby circular mounds as having their origin in similar practices.

d) *Surrounding Mound Groups*

Investigations conducted in savanna and scrubland areas adjacent to the pre-colonial occupation sites in forested areas along the Berbice River and Wiruni Creek documented a variety of anthropogenic features, including small residential sites, forest islands, as well as low conical mounds of possible human origin situated along the slopes rising from stream-beds, several of which are seasonally dry.

i. *Mound Group 2*

We were led to Mound Group 2 by Reard, the manager at Dubulay Ranch. Reard was an expert source of information about the mounds, the landscape surrounding those mounds, and the recent history of land-use that may have affected the distribution and preservation of mound sites. Mound Group 2 is located on a gentle slope, which, although truncated by the tree line, leads down to a creek bed to the west (Figure 4). Mound group 2 is a very typical example of the types of locations we came to find the majority of the mound sites. Notably, the mounds were found consistently along gently sloping ground rising from a pond or creek-bed, but are theorized to have been wetter during other periods.

The distance between Mound Group 2 and the settlement at Dubulay is approximately 7.5 km. Mound Group 2 is near the western edge of the Dubulay Ranch property, approximately 4 km east of the Kaikuchen Creek mounds, which were tested in 2011. Furthermore, the mound group itself extends further to the north, and likely into the forest to the northwest, although these areas were not captured during our kite survey of the area. More extensive mapping of the savannah will provide better information about the boundaries, and sizes of these mound fields, while more technology, such as LIDAR (which has the capability to penetrate tree cover) might be necessary to identify mounds inside the forested areas.

ii. *Mound Group 3*

Mound Group 3 represents the agricultural mounds most closely associated with the excavations at Dubulay, at approximately 3.5 km to the northwest, and across a drainage that has been impacted by modern ranching activities. Despite the setting of Mound Group 3 on an opposing drainage from Dubulay, we assume that if the mounds here were agricultural, and used during a time period overlapping with occupations at Dubulay, that these would likely have served as agricultural fields to service those populations. The intervening area east of the creek was also mapped, but was found to be absent of mounds, which highlights the selective nature of mound locations in this region. Given the spacing between Mound Group 3 and the mound sites across Wiruni Creek, it seems likely that future archaeological research will identify other settlements

closer to Mound Group 3, as well as affiliation with occupation sites along Wiruni Creek at Matara and Red Hill.

e) *Red Hill Mound Group*

Red Hill mounds are located north of Dubulay Ranch, along the Wiruni creek. By boat, the distance to travel between the areas is 20 km, although over land, the distance is roughly 10 km (Figure 5). It is approximately 6 km west of the Matara group and 5-6 km NW of Mound Group 3. The mounds at Red Hill are located primarily on the eastern face of the hill, as it slopes down to the depression that becomes a creek during the wet season and may have been a creek during wetter climatic conditions.

f) *Matara Mound Group*

The Matara mound group is located approximately 1.0 km² northeast of Fort Nassau, which is located 10.5 km away from Dubulay Ranch when travelling by boat, but over land, the sites are 6.5 km apart. In 1991, nearly 1000 similar mounds were counted, one of which was radiocarbon dated to ca. 1860 BP from a cross-section trench excavated by Simon and Whitehead (Whitehead, et al. 2010). The Matara mounds represent the most extensive mound groups we encountered, covering at least 85 hectares, and possibly more than a full square kilometer (Figure 6). However, due to poor wind conditions on our only day to work there, we were unable to get complete coverage of this vast area. However, Matara also represents one of the most well-preserved mound sites. Furthermore, the discovery of ceramic remains at the site in 2011, make it the most likely to contain an associated village or settlement very nearby and is therefore one of the highest priorities for additional investigation during future research. Interestingly, the site features a forest island, which have been proposed to be associated with Amerindian settlements due to the increased fertility of soils left behind human occupations.

g) *Kaikuchen Mound Group*

As elsewhere in the study area, mounds near Kaikuchen Creek (5-6 km west of the Dubulay site) are situated along the slopes immediately adjacent small tributaries and adjacent occupation sites in savanna areas. Testing in Kaikuchen evaluated a range of potentially anthropogenic features in the savanna including agricultural mounds, forest islands, and one occupation site (Sandy Ridge). One mound measuring 15 m in diameter was bisected, and bulk sediment samples were collected from each 10 cm of the profile, the lowest sample of which included small charcoal fragments that returned a basal (90-100 cm) age estimate of ca. 3250 BP. A 1-x-1-m test unit was excavated approximately 1050 m north/northeast of the mound bisection (Figure 7).

IV. DISCUSSION: ANALYSIS OF MOUND PATTERNING

One of the goals of the 2014 participatory research was to confirm that the mounds were man-made, and not the result of ant hills, which is a commonly held belief by many local people in the region. This observation is likely attributable to a feature of anthropogenic landscapes in South America wherein certain insect species inhabit former agricultural mounds and serve to maintain the structure of human constructed earthworks, as explained by McKey, et al. (2010). A number of contextual clues and archaeological evidence support the interpretation of human creation of these fields of mounds, which are linked to specific archaeological occupation sites in both time and space, however the role of humans in creation and function of the mounds is still uncertain.

The patterning and spacing of the mound clusters and the regularity with which they are found in particular types of locations was investigated in the region surrounding Dubulay, a known early residential location. During the course of mapping the mounds in 2014, the crew observed that mound groups tended to be sited on landforms that slope down to existing streams or seasonally dry stream beds. Additional analysis was conducted to evaluate additional characteristics of the anthropogenic landscapes, particularly aspects of terrain and hydrology. These were used to develop hypotheses about the relationships of mound groups to archaeological sites and landscape features. Spatial analysis of mound patterning was conducted using the nearest neighbor function in GIS, which is designed to test of the likelihood that mounds were randomly distributed over the study area, and whether the distribution conforms to a dispersed or clustered pattern if nonrandom.

McKey and Renard (McKey, et al. 2014; McKey, et al. 2010; Renard, et al. 2012a; Renard, et al. 2012b) provide ample discussion of natural factors responsible for or contributing to common earthen features of the landscape attributed to human manufacture, which were also likely tied to climate related environmental change in these transitional environments. The creation and use of the small, round mounds must be considered against the backdrop of the diversity and prominence of earthen features across both forested areas along major rivers and streams and savannah areas, including ADE middens, linear mounds, round domestic platforms with a low enclosing ditch and expanded or contracted, and the monumental construction at Dubulay. These significant and enduring features of the built environment, suggest that the small, round mounds were also important resources for indigenous plant management, including manioc, as known historically, and other plants that would benefit from the enhanced growing conditions on the mounds. The association of

specific mound areas to well dated archaeological sites, the setting of mound sites with respect to slope and local hydrology, the spacing between mound sites, and the spacing between mounds within those sites supports the conclusion that these features were anthropogenic.

We used a 30 m global SRTM DEM to analyze slope and construct a hydrology model of the study area. From this it was possible to project the extent of river systems during the height of rainy season, and it became clear the most sterile sandy soils can be found in these often-dry drainage basins, and the abutting grasslands that slope above them tend to contain the mounds we suspect were managed by mid-Holocene populations. The mound fields tend to be located on gently sloping landforms, ranging from 1-4 degrees of slope. When compared to a random selection of mound locations in the study area, our analysis showed that the selection of this range of slopes was nonrandom.

The distance between the various agricultural mounds mapped, and the excavations at Dubulay Ranch, which proved to represent an approximately 5000-year-old village site, suggests that additional village sites are likely to be associated with the agricultural mounds, particularly Mound Group 2, Red Hill Mounds, and Matara Mounds, all of which are between 7 and 10 km from the Dubulay excavations. The distance between any two mound groups rarely exceeds 5 km and appears to have a tendency toward 4 km between mound groups. For example, the five sites mapped south of the Wiruni Creek, Dubulay, the Linear Mounds, and Mound Group 3 form an equilateral triangle, 4 km on each side. Mound Group 2 is almost exactly 4 km west of the Linear mounds, and Kaikuchen is another 4 km west of Mound Group 2. Given the pattern of 4 km intervals between mound groups, it is possible to predict the location of further mound groups and villages, as well as additional connection between the mapped mound groups. The spacing of mounds in Mound Group 2, 3, Redhill, and Matara, was analyzed using the average nearest neighbor function in GIS, which revealed a less than 1% chance that the mounds were randomly distributed, and that they conformed to a dispersed pattern.

V. CONCLUSION

The findings from the Dubulay sites and other sites in the middle Berbice River contribute to growing consensus that the forested landscapes of Amazonia were substantially transformed by fairly large Amerindian populations. This raises doubt about claims of sparse human populations and ephemeral impacts on the natural forest environment, as suggested from many lowland forests and, in particular, Guiana shield tropical forests in the absence of systematic archaeological survey and testing (e.g., Barlow, et al. 2012; McMichael,

et al. 2012; Mittermeier, et al. 2003; Piperno, et al. 2015). Mid-Holocene occupations affiliated with Dubali complex extend across the transitional tropical forest and coastal hinterland interface from Suriname to the middle Orinoco. These occupations significantly extend the antiquity of human interventions associated with more settled communities in the region, including ADE, mound-building and ceramic technology, and had an unexpectedly pronounced anthropogenic footprint in this mosaic tropical forest setting. The Mid-Holocene settled communities initiated a trajectory of landscape domestication that expanded in the late Holocene times, including semi-intensive management systems described in the 17th century Berbice and described for many other tropical forest settings, which were mutually sustaining of tropical forest in these transitional areas settings (Clement, et al. 2010).

Inter-disciplinary and multi-cultural collaborative research strategies that address centennial- and millennial-scale data suggest that contemporary tropical forests are complex and highly textured palimpsests of human-natural interactions reflecting the strategies of active human agents (Carson, et al. 2014; Dull, et al. 2010). Our findings suggest dynamic change and socio-ecological systems, including substantial intra- and inter-regional variation across the humid forests of Amazonia (Balée 2010; Balée and Erickson 2006; Clement, et al. 2015; Denevan 2001; Heckenberger and Neves 2009; McEwan, et al. 2001; Roosevelt 2013), which prompt caution in broad extrapolations from minimally classified orbital imagery and minimal exploratory sampling, which do not address the remarkable heterogeneity and change within regions across Amazonia. The research contributes to global comparisons of pre-modern systems of forest management and human modification of species and eco-system biodiversity, often ignored in depictions of natural biodiversity of the Guiana shield (Balée 2010). Initial settled life and concomitant changes in technology and built environment appear during the mid-Holocene climatic optimum in transitional environments in northern and southern Amazonia, including early domestication and cultivated plants (Hilbert et al. 2017; Iriarte et al. 2020). The domesticated landscapes of the coastal hinterland transitional forests suggest alternative conversion strategies to extensive clear-cutting. The return to untended (fallow) forests from the 16th to 18th century contributed to the "Little Ice-Age" as large settled populations were decimated by disease and colonial oppression (Denevan 1996).

Mid-Holocene occupations affiliated with the Dubali complex and other similar complexes across the transitional tropical forest and coastal hinterland interface from Suriname to the middle Orinoco, had an unexpectedly pronounced anthropogenic footprint in this mosaic transitional tropical forest. These

communities were not only uniquely adapted to the tropical forest but potentially mutually sustaining of transitional lowland tropical forest settings, particularly sensitive to climate fluctuations and human influence. These early occupations established an enduring cultural frontier between settled groups of the northern Guiana piedmont and coastal lowlands and often smaller-scale and more mobile upland groups within regional networks.

The six-millennial history of the Middle Berbice underscores the fact that contemporary tropical forests are complex and highly textured palimpsests of human-natural interactions reflecting the strategies of active human agents (Erickson and Balée 2006). They document sophisticated systems of land management uniquely adapted to the tropical ecology, which is often ignored in depictions of the biodiversity of the Guiana shield (Willis, et al. 2004). The culture history and historical ecology of these settled populations, including sophisticated systems of indigenous land management uniquely adapted to the tropical ecology of these areas, therefore has vital implications for current debates in biodiversity, ecological resilience and sustainable development, including forest restoration in transitional ecological settings, as well as pride of place among native peoples, including cultural heritage rights (Denevan 1996; Staver, et al. 2011). Through our participation with the local communities, over several years, and the cooperation of team of cultural anthropologists and archaeologists, this research helps to bring some evidence to bear on the local disagreement, as well as furthers our understanding of settlement trajectory and early agricultural strategies of pre-colonial Arawak groups in the region. Further resolution of these deep cultural histories has important implications for current debates in biodiversity, ecological resilience and sustainable development, as

well as pride of place among native peoples, including cultural heritage rights.

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The ASTER V03 GDEM was retrieved from the online Data Pool, courtesy of the NASA Land Processes Distributed Active Archive Center (LP DAAC), USGS/Earth Resources Observation and Science (EROS) Center, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, https://lpdaac.usgs.gov/data_access/data_pool.

TABLES

Table 1: Radiocarbon dates for Dubulya and related sites along Middle Berbice River.

Lab #	Area/Provenience/ Context/Affiliation	Depth (cmbd**)	Conv. ¹⁴ C age	2 Σ Age Range (mid-point)
Beta-305502*	Locus 1: N 966 W 998; N mound peak (upper); Late Dubali I complex	86 cm	4070 +/- 30 BP	Cal BP 4790-4440 (4615)
Beta-305503	Locus 1: N 966 W 998; N mound peak (upper); Late Dubali I complex	180 - 190 cm	4120 +/- 30 BP	Cal BP 4820-4530 (4675)
Beta-306369	Locus 1: N 966 W 998; N mound peak (upper); Late Dubali I complex	360 - 370 cm	4160 +/- 40 BP	Cal BP 4840-4540 (4690)
Beta-265991	Locus 1: 2009 Test Pit: N mound peak; Late Dubali I complex	130-140 cmbs	4290 +/- 50 BP	Cal BP 4960-4820 (4890)

Beta-305505	Locus 1: N 1002 W 996; just W of mound; Dubali II complex	80 - 90 cm	3050 +/- 30 BP	Cal BP 3350-3210 (3280)
Beta-305506	Locus 2: N 1393 W 1197: ADE area; Early Dubali I complex	93 - 95 cm	5330 +/- 40 BP	Cal BP 6270-5990 (6130)
Beta-265990	Locus 2: 2009 Test Pit: non-ADE; Early Dubali I complex	60-70 cmbds	4330 +/- 80 BP	Cal BP 5570-4710 (5140)
Beta-305507	Locus 2: N 1390 W 1319: non-ADE; Early Dubali I complex	60 - 70 cm	5030 +/- 40 BP	Cal BP 5990-5660 (5825)
Beta-305508	Hitia Test Pit 1: riverbank ADE midden; Late Dubali I complex	80 - 90 cm	4170 +/- 40 BP	Cal BP 4840-4570 (4705)
Beta-305509	Kaikuchen Trench 1; large circular mound; Dubali II/Post-Dubali complex	90 - 100 cm	3030 +/- 30 BP	Cal BP 3340-3160 (3250)

Notes:

* palm fruit, all others are wood charcoal;

** cmbd = cm below datum (arbitrary vertical control point); cmbds = cm below actual ground surface

FIGURES



Figure 1: Map of Study Area with areas of kite-mapping coverage associated with the principle site of Dubulay and surrounding mound complexes to the south of Wiruni Creek and Matara and Red Hill sites to the north.



Figure 2: A. Schematic of mound 1 profile with radiocarbon dates; B. Overview photo of mound 1 post-excitation collection of soil samples by micro-stratigraphic unit; C. N996W998 during excavation (note partially slumped north wall); D. N978W998 during excavation.

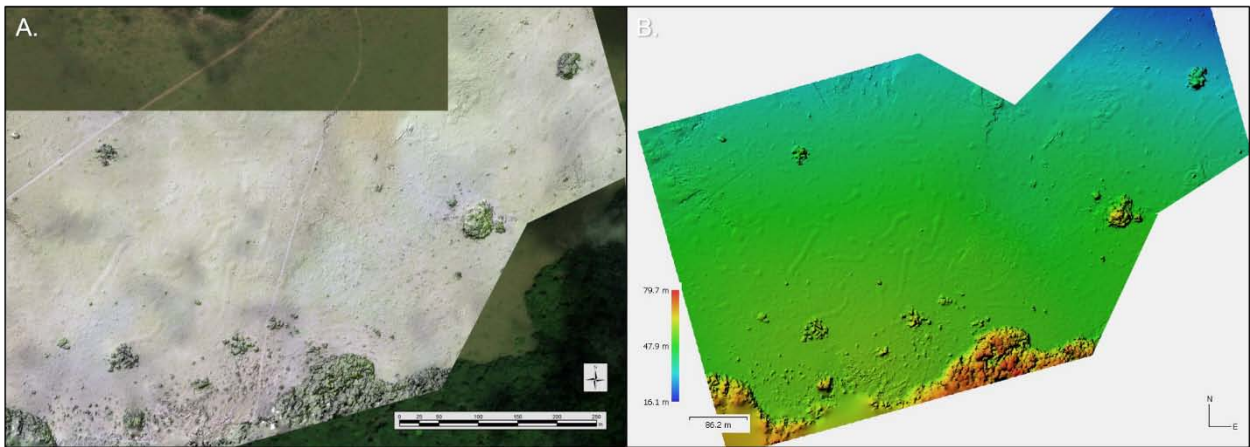


Figure 3: Linear Mound Group. A. Geo-referenced orthomosaic; B. Digital Elevation Model in photoscan.

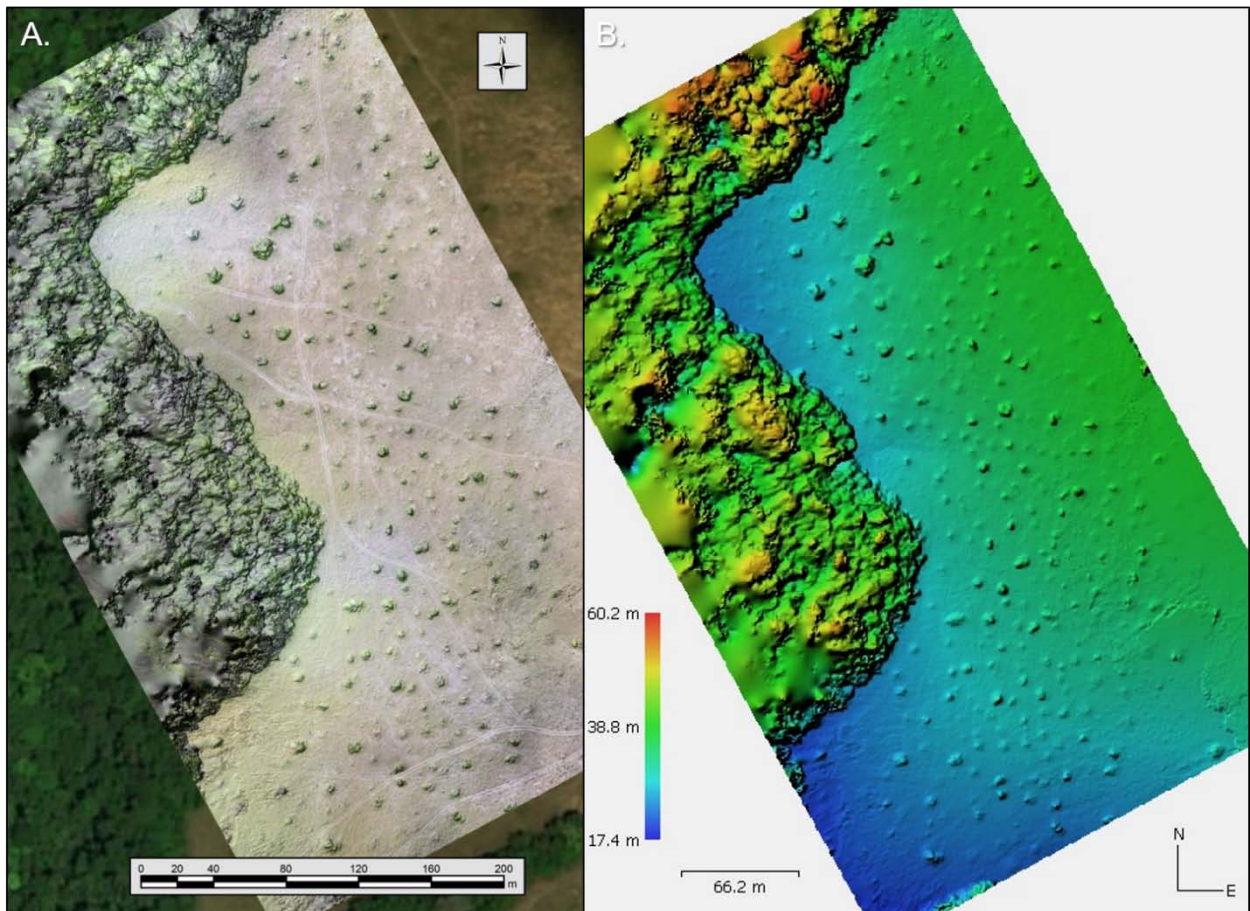


Figure 4: Mound Group 2. A. Geo-referenced orthomosaic; B. Digital Elevation Model in photoscan.

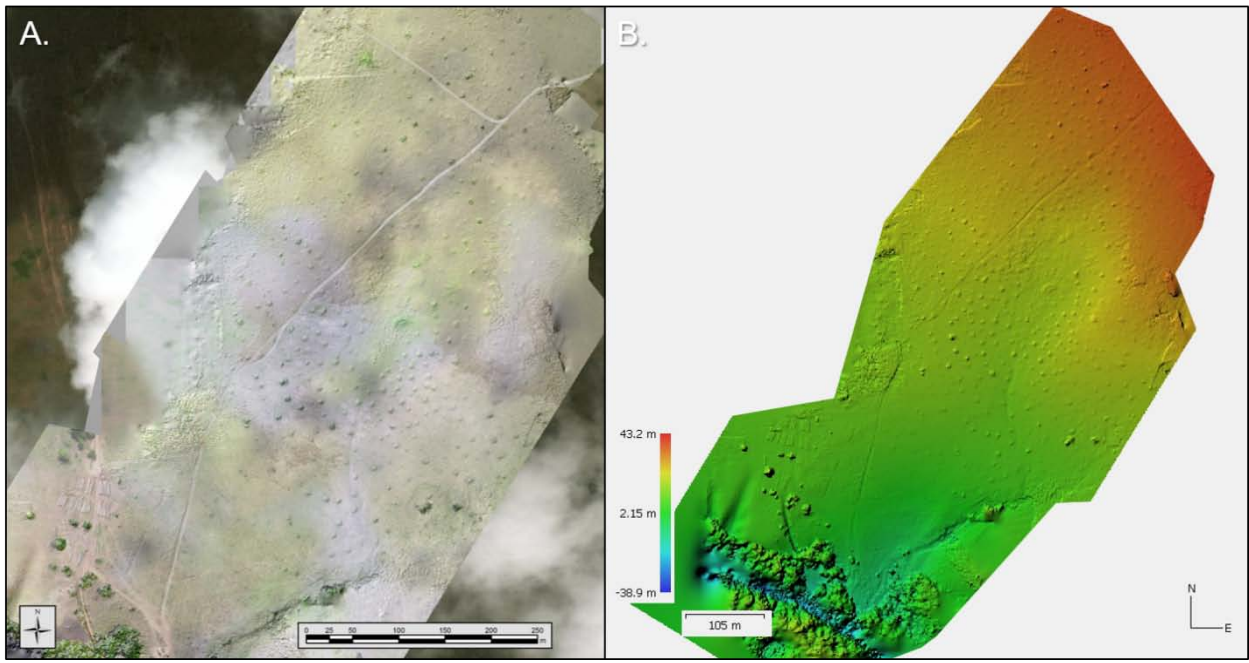


Figure 5: Red Hill Mound Group. A. Geo-referenced orthomosaic; B. Digital Elevation Model in photoscan.

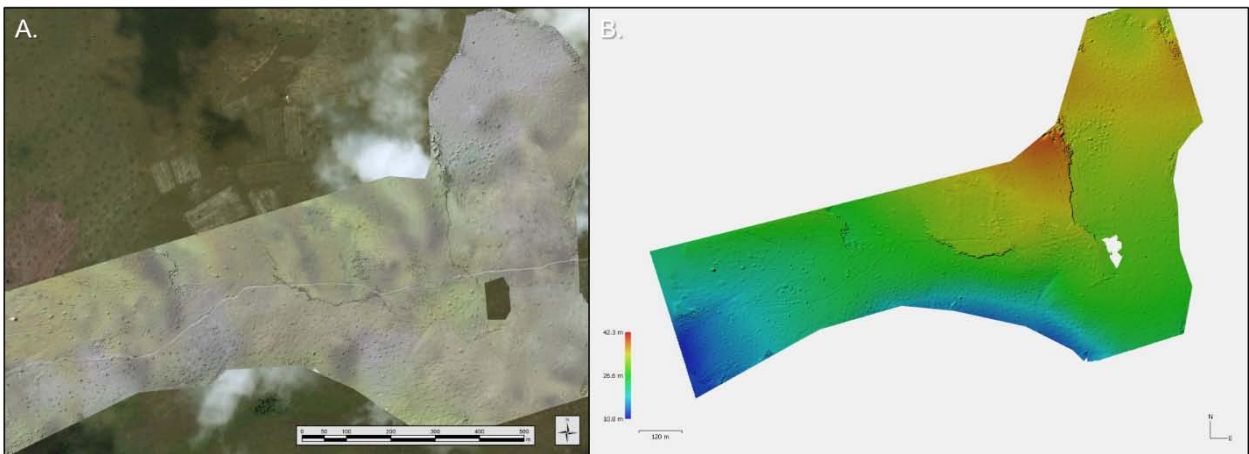


Figure 6: Matara Mound Group. A. Geo-referenced orthomosaic; B. Digital Elevation Model in photoscan.



Figure 7: A. Kaikuchen excavation showing open cavity in SW corner (upper right) where ceramic concentration was encountered at 20-30 cm below ground surface corresponds to; B. Kaikuchen mound trench bisection (carbonized botanical remains from a column sample returned a date of 3030 +/- 30 BP from 90-100 cm below ground surface); C. Map of Kaikuchen Area.

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The Defense of Brazilian Civilization from the Criticism to the use of Perfumes: Doctors in Medicine in Bahia of the XIX Century

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Abstract- In academic theses written by doctors in the 19th century state of Bahia (Brazil), we are confronted with the statement that perfumes are an evil to be avoided. Concerned with promoting the health of the population and establishing themselves in a country strongly marked by the dispute between different agents dedicated to healing, doctors trained at the Faculty of Medicine of Bahia, inaugurated in 1832, will insist on the pathological character of the aromatics and, with that, will place themselves against certain customs of colonial Brazil, as well as practices brought at the beginning of the century by the Portuguese Crown. The arguments simultaneously articulate body and morality in the construction of a discourse of truth that would constitute the scientific and aims at the same time to discuss and institute civilization in Brazil. Our goal is, based on the theses, to identify and understand some of the tensions that involve the different ways in which smells and perfumes were thought in the period.

Keywords: *perfumes; medicine theses; civilization; xix century; brazil.*

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The Defense of Brazilian Civilization from the Criticism to the use of Perfumes: Doctors in Medicine in Bahia of the XIX Century

A Defesa Da Civilização Brasileira A Partir Da Crítica Ao Uso De Perfumes: Os Doutores Em Medicina Na Bahia De Século XIX¹

Maria Salete

Resumo- Em teses acadêmicas escritas por médicos no estado da Bahia (Brasil) de século XIX, somos confrontados com a afirmação de que perfumes são um mal a ser evitado. Preocupados em promover a saúde da população e se estabelecerem num país fortemente marcado pela disputa entre diferentes agentes dedicados à cura, os médicos formados na Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia, inaugurada em 1832, insistirão no caráter patológico dos aromáticos e, com isso, se colocarão contra determinados costumes do Brasil colonial, bem como apráticas trazidas no início do século pela Coroa Portuguesa. Os argumentos articulam simultaneamente corpo e moralidade na construção de um discurso de verdade que constituiria o científico e visa simultaneamente discutir e instituir a civilização no Brasil. O nosso objetivo é, a partir das teses, identificar e compreender algumas das tensões que envolvem os diferentes modos como cheiros e perfumes eram pensados no período.

Palavras-chave: perfumes; teses de medicina; civilização; século XIX; Brasil.

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Keywords: perfumes; medicine theses; civilization; XIX century; Brazil.

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I. INTRODUÇÃO

Este artigo é parte de um esforço maior visando compreender a conformação do gosto pelo perfumar-se no Brasil, focalizando-se aqui a região nordeste do país. Segundo Ashcar, até o século XIX, a maior parte da população brasileira desconhecia perfumes, no sentido comercial. Com a vinda da família real portuguesa para o Brasil, os portos foram abertos em 1808 e iniciou-se, muito modestamente, a produção local. Após a independência, em 1822, o Brasil, no entanto, já

consumia perfumes com incrível avidez. Registros da época mostram que em 1867 - durante o reinado de Pedro II, sucessor do pai - o Brasil, por estranho que pareça, figurava entre os maiores importadores de perfumes franceses. Batidos apenas pela Inglaterra, o Brasil importava 252 mil quilos - medida que consta da lista publicada em *Le Livre des Parfums*, livro editado em Paris em 1870 - enquanto Portugal não chegava a 19 mil. No entanto, a indústria de higiene e perfumaria local só começaria a ter alguma expressão cerca de vinte anos depois (ASHCAR, 2001, p. 107).

A explicação inicial pode estar relacionada ao significado e papel dos cheiros no complexo formado entre magia-saúde-erotismo nas dinâmicas relacionais cotidianas no Brasil desde os tempos coloniais. Tal simbolismo pode ter se prolongado nos modos de significação direcionados aos perfumes comerciais recém-ingressos, apesar de sua produção remeter a uma Europa que havia já avançado consideravelmente em diferenciação funcional autonomizando, mesmo relativamente, o estético/erótico, o mágico-religioso, o econômico etc. em singulares esferas da vida. A historicidade das significações e dos gostos, contudo, precisa ser compreendida em suas continuidades e descontinuidades. Para tanto, devemos identificar e dar conta compreensivamente também dos atritos e disputas inerentes ao processo a partir das figurações sociais, isto é, das redes relacionais em jogo. Deste modo, tomaremos um momento específico desta vasta

história e que diz respeito ao papel da medicina profissional, através da atuação de seus representantes (os médicos diplomados que apresentaram teses na área), na efetivação de deslocamentos nos modos de significação dos cheiros e das fragrâncias no Brasil, num momento de cruciais transformações no modo de vida dos habitantes do país: o final do século XIX.

Os médicos, nessa virada de século, se colocarão contra o uso dos perfumes, o que poderíamos compreender a partir de argumentos referidos às condições e possibilidades de saúde/doença dos povos. Contudo, os argumentos pinçados por estes profissionais articulam questões morais, e seus interlocutores são funcionalmente variados, assumindo com estes relações de afinidade e tensão. O debate foi parcialmente objetivado inclusive em algumas teses médicas redigidas por esses profissionais como resultado de suas reflexões e estudos na Faculdade de Medicina. Desta forma, podemos perguntar: como compreender que médicos eruditos do século XIX tenham voltado sua atenção ao debate sobre o uso de perfumes como parte de suas teses de medicina? O que eram os cheiros e as fragrâncias nesse contexto e qual a ordem de deslocamentos nos significados dos odores e do perfumar-se que tais profissionais tencionavam operar? Mais especificamente, desejamos, a partir das teses de medicina da Faculdade Medicina da Bahia, redigidas na segunda metade do século XIX e início de século XX, identificar e compreender os significados atribuídos a cheiros, perfumes e seus usos por parte desses profissionais tendo como horizonte o desejo de dar conta do gosto e consumo de perfumes no Brasil, especificamente no nordeste, do hoje - horizonte este cuja discussão se dará em trabalhos futuros. Assim, não se trata de uma análise das teses, mas de tomá-las como material que contribui à compreensão da relação estabelecida pelas pessoas no Brasil com os perfumes.

No que toca ao recorte específico que circunscreve este trabalho, precisamos sublinhar que o século XIX foi marcador de alterações de grande monta quanto aos modos de vida levados a cabo no Brasil por suas diferentes gentes: vinda da corte portuguesa; abertura dos portos às “Nações amigas”; Independência; abolição da escravatura; proclamação da República... Estes eventos, funcionalmente articulados entre si, conformaram a base para o desenvolvimento do projeto de transformar o Brasil numa civilização, rompendo seus laços com um recente passado colonial que prolongava suas raízes no mais subterrâneo da vida dos habitantes do lugar. A abertura das escolas de medicina na Bahia e no Rio de Janeiro, bem como sua posterior transformação em Faculdade de Medicina em 1832 nas duas localidades, a formar não mais cirurgiões e sim médicos com a possibilidade de apresentarem teses na área e, deste modo, obter o

título de doutor em medicina, é decorrência das transformações em curso, ao tempo em que simultaneamente se constituiu como fator que ajudou a catapultar a própria construção do “Brasil moderno” na medida em que tal ordem de profissionais se colocou como um dos avatares que operacionalizariam com suas medidas higiênicas a construção da civilização brasileira.

Frente à envergadura de tal intento, o tema perfume enquanto objeto de teses médicas parece um contra-senso. De fato, não encontrei teses voltadas exclusivamente às fragrâncias, que as colocasse como único objeto de atenção, mas o debate sobre cheiros e perfumes apareceu em algumas delas (no plural) conferindo destaque a eles, o que reforça a pertinência das questões levantadas. Aquilo que está posto de pronto é que se trata de um debate a respeito de corpo, comportamentos e civilização, ou seja, que incide no cruzamento entre biológico, psicológico e sócio-simbólico.

Para entender o franco ataque dos profissionais de medicina aos perfumes, tomarei como elemento articulador da discussão as teses de medicina redigidas no século XIX por tais profissionais na Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia e adicionalmente textos jornalísticos da época. Inicialmente, mesmo ultrapassando um pouco a referência ao XIX, considereirei como universo os 2.502 trabalhos produzidos no período de 1840 a 1928. Deste, cujo acesso inicial foi apenas aos títulos das obras, devido ao acervo não estar em sua grande maioria digitalizado, fiz uma seleção de 38 (trinta e oito) teses, cujos títulos remontavam diretamente a questões de comportamento e/ou faziam referência direta ao tema da civilização. Deste material pré-selecionado, algumas poucas teses não foram encontradas nas estantes ou estavam em estado muito precário de conservação, inviabilizando seu manuseio. Ainda assim, o material se mostrou rico quanto a seu potencial de instigar perguntas e possibilitar hipotéticas respostas sobre o modo como o perfume, enquanto tema, não pode ser relegado à condição de “mera perfumaria”. Isso porque a fala desses médicos está em relação de interdependência com as atuações de outras pessoas/grupos que compunham as redes relacionais no XIX e que são acionadas direta ou indiretamente por esses profissionais, a exemplo da Igreja, da aristocracia, da família brasileira e dos diferentes outros curadores, lembrando que os médicos estavam preocupados com a nascente família burguesa brasileira, e é a ela que eles voltam o seu discurso e suas práticas.

II. TESES E AS TESES SOBRE OS CHEIROS

O debate sobre os cheiros e as fragrâncias é direcionado às mulheres, na condição de suas

principais usuárias, no caso do perfume, e por conta de uma alegada condição de maior vulnerabilidade orgânica. No caso das teses de medicina, tratam-se de mulheres de uma burguesia ainda nascente em solo nacional. Conforme, por exemplo, Antônio Dias Coelho, na tese *Algumas Proposições sobre Temperamentos* (1853), as mulheres têm predisposição ao temperamento sanguíneo, o que as torna volúveis, inconstantes e suscetíveis a inflamações e hemorragias¹. O médico sugere que as mulheres evitem tudo aquilo que possa acionar sua "susceptibilidade nervosa", inclusive "o exercício apurado das faculdades intellectuaes". No entanto, a vinda da família real portuguesa para o Brasil no início do século havia apresentado e promovido o exercício de um novo modo de sociabilidade, o cortesão, que se contrapunha frontalmente à concepção de preservação da mulher nos termos apresentados por Coelho. A corte trouxe e ajudou a disseminar um modo de vida pública marcada por bailes, saraus e apresentações de teatro, ligada à excitação dos sentidos, que obrigava as mulheres a introjetar modos de relacionamento com os quais elas não estavam acostumadas e não haviam sido preparadas, uma vez que os cuidados com as mulheres no período colonial eram postos em prática a partir da estratégia do confinamento doméstico, que as relegava a uma vida reclusa, de saída às ruas quase exclusivamente para ir às missas, e em que eram proibidas, inclusive, de espreitar as janelas para observar os transeuntes; sua educação sendo restrita a parcos conhecimentos ministrados na própria casa ou nos conventos (ARAÚJO, 2001, REIS, 2000).

A premissa básica estava fundada na imagem da mulher como Eva pecadora que deveria ser controlada para que se tornasse Maria. Os sacrifícios na vida passavam por uma leitura religiosa, de uma moralidade cristã, enquanto etapa necessária à redenção. Enquanto costume instituído, era visto e vivido como normalidade. Assim, a narrativa simbólica acerca do que era ou o que deveria ser mulher não passava por questionamentos e era esquecida em sua arbitrariedade, ajudando a constituir uma ordem na qual o modo de vida cortesão, pelo status que a corte detinha enquanto referência de "mundo civilizado",

¹ Tal classificação está alinhada à teoria dos humores, na reformulação que Galeno, no segundo século da era cristã, da medicina hipocrática. Esta teoria, que teve ampla aceitação até meados do século XIX, foi a base da teoria dos temperamentos, divididos em: sanguíneo; colérico ou bilioso; fleumático ou pituitoso; e melancólico ou atrabiliário. Tais humores estariam sob a ação de quatro forças naturais, a saber: a atrativa; retentiva; alterativa e expulsiva. Nesta última estaria concentrado a possibilidade de cura, pela ação da natureza ou pela intervenção médica, através dos comum recurso aos vomitórios, purgantes, sangrias, suadouros, fumigações etc. (FERREIRA, 2009, LIMA, 1996). Concepção de cura pautada na expulsão do mal natural que obtinha franca correspondência com as práticas de expulsão do mal sobrenatural causador de adoecimentos nas cosmologias africana e indígena.

desestabilizaria, uma vez que a disseminação dos modos de vida da corte se dava junto e ao interior da construção de um sentido de nacionalidade e dele faziam parte. Para conviver com a corte e, mais propriamente, se parecer com ela, era preciso viver como ela, ou seja, aprender uma série de novos esquemas de relacionamento antagônicos ao modo de vida das mulheres no Brasil. Estas deveriam ser reeducadas a partir dos princípios que norteavam o mundo aristocrático. Ora, os médicos serão contra a participação das mulheres nas formas de sociabilidade mundanas trazidas pela corte:

[Moça educada à moderna, criada no meio da athmosphera dos salões de bailes, onde respiram as infecções dos tumulos de envolta com particulas odoríferas de variadas essencias, onde ouvem à cada passo phrases tão lisongeiras, quanto aleivosas e perfidas.] Moças da laia desta, cá em nossa humilde opinião, darão sempre mais valor e apreço ao esplendor do ouro, ao brilho das pedras preciosas, que lhe asseguram entrada franca nas altas sociedades - mundo luxurioso e eivado de immoralidade e seducções -, do que a um coração nobre e generoso. - Mulheres assim formadas sacrificam sempre á belleza physica o bello moral; os deveres conjugaes, o amor materno, e os interesses da familia são esquecidos pelos desejos de agradar, de prender as atenções, de pizar triumphalmente sobre o macio tapete dos dourados salões, n'esse mundo aristocratico e corruptor - perfeita antithese da verdadeira civilisação (Mello, 1851, nota 1, p. 06).

Diferente de interpretações que serão correntes no período e que se amparavam numa espécie de determinismo geográfico a fim de dar conta dos costumes brasileiros, como nos lembra Renato Ortiz (1999a, 1999b), o médico assevera: "A influencia dos climas sobre os costumes, as crenças, o gráo de civilisação, finalmente sobre a vida moral e intellectual dos povos é muito secundaria ou quasi nulla" (p. 18). O problema se centrava num tipo de comportamento, explicitamente aquele adjetivado como aristocrático, que desviava especificamente as mulheres de suas importantes funções, ligadas à maternidade e cuidados com a família, ao pô-las em contato com luxos e licenciosidade, seduzindo-as a sacrificar o belo moral à evanescente beleza física. Se a corte desempenhou papel de peso na construção de um modo de vida distintivo em relação ao colonial, agora, ao final do século, tensionamentos acentuados vão se dando para a construção do Brasil republicano burguês e moderno. A vulnerabilidade feminina aos encantos de um mundo das superficialidades constituía ameaça à família e, assim, à própria civilização, que ainda se apresentava apenas como um projeto a ser levado a cabo. E, ambivalentemente, tal resistência à "liberação" do corpo feminino acabava por aproximá-los (os médicos) de certas premissas preconizadas como modelo para as mulheres do período colonial. Do mesmo modo que se afirma ser o mundo aristocrático aquele das aparências, afirma-se que ele apenas aparenta ser

civilizado, quando seria, ao retirar sua maquiagem, a “perfeita antithese da verdadeira civilização”. Ora, o argumento de fundo que une diferentes teses médicas defendidas ao longo da segunda metade do século será a necessidade de se construir nas terras brasileiras a verdadeira civilização, e isto significava se contrapor ao mundo aristocrático, que sacrificava a moral em nome da valorização das aparências. Em outros termos, a sociabilidade cortesã impulsionava certas condutas de informalização, em seus momentos de prazer, que estariam na contramão dos refreamentos exigidos pela civilização².

Ao mesmo tempo, tais críticas feitas pelos profissionais da medicina, é importante destacar, não podem ser lidas como elogio a um modo de vida de referência colonial e, portanto, ligado ao “Brasil do atraso”. A perspectiva assumida pelos médicos reivindicava transformações nas condutas que as aproximavam da sociabilidade de corte, mas apenas nos apelos à saída das pessoas às ruas, para uma vida pública, com o intuito de saúde (para que se beneficiassem do ar menos viciado de fora das insalubres casas geminadas), de educação formal (as mulheres precisavam ser melhor instruídas para, em consequência, melhor instruir os futuros cidadãos) e educação dos sentimentos (o exercício da vida pública levaria ao aprendizado do trato com o outro a partir das dinâmicas de autocontrole que fariam com que a mulher se autovigiante e, assim, tivesse internalizados os modos de conduta moral e socialmente exigidos). Por isso, as reformas indicadas pelos médicos higienistas tinham também por foco a educação formal feminina.

No entanto, de que esses médicos estavam falando ao acionar a noção de civilização, uma vez que não se tratava dos comportamentos da família real portuguesa no Brasil? Citando um discurso do cônego Pinto de Campos, no Rio de Janeiro, Cid Emiliano Cardozo (1857) afirma que a civilização mal entendida é aquela vinculada a progressos meramente materiais, que funcionariam como mero adorno e, portanto, ilusão (novamente a concepção de falseamento e engano sendo ressaltadas). A verdadeira civilização consistiria, afirma o médico, no desenvolvimento intelectual e moral do povo fazendo com que a inteligência se sobrepusesse à matéria. Trata-se de um discurso de apelo a uma forma de racionalidade, a científica, da qual os profissionais da medicina, certamente, se percebiam como expressão, e que seria a mais ajustada à construção do *espírito* nacional. Quanto a isso é interessante notar que, se há um modo de

apropriação de uma discussão ligada a uma concepção europeia de progresso e de Nação na correlação com o *Zeitgeist*, esses arautos da civilização brasileira estão longe de tentar um imediato transplante de um modelo civilizador europeu (SCHWARCZ, 2015, ORTIZ, 1999b). Ao contrário, ainda que sejam declaradas explicitamente quais seriam as civilizações de referência (a saber, França, Inglaterra e Estados Unidos), as teses apresentam críticas ao modo de efetivação desses modelos de civilização a partir de argumentos que interpenetram saúde e moral. A civilização levaria ao aumento das afecções nervosas. Quanto maior a civilização, mais suicídios e mais alienados (FREIRE, 1888). Em outras palavras, a questão crucial aos profissionais da medicina respeita aos mecanismos que permitiriam construir a civilização no Brasil evitando ou diminuindo seus efeitos colaterais, que incidiriam diretamente na saúde moral e física da população:

Se na raça africana [prosegue Freire] a população louca é produzida por causas phisicas, nos centros civilizados as causas moraes ajuntando-se a estas fornecem numero mais crescido.

De modo que o progresso de um povo é medido pelo esforço organico e moral, que elle oppõe ás causas que tendem a atrophial-o (1888, p. 46-7).

A civilização seria algo inexorável no processo evolutivo humano, por isso não seria fato e sim encadeamento de fatos e ideias que levariam ao “estado philosophico da positividade social”, continua o autor, ao citar Benjamin Constant e Arthur Gobineau. Contudo, a efetivação da mais evoluída civilização careceria de um esforço em direção à necessária correção moral ao qual estes doutores em medicina apelam a partir do filtro religioso do cristianismo. Do mesmo modo que ocorre em sua relação com uma ideia de sociabilidade mundana ao estilo aristocrático, o posicionamento dos médicos em relação à religião é marcado por simultânea afinidade e tensão, como termos ambivalentes. Como lembra ainda Guarino Freire, a educação religiosa guarda uma série de inconvenientes: os seminários; os conventos; certas práticas, como a do jejum, que seriam prejudiciais. Alguns médicos, a exemplo de João Pinheiro de Lemos (1851), chegam a argumentar contra o celibato enquanto uma violência contra o corpo, a saúde, as leis da natureza e a própria obra de Deus, ocasionando dores e histeria. Mais uma vez, o alvo do discurso são as mulheres, que não deveriam ser privadas do casamento, ou seja, de uma vida sexual moralmente legitimada. Some-se a isto o apelo a novas formas de educação, marcadas por uma simbiose entre a formação racional-científica e moral-religiosa, para termos uma melhor ideia do tipo de relação, ora primando pela aproximação e ora pelo distanciamento, quanto ao controle religioso-católico dos comportamentos femininos.

² O autor Norbert Elias (1992, 1993, 1994), no entanto, percebe os momentos de relaxamento na forma dos lazes numa relação ambivalente e diretamente proporcional às exigências de autocontrole nos sentimentos e comportamentos, cuja formalização teria chegado a cume no século XIX, e não como antítese e ameaça à conduta chamada civilizada.

A França e a Inglaterra, que são os emporios das letras, das artes e das sciencias, não oferecem o quadro de uma civilização perfeita: aquela por suas devassidões, quasi tantas e tão grandes, quanto as da Italia, e da Hespanha; esta por seu protestantismo extravagante, por sua aristocracia absurda e por suas miserias (...). Os Estados Unidos da America, este paiz, onde o genio da civilização tem feito mais rapidos progressos, fulto como ele é de unidade nas crenças religiosas, não poderá levar jamais uma marcha uniforme no desenvolvimento moral (Cardozo, 1857, p. 20).

Pergunta ainda: Estas “escolas de desmoralização”, referindo-se à música, teatro, bailes, qualificados de “parto abortivo da civilização”, levariam a quais conseqüências sobre os fenômenos nervosos? A falsa civilização acarretaria toda ordem de vícios reprováveis e a serem regulados racional-cientificamente e moral-religiosamente para o alcance da verdadeira civilização. E a falsa civilização é aquela que permite e estimula práticas de sociabilidade ligadas aos prazeres sensual-mundanos: “De envolta com os sons arrebatadores da musica, com o perfume inebriante das flores, estão as longas vigílias, as fadigas, os excessos, o ar quente e impuro da sala, e centenas de circunstancias outras semelhantes” (p. 13) a que o autor acresce o jogo, o onanismo, as paixões em geral, os trabalhos intelectuais em excesso (no caso das mulheres, não recomenda a leitura de textos apaixonados), o tabaco, dentre outros. Contudo, naquilo que toca as fragrâncias, elas seriam não apenas um dos elementos que compõem a ambiência do mundo dos vícios da sociabilidade aristocrática. Afirma Guarino Freire peremptoriamente:

Os perfumes activos produzem excitação nervosa, cephalalgia, vomitos e inappetencia. Os que tem por base a essencia de amendoas são venenosos. Os de bergamota, de limão, de heliotropo e de jasmims produzem cephalalgias violentissimas.

Tem-se dado importancia pequena ao abuso dos perfumes, entretanto elles, em alguns individuos, excitam grande e fortemente e produzem prostração (1888, p. 31).

Os médicos se alarmam ao perceberem o quanto os perfumes eram utilizados como excitantes visando à promoção ou intensificação do prazer - pelos seus argumentos, a entrega de si às sensações e desejos representava degradação biopsíquicomoral do eu e do nós, pensado este como Nação. Evidencia-se o teor da tensão entre tradicional e moderno, no modo como se coloca tal questão nesse momento da história brasileira. Eles percebem que a relação com aromáticos era prática estabelecida de longa data e, portanto, a civilização dos costumes se assemelharia mais a um agravante, e não a causa primeira desses usos em nosso contexto. Na segunda metade do século XIX, os banhos temperados com ervas aromáticas, vinagres e colônias, bem como as defumações do ambiente doméstico para limpeza, purificação e combate a traças

e certos animais eram parte do cotidiano do Brasil. O ar precisava ser limpo a fim de evitar as doenças no corpo (SANT'ANNA, 2011) - em perfeita consonância com a teoria do contágio e infecção pelo ar que constituiu crença comum entre povos orientais e ocidentais por séculos e acabou por se conformar na *teoria miasmática* que balizou as práticas terapêuticas europeias e era ainda popular no século XIX. As casas no Brasil continuavam sendo fumegadas, e a higiene corporal continuava atrelada a práticas de cura e crenças no sobrenatural. Assear o corpo e aspirar rapé poderiam ajudar na proteção quanto a odores maléficos, do mesmo modo que os defumadores protegiam o ambiente doméstico contra doenças, mau-olhado, forças do além. Igualmente as crianças, em especial as recém-nascidas, eram protegidas através da defumação de seu corpo com alfazema (FREYRE, 2002).

A vinda da corte, com a abertura do comércio que possibilitará o ingresso de uma ampla leva de objetos ligados ao luxo, a exemplo das fragrâncias, fará com que o gosto pelos “bons aromas” ganhe uma nova motivação: o valor simbólico do produto estará também em seu poder de permitir a aproximação do usuário com o sonhado modo de vida aristocrático europeu. No entanto, mesmo ao final do século, a referência ao caráter terapêutico dos perfumes permanece presente, como se pode observar a seguir no texto publicitário dedicado à Água de Florida de Murray e Lanman publicado no *Jornal da Bahia* (1870).

A razão porque devemos usar da
Agoa Florida de Murray e Lanman

- Porque é o perfume mais deliciosos e d'uma fragrancia mais duradoura que se conhece.
- Porque é extrahido das viçosas e frescas flôres do campo.
- Porque é um perfume muito mais fino e delicado, superior á melhor Agoa de Colonia franceza ou allemã.
- Porque é o perfume mais precioso e ao mesmo tempo mais barato que se offerece ao publico.
- Porque suavisa e aformosea a pelle e as feições tornando-as ainda mais formosas.
- Porque desvanece e faz desaparecer os pannos, sardas e ebullições do rosto.
- Porque serve de immediato allivio e refrigerio ás dores de cabeça e desmaios.
- Porque limpa o rosto de todas as maculas que afeiam e obscurecem a formosura.
- Porque transmite e transforma a pelle trigueira n'uma cor clara, macia, transparente e rosada.
- Porque quando se usa no banho, vigoriza o corpo, vivifica a alma e reanima as ideias.
- Porque diluida em agoa, torna-se o melhor de todos os dentrificios conhecidos.
- Porque dissolvida em agoa, suavisa e aplaca a ardencia depois que se ha feito a barba.
- Porque misturada com agoa serve de agradavel lavagem para os dentes dentro da bocca, um suave aroma dissipando o nauseabundo cheiro do charuto.

Porque todas estas asserções se acham firmemente apoiadas pelo testemunho do mundo elegante.

Acha-se á venda em todas as principais lojas de perfumarias e drogas.

Haja toda a certeza que se compre a verdadeira AGOA DE FLORIDA de Murray e Lanman.

No entanto, o médico Guarino Freire (1888) lista o perfume ao lado do álcool, tabaco, ópio, morfomania, haxixe, coca, arsênico, dentre outros. As fragrâncias estariam ligadas à sempre ameaçadora excitação prazerosa, do ponto de vista moral, e a dores, do ponto de vista orgânico. No que respeita a civilização, o abuso de tais substâncias, nos termos do autor, “degradam a especie humana, e fazem-no por meio da alienação mental e da degradação das raças” (p. 45).

Tratar dos perfumes assume importância em conformidade com as discussões a respeito da influência do ambiente no comportamento humano, o que promoveu a problematização do efeito do ar e, em especial, do ar perfumado natural e/ou artificialmente, no organismo feminino. O ar perfumado influenciaria na saúde a ponto de poder provocar na mulher abortos, esterilidade, como anuncia Baraúna (1868), ou mesmo a suspensão das regras (menstruação) e a morte, como afirma Cardozo (1857). No caso deste último e de Mello (1851), explicita-se de modo mais evidente que o uso do perfume envolvia simultaneamente prazer, sensualidade e vaidade, amálgama que levaria à condenação dos aromáticos pelos higienistas na forma das fragrâncias, dos jardins perfumados instalados ao pé das janelas nos palacetes dos magnatas (que deveriam ser evitados principalmente pelas grávidas), ou mesmo dos vasos de flores colocados próximos ao leito com seu inebriante perfume. Qualquer aroma seria capaz de excitar os nervos femininos, afirma Cardozo, provocando-lhes imediatamente síncope, histeria ou outra afecção nervosa:

Não há muito tempo que foi publico nesta cidade o facto de uma infeliz moça, que recebendo, ao abrir a gaveta de seu guarda roupa, a impressão subita do cheiro de uma perfumaria, que ali existia soffreo um choque nervoso tal, que occasionou-lhe immediatamente suspensão das regras, que bem cedo atirou-a no tumulto ainda no sorrir da vida! (CARDOZO, 1857, p. 11).

Até o final do século XIX, a teoria miasmática, de contágio de doenças pelo ar, terá lugar nos debates médicos, mas, neste momento, já posta em questionamento pela teoria bacteriológica. O mau cheiro passa a ser compreendido, ao longo do período, como sinal de problema de saúde pública, ou seja, os bons aromas não conseguiriam corrigir o ar e sim atuariam encobrendo um sintoma que apontaria um mal a ser efetivamente tratado (Chernoviz, 1890a, 1890b).

No caso das teses de medicina analisadas, mais do que servir ao falseamento dos sinais de doença e de promover adoecimento, os perfumes eram

lidos também a partir de seu potencial de sedução; o que pode ser observado em certas menções como a que faz Cid Emiliano Cardozo a Cleópatra, “a rainha libidinosa e devassa” (1857, p. 11). Este elemento curiosamente aparece de modo sutil e velado considerando-se que as mulheres (de temperamento sanguíneo) comparecem simultaneamente como usuárias e principais vítimas dos perfumes. A visão desses médicos quanto ao uso de aromáticos está alinhada às interpretações que circulavam nos meios burgueses europeus, que percebiam no evanescente perfume uma expressão da falta de estabilidade que se deveria evitar no mundo do cultivo à racionalidade (PERROT, 1996) e uma ameaça direta ao próprio exercício da razão por conta da excitação dos instintos sexuais que potencialmente promoveriam determinados cheiros. Assim, eles poderiam contribuir sobremaneira na criação de ambientes favoráveis à licenciosidade, contrária à moral burguesa do pudor e do comedimento, ameaçando os comportamentos civilizados pautados no autocontrole ao lançar os indivíduos novamente na primeira natureza, ou seja, em sua condição animal que se queria negar/esquecer a partir da afirmação do mundo civilizado-humano como aquele de exercício da razão e que teria por referência o masculino - sendo a mulher o perigoso elo entre o humano e o natural, o que justificaria sua maior vulnerabilidade, e também definiria sua condição de alvo privilegiado para as ações disciplinares com fins ao seu (auto)controle e, em consequência, proteção da própria civilização.

Os fortes perfumes de base animal, entendidos como potentes afrodisíacos, foram substituídos, a partir do final do XVIII na França, pelos florais, mais leves e em maior conformidade com o mundo natural, numa época em que ainda estava em desenvolvimento o conhecimento que possibilitaria efetivamente a criação de novos aromas, inexistentes na natureza. Como nos lembram Elias (1992, 1993, 1994), Williams (2001) e Wouters (2012), o desenvolvimento urbano e simultâneo afastamento da natureza acabou por permitir novos modos de aproximação com os ambientes naturais no século XIX, mas de modo idealizado nas imagens nostálgicas de uma natureza e vida no campo amigáveis, marcadas pela calma, pelo prazer, mas que passariam a ser vividos, no entanto, de modo meramente contemplativo, o que permitiu a reelaboração da própria natureza de modo que ela fosse incorporada à vida urbana, por exemplo, na forma dos jardins tão celebrados no período. A voga dos florais expressava, pois, o desconforto com a artificialidade do mundo social e a insistência no uso de perfumes, apesar das duras críticas e desconfiança que os cheiro perfumado promovia: em outros termos, apesar das críticas, as fragrâncias não deixaram de ser usadas nos países europeus e tampouco no Brasil. No entanto, acrescenta-se aí um outro fator de peso: os

odores do corpo igualmente eram entendidos como afrodisíacos. Uma vez que não era possível apagá-los, no mundo da racionalidade seria possível controlá-los pelo uso de outros odores que poderiam sobrepô-los ou, ao menos, neutralizá-los. Ao cheiro sensual dos corpos, põe-se em confronto o cheiro delicado das flores. A natureza idealizada e reencontrada é posta a agir a favor do humano.

É importante lembrar que, a essa época, a produção e comércio de perfumes na Europa havia avançado em dessacralização. Apesar de os aromas ainda serem utilizados para fins mágico-terapêuticos, havia um crescimento considerável de sua condição de produto comercial devotado ao embelezamento e sedução, a partir do século XVII. A saída dos perfumes das boticas para as lojas de cosméticos se deu apenas no final do século XIX europeu, quando a comunidade científica se volta à ação dos micróbios, por conta da descoberta de Pasteur, e os odores passam a ser compreendidos não como agentes patológicos, mas sintomas, e de pouca importância (CORBIN, 1986), fazendo recuar a teoria dos miasmas. Os agradáveis aromas deixam, portanto, de ter a função de combater os desacreditados odores ruins em seu papel de ataque à saúde -a crença de que os bons cheiros formavam uma barreira de proteção que impediria o ataque dos odores patológicos, principais agentes de adoecimento. É assim que os perfumes, por sua vez, perdendo sua função terapêutica, passam a ser caracterizados mais efetivamente como frivolidades, num desdobramento das críticas feitas pelos reformadores protestantes, e são associados às pessoas frívolas, ou seja, no contexto de século XIX, aristocratas e mulheres. A sua artificialidade ajudaria a encobrir a natureza humana, e não a ressaltá-la. "Como os cientistas e psicólogos do século XIX e início do XX argumentaram, a supressão do sentido do olfato foi uma das características definidoras do homem civilizado" (CLASSEN *et al.*, 1996, p. 101).

Em lugar de suprimir o uso dos aromas, o século XIX regulará seus usos e impulsionará sua comercialização para diferentes partes do mundo (CLASSEN *et al.*, 1996, REINARZ, 2014). Na segunda metade do século XIX, a perfumaria francesa se utilizava de matérias-primas advindas das diferentes partes do mundo, ao passo em que exporta seus produtos também para diferentes partes do mundo. Conforme Corbin (1986), o comércio com o Oriente havia se invertido. O produto que chega ao Brasil, como afirmado, está desencantado, mas encontra um cotidiano mágico num mundo em disputa.

Em acréscimo, a formação profissional em Portugal e no Brasil ajudava a conformar a especificidade da vinculação entre um espírito racional-científico e uma moralidade católica, enquanto nos demais países da Europa se avançava francamente na direção da autonomização científica. Se, ainda em

1547, dom João fundou o Colégio de Artes e Humanidades, tempos após, ao entender a instituição como uma ameaça à sua política religiosa e cultural, o rei entrega a instituição aos jesuítas (PRIORE, 2001), que promoverão lá o desenvolvimento de uma formação, acima de tudo, religioso-filosófica de caráter teórico e que pouco preparará esses profissionais ao enfrentamento das questões práticas do exercício profissional.

A formação dos médicos licenciados era insatisfatória e inadequada, para não dizer pior. Durante o século XVII e e grande parte do século XVIII, o ensino médico em Coimbra foi persistentemente dominado por uma sensibilidade escolástica medieval baseada no sistema galênico tradicional de ensino da medicina. Mesmo no segundo quartel do século XVIII, se não acompanhassem a evolução médica no estrangeiro, muitos médicos profissionais formados em Coimbra não tinham simplesmente contato com novas ideias exteriores a esta tradição obsoleta (WALKER, 2013, p. 81).

A Companhia de Jesus manteve o controle sobre o ensino superior em Portugal até 1759, momento que marca o início da atuação de Pombal. Medievalismo e formação pautada numa moral religiosa católica justificavam o ingresso, que foi frequente no XVIII, desses médicos nos trabalhos remunerados da Inquisição, ainda de acordo com Walker, na condição de "familiares", isto é, de funcionários não-eclesiásticos do Santo Ofício que tinham por excelência a função de denunciar indivíduos que deveriam passar por investigação. Aquilo que observa Walker, a partir de sua análise das atividades da Inquisição portuguesa no citado século, período em que estavam em desaparecimento em outros países da Europa, é que se acentuam as denúncias contra curadores populares. Em sua interpretação, a precária formação dos médicos profissionais não os permitia rivalizar com os curadores, pois as fronteiras entre os dois grupos não ficavam claras em termos de concepções do processo de cura (ambas fundadas no imbricamento com o universo das crenças mágico-religiosas), ao passo em que os curadores populares detinham domínio prático da atuação médico-cirúrgica e um elevado grau de reconhecimento social que faltava aos médicos de formação erudita. O contexto, pois, é de disputa por espaço de atuação profissional e de tentativa de estruturação de um modo de exercício da medicina mais autonomizado quanto às crenças "supersticiosas".

Se este é o cenário em Portugal, é cabível lembrar que no período colonial era proibida a instalação de instituições de ensino acadêmico no Brasil (ALMEIDA, 2010). Tal política da Metrópole apenas sofrerá alteração em 1808, com a vinda da família real para estas terras. Até lá, os residentes no Brasil que desejassem estudar nas academias de medicina eram obrigados a ir a Portugal. Mesmo aqueles que retornavam para atuação profissional na

colônia, número bastante restrito frente à vastidão do território, eram obrigados a se defrontar, do mesmo modo que em Portugal, com os curadores que, de igual modo, tinham o reconhecimento de sua competência por parte dos habitantes do Brasil.

Em conformidade com o médico Gonçalo Moniz (1923), foi escrita na Bahia e datada de 18 de fevereiro de 1808 a carta redigida por D. Fernando José de Portugal, depois Marquês de Aguiar, dirigida a D. João Saldanha da Gama, 6º Conde da Ponte, através da qual se informava acerca da decisão do Príncipe Regente de fundar na cidade de Salvador uma escola de cirurgia, por sugestão do médico José Correia Picanço, pernambucano, depois Barão de Goyana. A escola teria seu funcionamento no Real Hospital Militar, instalada na casa onde antes funcionava o colégio dos jesuítas no Terreiro de Jesus e que depois passou a compor as Faculdades de Medicina, em que as Escolas de Cirurgia, da Bahia e também do Rio de Janeiro, foram transformadas em 1832, e que instituiu também os cursos de Farmácia e de Obstetrícia, este último voltado às mulheres.

É apenas a partir da formação dos médicos nas instituições brasileiras, ou seja, mais propriamente na segunda metade do século XIX que este profissional vai começar a se tornar uma efetiva alternativa na procura dos habitantes por serviços de cura, mas ainda assim de modo singularmente tímido. Uma franca disputa tomará a cena com os médicos buscando assumir o monopólio do saber a respeito da cura, mas também da prevenção ao adoecimento a partir de medidas de intervenção higienistas que incidiam sobre os diferentes aspectos da vida. Com uma formação marcadamente teórica e religiosa desde Portugal, o debate científico e reformador caminhará de braços dados, também no Brasil, com os apelos morais de índole católica, conforme vimos, e terá dificuldade de se sobrepor à atuação dos curadores, benzedeiros e demais práticos dos serviços de cura, que passarão a ser desacreditados pelos médicos a partir da alcunha de charlatães, recurso simbólico de atribuição de valor negativo à atuação destes que, por séculos, foram a quase única possibilidade de acesso a serviços de cura no Brasil. Atacava-se a eficiência do serviço, do mesmo modo que o conhecimento que lhe servia de base por sua relação com as superstições, categoria continuamente acionada para ressaltar o descrédito a que os curadores seriam merecedores - pouco se falará em magia. Tal estratégia, não necessariamente reflexiva, foi percebida também em Portugal por Walker, no deslocamento dos argumentos que antes se estruturavam na busca por identificar as curas como satânicas, o que reafirmava o poder de curar, e, posteriormente, passaram a questionar a própria cura ao afirmar a ineficiência dos procedimentos.

Em matéria datada de novembro de 1903, na *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*, o médico Candido Elipídio de

Souza Figueiredo debate o caso do curandeiro Faustino Ribeiro que à época atuava em Salvador (cidade do estado da Bahia), já tendo passado pelo Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo. O curador atuava por imitação das mãos e, devido à sua fama, teria em pouco tempo conseguido atrair um razoável contingente de público, qualificado por Figueiredo como “neuropathas e supersticiosos”. A autoridade sanitária é acionada, pois o charlatão, nas palavras do autor da matéria, teria infringido a lei estadual n. 112, de 14 de agosto de 1895, que proíbe o exercício da arte de curar àqueles que não têm habilitação para tanto. Para além da necessidade de formulação da lei, o que nos permite perceber que a profissionalização da medicina teria apoio do Estado, é interessante observar a autodefesa feita por Faustino Ribeiro, ao ser chamado a apresentar sua habilitação para cura, evento narrado ainda por Figueiredo:

Faustino Ribeiro declarou por escripto e depois verbalmente que *cura por uma influencia que o povo experimenta e affirma, e que elle mesmo ignora; suppondo em sua crença que trata-se de um phenomeno propriamente theosofico, isto é, de uma manifestação de nosso Supremo Pae de infinito amor e misericordia.*

(...) Além do prejuizo á saude publica, a influencia moral do theosopho Faustino está a despertar a superstição e o fanatismo, que são os elementos mais perniciosos á vida e à felicidade de um povo, e as causas mais poderosas de seu atraso e decadencia.

A tolerancia deste abuso no estado actual da nossa civilisação seria um retrocesso ás epocas de magia e feitiçaria do periodo mystico ou theologico, em que os phenomenos extraordinarios se explicavam pela intervenção divina ou diabolica, e cujos effeitos a historia registra com horror nessas nevroses epidemicas que flagellaram os povos da idade media e que felizmente os progressos da civilisação e da hygiene social varreram dos paizes cultos, impedindo que em seu sólo revivam e evoluam os germens da superstição e do fanatismo. (FIGUEIREDO, 1903, p. 193-196).

No entanto, em texto publicado já em 1922, o médico Gonçalo Moniz, ainda se refere à existência dos curadores populares como coisa comum no interior e na capital da Bahia e tendo por clientela pessoas dos variados estratos sociais. Mesmo que tenhamos, inclusive, há poucas linhas atrás afirmado os laços estreitos entre os interesses do Estado e da classe médica para conformação do Brasil do progresso, somos obrigados a ressaltar que tal relação era ambivalente, posto que o próprio Estado punha em prática ações contraditórias a respeito, expondo as dificuldades entre um projeto desejado de país e os costumes fortemente cimentados. Um exemplo disso é a situação discutida em matéria não-assinada de 15 de fevereiro de 1870 e publicada também na *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*. O título é, de pronto, digno de nota: “Á Proposito da Promoção de um Curandeiro a Cirurgião-Mór da Guarda Nacional”. O autor da matéria

aponta a contradição, ao lembrar do regulamento datado de 20 de setembro de 1851 proibindo a prática da medicina, ou seus ramos, por aqueles que não tenham título das escolas de medicina do Brasil, ou título reconhecido por elas. Os anos 1870 teriam funcionado como um marco de mudança no perfil e produção das escolas de medicina. Conforme Schwarcz (2015), as recentes epidemias de cólera, febre amarela, dentre outras, bem como a Guerra do Paraguai funcionaram como motores a uma atuação missionária destes profissionais, que, inclusive, reformularam os cursos de medicina no período. Era urgente reverter a alta mortalidade do período. Entre 1897 e 1903, ou seja, já na virada do século, foram registrados 35.294 óbitos apenas em Salvador. Cerca de 20% destes foram compostos por moléstias de notificação obrigatória junto à Inspectoria Geral de Higiene do Estado da Bahia: cólera e moléstias coleiformes, febre amarela, peste, varíola, tuberculose, escarlatina, difteria, febre tifoide e desintéria (SANTOS, 2013). A legitimidade do discurso e prática médica oficial, que vai se assentando a partir de fins do XIX, se dá a reboque também da punição e repressão aos cultos religiosos não-católicos num acontecer conjunto à proibição das práticas de cura entendidas como não-científicas. Tais medidas, que iniciaram ainda no período imperial, são institucionalizadas na República com o código penal de 1890, que prevê punição para a magia, curandeirismo e prática ilegal da medicina (SAMPAIO, 2003). Mesmo assim, vemos conviver diferentes modelos e práticas de saúde, bem como diferentes usos das fragrâncias por parte da população. Como indicado acima, desde os tempos coloniais acreditava-se em seu poder mágico para as questões ligadas às pendências de relacionamento inter-humano em variadas ordens, não apenas vinculadas à sedução (apesar de ser amplamente aceito o seu poder afrodisíaco), e também para proteção físico-espiritual. Significa dizer que os cheiros não puderam ser facilmente interpretados fora de sua vinculação mágico-medicamentosa herdada da colônia. Ao mesmo tempo, tais cheiros agora incorporados às narrativas médicas, não poderiam ser considerados apenas dispositivo do mundo aristocrático a desviar o Brasil dos rumos do ideal de civilização defendido pelos médicos, por servirem como excitantes prejudiciais à saúde. E, mesmo no conturbado contexto das epidemias e reformulação das teorias miasmáticas, permaneceram sendo acionados para efeitos de cura.

Com a imprensa em desenvolvimento no país, os jornais e revistas serão palco dessas disputas na reafirmação ou negação de concepções e práticas, o que se fazia acontecer em matérias assinadas (ficticiamente ou não) e nos anúncios publicitários que, ao compor suas narrativas conferindo significados aos produtos, não apenas expressavam o rol das representações vigentes, como também, no seu papel

de produção simbólica, contribuíam para a conformação de novas (mas nunca completamente novas) possibilidades de associações simbólicas articuladas aos produtos a serem potencialmente partilhadas pelos leitores. No Jornal *A Pátria*, publicado em Niterói (RJ) em 21 de fevereiro de 1867, vemos, por exemplo, uma reportagem assinada por Dr. A. de Grand Boulogne apresentada como uma reprodução de matéria que teria sido anteriormente publicada em 30 de setembro de 1865 no Jornal *Le Monde*, de Paris, a respeito do cólera, doença que, por vezes, assolou o Brasil:

Os casos varião e as medicações também porém em geral é quasi sempre útil e proveitoso o uso de infusões aromáticas e alcoolizadas, os clysters frios, fortemente etherisados, as fricções energicas, seja com a lâ secca, seja com tinturas aromáticas de camphora e de alfazema, enfim, entreter o calorico artificial e tudo quanto puder reanimar a circulação e ativar o systema nervoso.

O fragmento acima, publicado na segunda metade do século XIX, se opõe cabalmente ao posicionamento dos médicos verificado nas teses publicadas em igual período na Faculdade de Medicina. O interessante é o modo como articula um discurso remissível ao saber médico erudito a concepções que marcam o modo popular de lidar com as doenças se valendo daquilo que é condenado pelos médicos: nas teses, afirma-se apenas o caráter danoso à saúde promovido pelos aromáticos. Em publicação ainda de janeiro de 1832, no jornal *O Simplicio*, do Rio de Janeiro, podemos observar o ataque frontal aos curadores, aí denominados curandeiros, termo tornado sinônimo de charlatão:

O luxo, esse cruel inimigo, que surratamente tem vindo da Europa, para perdição de nossa Patria, continua desde o sumptuozo apozento do nobre, até á mais rude choupana do Lavrador!

[...] Mas ainda falta o melhor da festa: os *Curandeiros* tambem chegaram ao seu S. Miguel!

Um d'esses homens, ha mezes, nos suburbios d'esta cidade, foi chamado para ver uma Senhora viuva, qua apenas padecia - medo do *Falso* do Banco, e sentimento de estar sem dentes e com os cabellos brancos; - os vezinhos censuraram por não ter sido chamado um medico de fama, ao que ella respondeo, que esses Snrs. não uzam ter muito sentimento quando vão anjinhos para o Ceo e velhos para a cova. Chegou com effeito o vezinho *curandeiro*[...]: se a Senhora tivesse chamado algum d'esses Snrs. theoricos, que tem muita fama, estava a ésta hora com a caza cheia de barbeiros, uns a sangrar, outros a deitar bixas, e o boticario a cozinhar sevada e grama todo este mez e o que vem: eu cá sigo outra marcha [...]: receitarei um cozimento preparativo, e depois passarei a dar-lhes tres ou quatro vomis do *Licor Divino*, chamado vulgarmente le-Roy, e con mais 60 ou 70 purgatifs havemos deitar para fóra o inimigo: - Mas, Snr. vezinho, tenho sustos continuados. - Isso he muito natural em quem tem complicações sistematicas; para esse incomodo basta fazer uzô do aroma da arruda, ou mesmo banhar as

clavicolas com agoa da rainha. Póde a Snra. estar certa que a medicina tem apenas um olho aberto! Muitas vezes os remedios cazeiros salvam a vida e a bolsa [...]

E que tal, Leitores! que vos parece o Snr. *Arcenico*? (assim o vou chamar) adquiero o nome de *homem entendido*, e faça Deos bom tempo! [...] Cuidemos pois, Leitores, em educar os nossos pequeninos para saberem livrar se dos *Arcenicos* do tempo.

- He muito sensível ao homem pensador ver uma beleza, victima de hediondas superstições, temendo bruxas, feiticeiras, lobishomens e cazas *mal assombradas*, entretanto que o Luxo dezordenado, unico terrível *feiticeiro* merece cada vez mais sua constante adoração!

Tal texto, de 1832, foi publicado, portanto, no ano em que as escolas de cirurgia são tornadas Faculdades de Medicina. Ou seja, estamos tratando do início do percurso de formação dos médicos. Aquilo que chama a atenção é que já se trata de um contexto de disputas envolvendo os licenciados (a exemplo dos citados barbeiros e boticários) e os curandeiros, tal qual a nomenclatura empregada no texto. A denúncia feita na matéria explicita que os leigos faziam uso de elementos de um discurso médico profissional articulado a práticas que respeitariam ao modo popular, mas que foi valorado como enganoso no modo de lidar com o adoecimento. A base do engano seria: a relação de cuidado e afeto contraposta emocionalmente à mais fria relação com os profissionais licenciados (que não demonstrariam muito sentimento com a morte de crianças e de velhos); o apelo a Deus e a remédios ligados a crenças mágicas (a palavra *feiticeiro* aparece em destaque no texto) e superstições, mas que poriam em risco a vida dos indivíduos (não à toa o destaque na expressão *homem entendido*, como modo de evidenciar possivelmente uma ironia). Mas quais seriam esses remédios supersticiosos? Um cozimento preparativo (os ingredientes não são mencionados), Licor Divino, o muito conhecido na época purgante francês Le-Roy, aroma de arruda e Água da Rainha, famoso perfume. No reinado das superstições, adverte, teme-se o mal errado: em lugar de ter medo de criaturas inexistentes, fruto da fantasia, deve-se temer outra ordem de feiticeiros: os luxos em seu poder de encantamento, transformação e corrupção.

Obviamente, não podemos tornar essas afirmações um absoluto, por um lado, devido ao fato de se tratarem de concepções bastante arraigadas e, por outro, devido ao fato de não termos acessado, no processo de pesquisa, o universo das 2.502 teses. De qualquer modo, se mesmo a tese intitulada *Sciencias Medicas - Bebidas Aromaticas*, escrita por Aristides Cezar Spinola Zama em 1858, não traz, na análise do autor a respeito do café, do chá e do chocolate, qualquer consideração sobre o papel dos aromas, podemos perceber em publicações outras vinculadas especificamente à atividade profissional dos médicos já

em inícios do século XX concepções que nos permitem afirmar a interpenetração dos discursos e representações a respeito dos cheiros no seio das lutas pelo poder de falar sobre e tratar as doenças no Brasil.

III. CONCLUSÃO

O que podemos perceber é o século XIX como palco das disputas pela diferenciação da atividade profissional médica (erudita) em relação às diferentes formas de prática médica popular, em conformidade com o processo de racionalização no modo descrito por Max Weber (1982). Tal processo inicia com as tentativas oficiais de classificação das atividades de cura, buscando demarcar formas de atuação que, no fazer, continuamente se atravessavam (parteiras, barbeiros, sangradores, cirurgiões, boticários...) e, simultaneamente, hierarquizando-os valorativamente. Constituíam-se uma homologia entre o posicionamento social dos agentes de cura (se eram brancos, indígenas, mulatos ou negros, libertos ou escravos, homens ou mulheres) e o tipo de intervenção promovida (por exemplo, ser barbeiro ou sangrador era inferior a ser boticário ou cirurgião), uma vez que se trata de uma única estrutura composta por diferentes funções articuladas. Tal processo de estabelecimento de clivagens classificatórias se prolonga com as ações de implementação das instituições de ensino em medicina, que passaram a ser permitidas no Brasil em função da vinda da corte, desejosa de atendimento mais especializado, e, após a independência do Brasil, como marco para a construção do novo país, que tentava romper seus laços coloniais, a partir do incentivo a práticas intelectualizadas e legitimadas de cientificidade e que, portanto, estariam na contramedida de práticas mágicas de cura. Tais instituições funcionam, pois, não apenas como mera objetivação de processos em curso. Não são mera síntese, uma vez que são recurso para o remodelamento de práticas. Em outros termos, não são objetivações que meramente articulam o passado; pretende-se que sejam antecipações do futuro desejado por se depositar nelas as fichas de construção de mundo, pela relação fetichizada com as instituições e crença no seu poder simbólico de atuação. Como afirma Schwarcz,

se essa elite ilustrada não era, em sua maioria, originária das camadas mais pobres, também não pode ser entendida como totalmente oriunda ou até mesmo portavoz exclusiva dos interesses das classes dominantes. Por outro lado, se é certo que sua composição social os situaria como membros das camadas mais altas da sociedade, sua atuação não pode ser exclusivamente explicada em termos de pertinência de classe. Por fim, apesar dos estreitos laços de parentesco que atavam certos intelectuais a famílias de proprietários de terra, sua atuação se dá em contexto urbano, o que já os diferencia de seu grupo de origem. (2015, p. 35).

Ou seja, este grupo estava agindo no sentido de se conformar enquanto tal, enquanto grupo particular de profissionais articulados a partir de um modo especificado de racionalidade (a científica) a delinear os contornos daquilo que Weber denominou linha de conduta, ou seja, modos de fazer informados por regras circunscritas, no caso, à atuação médica erudita. No entanto, como ressalta ainda o autor, e o caso da diferenciação entre o religioso e o econômico é exemplar disso, tais processos, que caracterizariam o chamado mundo moderno, se dão na contrapartida de uma série de tensões experimentadas na medida em que as linhas de conduta ainda estão em grande medida interpenetradas. Na forma como vimos, os anseios de autorreferencialidade do fazer médico - e, por isso, a dificuldade de Schwarcz em perceber articulações com o poder político ou interesses dados a partir dos vínculos a certas classes econômicas - se colocava na forma emocional da denúncia ao charlatanismo, isto é, à ineficiência das práticas e das crenças que conferiam suporte a elas. O tom viceral das denúncias põe à luz não apenas a grande aceitação da medicina popular pelos diferentes estratos sociais, mas também, por um lado, a crença dos médicos na diferença entre os fazeres e que encontra correlato emocional na forma da indignação pela percepção de que a "óbvia" diferença é socialmente irreconhecida e, por outro lado, num esforço de separação que apenas se dá na medida em que muitos procedimentos dessa mesma medicina popular encontram ainda ecos na própria medicina profissional erudita. E a ordem das interpenetrações se dava em três sentidos: 1) nas afinidades entre a canônica teoria hipocrático-galênica dos humores e concepções/práticas de cura convencionais entre indígenas e africanos, os três fundados numa ideia da doença como um mal (natural ou sobrenatural) a ser literalmente expurgado do corpo por mediação do agente de cura; 2) pela circulação dos manuais de medicina, com fins à popularização das práticas de cura, que permitia o exercício do curar aos leigos a partir da incorporação de discursos e práticas médicas eruditas, ainda que, em certa medida, defasadas do ponto de vista dos debates de segunda metade de século, a exemplo do manual de Chernoviz; e 3) a incorporação do saber popular em práticas eruditas, por conta dos costumes e como mecanismo para dar conta de questões práticas por profissionais de formação teórica.

Cabe ressaltar, tais doutrinas hipocrático-galênicas estavam profundamente arraigadas numa história da arte de curar que se prolongou desde cinco séculos a.C. até meados do século XIX cristão. Conforme Lima (1996), ainda é possível ver nos dias atuais resquícios da teoria dos humores no modo como as pessoas concebem o corpo e os processos de adoecimento e cura. Isso se acentua ao tratarmos de

médicos formados em Portugal e no Brasil, que estavam em descompasso ainda com as significativas mudanças na área advindas das recentes descobertas e avanços técnicos. O marco de reestruturação do ensino médico no Brasil se deu apenas nos anos 1870, ou seja, em fim de século. Como foi demonstrado através das teses, a noção de temperamentos, como o sanguíneo atribuído às mulheres, ainda era acionado, do mesmo modo que a preocupação com o ar quente ou odorizado.

A alcunha de charlatões servia, neste contexto, ao propósito de fazer desacreditar a medicina popular, numa mudança radical de argumentos se compararmos ao período de atuação da Inquisição. Em Portugal, inicialmente o discurso médico se pautava na tentativa de afirmar o caráter demoníaco das curas populares. Reafirmava-se, deste modo, que as curas aconteciam, do mesmo modo que se confirmava que curas mágicas eram possíveis. A afirmação do charlatanismo passou a pôr em questão tanto a possibilidade de haver cura por via mágica como a própria possibilidade de cura através do uso de certas substâncias ou submissão a certos rituais que estariam ao largo dos procedimentos que definem a ciência. De igual modo, atingia-se a estima daqueles que recrutavam os serviços dos chamados charlatões a partir da pecha de que se tratariam de indivíduos supersticiosos e, nisso, o supersticioso é atado ao ignorante e ao atrasado, talvez tornado representativo do mundo colonial que se desejava ultrapassar. A separação do científico-médico por sua intelectualização redundava numa ruptura com a magia, o que a legislação de proibição de práticas curativas e mágicas ajudava a legitimar e consolidar, apesar dos recorrentes desvios à lei.

No entanto, ao mesmo tempo, esses médicos ajudaram a constituir um mundo burguês num país ainda sem burguesia numa relação de simultânea afinidade e tensão com a religião católica. Se as práticas mágicas eram desacreditadas enquanto superstições - e mesmo no que toca a isso, temos que perceber como estas práticas mágicas e médicas também se confundiam e foram se apartando ao longo do século -, a religião (católica) ainda informava a concepção de civilização que pautava as indicações destes profissionais. O autocontrole dos impulsos a partir de práticas racionais de refreamento dos instintos foi lido à luz do pudor e da moral especificamente cristãos. Mais do que isso, foi compreendido como a chave que permitiria a construção de uma civilização perfeita, superior àquelas que existiam como referência no período. E talvez por isso eram pouco aceitáveis os mecanismos de relaxamento das tensões aristocraticamente promovidas e que pareciam ser uma abertura ao exercício de imoralidades que atingiriam maleficamente a saúde dos corpos, da sociedade e do projeto civilizador para o Brasil. Por outro lado, as

tensões com a Igreja eram candentes e evidenciavam o modo como, apesar de relacionadas, tratavam-se de âmbito de discurso e concepção de mundo que não podem ser confundidos. O empreendimento de tais médicos é na ordem da autonomização relativa do científico em sua relação com a magia, a religião e o saber popular, conformando-se como um modo de conhecimento intelectualizado e conforme a um mundo que, tendo como projeto construir uma civilização, estaria rumando na direção do desencantamento.

Do mesmo modo, enquanto expressão cultural, o perfume estaria passando por um simultâneo processo de racionalização, marcado pelas pressões ao deslocamento de seus significados na direção do desencantamento, por sua desvinculação com a magia e com a cura, e na afirmação de seu caráter sobretudo cosmético, pela diferenciação entre estético e científico-terapêutico. As questões são: O que acontece com seus significados mágico-medicamentosos, do ponto de vista dos usuários, no desdobrar do século XX, e especificamente no Brasil? E quais as consequências comerciais?

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The Issue of Historical Works in American Literature

By Firuza Ikromkhonova

Abstract- This article discusses the issue of literary perception of historical reality and the creation of a mature work as one of the constant problems of literature, it is about paying special attention to comparative-typological analysis of the unity of form and content, composition and plot, system of characters, historical truth and to the fiction in the study of historical works in today's globalization. The article provides an analysis of advanced examples of American literature, information on folk art thinking and cultural development. The poetics of the work of art, in particular, the approach of how the composition of historical works is solved, the typology of characters, the scientific study of the problem of the genre together form the basis of the article.

Keywords: historical story, fiction, local, historical reality, folklore, memoir, artistic-philosophical, realistic image, plot.

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The Issue of Historical Works in American Literature

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is known that the formation of historical works in European literature is regarded as starting from the fifth-third centuries BC. The history of historical works in Uzbek literature dates back to prehistoric times, too. However, the formation factors, genesis, and perfection of historical works in U.S. literature that form part of our research object do not have such a long history. In particular, its comparative study of Uzbek literature, including the historical basis of historical works, has not been sufficiently studied.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify the concept of "historical work". Because in the process of studying the sources devoted to the study of historical works, we have observed that there is no clear statement in world literature in the approach to the concept of "historical work". "This problem is explained by the inconstant feature of the genre. Literary critics approach this concept from their own point of view and consider themselves to be absolutely right "[1,6 (36)]. Indeed, in historical works, especially in the notions of "historical story", "historical narrative", "historical novel", a clear historical process, a historical event is described through the lifestories of certain historical figures. It also reflects the biographical information of specific historical figures and the sequence of events in the life of a particular society. In doing so, the author follows his own memory, the order in which the events he saw took place. This requires the study of these works in terms of memoirs, memories, diaries, biographies or

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historiography. Although the creation of historical works began from such a complex point, in terms of the synthesis of genres, the evolution of genres, each of them puts forward a clear goal and an artistic-aesthetic concept. Another researcher notes that "the principle of showing the time of events in a historical novel, as well as the methods used by the novelist to describe historical events in the literary work" distinguishes the historical work from others. Yet, Uzbek scholars' approach to historical works is unique in sense of attempting to evaluate the realities in the novel by artistic-aesthetic approach, to define the relationship between historical reality and fiction, and attempting to shed light on contemporary issues through historical events.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The history of historical novels in the United States does not begin from as old times as in Uzbek literature. Although it is true that one of the sources of historical novels in American literature is Indian folklore, which is native to America, first works of American literature in English began only with the immigration of the British to America. The first book in American literature is John Smith's "A True Statement of Hospitality in Virginia" (1608) [2, 559 (688)]. It describes how the first Englishmen who immigrated to America in late 1606 and early 1607 were welcomed by the natives. J. Smith later published a work named as "A General History of Virginia" (1624). It deals with the domestic life of the Indians, the complex relations of the natives with the British who came to America. There John Smith recounts the impressive stories of Princess Pocahontas who saved him and some other Englishmen from death. Thus, in this country called New England, the genres of historical works, memoirs and historical novels were founded even during the British colonial period. In 1625, William Strachey's historical account of the shipwreck in Bermuda was published. The work was originally written in the 1610s, before Smith's work was published. However, this work, which was in the form of a letter to a high-ranking woman, was published much later because it clearly described the real situation in the British colony. Although this work is based on historical events, the first was much superior in the work of art among the terms of fiction and historical reality. There are also some shortcomings in the issue of the role of the character in a historical work in historical events and

the artistic plot. For example, the character of Pocahontas has many mythical elements, which casts doubt on whether the existing character is a real historical figure. However, should it be admitted that they also have a certain plot, a clear composition, a system of characters, and the language of the work, the theme and the unity of ideas have a quite simple appearance.

In addition, among the emerging American historical works, there are many works on religious themes, which are distinguished by their reflection of events through the prism of divine destiny. "Diary" (published 1878-82) of Samuel Sewell, one of the literary figures forming the stream of Puritanism, became especially popular. However, because the predominance of religious motives in it, it is not commendable from an artistic and aesthetic point of view.

In general, although the representatives of the literature of this period had a large popularity, they made almost no attempt to create national perception, national values, and specific problems of literature. This is explained, firstly, by the fact that the country called the United States has not yet been formed then, the main lands belonged to the empire called New England, and secondly, although most people were absolutely free and liberated, artistic-aesthetic thinking was far from the principles of high cultural life. True, there was a cultural life. But they recognized the superiority of English culture, yet considered the culture of the rest of the peoples to be secondary, and the spiritual life was built solely on a religious basis. Due to a number of similar factors, the artistic perception of historical reality and the creation of a purely historical work, the formation of the national consciousness of the people, the desire to build the foundation of a new society was weak. A number of scholars have given different views on this point. In particular, Professor B.A. Gilenson enumerates ten factors in the formation of American literature [4, 9-14]. The factors put forward by the scholar are fully consistent with the socio-historical foundations of the formation of the American people. Each of the factors listed and cited has been proven using clear evidence. Including 1. Colonization. The first settlers were those fleeing from religious persecution in Europe. They began to form a civilization similar in many respects to that of Europe. 2. Ethnically diverse composition of the emerging society. Over the years, New England, later known as the United States' population has multiplied at the expense of immigrants, mainly from Europe and Asia, who brought with them various national values and traditions. 3. Slavery. The United States was established as a capital-based state. The north was industrialized and the south was agriculturally adapted. It was on the southern plantations where cotton was grown, using the labor of black slaves. The conflict between North and South escalated into a civil war. The long years of war

that ended with the victory of the Northerners, and the subsequent influx of people from Africa, permeated the new American society and slowly influenced their culture. Though it was only at the end of the twentieth century that the culture reached the level which was to be recognized by the world, their role in the works of popular writers such as Fenimore Cooper and Mark Twain is of particular importance.

Russian scholars O.O. Nesmelova and O.B. Karasiks cite the abovementioned factors of the formation of American literature with slight modifications [5,5-6. (80)]: 1. The formation of the colony. 2. Ethnic diversity. 3. Slavery. 4. Frontier. 5. Regionalism. 6. Puritanism. 7. "American Dream". 8. Synthesis of fiction and non-fiction in literature. Scholars are mostly right, but not about the influence of the local population - the Indians - on the formation of American literature, especially the genre of the historical novel. In the second factor, counted are several ethnic groups from Europe and Asia, but Indians are not. Also, most scholars do not dwell on Spanish culture and influence in the formation of the United States.

Among the historians we can also see Benjamin Franklin. In his first work, "The Diaries of Adolescent Richard", he assessed the period for twenty-five years using folk proverbs, parables, and adages, preserving the chronological order of historical events [6]. This work has been published annually since 1732 for twenty-five years. Thus, the writer introduced folklore (proverb, parable, adage, phrase) into the historical work, brought the work closer to the reader, and drew attention to the charm of artistic language in the poetics of historical works. Franklin's "Memoirs" occupies a high place in the poetics of historical works, as it reflects the process of formation of the figure as a person, a participant in a number of historical events of the XVIII century on the basis of historical reality [7, 230]. In Franklin's work, the image of the East and Islam is remarkable for its role as a symbol of progress in American society. His pamphlet on slavery, written before his death, re-analyzes the long history of slavery in America [8,431 (423-436)], stating that Christianity exists in exchange of one slavery to another in the example of Sidi Muhammad Ibrahim of Algeria [8,431 (423-436)]. He claims that the European's way of life is "savagery" in the eyes of Indians, especially in terms of morals and upbringing. He proved in his own life that a person from the lower strata of society can only gain the highest level of respect in society through morality and knowledge. Created as a work in the genre of memoirs, the realistic image in the "Memoirs", the solution of problems such as the artistic expression of historical truth, later made a significant contribution to the formation of historical works. The enlightening significance of historical events, the principles that the spiritual power of mankind is in true history, were later reflected in the historical works of Mark Twain. It was Benjamin Franklin's views on the

formation of society, the building of social and financial foundations on a spiritual basis, and the equality of citizens that later had a profound impact on Mark Twain's works.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The formation of historical works in American literature took a long time. Only after gaining independence, when the need for the formation of the American people, national statehood, the formation of a single nation arose, they began to look at exemplary historical events from an artistic-aesthetic, artistic-philosophical, socio-political point of view. As a result, the process of addressing the years of struggle against British colonialism, the artistic perception of that period, and thus the reassessment of the service of national heroes, began. Franklin's contemporary, the author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), based on the historical account of Galileo, argued that "only perception and free observation are effective means against error and misguidance" [9]. In doing so, he puts forward the idea that truth can be achieved by analyzing historical reality and by observing it from the point of view of justice. Gaining independence in the United States has led to great changes in the worldview and spirituality of the American people. Especially in the late eighteenth century, a novel genre was slowly formed in American literature through a number of genres, including the works of Hugh Breckenridge and Charles Brockden Brown and others. But the novel genre was not perfected and was not divided into historical, political and modern types.

Analyzing the creation of historical works in American literature through memoirs, memories, diaries and everyday statements of a myriad of the above-named writers, we can note the chronicity of the poetics of historical works, the use of artistic imagery in the language, as well as the introduction of folklore and a clear plot and compositional structure in the works.

The talented writer Washington Irving contributed more to the creation of the poetics of historical works than any of his predecessors. In particular, his works "History of Muhammad" and "History of New York" are distinguished [9]. As a representative of romanticism, W. Irving in his approach to historical events can be seen as comparing history with the reality in his artistic and aesthetic ideal. This was very much to the liking of the representatives of the new society, who had emerged from the revolution with great enthusiasm. Thus, it would be correct to conclude that in the formation of the poetics of historical works, the writer's creative approach was mixed with the adaptation of Walter Scott's traditions to the American environment. "Irving's novels, "Americans", were exactly consistent with the spirit of the times. The emerging

national thinking sought a basis for itself in American national traditions, history, nature, and its unique legends. Irving gave society what it expected" [10].

When it comes to the problem of artistic perception of historical events, the creation of historical works, English literary critics consider dozens of great historical novelists of the XIX century such as Walter Scott, Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Fenimore Cooper and Mark Twain [11].

If W. Scott's works served as the basis for the formation of historical novels in Scottish literature, the revival of historical reality in the example of artistic images, the works of Ch. Dickens, F. Cooper, M. Twain developed in other separate directions. For example, in Dickens's novels, the spiritual impoverishment of society, various social vices, the spiritual world of the image of children and women are vividly portrayed in positive and negative colors using the method of critical realism, meanwhile Cooper illuminates the local population and their related adventures [12,54] in his works. Mark Twain, on the other hand, described European history in a simple, easily understandable way. In particular, Mark Twain's historical novels are characterized by historical-mystical (Janna d'Arc), satirical, and adventurous features.

Among the views on the viability of historical events in the human mind and the creation of historical works, the following opinion of the founder of historical poetics is distinguishable: "In some corner of our minds, an event that exists as a tried and tested experience, in my opinion, is a forgotten and suddenly unknown discovery that amazes us by being remembered again as new and with the old. We don't realize much that it's outdated. Because we do not understand the essence of such a psychological state that suddenly reminds us of old memories. The same thing happens in conscious literary life when the artistic demand of the people, the demand of the time, the old characters, the voices of characters, suddenly appear. In this way, folk legends are repeated, which explains the renewal of some plots in the literature "[13, 57 (404)]. This statement of the scholar can also be applied to historical events. An appeal to the event that once took place among the people ten, twenty, thirty or a hundred years ago arises from their natural need. This need occurs because of modern problems. Thus historical works are created. This can be explained by the fact that historical works are initially recorded in the form of memoirs, memories, diaries, and daily statements. However, as artistic thinking improved, so did historical works. As a result, historical events or a number of myths and legends became part of the works of art. Certainly, in this the balance must be preserved between artistic fabric and historical truth. That is, even if the historical truth is exaggerated, the work becomes a chronological one and moves away from art. If, on the contrary, the

historical reality decreases and the artistic fiction increases, the work loses its historicity.

A new era of historical works in American literature is associated with the name of James Fenimore Cooper. He was the first to write a historical story about sailors called "Spy" and a novel called "Precaution". He later wrote five historical novels as part of "the Leatherstocking Tales" pentalogy. They clearly describe the way of life, ideals, worldviews, relations with immigrants, and the heroic struggle for their freedom of the natives who lived there before the Europeans came to America. Because the new society that was being formed had to know the spiritual world of the tribe, the people, which it was trying to eliminate. In addition, members of the new society had heard the myths and legends of the Indians who had lived here before them, and had begun to seek explanations for them. Due to this and many other factors, Fenimore Cooper's historical novels gained popularity among the people. The name given to pentalogy ("Leatherstock") was also a term given by the locals to the boots of the people of the New World. Here, too, the writer's artistic and aesthetic views carried literally an experiment, in contrast to his works on the history of sailors, such as "Precaution" and "Spy", written in 1820-1821 [14]. He, through the character of Natty Bumppo, was one of the first to highlight that the positive changes in American life, such as the construction of new cities and villages, the development of farming, tackling landlessness, acquiring wealth from gold and oil, and the growth of the wood working industry was happening in expense of the tragedy that the local people were facing. Originally an Englishman who lived in the woods and mountains by hunting, he was revered by the Indians for his intelligence, fairness, skillful sniper, strong will, and humanity, and was nicknamed as the "Hawkeye". There is a hint here that the hawk usually flies alone (sometimes in pairs) and that the Leatherstocking man can see its prey from as distant as a hawk. In addition, various tribes called him "Straight-Tongue" for his straightforwardness, "The Pigeon" for his quickness and agility, "Deerslayer" for his ability to find traces and smells anywhere, and "The Trapper" for his hunting skills. Firstly, the fact that these names appear in different novels and that Natty Bumppo is given a different name by each tribe for different situations shows a holistic system of protagonist character, secondly, locals' worldview, a unique assessment of reality and recognition of a mature person are recognized. Both of these two features are important from a universal humane point of view.

In *The Pioneers*, the first novel of pentalogy, written in 1823, the author sought to explain the sharp differences between the civilization formed by the natives and the civilization brought by the Europeans [14]. In particular, the differences between social, philosophical, economic, legal and political principles,

spiritual rules are reflected in the contradictions of the characters' attitude towards people and nature (in fact, Indians are also humans, they were in their homeland, they wanted to preserve their freedom, their civilization). Precisely, it is the conflict of societies that becomes the pinnacle of the work's conflict. Indeed, in the novels there are also other types of conflict happening between the characters, such as psychological conflict, social and personal conflict, all of which served to reveal the clash of two civilizations. "It is not for an American to find fault with the laudatory tone of a work which reflects the ardent love of country felt by the writer. Yet in many respects it is a singular production. Any one who formed his notions of this country exclusively from this book, would be sure to fancy that here at last paradise was reopening to the children of a fallen race. After this remark, it may seem ridiculous, and yet it is perfectly just to say, that Cooper, so far from giving way to exaggeration in his assertions.

As the author maintains the objectivity between the two through the character of Natty Bumppo, as Professor Thomas Lawnsbury points out, he "behaves within the framework of reality". But in doing so, he observes in practice that the Americans are invading the lands of the Indians. Here the position of the writer becomes clearly obvious because the oppression machine had started and it was impossible to stop it. This reveals about the people who live according to the rules of nature and the majority of whites who come with various mechanics, techniques and weapons of death and consider themselves superior to them, but in fact are much inferior to them in a number of spiritual and moral rules. It is also rightly pointed out that selfish people, who are notorious for disregarding the indigenous people and the slaves brought from Africa and their rights to life and rights to a positive attitude as a human being, cast a shadow over the spiritual image of future American society.

In fact, the writer must "arrange the parts of the event in such a way that when a part is replaced or removed, the whole thing changes, because what is felt to be non-existent cannot be an integral part of the whole." Based on this demand, F. Cooper formulated the pentalogy on the basis of a logical sequence, the chronology of the protagonist's life, in accordance with the events of Natty Bumppo's youth, middle age, and old age. As noted above, after the publication of *The Pioneers*, other novels which would be included in pentalogy, such as *The Last Mohican* (1826), *Deerslayer* (1840), *The Hunter* (1841), and *The Prairie* (1827) were written [14]. It is true that the historical event is literally recycled, that the creative intention of the writer and his artistic-aesthetic concept is embedded in it. In particular, it is stated that the Indians being far behind the Europeans in social development, living in a collective system, still had a very rich spiritual world.

The author enhanced the novel's literacy through landscape and portraiture techniques. In particular, he effectively used the images of the forest, mountain, river, lake and sky to reveal the psyche of the characters. For example, the majesty of Chingachgook's character was in harmony with the image of the forest and mountains in which he lived, while his son Uncas was as fast as a river in the foothills. In the conversations of Hawkeye and Chingachgook, he was able to effectively express their character traits, the flow of events and, of course, the artistic and aesthetic function of the work. "On that day, two men were lingering on the banks of a small but rapid stream, within an hour's journey of the encampment of Webb, like those who awaited the appearance of an absent person, or the approach of some expected event. The vast canopy of woods spread itself to the margin of the river, overhanging the water, and shadowing its dark current with a deeper hue. The rays of the sun were beginning to grow less fierce, and the intense heat of the day was lessened, as the cooler vapors of the springs and fountains rose above their leafy beds, and rested in the atmosphere" [14,34 (559)].

This landscape hints at the temporary seat of Chingachgook and Bumpo, and that both of them are as powerful and as fierce as the mountain and the river depicted. The image gives the impression of a conversation between these two interlocutors after the passage, the history of the two civilizations, the course of events, and the point where the two powerful currents of the world meet each other. The author, in the person of Hawkeye and Chingachgook, makes a long and quiet conversation about the war in the world and the injustice in life. They were both old and dear confidantes, respecting each other, expressing their problems and thoughts in a quiet voice, while at the same time not forgetting to control the environment. The author also gives a portrait of these two sitting people, through which Chingachgook's muscular body, burning eyes, feathers tied to a shaved and leaving a strip of noticeably longer hair in the center, and the feathers shaking in the weak wind blowing from the river, all of which together show the character's determination, clear purpose and strong will. Especially from the Chingachgook's words one can understand that his ancestors believed in the Great Spirit, sat around a campfire and gave advice to each other, so that they were brave, powerful, and then that other whites came before the British and gave them fiery water, which gradually weakened them and that they were squeezed out of their lands as a result. Revealing his psyche through the character's speech, the writer also reveals that Chingachgook is a smart, intelligent and thoughtful person. These qualities ensured the harmony of form and content in the novel in accordance with the abovementioned description of the forest and the river.

The author constructed the architecture of pentalogy in such a way that Indian myths and legends were absorbed into the newly formed legends and mythical views of the Europeans, giving an appeal to the events on which the pentalogy was based. In particular, the Indians' deity, Manitu, whom Chingachgook revered, and the fact that he remained silent about the extinction of the tribe he established and the migration of the tribes to the afterlife, underlie the Indian view of the multidimensional world.

While the writer literarily describes the historical events, he skillfully conveys the harmony of man and nature, tragedy and the details around him in the image. This can be seen below. "The sun found the Lenape, on the succeeding day, a nation of mourners. The sounds of the battle were over, and they had fed fat their ancient grudge, and had avenged their recent quarrel with the Mengwe, by the destruction of a whole community. The black and murky atmosphere that floated around the spot where the Hurons had encamped, sufficiently announced of itself, the fate of that wandering tribe; while hundreds of ravens, that struggled above the summits of the mountains, or swept, in noisy flocks, across the wide ranges of the woods, furnished a frightful direction to the scene of the combat. In short, any eye at all practiced in the signs of a frontier warfare might easily have traced all those unerring evidences of the ruthless results which attend an Indian vengeance" [15, 540 (559)].

The image used in this passage also points to the way of thinking of the Indians and their specific concepts. In particular, Lenape was actually the original name of an Indian tribe that the British called Delaware, while the tribe that the French called Huron called themselves Wyandotte. The sun shines equally on both tribes. In saying that it is also a man and that it has divine power, it has gone over and saw the mutual slaughter of its children, there are traces of poetic thinking as well. That is, the sun was in fact a great traveler and creator, seeking the light of goodness from the tribes of Lenape and Huron, but seeing one of them in a garment of mourning, and the other satiating the old. Here, in the way of thinking, greed and war are both given as literary images as well. That is, according to the Indians, war is a great evil, and if the first line of this war is described in the novel "Deerslayer", here its sound is stated as rested. But this victory did not bring good to either side.

In general, James Fenimore Cooper was one of the first in American literature to literarily reflect the Indian way of life, worldview, and describe events in U.S. history in an unbiased, somewhat romantic way, with the language, plot, and composition of the work being considerably mature. It should be noted that the debate over the poetics of the historical works created by Cooper is still ongoing. A group of writers objected his

writings, including Mark Twain, who criticized Cooper's novels in an article of his. But many appreciate his art. Because most people in the world understood and learned about the history of the United States literally with the help of F. Cooper's novels. Therefore, he rightly received the title of "father of historical novels" and about his successor, Mark Twain, it can be said that he learned to write historical novels from his predecessors.

IV. CONCLUSION

When we study the opinions on the formation of a historical novel, American scholars say that "recount, or rather narration, expresses the idea of the time and its duration. Narration itself is history" [16, 231-232 (328)]. So, if telling, recounting, narrating past events is history, it can be the history of an event in the past, that is, the times which are already in the past tense today. In this sense, it would be appropriate to include the term long history or recent history in the time and space of the event being described.

To conclude our discussion here, the creation of historical works in the United States began much later than in Europe. In Uzbek literature, though the historical novel in the modern sense was created even later, it has been scientifically proven that the traces of folk epics, which served as a novel, go long into the history [17]. However, interesting is that in American literature, historical works began in the form of memoirs, memories, diaries and daily statements just as in European and Uzbek literature.

In general, the formation of historical works in world literature, in particular, in European, Uzbek and American literature, corresponds to different periods. However, in all of them, historical works were formed on the basis of popular works such as history, memories, memoirs and diaries. The factors of formation of historical works also vary depending on the way of life of each nation, their social, political, legal, economic views on the construction of the state and society, and especially on their artistic and aesthetic philosophy.

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La Capacidad De "No Poder Hacer Milagros": Reflexiones Sobre El Abastecimiento De Las Expediciones De 1715, 1718 Y 1720.¹

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Abstract- Today there is a great discussion about the effects that the organization of military expeditions had on the civilian population and the economy of the province of departure. The issue is relevant because in order to carry them out, the State must have a great capacity to mobilize resources. Felipe V strove to achieve a centralized and effective government. But this only achieved in the twenties of the eighteenth century. In this context, it is worth asking how the Bourbon state functioned between 1715 and 1720. The study of the supply of three expeditions that took place during those years can help us to better understand this process. The objective of this article is to analyze three key questions: what reasons did the government have when choosing a seaport as the starting point of an expedition; determine the economic effects of this decision and show which social groups benefited from it.

Keywords: *contractor-state, felipe v, military supplies, mallorca expedition, sicily expedition, ceuta expedition, military contracts. small businessmen, guilds, gun building.*

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La Capacidad De "No Poder Hacer Milagros": Reflexiones Sobre El Abastecimiento De Las Expediciones De 1715, 1718 Y 1720¹

Eduard Martí-Fraga

Resumen- Existe hoy un gran debate sobre efectos que tenía la organización de las expediciones militares sobre la población civil y la economía de la provincia de partida. El tema es relevante pues para llevarlas a cabo se requiere que el Estado tenga una gran capacidad para movilizar recursos. Felipe V se esforzó por conseguir un gobierno centralizado y eficaz. Pero esto sólo lo consiguió en los años veinte del siglo XVIII. En este contexto cabe preguntarse cómo funcionó el estado borbónico entre 1715 y 1720. El estudio del abastecimiento de tres expediciones que sucedieron durante esos años, nos puede ayudar a entender mejor este proceso. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar tres cuestiones claves: qué razones tenía el gobierno a la hora de escoger un puerto marítimo como punto de partida de una expedición; determinar qué efectos económicos conllevaba esa decisión y mostrar qué grupos sociales se beneficiaban de ella.

Palabras Clave: *contractor-state, felipe v, abastecimientos militares, expedición de mallorca, expedición de sicilia, expedición de ceuta, contratos militares, pequeños empresarios, gremios, construcción de armas.*

Abstract- Today there is a great discussion about the effects that the organization of military expeditions had on the civilian population and the economy of the province of departure. The issue is relevant because in order to carry them out, the State must have a great capacity to mobilize resources. Felipe V strove to achieve a centralized and effective government. But this only achieved in the twenties of the eighteenth century. In this context, it is worth asking how the Bourbon state functioned between 1715 and 1720. The study of the supply of three expeditions that took place during those years can help us to better understand this process. The objective of this article is to analyze three key questions: what reasons did the government have when choosing a seaport as the starting point of an expedition; determine the economic effects of this decision and show which social groups benefited from it.

Keywords: *contractor-state, felipe v, military supplies, mallorca expedition, sicily expedition, ceuta expedition, military contracts. small businessmen, guilds, gun building.*

I. INTRODUCCIÓN

Es conocido cómo la política llevada a cabo por Felipe V, implicó a un centralismo político y económico que hizo que el conde de Anjou se

convirtiera, como afirmaba un memorialista inglés en 1760, "en el primer monarca completo de España".² Sin embargo, como han recordado recientemente Rafael Torres y Pepijn Brandon "*the tendency in the literature to associate state centralization automatically with a diminishing role for military entrepreneurs needs serious revision. In many cases, the strengthening of the Eighteenth Century central states depended on and extended the opportunities for the involvement of capitalism elites in the business of war*".³ En este sentido el debate sobre el centralismo del Estado está plenamente abierto y todavía conocemos poco las formas en que se organizó el gobierno de Felipe V durante los años inmediatamente posteriores a la Guerra de Sucesión. Lo ha dicho con claridad para el caso catalán Josep María Delgado, que considera que "está aún por cuantificar el gasto efectuado por el ejército y la marina durante sus estancias en Cataluña" así como "los beneficios que obtuvieron asentistas, comerciantes y artesanos".⁴ Christopher Storrs ha dado un paso más allá en estas reflexiones, y no duda en afirmar que para los primeros años del gobierno del primer Borbón en España, el papel del Estado en la economía "ha sido bastante ignorado".⁵

Desde esta perspectiva, el estudio de cómo el Estado borbónico abasteció a tres expediciones que se llevaron a cabo entre 1715-1720 se convierte en un tema relevante. Nos puede ayudar a entender mejor tanto los efectos positivos y negativos que tenían sobre la población local como comprender con mayor precisión el funcionamiento del Contractor-State durante estos años tan complejos. Rafael Torres, ya puso de manifiesto la amplitud de campos económicos que la Corona contrató para el abastecimiento de tropas.⁶ El vizconde de Puerto explicaba en sus *Reflexiones militares* todos lo que era necesario: "cañones y morteros, sus armas, ajustes, más adherencias y municiones, instrumentos de levantar tierra, y cortar fajina, sacos grandes y chicos, fusiles de reserva, granadas, mecha, piedras, pólvora, balas de fusil, barcas de puente, machos y carros para transportar estos y otros pertrechos que aquí no se mencionan".⁷ La historiografía tradicional ha tendido a focalizar su atención en los grandes asentistas que proporcionaban este tipo de equipamientos necesarios.⁸ Más allá del

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debate sobre si al Estado le resultaba más beneficioso el recurso a ellos que no un control directo,⁹ cabe preguntarse si ellos fueron los únicos que se beneficiaban y cómo actuó el gobierno de Felipe V para llevar a cabo estas expediciones con éxito cuando aún no estaban asentadas las nuevas estructuras del control del gasto de Hacienda que se implementarán a partir de la década de 1720.¹⁰

En un artículo donde se estudiaba la conquista de Menorca en 1782, Rafael Torres afirmaba que esa expedición "marca un punto de inflexión en la geoestrategia de movilización de recursos para la guerra". El hecho que se escogiera Cádiz como punto de partida y no Barcelona, ciudad mucho más cercana, demostraba que "la movilización de recursos era una cuestión política, en la que era el gobierno quien podía modificar la geoestrategia y quién, en definitiva, daba el valor exacto a cada recurso".¹¹ Es decir, el coste económico real ya no era un elemento determinante a la hora de decidir el puerto de partida de una expedición. Tradicionalmente, tal como han destacado Richard Harding y otros autores, la distancia, era un elemento clave a la hora de escoger el lugar donde se reunían los materiales necesarios para una expedición, pues ello suponía un abaratamiento de los costes por los ahorros que se derivaban del transporte.¹² A ello cabe añadir la existencia de un hinterland rico que abaratase los costes.¹³ Partiendo de estos planteamientos nos formulamos cuatro preguntas a las que intentaremos responder en las siguientes líneas: ¿Realmente la distancia y el coste económico es la principal razón que explica los puntos de partida de las expediciones anteriores a 1781? ¿Cómo afecta a la ciudad escogida y a su hinterland la organización de una expedición militar? ¿se pueden establecer algunos rasgos comunes entre ellas? ¿Qué grupos sociales se benefician de una expedición?

Para responder a estas preguntas, después de una muy breve contextualización histórica, nos vamos a centrar especialmente en el análisis de tres casos similares que sucedieron durante los primeros años del gobierno de Felipe V después de la Guerra de Sucesión: las expediciones para la conquista de Mallorca (1715), Sicilia (1718) y Ceuta (1720). Las dos primeras partieron de Barcelona, la tercera lo hizo desde Cádiz.

II. CONTEXTO HISTÓRICO

Es conocida la difícil situación en que se encontraba la Corona Española tras el fin de la guerra de Sucesión (1714), con la pérdida de la influencia en el Mediterráneo, y la difícil defensa de sus ciudades africanas, siempre amenazadas por los musulmanes.¹⁴ No es este el lugar para hacer una descripción minuciosa de la historia de cada una de las tres expediciones, pero sí resulta necesario hacer una breve

explicación de ellas para entender mejor el contexto político en que se produjeron.

Sobre la expedición de Mallorca se conservan numerosas relaciones de contemporáneos,¹⁵ a lo que hay que añadir los estudios de Eduardo Pascual.¹⁶ Si bien en el Convenio del Hospitalet del 22 de junio de 1713 ya se estipulaba que las tropas austríacas debían abandonar Mallorca,¹⁷ el virrey de la isla, marqués de Rubí, se negó a hacerlo. No fue hasta enero de 1715, una vez sometida la ciudad de Barcelona, cuando Felipe V decidió que la conquista de la isla era un objetivo militar prioritario. La isla se había convertido en refugio de los últimos austriacistas catalanes y, bajo la dirección del virrey, había tenido un papel clave en el avituallamiento de Barcelona durante el pasado asedio de 1713-1714.¹⁸ La urgencia por hacerse con el control de la isla por parte de Felipe V se explica por la necesidad de evitar que el emperador Carlos VI enviase tropas de refuerzo, lo que dificultaría enormemente su conquista. En Mallorca había 2.142 soldados,¹⁹ y la expedición, liderada por el general Asfeld, contaba con casi 11.000 soldados de infantería y 1.000 de caballería.²⁰ Después de numerosas dificultades que retrasaron varios meses la fecha de partida de la expedición, ésta abandonó el puerto de Barcelona camino de Mallorca el 8 y 10 de junio de 1715. El 3 de julio los restos de las tropas austríacas que había en la Isla se rindieron y se firmó un armisticio.²¹

La expedición Sicilia tiene un contexto político netamente diferente. Recientemente hemos podido explicarla con cierto detalle.²² Su organización cabe entenderla dentro de la nueva política expansionista de Felipe V, liderada por el cardenal Alberoni y que tenía como finalidad recuperar el dominio del Mediterráneo para la Corona Hispánica, perdido en los tratados de Utrecht. Núria Sallés ha explicado con acierto el debate diplomático que hubo entorno a la conveniencia de su ejecución.²³ La expedición conllevó un nuevo conflicto militar internacional que enfrentó a Felipe V contra la Cuádruple Alianza (Inglaterra, Francia, Austria y Holanda). El fracaso de la expedición, bien narrada por diversos contemporáneos del momento,²⁴ tuvo entre otras consecuencias la caída del mismo Alberoni. Las dimensiones de la expedición fueron mucho mayores que las de Mallorca. Francesc de Castellví afirmaba que en ella estaba todo "tan bien dispuesto y abastecido que desde Felipe II no se había visto en España mayor ni igual".²⁵ Según nuestros cálculos, la expedición estuvo formada por 34.341 soldados de infantería, a los que habría que añadir unos 6.000 que formaban los batallones de caballería y de dragones.²⁶ La expedición empezó a prepararse, como constata el marqués de la Mina, desde el otoño de 1717, cuando "entraban cada día en el puerto de Barcelona bastimentos de los demás de España y los de afuera, unos con trigo, cebada y otros efectos (...), se juntaban municiones, se

adelantaba el tren de artillería de batir y campaña, se hacían vestuarios con fatiga incesante".²⁷ El 19 de junio de 1718 la flota partía de Barcelona hacia Sicilia, donde llegaba el 4 de julio, ocupando Mesina.²⁸ Lo que sucedió después, con la derrota de la armada hispánica en Cabo Passaro ante los ingleses liderados por el general Byng, es conocido y no podemos detenernos ello.²⁹

El caso de la flota que partió del puerto de Cádiz para romper el asedio a que estaba sometido el presidio de Ceuta en 1720, presenta un contexto geopolítico completamente diferente. El sultán de Marruecos, Moulay Ismail Ben Sharif, tenía asediada la ciudad desde 1694, situación que continuó hasta 1727, cuando abandonó definitivamente el proyecto.³⁰ En 1720 la situación de Ceuta era crítica. Felipe V decidió encargar al marqués de Lede una expedición con el fin de destruir las defensas marroquíes que asediaban la ciudad y avanzar en las conquistas tierra adentro para asegurar una zona de seguridad. Según los datos conservados en el Archivo General de Simancas, la expedición contaba con 16.000 soldados, 12.000 de infantería y 4.000 de caballería.³¹ Los barcos partieron de Cádiz, la bahía de Gibraltar y Málaga. El 4 de noviembre el marqués de Lede escribía por primera vez desde Ceuta a Felipe V, el día 16 empezaron los ataques para romper el cerco.³² El resultado fue un éxito. Se destruyeron todas las defensas marroquíes. Sin embargo, los problemas de abastecimiento de las tropas expedicionarias y las enfermedades forzaron el retorno de la flota a finales de febrero de 1721. El 4 de

marzo fue el último día en que Lede escribió a Felipe V desde Ceuta informando del estado de las tropas.³³

Como hemos podido ver, las tres expediciones se enmarcan en contextos geopolíticos diferentes: la necesidad de asegurar la defensa de la península frente a la amenaza austríaca (Mallorca), el interés por recuperar la hegemonía política en el Mediterráneo (Sicilia) o el mantenimiento de la presencia militar en África (Ceuta). Las diferencias entre ellas también son notables en cuanto a lugares y cifras: tanto la expedición de Mallorca de 1715 como la de Sicilia de 1718 parten de Barcelona, ciudad conquistada en 1714. La de Ceuta de 1720, en cambio, salió desde tres puertos andaluces (Cádiz, Bahía de Gibraltar y Málaga). El tamaño de cada una de las expediciones fue diverso: para Mallorca se embarcaron unos 11.000, soldados, para Sicilia 40.000 y para Ceuta unos 16.000. Sin embargo, el interés de su estudio radica no en estos elementos, sino en su funcionamiento. Se tratan de tres expediciones que se hacen en el plazo de 6 años (1715-1720), bajo una monarquía que está empezando a definir sus estructuras estatales centralizadoras.³⁴ Las tres parten precisamente de las zonas peninsulares que en aquellos años tenían acantonados más soldados: Cataluña y Andalucía. Según datos de Francisco Andújar, en 1717 había unos 19.000 soldados en Barcelona y unos 5.000 en Andalucía.³⁵ Lo podemos ver reflejado en el siguiente cuadro, al que hemos añadido el porcentaje de tropas movilizadas para la expedición respecto al total que tenía la Corona Hispánica ese momento.

Cuadro n. 1: Tropas expedicionarias y acantonadas en las expediciones de Mallorca, Sicilia y Ceuta

Año	Origen	Destino	Tropas expedicionarias (en soldados)	Tropas acantonadas en la provincia	% de tropas movilizadas respecto al total de la Corona
Verano 1715	Barcelona	Mallorca	11.000	55.000 ³⁶	47% ³⁷
Verano 1718	Barcelona	Sicilia	40.000	19.000 (Cataluña) ³⁸	88% ³⁹
Otoño 1720	Cádiz	Ceuta	16.000	5.000 (Andalucía) ⁴⁰	desconocido

Fuente: Fuente: AGS, Marina, leg. 739; Andújar, F., "De la militarización..."; Pascual, E., "Formación e instrucciones...".

El tamaño de las expediciones hizo que, en los tres casos, el número de soldados acantonadas en cada provincia aumentara de manera clara. Este hecho necesariamente tuvo unos efectos sobre la ciudadanía, ya fueran de carácter coercitivo o económico. Si Cataluña tenía acantonados 19.000 soldados en 1717, en 1718, con la expedición, esta cifra se dobló hasta llegar a los 40.000. En Andalucía la cifra se triplicó, pasando de unos 5.000 a unos 16.000. No podemos olvidar que la presencia de numerosas tropas en una región generaba múltiples conflictos con la población civil y un aumento del malestar.⁴¹ Pero, a la vez, también se podían producir algunos efectos económicos de

carácter positivo, pues resultaba necesario alimentar, vestir y equipar a las tropas.⁴² Por otro lado, el cuadro también muestra los esfuerzos globales y la importancia de cada una de las expediciones. La expedición de Sicilia supuso un notable esfuerzo para la Corona, que movilizó casi al 90% de todos sus efectivos en ella. No sucedió así con las de Mallorca, que no llegó al 50%.

III. EL ABASTECIMIENTO DE LAS EXPEDICIONES: LA TEORÍA

Tradicionalmente, cuando pensamos en los abastecimientos militares, tendemos a centrar nuestra

atención en los grandes asentistas y los grandes asentistas activos durante las expediciones de asientos: víveres, armas, vestuario y navíos. En el 1715 y 1720. siguiente cuadro hemos recogido los principales

Cuadro n. 2: Principales grandes asentistas entre 1715-1720

Desde	Hasta	Asentista	Asiento
1697	1720	Goyeneche, Juan	Árboles, mástiles, brea y alquitrán.
1714	1717	Duplesis, Jean	Provisión general de pólvora.
1714	1743	Cebrián, José	Vestuario de la Guardia de Corps.
1715	1721	Helguero, Pedro y Olivares, Nicolás (Liérganes y La Cavada)	6.000 quintales anuales de artillería de hierro, balas, y bombas.
1716	1719	Prieto de Aedo, Juan	Provisión de galeras.
1716	1717	Márquez Cardoso, Juan	Víveres del ejército.
1717	1719	López, Pedro (Compañía. Goyeneche-Valdeolmos)	Víveres del ejército.
1717	1727	Aldecoa, Miquel	Pólvora para las tropas de Castilla, León, Aragón, Navarra, Valencia y Cataluña.
1717	1720	García Asarta, José	Vestuario de los regimientos de Infantería, caballería y dragones
1718	1721	Goyeneche, Juan	Jarcia
1718	1722	Puche, Antonio	Víveres para la armada (incluidas las expediciones de Sicilia y Ceuta).
1719	1720	Aguirre Udonna, Pedro	Víveres del ejército

Fuente: Guerrero, R. (2011). *Las élites vascas en el gobierno de la monarquía borbónica. Redes sociales, carrera y hegemonía en el siglo XVIII (1700-1746)*. Tesis doctoral inédita. Universidad del País Vasco, Vitoria, p. 242 y ss.; Hernández, M^a C. (2004). *Negocios y servicio: finanzas públicas y hombres de negocios en Navarra en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII*. Pamplona: EUNSA, pp. 236, 249 y 257; Andújar, F. (2015b). "Negocios privados, cargos públicos: el recurso a testaferros en la etapa del cambio dinástico", *Tiempos Modernos*, 30 (1); Solbes, S., (2015). "Mecanismos financieros para el control de la provisión del vestuario de guardias de corps y alabarderos (1716-1785)". En Rodríguez, J. I., García, R. M. P., y Chaves, M. F. (Eds.) (2015). *Comercio y cultura en la Edad Moderna: actas de la XIII reunión científica de la fundación de Historia Moderna*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, pp.447-460. AGS, *Dirección General del Tesoro (DGT), inventario 7, legajo, 1, expedientes 1,6,2, 5-14; legajo.2, expedientes 17 y 27, legajo 3, expediente 11, legajo 40, expedientes 2 y 3; González Enciso, A. (2016). "La provisión de artillería en el Imperio español en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII"*. En Caspistegui, F.J. y Peiró, I. (eds.) (2016). *Jesús Longares Alonso, el maestro que sabía escuchar*. Pamplona: EUNSA, pp.127-144, p. 133.

Aparentemente estos grandes campos de abastecimiento estaban cubiertos por los principales proveedores navarros, madrileños y andaluces: Goyeneche y Valdeolmos controlaban los víveres en 1718,⁴³ así como la jarcia y la brea;⁴⁴ García Asarta, otro navarro vinculado con Goyeneche, el vestuario,⁴⁵ Antonio Puche las raciones de marina.⁴⁶ La pólvora inicialmente estuvo en manos de Jean Duplesis, quizá el último de los grandes asentistas franceses que quedaban en la península,⁴⁷ pero luego pasó a un monopolio casi exclusivo de otro navarro, Miguel Aldecoa.⁴⁸ A la vez se percibe la presencia de grandes asentistas vascos, como Juan Prieto de Aedo⁴⁹ y el ascendente grupo de Pedro Aguirre.⁵⁰ Ahora bien, ¿fueron estas las únicas personas a las que recurrió la Corona a la hora de abastecer a sus tropas para las expediciones que organizó entre 1715-1720?

Sicilia y Ceuta, la Corona hizo informes en los que se establecían los lugares de dónde debían proceder las armas, la pólvora, las balas y todos los materiales necesarios. La planta tenía en cuenta tanto las existencias en el lugar de partida del convoy como los productos que se debían comprar o fabricar. Lo que nos interesa analizar aquí no son las cifras absolutas, pues lógicamente la demanda en Sicilia fue mucho mayor que las de Mallorca y Ceuta, si no las relativas. Es decir: qué % de un producto se conseguía en el lugar de la expedición y qué % procedía de otros lugares de España o del extranjero. Esta información la hemos recogido en los siguientes cuadros.

Fijemos nuestra atención en la metalurgia, que afecta tanto al sector armamentístico como al naval. Tanto en las expediciones de Mallorca como en las de

Cuadro n. 3: Expedición de Mallorca

Concepto	Bacelona	Gerona	Tortosa	Rosas	Lérida	Tarragona	Pamplona	Valencia	Otras fábricas península	Comprado en Francia por el Rey	Comprado en Francia por asentista
Ajustes de artillería y avantrenes	100										
Balas de artillería	81	9	4,5	3		2,5					
Bombas	25	4	8	13			25		25		
Cañones de artillería	59				5			36			
Carros de Transporte	48					52					
Géneros diferentes	100										
Granadas de mano	48						52				
Herramientas de gastadores	100										
Pólvora									8	67	25

Fuente: Fuente: AGS, SGU, leg. 3442

Cuadro n. 4: Expedición Sicilia

Expedición de Sicilia	Cataluña	Vizcaya/Cantabria	Navarra	Andalucía	Valencia/Alicante	Extranjero
Avantrenes y ajustes de artillería*	100					
Balas	26	19	18		1	37
Bombas	0			33		67
Complementos de artillería	100					
Cordajes	100					
Granadas	61,5		38,5			
Morteros	100					
Piedras de fusil	100					
Piezas diferentes (palas, picos, azadas)	33	67				
Piezas tren artillería	62				38	
Pólvora	23		10	8	35	24
sacos de tierra	100					
Pipería variada**	100					

Fuente: Fuente: AGS, SGU, leg. 823

Cuadro n. 5: Expedición de Ceuta

Expedición de Ceuta	Cádiz	Sevilla	Cantabria	Alicante	Málaga	Barcelona	Madrid
Ajustes de herraduras	6					94	
Avantrenes y otros ajustes de artillería	100						
Balería de hierro	80		20				
Balería de bronce	78	22					
Balería de plomo	69				31		
Botas de cuero	100						
Complementos de artillería	100						

Cordajes y mecha	100					
Herraduras	100					
Oficiales (carpinteros, herreros, armeros)	81				19	
Piedras de chispa	100					
Pipería	100					
Pólvora	45		55			
Tiendas	14					86

Fuente: AGS, SGU, supl. 480, s/f

Los datos muestran que el 73% de los productos vinculados a la industria armamentística y (excluidos los fusiles) y naval de la expedición de Mallorca de 1715 estaban o se iban a fabricar Cataluña. Una cifra similar a la gran expedición de Sicilia de 1718 (70%) y ligeramente inferior al 75% de los productos proceden de Cádiz que se iban a enviar a Ceuta. Los datos son importantes en el caso de Barcelona. Es conocido que en Cataluña había una floreciente industria armamentística y ya hemos mencionado la presencia de fuertes contingentes militares en la región.⁵¹ Sin embargo esto no era suficiente. En el caso de Mallorca, nos encontramos con que Cataluña estaba agotada después de la Guerra de Sucesión, y con una total escasez de pólvora, que tuvo que venir de Francia y otros lugares de España.⁵² No por casualidad, el año siguiente, en febrero de 1716, encontramos que la Intendencia catalana hacía un contrato con Miquel Jaumar para hacer obras en un molino de pólvora y reactivar la producción local.⁵³ La situación cambió de manera notable tres años después. En la expedición de 1718 se consideró que Cataluña podía producir el 23% de toda la pólvora necesaria, el 53% procedía de diferentes provincias de la Corona (Valencia, Alicante, Andalucía y Navarra) y sólo el 24% procedía del extranjero. En el caso de Ceuta, la situación era claramente mejor: el 45% de la pólvora estaba en Cádiz y el resto procedía de Alicante. Ya no resultaba necesario recurrir a la compra de pólvora en el extranjero, lo cual puede ser indicativo de las mejoras a la hora de crear una política autosuficiente por parte de la Corona.⁵⁴

Con las balas, si bien hay algunos puntos comunes, la situación es muy dispar en las tres expediciones. En el caso de Mallorca, la más pequeña de las tres expediciones, todas las balas debían de proceder de las existencias en Cataluña, a lo que cabe añadir que ya había un contrato con Lucas Garrido para proporcionar las balas y perdigones que se le pidieran.⁵⁵ La cifra en números absolutos, sin embargo, no era muy grande: 11.000 balas de artillería. En cambio, en la expedición de Sicilia, sólo el 26% de las balas proceden de Cataluña. Para el resto se recurre a la producción del norte peninsular, además de una importante adquisición en el extranjero (37%). En total de balas que se contabilizaban para esa expedición era de 107.800 balas. Era muy difícil que Catalunya en

1718, todavía con las infraestructuras defensivas y económicas dañadas por la Guerra de Sucesión, pudiera proporcionar una cantidad tan grande de munición.⁵⁶ La situación fue netamente diferente en la expedición de Ceuta. El 100% de balas procedían de Andalucía, la mayor parte de las cuales, el 75%, se encontraban o se fabricarían en la propia Cádiz. Finalmente, también se pueden hacer comparaciones con las granadas. Se observa una evolución similar a la balería. En la expedición de Mallorca se previó que Cataluña debía aportar el 48 % de las granadas necesarias y el resto tenían que proceder de la fábrica de Eugi. Tres años después, el cambio era notable. El 61,5% estaban o se fabricarían en Cataluña y el 38,5% en Navarra. Ello es indicativo del aumento de inversión en Cataluña y el progresivo desarrollo de la provincia como uno de los principales productores armamentísticos de la Corona. Todos estos datos ponen de manifiesto que sin duda la existencia de centros productores de armas era un elemento importante pero no determinante a la hora de escoger el punto de partida de una expedición durante esos años. Para invadir Mallorca, no había pólvora en Cataluña, y sólo la mitad de las granadas y bombas necesarias. En el caso de Sicilia, el 77% de la pólvora, el 75% de las balas y la totalidad de las bombas procedían de fuera de la provincia. En el caso de Ceuta, destaca que el 55% de la pólvora no se encontraba en Andalucía.

Por otro lado, también se observan similitudes en las tres expediciones a la hora de determinar qué productos se tenían que fabricar en la ciudad de partida. Eran productos que no estaban allí y que se contaba que se encargaría su fabricación a los comerciantes locales. Las plantas de las expediciones lo decían de manera explícita. Para Mallorca se considera que los ajustes de mortero, las herramientas de gastadores, la cuerdamecha así como otros géneros "Se darán en Barcelona".⁵⁷ Respecto a la de Sicilia se confirma que "se han dado órdenes al intendente de Cataluña des del mes de diciembre para que prevea el sobredicho cordaje" así como "la prevención de todos los géneros y adherentes de los sobre dicho y de lo que pudiese faltar".⁵⁸ En el caso de Ceuta, por ejemplo, se ordenaba que todos los cordajes y complementos de artillería y gastadores "se previenen en Cádiz".⁵⁹ En el siguiente cuadro hemos recogido qué productos eran éstos.

Cuadro n. 6: Productos producidos íntegramente en el puerto de salida de la expedición

Expedición De Mallorca	Expedición De Sicilia	Expedición De Ceuta
Barcelona	Barcelona	Cádiz
Ajustes de artillería	Ajustes de mortero	Avantrenes
Avantrenes	Avantrenes	Carros transportes de pertrechos
Géneros diferentes	Capazos de tierra	Complementos (clavos, estribos, anillos, etc.)
Herramientas de gastadores	Carros de transporte	Cordajes
	Complementos (mazos, 3.000 herraduras, 40.000 clavos de herraduras, cubos, etc.)	Espoletas
	Cordajes diferentes	Fragua de herramientas
	Espoletas	Instrumentos de artillería
	Instrumentos de artillería	Instrumentos de gastadores
	Instrumento de gastadores	
	Morteros	
	Piezas diferentes	
	Sacos de tierra	

Fuente: AGS, SGU, leg. 822 y 3442, y supl. 476 y 480.

Comprobamos que en los tres casos son prácticamente los mismos: avantrenes, clavos, complementos del tren de artillería, instrumentos para los navíos como palas, cordajes, sierras, hachas, etc. Es decir, en la selección del punto de partida de una expedición, se tenía en cuenta tanto la existencia de abastos como la posibilidad de fabricar allí los

productos necesarios. Ello tenía sin duda consecuencias positivas para los comerciantes y artesanos locales. ¿Quién fabricó estos productos si no eran los grandes asentistas? La respuesta se haya en una multitud de pequeños comerciantes y artesanos. El caso de Sicilia lo ilustra de manera muy clara.

Cuadro n. 7: Fabricantes de complementos de artillería para la Expedición de Sicilia

Fecha	Contratista	Categoría social	Concepto	Coste (en rv.)
29.I	Besora, Josep	Soguero	Cordajes para Sicilia	65.004
16.V.18	Borràs, Josep	Carpintero	3942 palos para tiendas	8.975
2.II	Febres, Pedro	Carpintero	Diferentes materiales para artillería	20.584
8.V	Godimar, Honorato y cía	Carpinteros	2 pontones para desembarco	8.550
2.II	Molas, Aloï	Herrero	800 quintales de hierro y 778 herraduras	43.518
2.V	Puig, Joan y Barnola Tomàs	Empresarios	12 tiendas	22.402
2.II	Rubio, Josep	Carpintero	Materiales varios para la artillería	26.626
26.IV	Valdejuli, Antoni	Botero	2000 cubas de agua y vino	89.998
2.II	Valls, Jacinto	Herrero	Géneros para la artillería	62.114

Fuente: ACA, Manual de Intendencia, 108 y 180

Podemos ver que se trata de personas de categorías sociales muy variadas (herrerros, carpinteros, sogueros, boteros, negociantes) y que en algunos casos cobran cantidades muy considerables, como los 62.000 rv. de Jacinto Valls por diferentes géneros de artillería, o los 90.000 rv. de vellón del botero Antoni Valdejuli por las 2.000 botas de agua y vino. Si miramos

la cuenta de Jacinto Valls podemos ser más conscientes de qué productos estamos hablando.

Cuadro n. 8: Cuentas de Jacinto Valls

Producto	Cantidad	Productos	Cantidad
Sacatrapos	105	Cuchillos	24
Agujas varias	2100	Escoplos	26
Ganchos de fieltro para llevar bombas	400	Escoplos pequeños	24
Rascadores	67	Tenazas	6
Pies de cabra	200	Capazos	24
Espejes	24	Burletes	6
Tapas	2022	Gafas de tonelador	12
Marrazos	234	Sacafolios	12
Hachas de fieltro	400	Martillos	60
Hachas de 2 manos	2000	Limas	20
Hachas pequeñas	50	Hachas maestras	100
Clavos	7045	Hachas con martillo	100
Sierras	10	Azuelas	20
Sierras cerraieras	10	COSTE TOTAL	62.114rv.

Fuente: ACA, *Manuales de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fol. 102r.

Son productos que habitualmente no tenemos en cuenta en nuestros estudios sobre el abastecimiento del ejército, pero que son fundamentales tanto para el sector armamentístico como el naviero y el vinculado a la reparación. Son cantidades pequeñas, pero sumadas adquieren valores muy considerables que a veces pasan desapercibidos. Hemos de profundizar en ellos pues tiene una importancia fundamental para el correcto funcionamiento de una empresa militar. Lógicamente, esto no es una realidad exclusiva de Sicilia. Algo similar sucedió en las expediciones de Mallorca y Ceuta. El 1 de enero de 1715 se hacía un contrato con Sebastián Bonet para que cortase y transportase madera para la artillería hasta el 28 de abril, fecha muy cercana a la partida de la expedición. El coste del contrato ascendía a 110.027 rv., cifra notablemente superior al contrato de Jacinto Valls.⁶⁰ Para el caso de Ceuta, una cuenta de materiales necesarios fechada el 2 de octubre de 1720, constataba que se necesitaban 669 las sillas para la caballería. En el almacén de Sevilla había 517 (208 nuevas y 309 arregladas), pero faltaban 152 sillas que fueron encargadas a artesanos locales de la ciudad.⁶¹ En una carta del marqués de Ledesma fechada el 26 de enero de 1721 desde Ceuta, solicitaba que desde Cádiz se "embarque madera, hierro y maestros para renovar y recomponer las cureñas de toda la artillería de la plaza".⁶² Lógicamente, las personas que iban a proporcionar estos materiales eran carpinteros y herreros, es decir: los mismos grupos sociales que hemos visto en las anteriores expediciones.

IV. OTROS ABASTECIMIENTOS: ARMAS Y VÍVERES

Los datos que hemos recogido hasta el momento no engloban todos los elementos necesarios para una expedición. Otros campos claves son los referentes a las armas de la infantería (fusiles, lanzas, bayonetas) y el abastecimiento de víveres. En el primer campo no había un asentista único. Si bien la fabricación de armas en Plasencia (armas de fuego), Eugi (balería), Tolosa (armas blancas) y La Cavada (artillería de gran calibre) era considerable, no daba abasto a toda la demanda necesaria para estas expediciones.⁶³ Resultaba necesario recurrir a fabricación local de los pequeños artesanos, originarios de los gremios del siglo XVII. El siguiente cuadro recoge algunos contratistas de armas a los que se recurrió para la expedición de Sicilia. Hemos incluido en ella también la balería.

Cuadro n. 9: Contratista de armas catalanes para la expedición de Sicilia

Fecha	Año	Contratista	Categoría Social	Lugar	Concepto	Coste
15.XI	1717	Valls, Jacinto	Herrero	Barcelona	2.400 sables y otros productos	99.060
8.I y 21.III	1718	Maseras, Francisco	Cuchillero	Barcelona	769 bayones para el cuerpo de dragones y 796 bayonetas con sus vainas nuevas	3.863
4.II	1718	Canals, Francisco	Armero	Catalán	300 fusiles	24.749
15.II	1718	Esteban, Pedro	Armero	Barcelona	400 fusiles rayados para dragones con todos sus adherentes	57.000
21.III	1718	Sorello, Juan	Cobrero	Catalán	750 quintales de balas de plomo	2.410
28.III, 20.VI, 13.VI	1718	Sorello, Juan	Cobrero	Catalán	953 quintales de balas de fusil y pistolas. 25 piezas de plomo	3.118
13 y 28.IV	1718	Miragle, Antonio y Rovira, Francisco	Gremio de cuchilleros	Barcelona	2.000 bayonetas	10.714
12.V	1718	Canals, Francisco y Navarro, Josep	Armero	Barcelona	3.000 fusiles	180.000
24.V	1718	Bover, Josep	Pastelero	Catalán	Pedigones y balas	2.001
31.V	1718	Carbonell, Ventura y Cia.	Armero	Catalán	Fusiles y bayonetas, durante un tiempo indeterminado	6 libras por fusil
23.VI	1718	Sarraíma, Sebastián	Armero	Tarragona	Composición de 400 escopetas y 40 cajones para encajonarlas	4.741

Fuente: ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180; AGS, *DGT, inv. 7, leg.3, TMC, 1908*

En mayo de 1718, la Corona ya había ordenado al asentista de La Cavada, la fabricación de todos los fusiles posibles y para ello había pagado 64.000rv.⁶⁴ El cuadro nos muestra que la producción catalana en 1718 tuvo una importancia considerable, y en ella participaron personas de categorías sociales muy diversas: armeros, herreros o cuchilleros. Las cantidades pueden parecer pequeñas (3.000 fusiles, 400 fusiles, 2.000 bayonetas, 750 quintales de balas de plomo) pero, una vez más, la suma total supone ingresos importantes que revertían directamente en beneficio de la provincia.⁶⁵ De manera semejante a lo que sucedía con los complementos de la artillería, parece claro que la organización de una expedición, suponía un estímulo económico para algunos sectores de locales. El mismo proceso se observa para Mallorca y Ceuta, si bien se han conservado menos datos. En el caso de la expedición de 1715, sabemos que los días 13 y 15 de enero se firmó un contrato con todos los "maestros cañoneros, llaveros y encepadores" de Ripoll, Barcelona y Manresa para la producción exclusiva de fusiles para el ejército, pagándose 47 reales por fusil.⁶⁶ En el caso de Ceuta, ya desde un principio se consideró que la provincia no era capaz de proporcionar todas las armabas de fuego y armas blancas necesarias. Por esa razón, el 12% de ellas se hizo en La Cavada, el 13% en Plasencia y el 28% se compró en Holanda. Sólo el 47% se encontraba en Cádiz o se fabricaría allí.⁶⁷ Estos datos nos muestran que la selección de un punto de partida de una

expedición no viene determinada exclusivamente por la riqueza y la facilidad de abastecimiento, si no también por su capacidad de producir las carencias de los grandes asentistas.

Los víveres no son una excepción a esta regla. Una primera lectura nos diría que la Corona encargó su gestión a los grandes asentistas. Josep Milans fue el asentista general del pan de munición de la expedición de Mallorca,⁶⁸ la compañía de Goyeneche lo fue en la de Sicilia⁶⁹ y José Aguirre en Ceuta.⁷⁰ A ellos habría que añadir la importante figura de Antonio Puche, que aparece vinculado al asiento de raciones de marina tanto en la expedición de Sicilia como la de Ceuta.⁷¹ Sin embargo, la documentación de las tres expediciones muestra que la Corona combinó el recurso a los asentistas con la gestión directa de los víveres a través de los diferentes intendentes de cada provincia. En el caso de Mallorca, una carta fechada el 14 de diciembre de 1714, ordenaba a los superintendentes de Granada y Murcia que "se aplicaran y desde luego y sin la menor dilación a comprar y embargar los de mayor cantidad de trigo y cebada que pudieren en los lugares y puertos de sus distritos". Los de Murcia y Valencia también tenían que conseguir "sin la menor dilación 150.000 raciones de marina completas (...) entendiendo por raciones completas además del bizcocho, el vino, carne, pescado, queso, arroz aceite y vinagre".⁷² En el mes de febrero de 1715 se pedían granos de los almacenes de Cartagena y Almería, pues "los nuevos asentistas no tienen presentemente forma alguna de

proveer".⁷³ Es decir, se ve con claridad que en situaciones de urgencia el asentista no podía dar respuesta a la demanda. En el caso de Sicilia, hemos podido constatar el mismo proceso, con la diferencia que la Corona, en vez de recurrir a los superintendentes

de cada provincia, contrató directamente a empresarios catalanes y de otras nacionalidades para proporcionar los víveres necesarios de las tropas. En el siguiente cuadro hemos recogido algunos de los principales contratos que se hicieron.

Cuadro n.10: Algunos contratistas de víveres para la expedición de Sicilia

Fecha	Nombre	Categoría social	Nación	Concepto	Coste (rv.)
17.XII.1717	Duran, Josep y Jaume	Mercaderes	Catalán	60.000 raciones de armada	86.471
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Duran, Josep y Jaime	Mercaderes	Catalán	1.504 @ de vaca salada 200.000 raciones de marina completas y otros géneros	310.173
15.V.1718	Curada, Lorenzo y Grebán, Nicolás	Empresario	Catalán	Pan de munición para las tropas, por dos años	¿?
20.V.1718	Grebán, Nicolás	Empresario	Francés	Diferentes géneros de boca	¿?
22.V.1718	Grebán, Nicolás	Empresario	Francés	Dar de comer a todos los oficiales de la tropa	¿?
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Grebán, Nicolás	Empresario	Francés	Vino, tocino, bacalao, arroz, habichuelas, queso, aceite y leña para la expedición.	150.147
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Querezaju, Don José	Noble	Navarro	260 raciones de armada	118.177
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Pellicer, Juan	Ciudadano honrado de Reus	Catalán	300 raciones de marina	20.735
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Juanes, Antonio	Desconocido		Arroz, botas y vino	7.932
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Más, Francisco	Agricultor	Catalán	Géneros varios de víveres	1.871
1.I - 31.VIII.1718	Caudier, Juan	Desconocido		13 quintales de arroz	586

Fuente: ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180; AGS, DGT, inv. 7, leg.2, n.32.

Las cantidades que se encargaron a estos productores locales no fueron pocas, y en algunos casos su coste fue muy alto. Ejemplos de ello son los 310.173rv. que se pagaron a Josep y Jaime Duran, o los 150.147rv que se entregaron al empresario francés Nicolás Grebán por las raciones de marina. Se ve con claridad que una parte importante de ellos fueron artesanos catalanes. A estos elementos, se podría añadir todavía los derivados de la fabricación de embalajes para el transporte de los productos. No nos podemos detener en ello. Solo constatar que hemos encontrado al menos 16 pagos a 13 personas diferentes vinculadas al transporte y embalaje. El coste total de todos estos pagos asciende a 519.010rv.⁷⁴ De estas 13 personas, al menos 7 eran catalanes, entre los que se encuentran sogueros (Josep Besora), boteros (Antonio Valdejuli), carpinteros (Andreu Samsó), horticultores (Francisco Amat) y ciudadanos honrados (Josep Matas). Todos proporcionaron productos como cubas de agua y vino, aros y botas de diferentes calidades, sacos de cáñamo y otros materiales, cántaros de tierra, etc.⁷⁵

En esta dinámica Ceuta no es una excepción. La Corona desde un principio estableció que otras provincias proporcionasen los alimentos necesarios para la expedición. Se calculaban que se tenía que proveer la subsistencia de 16.000 hombres durante 100 días. Para ello, Sevilla, Sanlúcar, Cádiz, Tarifa y otros lugares de la costa debían proporcionar harina para hacer 1 millón de raciones de pan, así como la cebada y la paja necesaria. Respecto a las raciones de marina, se calculaba que también eran necesarias 1 millón. De ellas, dos terceras partes tenían que proceder de Sevilla, Cádiz y Tarifa y el resto de Málaga.⁷⁶ Además, en Cádiz se tenían que fabricar 1.000 pipas llenas de agua, así como 4.000 cantimploras. Lógicamente todo esto fue encargado a los comerciantes locales.

V. EL ABASTECIMIENTO DE LAS EXPEDICIONES: LA HORA DE LA VERDAD

Hasta el momento hemos podido ver cómo la organización de una expedición era mucho más compleja de lo que parecía en un primer momento. Los

sectores sociales implicados eran muy variados y no se reducían a un grupo pequeño de grandes asentistas. Todo esto sobre "el papel" quedaba muy bien, pero cabe preguntarse si se llevaban a cabo esas órdenes tal como se dictaban. La documentación conservada de las tres expediciones nos muestra que, a la hora de la verdad, la realidad distaba mucho de ser la que se tenía en la Corte de Madrid.⁷⁷ En una fecha tan temprana como el 4 de febrero de 1715, dos meses antes de la partida teórica de la expedición, Asfeld escribía a Fernández Duran pidiendo un aumento del dinero para comprar víveres, pues los "nuevos asentistas no tienen presentemente forma alguna de proveer". Además, se habían "consumido los granos de estos almacenes y no habiendo lo que ha de venir de Cartagena y Almería, es imposible continuar la subsistencia de las tropas (...) sin aumentar el caudal" (y sin recurrir a nuevos contratistas).⁷⁸ A principios de marzo Asfeld insistía en la falta de moneda para pagar a las tropas francesas.⁷⁹ El 23 de marzo, Antonio Puche, asentista del tren de artillería recordaba que se le debían 100.000rv. Tenía listo un cargamento de grano y cebada pero que, sin el dinero, no podía pagar a los transportistas.⁸⁰ Ante la incapacidad de llegar a tiempo para la fecha de partida, el 5 de abril la Corona comunicaba al general que se retrasaba el embarco de tropas.⁸¹

Con la expedición a Sicilia, debido a su gran tamaño, los imprevistos fueron mucho mayores. Para

paliarlos se recurrió a la producción local con una intensidad inusitada. El 14 de marzo de ese año 1718 la Corona encarga Salvador Mallol, carpintero, que reparase los 6.000 fusiles que habían llegado de Cádiz en mal estado.⁸² Por las mismas fechas se pedía al armero Antonio Robinat que arreglase "3.321 escopetas inútiles que se hallaban en Lérida", algo que también se había solicitado a Pedro Daumon para las que había en Tortosa.⁸³ José Pedrajas, Capitán General de Cataluña, protestaba a Felipe V porque "lo que se dio por existente se halla faltar en los almacenes. Los más porque efectivamente no se encuentran en ellos y los otros hay parte se hallan inservibles por mal conducidos y parte necesitan componerse y renovarse con no poco dispendio".⁸⁴ No por casualidad, a finales de marzo se contrataba la fabricación de 2.000 bayonetas al gremio de los cuchilleros de Barcelona, ya que no era cierto que hubiese bayonetas en los almacenes de las atarazanas de Barcelona, tal como se indicaba desde Madrid.⁸⁵ A principios de abril la Corona conoce la falta de jarcia, razón por la cual, "se han dado órdenes al intendente de Cataluña desde el mes de diciembre para que prevea el sobredicho cordaje".⁸⁶ Josep Besora se hizo cargo de la fabricación de "cordaje, sacos, jarcia, velamen y otros géneros".⁸⁷ Los ejemplos son muy numerosos. En el siguiente cuadro hemos recogido algunos de estos contratos para arreglar productos que llegaban en mal estado.

Cuadro n.11: Contratos de reparación para la expedición de Sicilia

Fecha	Nombre	Categoría social	Ciudad	Concepto	Coste (rv.)
22.XII.1717	Bornio, Josep	Armero	Barcelona	"500 fusiles mensuales con sus bayonetas", y otras armas que arregló y fabricó.	190.642
28.III y 8 VI.1718	Mallol, Salvador	Carpintero y encepador	Barcelona	Recomposición de los segundos 6000 fusiles vizcaínos que se remitieron de Cádiz.	9.107
14.III y 24.VI. .1718	Canals, francisco	Armero	Barcelona	Recomposición de 661 fusiles, 435 pares de pistoleas, 300 canteras, 700 ganchos para completar las bayonetas de 12.000 fusiles que habían venido de Cádiz.	4.005
¿? .1718	Reguant, Juan y Cia	Armero, clavero y encajador	Barcelona	Recomposición y renovación de 1.000 carabinas rayadas de las que se hallaban en Barcelona fuera de servicio.	535
15.V.1718	Fanals, Francisco	Sillero	Barcelona	Recomposición de 31 juegos de guarnición de mulas que se hallaban inútiles en Barcelona	232
16.VIII.1718	Solú, Jaime	Armero	Ripoll	2316escopetas que se hallaban en los almacenes de Gerona, (algunas las hizo nuevas, otras las limpió).	40.645
12.VIII.1718	Quintana, Juan y cías	Armero	Manresa	Composición de 1035 escopetas que se hallaban en el castillo de Cardona y 7 cañones que puso llaves y cajas nuevas.	24.083

Fuente: AGS, TMC, 1908

Se constata, nuevamente, la variedad de las categorías profesionales de las personas implicadas: armeros, silleros, carpinteros, encepadores, encajadores o claveros. Las situaciones eran diversas. Muchas veces era arreglar armas que se encontraban en mal estado en los almacenes, o que se habían estropeado en la travesía marítima desde Cádiz. Cuando en enero de 1718 se encargaba a Josep y Jaime Duran las raciones de armada, ignorando al asentista general, se hacía debido a que eran "géneros que en su almacén faltan [el de Barcelona]".⁸⁸ El 30 de enero se encarga a un productor local, Josep Lapeyra, completar las piezas que faltan en 390 vestidos de los regimientos de Henao y Wachop, pues habían llegado sin las prendas necesarias.⁸⁹ Las 796 bayonetas que hemos visto antes que se encargaban en enero al cuchillero Francisco Maseras, eran indicativas de dos elementos. Por un lado, que el regimiento de dragones llegaba a la capital catalana sin los pertrechos necesarios, dato significativo de la dificultad de la Corona para equipar correctamente a las tropas. Por otro lado, en el contrato con Maseras se hacía constar que el cuchillero tenía aprovechar para este encargo "la refundición de materiales que se llevan a Barcelona de bayonetas y espadas inservibles".⁹⁰ Es decir, el dinero no abundaba y había que aprovechar los materiales sobrantes para abaratar costes.

En el caso de Ceuta, la correspondencia entre el marqués de Ledesma y la Corte de Madrid supone un crudo relato de las carencias militares que la Corona no quería reconocer. A su llegada a Cádiz en septiembre de 1720, Ledesma no dejó de quejarse a Felipe V de la falta total de medios en la ciudad para la expedición "A mi arribo no había hallado navíos, víveres y demás prevenciones necesarias para poder embarcarme".⁹¹ Sólo había dos barcos disponibles (el Franco y el Aneto). El "Sanguineto hace aguas por muchas partes y no puede servir sin arreglarlo, además de hallarse aún cargado".⁹² Además, "El navío "El conquistador" no se halla en estado de navegar ni lo estará tan brevemente, por haberlo hallado muy desgastado y faltar en Cádiz madera para componerlo y se ha enviado a cortar en el monte, por lo cual no hay que hacer caso de él para la expedición."⁹³ Faltaban embarcaciones de transporte, "portones y otras cosas para el desembarco", entablados, caballerizas, marineros.⁹⁴ Incluso comerciantes con suficientes caudales que quisieran asumir las letras de cambio enviadas desde Madrid para pagar a las tropas y los gastos de la expedición.⁹⁵ En este contexto, el marqués de Ledesma confesaba el 19 de octubre a Felipe V que "siento no poder hacer milagros para satisfacer prontamente a sus reales órdenes".⁹⁶ Sin embargo, parece que unas semanas después la expedición ya estaba preparada y el 4 de noviembre se recoge la primera carta de Ledesma desde Ceuta. Eso sí, los problemas no cesaban. Dos días

después, se quejaba de la pérdida de navíos por el mal tiempo.⁹⁷ Sin duda, todos estos imprevistos hacían encarecer la expedición, pero también es cierto que suponían una fuente de ingresos notable para los artesanos locales. El asentista general no podía dar respuesta rápida a una necesidades no previstas y urgentes. Los armeros, carpinteros, claveros y encajadores de Cádiz sí.

VI. EL DÍA DESPUÉS

Tradicionalmente cuando pensamos en los costes de una expedición valoramos sólo la organización previa de la misma, no su desarrollo y su retorno. Este planteamiento no es acertado, pues no recoge la complejidad del fenómeno. Si bien no podemos extendernos demasiado en este apartado, no olvidemos que, una vez llegado al punto de destino, se exigen hacer obras en el lugar, se necesita reparar barcos y armas estropeadas. Además, luego hay que devolver a las tropas a la península y esto también tiene un coste. De todo ello se beneficiaban los comerciantes locales, tanto los del punto de llegada como los del de partida. En el caso Mallorca, se constata con mucho detalle este fenómeno. Entre agosto y octubre de 1715, cuando el ejército ya estaba instalado en la ciudad, se invirtió en la reconstrucción de la Torres de Santa Margarida, la construcción de un almacén, la reforma del Palacio Real, la adquisición de víveres variados, la reparación de navíos y el retorno de las tropas. Lo podemos ver en el siguiente cuadro.

Cuadro n.12: Otros contratistas en Mallorca después del desembarco

Fecha	Contratista	Categoría Social	Sector	Concepto	Coste (en rv.)
28.VII-31.VIII	Jener, Pedro Antono	Desconocido	Armas	"4 moldes de bronce para fundir balas fusil, dos pares de tijeras para cortarlas y dos Cucharas"	500
28.VII-31.VIII	Ballester, Lorenzo	Noble	Navíos	Árboles y cordajes que se le compraron	23.049
28.VII-31.VIII	Bovera, Sebastián	Cordero	Navíos	28 quintales de cordajes para un navío	3.923
28.VII-31.VIII	Fortalón, Juan y cia.	Calafatero	Navíos	50 días de trabajo para remendar el Tigre	187
28.VII-31.VIII	Gomila, Josep y cia.	Carpintero	Navíos	Recomponer navíos que vuelven a Barcelona	1.512
28.VII-31.VIII	Mulet, Joaquín	Herrero	Navíos	Diferentes piezas de hierro para un navío	829
28.VII-31.VIII	Real, Juan	Mestre d'aixa	Navíos	trabajo de poner árboles en el navío	779
28.VII-31.VIII	Abraham, Antonio	Tonelero	Viveres	282 pipas de agua para las tropas que se vuelven a Barcelona	2.787
28.VII-31.VIII	Blas Dupont, Pedro	Asentista carnes	Viveres	287 carneros para los oficiales	2.770
28.VII-31.VIII	Castaño, Jerónimo	Desconocido	Viveres	Arcos de pipería y jornales de un barco	1.711
28.VII-31.VIII	Ferrer, Francisco	Vecino de Alcudia	Viveres	144 cargas de vino provisión de tropas	8.514
28.VII-31.VIII	Fovel, Miquel	Empleados desembarco	Viveres	Desembarco de viveres y de artillería	644
28.VII-31.VIII	Llinás, Thomas	Desconocido	Viveres	45 cargas de vino que se le compraron para la provisión de tropas	3.069
28.VII-31.VIII	López, Bartolomé	Empleados desembarco	Viveres	Desembarco de viveres y de artillería	450
28.VII-31.VIII	Martí, Jaume	Desconocido	Viveres	Carneros para los oficiales que vuelven a Barcelona	2.576
1.IX-30.IX	Cerdá, Juan	Albañil	Construcción	Obras del palacio	293
1.IX-30.IX	Gomilla y cia.	Carpintero	Construcción	Torres de Santa Margarida de pólvora	1749
1.IX-30.IX	Martínez, Andrés	De Ibiza	Construcción	120 cuarterones de madera para el almacén Mallorca	1749
1.IX-30.IX	Palermo, Antonio	Herrero	Construcción	Compras de hierro y otros para Santa Margarida	820
1.IX-30.IX	Carreras, Sebastián	Desconocido	Viveres	Bizcocho para os oficiales que vuelven a Barcelona	311
1.IX-30.IX	Dupont Blas	Asentista carnes	Viveres	5.159 libras de carnero, 60 libras de vaca	7339
1.IX-30.IX	Mulet, Juan	Tendero	Viveres	121 cargas de vino, 20 cargas de vinagre para las tropas que iban a Barcelona	8594
1.X-31.X	Adrover, Simon	Maestro fundidor	Armas	Balas de fusil	481
1.X-31.X	Domínguez, Pedro Juan	Armero	Armas	Recomponer parte de las armas que están en los almacenes	367
1.X-31.X	Carpinteros y albañiles		Construcción	Trabajos en las torres de pólvora. Compra de hierros	421
1.X-31.X	Gibert, Juan	Carpintero	Construcción	Obras del almacén	802
1.X-31.X	Gomilla, Juan	Carpintero	Construcción	Obras en la plaza de armas	752
1.X-31.X	Mayol, Andres	Albañil	Construcción	Obras en las ventanas de Santa Margarida y en las murallas	1204
1.X-31.X	Catty, Ricardo	Patrón navío inglés	Viveres	Transporte de cebada para las tropas	2542

Fuente: AGS, SGU, sup.. 476

En total un centenar o más de personas se beneficiaron de esta actividad, algunos de ellos, con contratos importantes y recurrentes, como el carpintero

Juan Gomila. Lo interesante es que son los mismos grupos sociales que hemos visto antes: carpinteros, herreros, albañiles, sogueros, herreros o toneleros.

Incluyen campos tan variados como la construcción, la reparación de barcos o los víveres. En todos ellos están ausentes los grandes asentistas. Lo mismo sucede con Sicilia. Sin entrar en los gastos que se llevaron a cabo en la Isla, hay que pensar que la expedición supuso el inicio de la guerra entre la Corona Hispánica y la Cuádruple Alianza. En este contexto, Cataluña se convertía en un enclave estratégico. La provincia estaba debilitada por los estragos derivados de la presencia continuada de tropas⁹⁸ y con los sistemas defensivos en ruinas. Requerían una inversión urgente, para hacer frente a la amenaza francesa. A ello cabe añadir las actividades de las milicias austriacistas del Carrasquet.⁹⁹ Enrique Giménez ha destacado como una de las principales preocupaciones del marqués de Castelrodrigo fue "la defensa de Cataluña, sobre todo las plazas próximas a la frontera",¹⁰⁰ unas defensas que, según Manuel Arranz, necesitaban ser reforzadas ya que "su eficacia había quedado en entredicho repetidas veces durante los últimos años del siglo XVII".¹⁰¹ Como era de esperar, los pequeños artesanos locales tuvieron de nuevo un papel clave. En octubre de 1718 el albañil Francisco Torrents se responsabilizaba de las reparaciones en las defensas de Rosas;¹⁰² posteriormente la Corona encargó a la compañía de albañiles de Agustí Cirera la reparación de las fortalezas de Cardona y Berga (noviembre), Castellciutat y Girona (diciembre).¹⁰³ De hecho, la acumulación de tropas en Barcelona y sus alrededores para preparar la expedición de Sicilia también había tenido efectos sobre la ciudad. En enero de 1718 un rayo destruyó parte de las atarazanas, punto clave en los preparativos, y Josep Borrás se encargó de arreglarlo.¹⁰⁴ Además había que arreglar el faro, limpiar la acequia, habilitar nuevos cuarteles y ampliar los almacenes de paja. El carpintero Josep Bonet se encargó en febrero y mayo del almacén de paja y los nuevos cuarteles,¹⁰⁵ Josep Borrás del faro¹⁰⁶ y Francisco Torrent de limpiar la acequia.¹⁰⁷ En Ceuta sucedió lo mismo si bien conservamos menos datos. La correspondencia del marqués de Ledesma pone de manifiesto que una vez allí tuvo que mejorar las defensas de la ciudad y que necesitaba víveres y más fusiles. Entre otras cosas se quejaba del mal estado de los cañones y las cureñas de la Ceuta, por lo que solicitaba "que se embarque madera, hierro y maestros para renovar y recomponer las cureñas de toda la artillería de plaza".¹⁰⁸ Podemos deducir perfectamente quién se encargó de estas reparaciones.

VII. ALGUNAS VALORACIONES

Llegados a este punto, quizá haya que replantearse o matizar la reflexión que hacía Rafael Torres al considerar que la expedición de Menorca de 1782 supuso "un punto de inflexión en la geoestrategia de movilización de recursos para la guerra".¹⁰⁹ Los datos recogidos en este trabajo muestran que la

distancia y el coste económico no eran siempre un criterio a la hora de seleccionar el puerto de partida de la expedición. Tanto en el caso de Barcelona como en el de Cádiz, hemos visto que una parte importante de los productos necesarios no estaban en la ciudad y se tenían que traer de otros lugares, lo que aumentaba de manera considerable su coste. Toda la pólvora usada para la expedición de Mallorca procedió de fuera de Cataluña; en Sicilia la pólvora catalana sólo representaba el 23% del total y en Ceuta la pólvora andaluza no llegaba al 45%. Lo mismo sucedía con la balería: la mitad de las bombas y granadas embarcadas para Mallorca eran catalanas, en Sicilia esa cifra era sólo del 25%. Respecto a los fusiles y los víveres también hemos comprobado que una parte importante de ellos no estaban en la provincia de origen, y como regla general se recurrió a la producción de otras regiones peninsulares. Realmente, la cuestión económica no parece que sea un elemento determinante a la hora de establecer el punto de partida.

Por otro lado, también se constata que en las tres expediciones hay rasgos comunes. Existen un conjunto de productos que siempre se encargan a los artesanos locales, como los avantrenes, herramientas de artillería y gastadores, complementos metalúrgicos, etc. Casos como el de Jacinto Valls ponen de manifiesto que estos productos, aparentemente de poca entidad, sumados, adquirirían dimensiones y costes considerables. A ello cabe añadir toda la gestión de los "imprevistos", que no eran pocos. En ese contexto, también eran los artesanos de la ciudad de origen los encargados de solventar esos problemas, ya que el tamaño de los grandes asentistas no les permitía dar respuesta con la rapidez necesaria. La conclusión resulta evidente: la organización de una expedición supone siempre un estímulo y beneficio económico para la provincia y la ciudad de la que parte la flota. Uno de los criterios determinantes a la hora de fijar el punto de partida no era la existencia de los productos, sino la capacidad de fabricarlos allí en caso de necesidad. Unos beneficios, no lo olvidemos, que continuaban después de la expedición, como hemos podido ver con el caso de Mallorca y Sicilia.

Finalmente, este trabajo ha puesto de manifiesto que los grupos sociales que se beneficiaban de los contratos militares eran mucho más diversificados de lo que habitualmente se consideraba. Más allá de los grandes hombres de negocios y asentistas, existía una amplia constelación de armeros, herreros, carpinteros, boteros, albañiles, silleros, que participaban y se relacionaban con el Estado a la hora de gestionar el abastecimiento militar. Por ello, resulta necesario replantearse las formas que adquiriría el contractor-state, y valorar que suponía un beneficio para muchas más personas de las que tradicionalmente se ha dicho.

¹ Este trabajo se inserta dentro del grupo de investigación *España y Francia: intereses dinásticos e intereses nacionales (1701-1733)*. (PGC2018-097737-B-I00) y del *Grup d'estudi de les institucions i de les cultures polítiques (segles XVI-XXI)* (2017 SGR 1041), ambos dirigidos por el profesor Joaquim Albareda.

² Original Writers (Comp.). (1760). *The modern part of an universal History*. London: Richardson, p. 532. Sobre el centralismo de Felipe V y su nueva forma de gobernar la bibliografía es amplia. Entre otros cfr., Fernández Albadaledo, P. (Ed.). (2001). *Los Borbones: dinastía y memoria de nación en la Espanya del siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, pp. 353-454. San Miguel, E. (2001). *La instauración de la monarquía borbónica en España*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid; Cornetet, J. (2000). *La monarchie entre renaissance et révolution 1515-1792*. París: Seuil; Dubet, A. (2015). *La Hacienda real de la Nueva Planta (1713-1726), entre el fraude y buen gobierno: el caso Verdes Montenegro*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España; Dubet, A. (2018). "El gobierno de las haciendas reales hispánicas en el siglo XVIII: dinámicas de los reformismos borbónicos" *Magallánica: revista de historia moderna*, 5, (9), 39-79.

³ Torres R., Brandon, P., Marjolein't, H. (2017). "Introduction: war and economy. Rediscovering the Eighteenth-Century military entrepreneur". *Business History*, 60 (1), 4-22. Doi: doi.org/10.1080/ 00076791.2017.1379507, p. 2. Este tipo de planteamiento ya había sido enunciado por Richard Harding unos años antes: "The focus on the centralizing state, absolutism and coercion has led to a neglect of collaboration, co-operation and acomodation (...). It seems important to reexamine the contractor-state relationships". Vid. Harding, R. (2012). "Introduction". En Harding, R. y Solbes, S. (Coords.). (2012). *The contractor state and its implications*. Las Palmas: Universidad de Las Palmas, p. 11.

⁴ Delgado, J.M. (2015). "Después de Utrecht. El impacto de la nueva fiscalidad borbónica sobre la economía y la sociedad catalana del siglo XVIII". En Mullfulleda, C. y Salles, N. (Eds.). (2015). *Els tractats d'Utrecht, clarors i foscors de la pau. La resistència dels catalans*, Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Catalunya, 373-384, p. 382, nota 28. Vid. también Torras Ribe, J. M. (2010). "Els efectes sobre Catalunya de les guerres d'Itàlia (1717-1719)", *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*. LII, 217-236, p. 222.

⁵ Storrs, C. (2016). *Spanish Resurgence 1713-1748*. Yale: Yale University Press, p. 177.

⁶ Torres, R. (2013) "Administración o asiento. La política estatal de suministros militares en la monarquía española del siglo XVIII", *Studia Historica*, 35, 159-199, Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/shhmo 2013352332.

⁷ Navia Ossorio, Á. (vizconde de Puerto). (1885). *Reflexiones militares*. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Revista Científico Militar, Libro III, capítulo, IV, p. 343.

⁸ Aquereeta, S. (2001). *Negocios y finanzas en el siglo XVIII: La familia Goyeneche*. Pamplona: Eunsa. Díaz Ordóñez, M. (2010). *Amarrados al negocio. Reformismo borbónico y suministro de Jarcia para la Armada Real (1675-1751)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa.

⁹ Torres, R. (2013). "Administración o asiento. La política estatal de suministros militares en la monarquía española del siglo XVIII", *Studia Historica*, 35, 159-199. Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/shhmo20133 52332.

¹⁰ Dubet, A. (2018), pp. 84-89. Vid. también Dubet, A. (2010). "¿Tesorería Mayor o Tesorería General? El control contable de los años 1720: una historia conflictiva", *De Computis*, 13, 95-132. Doi: http://dx.doi. org/10.26784/issn.1886-1881.v7i13.117.

¹¹ Torres Sánchez, R. (2014). "Geoestrategia y recursos. El punto de partida en la expedición marítima del duque de Crillon a menorca en 1781". En Baudot, M. (Dir.). (2014). *El Estado en guerra. Expediciones navales españolas en el siglo XVIII*, Madrid: Polifemo, pp. 261-292. La cita en pp. 287 y 288.

¹² Harding, T. (2006). "Trans-Atlantic operational capability: state, resources and war, 1739-1748". En, Bowen, H.V. y Gonzalez Enciso, A. (2006). *Mobilising resources for war: Britain and Spain at work during the Early Modern Period*. Pamplona: Eunsa, pp. 59-80; Torres Sánchez, R. (en prensa), "Seapower and Amphibious Warfare. The Spanish Brownwater Navy in Minorca, 1781- 1782". En Jean DE PRÉNEUFT (Ed.) (en prensa). *The military occupation of maritime and coastal spaces in Europe*. Lille: Service historique de la défense.

¹³ Pascual, E. (2016). "Formación e instrucción de la expedición anfibia para la conquista de Mallorca (1715)". *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar*. 5 (10), 46-66, p. 47.

¹⁴ Storrs, C. (2016); Sallés, N. (2015). *Giulio Alberoni y la dirección de la política exterior española después de los tratados de Utrecht (1715-1719)*. Tesis inédita. Universidad Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona; Torres Sánchez, R. (2015). *Constructing a Fiscal-Military State in Eighteenth-Century Spain*. Hampshire: Palgrave; Fynn-Pau, J. (2014). *War, Entrepreneurs and the State in Europe and the Mediterranean 1300-1800*. Leiden: Brill. Respecto a la defensa de la costa africana, vid. entre otros, Muñoz Corbalán, J., (1993). "Estrategia de la corona española para la conservación de los presidios menores africanos durante el siglo XVIII". *Aldaba: revista del Centro Asociado a la UNED de Melilla*, 21, 253-294; Gold, P. (2000). *Europe or Africa? A Contemporary Study of the Spanish North African Enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

¹⁵ Blanchard, A. (1982). "L'expédition de Majorque de 1715 d'après les rapports des ingénieurs militaires français". En VV.AA., *Majorque, Languedoc et Roussillon de l'Antiquité a nos jours*. Palma: Ed SAL, pp. 91-112, Castellví, F. (1997). *Narraciones Históricas*. Madrid: Fundación Francisco Elías de Tejada y Erasmo Pèrcopo, 4 vols, Vol. IV, pp. 501-516; Biblioteca Luis Alemany (Palma de Mallorca), ZE3-9/415, manuscrito: "Desembarcament a Mallorca amb motiu de la Guerra de Successió".

¹⁶ Pascual, E. (2016). Del mismo autor, Pascual, E. (2012). "Preparativos y disposiciones de Felipe V para la expedición a Mallorca en 1715". En Jiménez Estrella, A. y Lozano Navarro, J. (Eds.) (2012) *Actas de la XI Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, vol. II, pp. 1169-1180.

¹⁷ El Tratado del Hospitalet fue recogido por Castellví, F. (1997). vol. II, p.777. El artículo referente a la evacuación de Mallorca es el IV (p. 778).

¹⁸ El papel de Mallorca a la hora de abastecer a los sitiados en Barcelona está ampliamente documentado por todos los cronistas del asedio. Por ejemplo se pueden consultar numerosas referencias en: Biblioteca de Catalunya, Anónimo, *Anales Consulares*- Manuscrito 173, vol. III; Archivo Histórico

Municipal de Barcelona (AHMB), *Suscinta Memòria de lo que passà...* Manuscrito: CDH68; Biblioteca del Seminario Conciliar del Barcelona. Mas, E., *Dietari del Siti...* Manuscrito 419.; Anónimo (2014). *Diario del sitio y defensa de Barcelona (1713-1714)*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre.

¹⁹ Castellví, F. (1997). Vol. IV, p. 524.

²⁰ Pascual, E. (2012), p. 1179.

²¹ Las instrucciones de Felipe V a Asfeld para llevar a cabo la expedición datan del 15 de enero 1715. A pesar de los esfuerzos del general para partir hacia finales de marzo o principios de abril, las dificultades de abastecimiento y el mal tiempo retrasaron la fecha de partida hasta el 8 y 11 de junio. Parte de la correspondencia entre Asfeld y diferentes autoridades de la Corte, se pueden consultar en Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Secretaría de Guerra (SGU), suplemento, 476. De ahora en adelante lo citaremos como AGS, SGU, supl.476.

²² Martí-Fraga, E. (2019). "Cataluña y la movilización de recursos militares para la expedición a Sicilia, 1718". *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 44, (1), 129-158. Doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/CHMO.63918>.

²³ Sallés, N. (2016). "Que nos odien, si también nos temen. El razonamiento estratégico detrás de las campañas de Cerdeña y Sicilia (1717-1718)". *Vegeta*, 16, 313-334.

²⁴ En el Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), se conserva una valiosa crónica de la expedición. Secretaría de Marina, leg.739. Entre los cronistas del momento que narran la expedición destaca Castellví, F. (1997). Vol. IV, pp. 632-640; el Marqués de la Mina, *Expedición de Cerdeña y Sicilia*. Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Manuscrito 10521, parte 1, fols. 73-94 y Bacallar y Sanna, V. (1957). *Comentarios a las Guerras de España e historia de su rey Felipe el animoso*. Edición publicada en Madrid: Real Academia de Historia, pp. 283-287.

²⁵ Castellví, F. (1997). Vol. IV, p. 633. El marqués de San Felipe (Vicente Bacallar y Sanna) pensaba lo mismo: "nunca se ha visto armada más bien abastecida" (Bacallar y Sanna, V. (1957), p. 284).

²⁶ "Noticia General del Estado en que entra a la expedición de Sicilia la infantería de sus reclutas, por los mismos ejércitos y remplazos...", AGS, Secretaría de Marina, leg. 739, s/f..

²⁷ Mina. *Expedición...*, fol. 78r.

²⁸ Castellví, F. (1997). Vol. 4, p. 637.

²⁹ AGS, Secretaría de Marina, leg. 739. Vid también Castellví, F. (1997). Vol. IV, p.638.

³⁰ Sobre el asedio de Ceuta hay una numerosa bibliografía. Consultad entre otros: Loureiro Souto, J.L. (2015). *Los conflictos por Ceuta y Melilla: 600 años de controversias*. Tesis doctoral inédita. UNED, Madrid, pp. 168-174; Morales Lezcano, V. (2016). *Historia de Marruecos. De los orígenes tribales y las poblaciones nómadas a la independencia y la monarquía actual*. Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros; Busnot, D. (1715). *History of the Reign of Muley Ismael, the Present King of Morocco*, London: Printed for A. Bell and J. Baker; Marquez, J. (1895). *Historia de la Plaza de Ceuta, describiendo los sitios que ha sufrido en distintas épocas por las huestes del imperio de Marruecos*. Madrid: Imprenta española de los señores Nieto y Compañía, pp. 188-194; Ruiz Oliva, J. (2004). "Poliórcetica subterránea de Ceuta: minas y contraminas de los siglos XVII y XVIII". En VV.AA. *Ceuta en los siglos XVII y XVIII*. Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, pp. 187-212;

Biblioteca Nacional, Correa de Franca, A., *Historia de la muy noble y fidelísima ciudad de Ceuta*. manuscrito 9741, pp. 238-253.

³¹ AGS, SGU, supl. 480, s/f.

³² AGS, SGU, supl. 480, 4 de noviembre de 1720.

³³ AGS, SGU, sup, 480, 4 de marzo de 1721.

³⁴ Dubet, A. (2015).

³⁵ Andújar, F. (2015a). "De la militarización de Cataluña a los espacios de integración". En Mullfulleda, C. y Salles, N. (Eds.). (2015), pp. 227-236, p. 230.

³⁶ Este dato es de enero de 1714. En 1715 era un poco menor. Torras i Ribé, J.M. (2001). *La Guerra de Successió i els setges de Barcelona*. Barcelona. Rafael Dalmau, p. 352.

³⁷ Este cálculo se ha hecho a partir de un documento de 1715, sin fecha, titulado "Batallones que hay en cada provincia de las tropas de su magestad" en AGS, SGU, supl. 476.

³⁸ Este dato pertenece a 1717.

³⁹ Andújar calcula que en 1717 había movilizados en la península ibérica 43.360 soldados. Seguramente este % debería ser menor, porque en 1718 se aumentó el número de soldados movilizados. Aun así, es ilustrativo de esfuerzo que supuso la organización de la expedición de Sicilia para la Corona. Cfr. Andújar, F. (2015a), p. 230.

⁴⁰ Este dato pertenece a 1717.

⁴¹ En el caso catalán son conocidos los conflictos que se produjeron por los abusos de las tropas en los alojamientos durante esos años, muchas veces no suficientemente castigados por las autoridades militares competentes. Torras Ribe, J. M. (2010).

⁴² Molas, P. y Farga, M. (2010). "Gremios y asentistas del ejército de Cataluña del siglo XVIII" en DD.AA. *La ilustración en Cataluña. La obra de los ingenieros militares*. Barcelona: Ministerio de defensa, p. 128.

⁴³ Sobre los Goyeneche vid. Acuerreta, S. (2001). Vid. también, Dubet, A. (2015), p. 153.

⁴⁴ Sobre la jarcia la referencia indiscutible es Díaz Ordóñez, M. (2010).

⁴⁵ Dubet, A. (2015), p. 153; Storrs, C. (2016), p. 48.

⁴⁶ Sobre las diferencias entre las raciones de infantería y las de marina vid. Torres, R. (2016). "Alimentando marte: la política de suministros militares al ejército español en el s. XVIII". *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 41 (2), 373-389. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/CHMO.53816>.

⁴⁷ Dedieu, J.P. (2011). "Grupos financieros al servicio del rey de España. Fines del siglo XVII principios del XVIII". En Dubet, A., Luis, J.P. (Eds.) (2011). *Les financiers et la construction de l'Etat. France Espagne (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, pp. 87-104, p. 90.

⁴⁸ Andueza, M.P. (2005). "La casa, la familia y los negocios en el siglo XVIII: los Borda de Maya (Baztán)", *Príncipe de Viana*, 235, 353-392, p. 368.

⁴⁹ Andújar, F. (2015b).

⁵⁰ Dubet, A. (2015), pp. 112-113.

⁵¹ Sobre la industria armamentística catalana en el siglo XVIII vid. Martí, R. (2004). *Cataluña: armería de los borbones. Las armas y los armeros de Ripoll, Barcelona, Manresa, Igualada de 1714 a 1794*, Barcelona: Salvatella.

⁵² La pólvora francesa provenía de Marsella, Colliure y Perpiñán. La española de Aragón, Alicante y "otras fábricas de España". Cfr. AGS, SGU, supl 475, sin fecha y s/f.

- ⁵³ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180. 3 de marzo de 1716, s/f.
- ⁵⁴ Lo cierto, es que la realidad no era exactamente así. El 8 de julio de 1720 constata el pago a la Compañía de los financieros Cambí y Spinelli el pago por la compra de pólvora y balería en Portugal para llevarla a Cádiz. AGS, DGT, inv.7 leg.3, exp. 4, fol. 265.
- ⁵⁵ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 109, fol. 179.
- ⁵⁶ Como veremos más adelante (vid. Infra.), a lo largo del otoño de 1718 se hicieron obras de reparación de las fortalezas de Rosa, Cardona, Castellciutat y Berga, entre otros. Además, cabe añadir que un año antes, en marzo de 1717, se había hecho la reforma de los baluartes del rey Felipe y La Reina de las murallas de Barcelona (ACA, Real Patrimonio, pleitos, n.1793).
- ⁵⁷ ACA, SGU, leg. 3442.
- ⁵⁸ ACA, SGU, leg. 823, 1 de abril de 1718.
- ⁵⁹ ACA, SGU, leg. 823.
- ⁶⁰ AGS, Secretaría y Superintendencia de Hacienda (SSH), leg. 550, vol. 1. El dato lo conocemos porque en 1732 todavía la Corona no le había abonado el importe.
- ⁶¹ AGS, SGU, sup. 480, Cuenta del 2 de octubre de 1720.
- ⁶² AGS, SGU, sup., 480, Carta del 26 de enero de 1721.
- ⁶³ Sobre la fabricación de armas y las diferentes fábricas que había en la península en ese momento vid., entre otros: Alcalá Zamora, J. (2004). *Historia de una empresa siderúrgica española: Los Altos Hornos de Liérganes y La Cavada, 1622-1834*. Santander: Consejería de Cultura; González Enciso, A. (2013) "Asentistas y fabricantes: el abastecimiento de armas y municiones al estado en los siglos XVII y XVIII", *Studia Historica*, 35, pp. 269-303. Doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14201/shhmo2013352332>; González Enciso, A. (2016); Guerrero, R., *Las élites vascas...*
- ⁶⁴ AGS, DGT, inv. 7, leg. 3, exp. 10.
- ⁶⁵ Si bien no siempre se puede calcular el coste de todos los contratos recogidos en este cuadro se constata que la Corona invirtió en Cataluña al menos 387.656rv. por la fabricación de estas armas.
- ⁶⁶ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 106, s/f.
- ⁶⁷ AGS, SGU, supl. 480, nota de 19.XII.1720.
- ⁶⁸ Bencomo, C. (1983). *La Familia Milans: comercio y nobleza en al Catalunya del siglo XVIII*, Tesis de licenciatura inédita. Universidad de Barcelona, Barcelona, p. 146.
- ⁶⁹ AGS, DGT, inv. 7, leg. 40-2.
- ⁷⁰ AGS, DGT, inv.7, leg. 3, exp. 4. Aguirre era el "asentista general de víveres de las tropas y plazas". También se encargaba del transporte de los granos.
- ⁷¹ AGS, DGT, inv. 7, leg. 3, exp. 5. Una visión general de las cuentas de Antonio Puche se encuentra en AGS, DGT, inv. 7, leg. 2, exp. 26, donde se recogen muchos de los encargos que había recibido de la Corona entre 1717-1720.
- ⁷² AGS, SGU, 3442, 13 de diciembre de 1714 y otra sin fecha.
- ⁷³ AGS, SGU, 475, carta del 4 de febrero de 1715. Carta de Asfeld a Fernández Duran.
- ⁷⁴ AGS, DGT, inv. 7, legajo 2, n.32, ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fols. 99-102v., y 580v-585r.
- ⁷⁵ Fuente, ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180; AGS, DGT, inventario 7, leg.2, n.32.
- ⁷⁶ AGS, SGU, supl. 480.
- ⁷⁷ El vizconde de Puerto ya lo advertía en sus *Reflexiones Militares*: "La continuación de disparar, las caídas de los soldados y caballos en las marchas, las lluvias que penetran en los pabellones de armas y las balas de los enemigos en el combate estropean todas las campañas gran proporción de fusiles, carabinas y pistolas (...) Es preciso tener siempre cantidad de soldados para aderezarlas en los vecinos lugares" Vizconde de Puerto. (1885), libro III, cap. IV, p. 345.
- ⁷⁸ AGS, SGU, sup. 476, carta del 4 de febrero de 1715.
- ⁷⁹ AGS, SGU, sup. 476, carta del 11 de marzo de 1715.
- ⁸⁰ AGS, SGU, sup. 476, carta del 23 de marzo de 1715.
- ⁸¹ AGS, SGU, sup. 476, carta del 5 de abril de 1715.
- ⁸² ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fols. 83r-85r.
- ⁸³ AGS, TMC, leg. 1908, fol. 478.
- ⁸⁴ AGS, SGU, leg. 823, s/f.
- ⁸⁵ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol.180, fol. 81v.-83r.
- ⁸⁶ AGS, SGU, leg. 823, "Lugar de donde ha de proceder la artillería", 1 de abril de 1718.
- ⁸⁷ DGT, inventario 7, legajo 2, n.32.
- ⁸⁸ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fol. 35v.
- ⁸⁹ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fol. 106r. La petición incluía las camisas, las chupas, cinturones y correas de fusil.
- ⁹⁰ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, fol. 2r.
- ⁹¹ AGS, SGU, leg.481, 24 de septiembre de 1720.
- ⁹² AGS, SGU, leg.481, 16 de septiembre de 1720.
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- ⁹⁵ AGS, SGU, leg.481, 5 de octubre de 1720.
- ⁹⁶ AGS, SGU, leg.481, 19 de octubre de 1720.
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- ¹⁰⁴ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, 5r-10r.
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- ¹⁰⁶ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, 636r-641r.
- ¹⁰⁷ ACA, *Manual de Intendencia*, vol. 180, 68r-69v.
- ¹⁰⁸ AGS, SGU, supl, leg. 481, Carta del 26 de enero de 1721.
- ¹⁰⁹ Torres Sánchez, R. (2014), p. 287.



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“Is Women’s Freedom a Myth or Reality”? The Context of Working-Class Women in Bangladesh

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Abstract- Lately, women’s freedom is the most uttered concept in Bangladesh. Civil society has given the statement that women are onward to freedom. Women are now taking part in the various outside world. They are crushing their boundary of the household. But It was confusing after hearing those words. Is there any word called women’s freedom? Civil society has given its arguments based on women’s economic freedom to earn money. The question has arisen on that issue. If it is so, women are getting freedom as they are working outside and attaining economic solvency. Then what about working-class women who are working in the garments factory. Why are they deprived of equal wages in their workplace? Why are they harassed by the office staff and the male counterparts? Why are they being exploited in the household? Why are their voices not heard? Are there any answers to these questions? Working class women are being exploited in their households as they belong to the patriarchal society. Capitalism is using them as they are cheap labor.

Keywords: *women’s freedom, economic freedom, working-class women, patriarchal society, capitalism, civil society, exploitation.*

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Maria Tahsin ^α & Hiramony Akter ^ο

Abstract- Lately, women’s freedom is the most uttered concept in Bangladesh. Civil society has given the statement that women are onward to freedom. Women are now taking part in the various outside world. They are crushing their boundary of the household. But It was confusing after hearing those words. Is there any word called women’s freedom? Civil society has given its arguments based on women’s economic freedom to earn money. The question has arisen on that issue. If it is so, women are getting freedom as they are working outside and attaining economic solvency. Then what about working-class women who are working in the garments factory. Why are they deprived of equal wages in their workplace? Why are they harassed by the office staff and the male counterparts? Why are they being exploited in the household? Why are their voices not heard? Are there any answers to these questions? Working class women are being exploited in their households as they belong to the patriarchal society. Capitalism is using them as they are cheap labor. Civil society uses them as the stairs to come to the spotlight. Then, what is the actual meaning of women’s freedom? Does women’s freedom come from an air-conditioned room? Are the exploited, voiceless, hungry working-class women considering the role model for women’s freedom? That is why this research has tried to find out the actual scenarios of women’s freedom. Does women’s freedom exist or not?

Keywords: women’s freedom, economic freedom, working-class women, patriarchal society, capitalism, civil society, exploitation.

I. INTRODUCTION

“The caged bird sings with a fearful trill,
Of things unknown, but longed for still,
And his tune is heard on the distant hill,
For the caged bird sings of freedom.”

--- Maya Angelou. (Angelou, 1969)

Bangladesh is a secular country in the context of religion. But the maximum people are Muslims, where the women veil is essential. The norms and values in our society are not woman- friendly. The structure of our society is patriarchal. Women are bounded to maintain the code of conduct in our society. The society treats women as though they have nothing to express. In our social structure, the women’s freedom concept is like pouring water into foam.

Nowadays, women are engaged in different outside activities. Civil society defines it as women’s freedom because of women’s participation in the outside world. But in the context of Bangladesh, the

social structure is patriarchal, and the women’s freedom concept has created confusion among women. And the important fact is the class stratification is a visible disorder in our society. The concept of freedom varies from class to class, person to person and society to society. Women are different in their way of thinking, in their way of expression.

The codes and conducts of these classes are different. The classes are different in their lifestyle. These stratifications are present in our society, then how could you define it as women’s freedom in general? If you define women’s economic freedom or women’s participation in the outside work as the parameter of women’s freedom, then why are the working-class women being deprived in everywhere? They are also working outside. They should have a taste of freedom.

But the research has revealed that women are being suppressed by their male partners, office staff, capitalism, and civil society. Their voices are not present in the patriarchal structure. Because patriarchal society has considered that women have nothing to say. They are facing discrimination of wages in their workplace. Because women are treated as spineless and cheap workers, who are meant to be deprived. Sometimes, their husbands are torturing them. Because men are always treated as superior to women. And most importantly, women are sexually grinding by their male staff or others in their workplace. Because women treat as a body, not as human being. They have to maintain their household along. Because in Bangladesh, patriarchal society contemplates that the household works are only for women. It is their responsibility to maintain household chores. Then, where is women’s freedom? Does it exist?

II. METHODOLOGY

For assessing the problem regarding women’s freedom concept, a survey has conducted at Mirpur-10 in Dhaka city. The Capital of Bangladesh, Dhaka, has been selected as a field. Because there are many garments factories that flourish in Dhaka in recent years. The survey covered total of 40 respondents who are working-class women, and their age limit was 15-27.

This research has used a qualitative method to collect data. The qualitative method is effective in identifying factors, like socioeconomic conditions, gender roles, social norms, ethnicity, and religion. It is also useful to find out the human contradictory

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behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of the individual.

This survey has used purposive sampling to collect data. Data have collected with an unstructured questionnaire considering the objectives of the study. Because such kind of social problem was not possible to understand through some questions. And the survey has used the observing participant method and case study to collect data. A case study has used to explain the problem in detail.

III. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

a) *Women's Freedom Concept in the Eyes of Working-Class Women*

"Lock up your libraries if you like; but there is no gate, no lock, and no bolt

that you can set upon the freedom of my mind."

-Virginia Woolf. (Wolf, 1935)

Nowadays, we hear that women are getting Freedom. Women are working outside; they are cooperating in every sector. That is why the research was about to find out the actual picture of women's freedom in the perspective of working-class women. The question was asked to working-class women. What do you think about women's freedom?

After hearing this question, they have given their answer with no words in their eyes. As if it can be a matter of thinking at all! Almost everyone has given the same answer that 'I do not know about it'. 'What are you talking about?' Not a single voice has found to talk about their freedom. To them, it is not a matter of consideration at all.

One of the respondents said that, "women should obey the rules of their husbands. Because he might take all the decisions for my well-being. So why should I think about it. He has the right to torture me, as he is my husband. He does not need to take permission while having physical relations. It is his right. I do not think that I should restrict him. Because, it is normal for a woman to allow her husband whenever he wanted to do it. I give my salary to my husband, and he uses it in his way. I don't think that I should interfere with this matter. A woman should have to be silent about all matters. It is not good for a woman to interfere in every sphere. (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

But unfortunately, working-class women, a large part of the society, do not even know what it means by freedom. To them, there is no definition of freedom; there is no option to think about it.

They worked hard all day long, almost 12 hours a day; sometimes, it might be 14 hours, come the home with tension, and then serve their family with food and care. Then they go to bed with tension how they will survive the next day. Will you define it as freedom?

b) *Does Economic Freedom to Earn Money Ensure Women's Freedom?*

The lack of economic freedom could be a very major reason for loss of liberty, liberty of life.

-Amartya Sen. (Sen, 1999)

This research could not fully agree with the statement of Steinem. We always hear that women are getting freedom. They are getting engaged in paid works. They are participating in outside activities. The question is, does economic freedom to earn money to ensure women's freedom?

Swapna Majumdar described the economic contribution of women in society. Her argument was like "the women are bound neither for school nor college. They are off to work. She describes that women's presence is a huge achievement in a country where women's visibility is extremely low. She states that over 1.3 million women may spend their days bent over whirring sewing machines, and their income and independence has triggered a silent revolution among them. Women say they are no longer content to live a life of anonymity behind their purdahs, or veils" (Majumdar, 2002).

On the contrary, regarding women's freedom the question was asked, why are you working outside? Almost everyone has given the answer that we have to live; we have to survive. According to this statement, working outside does not mean that they are getting freedom; they have got their rights. It is about survival.

One of the informants said that "I have started to work in the garments because my family was not able to bear my expenses. I do not have any option to survive. I needed the job for my survival. My husband left me when I was 22 years old. Already I had a baby girl. I felt helpless when he left me. Sometimes he tortured me. I never told him a word. Because I think it is his right to beat me. At the same time, I was afraid. If I protest, he will leave me. Then what will happen to me? But at last, he left me. I could not say anything. I started to work with full effort. In the meantime, one of our supervisors harassed me. I could not protest against him as I did not have any option. I could not leave the job. Already I have a baby girl. I have to think about her future. In this society, every liability goes to women, not for the person who is responsible for it". (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

Here is the reflection of women freedom. Working-class women are working outside because they need money. They are not working outside to fulfill the agenda of women's freedom. Livelihood is the last word in their dictionary. They need to feed, the need to survive, and they need to live, that is why they are working outside.

The research does not argue that woman visibility is not rising. But the matter is that woman

visibility at the workplace can't give her freedom. Capitalism gives women easy access to the garments industry because capitalism knows that they will never protest against exploitation. Working-class women are working to support their family, to feed their children, to survive in the world. Women are working outside, but the structure of our society is not changing. Working-class women are deprived of equal wages in their workplace and are exploited in their households. Then how does economic solvency define as women's freedom?

c) *Is Woman a Neutral Entity?*

"I am no bird; and no net ensnares me;

I am a free human being with an independent will."

--- Charlotte Brontë. (Brontë, 1847)

Somehow the quote of the English novelist is not true for the working-class women in Bangladesh. They are never thought of as human being at all. The society has always treated women as a burden or unnecessary creation of god.

Simone De Beauvoir (1949) recognizes that men have maintained dominant roles in virtually all cultures because women have resigned themselves to, instead of rebelling against their assigned subordinate status. She described two major premises. First, that man, considering himself as the essential being, or subject, has treated the woman as the unessential being, or object. The second, the more controversial premise is that much of a woman's psychological self is socially constructed, with very few physiological rooted feminine qualities or values. De Beauvoir denies the existence of a feminine temperament or nature. To her, all notions of femininity are artificial concepts. In one of her most telling aphorisms, she declares, "One is not born a woman, but becomes one" (Beauvoir, 1949).

This research agrees with Beauvoir. When a girl is born in this society, the rules and regulations are structured to control her. Society feels the responsibility to protect women's virginity and purity. The society has contemplated women like they are unproductive, and they do not have control over themselves. A girl is not warmly accepted in this society. The patriarchal society considers women as burden for their family as well as to society.

In Bangladesh, having a son is a blessing. Our parents think that the male child will serve them in the last stage of their life. The male child is warmly accepted as shield of the nation. Where male child is considered as a resource to their society and female child are considered at a risk. They are born with tensions and uncertainty. All the rules and regulations are for the woman. They cannot think freely. They cannot move freely. If they go somewhere, they should have the male guardian as a savior! Where society never thinks a woman exempt, how could we look about that society will assure freedom for women?

From the perspective of working-class women, the condition has not changed. As they are born to a lower financial class family, the family deliberates women as a burden. The society never considers women as a means of power. They are deprived of education due to their economic condition. The lower economic class parents also feel the pressure of society to a large extent. Their daughters are treated as more than products. The body of the lower economic class women is treated as easy to access. They do not have power and capital to protest against oppression. To their family and toward the world, women are undesired and meant to be subordinate.

Capitalism shows the world that women have got freedom. But the question is as a society never acknowledges women as a neutral entity, women are not free, how could we look forward that women are getting freedom? Where the problem is in practice, how could women get freedom?

A question was asked to working-class women. How do you spend your salary? Almost everyone said that they do not have access to the money. After getting the salary, they give it to their husband. Unfortunately, in which purpose the money is used, they do not even know that. If they ask them about the money, their husbands torture them. To the patriarchal society, men are not bound to give the answers. But women are questionable for their every movement. Women are working hard all day long for the money, but they do not have access to money. But to capitalism, it is a great achievement for women to get the opportunity to work outside of their household. Are they getting access to money or not? That is not the matter of consideration at all.

One of the respondents shared that "I have been working in the garments factory since 2013. I got married when I was 17 years. When I get married, everything was okay. After some days, the condition had started to change. When I got my salary, he forced me to give all the money to him. At first, I said that I need some money for my need. So, I cannot give you all the money. He started to torture me. I gave all the money to him. My husband was a little bit addicted to drugs. When I asked him in which purpose are you spending the money? He started to torture me. I had tried to protest, but he behaved more arrogantly at that time. After that, I never asked him about this matter. Every day I go to work, spend almost all day in the workplace, return home with tension and anxiety". (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

The woman does not have access to money they have earned. If they protest against this illegal behavior, their husband torments them. They are not allowed to say about their legal rights. Working-class women are forced to obey the rules that are structured by the patriarchal society. But unfortunately, civil society use the working-class women as a demo for women's

freedom. It is shocking about the politics of women's freedom and the miserable condition of working-class women. Where the pattern of society has not changed, how could we hope that the situation will be non-persistent and women will get freedom??? The male partner is perceived as all in all and women as good for nothing, but civil society appreciates it as women's freedom.

d) *Are the Women Born with Freedom?*

"Man is defined as a human being and a woman as a female
Whenever she behaves as a human being
She is said to imitate the male."

— Simone de Beauvoir. (Beauvoir, 1963)

We always hear about women's freedom but not about men's freedom. What does it mean? Women are restrained from their birth, and men are free from their journey. If the comparison and domination are started from birth, how could we expect that women are getting freedom now? When the problem is in the structure of society, how could we define it as women's freedom? Someone perceives that women should work outside; someone considers that women should stay at home. As if women are optional, they do not have any option to make the decision at all. The argument is given by Sherry Beth Ortner.

Ortner, in her article "Belief and the Problems of Women", initiated an influential and powerful framework for studying the problem of women's subordination through an analysis of gender symbolism, starting from the idea that biological differences between men and women take on significance only within culturally defined value systems, she located the problem of sexual asymmetry at the level of cultural ideologies and symbols.

She argued that all the cultures recognize and make a distinction between human society and the natural world. Culture attempts to control and transcend nature to use it for its purposes. Culture is therefore superior to the natural world and it seeks to mark out or 'socialize' nature to regulate and maintain relations between society and the forces and conditions of the environment. Ortner suggests that women are identified or symbolically associated with nature, while men are associated with culture (Moore, 1988: 13-15).

Working-class women who are contributing to the national economy, give service to the family, their appearance is unwanted. The male is recognized as the authority of society. What is about women? Capitalism uses the term to use women as their weapon to success. On the other hand, women are exploited by the structure of the patriarchal society as males are taking into consideration superior to women.

The question had asked to working-class women, does your husband take the permission while having sex? They feel shy to give the answer. Because

in our society, women have no right to discuss sex. Women should have to be reserved. After some time, they said no. It is his right to have physical relations. Why will they ask for permission? The working-class women do not know they have right over their bodies. Society never gives the opportunity to think women as a distinct entity.

One of the respondents shared that, "I have been working since 2015. I got married when I was 17 years old. My husband also a garments worker. My husband takes all the decisions. He never asks me about anything. I also never think that I should know everything. As I am a woman. When he wanted to have physical relations, I never deny him. Because he is my husband. I should not refuse him, because Allah make men as superior. I should respect him. As I am a woman, I should take care of him; I should give the value to his feelings. Sometimes my body does not permit me to be in touch with him, but I have never told him no". (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

According to the case study, it is perceived that the working-class woman does not know that they have an opinion while having physical relations. Society reminds women that you are created to serve men. Men are superior, and women are their servants. Women should be submissive to their husbands. Working-class women do not ponder of themselves as a neutral entity. They suffer a lot, but they never express. Because they know that their voice is not to be reached. Unfortunately, we define it as women's freedom.

e) *Women Rights are Beyond Question*

"I do not wish them [women] to have power over men; but over themselves."

— Mary Wollstonecraft, (Wollstonecraft, 1792)

We always hear that we should make a better world for working-class women. We should ensure safety for them. We should be concerned about their rights. These words confined within the seminar, speech, and article. Even the working-class women do not know their issues are discussed in the seminar. The civil society confines within the media coverage and seminar. Working-class women did not get them when they were needed the most.

Firoj Ahmed described, "the women's freedom movement started to rescue women from all kinds of repression. But in the recent situations the working-class women did not get the leaders when they needed them. So, what does it mean by women's freedom? This question is important, indeed. Because women are women. They can belong to the upper, middle, or lower strata. Then, why did they differ about the working-class women? He described that maybe there are some NGOs which are working to improve the condition of women, but due to their limitations, they are not capable of reaching the majority of women. They are limited to

the middle class. That's why working-class women may get economic freedom a little bit, but due to many reasons they are not being discussed in most of the writing (Ahmed, 2017).

A question was asked regarding women's freedom. What are the rights of women? They asked in reverse, what is the meaning of women's rights? Civil society is talking about women's freedom, where the working-class women do not know actually what the rights of women are!

One of my respondents told that "I got married at the age of 15. My husband is a rickshaw puller. My husband left me at the age of 19. He got married to another woman. Sometimes he came to the house. He used to torture me and daunted me that I will leave you forever. I could not say anything. Because the society will not accept a divorced woman. Women should maintain all things. Women should obey the rules of society. Otherwise, they will call me a bad woman! I never think that women have their rights. Women do not have any rights. Women are inferior to men. Because they are male members in society. I do not think that women have any right at all. (Source: *fieldwork*, 2018).

They do not even know the right of women. They are tortured by their husband. They accept it. The social norms and values are assigned to the women. We cannot avoid these structures. The reality is crude. We always hear that we should make a better world for working-class women. We should ensure safety for them. We should be concerned about their rights.

These ideas are limited within the seminar, speech, and article. The civil society is confined within the media coverage and seminar. Working-class women did not get them when they were needed the most.

f) *Are Women Considered as Spineless Workers?*

"Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks. The time during which the labourer works, is the time during which the capitalist consumes the labour-power he has purchased of him."

— Karl Marx. (Marx, 1867)

Working-class women are working 12 hours to 14 hours a day. They are working hard all day long. Their services enrich the national economy. Unfortunately, their wages are unequal, their safety is questionable, and their rights are not reserved. Working-class women are considered as cheap labors.

Marx gave his capitalism theory in the 19th century. During the industrial revolution, European countries enhanced their power and production. But at the same time, the condition of laborers in their countries was not good at all. At that time, economist Adam Smith and sociologist Herbert Spencer claimed that according to the natural selection theory, the poor people are responsible for their miserable conditions.

On the contrary, Marx argued that poor people are not responsible for their miserable conditions. Discrimination of economic resources distribution and a particular class who manipulate the whole production system is responsible for this class distinction. In this way, a particular class gains their capital, and the poor are getting poorer day by day (Smith, 2001).

The question was asked to working-class women, do you get equal wages as men? How is your working environment? They said, their working environment is not safe and secure. The wages are not equal to men. Sometimes they are harassed physically and mentally by the male partners and the office staff.

One of the respondents shared that "I have been working in the garments since 2014. Women are not equal in wages. Men are highly paid for the same work. Sometimes women are harassed by male workers or supervisors, but women cannot flourish it. One day I was proposed by my supervisor to be with him. I refused him. After that, he tried to make my image worse to the GM. Then he bound me to accept his proposal. Because in the garments factory, there is no guarantee of your job. Anytime you could be fired from your job. As the job is needed for me, I did not have any option. I feel ashamed of my behavior with him. And I am afraid. If my husband knows this matter, he will leave me. Because women's purity is very much important to their husbands as well as to society. (Source: *fieldwork*, 2018).

The concept of women's freedom contradicts this statement. Women are paid low, and they are sexually harassed by the male staff in their workplace. Where women do not protest against oppression due to the need for money, but civil society defined it as women's freedom.

g) *Is Women's Freedom Concept for Freedom or Exploitation?*

Working-class women have contributed to the national economy. At the same time, they are contributing to their family. But they do not get any recognition from their family. Because it is considered that this work is assigned to women.

Rahnuma Ahmed stated that in contemporary Bangladesh, more than three-quarters of the estimated three and a half million people who work in the RMG sector, which accounts for 75-80% of annual export earnings, consist of women. She described that in a poverty-stricken country like Bangladesh, women, as members, did not have the access to resources or opportunities to improve their situation. Traditional norms dictated that women should reside under the tutelage of a male guardian. Still, these have been broken as families have increasingly allowed their daughters to migrate to cities, to share rooms with other female garment workers. Many women have become the principle earner in their families, it has helped boost their self-confidence, and it has empowered them to

make decisions about how to spend their life. (Ahmed, 2011).

But there was a different view of their household. A question was asked to working-class women about this matter, about their activities and lifestyle. How do you manage your work as you work outside and at the household? Everyone said that we wake up early in the morning, go to the kitchen, prepare food for my family, and then go to the workplace. Does your husband cooperate with you? Almost everyone answer no. They said, this is my work as I am a woman. Male counterparts are not assigned for their work. Look at the patriarchal structure. They do not even know that there is any work called cooperation. They have accepted the myth that women have to tolerate pain. It is natural for them.

One of the respondents said that "I got married to a garments worker. She said that I wake up early in the morning to cook food, as he is also a garments worker. He should take rest. He works hard all day. I also do the same job. I work hard all day long. But household work is not for the male partner. If he goes to the kitchen, other male members will judge him as women. This work is for women. I never call him to cooperate with me. And he never comes to help me willingly. I never mind about this matter, as this work is for me. If he helps me, it is good. But if he does not help me, I am not bothered at all. Although it is not easy to maintain all the responsibilities altogether, I somehow manage it. (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

Our patriarchal structure never gives a chance to women to think that work is not fixed. Men are busy proving themselves as superior and busy to do creative work in this world. As women's freedom concept is mostly based on economic solvency, women are not getting help in their household chores. This concept is designed to exploit women.

h) *Women are Absent in Decision Making*

"No man is good enough to govern any woman without her consent."

— Susan B. Anthony. (Anthony, 1881)

Md. Mehedi Hasan Sikdar described the socio-economic conditions of the garment's workers in Bangladesh. He recounts that the RMG industry do not welcome women to promote their conditions. They welcome women because these women have a great role in strengthening the RMG industry by the fact that poor unskilled women have few alternatives or/ and no better employment opportunities. He alludes that employers prefer female workers not only they are cheaper and abundantly available, but also because they are more vulnerable, docile, and manageable than male workers. Women are not suspected of protesting against injustice.

He also described that control over their earnings and a greater role in household decision-making is important measures of the economic empowerment of female workers. In Bangladesh, women's role in household decision-making is usually much more limited than men. He states that women are earning, but in the household, most of the decisions are taken by their male counterparts. They rely on their male partners for any kind of household matter. Apart they are being repressed in the working place, as opposed to they are not that much important to their family members (Sikdar, 2014).

Working-class women are the most important part of this society. Their voices never reached to us. Our patriarchal structure is, like those women cannot think anything out of it. Like a toy in a wrapped box.

A question was asked, who is the decision taker in your family? Everyone said that our husbands. Then, why are you absent in decision-taking? They replied that our husbands are enough to take every decision. That is why we never think about it. Do your husbands ask for your decision? Almost everyone said that no. But why? They replied, most probably, they do not feel the need to ask us.

One of the respondents shared her experiences. "I have been working since 2014. Now I got married when I was 15 years old. We are in Dhaka for our livelihood. I work hard all day in the garments. I come back home at night. My husband also comes back at night. Almost our every decision is taken by my husband. Because he is the only male member in our family. I never ask him any questions about it. I never think that I can have something to say. As I am a woman, I have never showed any interest in it. If I do bargain about any issue, the people will blame me that I am not an ideal wife. It will hurt him. And most importantly, what will I say? I obey his advice all the time as he is my husband. He deserves respect. And I try to show respect to him". (Source: *Fieldwork*, 2018).

These working-class women do not know that they have the right to make the decision. In the patriarchal social structure never allow them to think about it. They have grown up in a society where they have taught about to respect your male partner, to follow the rules of patriarchal society, to follow the advice of your partner as she is superior to you. But society have never taught women to respect themselves. They did not get the permission to think that you are a neutral entity, you have your vision, and you have your right to think about your life. Women always feel pressure to maintain their life not to live their life. Yes, it is a matter of survival.

Here patriarchal society takes the decision, capitalist society oppresses them in the name of freedom, and civil society is shouting that women are getting freedom. Working-class women do not feel that

they have something to tell in decision taking. They have never felt like that. The society never gives them that chance to think like that. Their existence is always questionable to society. Then, it is questionable to say that women are getting freedom, women are not confined in their household anymore, and women are feeling better now.

But the study contradicts with this statement that if women have empowered them by working outside, why are they not a part of decision-taking? Why is their voice confined to themselves? Is it like they are dumb?

If they are not able to express their feelings, if they are not able to express her decisions, if they are denied from their rights, how could you define it as their progress? The question is on. They are not asked to give their decision at all. They do not get the floor to express themselves. Because the patriarchal society never feels that women have a neutral entity. The patriarchal society never considered women as human entity. They are never treated as life.

This is the reality we cannot think at all. But working-class women face it every day, every moment. They are treated as dumb to society. That is why, patriarchal society does not feel the urgency to listen to them. Capitalist society uses them their best as cheap laborers, and civil society defines their sufferings as

women's freedom. But we never hear the real feelings or emotions at all. They are like a butterfly, but they do not have the wings to fly in the sky. But we define this butterfly as free who do not have the wings at all.

i) *Women's Freedom Confines Within civil society*

It's in the reach of my arms

The span of my hips,

The stride of my step,

The curl of my lips.

I'm a woman

Phenomenally.

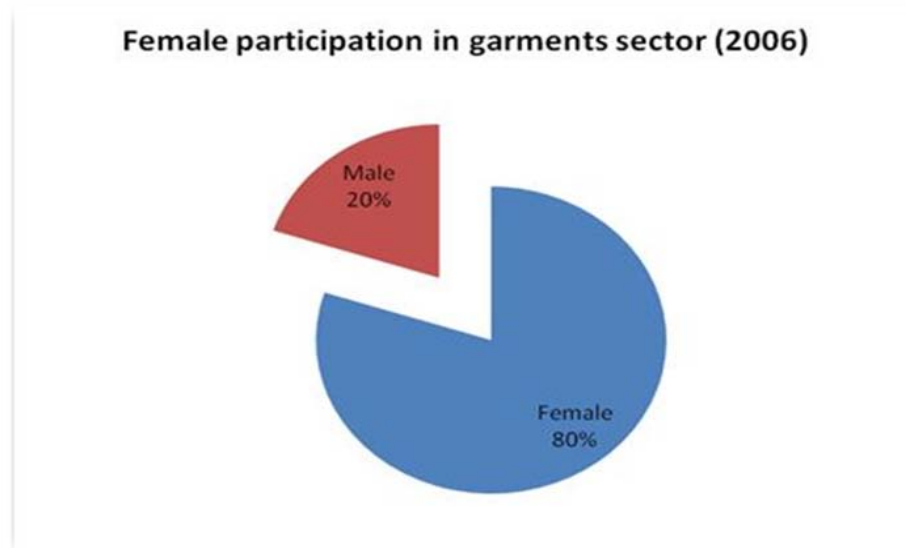
Phenomenal woman,

That's me.

MAYA

— Maya Angelou, (Angelou, 1995)

World Bank President Jim Yong Kim has hailed Bangladesh's efforts to integrate more women in the workforce and singled it out as an example to emphasize the need for investing more in women to spur growth. "Countries such as Bangladesh are encouraging female participation in the workforce. If they [Bangladesh] stay on track, their female workforce will grow from 34 to 82 percent over the next decade, adding 1.8 percentage points to their GDP (Byron, 2015).



Source: World Development Report, 2016, ADB, 2015

Figure 1: Women participation in the garments sector in 2006

Unfortunately, working-class women are achieving progress on TV, newspaper, report, seminar, articles etc. Their arguments like women involve themselves in paid works. Do they get their legal wage in the workplace? Are they feeling safe in their workplace? It is not a matter of consideration at all. They are busy with percentages; they are busy with numbers. Bangladesh is ahead of India, where women account for

27 percent of the total labor force, and Pakistan, whose female labor participation rate is 25 percent. Nepal has the highest female labor participation rate of 80 percent, according to the World Bank. The growing women empowerment is also evident in the fact that Bangladesh has the thir-highest number of female lawmakers among the SAARC countries (Byron, 2015).

While conducting research, a question was asked, do you ever find someone who came to talk about women's rights? They replied that some women came to our garment factory, and requested us to go a campaign. But actually, we did not know what that was. They promised us to give money. But they did not maintain it at all. They did not pay the promised amount.

One of the respondents shared her views that "I have been working since 2014. I got married at the age of 19. My husband is also a garment worker. Our working environment is not good at all. Sometimes our women are harassed by the supervisor and male workers. But we never protest against the domination. Sometimes we are invited from different organizations to go to the campaign. Sometimes we are offered by food; sometimes we are offered by money to join with them. We go to the campaign with our friends who are working there. We wait there until the program, is over. Sometimes it is painful to stand for a long time. But we are ordered by our leader to do it. After completion of the program we come back to home. Sometimes our leader does not provide us with the proposed money. But we cannot protest against it. (Source: *fieldwork*, 2018).

The working-class women are used by the civil society to come in the limelight. Where is the benefit of working-class women? They do not have an education, they do not have the capital to survive, and they do not have the concept of women's freedom at all. They only know how to live. That is the perception of life to them. But, in the context of Bangladesh, we have seen that the civil society and capitalist society claim it as women's freedom. They claim it as a movement towards women's freedom.

Working-class women participate in the program, but the maximum of them do not know that they are here for their rights, for their freedom. Working-class women may not get their rights or freedom, but civil society will get the title of social worker; capitalism will get the capital, and patriarchal society will get the weapon to dominate women. Working-class women will never know that they are sold in the market, but they do not even know about it.

j) *Women's Freedom is in the Stomach of Capitalism*

The history of men's opposition to women's emancipation is more interesting perhaps than the story of that emancipation itself."

— Virginia Woolf, (Woolf, 1935)

Emilie Schultze stated that women's integration in the garment factories had played a crucial role. Factory owners have been taken advantage of women's unequal position in society to form an even cheaper, more docile, and flexible workforce. So, rather than challenge their subordination in society, work in the

garment industry is reproducing it. Women tend to earn significantly less than men, they face systematic discrimination, and they are only able to access the lowest-paid jobs with very poor prospects for promotion. Many of them have low work security, and if they are not prepared to work on the terms set out by their employers, they run the risk of losing their jobs (Schultze, 2014).

Working-class women are afraid of losing their job. Because working class women belong to the lower strata in our country. They are paid for the lowest work because they are considered as a burden, not as a labor force. If they are considered as labor force, they will get an equal wage at the workplace. But they are deprived of every kind of facility as they are felt like a burden. Working-class women are getting access to the garments industry as they are cheap labor. Capitalism uses women as their weapon to acquire capital. We know it as freedom of women.

These arguments have given by Michel Foucault in his theory of the docile body. The docile body is "something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body the machine required can be constructed." The words Foucault further uses to describe this body cast it as unformed and willing to be shaped: it is "pliable," capable of being "manipulated, shaped, trained" (Foucault, 1975).

Capitalism uses hungry women because they are easy to catch. They are easy to manipulate. In the context of Bangladesh, the socio-economic condition of women is miserable. The patriarchal society never recognizes women as equal. Working-class women belong to the lower strata of society. They do not have the bone to protest against the oppression. They will never leave the job because there has no option for them.

k) *Dilemma in the Universal Definition of Women's Freedom*

"There will be no mass-based feminist movement as long as feminist ideas are understood only by a well-educated few."

— Bell Hooks, (Hooks, 1984)

Women are different in their way of thinking. They are different because of the social structure, cultural structure, norms, values, and socio-economic conditions. The variation is visible in their activities and their habit. The socio-economic and cultural boundary has made a difference among women. How could we say that women are getting freedom? We should have to be concerned about the differences among women. This concept of women's freedom has made contradictions among different classes of women. The class structure is different, but the concept is one. Is it possible?

In the context of Bangladesh, working-class women belong to the lower strata of society. Their lifestyle is different than any other class of women. Is the women's freedom concept applicable to them? Their socio-economic and cultural conditions do not permit me to think that they are onward to freedom. Then, when we talk about women's freedom, we have to be sure that it is applicable to all classes of women. This concept has created confusion in their life. That is why their working outside is counted as a great achievement towards women's freedom. This has enhanced the domination of women. It has created a foggy environment for women.

This idea is given by Michel Foucault in his theory of discourse. Discourse, as defined by Foucault, refers to ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning (Adams, 2017).

This concept has served power for women. In the context of Bangladesh, working-class women are working outside to fulfill their hunger. But civil society takes it as their great achievement towards women's freedom. Because civil society knows it very well that working-class women will never understand about this matter. Working-class women will never get the point that they are sold in the market. At the same time, capitalism has used them as their weapon to become successful.

1) Contradiction Between Women's Freedom and Social Structure of Bangladesh

To ensure freedom for the women, we should have to change the social structure at first. According to our social structure, women are considered as an ideal wives, mothers, sisters, and daughter. The parameter of ideal women has been fixed by society. Women are dedicatedly trying to fulfill the criteria of ideal women. But why the ideal men concept is not used in our society. Because it is perceived that men are ideal from their birth. In our society, women's purity is very much important. Impure women are stigmatized in our society. But what is about the male? Does he not need purity? Yes, the male is pure all the time. They are the symbol of purity. Male is not questionable in our social structure.

In our social structure, women are anticipated as the companion of men. Women are never treated as a neutral entity. Women are working hard to maintain the family. But it never recognizes as work. It is perceived as the responsibility of women. It is also thought that women are born to do this job. Women are made for household work. They are perfect as an ideal housewife. In the recent context, women are engaging with outside works. They are participating with the male at their workplace. They are earning money. It is true. But does it mean that they are getting freedom? The question is

knocking at the conscience. Is women's freedom for our social structure or outside the social structure?

If we look at the working-class women who are working in the garments industry, is the picture different? No, the picture is still the same. Our social structure is not in favor of women, but we think about women's freedom.

Nazila Kibria stated that in Bangladesh, relatively low rates of women's participation in wage employment have traditionally been understood as a reflection of cultural factors unfavorable to such participation. Recent developments, however, challenge the notion that women in Bangladesh, whether due to cultural or other factors, are disinclined to enter the wage labor market. Since the 1980s, an export-based garments industry has mushroomed in Bangladesh. Perhaps the most notable feature of this industry is its heavy use of women workers; an estimated 70-80 percent of those employed in the industry are women. For these women, garments work is a way to enhance personal and household economic resources. It is also a way to gain a measure of economic and social independence (Kibria, 1998).

This statement contradicts with our existing social structure. Working-class women are working for survival. Their economic earning can never define their economic or social independence. The social structure does not recognize the women as a neutral entity, how could one define it as women's freedom? Working class women are working for their needs. When we define it as the parameter of women's freedom, we should be concerned about our social structure. Their existence is in a question, but we know it as women's freedom. Unfortunately, they do not have any idea about women's freedom.

Our social structure is patriarchal. Our economic condition does not allow the working-class to think about freedom. They come back home at night with the tension of food. Working-class women need food, not freedom. Please do not make any more sarcasm about their life. They also have life to survive. Do not bother them with your ideas. Civil society, you know it very well that it is not possible for working-class women to have the taste of freedom. They can only be the Guinea pig- the ultimate exploited part of our country.

IV. CONCLUSION

A woman as a human being has the right to choose for herself in which way, she wants to live her life. But from the perspective of working-class women, these are the words like pouring something into nothing. To the patriarchal society, women are an unnecessary creature of god. Women are treated in our society as mostly unwanted. They are considered as burden for the family as well as for society. Their existence has no



meaning to the patriarchal society. Their entity is defined as bare life. As the research has revealed, women have faced disparity in their every sphere of life.

In the context of Bangladesh, the socio-economic condition of women is not well enough. The women are always in question by their male counterparts. They are tortured by the social structure. Our society is disheartening to the women's neutral entity. Our patriarchal society is reluctant to give the rights which a woman deserves as a human being. That is why it sounds ridiculous the women's freedom in the context of Bangladesh. The civil society and capitalism have made a sarcasm that as women participate in the outside work, they are onward to freedom. It is a great acquisition for women. But this study has brought to light that this is a great achievement for the patriarchal society and capitalism and the civil society.

How much the women are tortured, the best example is the working-class women. Working-class women are working in the garments industry for 12-14 hours in a day. And the reason behind it that they are not figuring it out as a tool of getting freedom. They are doing it to survive in this world. They need food for their survival. They are working hard all day long in the garments industry to feed their family members. Besides, the domination of patriarchal society has not stopped.

They are being excruciated in their household, they are taken up by capitalism, they are deprived of equal wages, and civil society has taken advantage of them as their stair to be triumphant. But we know it as women's freedom. Is it freedom?

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Resource Inventory and Conservation Guidelines for a Historical Site

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Abstract- A Historical site or heritage site is a location that has been protected by-laws or other preservation policies due to their cultural heritage values. The whole site of any area or a part of the historical site can be protected due to their past and present heritage value. This paper attempts to do an inventory survey and to provide some policy guidelines that keep harmony along with the current heritage preservation policy. Direct site inventory and secondary data collection have been practiced as the research methodology. The study shows that the invented site (Hawakhana, Puthia Rajbari complex) has a vast scope for the development of an immense historical site of the Rajshahi District. Besides that, the structure provides a great sense of developing this place as a perfect place to spend our leisure time.

Keywords: *hawakhana, heritage, preservation, recreational site.*

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Resource Inventory and Conservation Guidelines for a Historical Site

Sharmin Akter ^α, Md. Awual Baksh ^σ & Farzana Bobi ^ρ

Abstract- A Historical site or heritage site is a location that has been protected by-laws or other preservation policies due to their cultural heritage values. The whole site of any area or a part of the historical site can be protected due to their past and present heritage value. This paper attempts to do an inventory survey and to provide some policy guidelines that keep harmony along with the current heritage preservation policy. Direct site inventory and secondary data collection have been practiced as the research methodology. The study shows that the invented site (Hawakhana, Puthia Rajbari complex) has a vast scope for the development of an immense historical site of the Rajshahi District. Besides that, the structure provides a great sense of developing this place as a perfect place to spend our leisure time.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the case of preservation or conservation, the heritage mainly refers to the cultural heritage of any country. That cultural heritage includes both natural and human-made elements. Cultural heritage implies artifacts (paintings, drawings, prints, mosaics, and sculptures), historical buildings and monuments, as well as archaeological sites that remind of our roots, our past, our previous generations, and our cultures. Artifacts are mainly different types of drawings, mosaics, paintings, and sculptures. Rajshahi is a city with a large number of heritage sites. But the urban heritages of the central cities are difficult to protect due to rapid urban development and redevelopment program. Besides increasing land values due to infrastructural and property development causes constrain and conflict with existing heritage existence [1]

Puthia Rajbari complex is a palace in Puthia Upazila that has been built in 1895 for Rani (Queen) Hemanta Kumari that is the best example of Indo-Saracenic Revival architecture [14]. This establishment is spread over a large area in Puthia Upazila and has so many distinct structures with a particular identity. The site is consisting of a cluster of notable Hindu temples as well as a large number of historical temples in

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Bangladesh [4]. Among them, Hawakhana is one of the most attractive structures that has been used as a recreational place and places to spend leisure time by the king. The actual location of the structure is 3 km west of the main palace complex at Tarapur village in Puthia Upazila. This structure has an immensely pleasant and artistic view of both natural and architectural perspectives. Due to privatism and encroachment of the local people in this area the structure is under threat of demolition. So, the main aim of the study is to conduct an inventory survey showing the potentiality and the underlying intimidations that may cause the demolition of the structure. It also provides some policy guidelines that keep harmony with the present policy guidelines.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban heritage sites in central cities are one of the most vital parts of the city. But it is most difficult to protect because of large scale rapid and urban (re)development [1]. It is much more difficult in rapidly growing countries like Bangladesh. With growing land value, increasing heritage value often remains unrecognized. Faster population growth and infrastructural development often create constraints on the way of heritage preservation.

But the thing is, heritage sites create a connection between built and live heritages that influences on the national identity of any country to the tourists [7]. That's not also all, even though developing and preserving urban heritage with new development is only the way to achieve a sense of place in any area [8]. Although the idea of conserving and reusing historical buildings comes during the last decades, structural problems are one of the major problems that cause a great disturbance to the safety of the buildings and peoples [10]. To achieve the desired goal, funding and relevant policies are equally important to continue any conservation project [9].

Demolition of any historical buildings or heritage sites is a threat to the present and future generations because it removes the place significant and historical values of the area [4]. Location of the heritage site as heritage buildings at the central areas are more vulnerable to demolition [1]. Awareness related to heritage values was mainly related to the monumental values of any site in 19th century [11]. Diversification and expansion of cultural tourism is experiencing in

recent years [12]. And the satisfaction of tourists depends on four dimensions. These are information, attraction, environment, staff, and access [7]. Besides, increased facilities and services are also more effective to improve the tourist's satisfaction level [7].

Historical and archeological tourism is one of the major attractive and lucrative businesses across the world [13]. And the participation of different kinds of organizations always seems useful to the value-based management of the historical places in an international context [6]. So, having multiple agencies as like non-governmental and self-financing over the government agencies shows a potential ability to increase the heritage value through the development of any heritage area [9].

III. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study is a descriptive study that includes both primary and secondary data as well. The collection of primary data follows a Triangular process that includes structured observation, key informant surveys, and expert opinion surveys as well. The structured observation was used to collect existing physical information's about the heritage site as a less amount of data regarding these is available. Besides field observation is also helpful to collect the latest pieces of information also. Secondary data was collected from different journals, articles, and online publications as well. The key informant survey helped a lot to know the actual history of the place. And Expert opinion surveys helped to create a bridge among all of the colled primary and secondary data as well. In fact, it also helped to make the research more reliable and valid.

IV. STUDY AREA LOCATION AND ACCESSIBILITY

The geographical location of the Hawakhana is within 24°-37' and 24° -22'-15.99" N Latitude and within 88°-81' and 88°-48'-51.09" E longitude. The structure is located at the Tarapur village of Puthia upzila. It is about 3 km west of Puthia Raj Bari complex and accessible with van. On the other hand it is about 1 km north of Tarapur Mor from Dhaka – Rajshahi highway which is accessible by van or by walking.

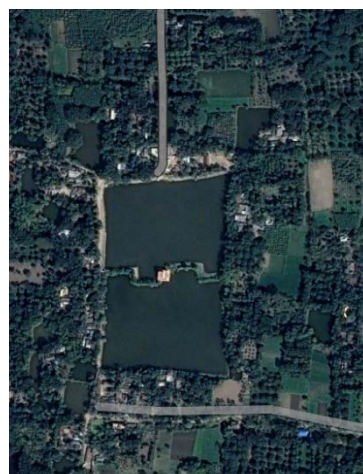


Fig.1: Bird's eye view of Hawakhana

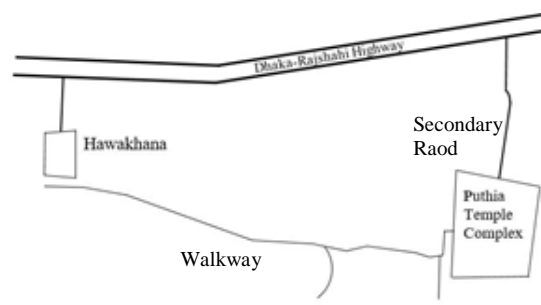


Fig.2: Location of Hawakhana according to accessibility

V. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The exact establishment period of the structure is unknown but it can be assumed that it has established in the same period after the establishment of the Puthia rajbari and the temple complex. The history of the use of the structure is more or less known to all of the Tarapur village. It has been heard that the kings of the palace used to come to the Hawakhana via horse riding and loved to feed the fishes and spent their leisure time. The kings also enjoyed boat riding on the ponds that were much more attractive to them. Hawakhana was not only used for the local king's recreational purposes but also used as a place for the recreational activities for the kings coming from the other kingdoms.

As far as known from the inventory survey, the last user of this building was King Noresh Narayan Roy. At the time of the partition of the Bengal kingdom, Noresh Narayan left Bangladesh and went to Kolkata. At that time, he divided the ownership of the Dighi between two of his servants named Goni Mondol and Deljer Mondol. As a result of this, the Dighi had divided into two portions by inhibition. At present, an aesthetic road has been constructed on the west part of this inhibition.



VI. EXISTING PHYSICAL CONDITION OF HAWAKHANA

Hawakhana is a 3 storied building structure surrounded by a Dighi. The ground floor is underwater. The second and third floor is above the water level of the Dighi. The approximate area of the Dighi is about 80 acres. There is a connected road on each of the east and west side.

The main structural elements of the building are "Chun-shurki" and a layer of brick. The length of this building is 45 feet and the width is 42 feet. The door and windowless ground floor are underwater. On the first floor, there is one door on the west wall and three doors on each of the other three walls. That is a total of 10 doors on the first floor. There is also a 6 feet wide veranda in this building. A three feet staircase is there for the entrance of the first floor. There is no door on the west wall of the first floor, but on the other three sides, there are three open doors. A 6 feet wide veranda is surrounded by four sides of the first floor. The third floor is not open to general people. An about 100sq feet Bath place is there on the ground floor. For the entrance in bath place, there are seven doors on each of the four sides of the ground floor. At present, it is filled up with soil.



Fig. 3: Interior and outsider view of Hawakhana

VII. WHAT WILL BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE HERITAGE SITE- HISTORICAL PRESERVATION OR CONSERVATION?

Heritages are somethings that help to keep up the own identity of any nation or any county. Both preservation and conservation are necessary for any cultural heritage in different cases. Preservation is to maintain and preserve the heritage at the present stage, where heritage conservation is the contrast of preservation which allows the sustainable use and management of the present condition for the future over the period. So, we don't need historical preservation but we need building conservation, more appropriately heritage conservation. And heritage conservation can be used as the best planning scheme based on the inherited culture and cultural value of the place. Again, cultural heritage plays a crucial role in SDG 11 as it is the main goal dedicated to the sustainable development

of the cities. This goal aims to protect and safeguard the world's cultural heritage.

In the case of Hawakhana, as it is an old establishment and because of the privatization of the property, the structure is at the risk of demolition. The uniqueness of the structure has faded away because of the open-access of the local people into the structure. One of the main attractions of the structure that is the wide and attractive waterbody (Dighi) has lost its attractiveness because of the division of the waterbody. As the water body is now used for fishing purposes the main intention of excavation of the waterbody has faded away. And the natural elegance of the heritage site is on the way to lose. So, conservation is a must needed for this heritage site. In this respect Md. Fakhrul Alam, Planner, Urban Development Directorate (UDD) shared his experience of historical building conservation planning in the Rajshahi city area and also supports conservation techniques to maintain the historical value of these buildings with growing urban development.

VIII. PRESENT ATTEMPT TO THE PRESERVATION OF HAWAKHANA

Over the years, the deterioration of any structure is a natural process. As the structure is almost 3 km far away from the main Puthia Temple Complex and the structure has less connectivity with the main complex, so the popularity of the structure remains unknown to most of the visitors. For many of the years, the building remains unused with no cares. In recent times, the government has taken the venture of reconstruction and improvement of the Puthia Rajbari and Puthia Temple complex. In this process, the Hawakhana complex has also started to be improved and reconstructed. Research assistant of the Archeological department Shawl Talukder informed that 22 lakh taka cost for the improvement and redevelopment work of this building and a cost of 15 lakh taka used for the construction of the new road that connects the entrance of the Hawakhana complex with the existing road network of the area. The construction work has finished at the end of 2015.

IX. OVERVIEW ON CONSERVATION AND REHABILITATION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE ACT

This act is mainly a part of the Bangladesh national Building Construction Act, 2012 that is clearly stated as Chapter 3 of this act document. According to the Act, Building, place, or landscape representing any cultural, historical, religious, or spiritual values is a part of social life as well as community pride. So, a strike balance between the present development and heritage conservation is must needed. But being eligible for

conservation or rehabilitation any space or structure must fulfill the criterion defined in the Antiquities Act of 1968.

Conservation or rehabilitation projects must go through some major processes like Identification, Categorization, Chronology, Documentation, and Community Participation. The act also clearly states that in case of adaptive reuse of any structure, original elements of the buildings must not be destroyed. Again, in case of the development of any heritage site the development must not be contradictory with the present heritage. A logical consequence with the requirement of the region must be maintained. Great consideration should put in case of selecting building construction elements. In case of partial development or decoration of any buildings, the rules are almost the same as well.

X. POLICY RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

There are currently no official cultural policies in Bangladesh. The different departments under the ministry of cultural affairs perform various activities and practices to preserve and maintain the cultural heritage of Bangladesh. These practices are coined as "cultural heritage preservation policies" [2].

The practices of these cultural policies are not commonly used for any official purpose. Most of these departments have been created or recreated with a changed character after the liberation war of Bangladesh. Naturally, there had been continuous changes and some major modifications and development works took place in the infrastructural facilities and also in its activities until today, and funding patterns also changed accordingly [2].

Among all the departments of cultural policies in Bangladesh, the department of Archeology is working intending to preserve all archeological sites in Bangladesh. This department is responsible for the excavation and re-excavation of the site, to declare the site as a place of historical interest with all the responsibilities of the maintenance and preservation of the site.

Beyond the running activities of the archeological department, a large number of steps should be taken to ensure the perfect conservation and long-term sustainability of the heritage site. Some sorts of steps can be –

1. Active participation and involvement of the local community in all aspects of the development and implementation should be ensured. Open access to the building site should also be restricted for the long-term durability of the structure with the perfect elegance.
2. A special committee should be formed with the city development authority, Paurashava authority, and persons from other related fields which will work in collaboration with the archeological department and

the local community for the redevelopment and conservation of the heritage site.

3. Having higher potentiality as a tourist spot this site has a lower tourist attraction. So, special attention should be given to developing the site as an attractive tourist spot.
4. Although the site has good connectivity with the Dhaka-Rajshahi highway, another strong connectivity should be created with the main Puthia Raj Bari and Puthia Temple complex. Supportive facilities like information centers, food court, and other support facilities should be provided for the visitors.

All of the information's about the current situation of the heritage site and different types of heritage laws represent the potentiality of this site regarding a vibrant heritage site development. The present physical condition of the heritage site is overall good. But connectivity with the main temple complex and facilities for tourists like safety, security is very much poor. Besides, because of the privatization of the ponds is also responsible for decreasing tourist's attraction to this place. so, the responsible authority must take proper steps regarding making this place as a great tourist place with all types of facilities as well.

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Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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