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Oral History: The “Unspoken” and the Importance of Hearing those who have been Silenced

By Dr. Felipe Moraes

Summary- This article intends to understand the meanings and representations of silences. A demonstration of the importance of giving voice to those who have been silenced by state imposition, fear or shame will be discussed. Listening to those who have always been silenced enables them to build a new story or a story with otherness. Words are not always extracted from those who do not (or cannot) speak. In this case, being silenced brings, as well as says clear messages. Consequently, the interpretation of these silences is fundamental.

Keywords: words. silences. give voice.

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1. INTRODUCTION

At first, the role of silence will be demonstrated, as a language, its meanings and attributions. Among them, silence as a watcher of anguish, a cause of collective anxieties and suffering.

These reflections create the following question: what is the relevance or importance of “breaking” or interpreting the silences of those who have been silenced by fear, state imposition or shame? This is the object of the research and to be discussed throughout this article. The question cannot be developed without a precise analysis of what it represents and what “the unspoken” symbolizes (an expression used in the work *le non-dit des émotions* by Claude Olivenstein).

Specifically, these reflections attribute to the anguish of silence. Reflections found in the chapter “*le non-dit de angoisse*” and related to the thoughts of Jelena Markovic, who speaks a lot about the collective anxiety caused by silence.

The hypothesis of this questioning would be directly associated with a need to guarantee, from the hearing of those who were silenced, a “complacency for otherness”. In other words, the construction of a new non-majority history built from listening (sometimes silent) to those who have never said it or those who prefer not to say it (for many reasons).

This is a *new story* that is not based exclusively on official texts (such as books and newspapers that tell the official version). It is a search for reversing an imposed silence or for understanding or interpreting what “has not been said”.

The *new story* would not be concerned with the majority-official conception, but with those individual-minority memories. It is up to the interviewer of that silenced memory to acquire an ethical interpretation of a certain silence. This will be analyzed in its own topic.

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A well-known article by Michael Pollak is used as the theoretical basis (or reference) for this question “History, forgetfulness, silence”, published by Revista Estudos Históricos of Fundação Getúlio Vargas in 1989. This article asks why some reports never existed, as will be verified in a specific topic.

1. Silence as a (fluid) language, as a cultural construction and as a “watchman of anguish”: the importance of listening to (and understanding) silence

Silence is considered a kind of sound. According to Piccard: “language and silence belong together. Language has knowledge of silence as silence has knowledge of language¹”. In this sense, silence (as a language) is totally (and inextricably) connected with words.

According to Jelena, “silence and speech do not stand in total opposition to each other, but form a continuum of forms ranging from the most prototypical instances of silence to the most prototypical instances of speech²”

Silence is a form of communication, without a doubt, and it is also a cultural construction. Recent studies insist that silence is not just an acoustic phenomenon but also a cultural construct³.

An important reflection is that the use of words can, according to Claude Olivenstein, calm the anguish of those who have been silenced, even if only to a limited extent. The author interprets silence as “a watchman of anxieties.”

According to Olivenstein:

“Dès lors, le langage n est que le veilleur de l angoisse. Il peut apaiser comme aspirine apaise la fièvre, voire organiser, la mettre em oeuvre – pensons à Nietzsche ou

¹ Picard 1964, p xx apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 167

² Jaworski, Adam. 1993. The Power of Silence. Social and Pragmatic Perspectives. London: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483325460> apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 173

³ Beeman, William O. 2006. “Silence in Music”. In Silence. The Currency of Power. Maria-Luisa AchinoLoeb, ed. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 23–34, p 24 apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 173

Bataille – la réifier, la chosifier, la moquer, la transformer en fragmente du discours amoureux. Mais le langage se condamne à être impuissant parce qu'il organise la mise à distance de ce qui ne peut pas se mettre à distance⁴".

Language, according to Olivierstein, reassures silence, just as aspirin calms a fever. The role of spoken language would be to organize silence, albeit to a limited extent.

Silence is sometimes permeated by the anguish of those many who have never found a place to speak. Anguish of groups that can be punished, if they choose to break the silence. Finally, anguish for not having the right to resolve "misunderstandings⁵".

According to Jelena Markovic, there would also be a relationship between silence and anxiety caused by this "not saying". In other words, groups marked by imposed silences would have a kind of collective anxiety.⁶ According to the author, silence in such cases is more like a reflection of one's inability or one's need to avoid "status anxiety⁷".

To use that particular silence (usually imposed) can be a way of relieving anguish, anxiety and suffering. This is the understanding of Max Picard:

"It seems that mankind prefers to suffer in silence, *prefers to live in the world of silence, even if it be by suffering, than to take its suffering into the loud places of history* ⁸"

The author adds the importance of breaking the silence and shows how fundamental it is to externalize the suffering experienced in the form of silence.

Another characteristic to be developed here refers to another type of characteristic of silence. Silence, like memory, is fluid, malleable and under constant zigzag. This is what Olivierstein says:

"Les non-dits n e pas insonore, même sil silence de autre et pour l Autre. Si l angoisse est sacrifice de la raison, folie cachée dans l apparent raisonnable, son non dit l enlève um peu du monde des monstre pour le ramener à um ordre plus humain Au contraire du dit qui s efforce de ne plus

laisser de palce au hasard, *le non dits s autorise aix cafouillis, aux allers et retour, aux zigzags, à l affectif, à la non -parole dans l imaginaire*⁹".

Based on the question of the malleability of not saying (as an inseparable part of memory) other authors also reflect on this issue, although they use the expression memory. According to Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, memories or silence is something that is constantly changing. It would not be fixed, immutable, as Paul Thompson would defend. "It is a construction of the past based on emotions and experiences. It is flexible and events are remembered in the light of the subsequent experience and the needs of the present¹⁰."

An understanding corroborated by José Carlos Sebe:

"*Memory is malleable*, spiraling, not always directive, full of ups and downs, the memory of oral expression escapes from conventional notions (...) not being static or finished, the expression of oralized memory tends to escape from the frameworks of purity of the language (cultured norm) (...) memory of oral expression *is not the object of standing water* or simple containers for storage¹¹"

João Carlos Sebe, as well as Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, emphasizes how fluid the memory and silence happen to be and how much the memory is under constant transformation, using the expression: "oral memory is not an object of standing water". It is always surrounded by "instabilities, advances and setbacks."

"The verbal (*and not verbal*) dimension of memory is even more accelerated, it challenges the sequence of organization in the post-industrial world, and at the same time, tangency arising from economic, social or cultural relations: instabilities, repairs, daydreams, dreams, advances, setbacks and others speech measures because there would be no single meaning in speech¹²"

Therefore, silence is an inseparable language of spoken speech. As part of memory, it is malleable, fluid and functions as "anguish watchman" or often a cause of collective anxieties. Thanks to the malleability and individuality of words, silences and memory as a whole, spaces are opened for the construction of a new non-hegemonic-official history. This construction occurs when you hear those who could never be heard.

2. To understand the silence and the construction of a non-hegemonic discourse

According to Etienne François, the rise of the *oral history* movement is associated with a need to break

⁴ OLIVERSTEIN, Claude. *Le non-dits des émocion*. Éditions Odile Jacob, p 57.

⁵ POLLAK, Michael. *Memória, Esquecimento e silêncio*. *Revistas Estudos Históricos da Fundação Getúlio Vargas*. v. 2 n. 3 (1989), p 3-15, p 9.

⁶ The author uses as an example the living memories of survivors who prefer silence, when asked about the ethnic massacre they suffered in the villages of Lika. During the independence of Croatia (in the last decade of the last century), the Góspic region was marked by an excess of stories of conflict and violence, according to Jelena. According to the author: "is the fact that Lika, due to an "excess" of history marked by conflict and violence, represents a space of collective anxiety

⁷ BOTTOM 2005 apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 164

⁸ PICARD, Max. 1964. *The World of Silence*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company p 73 apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 163

⁹ OLIVIERSTEIN, Claude. *Le non-dit des émocion*. Éditions Odile Jacob, p 60.

¹⁰ MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta de. *História do tempo presente: desafios*. Cultura Vozes. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2000, p 11 apud DELGADO, *História Oral: memória, tempo, identidades*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Autêntica, 2002, p 39.

¹¹ SEBE, B, João Carlos. *Memórias e Narrativas: História Oral Aplicada*, São Paulo: Contextos Técnicos, 1ª ed, 2020, p 24.

¹² SEBE, B, João Carlos. *Memórias e Narrativas: História Oral Aplicada*, São Paulo: Contextos Técnicos, 1ª ed, 2020, p 24.

from the old bases of institutionalized academic history linked to official newspapers and books. The *oral history* would, therefore, be "another story", a way of guaranteeing, without a doubt, alterity. Oral history must also hear and interpret silences, since oral history is made up of words and silences.

One of the foundations of *oral history*, according to Michael Frisch, is "criticizing conventional history". According to this line of knowledge, the use of documentary techniques would be based on "extremely restricted notions of what (and whose) matters in history, and how (and by whom) historical change is generated, neglecting other types of memory (like linguistic interjections, a stammer, or even a tear).

Jean Chesneaux argues that "there is no neutrality in any form of approach to the past". To put it another way, "each one chooses his past and that choice is never innocent"¹³. The conventional model of historiography would have very clear objectives, that of building a majority, official and closed memory for the subjectivities, transients and individualities of memory.

According to Michael Frisch

"This criticism frequently highlighted the links between these *limited conceptions and the equally restricted notions of historical evidence* - for example, formal documents, newspapers and written memories - on which we commonly base historical narratives and analyzes, and the very notions of what can be known. and say with certainty and evidence about the past"¹⁴

The author stresses the limitation of a traditional source such as a formal document or a newspaper. *Oral history* appears, thus, as an attempt to become a certain historical fact that is less restricted, limited, homogeneous and little diversified. The defenders of this "other story" came to create an expression, known as *Alltagsgeschichte*¹⁵

The meaning of the word *Alltagsgeschichte* is associated with an "alternative, free and emancipatory history, a break with professional academic history"¹⁶. *Oral history* is innovative because of its special attention to the silent and excluded from official history, which makes it innovative in relation to its objects.

¹³ CHESNEAUX, Jean. Devemos fazer tábula rasa do passado? Sobre a história e os historiadores. São Paulo: Ática, 1995, p. 24 apud DELGADO, *História Oral: memória, tempo, identidades*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Autêntica, 2002, p. 55

¹⁴ THOMPSON, Alistair, FRISCH, Michael, HAMILTON, Paula. The memory and history debates: some international perspective. *Journal of Oral History*. Aug.1994, p.33-43 IN: MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta e AMADO, Janaína (ors). *Usos e Abusos da História Oral*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 8ª edi, 2019, p. 75.

¹⁵ FRANÇOIS, Etienne. Fecundité de l'histoire orale. Les Cahiers de l'HTP. Paris (4): 33-43, jun 1987 IN: MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta e AMADO, Janaína (ors). *Usos e Abusos da História Oral*. Editora FGV, Rio de Janeiro, 8ª edi, 2019, p. 4.

¹⁶ FRANÇOIS, Etienne. Fecundité de l'histoire orale. Les Cahiers de l'HTP. Paris (4): 33-43, jun 1987 IN: MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta e AMADO, Janaína (ors). *Usos e Abusos da História Oral*. Editora FGV, 8ª edi, 2019, p. 4

An understanding relatively close to that developed by Raphael Herberich-Marx:

"Al privilegiar el análisis de los excluidos, de los marginados y de las minorías, la historia oral resaltó la importancia de memorias subterráneas que, como parte integrante de las culturas minoritarias y dominadas, se oponen a la "memoria oficial", en este caso a la memoria nacional. En un primer momento, ese abordaje hace de la empatía con los grupos dominados estudiados una regla metodológica y rehabilita la periferia y la marginalidad. Al contrario de Maurice Halbwachs, ese abordaje acentúa el carácter destructor, uniformizante y opresor de la memoria colectiva nacional. Por otro lado, esas memorias subterráneas prosiguen su trabajo de subversión en el silencio y de manera casi imperceptible afloran en momentos de crisis a través de sobresaltos bruscos y exacerbados"¹⁷

At first, the author reinforces the importance of listening and listening to those who have been excluded or marginalized. In general, these "underground" memories are part of a dominated or oppressed culture, a type of memory in opposition to official or national memory and that can reconstruct those peripheral speeches.

Second, the author tries to reject the idea that it is possible to have a negotiation or conciliation between collective memories (majority) and individual memories (sometimes oppressed by an imposition).

Simply put, memory is under constant conflict. The existing silence regarding those memories as opposed to the majority version is that it needs to be (more than ever) studied, understood and interpreted, since the "unspoken" always means something.

Observing interjections, stutter and the silences of an oral memory does not mean the absence of meanings, quite the opposite. "Not saying" is also saying and it is a form of language or communication that must be taken into account in the construction of this new story.

Philip Joudart, even speaks of a need for greater visibility to "populations without history, the illiterate, the vanquished, the outcasts and other minorities like the workers, the blacks, the women"¹⁸ An approach that grants a preference for the *history seen from low*, prioritizing subjective views and individual paths.

Give a voice to minorities who have always had a distant view of majority history is also to interrupt silences, and to understand "what has not been said"

¹⁷ G. HERBERICH-MARX, F. Raphael, "Les incorporés de force alsaciens. Déni, convocation et provocation de la mémoire". *Vingtième Siècle*, 2, 1985, p. 83 apud

¹⁸ JOUTARD, Philipe. L'histoire Oral: bilan d'un quart de siècle de réflexion méthodologique et de travaux. In: XVIII E Congrès International de Sciences Historiques, Montreal 1995 IN: MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta e AMADO, Janaína (ors). *Usos e Abusos da História Oral*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 8ª edi, 2019, p. 45

out of shame, by the imposition of the majority or by State prohibition¹⁹.

The premise that memory is something under constant transformation and surrounded by "unspoken" and silences and, thus, guaranteeing the fundamental role of *Oral History*: giving voice to those who have never been heard, to what has never been said and, consequently, building a new story. Or, why not, understand and interpret what cannot be said? After all, not saying is also saying.

According to Olievenstein:

"Language is just the lookout for anguish ... But language condemns itself to be impotent because it organizes the distancing of that which cannot be put at a distance. It is there that intervenes, *with all the power, the inner discourse, the commitment of the unsaid, between what the subject confesses to himself and what he can transmit abroad*"²⁰

The importance of the silence (and to interpret the silence) is, therefore, fundamental to build another story. It is through words or metaphorical resources that images in a particular collective memory are broken. From a majority collective memory, usually imposed by the State, or by certain official "common senses".

It must be stressed that those who have been silenced are not always able to express themselves through words. Oral History, therefore, must also be aware of the silences and what these silences represent in the context. These silences, sometimes, stand out in the form of stutter or tears, which also is a very clear way of saying something. When a silenced voice is extracted, it is necessary to interpret what that cry or silences represented.

This was the line of knowledge advocated by Boaventura dos Santos. According to the aforementioned intellectual, there must be an attentive look at the fact that "the subjects who build history are many, they are plural, they are of different social origins". In this sense, oral history is a way of guaranteeing otherness and multiculturalism²¹.

Alexander Freund (in its chapter in the book "Oral History Off the Record") guarantees that the greatest attention or concern attributed to that silence must be limited to "off-the-record". According to the author, silence can "harbor secrets that might reveal otherwise unknowable truths".

Silence, as a revealed secret, would therefore be connected to the idea of a new story. A counterpoint to the majority and official history.²²

Based on Stuart Sim, silence avoids conflict, but it can highlight those old hegemonic-official speeches. According to the author mentioned above:

"Silence in the political sphere can be in the service of conflict management by preventing the escalation of verbal (but also physical) conflict, along with potentially increasing the inequality of opposing discourses and the existing social and symbolic inequalities. Silence and silencing discourses, therefore, also function as mechanisms for the production of hegemonic social relations"²³

The author emphasizes the act of silence as a political choice, avoiding verbal and even physical conflicts. On the other hand, silence would catalyze the inequality of opposition speeches, highlighting the existing inequalities.

In other words, silencing the discourse of a minority group ends up working as an instrument "for the production of hegemonic social relations". Somehow, there would be a tension between the dominant narrative and other, "small" stories as well as that which remains unsaid in such accounts²⁴.

3. How to guarantee otherness?

This title draws attention and coincides with the one of the objectives of this reflection: to demonstrate the role of oral history, guaranteeing space for those who remained silent out of shame, prohibition and or even state imposition, for those who were and still remain marginalized and that finally speak or express themselves through not saying.

a) *The importance of the "words and the silences" in the Oral History and the individual memory*

One of the roles and greatest challenges in oral history is precisely to oppose "the most legitimate of collective memories" (usually official). Oral history has the fundamental role of giving voice to individual memories. Specifically, individual groups that are most excluded in society, generally oppressed and who have been left out of this official version of traditional history - those who were left out of the majority memory.²⁵

¹⁹ FRANÇOIS, Etienne. Fecundité de l'histoire orale. Les Cahiers de l'HTP. Paris (4): 33-43, jun 1987 In: MORAES FERREIRA, Marieta e AMADO, Janaina (ors). *Usos e Abusos da História Oral*. Editora FGV, Rio de Janeiro, 8ª edi, 2019, p 4

²⁰ OLIEVENSTEIN, Claude. Les non-dits de l'émotion, Paris, Odile Jacob, 1988, p 57 apud POLLAK, Michael. Memória, Esquecimento e silêncio. *Revistas Estudos Históricos da Fundação Getúlio Vargas*. v. 2 n. 3 (1989), p 3-15, p 9.

²¹ SANTOS, Boaventura. *Pela Mão de Alice. O social e o político na pós modernidade*. Lisboa: Afrontamentos, 1994 apud DELGADO, Lucília de Almeida Neves. *História oral: memória, tempo, identidades*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Autêntica, 2006, p 55.

²² FREUND, Alexander. Identity in Immigration: Self conceptualization and myth in the narratives of german immigrant Woman in Vancouver (1950-1960) Available in: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/56369282.pdf>, p 224

²³ SIM, Stuart. 2007. Manifesto for Silence. *Confronting the Politics and Culture of Noise*. Edinburgh University Press p 13 apud JELENA.

²⁴ Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press apud MARKOVIĆ, Jelena. The Silence of fear, silencing by fear and the fear of silence. *Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb Original scientific paper Submitted*: 13. 3. 2020. Accepted: 24. 4. 2020, p 163

²⁵ POLLAK, Michael. Memória, Esquecimento e silêncio. *Revistas Estudos Históricos da Fundação Getúlio Vargas*. v. 2 n. 3 (1989), p 3-15, p 9

According to Pollak:

"These forbidden memories (the case of Stalinist crimes), unspeakable (the case of deportees) or *shameful* (that of forcibly recruited), are jealously guarded in informal communication structures and go unnoticed by society in general. Consequently, *there are in the memories of both shadow areas, silences, "not-said."* Obviously, the boundaries between these silences and "unsaid" and the definitive forgetting and the repressed unconscious are not watertight; are *in perpetual dislocation* ²⁶.

Pollak explains that the memories reside under the shadowy areas. It is in these areas that lies the silence and the unsaid. Silence says a lot and is usually associated with that unofficial memory.

"La frontera entre lo decible y lo indecible, lo confesable y lo inconfesable, separa, en nuestros ejemplos, una memoria colectiva subterránea de la sociedad civil dominada o de grupos específicos, de una memoria colectiva organizada que resume la imagen que una sociedad mayoritaria o el estado desean transmitir e imponer. Distinguir entre coyunturas favorables o desfavorables a las memorias marginadas es de entrada reconocer hasta qué punto el presente tiene el pasado".

A forgotten or ashamed memory and often individualized and excluded from non-majority groups somehow recognizes how much is present in that past - a past that was imposed.

According to Henri Rousso, the official story tries to frame the collective memory through different organizations of them that are members, clubs, reflection cells²⁷.

b) Pollak Examples

Pollak uses three examples of "silent memories". The first of these is the official Stalinist memory that prohibited, throughout the 20th century, the existence of reports that detracted the image of the political leader Stalin in the Soviet Union. Official, state and hegemonic memory has always prevented the existence of divergent and contrary reports to the magnanimous and heroic vision of this controversial "leader". In other words, it has always prohibited the dissemination of underground memories that invade public space and that show another type of truth.

The second example of "forbidden reporting", are those of memories of concentration camp survivors who returned to Germany and Austria after the end of the WWII. The author emphasizes the fear of the Jewish community to report what happened and the persecution suffered before completely changing the

official German policy of deporting Jews in Germanic territories. This silence was therefore associated with fear of possible or future deportations.

The third and last example of memoirs in silence is associated with those citizens of the region of Alsace, a French region annexed to Germany, during WWII. Part of the 130,000 enlisted inhabitants (who did not desert the area) happened to be incorporated into the German army by decree. Later, they became prisoners of war on the western front, specifically by the Red Army. In the 1950s, when they returned to the region of Alsace and Lorraine, they were ashamed to say what had happened. Ashamed to say that they served the German army by state imposition. Ashamed to say as well as to be misunderstood by the world for what they were forced to do or see.

4. The need for an ethical interpretation of silence

Many authors discuss, through examples, the reason for one or certain silences (repressors or oppressors). Alexander Freund, analyze two studies: The first one, are the encounters and memories of Germans (men and women) immigrated to North America (to be exact Canada) during World War II. Specifically, their memories and relationships with the Jews. The second study is about the identity of young single women who emigrated from Germany to Canada in the postwar period.

Alexander Freund discusses many interesting reflections, among them the need to "discuss the ways that oral historian's negotiations of off-the-record incidents are shaped by diffuse fears of silence and how our approaches to silence are entangled in negotiations of four professional and personal identities"²⁸.

But the central problem in question, according to Freund, would be: "in our emotionally charged quest for a complete and perfect interview, we are insufficiently prepared to accept our interviewees silence as a form agency in the interview situation"²⁹.

In some way, "we need to develop an ethical response to interviewee silence, an ethics of silence, which I attempt to address in my conclusion"³⁰. In other words, the interpretation of a silence must follow ethical criteria so that there is no personal interpretation (too much) of a given silence.

II. CONCLUSION

The article was divided into four parts. In the first one, we tried to characterize silence as a type of language or, as Claude Olivierstein would say, an anguish watchman. Silences can cause collective

²⁶ C. Olievenstein, Les non-dits de l'émotion, París, Odile Jacob, 1988 apud POLLAK, Michael. Memória, Esquecimento e silêncio. Revistas Estudos Históricos da Fundação Getúlio Vargas. v. 2 n. 3 (1989), p 3-15, p 9

²⁷ HOUSO, H, "Vichy, le grand fossé", Vingtième siècle, 5, 1985, p. 73 apud POLLAK, Michel. Memoria, Olvido, Silencio, p 12 available in: https://www.comisionporlamemoria.org/archivos/jovenesymemoria/bibliografia_web/memorias/Pollak.pdf

²⁸ FREUND, Alexander. Identity in Immigration: Self conceptualization and myth in the narratives of german immigrant Woman in Vancouver (1950-1960) Available in: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/56369282.pdf>. Acesso em 23 de Março de 2020, p 223

²⁹ Idem, p 224

³⁰ Idem, p 224.

anxiety, as noted by Jelena Markovic. Silence would be an interdisciplinary field, involving other branches of knowledge, in addition to linguistics. In this first part of the article, the character of silence as fluid and malleable was also confirmed (as well as memory as a whole).

The second topic of this article was the record of the choice by the line of oral history that privileges those who have been silenced. This guarantees a voice to those who are silenced and to those who did not speak out of fear, by imposition, by state imposition. This was the main objective of this reflection.

It is also possible to conclude that the challenge of guaranteeing a voice for the silenced is one of the skillful instruments of making a new story. Michael Pollak's article on Memories and Silences was used as a theoretical framework. The article also added some characteristics of silenced memory, in addition to other characteristics verified by other authors, such as the fact that memory is always in movement or transformation.

In this sense, it was recorded how much silence is also a way of saying something. In other words, how not to say anything is also a way of saying it. Even though there were no words, often stutters, interjections, tears happen to say a lot.

Finally, it was possible to conclude the importance of Alexander Freund's studies. The same emphasized the ethical limits when interpreting silences, considering the identities and personal meanings of the interviewer with that research object. It is a kind of restriction on the freedom and fluidity of a certain not to say.

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The Suma de Geographia by Fernández de Enciso, 1519: Piloting and Geography

By Gabriel Pintos Amengual

Abstract- In this article we delve into the text of Martín Fernández de Enciso from a global perspective after analyzing the general aspects, the specific contents: methods of astronomical positioning, descriptive geography, the adaptation of the text to teaching and the modernity band; framed in the formation of the pilots of the Carrera de Indias of the time slot in which it edited. As a result, the Suma de Geographia is a manual for the pilots of the Carrera de Indias, made up of the three subjects necessary for the pilot of the time: astronomy, navigation and geography.

Keywords: *martín fernández de enciso; piloting; geography; navigation; century xvi.*

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The Suma de Geographia by Fernández de Enciso, 1519: Piloting and Geography

La Suma de Geographia de Fernández de Enciso, 1519: Pilotaje y Geografía

Gabriel Pintos Amengual

Resumen- En este artículo nos adentramos en el texto de Martín Fernández de Enciso desde una perspectiva global, previo análisis de los aspectos generales y los contenidos concretos referente a: métodos de posicionamiento astronómico, geografía descriptiva, la adecuación del texto a la docencia y la banda de modernidad; enmarcado en la formación de los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias de la franja temporal en la que fue editado el texto. Lo que ha resultado que, la *Suma de Geographia* se trata de un manual para los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias, constituido por las tres materias necesarias al piloto de la época: astronomía, navegación y geografía.

Palabras clave: Martín Fernández de Enciso: pilotaje; geografía; navegación; siglo xvi.

Abstract- In this article we delve into the text of Martín Fernández de Enciso from a global perspective after analyzing the general aspects, the specific contents: methods of astronomical positioning, descriptive geography, the adaptation of the text to teaching and the modernity band; framed in the formation of the pilots of the Carrera de Indias of the time slot in which it edited. As a result, the *Suma de Geographia* is a manual for the pilots of the Carrera de Indias, made up of the three subjects necessary for the pilot of the time: astronomy, navigation and geography.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Los grandes descubrimientos marítimos de los siglos XV y XVI, tuvieron como protagonistas a ilustres pilotos como: Cristóbal Colón (1451-1506), Juan de la Cosa (?-1509), Martín Alonso Pinzón (1441-1493), Vicente Yáñez Pinzón (1462-1514), Francisco Martín Pinzón (1445-1502), Américo Vespucio (1454-1512), Juan Díaz Solís (1470-1516), Sebastián Caboto (1484-1557) y Juan Sebastián Elcano (1486-1526), que ocasionaron un gran impulso a las ciencias positivas partiendo del empirismo, con el resultado del agrandamiento, entre 1492 y 1522, de la esfera de la superficie terrestre en unos 220° (Ispizua 1926, 3). Esta nueva realidad afectó a la formación de los pilotos, a los que a partir de 1508 se les exigió estar en posesión del título de piloto de la Carrera de Indias para poder realizar los viajes a Indias. También afectó a la geografía ya que fue necesario dibujar y describir las nuevas tierras descubiertas. En ese marco se editó el libro de Fernández de Enciso, tal como consta en el

privilegio. En la historiografía sobre la ciencia, la obra ha sido objeto de diversas consideraciones, como un tratado de navegación por (Fernández de Navarrete 1846; Ibáñez 2002; Pérez Mallaina (s/f), González del Piñal 2006; Mena y Díaz 2020) mientras que, (González 1992; Melón y Ruiz de Gordejuela 1977) lo definen como el primer manual de geografía escrito en castellano, a la vez que Cuesta Domingo (2012) no duda en calificar a Martín Fernández de Enciso como “El primer geógrafo, propiamente dicho, del Nuevo Mundo”. En cuanto a su contenido Melón y Ruiz de Gordejuela (1977), lo divide en dos partes, la primera la califica de Geografía Astronómica o Náutica y a la segunda de Geografía descriptiva o Regional. Mientras que, a efectos de este trabajo, la clasificamos en tres partes, teniendo en cuenta las limitaciones científicas del momento, Astronomía náutica, Navegación y Geografía descriptiva.

Los portugueses fueron los primeros que recopilaban los conocimientos útiles a los navegantes en la llamada *Guía de Munich* (ca. 1509), considerada como la obra impresa de navegación más antigua (Sellés 1994), y la *Guía de Évora* (ca. 1516), que incluían los “Regimientos” o conjunto de reglas que los pilotos tenían que utilizar para determinar la latitud en que se encontraban: el Regimiento de la Polar para calcular la latitud por la altura de la Polar y el Regimiento del Sol para calcular la latitud observada por la altura meridiana del Sol, también incluían la traducción al portugués de la *Esfera* de Sacrobosco, así como las tablas de declinación del Sol. En España, la *Suma de Geographia* pudo ser el primer manual de apoyo a la enseñanza con la que contaron los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias, título que en ese momento se expedía para cada Carrera (Pintos 2021), así Navarro (1967) en su relación de pilotos y maestros examinados, entre 1568 y 1600, tiene censadas las siguientes Carreras: Tierra Firme, Nueva España, Santo Domingo, Habana, Puerto Rico y Honduras.

En este trabajo no tratamos de realizar un estudio sobre filosofía y ciencia en la geografía, sino de analizar el texto de Fernández de Enciso teniendo en cuenta las materias que trata, con el objetivo general de determinar la conexión existente entre pilotaje y geografía, enmarcado en la época en que se editó el texto, para lo cual planteamos los siguientes objetivos

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específicos: analizar el contenido del texto, determinar los conceptos incluidos y si cubría las materias correspondientes a la formación de los pilotos, elementos que constituyen la importancia de esta investigación, ya que no hemos encontrado trabajos que estudien la obra de Fernández de Enciso desde esta perspectiva.

De acuerdo con el propósito de este trabajo, después de la introducción, nos adentramos en los materiales y método, continuamos con el estado del pilotaje y la geografía en 1519 para poder establecer cómo se encontraban estas dos ciencias en el momentos de la edición de la *Suma de Geographia* y su interrelación, a continuación nos adentramos en el análisis de los aspectos generales, los contenidos concretos que se refieren a los métodos de posicionamiento astronómico, la Geografía descriptiva y la adecuación del texto a la docencia, para finalizar con las conclusiones.

II. MATERIALES Y MÉTODO

Para conseguir los objetivos marcados hemos seguido el método histórico que, nos ha permitido reunir evidencias de hechos ocurridos, hacer una aproximación histórica del problema a tratar y fijar su dimensión histórica. A tal efecto hemos seguido el proceso en cada una de sus fases: la heurística, la crítica, la hermenéutica y la exposición. En primer lugar, hemos realizado una búsqueda de las fuentes y la bibliografía más relevante para nuestro estudio. La bibliografía relacionada sobre el tema se ha localizado fundamentalmente a partir de bases de datos, bibliotecas físicas y virtuales. Inicialmente consistió en libros y artículos básicos, relacionados con las Enseñanzas Náuticas, con la Ciencia y la Técnica aplicada a la Navegación y la Geografía. La documentación procedente de los fondos de diferentes archivos también nos ha permitido conocer de primera mano aspectos fundamentales de la formación de los pilotos. Al tratarse de una investigación de tipo histórico matemático sobre un libro de texto antiguo y su adecuación al plan de estudios de 1508 para los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias, en lo que se refiere a las fuentes documentales, hemos trabajado siempre con originales, lo que nos ha evitado realizar comprobaciones y comparaciones para certificarlos, en cuanto al texto de Fernández de Enciso hemos trabajado con la edición que está depositada en la Biblioteca de Can Sales de Palma, en el que la *Suma de Geographia* y la *Historia de Indias* constituyen un volumen facticio (CCPH000015477-6), se ha verificado que no estuviese dañado ni le faltasen hojas, las transcripciones se han realizado literalmente respetando su contenido, en cuanto han surgido dudas por la grafía empleada en el documento, se han resuelto mediante la comparación con otras transcripciones localizadas. En cuanto a

los textos se ha respetado su literalidad y su sentido. La técnica de análisis para la evaluación del libro se ha realizado de acuerdo con la metodología confeccionada ex profeso para los textos de náutica establecida por Itsaso Ibáñez y José Llombart adaptado al presente estudio, en la que tiene en cuenta tres fases:

Los aspectos generales en los que se evalúan la presentación física y el contenido intelectual.

Los contenidos concretos que se refieren a los métodos de posicionamiento astronómico y la Geografía descriptiva.

Adecuación del texto a la docencia y banda de modernidad. En esta fase se presta especial atención a la comparación de los contenidos desarrollados con la evolución de la disciplina. En donde tendremos en cuenta no sólo las aportaciones originales del autor sino también a la modernidad de sus contenidos (Hormigón 1995) de acuerdo con la disciplina que se estudie (Ibáñez y Llombart 2001). Mientras que, hemos tratado la adecuación del texto analizado de acuerdo con el plan de estudios al que se le puede asociar por fecha de edición, o por el plan de estudios en el cual ha sido recomendado o establecido su obligatoriedad.

III. MARCO GENERAL

a) Pilotaje en 1519

La Real Cédula de 1508 creó el cargo de piloto mayor de la Casa de Contratación de Indias para atender a la formación de los pilotos y relacionar todas las tierras descubiertas mediante el padrón real con la información aportada por los pilotos al regreso de sus viajes (Veitia Linaje 1672, 140; Pulido Rubio 1950, 67, 255, 257; López Piñero 1979, 101). La Casa de Contratación de Indias, posiblemente constituyó el primer centro de enseñanza a cargo del Estado, de la Historia Moderna (Pérez Mallaína 2010), y la formación de los pilotos en la primera enseñanza científico-técnica, a la que López Piñero (1979, 52) incluyó, en la España del siglo XVI, entre las profesiones reguladas relacionadas con la ciencia junto con los médicos, cirujanos, boticarios y albéitares. Hasta el momento en que se instituyó el cargo de piloto mayor "la experiencia fue la única fuente de los conocimientos de un marino antes de la creación de la Casa de Contratación" (Pérez Mallaína 2010), a partir de ahí continuaron formándose en la parte práctica a bordo de los buques iniciándose en la profesión como pajes, grumetes, marineros y aquellos que más aptitudes tenían, después de cumplir los requisitos previstos accedían al grado de piloto de la Carrera de Indias (Pulido Rubio 1950; Sánchez Martínez 2010; Pintos 2022). Debido a la forma en que se iniciaban en la profesión y la dureza de la vida a bordo de las naos, a las profesiones del mar acudían gente pobre e inculta, los pilotos solo sabían alguna regla de pilotaje aprendida en las conversaciones de puerto y eran pocos los capaces de entenderlas de forma

razonada (García Franco 1947, vol. 2, 177). Aún así, cabe destacar que, los pilotos españoles y portugueses fueron los primeros que utilizaron la navegación astronómica en el Atlántico, valiéndose de astrolabio y tablas de declinación del Sol para el cálculo de la latitud al mediodía, para lo que era imprescindible, como mínimo, el conocimiento de los rudimentos de la Astronomía Náutica. La formación de los pilotos quedó encomendada al piloto mayor, mediante la citada Real Cédula de 1508, en la que especificaba la enseñanza que tenían que recibir para poder navegar a Indias, en la que se dio una especificación muy genérica, de cómo tenía que ser: “[...] sean instruidos y sepan lo que es necesario de saber en el cuadrante e astrolabio, para que junta la platica con la teorica, [...]” “[...] y porque a los que no lo supieren, mas fácilmente lo puedan aprender de vos, mandamos que les enseñéis en vuestra casa en Sevilla [...]” (Pulido Rubio 1950, 66-67). En la que no se olvidó de reseñar la importancia que tenía que tener la práctica en la enseñanza de la profesión, ya que para acceder a los exámenes se estableció como requisito indispensable haber navegado como marinero una serie de viajes a Indias. Los contenidos teóricos que debían formar el cuerpo de conocimientos para poder cumplir la exigencia de la Real Cédula, estaban compuestos por: conocimiento y manejo de las tablas de declinación solar, reglas de la sombra producida por luz solar al tomar su altura y su desarrollo, normas para tomar la altura del Sol, determinación de la latitud por altura meridiana, normas para tomar la altura de la Estrella Polar, determinación de la latitud por la Estrella Polar, uso del astrolabio y cuadrante

Volviendo al ejercicio de la profesión de piloto, en el espacio temporal al que está circunscrita la obra de Fernández de Enciso, conviene recordar que además de los conocimientos sobre astronomía y navegación que debía poseer el piloto, era fundamental el conocimiento de los lugares por donde debía ejercer la profesión, de esta manera, como hemos apuntado anteriormente, los títulos se expedían por derrotas e incluso para navegar entre ciertos puertos. Y en consecuencia, en algunos manuales de navegación, incluían diversos itinerarios de la ecúmene, que en este trabajo hemos agrupado con el nombre de Geografía descriptiva, al no poderla incluir, al menos en este caso, dentro de los denominados Derroteros¹, al no cubrir los elementos que los caracterizan.

¹ Los Derroteros son textos configurados para la ayuda a la navegación en zonas concretas de la costa, normalmente contienen los siguientes datos: datos geográficos de la costa descrita; páginas dedicadas a la meteorología de la zona; indicación de los fenómenos meteorológicos que se dan con más frecuencia en la zona, sobre todo los que conciernen a la entrada súbita de mal tiempo, así como información sobre vientos dominantes, precipitaciones, temperaturas, humedad, etc.; los peligros cercanos a la costa; descripción de los fondos especificando la sonda; las corrientes predominantes,

b) Geografía en el 1519

El siglo XIII es considerado como el momento en que la civilización del occidente medieval alcanza su momento de equilibrio y máximo desarrollo (Claramunt et al. 1995). Políticamente, es una etapa que se puede calificar de estable, en la que los reinados de Fernando III (1217-1252) o Alfonso X en Castilla (1252-1284), Jaime I de Aragón (1213-1276), Luis IX de Francia (1226-1270) y Eduardo I en Inglaterra (1272-1307) son duraderos (Valdeón et al. 2018). En la península ibérica del siglo XIII existían cinco reinos cristianos: Portugal, Castilla y León, Navarra, Aragón, y una España islámica o Al-Andalus al sur unificada por el imperio almohade. Hay que destacar que este siglo se inició con dos hechos de distinto signo y consecuencias similares: la victoria sobre los almohades en las Navas de Tolosa en 1212 y la derrota y muerte de Pedro II de Aragón en 1213 en Muret, que sirvieron para la disgregación del imperio norteafricano posibilitando el avance hacia el Sur de castellanos leoneses y portugueses; por otra parte obligaron a los catalanes y aragoneses a renunciar a su presencia en Occitania y a buscar la expansión por los dominios islámicos (Valdeón et al. 2018).

Los castellanos y leoneses, y los portugueses extendieron sus fronteras hasta el estrecho de Gibraltar, facilitando la navegación cristiana entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico, fomentando el comercio entre las ciudades italianas y flamencas, acogiendo las ciudades costeras portuguesas y castellanas a mercaderes que activaron la importación de productos de lujo y la exportación de materias primas. Mientras, los aragoneses y catalanes ocuparon el reino valenciano y se expandieron hasta las Baleares, interviniendo directamente en el comercio del Mediterráneo occidental en el que competían con las ciudades italianas. También se buscó la expansión mediante nuevas rutas terrestres. Como las que abrieron en sus viajes como embajadores del papa Clemente IV y Luis IX de Francia ante el Gran Mongol, Juan del Plan Carpino (1246-1247) hacia el Asia Central y Guillermo de Rúbruck en (1253-1255) al Extremo Oriente (García Díez et al. 1990). Estos, entre otros, facilitaron la entrada de los mercaderes en el Asia Central, en la que se adentraron en 1250 los venecianos Nicolás y Mateo Polo, llegando a ser embajadores en Occidente del Gran Kan Kubilay. El hijo de de Nicolás, Marco Polo, en 1298 describió su viaje a China desde su punto de vista de mercader en el libro *Le divisament du monde, Livre*

temperatura del agua del mar y las corrientes producidas por las variaciones en el nivel de la marea, si las hubiera; detalle de los peligros, fondeaderos, puertos, etc.; detalle las instrucciones de entrada en los puertos, dependiendo del lugar de procedencia; también Incluyen vistas a mano alzada de la costa.

des merveilles du monde, conocido en italiano por *Il Milione*. En la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, los viajes a través de las rutas terrestres orientales se hicieron difíciles debido a los enfrentamientos entre los jefes mongoles, la India en 1351 entró en una etapa de anarquía, en la que no se podía garantizar la paz de los viajeros. Lo que trajo consecuencias comerciales, que afectaron a los precios de la seda, especias, etc., por su escasez. En el siglo XV se experimenta un aumento de la demanda de los artículos orientales en Europa, que el transporte terrestre ya no podía satisfacer, por dos motivos: su lentitud y limitación del volumen a transportar, que encarecía el precio del transporte, por una parte, y, por otra, la conquista de la ciudad de Bizancio, antigua capital del Imperio Romano de Oriente, por el imperio turco en 1453, hecho que dificultó el tráfico comercial entre Europa y el Oriente. Las dificultades descritas para llegar a la India, obligaron a buscar una ruta alternativa a través del Atlántico, como ya intentaron en 1291 los hermanos genoveses Ugelino y Vadino Vivaldi (Rogers 1955, p.36). A pesar del fracaso que resultó la expedición, los italianos volvieron a intentarlo, en el siglo XIV Lançarote Malocello llegó a Canarias y una expedición florentina y genovesa en 1341 desembarcó en Madeira y posiblemente en las Azores. El cartógrafo Angelino Dulcert (Mallorca, siglo XIV) por los mismos años (1339) incluyó en su portulano el río Níger y en 1346 el navegante Jaume Ferrer (Mallorca, siglo XIV) salió de Mallorca rumbo al río del oro, viaje del cual no regresó (Arranz 2006). La posible causa del fracaso de las expediciones pudo ser debido al uso de las embarcaciones típicas del Mediterráneo, que no eran las más adecuadas para las navegaciones por el Atlántico. Por fin, en 1434 el piloto portugués Gil Eanes venció el terror supersticioso que significaba rebasar el cabo Bojador, con lo que se inició la época de los grandes descubrimientos, Portugal orientó su expansión explorando África, tierra adentro el Sahara, Senegal, y Gambia, y por mar todo su costa Occidental, terminada esta, pasaron a la Oriental (Rey Pastor 1970). Mientras que los castellanos emprendieron la expansión hacia el Atlántico navegando hacia poniente, con el resultado del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo en 1492. Estos periplos se pudieron realizar debido a la conjunción de una serie de elementos: la política expansiva desarrollada principalmente por los pueblos ibéricos, la perseverancia de los navegantes y el desarrollo de la ciencia y de la técnica aplicada a la navegación y la construcción naval. En general, los pueblos ibéricos hicieron una gran contribución a las ciencias positivas en la Edad Moderna y particularmente a la Geografía y a la Navegación, posibilitada por la preparación técnica impartida a los pilotos en la Casa de la Contratación que facilitó los viajes oceánicos y la recopilación de los datos geográficos de las tierras descubiertas para su descripción y representación. Durante ese periodo de la

historia predominó Ptolomeo como el principal geógrafo de la antigüedad, la perspectiva matemática con la que imprimió su obra despertó el interés y revolucionó el conocimiento geográfico. En el desarrollo de la ciencia geográfica en los siglos XV y XVI, Lisi (1994) distingue tres vías totalmente diferenciadas: la geografía de Ptolomeo, los descubrimientos de nuevas tierras y la cartografía, a las que nosotros, a efectos de este estudio, añadimos una cuarta vía, los Derroteros, por la importancia que tienen como ayuda a la navegación a la vista de la costa, así como por la variedad de datos que aportan de alto interés geográfico y que no son incluidos en ninguna otra publicación geográfica. La obra de Pomponio Mela *De situ Orbis* constituyó el texto de geografía de referencia y consulta hasta que con el descubrimiento de América se creó la Ciencia Geográfica (Fernández Vallín 1989, 69). Por otra parte Gavira (1931) mantiene que la Península Ibérica fue donde más se estudió la Geografía y la Astronomía, soportando la práctica con la teoría, sin embargo, asegura que “las obras de tratadistas españoles, es mucho más el valor “práctico”, en cuanto al arte de navegar se refiere, que el científico o de geografía natural” (Gavira 1931, 4), a continuación para poder determinar el estado de la Geografía en esa época, selecciona cuatro autores de obras catalogadas como manuales del “Arte de navegar”: Martín Cortés (1551), Martín Fernández Enciso (1519), Jerónimo de Chaves (1545) y Francisco Faleiro (1535), de las cuales analiza las siguientes materias: Definición de la esfera y cuerpos que la componían; Forma dimensiones y movimientos de la Tierra y Cielos; Eclipses. Explicación de algunos fenómenos físicos; De la Luna. Zonas y descripciones geográficas. Lo que implica, una vez más, la estrecha línea existente, en el siglo XVI, entre pilotaje y geografía.

Un año antes que se editase el libro de Fernández de Enciso, el 22 de marzo de 1518, se firmaron en Valladolid las capitulaciones por las que Magallanes quedaba autorizado, al mando de cinco naves, para buscar un estrecho por la parte del sur de las Indias para poderse dirigir a las islas del Maluco (Comellas 2019, 33), lo que daría como resultado final la primera vuelta al Mundo capitaneada por Juan Sebastián Elcano (1522), lo que junto a los viajes de Cristóbal Colón, y Vasco de Gama constituirían los viajes más memorables que se han realizado en la historia (Ispizua 1926, 3-4). Y, en el mismo año de edición de la *Suma de Geographia* se imprimió en Portugal el llamado *Atlas Miller*, en el que se representa el Viejo Mundo y las tierras descubiertas hasta 1500, confeccionado de acuerdo con el sistema ptolemaico por los cartógrafos Lopo Homen, Pedro Reinel y su hijo Jorge.

Sería muy interesante, tanto para completar la obra de Fernández de Enciso como para poder centrar el estado de la geografía en 1519, contar con el

mapamundi no localizado, así como resolver los interrogantes que se plantean sobre ¿cómo el abogado dibujó el mundo, el motivo por el que no se incluyó en el libro, de dónde extrajo la información para poderlo construir, si se valió de los datos del padrón real que en 1518 coordinó en la Casa de la Contratación Hernando

Colón, o por el contrario el mapamundi consistió en una adaptación del de Juan de la Cosa (1500)? Estos interrogantes constituyen un gran misterio que han tratado de resolver, exponiendo diversas teorías, desde Melón Ruiz de Gordejuela a Mena y Díaz.

IV. RESULTADOS

a) El texto. Aspectos generales



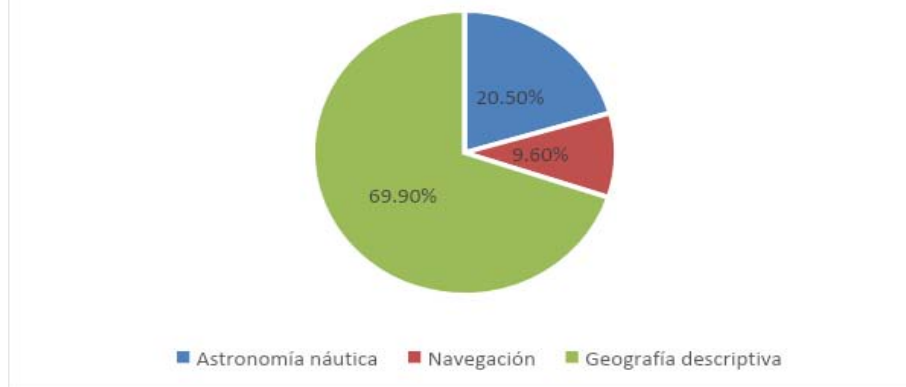
Figura 1: Frontispicio la *Suma de Geographia* [...] de Fernández de Enciso (Sevilla, 1519).

El libro de Martín Fernández de Enciso escrito con una clara vocación pedagógica representó en general una importante contribución a la ciencia y en particular a la formación de los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias. A pesar de ser una obra impresa, la tipografía empleada es del tipo de las labores manuscritas, editada a 42 líneas por página, en formato de 28 cm y una extensión de 73 folios, en los que incluye en los márgenes anotaciones referidas al tema tratado a modo de guía temática, además incorporó al texto dos ilustraciones de tamaño grande y buena calidad. A pesar de haberse inspirado en muchos autores, como: los dos Ptolomeos, Estrabón, Plinio y Eratóstenes, no los cita en el texto, sólo hace referencia al final a modo de bibliografía en el apartado encabezado “Fenece la suma de geografía con.”. Martín Fernández de Enciso, con esta obra inicia el amplio rol de autores españoles

que vieron impresos sus libros sobre Pilotaje. La obra conoció dos reediciones, ambas en Sevilla, la 1ª por Juan Crombergen Alemán, 1530 y la 2ª por Andrés de Burgos, 1546. González (1992) añade una edición más en inglés traducida por John Frampton. No hemos localizado ninguna otra reedición, ni ninguna otra obra de este autor.

El cuerpo de la obra está constituido por privilegio real, prólogo, la materia que trata desarrollada sin solución de continuidad, de acuerdo con la distribución de la figura 2. El texto no aporta índice, tampoco cuenta con el mapamundi al que hace referencia Fernández de Enciso a lo largo de la obra.

Composición porcentual por materias de la *Suma de Geographia* 1519



Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Figura 2: Composición porcentual de la *Suma de Geographia* de Fernández de Enciso (1519) por materias² (% del total de páginas).

En el privilegio real que emite Castañeda en nombre del Rey Carlos I, queda constancia del objetivo que llevó a escribir este texto etiquetado de “cosmografía” al bachiller Martín Fernández de Enciso alguacil mayor de Castilla del oro, que era el de que “los pilotos y mareantes se rigiesen y gobernasen en el marear” (Fernández de Enciso 1519, s.n).

Con este objetivo bien definido, se le concedió licencia y facultad de imprimir en Zaragoza a cinco días del mes de septiembre de mil quinientos dieciocho al bachiller Martín Fernández de Enciso o a quien diera poder, para imprimir el libro y venderlo a ciento treinta y seis maravedís cada uno, por un periodo de diez años. También estableció la prohibición de imprimirlo a cualquier otra persona y la pena de perder los libros en que incurriera quien lo hiciese, repartiendo los importes obtenidos a partes iguales entre el autor y la cámara real.

En el prólogo de la obra, Fernández de Enciso se presenta como alguacil mayor de la tierra firme de las Indias occidentales. En donde ofrece esta obra, escrita en castellano, a un joven Carlos I (1500-1558) poco ilustrado en geografía, para que pudiese conocer las provincias, su ubicación, los accidentes geográficos y las cosas del universo. También se la destina a los pilotos que tenían que descubrir nuevas tierras, o para los que tenían que navegar en demanda de otras.

La primera parte corresponde a la Astronomía náutica, materia fundamental para poderse iniciar en la segunda, en la que inspirado en las ideas ptolemaicas describe la forma del mundo, de los círculos que componen la esfera terrestre y celestial, de los ortos y

ocazos, la división de los climas, los planetas y los eclipses, este bloque constituye el 9,6% del contenido total de la obra.

La segunda parte correspondiente a Navegación, se inicia con las tablas de la declinación del Sol desde el año primero después del bisiesto al cuarto, continua con los regimientos del Sol y del Norte, el regimiento del astrolabio y el cuadrante, fija el meridiano en la isla del Hierro, la forma en que llevaban la estima los pilotos, a la vez que daba instrucciones sobre la construcción de la cartas, este bloque constituye el 20,5% de la obra, de los cuales 15% corresponden a la tablas de declinación y el 5,5% a la Navegación propiamente dicha.

La tercera parte corresponde a la Geografía descriptiva, es la más amplia de la obra, abarca un 69,9%, lo inicia en Tarifa y va recorriendo por derrotas y alturas las costas conocidas hasta ese momento, a la vez que describe el interior del territorio a través de las cuencas hidrográficas.

b) *Contenidos concretos*

En lo que se refiere a los métodos de posicionamiento astronómico, la parte dedicada al cálculo de la latitud está ubicada a continuación del apartado correspondiente al número de leguas que se cuentan por grado en cada rumbo navegado, como materia a saber para “tomar la altura del norte”. En el apartado destinado a reconocer la Polar introduce el cálculo de la latitud por esa estrella, pasando al cálculo de la latitud por altura meridiana del Sol en el

² Las materias se han agrupado de la siguiente forma: Astronomía náutica incluye la composición del mundo y de los principios universales que se requieren para la navegación, los movimientos del Sol y de la Luna y de los efectos que sus movimientos causan; la Navegación incluye la composición y usos de los instrumentos, así como de las reglas de la navegación para poder guiar el buque de un punto a otro y las tablas correspondientes a la declinación del Sol; Geografía descriptiva toda la parte correspondiente a la geografía.

Regimiento del astrolabio y cuadrante para la declinación del Sol y el lugar en que está cada día. La parte correspondiente a la Geografía descriptiva es la de mayor contenido, describe las nuevas tierras descubiertas y facilita la navegación por altura y distancia entre los puntos descritos a pesar de no incluir el mapamundi al que hace referencia a lo largo del texto.

i. *Latitud por altura meridiana*

Antes de empezar a explicar el cálculo de la latitud por meridiana de Sol, se adentra en el manejo de las tablas de declinación y resalta las siguientes particularidades: en las fechas del 11 de marzo y el 14 de septiembre el Sol no tiene declinación, en los años bisieptos hay que contar un día más, los meses de marzo a agosto tiene signo positivo y negativo de septiembre a febrero. A partir de ahí y con los datos de la altura observada del Sol (a), su declinación (d) y las sombras, da dos sencillas reglas para el cálculo de la latitud observada en el caso del observador situado en el Sur:

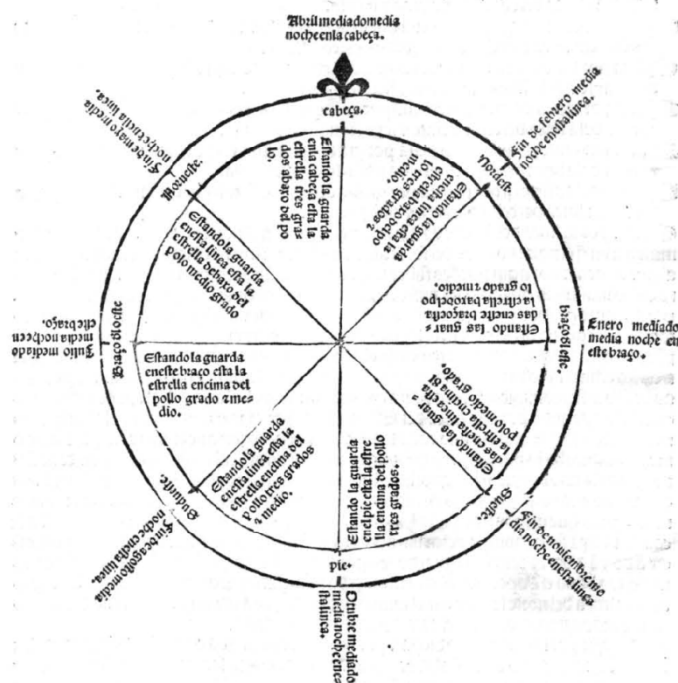
Observador situado en el Sur, declinación del Sol de la misma especie y las sombras a la parte del Sur, entonces $lo = (a - d) - 90^\circ$.

Observador situado en el Sur, declinación del Sol de la misma especie y las sombras a la parte del Norte, si $(a + d) > 90^\circ$, entonces el exceso es el valor de lo . Si $(a + d) = 90^\circ$, nos encontramos debajo de la equinoccial.

Las mismas reglas sirven cuando el observador está situado en el Norte, teniendo en cuenta que si la declinación es Sur entonces se suma la altura y la declinación.

ii. *Latitud por la Polar*

Fernández de Enciso tiene en cuenta que la Polar no está exactamente en el Polo Norte, por lo que para poderla localizar y saber a qué distancia se encuentra y poder calcular la hora, adjunta la figura 3, en la que en función de la posición del observador con respecto a las guardas se puede calcular la hora. El cálculo de la latitud del observador (lo) que vendrá determinada por la altura de la Polar (a) y la corrección (C) según la expresión: $lo = a \pm C$, en donde la corrección (C) viene dada por la distancia entre la Polar y el polo en función de la posición del observador con respecto a las guardas.



Fuente: Fernández de Enciso, 1519, fol. s.n.

Figura 3: Corrección a aplicar en función de la posición de la Guarda.

iii. *Geografía descriptiva*

Antes de iniciar el apartado destinado a la Geografía se adentra en la división del Mundo en dos zonas (Oriental y Occidental) centra la separación en el meridiano que pasa por la isla de Hierro, a partir de ahí divide la parte Oriental en: Asia, la India Oriental, África y Europa, mientras que a Europa la divide en seis:

España, Francia, Alemania, Italia, Grecia y Escitia. Aunque que, los antiguos dividían a España en tres partes, Fernández de Enciso lo hace en seis, teniendo en cuenta las vertientes de los cinco ríos que la cruzan: Ebro, Marín (Miño), Tajo, Guadalquivir y Guadiana. Finalizada la enumeración de las áreas geográficas de la ecúmene, se adentra en el relato de la historia de

cómo se pobló España remontándola a los descendientes de Noé, en clara referencia a la Biblia, de ahí pasa a describir la constitución de los primeros pobladores y los hechos acaecidos hasta la conquista musulmana y la posterior reconquista de España por el Infante don Pelayo, finaliza relacionando los 44 reyes, que reconquistaron, conservaron y aumentaron los dominios de España. A partir de ahí, empieza la descripción de la fachada marítima de la ecúmene desde Tarifa, adentrándose tierra adentro desde los puntos de la costa al interior del territorio a través de las cuencas hidrográficas de los ríos. Describe de forma pormenorizada, sin llegar al detalle: los puntos de la costa, de los que consigna su latitud y distancia en leguas al siguiente punto; el sentido en el que corre la costa; así como la forma de recalar en los puertos, y en algunos casos los vientos reinantes más importantes, los bajos que los rodean sin especificar posición, sonda, ni las características del fondo del mar. De las zonas descritas aporta sus principales productos, la calidad de la tierra y sus gentes, llegando en determinados casos a enumerar la producción y comercialización de los mismos, así como una breve reseña histórica. En cuanto a la descripción de las tierras menos conocidas, por lo fantástico, parece que se inspira en la concepción medieval del mundo procedente de la *Polyhistoria* de Solino.

c) *Adecuación del texto a la docencia y banda de modernidad*

En este epígrafe, atendemos a la adecuación del texto analizado de acuerdo con el plan de estudios al que lo hemos asociado (1508), por su fecha de edición. En cuanto a la modernidad de los conocimientos impartidos se han tenido en cuenta los avances producidos en la ciencia y la técnica correspondiente a los métodos de posicionamiento astronómico y los instrumentos de navegación.

El texto de Fernández de Enciso explica los contenidos formativos incluidos en el plan de 1508, en los que a través del cuadrante y astrolabio enseña a calcular la altura del Polo, además de añadir una completa Geografía de la ecúmene, por lo que, se puede afirmar que cumple plenamente dicho plan de estudios. Teniendo en cuenta lo expuesto en el epígrafe materiales y método en el que se delimita la banda de modernidad de acuerdo con Hormigón (1995) e Ibáñez (2001), podemos considerar que el texto de Fernández de Enciso se encuentra dentro de la banda de modernidad.

V. CONCLUSIONES

Los grandes descubrimientos geográficos realizados en el siglo XV por intrépidos pilotos, repercutió en el destino de su profesión y en el de la ciencia y la técnica del momento. Debido a las necesidades que la navegación oceánica requería se

reguló su formación, pasando gradualmente de lo intuitivo, al empirismo y finalmente a lo especulativo, lo que posibilitó a los pilotos situar el punto en la carta, dibujar cartas de navegación, escribir e ilustrar Derroteros, recabar toda la información necesaria recogida de los viajes realizados plasmada en los diarios de navegación, para posteriormente ser procesada por el piloto mayor de la Casa de la Contratación y poder construir el padrón real. De esta forma, dos ciencias que estaban en mantillas (el pilotaje y la geografía) iniciaron de la mano, el desarrollo de la Ciencia Geográfica a través del suyo propio, aprovechando las sinergias existentes entre ambas ciencias. La obra de Martín Fernández de Enciso se editó en 1519 cuando hacía 11 años que se había institucionalizado la formación de los pilotos de la Carrera de Indias, a la que le es atribuible las siguientes características: ser el primer manual de navegación que salió a luz en España, la de responder a las materias necesarias para alcanzar dicho grado, así como ser el primer manual español que describió las Nuevas tierras descubiertas. Después de analizar el texto de Fernández de Enciso, aunque responde a las materias necesarias para obtener el grado de piloto, recogidas en la Real Cédula de 1508, las desarrolla teniendo en cuenta el grupo de profesionales al que iba dirigido, generalmente carente de formación previa, se trata de un manual práctico redactado mediante el uso de reglas de rápida comprensión y memorización. La parte incluida en lo que hemos denominado Geografía descriptiva, la consideramos como una ayuda a la navegación a la vista de la costa, aunque insuficientemente instrumentada. Este texto, de contenido novedoso, al unir la Esfera, los Regimientos y la Geografía, no sólo fue útil a los pilotos, sirvió de ayuda a los profesionales del mar, los geógrafos, los aspirantes a piloto y los que estaban interesados en la ciencia, en la navegación y en la nueva configuración del mundo, ya que cubría las necesidades de ese amplio espectro de profesionales relacionados con la ciencia. Desconocemos el uso que tuvo el libro, pero es de fácil deducción que debió ser de texto para aquellos aspirantes a piloto, que asistían a las clases del piloto mayor, así como de consulta para los ya graduados, a la vez que útil a través de la descripción de la ecúmene, por proporcionar el conocimiento de las zonas descritas para aquellos que querían obtener una nueva Carrera. Por lo que finalmente podemos concluir que el texto de Fernández de Enciso se trata de un manual de navegación de la época, que contenía los elementos necesarios para poder superar el examen de piloto de la Carrera de Indias durante su etapa inicial, además de incluir una amplia descripción de la ecúmene, en la que ponía el foco en la franja del litoral de la que da la latitud de los puntos más importantes y la distancia entre ellos, lo que facilitaba al piloto la navegación entre dichos puntos y el conocimiento de su hinterland.

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The Indigenous Movement, during the National Constituent Assembly

By Dr. Felipe Moraes

Summery- This article aims to identify the importance of the Indigenous Movement in Brazil, during the re-democratization of Brazil and during the process that originated the 1988 Constitution. It is the end of the indigenous assimilationism, from the formal point of view. Social movements linked to liberation theology influenced the political articulation necessary to defend the indigenous cause.

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The Indigenous Movement, during the National Constituent Assembly

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Summary- This article aims to identify the importance of the Indigenous Movement in Brazil, during the re-democratization of Brazil and during the process that originated the 1988 Constitution. It is the end of the indigenous assimilationism, from the formal point of view. Social movements linked to liberation theology influenced the political articulation necessary to defend the indigenous cause.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article is divided into seven topics. First, the Brazilian historical and political context of the 1988 Constitution and the National Constituent Assembly itself will be demonstrated. The National Constituent Assembly (1987-1988) was a unique moment in the country's recent history. The convening of an Assembly, responsible for a new constitutional text, proved to be indisputably fundamental for the construction of more democratic values, after 21 years of dictatorship¹.

The country was emerging from twenty-one years of a regime without elections. The last military government, presided over by General João Batista Figueiredo, faced chronic problems such as high public indebtedness, foreign debt, economic recession, the lack of political support abroad, also caused by complaints of violations of Human Rights, and it marked the end of the Brazilian military dictatorship, as will be seen in a separated topic².

José Sarney then became president of the republic on March 15, 1985. Elected indirectly, via the electoral college, Sarney was deputy on the ticket with Tancredo Neves, who ended up dying suddenly of acute diverticulitis. Something, to say the least, unusual and that changed the contours of recent Brazilian history³.

"Coração de Estudante", the song sung and composed by Milton Nascimento and Wagner Tiso, became an anthem echoed hundreds of thousands of times by all radios and mass communication vehicles. A

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true funeral tribute to the one who would be the first civilian president of the 1980s, even if indirectly elected by the National Congress⁴.

The wake broadcast live on national television and ended up immortalizing the tears of part of the population. Had the hope of better and more civilized days been buried again? Would Sarney be able to continue the process of re-democratization in Brazil?

Would General João Baptista Figueiredo continue the discussions of a new Constitution? It is a question of what would have happened to Brazil or to Brazilian democracy if Tancredo had survived his health problems. An interesting reflection, but impassive of concrete answers.

Returning to the point of this research itself, a question must be asked here: did the assumption of José Sarney (the one who was, beyond president, poet and author of the book *Marimbondos de Fogo*) prevented the process of re-democratization of the country? In what way and why is the Brazilian Constitution so important for Brazilian indigenous policy?

In other words: why would it be correct to say that the National Constituent Assembly was a milestone for Brazilian democracy? What is the importance of this legal framework for Brazilian indigenous policy?

In this article, the end of indigenous acculturation as a State policy will be highlighted. The end of indigenous assimilationism is undoubtedly a historical novelty for Brazil. A recent novelty that still faces contemporary resistance⁵.

The movement for indigenous acculturation and incorporation into "national culture" is still present and persistent. Throughout this work, it will be identified, in some way, that, although there has been legislative progress for the indigenous cause, the authoritarianism of Brazilian indigenous policy remains a current reality⁶.

It can be said that respect for the traditions, cultures and beliefs of the original peoples became, in

¹ Cf: Cardoso, Luisa Rita, and Hudson Campos Neves. "Ditadura e democracia: entre memórias e história. REIS FILHO, Daniel Aarão. Ditadura e democracia no Brasil: do golpe de 1964 à Constituição de 1988. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2014." Revista Tempo e argumento 6, no. 11 (2014): 461-466.

² Nolasco, Igor Felix Pinheiro. "Análise política e econômica do governo Figueiredo e a agonia do fim da ditadura militar brasileira." (2017).

³ Cf: Guilherme, Cássio Augusto Samogin Almeida. 1989: história da primeira eleição presidencial pós-ditadura. Paco e Littera, 2019.

⁴ Cf: Queiroz, Adolpho, and Rose Mara Vidal de Souza. "A propaganda política na construção do imaginário coletivo no cinema de resistência: estudo de caso do filme Jango de Silvio Tendler." Revista FAMECOS 18, no. 1 (2011): 23-40.

⁵ Cf: Kyrillos, Gabriela M. "A CONSTITUINTE E A DEMOCRATIZAÇÃO DO BRASIL: QUESTÃO INDÍGENA E SUPERAÇÃO FORMAL DO PARADIGMA ASSIMILACIONISTA."

⁶ Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. "Índios na Constituição." *Novos estudos CEBRAP* 37 (2018): 429-443.

fact, a constitutional guarantee. Something, however, that did not prevent political forces, indisputably authoritarian, from also being present in the National Constituent Assembly⁷.

To this end, the relevant role of Brazilian social movements, trade unions, the Pastoral Land Commission, CIMI (linked to the CNBB) and civil society organizations such as the Brazilian Association of Anthropologists for the approval of a minimum program of indigenous rights⁸.

Then, the role of some political leaders more committed to the end of the assimilationism of indigenous people will be demonstrated. It will be presented as a proof that the academics working groups and other (religious) leaders were important for the end of assimilationism as an indigenous policy; among them, the importance of Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, then president of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology between 1986-1988. Manuela is the author of the book *Os direitos do índio: ensaios e documentos*.

Luciano Mendes de Almeida also deserves mention, as will be explained in the topic. The then president of the CNBB was very close to liberation theology. Marxist-inspired movement heavily persecuted by the military regime (1964-1985) and also during the National Constituent Assembly by the now extinct National Security Council.

Some parliamentarians would be in the subcommittee of Blacks, Indigenous Populations, Disabled and Minorities. Among them, the Indigenous Missionary Council, linked to the CNBB.

This reflection will be further developed throughout this work. Somehow, it will be better evidenced that some actors were fundamental for the end of indigenous acculturation.

1. The Federal Constitution and non-assimilation. What did the Constitution bring to the indigenous question?

The Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988 reserved to the indigenous, for the first time in the history of Brazil, an entire chapter. Specifically, Chapter VIII, "Of the Indians", and more precisely Article 231. The article says that: "Indians are recognized for their social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions, and the original rights over the lands they traditionally occupy, it is incumbent upon the Union to demarcate them, protect and ensure respect for all their assets"; in addition to determining

that "The Indians, their communities and organizations are legitimate parties to file a lawsuit in defense of their rights and interests, with the Public Ministry intervening in all acts.

However, it has become a fairly recent reality. Brazilian legislation, throughout history, has always considered indigenous as a national obstacle.

The (pejorative) term forestry that had been used in the other constitutions was extinct. There is, therefore, a break with the past policy promoted by the state, "that of integrating them into the national community". This was the reality of all past legislation.

2. The 1988 Constitution and the Constituent Assembly

It can be said that the Indigenous Movement had a fundamental prominence for the constituent deputies, in some way, to listen to the demands of these peoples. And, despite resistance and opposition (the deputies most aligned with the concerns of the National Security Council, the large and large mining companies), they managed to typify an article 231 coherent with the indigenous cause.

Specifically, there was an intense and effective political articulation on the part of the Catholic Church, more committed to the indigenous cause.

3. The role of CIMI

The Catholic Church was undoubtedly important for the ongoing process of political articulation trying to guarantee the end of indigenous assimilationism in the new constitutional text.

a) *The theology of liberation*

From the perspective of Liberation Theology – whose practice calls Christians to "a concrete, immediate, historical task in this world: to fight for a more just society" and to carry out a "historical transformation of society"⁹ – a missionary and liberating Church emerged.; this was the new motto of what became an important instrument of civil society in the struggle for the oppressed and, in particular, for the rights of indigenous people¹⁰.

b) *The role of the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT)*

Under the leadership of indigenous and non-indigenous organizations, religious, anthropological and trade union institutions elaborated five points to be debated in the National Constituent Assembly. Five major themes related to the defense of the indigenous cause. This content was called "minimum program". The complexity of this content was widely debated by the constituents most sensitive to the indigenous cause.

⁷ Cf: Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. "Índios na Constituição." *Novos estudos CEBRAP* 37 (2018): 429-443. e Fernandes, Pádua. "Povos indígenas, segurança nacional e a Assembleia Nacional Constituinte: as Forças Armadas e o capítulo dos índios da Constituição brasileira de 1988." *InSURgência: revista de direitos e movimentos sociais* 1, no. 2 (2015): 142-175

⁸ Idem

⁹ Catao, Francisco. *O que é Teologia da Libertação?* Editora: Braziliense. 1985, p. 20-21.

¹⁰ dos Santos Bicalho, P. S. (2020). Estado autoritário, sociedade civil e aspectos sobre a emergência de Movimentos Indígenas. *História Unisinos*, 24(2), 296-308

The five points were:

1. RECOGNITION OF THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS of indigenous peoples as the first inhabitants of Brazil (...) ;2. DEMARCATION AND GUARANTEE OF INDIGENOUS LAND. According to law nº 6001/73, the deadline for the demarcation of all indigenous lands ended on December 21, 1978 (...) 3. EXCLUSIVE ENJOYMENT, BY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, of the natural wealth existing in the soil and subsoil of their Territories (...) 4. RESETTLEMENT IN Dignified and FAIR CONDITIONS OF THE Squatters, the poor who are on indigenous lands (...) 5. RECOGNITION AND RESPECT TO THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS of indigenous peoples with their projects for the future, in addition to the guarantees of full citizenship.¹¹

A plan of intentions, implemented in a formal document, ended up duly signed by numerous organizations and associations related to the indigenous cause. Among them, the UNI (Union of Indigenous Nations, the CIMI (Indian Missionary Council), the CTI (Indigenous Work Center), the CEI (Indigenous Studies Center) and the ABA (Brazilian Association of Anthropologists), in addition to the three main Trade Union Centrals signed and participated in the program, as well, the Pastoral Land Commission.

Also fundamental were ANAÍ (National Association for the Support of Indigenous Peoples), OPAN (Operação Anchieta), the Pro-Indian Commission, the National Council of Christian Churches, the National Movement for the Defense of Human Rights, the CEDI (Ecumenical Center of Documentation and Information), the CONAGE (National Coordination of Geologists, of the National Association of Higher Education Teachers), the SBPC (Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science), the Institute of Socioeconomic Studies, the Brazilian Institute of Analysis and Economic Studies and the MST (Movimento dos Sem Terra), CUT, CGT and CONTAG.¹²

The Pastoral Land Commission, the ANAÍ (National Association of Support to the Indians), the OPAN (Operation Anchieta), the Pro-Indian Commission, the National Council of Christian Churches, the National Defense Movement, also signed and participated in the program. of Human Rights, CEDI (Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information), CONAGE (National Coordination of Geologists, National Association of Higher Education Teachers, SBPC (Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science), the Institute of Socioeconomic Studies, the Brazilian Institute of Analysis and Economic Studies and the MST (Movimento dos Sem Terra).¹³

Regarding the third point of the aforementioned minimum program, it is worth noting that the PMDB (Party to the Brazilian Democratic Movement) had already approved “a decision at its first national congress, in August 1986, according to which (...) indigenous areas, should be exclusively for the indigenous peoples residing there and not only the use and exploitation of arable land (soil)”, but also its subsoil.¹⁴

The importance of these Organizations and Associations related to the indigenous issue, during the Constituent Assembly, evidence a fundamental counterpoint to the intense and very organized lobbying.

It is a movement that had as priority: a) to guarantee the possibility of “exploitation of the raw materials existing in indigenous areas” and b) to demonstrate that the mere existence of these indigenous areas would already represent “a threat to national security and the development of Brazil”¹⁵. These were the main grounds for the claim that the mere existence of Indigenous Territories would represent an obstacle to the settlement and, therefore, to the development of Brazil.¹⁶

The immense economic interest in mining in a large part of the indigenous areas ended up intensifying, even more, the discussion about the viability and access to raw materials from these places.¹⁷ The intense assimilationist lobby was duly represented by the then President of the Republic José Sarney, by mining companies, by the National Security Council and by FUNAI itself (as a State body). One of the most emblematic and controversial points of the Constituent Assembly itself (in general).¹⁸

This reality made the discussions in the Commissions and Subcommittees totally polarized. Among the aforementioned Commissions, the following stand out: the Constitutional Studies Commission (chaired by Afonso Arinos), the Systematization Commission (which would systematize all matters discussed in the Commissions) and the Subcommittee on Blacks, Indigenous, Disabled and Minorities (linked

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Kayser, Hartmut-Emanuel. *Os Direitos dos povos indígenas do Brasil. Desenvolvimento histórico e estágio atual*. 3 ed. Porto Alegre: Editora Safe, 2010, p 189.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Twenty-five percent (25%) of Indigenous Territories are attractive to mining (Cf: CURI, Melissa Volpato. Legal aspects of mining in indigenous lands. *Revista de Estudos e Pesquisas, FUNAI, Brasília*, v.4, n. 2, p.221-252, Dec. 2007, p 224)

¹⁸ Cf: Santilli, Juliana. Aspectos jurídicos da mineração e do garimpo em terras indígenas. In: Santilli, Juliana (Coord.). *Os direitos indígenas e a Constituição*. Porto Alegre: Núcleo de Direitos Indígenas e Sérgio Antônio Fabris Editor, 1993. p. 145-160, p 145 e ss.

¹¹ Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. *Os direitos do Índio*. 1ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1987, p. 190.

¹² Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. *Os direitos do Índio*. 1ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1987, p. 1901.

¹³ PMDB decision - 26.08.1986 in: CARNEIRO DA CUNHA, loc cit, p. 171.

to the Commission of Social Affairs and chaired by José Carlos Sabóia of the PMDB).¹⁹

c) *Influential leaders in favor of the indigenous cause*

The participation of indigenous leaders from all over Brazil, during the aforementioned discussions that took place in the Commissions and Subcommittees, guaranteed the representation and legitimacy necessary for the debates. Among the existing leaders, the participation of the Caiapó, the Kaingang, the Krenak Indigenous and the chief Xavante Mario Juruna should be highlighted. The aforementioned Cacique Xavante and former federal deputy proved to be extremely skilled politically. Although he had already stopped being a member of the parliament during the constituent assembly, he knew very well how to move around the offices of Brasília²⁰. Always carrying a portable recorder and thus recording “everything the white man says”.²¹

“White men” such as federal deputy José Carlos Saboia (PMDB), representing the indigenous cause, and Senator Odacir Soares (PFL), representing the mining lobby, however, prove the constant contradiction of parliamentary interests during the Constituent Assembly, as already stressed.

Two sides in completely opposite directions. Sabóia, defending the existence of an indigenous “comprehensive project”²², which would include the understanding that “the exploitation of subsoil riches should be reserved exclusively for the indigenous populations of the respective territories”²³. And, Odacir Soares, leading “a massive intervention in favor of the interests of Brazilian mining companies and the unrestricted exploitation of natural resources, the changes, then demanded by the other side, ended up

not being duly included by the Social Order Commission.

Other names such as Aloizio Mercadante, Fabio Feldmann, Sidnei de Miguel, Nelson Jobim, José Carlos de Saboia Magalhães, Bernardo Cabral, in turn, would prove the effectiveness of political articulation of Social Movements and other related organizations, during the Constituent Assembly, even in the face of a “clash of multiple forces and interests [there] represented”.²⁴

The final text, approved in plenary on September 2, 1988, ended up reflecting a set of contradictions. Contradictions instrumentalized by the existence of semantically dubious constitutional articles. However, the consecration of Indigenous rights and the Indian as subjects of Law, in fact, became an undeniable reality, thanks to the mobilization of Social Movements, the Pastoral Land Commission and other relevant organizations.

In other words, the attempt of economic lobby to influence the exploitation of indigenous raw materials, even though it “exceeded the scope of what is legally permitted”²⁵, influencing the constitutional text, was not enough for the Right to Land and the cultural preservation of the origins peoples constituted as a guarantee and duty of the State in the Constitution.

d) *The leadership of Luciano Mendes de Almeida*

The inauguration of Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida to the presidency of the CNBB in April 1987 was quite troubled. At the same time, it was decisive for the 1988 Constitution to have exactly the contemporary contours - non-assimilationist contours to indigenous peoples, specifically. Dom Luciano exercised the right of reply for the series of reports published in *Jornal Estado de São Paulo*.

Second entry by Mônica Komis:

In August 1987, the newspaper O Estado de S. Paulo published a series of reports about the participation of the Indigenous Missionary Council (Cimi), an organ linked to the CNBB, in an international movement in favor of recognizing the sovereignty of indigenous peoples, giving margin for the creation of a “pluriethnic state” in Brazil. The way in which the news was disseminated placed the episcopal conference as

¹⁹ Instituto de Estudos Socioeconômicos. Available in: <http://www.inesc.org.br/biblioteca/textos/idigenas>. Accessed in April 23, 2019.

²⁰ Fernandes, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 31, n° 63, p. 71-88, janeiro-abril 2018, p 76.

²¹ Castro, Eduardo Viveiros de. *No Brasil, todo mundo é índio, exceto quem não é. Povos indígenas no Brasil (2001/2005)*. 2006. p. 41-49 apud FERNANDES, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 31, n° 63, p. 71-88, janeiro-abril 2018, p 77.

²² Castro, Eduardo Viveiros de. *No Brasil, todo mundo é índio, exceto quem não é. Povos indígenas no Brasil (2001/2005)*. 2006. p. 41-49 apud FERNANDES, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 31, n° 63, p. 71-88, janeiro-abril 2018.

²³ Kayser, Hartmut-Emanuel. *Os Direitos dos povos indígenas do Brasil. Desenvolvimento histórico e estágio atual*. 3 ed. Porto Alegre: Editora Safe, 2010, p 191.

²⁴ 16 Of the 64 absent, 15 went to Europe. *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 2nd ed., Friday, year XCVIII, n.168, p. 2, 23 Sept. 1988. Brazilian Digital Newspaper Library, National Library Foundation. Available in: http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=030015_10&pasta=ano%20198&pesq=Dos%2064%20missing. Access on: 5 Dec. 2017 apud FERNANDES, Fernando Roque. *Citizenship and ethnogenesis in Brazil: notes for a reflection on the political and social emergencies of indigenous peoples in the second half of the 20th century*. Historical Studies. Rio de Janeiro, v. 31, no. 63, p. 71-88, January-April 2018, p. 73.

²⁵ 17 Kayser, Hartmut-Emanuel. *Os Direitos dos povos indígenas do Brasil. Desenvolvimento histórico e estágio atual*. 3 ed. Porto Alegre: Editora Safe, 2010, p. 202.

part of an action contrary to Brazilian interests, at the time when it defended the prohibition of the exploitation of mineral wealth existing in the lands of indigenous communities. Due to these events, Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida proposed the installation of a parliamentary commission of inquiry (CPI) to investigate the reasons that led to the publication of the article. Refuting the accusations that the CNBB defended the thesis of "restricted sovereignty" over indigenous lands, Dom Luciano stated that he was in favor of the Union's monopoly over these regions, which in his opinion should only be exploited by the State, at the time required by national interests, without the interference of economic groups that were pressing for their immediate release.²⁶

In other words, the CIMI would be part of "an international movement against the sovereignty of the Brazilian nation. The referred council defended the prohibition of exploitation of mineral wealth existing in the lands of indigenous communities".

The news report attributed the existence of a document. In this document, CIMI would defend the recognition of a "multiethnic State", whose sovereignty would be formed not only by the "majority society", but also by the various indigenous communities existing within it".

In response to the alleged document and the published report, Dom Luciano declares that the aforementioned content would be a fraud. What would be behind these allegations would be the interest of large mining industries in exploring large areas in Indigenous Territories.

4. Official visit of the CNBB to the USSR and the "CIMI case" report

Dom Luciano's visit to the USSR in September 1987 would not have been well interpreted by the still influential National Security Council. Returning to Brazil, the praise of the Soviet socialist system by the then president of the CNBB would have been decisive for a new counterattack by the National Security Council.

New documents appeared in news reports by Folha de São Paulo. A Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) is installed in the Chamber of Deputies. "The report accused the progressive clergy of encouraging the use of violence in the fight for the claims they defended and affirmed that the CNBB entities were putting national sovereignty in check".

Undoubtedly, the CNBB entities covered movements of CIMI concerned with guaranteeing indigenous cultural preservation. CIMI, too, was concerned with these issues, almost an extra-state indigenist agency.

5. "For a new constitutional order" and the Constituent breakfast

Despite the resistance of the Vatican to the pastoral actions promoted by the CNBB (until then too progressive), the guidelines for these pastoral actions were well defined.

The CNBB, and consequently the CIMI were willing to defend the indigenous cause and fight the human rights violations that had taken place in the years prior to the country's re-democratization. And, fundamentally, willing to actively participate in the National Constituent Assembly.

The National Constituent Assembly was the epicenter of heated and important discussions related to the indigenous cause. The CNBB, like so many other organizations and institutions, has developed many policy demands. Among the many questions and demands, the importance of the document "for a new constitutional order" must be highlighted.

In this document, the need to "create instruments that allow popular participation, guaranteeing legitimacy to the legal system that would be delivered to the nation" became evident.

Under the coordination of Cândido Padim, appointed by the CNBB to monitor the progress of the constituent works, a radio program called "Constituent Breakfast" was produced. This program aims to expand the discussion about the Constituent Assembly and to guarantee popular participation in the matter.

It was a daily talk show with a constituent parliamentarian. The Bishop of Bauru de São Paulo led the program with 15-minute interviews that were then broadcast on the Medianeira radio. Among the themes, there were family, abortion, education, religious freedom, agrarian reform and indigenous issues.

According to Mônica Kornis and Sérgio Montalvão, authors of the entry on the CNBB, the interviews were sent via telex text to other parts of the country, reaching the mark of three hundred transmissions per day. Another publicity vehicle used by the CNBB was the inserts of its *Boletim de Notícias* ("newsletter") with 5,500 subscribers.

This strategy was fundamental, as it ended up catalyzing popular participation for popular amendments. The aforementioned popular amendments played a decisive role in guaranteeing the right to land and its preservation as a social organization for the Indian. A victory for social movements during the Constituent process.²⁷

²⁶ Komis, Monica. National Conference of Bishops of Brazil. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpd/doc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/conferencia-nacional-dos-bispos-do-brasil-cnbb>. Accessed on January 23, 2021.

²⁷ Souza, Luís Otávio de, CORREIA, Maria Letícia Correia e ALMEIDA, Bruno. Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida. Verbete Dom Luciano Mendes Almeida. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpd/doc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/almeida-luciano-mendes-de>. Accessed: April 23, 2021.

KORMIS, Mônica Kornis e MONTALVÃO, Sérgio. Verbete Conferencia Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil. Available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpd/doc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-tematico/conferencia-nacional-dos-bispos-do-brasil-cnbb>. Accessed: April 23, 2021

6. Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI): origin and a new paradigm

CIMI emerged as a body linked to the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB) in 1972, with the aim of building a differentiated relationship with indigenous populations.

The image of a Church that restricts freedom, ethnocentric and domineering – as the Barbados Declaration of 1971 pointed out – was overcome by a “new missionary presence among indigenous peoples” (Suess, 2002, p. 16). The challenges of the new evangelization were many, such as dealing with a missionary past full of discomforts and conquering a present of positive responses in the process of awareness and organization of the indigenous struggle in Brazil. It was in the 1970s that the most popular layers created an awareness of their own capacity for political articulation.

7. “Citizenization” of the less favored strata from 1970 onwards (hypothesis of this article)

Even in the face of so many clashes, tensions, divergent interpretations (involving article 231), the Federal Constitution guaranteed the recognition of the Indigenous as a subject of Rights – a guarantee, as a State duty-, a palpable result, thanks to the effectiveness and mobilization (nationally) of social movements and the Pastoral Land Commission (especially). The existence of the innovative article 231 of the Federal Constitution (at least the first part) is attributed to this struggle.

It is a normative framework that demonstrates, without a shadow of a doubt, the capacity of political articulation of Brazilian social movements of an ethnic character, even in an environment, mostly, assimilationist.

The recognition of indigenous peoples as subjects of Law(s), post-constituent, is unavoidably due to the effectiveness of the mobilization of social movements, trade union organizations, associations and other civil society organizations²⁸.

According to André Gunter Frank, from the social movements arises “a kind of awareness (...) aimed at a process of citizenship of the less favored strata in Brazilian society²⁹”, which specifically included indigenous peoples.

One of the causes that explain this protagonism refers to the capacity of mobilization and political articulation of the Brazilian Indigenous Movement (duly represented by the different types of social movements of an ethnic nature existing in the country)³⁰. A political force that was born in the 1970s³¹.

At this time, according to Fernando Roque Fernandes, an element called ethnogenesis appeared in the Brazilian Indigenous Movement. Indigenous communities from the most varied parts of the country and with the support of different sectors of civil society emerge as a political and social force never seen before.³² A reality that was confirmed and gained stature during the Constituent Assembly.

When the Brazilian State tried to emancipate, compulsorily, indigenous people from all over Brazil in the 1970s, the most varied pro-indigenous projects emerged in response to State action. For example, “the Pro-Indian Commissions, Anaís (National Association of Indigenist Action), the Indigenist Work Center (CTI) and the Indigenous Peoples Project in Brazil (PIB)³³”. It was precisely these movements and associations that assumed definitive visibility during the Constituent Assembly.

It is a reactive movement to the emancipatory proposals spearheaded by the Brazilian State (in the 1970s). At this moment, the referred to “ethnogenesis” appears. A response far removed from what was expected by the Brazilian State, the acculturation and assimilation of native peoples to the dominant model.

Indigenous assemblies across the country began to articulate regionally from the 1950s, then nationally from the 1970s onwards: movements that began to interconnect and establish themselves as a large network. An instrument that, without a shadow of a doubt, potentiated the dialogues and struggles related to the indigenous cause.

²⁹ Frank, André Gunter; FUENTES, Marta. Dez teses acerca dos movimentos sociais. Tradução de Suely Bastos. Lua Nova, São Paulo, n. 17, p. 28-48, jun. 1989 apud FERNANDES, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v. 31, nº 63, p. 71-88, janeiro- abril 2018, p 73.

²⁸ Cf: Bicalho, Poliene Soares dos Santos. *Protagonismo Indígena no Brasil: Movimento, Cidadania e Direitos (1970 – 2009)*. Tese UNB. Brasília, 2010, p 33 e ss.

³⁰ Cf: Bicalho, Poliene Soares dos Santos. *Protagonismo Indígena no Brasil: Movimento, Cidadania e Direitos (1970 – 2009)*. Tese UNB. Brasília, 2010, p 33 e ss.

³¹ Constituição Federal da República Federativa do Brasil. Available in: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm. Accessed: October 19, 2019.

³² Fernandes, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. Estudos Históricos. Rio de Janeiro, v 31, nº 63, p. 71-88, janeiro-abril 2018, p 77.

³³ Ibidem.

The conformation of the new Constitutional content, consecrating the Right of "exclusive possession and usufruct of their Territories", in addition to "multiculturalism", as a constitutional principle is due, unavoidably, to the victorious and democratic force of the struggle for the indigenous cause, still in the struggles during the Constituent Assembly. A recognition of the Indian as a subject of Law(s) with all its specificities.

8. The multiplication of ethnic non-governmental organizations (theoretical reference of this article)

The book *Os Direitos do Índio* by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha³⁴ ends up being the theoretical framework of this thesis. Specifically, the book *Índios no Brasil História, Direitos e Cidadania*. An excerpt from this work should be transcribed here:

At the end of the 1970s, non-governmental organizations supporting the Indians multiplied and in the beginning of the 1980s, for the first time, an indigenous movement was organized on a national scale. This mobilization explains the great innovations obtained in the Federal Constitution, which abandoned the goals and assimilationist jargon and recognized the indigenous rights, their historical rights, to the possession of the land of which they were the first masters.³⁵

Manuela, in some way, highlights the origin of the national political mobilization of the Indigenous Movement. Such a reality would have influenced the great novelties obtained in the Federal Constitution. In other words, the end of assimilationism, the recognition of the indigenous rights and of the Indigenous as a subject of Law(s)³⁶.

The caput of article 231, as well as § 1 and § 2 of the Constitution, represent precisely this new constitutional turn. Something unprecedented from a normative point of view. Second, they prove the following fact. Even in a conservative political context and democratic transition, the Constituent Assembly managed to approve a progressive text for the indigenous cause as a whole.

The referred period explained by the author and chosen here as the Theoretical Reference coincides with what Fernando Roque defined as the "ethnogenesis of

the Indigenous Movement in Brazil"³⁷. A social process used to describe new ethnic groups, now recognized in the Federal Constitution.

II. CONCLUSION

Initially, this article contextualized, historically and politically, the period of the end of the Brazilian military dictatorship. The end of the "leaden years" represented the birth of what would be the new Federal Constitution, here explained as the National Constituent Assembly (1987-1988).

This article also highlights the importance of social movements in defense of the indigenous cause for the end of indigenous assimilation from a formal point of view. The creation and capacity for political articulation of the Indigenous Movement. It is a historic landmark of extreme importance for the history of Brazil.

Finally, it was demonstrated how much the leadership of Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida ended up proving decisive for the chapter of the Federal Constitution to have, exactly, this contour, the indigenous multiculturalism (as a rule), despite attempts from the opposition arising and conservative sectors of Brazilian society, such as major communication vehicles like the Estado de São Paulo.

³⁴ The author and co-author of *Policies Culturais e Povos Indígenas, Negros Estrangeiros, Cultura com aspas, Savoir traditionnel, droits intellectuels et dialectique de la culture*, Brazilian slaves of the 19th century in the photograph of Christiano Jr, Rights of indigenous peoples in dispute in the STF among others is a reference in the field of anthropology. She was president of the Association of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology between 1986 and 1988 and Professor at the University of São Paulo (USP) (Available in Lattes Curriculum: <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4781551J1> Accessed on June 7, 2020)

³⁵ Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. *História dos índios no Brasil*, Companhia das Letras, 1992, p 22.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Fernandes, Fernando Roque. *Cidadanização e etnogêneses no Brasil: apontamentos a uma reflexão sobre as emergências políticas e sociais dos povos indígenas na segunda metade do século XX*. *Estudos Históricos*. Rio de Janeiro, v 31, n° 63, p. 71-88, janeiro-abril 2018, p 77.



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The Medieval Settlement in the Western Sierra Morena (Spain-Portugal)

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Abstract- We analyze the medieval settlement in a rural and peripheral territory that was part of Garb-al-Andalus, Sierra Morena Occidental. The study is carried out on the basis of the archaeological record and covers from the late Roman period to the Christian conquest but especially, the Andalusian period. A historical stage that had little knowledge.

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Resumen- Analizamos el poblamiento medieval en un territorio rural y periférico que formó parte de Garb-al-Ándalus, Sierra Morena Occidental. El estudio se realiza en base del registro arqueológico y abarca desde la etapa tardorromana hasta la conquista cristiana pero especialmente, la época andalusí. Una etapa histórica que contaba con un escaso conocimiento.

Palabras Claves: *al-ándalus, poblamiento, arqueología.*

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, interest arose in the study of the Islamic past. Since then, there have been advances in knowledge about this period. Progress through milestones, such as the emergence of Islamic archaeology in Huelva, with work developed in Saltés and Niebla. In recent years, the archaeological record is providing an important set of data that contribute to clarifying the panorama. In the same way, the documentary record of the Arab period has made new contributions. This work offers an explanation of the historical process involved in medieval settlement in Sierra Morena Occidental, especially the Andalusian stage. The archaeological record is the source for its characterization but with a multidisciplinary analysis including the knowledge provided by written sources. A specific territory of the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, Sierra Morena Occidental, has been chosen, with homogeneous geographical characteristics, but which presents sufficient diversity so that its study does not result in a biased sample and lack of historical coherence.

Mentions of place names date back to the Emiral and Caliphate periods, although they are scarce and diverge in terms of their definition as population centers, their functionality or their geographical characterization. The identification made on these populations differs and there is no consensus. One of the characteristics of territorial organization is the absence of urban centers, which is projected in the scarcity of mentions in Andalusian texts. Since the

emiral and caliphal times the Arab sources cite places like Almonaster la Real or Aroche. On the other hand, other toponyms have not been identified in their archaeological record or are the subject of debate as to their location. Aroche is the town that presents a greater number of testimonies in Islamic sources, being also highlighted its participation during the Fitna. Its population characterization is heterogeneous, since it is cited as a castle, city and dependent district of Beja. There are other place names, such as *Šigūnsa*, identified with the fortified settlement of the Sierra de Gizonza, of which the sources are scarce in offering information, *Qaṭrašāna*, about which he maintains controversy about its location, and *Tuṭāliqa*, which is located on the left bank of the Guadiana, but without a specific location evidenced by material remains.

The late medieval documentation is more prolix than the Andalusian, although it has an indirect character in relation to the X-XIII centuries. This is not a burden, since they allow us to obtain relevant data, such as the existence of Andalusian populations that last during the late medieval period. The clearest examples are Aroche and Almonaster, cited both in the texts of both periods, which underlines their importance in the territorial scope. The relevance of Aroche in the Andalusian sources is corroborated in the Christian sources when indicating aspects such as its conquest, the dispute over its belonging between the Portuguese and Castilian kingdoms or the territory where it exercised its jurisdiction. Other toponyms, such as Aracena, arise during the 2nd half of the thirteenth century and have no correlation in Arabic sources, although there are hypotheses about their origin in the name *Qaṭrašāna*. Its importance during the Andalusian period is evident in Christian sources through the same motifs as Aroche. In fact, it is the populations, together with Moura and Serpa that are cited in the treaties of Badajoz and Alcañices. Another case is that of Valera la Vieja, whose archaeological record indicates the existence of Andalusian settlement, but ceases to appear in the late medieval documentation when Segura de León and Fregenal begin to be mentioned, which is a direct symptom of a new territorial reorganization. Other examples, Zufre, Cortegana or Torres, are cited in the texts of the mid-thirteenth century, but they are not indicated in the Andalusian texts, and there is no contextualized archaeological evidence of Andalusian settlement. At the same time, a series of towns that had

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not previously been mentioned begin to appear in the texts of the late thirteenth century, Cumbres, Santa Olalla and Cala de los Crespos, which are located in the northern limits of the kingdom of Seville. Other documents of the 2nd half of the s. XIII inform us about place names that last until today, limits and the process of conquest. They are the indicator of the repopulating process that was transforming the settlement of the Andalusian period by the new geopolitical keys derived from the process of conquest.

Establishing a characterization of the historical process of settlement requires knowing the background of the settlement of the Andalusian communities in the territory of Sierra Morena Occidental. The basis of this analysis is the knowledge of the population substrate of the late Roman period since we cannot compartmentalize the research without knowing the historical aspects that had been developed previously, that is, establishing impermeable temporal limits to both before and after the Andalusian period. From the late Roman period we do not have any specific study of the settlement in this period, since research has focused on presenting the sites or elements of material culture, as are the cases of the spolia from temples, Christian inscriptions or necropolis. There is little archaeological evidence of this period in Sierra Morena Occidental, although they cannot be qualified as symptoms of a population vacuum, since significant sites have been located, which correspond to settlements, necropolis, buildings of Christian worship or inscriptions. The late Roman period contrasts with Roman times, with an important density of population, having a dispersed settlement with a lower degree of implantation. It is a settlement that does not have areas of concentration and its density is scarce, although it has a development throughout the county area. The geographical representativeness of the late Roman settlement, visible throughout the territory, is more intense in the Vega del Chanza, where the high degree of Romanization with urban settlement patterns was felt. The settlement will be structured in rural settlements that share space with buildings of worship (basilicas) and necropolis. These will be the communities that will attend the arrival of the Muslim contingents. It is a reflection of the process of ruralization of society that marks the beginning of the Middle Ages, with small population centers that are alien to the influence of the large urban centers of the peninsular Southwest. They are small peasant communities with a dispersed population, which take advantage of the agro-livestock and mining resources of the environment as a model of economic exploitation. This model can be extrapolated to the first moments of the Andalusian stage.

There is continuity in the occupation of the territory from late Roman times until the Christian conquest in a series of settlements: Almonaster, Aracena, Aroche, Noudar, Moura or Serpa. To this

contribute the special strategic characteristics where they are located: defense, visibility, communications or fundraising. This does not mean that there is a continuous occupation in the sequence of settlement since late Roman times. There is evidence of a previous settlement in these places but it has not been clearly found in the stratigraphic record. On the other hand, there is population continuity in Almonaster and Aracena at least since the tenth century as indicated by the material culture. The beginning of the settlement in these settlements during the caliphal stage is the response to a concentration of the population against a hypothetical dispersion of the settlement during the emiral stage. This may respond to the policy of the Umayyad state after the Muladi revolts. These population centers endure over time, both in the Taifa stage and the North African period, when a population expansion is evident that is reflected in both military and domestic architecture. With the Christian conquest, the settlement is maintained until today. At a general level, the scarce identification of stratigraphic levels corresponding to the emiral stage may be due to a reduced knowledge of the material culture of that time, the absence of absolute dating and the alterations of the record that occurred in subsequent moments of occupation of the habitats. Although we must take into account these conditions for Almonaster and Aracena, the registry currently indicates the emergence of ex novo nuclei during the caliphal stage that evidences the territorial reorganization that takes place from Córdoba. When Abderramán III manages to end the revolts at the beginning of the tenth century, a change occurs with the implementation of the districts as evidenced in Aroche, which seems to retain the role of administrative center, having caídes or governors appointed by the Umayyad state. There is also population continuity in Aroche, one of the places that had reached the category of urban nucleus during the Roman period. We must consider the fact that no continuous settlement has been detected in the same place, since the Umayyad habitat of Ladrillero does not coincide either temporally or spatially with the settlement of the North African stage that develops in the current urban area of Aroche. Despite having a sequence of occupation with stratigraphic evidence, we are facing a settlement that changes the location. There is a reorganization of the location in height of pre-Roman moments to the plain in the Roman stage, to reverse the process throughout the Andalusian period and occupy, again, the place in height. This may be the most coherent hypothesis, taking into account the characteristics of the settlement in this place through the successive historical stages. We move in the field of possibilities and the lack of a complete stratigraphic sequence, does not allow corroborating or refuting that hypothesis.

In Almonaster, without considering the presence of late Roman materials or the toponymy of the name,

the stratigraphy shows us the founding moment of the fortified enclosure in the tenth century and a sequence of occupation until Almohad moments that lasts during the late medieval stage. The fortification of Almonaster, erected at times, caliphs may have had the function of administrative center of state character. A function that is maintained over time and that reveals in the continuity of the settlement during the Almohad era. On the other hand, it has been possible to document Andalusian settlement in places where historiography had indicated its presence without having evidence of the archaeological record, such as the Peña de Alájar, as well as maintaining a waiting compass on the sequence of settlement in Cortegana and Zufre until the appropriate evidence is manifested. There are indications of its occupation during the Andalusian period, but, so far, the archaeological record and, above all, the stratigraphic sequence must corroborate the settlement during this historical stage. The opposite case is the places where settlement had been indicated, but the material evidence has not confirmed it, such as Cala or Santa Olalla del Cala. It has been evidenced through the stratigraphic record that the sequence of settlement begins during the Late Middle Ages, as it happens, with other populations, such as Cumbres Mayores or Cumbres de San Bartolomé, which arise ex novo from the territorial reorganization after the Christian conquest of the area and the process of repopulation. The stratigraphic sequences in the nuclei where an important Islamic settlement has been documented (Almonaster la Real, Aracena, Aroche, Moura, Serpa and Noudar) have shown greater temporal continuity.

In an analysis of the territorial distribution of the locations, empty areas are observed, which should not correspond to historical reality. They may be motivated by an uneven implantation in certain areas of the territory. The central area of the mountain region, characterized by a marked orography and a dense vegetation cover, is the one with the lowest degree of population density. The locations are distributed perimeter to this area, that is, there are empty areas of settlement, but they are not the product of the lack of archaeological research, but because of the unequal implantation in the territory. This leads us to propose that the population density must have been scarce in this territorial area. Contrasting the model with the Roman era, which presents a greater territorial implantation, it can be concluded that there was a reduced occupation during the eighth and thirteenth centuries, although the values reached exceed the previous moment, the late Roman stage. This data is a mere indicator, since other factors would have to be taken into account, such as the ranges of extension of the settlements, the wide chronological development or the different cultural phases. A fact in this sense is the preponderance of settlements of the Umayyad stage

over those of the North African period, although it is observed, as has been shown, that the large population centers of the region arise at the times of the caliphate, last during the stage of the Taifa kingdoms and are maintained during the period of Almoravids and Almohads until the Christian conquest. There are other settlements where this persistence is not detected in the settlement: El Ladrillero, Santa Marta I or the Peñas de Aroche.

Prior to the construction of the castles of the North African period, which are mainly characterized by the use of the rammed earth factory, various fortifications made of masonry have been cataloged. These fortified settlements where settlement gravitates are called *ḥuṣūn*, with a definition that has variable meanings, but which have a point in common, military architecture. They are built with a rig where the predominance of local construction techniques in a rural area is verified. This technique differs from the use of seating in the most important population centers of *Garb al-Andalus*. Its characteristics, with a chronology from IX-XIth centuries, are maintained over time because it is detected that these fortifications can last until late medieval times. They have a scarce defensive structure, since they are masonry fences in places of natural defense that do not have tower reinforcements. It seeks to link rocky outcrops to reinforce the defensive character and supplant the use of towers in the angles and breaks. The perimeter of the wall layouts adapts to the topography of the enclaves in height, including the rocky outcrops. They are located at strategic points and their plants are irregular polygons, with rectilinear sections of wall curtains without towers. They are built in the areas of higher altitude, although their location in mountain systems also prevails, which, although they are not at the highest level, have a better control of the territory. The sites are chosen for the easy natural defense of some of the slopes. The geographical position in elevations, with a wide panoramic view of the surrounding territory and with visual link with other nearby fortifications determines that these sites acquire a high defensive value from the point of view of the domain of space, control of resources and communication routes. They have an area to house housing structures, although they are small places. Murary structures can exclusively bypass a fortification area, while the habitat extends outside the walls. In other examples, the walls also surround the inhabited area forming an urban fence, and the existence of two defensible sectors or spaces is also detected in other habitats.

This type of fortifications of Umayyad chronology are distributed unevenly throughout the region, although, as we have indicated, they are located in strategic places that allow controlling the territory, especially communication routes and areas of capture of mining-metallurgical resources. Although material

culture indicates that occupation persists during the North African period in some of these *huṣūn*, there is material evidence of their construction during the Umayyad period. They do not respond, according to our interpretation, to the functionality of the fortifications of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, linked to the state interest to stop the Christian advance, nor to those of the late medieval Christian period, due to the border problems with Portugal. Within this set of fortified settlements "dry stone", we observe a diachronic in its occupation and a distribution that seems to indicate multiple factors in the choice of location. Its constructive characteristics present similarities with other fortifications of *Garb al-Andalus*, although divergences are also observed. We find fortified settlements that have been occupied during the emiral stage and that could be linked to the Muladí revolts (Castillo de las Peñas de Aroche), and fortified settlements occupied during the caliphate-taifa stage, located next to communication routes, in possible territorial limits and with intervisibility with other fortified settlements (Santa Marta I, Alto del Castillo or Castillo del Cuerno). Also in some cases they have cisterns, which denotes certain stability and not, simple shelters for cases of need, such as *Šigūnsa* (Sierra de Giconza). Others are fortified settlements linked to the exploitation of resources, and could be useful both as a sporadic refuge for populations and as territorial landmarks (El Castillejo and Castillo de Salomón).

On the other hand, Almonaster la Real, head of a district, responds to an urban fence fortification, to which a territory with fortified settlements and linked to the state interest of controlling the territory, such as the collection of taxes, could be subordinated. According to these functions we can establish a classification from the constructive and polyorctic models, since the typology of the constructions can indicate the link to one process or another. Its function was related to the defense needs of rural communities, with the control of the territory and with the exploitation of resources, as a consequence of the process of castillamiento that takes place in the emiral stage, especially due to the muladí revolts. This functionality reflects a complex reality in which we must consider both the territorial and temporal planes. The defensive system of these fortifications disappears after the Umayyad stage but some persist until after the Christian conquest, when the settlers and the new geopolitical conditions determine a series of changes in the settlement that force an occasional occupation during the late medieval stage. In this way, the fortified settlements of the Umayyad period can respond to the following assumptions: linked to Muladí revolts, linked to rural settlement, *huṣūn*-refuge type, linked to the central political power that responds to a model of control of the territory, either of administrative limits such as territorial landmarks or of the exploitation

of resources and that can be classified as rural or urban, as district seat.

The Andalusian polyorética during the North African period in Sierra Morena Occidental, is roughly signified by the use of rammed earth in factories. The rammed earth factory is used with the application of an important presence of stone binders, slag, bricks and ceramics. The so-called common or simple rammed earth predominates, although the mixed rammed earth is also present, where other types of factories are incorporated, such as rows of bricks or masonry and the rammed earth chained with brick factories in the corners of the towers. The high module predominates, with a height of 80/85 cm and a length of 2.50/2.60 m. They have ribbon decoration with lime mortar simulating isodome rigging ashlar on the exterior walls. The towers are quadrangular or rectangular, documenting a polygonal plan in some cases. They may have chambers that have flared loopholes, although they usually have terraces at the height of the adarves. There are protruding footings or paws at the base of canvases and towers. The main access doors are in a bend and are located inside towers. The poternas are arranged on the flanks opposite the main entrance. Based on the example of the poterna of the Puerta de la Reina (Aroche), presumably they would have decoration. The adarves have a width between 1.75 and 2 m, a parapet with a width of 0.50 m, with merlature and without stops.

These castles (Moura, Noudar, Serpa, Aroche or Almonaster la Real) were erected as a passive defense against the Portuguese advance, with the same functionality as the late medieval fortresses that formed the Galician Band, to defend the western flank of the Guadalquivir Valley. This need for defense against the constant threat of the Christian kingdoms was not specific to the mountain region, but meant the development of a program of military architecture between the 2nd half of the twelfth century and the beginning of the s. XIII in other parts of the peninsular southwest. Stylistic and typological arguments have served to establish chronologies during that time period to the fortresses of southern Portugal, Extremadura and Western Andalusia. The fortifications of the North African stage can also be included in the definition of *huṣūn*, but according to their functionality we can differentiate four types of fortification: urban fence, *qaṣaba*, towers and rural fortifications. In summary, the Almohad polyorética in Sierra Morena Occidental is characterized by common features that can be extended to other points of *Garb al-Andalus*, although there are elements that characterize the military architecture of the Almohad period, such as the *antemuros*, which have not been verified in the area.

The evidence on domestic architecture in Aracena, Aroche and Moura is relevant for the analysis of the Andalusian settlement. Its characteristics indicate

that the model of other geographical points is present in this area. The criteria for the definition of a house in Mértola, Saltés or Seville can also be applied in the case of the homes of Aracena and Moura, although there are logical differences in terms of dimensions, quality of materials and decorations. The model is close to the constructions found in these urban centers and differs from the houses excavated in other population contexts, from Garb al-Andalus or from other areas of the peninsular geography, which have been classified as rural settlements without further definition or as farmhouses. The floor of the houses is distributed around the courtyard, with a central location, with environments of multiple functions, among which have been identified rooms with or without *alhanías*, hallways, kitchens and latrines. Therefore, it is integrated into the definition of the complex modular unit structured around a patio, or "courtyard-house". The compartments are different in terms of their dimensions and location on the floor of the house according to their functionality. The entrance doors to the houses, which had a threshold, are located in one of the side bays. Lime mortar was used for the wall coverings and parietal decoration to the almagra is documented forming baseboards or floors, but without geometric or vegetal motifs. Repairs are attested in the pavement, either in the replacement of the material (lime mortar by brick) or in the decoration, which indicates a special interest in its maintenance. The existence of pipes, with a careful design in their layout, also infers in the preservation of the domestic environment. In summary, its characteristics are: plant with hierarchy of compartments, a patio with special presentation care that articulates the structure, the presence of an elaborate domestic hydraulics and decorative elements with almagra paint on walls and floors (Romero and Rivera, 2020).

We not only try to characterize settlement from domestic architecture, but also to discern the degree of urbanization, that is, to establish whether domestic architectural evidence allows us to define the urban or rural condition of settlements, as well as categorize urban spaces, minimizing the subjectivity of the definitions of Arab sources. A conditioning factor in the urban configuration of Aracena was the topographic slope of the hill, which forced the disposition of the houses in a staggered way, with bays at different levels and a second floor isolating the patio and the rest of the house, the thickness of the bearing walls, the attachment of rooms to the rocky outcrop or the arrangement of the facades of the houses of a block with a similar orientation. These characteristics are factors of urban core planning. The grouping of houses consecutively, with the same orientation, where a road runs that allows access to domestic structures and organizes the space according to the contour lines, indicate an urban plot in block. To this is added the

existence of sanitary pipes in that public space. The grouping of the domestic structures is carried out in an adjoining way, since their spatial organization shares dividing walls between neighbors, they are not isolated, they are arranged in plots and the roads are arranged according to the contour lines. It is a way of organizing an urban fabric, in a compact and structured way. The characteristics in terms of topography, internal organization of the housing registry, the typology and morphology of the settlement, and the functionality of the habitat allow us to approach its definition as an urban nucleus. Although its extension does not allow defining the settlement of Aracena as a city, it cannot be considered as a strictly rural settlement, since it presents characteristic features of the urban world. To this we must add its strategic location for the control of the territory, which distances it from settlements destined exclusively to rural exploitation. The settlement of Aracena has a certain territorial category, both for the above, and for the material culture exhumed during the excavations (Canto et alii, 2015; Romero and Rivera 2020). We consider that it would be the economic, religious and administrative center of the surrounding territory, but that it does not reach the category of city. This contrasts with Aroche, which is cited by sources as *madīna* and as an administrative center, corroborated by military architecture. The same happens with other nuclei that can provide us with a vision of the category of the populations of Sierra Morena Occidental, such as Almonaster la Real, head of a district, and Moura, which have urban fence and mosque.

The religious practices of Islam are materialized in the presence of prayer buildings or in funeral practices. For this reason, we have paid attention to the so-called archaeology of ritual, where the analysis of mosques and necropolises is integrated, with attributes from which information can be deduced through the analysis of religious architecture and the funerary record. One of the best preserved Andalusian buildings is the hermitage of the Conception of Almonaster la Real, model of an Islamic oratory (Jimenez, 1975; 2005). Its characteristics can be extrapolated to the mosques that would rise in other locations: Moura, Aroche or Aracena. The Andalusian settlement that has been detected in these populations raises the hypothesis of the existence of Islamic temples, as evidenced by the inscription of Moura that commemorates the construction of the *ṣawma'a* by *al-Mu'taḍid*, the representation in the council seal of Aroche of a minaret topped with *yâmûr*, or the results of geophysical prospecting in the Priory Church of Aracena. These data advocate the existence in these population centers of oratories for religious practices, which after the conquest became Christian temples under the invocation of Santa María, one of the indications to trace their existence.



There are few archaeologically excavated necropolises in this territory although the funerary record is verified by the presence of funerary epigraphy in other settlements. The *maqbara* of the Sierra del Coto allows us to have a sample to assess population aspects through the 57 burials that have been documented. The necropolis embodies the characteristics of the funeral ritual that dictate the Islamic precepts that materialize in the aspects of the location of the *maqbara*, the total absence of grave goods, the typology of the burials and the position of the bodies. The funeral ritual is based on burials in graves, with a right lateral decubitus position of the individuals (Delgado and Pérez, 2015). This *maqbara* allows having a sample of the population of the Andalusian period in Sierra Morena Occidental. A population with a high degree of mortality in pre-adult individuals (35.92%) and adults (53.84%), where a low percentage of 10.16% reaches the category of mature population, and in which it is found that there is hardly any differentiation by sex (Delgado and Pérez, 2015). The discovery of funerary epigraphs in Moura, Noudar, Castillo del Cuerno or Almonaster is an indication of the existence of necropolis associated with the settlement with dating from the mid-tenth century to the 2nd half of the twelfth century.

The settlement of the southwest of al-Andalus was organized between the cities of Beja, Seville, Mérida, Badajoz and Niebla, and in its ordering a series of localities that play a secondary role are integrated: *Mírtula*, *Walba*, *Šaltīs*, *Šanta Marīya*, *Ukšūnuba*, *Yabal al-Uyūn*, *Šillb* or *Šariša*. A 3rd level in the territorial organization is occupied by the population centers of Sierra Morena Occidental. In this territory converged the administrative limits of the provinces of Niebla, Seville, Mérida, Beja and *Firriš* during the Umayyad period, and the borders between the kingdoms of the *aftasies* of Badajoz and the *abadies* of Seville in the Taifa era. During the integration phase of al-Andalus into the North African empires, the territorial organization continued to be administered by Seville, the governing center of the Almoravid and Almohad policy. The administration of the territory was carried out by *aqālīm*, whose limits are difficult to specify although we have the references to the demarcation of the terms of the villas during the late medieval period. The tendency at the time of the Christian conquest was to respect the terms of the Andalusian era. It is a coherent response to a territorial disposition articulated in a dispersed settlement but subordinated to governing centers. The districts had a population nucleus that articulated the administrative territory, as indicated by the textual mentions of Almonaster and Aroche, a paper endorsed by archaeological evidence. On the other hand, more controversial is the identification of *Qaṭrašāna* as a settlement, since its role as *iqlīm* is confirmed, its reality has been valued more as a territorial reference than as a

population center. The toponym *Qaṭrašāna* has traditionally been identified with Cortegana and dialectic has originated between the authors who defend this identification (García Sanjuán, 2003) and those who choose to locate it in Aracena (Pérez Macías, 2001). The arguments systematized in a critical way support the defense of the identification of *Qaṭrašāna* with Aracena. There are justifications in the assimilation of *Qaṭrašāna* with Aracena according to criteria: geographical, due to its location in the eastern part of the mountain region; administrative, for a wide jurisdiction that has been observed since late medieval times, which is heir to the Andalusian stage, and for presenting greater territorial coherence; historical, for the importance verified by documentary sources in the future of the region; archaeological, for the documentation of a material record that evidences an important population nucleus since Caliphate times; and toponymic, for a name not exempt from similarity and that requires a specific study (Romero and Rivera, 2020).

The material culture presents characteristics analogous to the whole of the peninsular southwest, since forms and decorations present in other parts of *Garb al-Andalus* are documented, so we are facing a production with common features, but that does not hide symptoms of local elaborations (Romero, Rivera and Pérez, 2012). An ergological set where foreign productions are also present that indicate patterns of commercial exchanges. This assessment is induced by the presence and/or absence of certain material elements, such as ceramics decorated in Green and Manganese or Dry Rope. The documentation and weight acquired by this type of sumptuary-type pottery in the ergological ensemble is an indicator of the places that have the greatest economic capacity and perform their function as governing centers or organizers of the settlement or as enclaves of itineraries through which trade routes run. The presence of the decoration of Cuerda Seca on the left bank of the Guadiana contrasts with the absence in the settlements of the Huelva and Badajoz mountains. The type of decoration engobe to the almagra, which is widespread throughout the geographical area along successive chronological moments, from the emiral stage to the Almohad era, is elements to evaluate its distribution by certain geographical areas. There is a local production, but there is also a supply through other producing centers since an influence of types and decorations is detected in the features of some types of emiral and caliphal pottery. The regional trade channels had to be expanded from that moment on, since there are other production centers that supply the market and have a superregional character. The morphology and ceramic decorations during the Almohad period present a greater uniformity in our territorial scope, at the same time that diversity is gained, that is, there is a greater

diversification of the ceramic repertoire during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a circumstance that agrees with the rest of the studies carried out in the ceramics of Garb al-Andalus.

The ceramic sets follow the most common typological patterns of the Islamic repertoires, but for the most part they are local productions that show a low level of exchanges, as evidenced in the main population centers although exceptions must be established, since in these localities ergological elements are documented that denote a more sumptuary character, which would indicate the concentration of commercial exchanges in those points where administrative and economic activities converge. In rural settlements in the Moura area, high percentages of manual or slow lathe pottery, and a higher proportion of storage and cooking vessels, have been documented. This situation offers a strong contrast with what happens in other sites, such as those in the countryside of Huelva or in Mértola. Other evidence, of a faunal type or numismatic findings, denotes the existence of a trade network between the coastal area and the interior of the territory, as well as with Seville. In this territory no industrial production was generated during the Andalusian period according to the evidence, but was intended for local or regional self-consumption. This does not mean that the presence of surpluses or some type of economic activity favored commercial exchanges with other areas of Garb al-Andalus. The textual references to the collection of taxes, to products such as flax, tanning or honey, and the archaeological evidence on the production of iron could be the object of a commercial activity with the administrative centers of the territory that implies the generation of resources. What we still do not know is the degree of intensity it reached, but with the current data a low commercial level is inferred, which is a symptom of the marginality of the area, of its rural and peripheral character. We can point out that a framework of relationship is established between this rural territory and the surrounding cities, which become a peripheral market for a limited production that did not generate a volume of surpluses capable of being referred to in Arab sources, except with some products.

The natural environment in Sierra Morena Occidental, with scarce capacities for the development of agricultural practices, conditions the uses towards livestock and forestry practices. Geographical features are corroborated by historical data and paleoenvironmental analyses. The limitations of the cereal-type agricultural productive capacity of this territory do not exclude its production, as detected by the presence of manual mills in the Andalusian settlements. Agriculture was one of the basic resources of the Andalusian period, including the novelty of irrigation. The irrigated spaces in the surroundings of the settlements became an alternative to extensive crops, at the same time that the typical production of the

Mediterranean world based on cereals and olive groves points to self-consumption.

During the Middle Ages the climatic conditions of the territory we analyzed were not substantially different from the current ones, although there have been alterations that have had an impact on the vegetation. We think that the greatest degree of landscape change is due to modifications of an antrópico nature. These changes have had to be produced by the various productive systems and territorial implantation, that is, the settlement that has been generated locally by the communities that have inhabited the territory in the successive stages of History. Among the antrópico factors that have modified the natural dynamics of vegetation are mining-metallurgical activities, as evidenced in the settlements of the third and second millennium BC of the Pyrite Strip and the Huelva Sierra, as well as agro-livestock practices, by which the environment would be subjected to logging processes, arson, grazing and deforestation, causing the decrease of tree masses. This process seems to be linked in Sierra Morena Occidental more to livestock than to cereal cultivation, giving rise to the configuration of the dehesa. This is reflected in the plant regeneration with species that are closely linked to the practices of fires and deforestation of the forest. During the Roman period, where there is a higher incidence of settlement, according to paleoenvironmental studies there is a degradation of tree cover due to the increase in cultivation and livestock activities in the environment. When anthropogenic factors, i.e. the incidence of settlement, decrease, the ecosystem tends to recover. This circumstance is extensible to the Andalusian period, as evidenced in Aracena, where there is a change in the arboreal landscape. From an important forest cover to deforestation, product of antrópico pressure for two main reasons: the constructive activities in the settlement and the incidence of the livestock herd, although we do not rule out the impact of mining-metallurgical activity (López et alii, 2015). Crops, especially cereals, do not seem to have a responsibility for deforestation, since, in contrast to other bordering regions (Tierra Llana de Huelva, Valle del Guadalquivir and Cuenca Media del Guadiana), there are a series of limitations in agricultural productive capacity. In the central area of the mountain region the density of the tree cover seems to be maintained, as witnessed in the maintenance of the oak grove during the late medieval period. Therefore, the evidence seems to indicate a productive system of forest and livestock base during the Andalusian era in Sierra Morena Occidental, although we do not rule out the complementarity of mining-metallurgical exploitations.

In the pollen diagram of the Castle of Aracena during the XII-XIII centuries there are indicators of grazing pressure, that is, the existence of a livestock herd in the vicinity of the site (López et alii, 2015). This

has been corroborated by the faunal set that has been analyzed, which allows the understanding of the economic dynamics during this period, especially when written sources have not left information on livestock practices, except for some citation on beekeeping. This is especially relevant in a region whose geographical characteristics favor livestock production. The study has resulted in a very diverse set of species, predominantly domestic species: pigs, cattle, goats and sheep, as well as horses and poultry. The hunting of wild animals, such as deer and wild boar, has also been documented. Some remains of rabbits, hares, and several carnivores (dogs, wolves, cats, lynx, and bear) have been identified. Although rare, the remains of marine molluscs testify to their occasional use and the probable existence of a commercial network of these coastal resources in the territory. The information offered by nearby settlements denotes a harmony in terms of species, with the exception of the genus *suido*, and evidences the livestock activities that prevailed (Valente et alii, e.p.).

One of the documented economic activities are mining extractive techniques and metallurgical processes, which basically continue to use the same processes as during the Roman period, although the type of ore and the volume of production change. The archaeo-metallurgical record of Sierra Morena Occidental is increasing with new data and this highlights the importance of mining-metallurgical activity in *al-Andalus* (Pérez Macías, 2008). Although there are textual testimonies of Arab authors about the production of silver in *Ṭuṭāliqa*, the steel industry is the one that takes on a greater role, although the scale of its industrial performance cannot be established. Different types of iron ores are extracted: gossan and magnetite, for processing by bleeding furnaces (Pérez Macías, 2008). The economic importance is reflected in a territorial organization based on the subordination of the places of extraction/processing of mineral resources to fortified settlements and the governing centers of the *āqālim*. Other types of transformation activities are textiles, such as the cultivation of flax attested by Arab sources and archaeological evidence, leather tanning or the manufacture of construction materials.

The Christian conquest of Sierra Morena Occidental was developed through a unique model, characterized by its heterogeneity in times and protagonists. It caused conflictive political situations and litigation between the various actors that led the occupation of the territory (Portugal, Castilla y León and the military orders of the Hospital, Temple and Santiago) which ended up generating decades of instability and insecurity and slowing down its repopulation (Romero and Rivera, 2012). On the political change that took place in the thirteenth century, two questions are clear. The entry of Portuguese troops and military orders

snatching property from the Andalusian population, and the dispute of the territory by the Portuguese and Castilian monarchies until the definitive Treaty of Alcañices of 1297, although with the Treaty of Badajoz of 1267 it had passed to the nominal control of Castile and León (Pérez Embid, 1995).

The Andalusian defense of the territory was lacking a political power to maintain it, so the process of conquest was accelerated through the formulas of capitulation and military takeover. The analysis of the Christian conquest from the archaeological record of Aracena allows us to assess the use of violence, since it is verified the dismantling of the domestic architecture of the Andalusian stage, strata with abundant presence of ashes, the presence of war material or the fragmentary state and the location in situ of the material culture. Faced with this evidence we find a gap of information on the use of violence in the register of Moura, Noudar, Aroche or Almonaster. This corroborates what was indicated by the sources for the conquest of other populations that were taken by capitulation, or by means of siege and military takeover. A point not resolved by the investigation is the date of the conquest. Except for the references of the documentary sources on Moura, Serpa or Montemolín, several hypotheses had been considered that coincide in the establishment of a period of 23 years, in the time interval between 1230/1234 and 1253, when the populations of Serpa, Moura, Aroche and Aracena were taken. Given the exhaustion of the information provided by historical documentation, the archaeological record has been resorted to through evidence of radiocarbon and numismatic dating that indicates an intermediate chronology of that time period, the decade of the 40s of the XIIIth century.

After the Christian conquest, the settlement is articulated around the main Andalusian nuclei, although we must differentiate two chronological moments that cover the 2nd half of the s. XIII. The Portuguese occupation of the territory focuses on the Andalusian nuclei (Moura, Serpa, Noudar, Aroche and Aracena), although ex novo points also arise that are justified as territorial milestones that are the precedent of the process of castillamiento of the s. XIV, which seeks to attract population. To promote repopulation, privileges are granted that become the legal systems of these populations. The temporary development is not synchronic, which is motivated by the establishment of the border, since at first territorial claim is sought with de facto policies, legal security and protection of populations after the treaties of Badajoz and Alcañices. This trend is also observed during the 2nd half of the s. XIII in the possessions of the military orders, where privileges are granted and the emergence of population centers within the *encomiendas* is favored. In the case of the royal land dependent on the kingdom of Seville,

the settlement of population in Andalusian nuclei is observed, but spontaneously, without the granting of privileges (*fueros*), although later ex novo settlements arise outside of a planning by the council of Seville. Faced with this reality and the events that occur: insecurity, territorial claims, military conflicts, etc., a new policy is executed based on the construction of castles, a process of castillamiento, to guarantee the repopulation of the territory that began in the mid-thirteenth century. It develops from the end of that century and during the first half of the s. XIV, moment in which the Galician Band is formalized in the Land of Seville. In front of this set of fortifications stand the Banda Lusitana and the fortresses of Extremadura in the domains of the Military Orders, which originates a high density of castles in Sierra Morena Occidental. Subsequently, the political and economic circumstances of the fifteenth century propitiate the demographic growth and, therefore, the occupation of the territory in a spontaneous way through small populations subordinated to the localities that had castles, which become the governing centers. It is the development and rise of atomized settlement.

The current settlement of Sierra Morena Occidental has its origin in the Andalusian stage, when, faced with the process of ruralization of society that occurs after the Roman stage, the main population centers that articulate the territory arise: Aroche, Moura, Serpa, Almonaster, Aracena although we can not consider them as cities as can be seen from the assessments made by Arab sources. We interpret that they respond to the policy of the Umayyad state after the muladí revolts, which concentrates the population in the face of a hypothetical dispersion of the population during the emiral stage. The sequence of occupation from caliphal moments indicates the beginning of an urban model in those nuclei in which the settlement is maintained during the late medieval stage. It is in those moments when a pattern of settlement is articulated that knows successive transformations during the process of repopulation of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The archaeological record has provided us with data and information that contribute to knowing society and, especially, the medieval settlement in Sierra Morena Occidental. Knowledge has been generated that answers a series of questions about the Andalusian period in this territory, but there are still many stages left on the road we must travel. We are convinced that the archaeological discipline will help to solve the gaps in historical information of a period and a geographical area that deserve greater attention from historical research.

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Fig. 1: Location of Sierra Morena Occidental in the Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula



Fig. 2: 1.- Almonaster la Real; 2.- Aracena; 3.- Aroche; 4.- Moura; 5.- Peña de Arias Montano (Alajar); 6.- Serpa



Fig. 3: Almonaster la Real Mosque

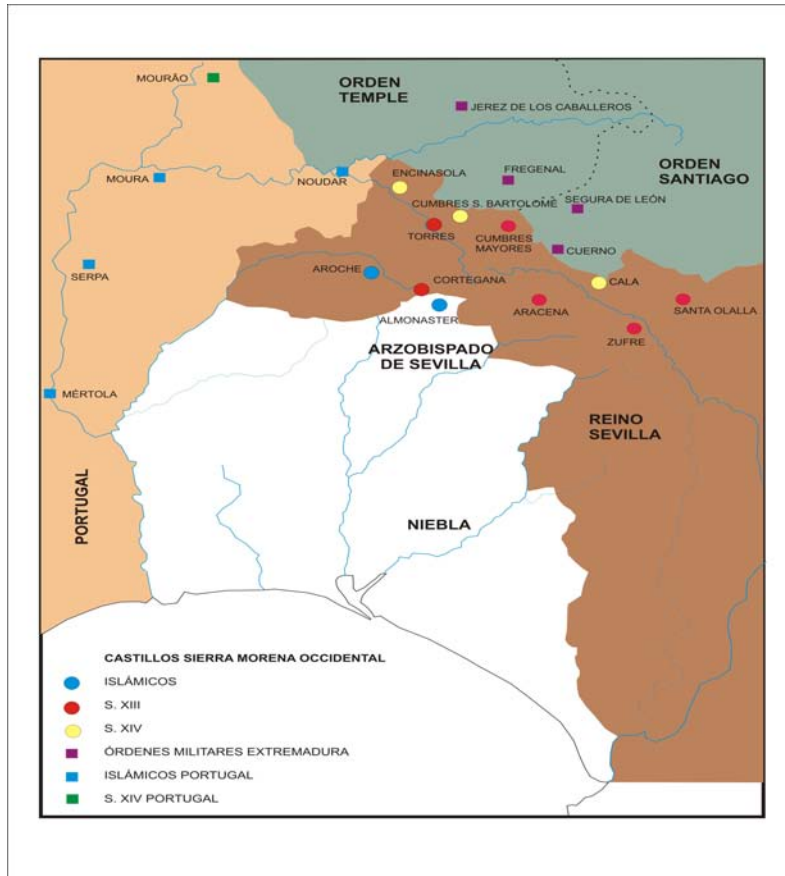


Fig. 4: Distribution of medieval castles in Sierra Morena Occidental



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Ethnic Homology and China Identity Effect of Division-Unification Law in Ancient China

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Abstract- In the thousands of years of development and evolution of ancient China, sometimes it split, sometimes it unified, but after each division, there would be greater unification, which is the law of division and unification in ancient Chinese history. Why does this law come into being? The study found that there are two fundamental reasons: one is all major ethnic groups in China have common blood and ethnic origin. Second, based on this same root and homology, China complex and China identity effect were formed. The analysis of a large number of prehistoric myths and legends of Zhuang, Yao, Hun, Xianbei and many other ethnic groups, as well as the rich historical documents of the Central Plains Empire, shows that many ethnic groups that had appeared in history have consanguinity and cultural homology with the Central Plains, which was regarded as the core area of Chinese orthodox culture. Just because of the limitation of historical conditions, it was inconvenient for them to communicate with the Central Plains. As time goes on, the two sides did not understand enough and the development level was different, which gradually widened the gap.

Keywords: *ancient china, division-unification law, ethnic homology, china identity effect.*

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Ethnic Homology and China Identity Effect of Division-Unification Law in Ancient China

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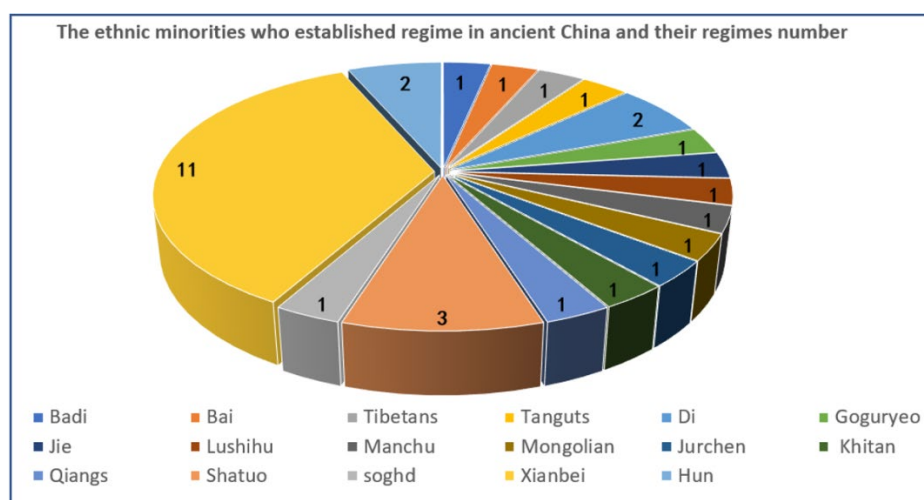
Abstract- In the thousands of years of development and evolution of ancient China, sometimes it split, sometimes it unified, but after each division, there would be greater unification, which is the law of division and unification in ancient Chinese history. Why does this law come into being? The study found that there are two fundamental reasons: one is all major ethnic groups in China have common blood and ethnic origin. Second, based on this same root and homology, China complex and China identity effect were formed. The analysis of a large number of prehistoric myths and legends of Zhuang, Yao, Hun, Xianbei and many other ethnic groups, as well as the rich historical documents of the Central Plains Empire, shows that many ethnic groups that had appeared in history have consanguinity and cultural homology with the Central Plains, which was regarded as the core area of Chinese orthodox culture. Just because of the limitation of historical conditions, it was inconvenient for them to communicate with the Central Plains. As time goes on, the two sides did not understand enough and the development level was different, which gradually widened the gap. The difference of social production and life style also caused the difference of cultural development trend and content between the two sides, political reasons also brought obstacles to the exchange between the two sides. But no matter how different the aspects were, the monarchs and people of all nationalities in all regions had deep China complex and strong China identity. It is precisely because these two powerful spiritual factors have been playing their role and influence continuously that China had been reunited again and again after many splits. It is also because of the greater reunification of more

people in a wider scope that China had formed what we call the "community of the Chinese nation" today.

Keywords: ancient china, division-unification law, ethnic homology, china identity effect.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT CHINA SHOWED OBVIOUS SPLIT-REUNIFICATION LAW

For thousands of years, in the process of forming the territory of contemporary China and the community of the Chinese nation, there were no less than 17 ethnic minorities had established political power (the graph *The ethnic minorities who established regime in ancient China and their regimes number* shows some details). Historically, the regimes established by all ethnic groups in the territory of China are part of ancient China. Therefore, from a macro perspective, the time of reunification in ancient China was very short, and there were few unified dynasties. Only the Yuan and Qing dynasties had a real reunification that lasted not very long. It is a common phenomenon that multiple regimes coexist at the same time, but under this appearance, the spiral road from division to unity has been continued without interruption, The most outstanding feature is unified and divided law—from split to unity, then from unity to split, and then to end the split and regain unity.



There are many reasons for the formation of this law, but there are two fundamental reasons that

have played an important role: First, every split in ancient Chinese history only divides the body and the

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shape, while the heart and spirit are not separated, but the next dynasty is more cohesive than the present dynasty. Second, since ancient times, "China" identity has always been the common mentality of all empires and ethnic groups. The two are discussed below.

II. IN ANCIENT CHINA, THE BODY WAS SPLIT MANY TIMES, BUT THE MIND WAS NEVER SPLIT. THE COUNTRY WAS SPLIT, BUT THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL UNITY WAS NOT SPLIT

On the one hand, the dual closeness of blood and kinship is an important evidence and rationale to explain this phenomenon of physical division and spiritual coagulation of ancient China. The family history of the Tuoba family, the royal family of the State of Wei in Xianbei (known as the Northern Wei Dynasty), was recorded in the *Weishu* as follows:

"In the past, the Yellow Emperor had twenty-five sons, who either lived in Huaxia or scattered to distant places. Changyi, the youngest son, was enfeoffed to the land in the north. Because there was a Daxianbei Mountain in his country, he took this mountain's name as his national title. His descendants have been kings for generations, ruling the vast wilderness, north of the ancient capital Youzhou. The people there raised and herded livestock, hunted as their means of survival, their social custom is pure and honest, their education used simple enlightenment. They didn't have words, they just carved some signs on the wood to record important events. All the far and near affairs in the country are dictated by people, just as historiographers record history. The Yellow Emperor ruled with Tu De (taking Tu in the Five Elements Philosophy as the national virtue). According to the customs of the northern people, the land was called "Tuo" and the king was called "Ba", so Tuo Ba was taken as the surname. The descendant "Shijun" of the Toba family served as an official of the Yao government, expelling the Nüba to the north of the Ruohang river. The people lived a good life because of his diligence. Emperor Shun rewarded him and appointed him as the Tianzu (God of agriculture). Since then, his descendants of generations have held this post. Up to the Qin and Han Dynasties, the tribes of Xunyu, Xianyun, Shanrong and the Hun had been ruthless for generations, harming the people in central plains. Because of this, Shijun's descendants didn't communicate with Huaxia in the south, they were unknown in China's historical documents. After 67 generations, Emperor Cheng Tuoba Mao ascended the throne. He was smart and resourceful. He was highly respected from far and near. He ruled 36 countries, with 99 big names. He was powerful in the north, no one disobeyed his rule. ... [1]

This official historical original document about the origin of Tuoba Xianbei is the key for us to understand why many ethnic groups have always been separated from the Central Plains and the mainland, but their hearts have not been separated, the country had been divided but not divided spiritually - they were brothers originally, but they did not know each other, the customs were different, only because of they were far away from each other and their contacts were cut off. In fact, the fact that many ethnic groups now known as ethnic minorities and Han people "were originally born from the same root" is supported by numerous historical data. Here are a few examples. The record of the origin of the Yuwen family in the Northern Zhou Dynasty in *Zhoushu* is another proof.

Taizu Emperor Wen took Yuwen as his surname. His given name was Tai. He was also called Heita, he came from Wuchuan town of the place Dai. His ancestors came from Shennong, the Yan Emperor, and were destroyed by the Yellow Emperor, so his descendants fled to live in the northern wilderness. There was a man named Gewutu, who was a hero who was good at wars and strategy. Xianbei admired him and respected him as the leader, so he commanded twelve tribes and served as a Daren (monarch) for generations. Later, the tribe had been called Puhui. Owing to three jade seals with the words "Emperor's Seal" on them they got when they went hunting, Puhui thought it was a great gift from heaven. Because the local custom called Heaven as Yu, calling the monarch as Wen, they called their country as Yuwen State, and took Yuwen as their surname.[2]

For another example, Panhu is considered to be "the ancestor of various ethnic groups that are used to call 'Manyi' in the south of the Yangtze River" [3], its academic basis is derived from ancient historical materials and myths. According to *The History of the Hou Hanshu • Biographies of Southern Man and Southwestern Yi*,

"In the past, Gaoxin's country was attacked by the Quanrong army on the border. The emperor was worried about its invasion and cruelty since many crusades did not completely win the enemy. So, he sent a recruitment notice to the whole world. If anyone could get the head of General Wu, the general of the Quanrong army, he would be rewarded with 1,000 Yi of gold, a city with 10,000 families and marry his youngest daughter to him. At that time, the emperor kept a dog with colorful fur named Panhu. After the imperial edict was issued, Panhu came to the palace with a man's head in his mouth. The officials were surprised and went to check, they found that it was the head of General Wu. The emperor was very happy. However, Panhu was a dog and could not marry his daughter to him as his wife, but there was no other way to reward him. So, they negotiated to give Panhu enough reward, but there was no suitable way. When the emperor's youngest daughter

heard about this, she felt that the emperor had issued this edict, he could not now break it and lose his credit. Therefore, she asked her father to marry her to Panhu. The emperor had no choice but to marry his youngest daughter to Panhu. After Pan Hu got the emperor's little daughter, he carried her into the Nanshan Mountain and came to the stone chamber. The terrain there was precipitous, few people from outside could come there. So, the little girl took off her clothes, tied up the same hair knot as the people living in the cave, put on the same clothes as the children. The emperor was very sad and missed his little daughter, so he sent messengers to look for her. Every time, the messengers encountered stormy weather and thick fog, so they could not enter the mountains. After several years, she gave birth to twelve children, six boys and six girls. After Panhu died, they married each other. They wove wood hides and dyed them with grass seeds. They liked making colorful clothes. Their clothes were cut and made with tail shape. Later, their mother returned to her hometown and told the emperor about these living conditions, so the emperor sent people to pick up the descendants. Their clothes were colorful and their language was completely different. They liked climbing mountains and crossing valleys; they were not used to living in flat and open places. The emperor gave them famous mountains and vast plains according to their wishes. Since then, they lived and multiplied there, they were called Manyi. " [4]

According to Zhao Guangting's research, "the Yao people regard Pangu and Panhu as their common ancestors", "The Yao people worship their clan ancestors, they worship Panhu even more" [3]. *The Classic of Mountains and Rivers · The Eastern Classic of the Great Wilderness* contains:

There is a country called Yinmin, which takes Gou as its surname and has millet as its food. There was a man named Wang Hai in the country. He grabbed a bird in each hand and ate the head of a bird. Wang Hai entrusted a group of cattle to Hebo, the water god of Youyi country. Someone in Youyi killed Wang Hai, Youyi people took Wanghai's cattle. Hebo thought about the friendship with Youyi, so he helped the people of that country escape. They established a new country where many wild animals live, so they ate animal meat. This country was called Yaomin country. Emperor Shun gave birth to Xi and Xi gave birth to Yaomin. [5]

Zhao Guangting believes that:

"The beginning of Yao is the voice of You. 'At the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty, the voice of You is You'. You is the self-assertion of the Yao people. The Yao people first lived in the Yellow River basin. It seems that Chiyou tribal alliance was originally called Youmian. Chiyou was defeated by the Yellow Emperor. His descendants moved south and merged into the southern Man tribe, collectively called Nanman. Yao

people also call themselves Youmian. Mian is transformed from the sound of man. There is no doubt that South Man contain You. At the end of the Shang Dynasty, Nanman, who lived in Jingshan and Cheshui, was known as Jingman in history. The Yao people also called themselves Jingmen, for example, the Lantian Yao called themselves Jingmen, meaning Jingman. " 'Mian' and 'Men' are the transformation of man's pronunciation, which implies the meaning of human. 'Youmian' should be the ancestors of Yao people in You tribe of Chiyou tribal alliance; 'Jingmen' should be the Yao people living in You tribe of Jingshan and Cheshui, which translates Yao language into Chinese meaning. Both 'Youmian' and 'Jingmen' are the Yao people of descendants of You tribe. Yao people are descendants of Chiyou tribal alliance" [3].

Mao Qiling, who lived in the late Ming Dynasty to the early Qing Dynasty, wrote in his *Mansi Hezhi*: "In Xincheng, Libo and the three townships in the north, south and west of Tianhe", "sacrificing Panhu on the New Year's Eve", "every sacrifice must be accompanied by a band" [6]. The Zhuang people have a legend that "the ancestors intentionally brought a yellow dog to the immortal's field in the sky to roll and let the dog touch rice seed, making the dog bring the rice seed back to the world". it is now still a tradition that "people can not forget the merits of the dog". "When harvesting new grain in June of the lunar calendar, Zhuang people cook new rice and feed the dog first" [7].

Although the historical materials of Yao, Zhuang and other nationalities listed above are myths and legends, they are by no means unfounded and fabricated by the ancients. The ethnic groups in the south of the Yangtze River originated from the North of the Five Ridges, which is by no means false. The respect for "dogs" in the cultures of Zhuang, Yao and other nationalities is essentially the historical deposit and legacy of ancestor worship and totem culture. It is a history that has been gradually mysterious in the process of inheritance. It is undeniable that since ancient times, all ethnic groups in China have not only been geographically close to each other, but also may be closely related by blood. This kind of kinship, which is thicker than water, is one of the reasons why the China's body had been divided many times in the past several thousand years, but the heart had always been connected.

On the other hand, looking at the whole process of China's historical evolution, it can be found that from ancient times to the present, the outward expansion of Central Plains, with agriculture as its pillar industry, mainly depends on the attraction and centripetal force generated by relatively developed material culture, spiritual culture and institutional culture. On the contrary, the surrounding non-agricultural ethnic groups often launch wars against the Central Plains from time to time by virtue of the fast mobility of cavalry and the fierce

national personality, from the snatching in the alternating seasons of winter and spring to the infiltrative blending, until the conquering fusion. In the process of alternating the flexible outward movement of the Central Plains regime and the rigid inward movement of the neighboring regimes, these two major types of civilizations have done their best to learn from each other and grow together - the agricultural regime is good at enhancing its industrial, technological and cultural strength through peaceful construction, the pastoral regime is good at military development, developing commerce and trade, as well as more inclusive cultural reference psychology - not only had the territory expanded several times, more and more ethnic groups gathered together, but also the centripetal force has been becoming greater and greater, creating today's pluralistic and integrated Chinese national community, which is a unique feature of the historical process of the Chinese nation's continuous development and growth.

III. SINCE ANCIENT TIMES, "CHINA IDENTITY" HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE COMMON MENTALITY OF ALL EMPIRES AND ETHNIC GROUPS

Looking at ancient China all-sidedly, it is not difficult to find a thought-provoking and interesting phenomenon. No matter who established a dynasty, big or small, no matter what nationality or family name, there was a strong sense of "China identity" and orthodoxy. They naturally believed that they were Chinese, their regime represented China or a part of China. They even fought for the title of "China" and did not allow others to seize the status of the orthodox "China" to swear the legitimacy of the regime, gaining a sense of dignity and superiority belonging to China. Therefore, since ancient times, "one China" has always been the common mentality of the rulers and people of all countries under the banner of "China".

Liu Yuan, the founding monarch of the State of Zhao (historically known as Qianzhao), was a Hun, but his father Liu Bao was an official of the Central Plains Court from the time of Cao Cao. After the demise of the Western Jin Dynasty, Liu Yuan established his own country, calling himself "the nephew of the Han family" [7], not only did the country name use Han to show that its political power was the revival of the Liu Han Dynasty, but also "recognized Liu Chan as the Emperor Xiaohuai, set up memorial tablets of names of eight generations below Liu Bang, Emperor Gaodi of the Han Dynasty" [9]. Liu Yuan attached great importance to the kinship between their family and Liu Bang's family. He was proud of it and offered sacrifices to Liu Bang and his descendants according to the etiquette. This is the inheritance and development of the Hun ruling family with Liu as their surname and their heart toward the Central Plains since the Heqin policy (make peace with

rulers of minority nationalities in the border areas by marriage) was implemented by Emperor Taizu Liu Bang of the Han Dynasty and Chanyu Modu of the Hun. The belief that "I am a Chinese" and "I am the emperor of China" has not only been transformed into action, but also inherited from generation to generation. Similar to Liu Yuan's blood relationship, the founder of the Great Xia State known as Hu Xia, Helianbobo belongs to the same clan with Liu Yuanhai. [10] This Liu Yuanhai is the Liu Yuan just mentioned. Therefore, the original surname of Helianbobo was also Liu, and the origin of the surname was also from Heqin of Han and Hun. *Jin Shu* (History of Jin Dynasty) records his words:

"My imperial ancestor moved from the north to You and Shuo and changed his surname to Si Shi, which did not pronounce the same as it did in the Central Plains, so I used my mother's surname- Liu. It was not a custom for a son to follow his mother's name. In ancient times, people had different surnames, including those who followed their mother and those who followed their father. Now I want to change this habit according to the meaning. The emperor is the son of heaven, a prominent emblem, and a hub connecting heaven and earth. Therefore, I now change our surname to Helian, which conforms to the will of heaven and enjoys the world forever. the son of Heaven is the most honorable person in the world. He cannot share the same surname with others. Therefore, all other unorthodox descendants took Tiefsa as their surname. I hope all my descendants are as tough as iron and can fight well." [10]

Not only that, *Jinshu* also records the origin of the country name, saying that he "thought he was a descendant of the Xiahou family of the Hun, so the country name was Great Xia" [10]. Of course, what Helianbobo said is not groundless. The first sentence of *Shiji Vol.110 • the Hun' Biographies 50th* is that "The Hun, whose ancestor was a Miao descendant of Xiahou family, he was called Chunwei." [11] undoubtedly, the strict historian Sima Qian had his own historical basis.

Qian Qin Emperor Fujian was a Di person, and Hou Zhao Emperor Shile was a Jie person. Because their empires were located in the Central Plains and had metropolises as Chang'an and Luoyang, they considered themselves "the emperor of China". They instead blamed the Dong Jin Dynasty, which regarded itself as the legitimate successors of the Central Plains, for being "Simajia (Sima family)" and "Wuren (Wu people)". During the Northern and Southern Dynasties, all the regimes in the Southern Dynasties regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of Chinese culture and despised the Northern Dynasty as suolu (barbarians in the North). While the Northern Dynasties' regimes righteously regarded themselves as Chinese orthodoxy, on the contrary, they denounced the Southern Dynasties as Daoyi (island barbarians) and Nanwei (southern hypocrites). The two sides argued

endlessly and the outcome was hard to decide until the Sui Dynasty completed the unification of Central China. Today, it seems that their rather interesting arguments both make sense, because they were originally members of China, and are all part of one China. As far as the region is concerned, the Northern Dynasty is undoubtedly China, while the Southern Dynasty is relatively remote, so it is difficult to have enough confidence. In terms of culture, the Southern Dynasty claimed to be the successor of China's orthodox culture, which is true. However, the Northern Dynasty was also by no means an alternative culture. Not only were there a large number of talented people, but also the achievements made in developing Chinese culture were obvious to all. Even the upper-class people in the Southern Dynasty had to admire it.

Chen Qingzhi, a senior official of the Liang Dynasty, was sent to Luoyang at the order of Emperor Xiao Yan. His perception of the north has changed from contempt to respect, admiration and imitation, which is very persuasive. When Chen Qingzhi first arrived in Luoyang, his old friend Jingren hosted a banquet. During the dinner, Chen proudly said, "The Wei Dynasty is very prosperous, but it is still called the Wuhu. The orthodox inheritance is in Jiangzuo, the Jade Seal of the Qin Emperor is now in the Liang Dynasty." [12] As soon as he said this, Yuan Shen, who was on the side of the host, was extremely angry, he spoke fiercely and severely refuted the South Dynasty as well as Chen Qingzhi's mission:

"Jiangzuo is a secluded place that is temporarily quiet on the surface. It is low-lying and humid everywhere. There are insects and ants everywhere. The soil is thin and the rocks are big. The miasma is rampant. Frogs and flies live in one cave together. People and birds live together in the same house. Men wear short hair, not like people who live long. Everyone has tattoos, which is very ugly and crude. They float among the three rivers and paddle among the five lakes. They have never been influenced by etiquette and music; the country's laws have also never improved. Although some survivors of the Qin Dynasty and criminals of the Han Dynasty escaped there, making the barbarian accent mixed with the Chinese accent, there was still no communication with them in Fujian and Chu, and there was no change. Although there are so-called monarchs and ministers, the upper class of society does not know how to respect themselves, and the lower class is cruel. First there was Liu Shao's murder of his father, and then there was the scandal of incest between Xiulong (referring to Liu Jun, Emperor Xiaowu of the Song Dynasty) and his mother. They all rebelled against human relations, just like animals. In addition, Princess Shanyin Chu Yu asked the emperor to recruit gigolo for her. She had sex at home and ignored the ridicule of others. You grew up in this kind of folkway legacy and had not received etiquette education. This is

what people say that people in Yangzhai do not know that tumors are ugly. Our country, the State of Wei, the emperors were inspired by the map, located between Mount Song and River Luo with the five mountains as the place of statecraft and the four seas as our homeland. It is a model of changing customs and is parallel to the relics of the Five Emperors; The prosperity of the etiquette and music charter is second to none in all countries. You, a person like fish and turtle, are qualified to comment on us? You admire the high righteousness of our country and come here to worship, drinking the water of our country, pecking the rice of our country, but your words are impolite and nonsense. How can you come to such an extent?" [12]

After hearing these words, all the people in the Southern Dynasty were ashamed and speechless. Shortly thereafter, Chen Qingzhi was ill and needed treatment as soon as possible. Yuan Shen said, "It can be solved" and cured him. After Chen Qingzhi returned from his mission, the Liang State "attached great importance to the northern people, reaching a level beyond the ordinary" [12], Zhu Yi was puzzled by this phenomenon, Chen Qingzhi explained the mystery for him:

"Since the Jin and Song Dynasties, we have regarded Luoyang as a wasteland. All said with one voice that the north of the Yangtze River is full of barbarians. When I arrived in Luoyang not long ago, I came to learn that the aristocratic families of scholars and bureaucrats in gorgeous clothes are the same in the Central Plains. Luoyang has a complete and prosperous etiquette, a large population and abundant material products. There are many things we have never seen before and cannot say their names. It is often said that the capital of the empire stands tall and towering, which is an example for all regions to learn from. This is just like a person who climbs Mount Tai will feel that the mound made of ants' nests is too low; A person who has sailed on the big rivers and seas will naturally feel that crossing the Xiangjiang River and Yuanjiang River is a small matter. How can we not attach importance to the people in the north?" [12]

Chen Qingzhi not only praised Luoyang's cultural prosperity, but also imitated it: "Qingzhi therefore wore the clothes of the State of Wei and performed the etiquette of the State of Wei. In Jiangzuo area, ordinary people and nobles with status and knowledge competed to take him as an example, which made the wide sleeves and tall hats of Wei popular." [12] It is like that people today catch up with the fashion of Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, a Luoyang trend has been launched in Jinling City.

In 648 AD, the 22nd year of Zhenguan in the Tang Dynasty, a tribute group named Xiajiasi from the upper reaches of Yenisei River in Russia arrived in Chang'an under the leadership of Ailifa (Induna) shiboquezhana. This Ailifa claimed to be the descendant

of General Li Ling who surrendered to the Hun in the Western Han Dynasty. He shared the same family name with the Emperor of the Tang Dynasty and wanted to regard the Emperor of the Tang Dynasty as his kindred. Tang Taizong saw that they were different from the Xiajiasi natives with red hair and green eyes. They were both black hair and black eyes, which showed obviously mixed blood. He recognized them as kinsmen of the same clan on the spot. The delegation of Xiajiasi Ailifa received extremely warm hospitality. At the banquet, Ailifa drank happily and requested to be attached to the Tang Dynasty. Taizong immediately decided to set up Jiankun Governor's Office in the jurisdiction of Xiajiasi, which was subordinate to Yanran Governor's Office, and granted Ailifa the title of Zuo Tunwei Grand General and Jiankun Governor. Since then, Xiajiasi has always regarded the Tang Dynasty as the ancestral home country, and has sent troops to help the Tang Dynasty for many times. Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty once praised Xiajiasi's army for its "advantage of arrow, which is invincible". Even when the power of the Tang Dynasty was greatly weakened due to civil strife, Xiajiasi was still able to focus on family ties with Tang. The emperors of the Tang Dynasty also always bestowed special favor on it. Emperor Zhongzong once touched the back of the envoy of Xiajiasi and said, "Your country is the same clan as mine, no other dependent country can compare with you." When hearing this, the envoy kowtowed with gratitude. "During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong, Xiajiasi paid tribute to the Tang Dynasty four times." Later, due to the obstruction of Huihe, the bilateral exchanges were forced to be interrupted.

In 843 A.D., Xiajiasi came to pay tribute again, Wuzong ordered Khan A'er to be included in the imperial register of Zongzheng Temple. It also said in the Imperial edict given to the Xiajiasi Khan in response to the request of Xiajiasi to restore the relationship of the Suzerain state and the affiliated state: "I also heard about the origin of Khan's family name, which is the same family as mine in Datang. Datang is the descendant of Li Guang, the Taishou (satrap) of Beiping in the Han Dynasty, Khan is the descendant of Li Ling, the Duwei (commandant) of the Han Dynasty. According to this situation, we are of the same family name, so the relationship of the superior and the inferior is clear. Now, the imperial court plans to canonize you as Khan and specially grants you a good name..." In 847 A.D., Emperor Xuanzong (Li Chen) conferred the title of Xiajiasi Khan as a "brave and honest Khan". "During the reign of Xiantong, Xiajiasi paid tribute to the Tang Dynasty three times in all. [8, 13]

The Liao Dynasty established by the Khitan nationality, the Xia Dynasty established by the Tanguts nationality and the Jin Dynasty established by the Jurchen nationality all stood side by side with the Zhao family's Song Dynasty. They all called themselves China. Moreover, they "called themselves Chinese titles,

imitated Chinese officials, appointed Chinese talents, read Chinese books, used Chinese carriages and clothes, and enforced Chinese laws" [14], demonstrating their Chinese identity and status in various ways. According to *the Turkic Dictionary* written by Mahmoud Kashgari, the Karahan dynasty, which is located in the westernmost part of China, also insists on being a part of China. He explained under the entry "Taohuashi (Peach Blossom Stone)":

"*Taohuashi (Peach Blossom Stone)*: The name of the 'Ma Qin' country. This country is four months away from Qin. Qin was originally divided into three parts: first, the upper Qin Dynasty, which is located in the east, is called the Peach Blossom Stone; second, the middle Qin Dynasty, which is called the Khitan; third, the lower Qin Dynasty, which is called the Balhan, which is in Kashgar. But now it is considered to be 'Ma Qin'" [15].

In addition, all these king titles, such as "Peach Blossom Stone Khan Mahamo" and "Peach Blossom Stone Bugla Khan Hasen", mean "the king of China". The coins minted by the Karahan Dynasty also have the title of "the king of China" or "the king of the East and China" in front of their names. [15] In other words, Kashgari believed that in the Great Song Dynasty, the complete China was composed of three parts: the Great Song Dynasty of the Upper Qin Dynasty, the Khitan of the Middle Qin Dynasty and the Balhan of the Lower Qin Dynasty. Almost at the same time as Kashgar, a Muslim writer named Ma Weiji also said in his book "*Natural Attributes of Animals*" that China consists of three parts: "The territory of Qin is divided into three parts: Qin, Khitan and Uighur, of which the largest territory and country is Qin". [16]

These historical materials confirm that the Xiyu (Western Regions) have always been a part of China since the Xihan (Western Han Dynasty), which was widely inherited by the Muslim world in the Song Dynasty. China is composed of several parts, and this concept of "oneness" and "one country" contains a deep Chinese complex. The academic research on Kashgari shows that he is a descendant of the Uighur Khanate in the northern desert. The Karahan Dynasty was a regime established by a group of tribes that moved west to the west of Congling and united with the local peoples and tribes such as Yaghma and Qarluq after the disintegration of the original Uighur Khanate in the northern desert. Kashgari's interpretation of the peach blossom stone reveals that the intellectual class of the Karahan Dynasty, which originated from the East, cherishes and recalls their ancestors' origins and historical activities. At that time, the Uighur khanate was very close to the Tang Dynasty. Many Tang Dynasty princesses married the Uighur khan. The descendants of the Uighur royal family were very proud of this. "The Uighurs called the central plains dynasties their uncle for generations, every imperial edict issued by the central plains dynasties was also called the Uighur's nephew,

which had been followed since the Five Dynasties - Ten Kingdoms period." [17] Indeed, in 1081 A.D., the Kara Khan Dynasty in its official document to the Song Dynasty called Song its "Hanjia Ajiu (uncle of the Han family)", its coexisting leader of the Gaochang Uighur in its official document to the Song Dynasty called himself "Xizhou waisheng (the nephew of western state)." [16]

IV. CONCLUSION: THE BODY IS SPLIT BUT THE SPIRIT IS COHESIVE, SO THE "CHINA" MENTALITY IS CONSISTENT, WHICH MAKES THE ANCIENT CHINA NATURALLY UNIFIED AFTER THE SPLIT

In the evolution of ancient China, which was from small to large, there was division and unification. After a period of division, there was bound to be reunification, this law worked again and again. This kind of rhythm, in essence, division is a special manifestation of unification and a preparation for the next greater and better reunification. Unification is the end result and the pursuit and ideal of all ethnic groups from emperors to civilians. The root and motive force behind the appearance of division lies in the historical fact that they have the same root and origin and have been a family since ancient times. Because of the low level of productivity and the specific time and space conditions of the shortage of social wealth, people who originally belonged to one family were scattered from all directions for various reasons. Over the years, customs and habits had become increasingly different, cultural differences had become increasingly obvious, traffic had been blocked, and bilateral exchanges between each other were intermittent. However, the roots and venation of family blood has been handed down from mouth to mouth for generations. The heart of "root in China" has been inherited from generation to generation. "I am the master of China" has also never been interrupted. Therefore, despite China's history is so long, these ideas have never been changed. There is no doubt that the Chinese complex and the mentality of "Chinese emperors" of these ancient people are the common mentality of the monarchs and the people of all nationalities in ancient China, and also the fundamental reason why ancient China, despite its split body, had always been united in spirit.

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The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.



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Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.



Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

- a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
- b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
- c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
- e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

- i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
- k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



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It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.



Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

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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).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

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 human 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 human 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.

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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:

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- 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.
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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.
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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.

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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.

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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.

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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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	A-B	C-D	E-F
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Methods and Procedures	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
Result	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
Discussion	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
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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