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The History of Archaeological and Epigraphic Studies of Cherchell (Algeria):

First Voyagers, Institutions, Publications and Archives

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The History of Archaeological and Epigraphic Studies of Cherchell (Algeria): First Voyagers, Institutions, Publications and Archives¹

Francesco Tecca

Introduction

For the CARMEN Seminar-Conference 2 “What’s in a Manuscript?”, held in Rome from 19th to 23rd of September 2022, my assignment was to present something related to both my thesis and the main topic of the conference. However, since none of my inscriptions has been transmitted in a manuscript, this was quite a challenging request! Therefore, I tried to contribute by titling my speech “Methodology for a new edition of the lost *CLE* of Caesarea Mauretaniae”. Upon closer investigation, I soon realised that I involved myself in a longer tradition of the study of the inscriptions and excavations of Caesarea Mauretaniae. Thus, for this working paper, I maintained the structure of the talk, but I changed the title in order to, using a pun, give to Caesarea what is Caesarea’s. Focusing on Cherchell’s *carmina Latina epigraphica*, I attempt to summarise the history of the epigraphic studies and the archaeological excavations of the city, broadening the view to the whole of Algeria in some cases. Starting from the first voyagers who came to see Algerian ruins and proceeding to modern times, I address the following questions: What do we know about the excavations? How were they carried out? Can we retrace how the first editors of inscriptions like Renier, Wilmanns, Schmitter and Waille worked on epigraphic material in the 19th and 20th century? Is this material still preserved? Is there still some important documentation in the archives, especially of the inscriptions no longer preserved?

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1. The first voyagers

In the second half of the 7th century CE, the first Arab incursions into Algeria began. The indigenous population, the Berbers, thus faced another invasion after the Roman conquest. Fostering a strong sense of their own identity, they tried to resist, and they joined Kharijism to oppose Sunni and Shia Arabs (Lugan 2016, 144–145; Hagemann – Verkinderen 2020, 497–498) just like some had opposed Orthodox Christianity with schismatic movements such as Donatism in the past (Giordano 1966, 273–274). Soon, the Roman culture, the Latin language and Christianity disappeared almost completely in North Africa apart from the Coptic communities in Egypt and Ethiopia, and these territories started to be hard to reach for European Christians. The connection between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea that had characterised the period of the Roman Empire loosened. From the 8th to the 15th century CE, the historians of Algeria (Chennaoui 2016, 61, referring particularly to Cherchell) talk about a period of crisis and stasis where several Arab-Berber dynasties came to power. Initially, the region was characterised by small, fragmented kingdoms that ruled until the 10th century. Afterwards, the Fatimid (10th–12th century) and Almohad (12th–13th century) empires dominated North Africa, and finally the division into the three last Berber kingdoms occurred with the Marinids in the west (1258–1420), the Zayyanid kingdom of Tlemcen (1236–1554) in the centre and the Hafsids (1229–1574) in the east of the Maghreb.²

In this period, some Arabic geographers noticed Caesarea's ancient remains: Ibn Hawqal (10th century) and Abu Ubayd al-Bakri (11th century) described ancient buildings in a semi-abandoned state and the sanded port while Muhammad al-Idrisi (12th century) described ancient Iol as a small but well populated city (Mezzolani Andreose 2013b, 31; Ferroukhi 2020, 111).

After the period of crisis, a renaissance period started with the arrival of the Andalusian Moors (1496), who had fled from Spain after the 'reconquista' (1492), and from 1517 with the process of creating the Regency of Algiers, a centre of the Ottoman Empire in the Maghreb (Lugan 2016, 265–268). Algeria became a centre of piracy and an Ottoman base for war against Spain and other Christian countries. During this period, the territorial borders of present-day Algeria were more or less established.

In 1526, Joannes Leo Africanus de' Medici wrote the *Cosmographia et geographia de Affrica*, later published by Giovanni Battista Ramusio in 1550 as *Descrittione dell'Africa* (Black 2002, 262–263), in which he gave a brief but detailed history of Cherchell (Leone Africano 1837, 111). A similar work, *Descripción general de Affrica*, was written by Luis del Mármol Carvajal in three volumes (1573). It contains a description of ancient Caesarea, but the author probably confused the capital of Mauretania Caesarensis with the city of Tipasa (Mezzolani Andreose 2013b, 31).

² Cf. Lugan 2016, pls. XXX, XXXII, XXXIII and XXXV.

2. The voyagers of the 18th and 19th century (before the French colonisation)

A great interest in the nature, flora and fauna of Northern Africa developed in France, England and Germany at the beginning of the 18th century. We know about several physicians and naturalists who travelled to Algiers and its surroundings to study the territory. In their scientific works, they sometimes describe the Roman ruins they encountered during their excursions very accurately (Ravoisié 1846, p. iii).

The first person known to be interested in ruins and inscriptions was Jean-André Peyssonnel (1696–1759), a physician sent to Africa by the French king in the years 1724–1725 (*CIL* VIII, Auctorum recensio, p. xxv; Álvarez Dopico 2011, 106–113).³ He travelled with Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina (see below and Álvarez Dopico 2011, 119–124), and they sometimes transcribed inscriptions together.⁴ His journey was recounted and documented by Alphonse Dureau de la Malle (1838).

An approach similar to Peyssonnel's can be noticed in the research by René Louiche Desfontaines (1750–1833), a professor of botany who travelled to the Regency of Algiers and Tunis in 1783–1786 (Dureau de la Malle 1838), and Jean Louis Marie Poiret (1755–1834), a naturalist who went to Algiers in 1785–1786 (Ravoisié 1846, p. iii). In the works of both authors, the observations on natural history are interrupted by short excursions on geography, antiquity and the ruins they had encountered.

With similar interests, the German physician Johann-Ernst Hebenstreit (1702–1757) travelled to Algeria in 1732–1733, exploring and collecting animals, plants and minerals as well as man-made things to fill the royal collections⁵ of Augustus II the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. He was also concerned with Roman antiquities and inscriptions, but, unfortunately, we only have access to a small part of his antiquarian work: his notes are lost, and we are left with transcripts of his speeches (*CIL* VIII, Auctorum recensio, p. xxv). Parts of his research probably merged into the work of Thomas Shaw.

Among the voyagers of the 18th and 19th century, Thomas Shaw (c. 1691/94–1751), royal chaplain in Algiers from 1720 to 1732, stands out from others because of his encyclopaedic curiosity. He travelled through Tunisia with Ximénez in 1727 and through Algeria with Hebenstreit in 1732, and he also went to Cherchell. Then he came back to Oxford where he published his masterpiece *Travels or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Shaw 1738). This work can be considered as the *primum fundamentum* of African Roman epigraphy both on the archaeological and philological level. He described the Roman ruins very precisely, comparing them with ancient sources (Mezzolani Andreose 2013b, 32); moreover, he also published more than 100

³ He passed through Tunis, Annaba, Constantine, Lambaesis and Algiers.

⁴ In other cases, Peyssonnel is the only one who saw an inscription and Ximénez seems to *diserte eum auctorem laudare* for some inscriptions found in Sufetula, cf. *CIL* VIII 230; 233; 235. He also saw some inscriptions in Lambaesis and edited them for the first time; Thomas Shaw published them again later; cf. *CIL* VIII 285. The inscriptions are *CIL* VIII 2542; 2576; 2579a; 2695 and 2742.

⁵ The menagerie and the cabinets of natural history and curiosities in Dresden (Saxony), cf. Moosdorf 2012.

inscriptions from Tunisia⁶ and more than 100 from Algeria⁷ but none from Cherchell. As he described the Roman buildings in Cherchell very accurately and was very interested in inscriptions, we must suppose that at the time he visited Caesarea its epigraphs were not visible or at least not on immediate display.

Francisco Ximénez de Santa Catalina (1685–1757/69; cf. Bunes Ibarra 2019) might have become a reliable *auctor* on Algerian inscriptions, but he missed his chance. He was a father of the Trinitarian order who founded a hospital to care for prisoners in Tunis. As long as he stayed there, from 1720 to 1735, he travelled to different parts of Tunisia and saw many inscriptions of which he gave transcriptions in his works *Diario de Tunes*, *Historia del Reyno de Tunes* and *Historia de los Cartagineses* (Montebourg 2014, 19–42; González Bordas 2019). However, and this is noticed less frequently, his main aim was to institute a hospital in Oran, modelled on the Trinitarian one in Algiers. Unfortunately, the Turkish bey of Oran prevented him from doing so because he thought Ximénez was a Spanish spy (Montebourg 2014, 19–42). If he had managed to do so, we probably would have had one more reliable *auctor* for the inscriptions not only from the region of Oran but from the whole Algerian territory.

In the end, two British voyagers should be mentioned. The first one is James Bruce of Kinnaird (1730–1794), a British consul in Algiers in 1763–1765, who was more interested in monuments than in inscriptions. He visited several cities in Tunisia and Algeria, and he drew some of the ancient buildings in Cherchell, Cirta and Carthago. Unluckily, he lost many *schedae* in a shipwreck. Nonetheless, some of his drawings are still preserved (Playfair 1877; *CIL* VIII, Auctorum recensensus, pp. xxv–xxvi; Medde 2011). The aqueduct of Caesarea is the only monument from Cherchell that he drew in four of his artistic representations, and his writing contains a reference to it (Playfair 1877, 28; Medde 2011, 40, 139, 151 fig. 10). He transcribed only three inscriptions not seen by anyone else, from Sicca Veneria (*CIL* VIII 1632), Diana Veterorum (*CIL* VIII 4579) and Thugga (*CIL* VIII 10620). Secondly, in 1832, Grenville Temple (1799–1847), a British cavalry colonel, travelled through North Africa, mainly Tunisia. He wrote a book entitled *Excursions in the Mediterranean. Algiers and Tunis* (Temple 1835) in which he collected about 180 inscriptions, almost all of them still preserved.

⁶ Many of them were taken from the transcriptions by Peyssonnel and Ximénez, cf. *CIL* VIII, Auctorum recensensus, p. xxv.

⁷ *CIL* VIII, Auctorum recensensus, p. xxv. From Lambaesis (the ones taken from Peyssonnel: *CIL* VIII 2542; 2576; 2579a; 2695; 2742), from Sitifis (*CIL* VIII 8467a; 8571), from Auzia (*CIL* VIII 9014; 9033; 9037; 9040; 9047; 9080), from Tipasa Mauretaniae (*CIL* VIII 9296), from Miliana (*CIL* VIII 9617; 9648), from Medea (*CIL* VIII 10443), from Portus Magnus (*CIL* VIII 9769–9774), from Pomarium/Pomaria/Tlemcen (*CIL* VIII 9947).

3. The beginning of the French colonisation: documenting, building and destroying

Although a certain fascination for ancient remains and artifacts is already noticeable in earlier travellers, the turning point for the knowledge of Algerian Epigraphy was the French colonisation starting in 1830. Under the government of Louis-Philippe, urged by the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', the 'Commission d'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie' was created in 1838. It was under the authority of the Ministry of War and under the presidency of the retired Colonel Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, a specialist on Natural History (Morizot 2011, 164). In the tradition of the expeditions organised by the Medici in Greece and Italy and by Louis XIV in Greece, Egypt, Syria and Persia, of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition at the end of the 18th century that "vint éclairer l'Orient d'une lumière nouvelle" (Ravoisié 1846, p. i) and of a more recent expedition in Greece ('expédition de Morée'), a large group of intellectuals went to Algeria from 1840 to 1845 to study the Algerian territories, cultures, customs, flora and fauna accurately. This research activity is well illustrated in the volumes of the *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*. The three volumes on the 'Beaux-Arts' published by Ravoisié (1846) and the archaeological volume published by Delamare (1850) are the most important ones for studies of antiquity. The captain Adolphe Delamare was very interested in recording inscriptions even if he did not know Latin (Dondin-Payre 1994, 32). He was a very good drawer and that he did not understand the Latin writing is one more factor that guarantees his reliability as he copied letter by letter. Unfortunately, on his various expeditions (1840–1845, 1850–1851) he apparently never stayed long in Cherchell. A reason might be that another drawer of the 'Commission d'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie' was responsible for this city, probably either Amable Ravoisié (Dondin-Payre 1994, 31) or Captain Prosper Baccuet. We do not have much information about Baccuet but we do know that he realised representations of places of the provinces of Algiers and Oran (Gsell 1912, p. vii n. 3). Delamare visited and documented mainly the north-east coast of Algeria, from Dellys to Skikda (colonial Philippeville), the zone of Annaba, Constantine, Milana, Setif and the south-east (Delamare 1850, pp. i–ii; Gsell 1912, pp. i–iv; Dondin-Payre 1994, 9–12). Like Delamare, Amable Ravoisié also visited the north-eastern part of Algeria, but more importantly for us he visited extensively the northern coast, from Oran to Algiers, and thus also Cherchell. Being an architect, Ravoisié was especially interested in buildings, but he also documented sculpture, minor finds and inscriptions, although he had not the peculiar interest in the ancient world that characterised Delamare (Dondin-Payre 1994, 36). Not all of Ravoisié's plates were published in volume 3, some were published later and others are still unpublished (see below p. 21). The plates related to Cherchell are the nos. 21–52; the description of them is missing. The work had not been completed by the time of its publication in 1846.

The introduction to the first volume, written by Ravoisié (1846, pp. iii–iv), gives valuable information on how this expedition dealt with the ancient ruins:

“Les antiquités qu’il convenait avant tout d’explorer étaient donc celles qui se trouvaient précisément au milieu des ville occupées par nos troupes; en effet, ces antiquités pouvaient difficilement échapper aux causes de mutilation et de destruction qui les menaçaient; des ordres donnés depuis longtemps par l’autorité supérieure enjoignaient de s’emparer de toutes les ruines anciennes pour les approprier, autant que possible, à des nouveaux usages, ou de les détruire pour en faire servir les matériaux à l’érection de constructions nouvelles, destinées à recevoir les différents services publics. Comme ce dernier parti a été malheureusement celui qu’on a le plus généralement adopté, la commission scientifique a cru devoir concentrer tout d’abord sa sollicitude sur les ruines que la présence de nos troupes et les exigences de la conquête menaçaient d’un anéantissement prochain.”

Algeria was under a French military regime from 1830 to 1871 and even though French intellectuals were very keen on studying and appreciating the Algerian monuments, on many occasions, huge parts of the archaeological heritage were destroyed by or with the consent of the French. Colonial urban policy in Algeria was much more brutal than in Morocco and Tunisia: whereas the old centres were preserved from destruction as new buildings were added in the other two countries, in Algeria the French cities were superimposed on the ancient ruins and the Islamic cities (Benseddik 2000, 760–761). The ‘Génie militaire’ bore great responsibility for the demolition of ancient remains because they often reused ancient building materials to construct new fortifications, harbours, streets, bridges and houses, following their slogan “parfois détruire, souvent construire” (Benseddik 2000). Even though such operations were more frequent at the beginning of the colonial conquest, some letters testify that they took place until Algerian independence in 1962. Intellectuals, professors, directors of museums and societies remarked many times the almost total lack of protection of the archaeological heritage and spoke about the destructive vandalism of the ‘Génie militaire’. Adrien Berbrugger wrote to Bory de Saint-Vincent on the 18th of August 1840:

“J’irai revoir Cherchel pendant quelques jours afin de vérifier si les fouilles incessantes faites par le Génie pour les travaux de la défense n’ont pas amené de nouvelles découvertes qu’il importe de constater aussi rapidement que possible, car, par un vandalisme dont vous avez été quelque fois témoin les objets d’antiquité les plus précieux sont presque toujours détruits aussitôt que découverts ou du moins vont se disperser dans les mains de particuliers où ils sont à peu près perdus pour la science.” (CAOM⁸, F 80 1596; cited in Benseddik 2000, 764–765)

We know that inscriptions and parts of ancient monuments were used for public colonial buildings (Benseddik 2000, 760–761).

⁸ Now ANOM = Archives nationales d’outre-mer. The former acronym CAOM stands for ‘Centre des archives d’outre-mer’.

In 1857, Berbrugger (1857, 242) wrote again:

“Les ruines antiques, situées à portée des centres de populations modernes, ont été et sont encore mises à contribution pour les matériaux de construction.”

Gustav Wilmanns (1877, 191) also pointed out that the ruins of ancient cities were disappearing throughout Algeria with surprising rapidity and almost nothing was being done to protect even the most important remains. Émile Masqueray (1882, 6) denounces the process of the disappearance of Algerian cities and compares it to a ‘shipwreck’: lime was made from statues from Caesarea and other ancient cities. Furthermore, the archives of the ‘Service des antiquités’ testify to the difficult relations between the military and the archaeological administration that resulted in stressful and unfavourable working conditions (Benseddik 2000, 761). For example, on the 18th of March 1953, the mayor of Cherchell, H. Baretaud, wrote to Louis Leschi, ‘directeur des antiquités et des musées’, to ask for his help in preventing the army from destroying archaeological finds (Benseddik 2000, 765–766). Moreover, in December 1958, Jean Lassus, ‘directeur des antiquités’, denounced the unauthorised reuse of ancient stones from the Cherchell excavations of 1941 by the ‘directeur de l’Ecole militaire de Cherchel’. Nonetheless, the general Jean Gracieux judged it as a “quantité négligeable” that could not be considered in any way a crime (Benseddik 2000, 766). Again, in 1959, Lassus described the pressure on salvage excavations due to construction work that the government considered urgent:

“Le Service des Antiquités, cette année encore, a été appelé à plusieurs reprises à intervenir d’urgence. Chaque fois qu’un chantier de construction s’ouvre à Cherchel, les travaux de fondations entraînent la mise au jour de restes archéologiques, qu’il convient dans la mesure du possible de dégager systématiquement, d’étudier, et dont il faut sauvegarder, par exemple, les mosaïques. Nous, travaillons, il nous faut le reconnaître, dans des conditions très défavorables. Dans les circonstances présentes, il est difficile d’apporter un retard, qui risquerait d’être considérable, à des constructions dont les autorités proclament l’urgence. Nous essayons donc de faire pour le mieux, à l’intérieur des délais qui nous sont impartis, après discussion avec les propriétaires, les architectes et les entrepreneurs.” (Lassus 1959, 227–228)

4. The ‘sociétés savantes historiques, géographiques et archéologiques’ of Algeria and their journals

In the 1850s and 1860s, several civil associations interested in historical, geographical and archaeological questions were founded by military and administrative officials (Laporte 2012). The first one, the ‘Société d’essai et de recherches de Bougie’, had been established already in 1835.⁹ Nonetheless, their activity became more important during

⁹ Cf. Hase 1837, 656; Dondin-Payre 2000, 361; Effros 2018, 190. Laporte 2012, 40 writes 1837, but he probably confused the date with Hase’s publication in the *Journal des savants*. Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 21 writes erroneously that the ‘société’ of Constantine was founded first.

the 1850s. In 1852, the ‘Société archéologique de Constantine’ was founded, and it published the first volume of its *Annuaire* in 1853. A few years later, in 1856, the ‘Société historique algérienne’ was created in Algiers by order of the marshal Jacques Louis Randon, Algeria’s general governor, and it was presided over by Adrien Berbrugger. This society immediately created a journal, the *Revue africaine*, published from 1856 to 1962. In 1860, also a ‘Société archéologique de Cherchel’ was created, but because we know only its name, it seems not to have been an active society. Finally, the ‘Académie d’Hippone’ was founded in 1865 and the ‘Société de géographie d’Oran’ in 1878. Both produced journals that, along with the *Revue africaine* and the *Annuaire de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, are still very important for the study of all ancient remains in Africa. These societies contributed to the preservation and publication of the inscriptions found and were frequently involved in the creation of museums. Furthermore, authors of these journals were the first editors of inscriptions in many cases. As can be expected, the First World War interrupted many of the activities of these associations. Even if new effort was made in 1935 with the creation of the ‘Fédération des sociétés savantes d’Afrique du Nord’ (FSSAN), most of the societies disappeared with the Second World War (Laporte 2012, 42–44).

The activities of these associations were greatly supported by the Parisian ‘Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques’ (CTHS), a French institution created by François Guizot in 1834 with the purpose of making unpublished documents known. Originally named ‘Comité de l’histoire de France’, the institution was reorganised and given its current name in 1881 with Jules Ferry.¹⁰ There were different sections in the ‘Comité’, one of which was focused on archaeology, and it started to publish an annual bulletin in 1883 (*BCTH*). In this periodical, many new inscriptions were published every year, and the news from the local journals of the ‘sociétés des savants’ were disseminated. Immediately, the North African heritage part became so important that a specific commission for it was created in 1884: the ‘Commission de publication des documents archéologiques de l’Afrique du Nord’. This commission, constituted following the establishment of the French protectorate of Tunisia, was the successor of the ‘Commission d’exploration scientifique de l’Algérie’ (Desanges 1999; Effros 2018, 71).

5. Institutional figures for the Algerian archaeological heritage

Before beginning to summarise the history of the excavations in Cherchell, it is appropriate to say a few words about the archaeological legislation in Algeria and the institutional figures who were responsible for the discoveries over the years.

From 1830 to 1850, the French who were expected to protect the archaeological heritage were the same who fought to conquer the country and put down revolts: the army. It is therefore clear that the protection of monuments was a secondary concern for the

¹⁰ For a detailed history of this institution see Mazauric 2017.

French government. Nonetheless, on the 15th of August 1845, the French government entrusted the 'Inspection générale des bâtiments civils d'Algérie' with the "inspection des monuments historiques et des collections archéologiques". The first inspector, Charles Texier, was appointed on the 26th of October 1845. During his inspection tours, he oversaw the tracking and preservation of ancient monuments and in addition he had to draw up an annual report for his supervising ministers. A great change took place on the 20th of December 1850 when the responsibilities of the 'Génie militaire' for construction, preservation and restauration were transferred to the 'Service des bâtiments civils': with this, the conservation and restoration of ancient monuments was made the responsibility of a civilian instead of a military institution. On the 19th of October 1854, when A. Berbrugger was appointed, the service changed its name, 'Inspection générale des monuments historiques et musées archéologiques de l'Algérie'.¹¹ Later, in 1880, another turning point took place: the 'Service des monuments historiques' was founded, headed by an architect. In fact, with this new institution, large excavation sites were opened that were explored until the Second World War and after.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, all Algerian archaeological heritage sites were managed and studied by institutions affiliated with the French central government. Subsequently, greater Algerian independence began to develop firstly with the 'Inspection des antiquités', created in 1902 on the initiative of Stéphane Gsell, with an inspector strictly related to the Algerian territory. Then, decisively, the 'Direction des antiquités' or, since 1923 the 'Service des antiquités', an institution of the French colonial government of Algeria, took over, anticipating and preparing metropolitan legislation (Février 1989, 30–48; Jaïdi 2017, 98). Its inspector was professor at the university and director of the 'Musée des antiquités' of Algiers. He had to publish an annual report on archaeological information and discoveries, thus accounting to the general governor of Algeria.

In conclusion, from 1923 onwards, there were two inspectors concerned with ancient artifacts and remains: one was directly dependent on the Parisian ministries, the 'inspecteur général des monuments historiques et musées archéologiques de l'Algérie', residing in Paris. The other one was dependent on the general governor of Algeria and resided in Algiers, the 'inspecteur des antiquités'.¹² Moreover, the 'architecte en chef des monuments historiques' was another authority still involved in the excavations, and until 1936, he was mandatorily required to publish one report per year in the *Journal officiel* (Leveau 1984, 4). Finally, the director of the local museum and the archaeological site, in this case of Cherchell, was another important figure.

The situation changed considerably with the end of French colonialism and the beginning of Algerian independence (Bouchenaki 1980). The 'Service des antiquités' continued to be active, but from 1968 to 1969, the directorate of the excavation and research work was entrusted only to Algerian personnel. However, to ensure international exper-

¹¹ For a complete overview of the legislative and institutional situation of archaeology in Algeria see Dondin-Payre 2000.

¹² For more information see Dondin-Payre 2000.

tise, bilateral agreements with other countries were later signed for several excavations (Bouchenaki 1980, 10). Since 1975, the management of archaeological activities has been taken over completely by the Algerian government's 'Direction des Beaux-Arts'. In 1987, the 'Agence nationale d'archéologie et protection des sites et monuments historiques' was created under the supervision of the government.¹³ In 2005, the current Algerian 'ministère de la Culture et des Arts' was established.¹⁴ The 'Agence nationale d'archéologie et protection des sites et monuments historiques' was substituted for the 'Office national de gestion et d'exploitation des biens culturels protégés' in 2007,¹⁵ and in 2011 the 'Agence nationale des secteurs sauvegardés' was created.¹⁶

6. Excavations in Cherchell

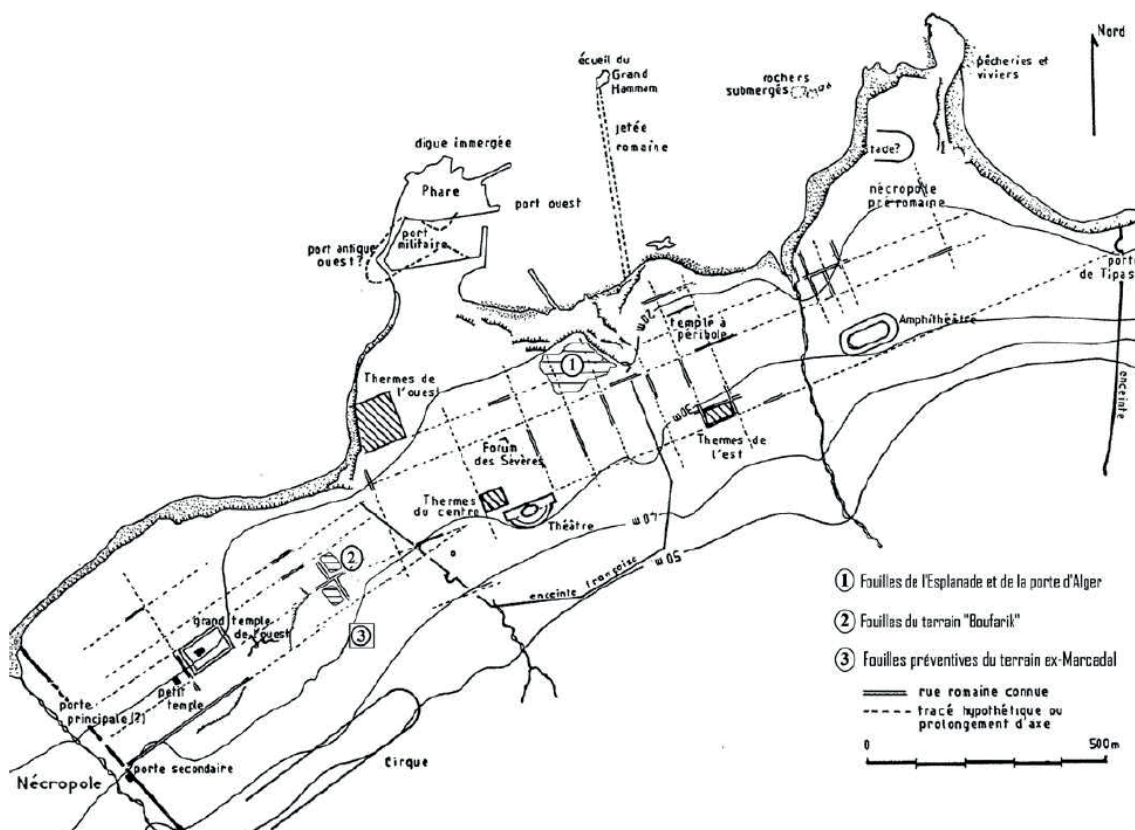


Figure 1: Map of ancient Iol-Caesarea, modern Cherchell. Ferroukhi 2020, 104 fig. 1

¹³ Cf. <https://www.idref.fr/073255467> (accessed 2 October 2023).

¹⁴ Cf. <https://www.m-culture.gov.dz/index.php/fr/le-ministere/historique-du-minist%C3%A8re> (accessed 3 May 2023).

¹⁵ Cf. <http://ogebc.dz/index.php/fr/about> (accessed 2 October 2023).

¹⁶ Cf. <https://www.m-culture.gov.dz/index.php/fr/agence-nationale-des-secteurs-sauvegard%C3%A9s> (accessed 3 May 2023).

The previous sections have already discussed the non-scientific excavations during the first period of the French colonisation (1830–1850): in this period, most of Cherchell’s ancient remains were found.

A new period started when more professional excavations were carried out by the numismatist Pierre de Lhôtellerie.¹⁷ He excavated in the western Roman baths, but the archaeological undertaking did not receive the attention and support it deserved. A very important document to learn about the difficulties and the excavation strategy during that period is a letter written by Charles Ernest Beulé (1859, 17–18), who conducted excavations in Carthago (Beulé 1861), to the ‘Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres’ on the 24th of December 1858:

“Il serait d’une grande importance pour la connaissance de l’antiquité et de l’histoire de l’art de faire pratiquer de nouvelles fouilles à Cherchel [...] Avec cinquante soldats et quelques milliers de francs, le gouvernement français ferait à Cherchel un magnifique musée. M. de Lhôtellerie dirigerait aisément les fouilles qu’il a si bien préparées. Les Thermes de l’Ouest sont déserts, et au bord d’une falaise, d’où les terres enlevées seraient précipitées. Le sol est facile à attaquer de toutes parts. La dépense serait presque nulle également vers la porte d’Alger, sur l’emplacement de l’ancien palais de Juba, en un terrain vague, appartenant aux Domaines. Il suffit de remuer la terre à 2 mètres et demi de profondeur pour arriver au dallage antique, aux colonnes et entablements de marbre, ainsi qu’aux statues. L’Institut n’obtiendrait-il pas un léger sacrifice d’un prince qui est membre de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts?”

The members of the ‘Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres’ noted Lhôtellerie’s skills and precision and appealed to the academy for funding from the then prince and governor of Algeria, Napoléon-Jérôme, cousin of Napoleon III, member of the French academy as mentioned in the above-cited letter. This request was answered indirectly by a circular from Prince Napoléon-Jérôme guaranteeing the museum of Cherchell the protection against the efforts of the museum of Algiers and the Louvre to obtain antiquities from smaller museums (Oulebsir 2004, 112–113). The excavations continued, but they obtained little funding from the prefect of Algiers (Gauckler 1895, 9). Unsurprisingly, there was little understanding of stratigraphy at that time: the above-quoted Beulé considered it sufficient to remove the earth 2.5 metres deep to reach the ancient paving without caring about the layers. It clearly follows that the objective of these excavations was the systematic search for valuable objects and treasures (Ferroukhi 2020, 112). In 1869, by now weary, Lhôtellerie lost his enthusiasm for the ancient remains of Cherchell and the post of the director of the museum of Cherchell was abolished mainly due to the lack of funds (Gauckler 1895, 9).

A new excavation was carried out by Cardinal Charles Martial Lavignerie in the western necropolis in 1876. He came to Cherchell with the objective to find new evidence for early Christianity in North Africa (cf. Coslett 2015, 374). Some of his documentation, long unpublished, was studied by Philippe Leveau (1978a; 1984, 2–3).

¹⁷ On the period from 1840 to 1895 see Gauckler 1895, 5–11.

In the early 1880s, some very rich, fortuitous discoveries were made. René du Coudray de La Blanchère, Édouard Cat and Paul Monceaux, professors at the ‘École des lettres d’Alger’, and Achille Schmitter, a peculiar customs inspector, published many of these incidental findings (Gauckler 1895, 9–10).

Academic and long-term excavations were resumed under the management of Victor Waille, professor at the ‘École des lettres d’Alger’. Following Beulé’s program and methodology, he excavated very successfully in the western baths and less fruitfully in the areas of the “Esplanade”, “porte d’Alger” and “champ de manoeuvres” from 1886 to 1905. In his regular and detailed reports, he also recorded accidental or private findings. The excavations took place with the assistance of the municipality and the military authority and were authorised by the French Minister of Public Education (Gauckler 1895, 10).

When the position of the director of the museum of Cherchell was restored in 1908, excavations restarted with A. Munkel, director until the First World War, and then with Jean Glénat until the Second World War. In this period, the chief architects of the ‘Service des monuments historiques’ (Albert Ballu from 1889 to 1927,¹⁸ then Marcel Christofle and his son Marcel Henry Christofle¹⁹) published brief news about the excavations annually in the *Journal officiel* but only as long as it was mandatory, until 1936 (Leveau 1984, 4). Notable personalities and distinguished scholars were inspectors of antiquities in those years as there were René Cagnat,²⁰ Stéphane Gsell,²¹ Jérôme Carcopino²² and Eugène Albertini.²³ They wrote important synthesis works and published unpublished material, mainly discovered by Glénat. However, not many archaeological and epigraphic discoveries were made in Cherchell in that period. Reasons for that were certainly also that the geopolitical situation and the lack of funds did not allow to make, or at least to publish, great findings (Leveau 1984, 3–4). Probably most of the data resulting from those excavations are kept in the archives and are unpublished (cf. chapter 9).

In the years 1955 to 1964, after Louis Leschi and the interim directorship of Marcel Le Glay, Jean Lassus became director of the ‘Service des antiquités’. He and the directors of the archaeological site (Jean Gazagne from 1955 and Serge Tourenc from 1962) made important discoveries in the areas of the Tennis-Club, “îlot du phare”, Cap Tizerine and in a western necropolis where the CADAT²⁴ planned to build rental properties (Leveau

¹⁸ Albert Ballu (1849–1939), cf. <https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/b46d27bd-2b6a-47d3-a85c-f35cf5f-67d7d> (accessed 2 October 2023).

¹⁹ M. Christofle father (1877–1956), cf. <https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/40149580-5b09-45ab-8afb-acb-f9642ed9b>; M. Christofle son (1902–1979), cf. <https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/2eb5e68e-eb5b-4dba-966d-fe943138e94f> (both accessed 2 October 2023).

²⁰ ‘Inspecteur général des musées archéologiques de l’Algérie’ from 1887 to 1914, cf. Betrouni 2018, 9.

²¹ ‘Inspecteur des antiquités de l’Algérie’ from 1900 to 1919, then ‘inspecteur général des musées archéologiques de l’Algérie’ until his death in 1932, cf. Michon 1932.

²² ‘Inspecteur adjoint’ and ‘directeur du Musée national des antiquités algériennes’ from 1913 to 1920, cf. <https://www.academie-francaise.fr/les-immortels/jerome-carcopino> (accessed 2 October 2023).

²³ ‘Inspecteur’ and then ‘directeur des antiquités de l’Algérie’ from 1920 to 1932, cf. Aubert 1941, 66; Leveau 1984, 3.

²⁴ For the CADAT (Caisse algérienne d’aménagement du territoire) and the Algerian urban policy after the independence see Mutin 1985.

1984, 4–5; Brissaud 2013). Forced to work in a hurry by the government’s order to finish soon, the archaeologists detected many mosaics of the highest quality, statues and inscriptions and tried to save them from definitive loss at least through documentation (Lassus 1959, 227–228).

We must not forget that the Algerian war of independence took place from 1954 to 1962. Nonetheless, archaeological excavations did not stop. From 1965 to 1966, when the war was over but the times were still instable, Paul-Albert Février, professor at the University of Algiers, in a university cooperation with the Algerian ‘ministère de l’Éducation nationale’, helped the new ‘directeur de Service des antiquités’, Sid A. Baghli, to carry the explorations forward. They continued Lassus’s work in the Tennis-Club area and in the western property Kaïd-Youssef, digging sondages (Leveau 1984, 5). From 1966 to 1968, when Philippe Leveau became assistant at the University of Algiers (from 1966 to 1972), P.-A. Février continued this work as the last European director of antiquities in Algeria²⁵ in a university cooperation with the Algerian ‘ministère de l’Éducation nationale’. In this position, he carried out some archaeological investigations (Leveau 1970a).

From 1967 to 1973, the excavation campaigns were interrupted because the ones responsible for the site, Rachid Dokali and Mounir Bouchenaki after him, were only concerned with preserving structures that were at risk of being destroyed or that were discovered by chance at the time (Leveau 1984, 5).

Starting in 1973, just after the special development programme benefiting the city had begun, there were discoveries and destructions comparable to those of the early 1960s (Chennaoui 2016, 125).

From 1977 to 1981, an Algerian-English team brought to light a part of the Severan Forum. The results are published in two volumes (Benseddik – Potter 1993).

Of the last three excavations in the city, the first one was carried out by Mohamed Bousbaa, director of the site, and Philippe Leveau in 1993 in the Western necropolis during the construction of a bus station (Leveau 1999). From 1987 to 1990, Mafoud Ferroukhi, ‘conservateur du site et du musée de Cherchell’ since 1979, oversaw excavations in the ancient western district, former Marcadal property, “terrain Boufarik” (Ferroukhi 2020, 113). Finally, in October 2003, an archaeological field school in collaboration with the French ‘Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives’ (Inrap) made sondages in the western district to assess the archaeological potential of the “terrain Marcadal” (Chennaoui 2012, 125; Ferroukhi 2020, 113).

7. The museum of Cherchell

The history of the museum of Cherchell is closely related to the history of the excavations. A first solution for storage was installed by Ravoisié in 1842, during the final months of the ‘Commission d’exploration scientifique d’Algérie’. He made use of what

²⁵ Cf. the necrology in *Gallia* 1991, 2.

the Arab residents called Palais du Sultan, that is the ruins of the western Roman baths (cf. Waille – Gauckler 1891, 16; Leveau 1984, 51), and a nearby military storage depot to collect archaeological objects that did not find their way to Paris by ship (Effros 2018, 204). In 1844, the artifacts were moved again, this time to a confiscated mosque belonging to the Berkani family. After an earthquake in 1846, the ancient objects were moved to a gallery of the ‘Service des bâtiments civils’ (Blinière 1848, 348) until 1853 when the ‘Maison des bâtiments civils’ was demolished by the municipality of Cherchell and the antiquities were placed in a ruined shack, open to all. In 1855, the ‘inspecteur général des monuments historiques’ sent the governor Randon to intervene; on that occasion, the building was repaired and entrusted to P. de Lhôtellerie, who was the director of the museum of Cherchell until 1869 (Gauckler 1895, 7). He was a numismatist and successful as the administrator of the museum to the extent that it aroused the envy of A. Berbrugger, director of the museum of Algiers, in charge of cataloguing all the monuments of Algeria (Effros 2018, 204). In fact, there were two parties at that time who disagreed on how to organise the storage of findings in museums: establishing local museums or transferring objects to larger municipal museums. In Cherchell, the former party prevailed but there was strong resistance on part of the directors of the museum of Algiers and Paris as well where the ‘Galerie d’Alger’ in the Louvre was officially inaugurated on July 8, 1850, to display the best artifacts from French excavations in Algeria in an impressive and awesome way.²⁶ The biggest and heaviest monuments or the ones aesthetically unworthy of the Louvre’s gallery were kept in the museum of Algiers if they did not remain in Cherchell (Effros 2018, 201–202). Furthermore, some finds from Caesarea were also brought to the museum of Tunis because Lavigerie, the founder of the ‘Musée de Saint Louis’ in Tunis (nowadays the ‘Musée national de Carthage’), carried out excavations in Cherchell and brought some objects to Tunis (Leveau 1984, 2–3). Nonetheless, the main conflict was the one between Berbrugger and Lhôtellerie, and it would have all gone unnoticed if Beulé (1859), working in Carthago, had not pointed it out in a letter to the ‘Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres’ and asked for funding for the museum and excavations in Cherchell (see p. 13 above). However, money did not arrive and when Lhôtellerie retired in 1869, the conservatorship of the museum was abolished (Gauckler 1895, 5–10). Later, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Johannes Schmidt, Victor Waille and Paul Gauckler enlarged and studied Cherchell’s collection of antiquities (Chennaoui 2012, 126). In 1908, today’s museum building, designed by the architect Paul Régnier from Algiers, was opened and A. Munkel was appointed director of the museum.

With the considerable discoveries of the years 1955 to 1964, the need for a museum to collect the many mosaics that had been found increased. A new museum, the ‘Nouveau musée et Parc des mosaïques’, was thus founded in 1979 to support the old museum (Ferdì 2005, 7).

²⁶ Cf. Miller 2004, 715 n. 78 and Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 28 who both refer to Guillou 2002, a study that I could not consult.

Since 1982, the ‘Musée de Cherchel’ is collaborating with German archaeologists. Their ongoing project is to reorganise the museum chronologically and thematically (Amedick – Froning 2012, p. vii).

The first catalogue of the museum was drafted by Paul Rattier in 1852 (Gauckler 1895, 7); a compilation of finds was released by Waille (1891, 78–107), but the first complete catalogue was published by Gauckler (1895), followed by an update by Wierzejski (1900; 1901). Later, Durry (1924) published a *Supplément* to Gauckler’s catalogue.

Regarding the dissemination of the research, the guides on Caesarea written by Glénat (1932), Gsell (1952) and Benseddik – Ferdi – Leveau (1983) are noteworthy. In the 2000s new catalogues on more specific artifacts, especially mosaics and statuary, were published. In 2005, the rich collection of mosaics was reproduced in a well-illustrated corpus edited by Ferdi (2005). Furthermore, the still ongoing collaboration between the German Archaeological Institute and the Algerian ‘ministère de la Culture’ led to several important publications: Christa Landwehr, in collaboration with other scholars, presented more than 400 Graeco-Roman sculptures from Caesarea Mauretaniae in four catalogues with photographs by Florian Kleinefenn (Landwehr 1993; 2000; 2006; 2008). From 2008 onwards, Landwehr also played an important role in the reorganisation of the entire museum that led to a first volume dedicated to the phase of the Numidian reign (Amedick – Froning 2012). After her death in 2012, Ulla Kreilinger took over the further implementation of the project on site, supported by a team of restorers headed by Alberto Fiorin.²⁷ Lastly, in 2019, Ulla Kreilinger and Nadjoua Atif Hamza published a new catalogue of the museum with photographs by Daniela Gauss (German Archaeological Institute, Rome) and others from the Kreilinger-Fiorin team (Atif Hamza – Kreilinger 2019).²⁸

8. First editors of Caesarea’s Latin inscriptions (with a focus on the *carmina Latina epigraphica*)

This section deals with the history of epigraphic findings at Caesarea, briefly presenting the first editors of Cherchell’s inscriptions and their work. All publications specifically dedicated to unpublished inscriptions of Caesarea are listed, but regarding widely dispersed publications only those concerning metrical inscriptions will be mentioned.

The first masterpiece is the *Inscriptions romaines de l’Algérie* by Léon Renier (1855–58). It contains 4,417 inscriptions from all over Algeria; 160 of them are inscriptions from Cherchell (nos. 3881–4040), 12 of which are *carmina Latina*.²⁹ Renier (1809–1885) was sent to Algeria with Delamare by the ‘Commission d’exploration scientifique de l’Al-

²⁷ Cf. <https://arachne.test.dainst.org/project/cherchell> and <https://www.dainst.org/forschung/projekte/noslug/2798> (both accessed 24 January 2024).

²⁸ The catalogue is also available online: <https://arachne.test.dainst.org/catalog/1135> (accessed 2 October 2023).

²⁹ Renier 1855–58, nos. 3875, 3955, 3958, 3976, 3981, 3989, 3990, 3995, 4002, 4005, 4014, 4025.

gérie' in 1850 and 1851 (Dondin-Payre 1994, 29–30). During this period, he was able to inspect many inscriptions. Nevertheless, he based many of his editions on notes or drawings given or sent to him by Delamare (Morizot 2011, 166; Dondin-Payre 1994, 93, 117–118). It is very curious that also many inscriptions from Cherchell were reported to Renier by Delamare³⁰ because, to my knowledge, apart from a few drawings (cf. n. 53) he did not pay so much attention to this town (cf. p. 7). Probably, the Captain Delamare stayed in Cherchell and Algiers on a non-institutional trip or obtained information from other scholars or private individuals. Later, Cagnat published 813 “Inscriptions inédites d’Afrique extraites des papiers de L. Renier”, including new inscriptions or new information on already known inscriptions from Caesarea (Cagnat 1887, 176–180 nos. 794–810).

A contemporary of Renier was Adrien Berbrugger (1801–1869) who, as inspector of antiquities and director of the ‘Société historique algérienne’, was an important person in the study of the Algerian heritage (see pp. 8–9, 16 above). In scattered publications, he, Pierre de Lhôtellerie, Beaujean (first name unknown) and later Louis Guin published around 20 unpublished inscriptions from Cherchell in the *Revue africaine*.³¹ Berbrugger was also the first to have seen and studied what is currently Cherchell’s only Christian *carmen*, published also by Renier (1855–58, no. 4025) based on Berbrugger’s information (Berbrugger 1856, 119 [= *CIL* VIII 9585]).

Renier’s work was fundamental for the realisation of *CIL* VIII, *pars* II. Gustav Wilmanns (1845–1878) and after him Theodor Mommsen collected all the inscriptions studied by Renier and included an additional one with autopsies done by Wilmanns.³² They collected 2,621 inscriptions from Mauretania Caesariensis only, of which 279 are from Cherchell (nos. 9320–9598) including 13 *carmina Latina*,³³ one of which had been unpublished (*CIL* VIII 9555).

In the first years of the 1880s, Achille Schmitter became a figure of importance for the antiquities of Cherchell. He was a customer inspector about whom only little information is available except for a few minor comments on his methodology made by other scholars. For example, Antoine Héron de Villefosse (1881, 20–21), who commented on inscriptions documented by Schmitter, praised his work in the *Bulletin épigraphique de la Gaule* with the following words:

“M. Schmitter, receveur des douanes à Cherchell, qui recueille avec tant de soin tous les monuments écrits ou figurés de l’antique Caesarea, m’a envoyé la copie de plu-

³⁰ In the apparatus of 78 inscriptions from Cherchell Renier wrote “(copie) communiqué par Delamare”. Sometimes Delamare is the only source, in some other cases he is a source along with Berbrugger or de Lhôtellerie. In most cases he copied and then sent to Renier his transcription of inscriptions that were preserved in the museum of Algiers. Cf. the apparatus of Renier 1855–58, nos. 3873, 3875, 3881, 3882, 3886–3889, 3891, 3893, 3894, 3896, 3897, 3900, 3902–3909, 3911, 3913, 3914, 3917, 3919–3926, 3931, 3933, 3936, 3943, 3944, 3947–3950, 3957–3959, 3962, 3963, 3967, 3969, 3975, 3982, 3985, 3988–3993, 3998, 4000–4002, 4004, 4005, 4008–4010, 4013, 4014, 4017, 4018, 4020, 4024, 4029, 4030, 4032, 4035.

³¹ Cf. Berbrugger 1856; 1858; 1863; 1868; Beaujean – Berbrugger 1865; 1866; Beaujean 1868; Lhôtellerie 1856; 1858; 1868a; 1868b; Guin 1872.

³² As it is well known, after Wilmanns’s death in 1878, Mommsen took over the task of completing the first two volumes of *CIL* VIII, cf. *Praef. ad CIL* VIII and Irmscher 1987, 323–329.

³³ *CIL* VIII 9350; 9439; 9473; 9496; 9508–9509; 9513; 9519; 9520; 9525–9526; 9555; 9585.

sieurs inscriptions récemment découvertes à Cherchell. Les restitutions et les lectures qui accompagnent ces textes lui appartiennent. On ne saurait trop le féliciter de l'exactitude avec laquelle il les reproduit et du zèle qu'il déploie pour les conserver."³⁴

Schmitter published 170 new inscriptions from Cherchell, 13 of them are either *carmina* or inscriptions with poetic intention.³⁵

Julien Poinssot and Louis Demaeght also published new inscriptions from Cherchell (Demaeght – Poinssot 1882); some were published practically at the same time as those by Schmitter (cf. n. 35). Among them is also a text with poetic intention (Demaeght – Poinssot 1882, 36 no. 10 [= *CIL* VIII 21200]).

In the same year, Édouard Cat (1882, 28–37) published 23 inscriptions from Cherchell for the first time, one of which is a *carmen* (Cat 1882, 32–33 no. 18 [= *CIL* VIII 21284]). At the same time, La Blanchère (1882, 23–36) published 13 new inscriptions found in the Archbishop's Palace of Algiers in the same volume of the *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*. Some of them might originally be from Caesarea; they might have been moved to this place for matters of preservation.

From 1886 to 1905, the main editors of Caesarea's inscriptions were Victor Waille (1852–1907) and Paul Gauckler (1866–1911). Waille published more than 100 inscriptions,³⁶ Gauckler (1892) 69 inscriptions. Both also contributed greatly to the knowledge about the inscriptions on Cherchell's *instrumentum*, presenting each more than 100 inscriptions.³⁷ Furthermore, in an article they published together 96 inscriptions (Waille – Gauckler 1891). So, in total, they published more than 500 inscriptions, 6 of them were new *carmina Latina epigraphica*.³⁸

Nonetheless, Waille and Gauckler were not the only ones who studied the inscriptions from Cherchell in that period. Among the scholars who presented newly discovered inscriptions were Demaeght (1887) and Cagnat (1899). Both edited one *carmen* respectively.³⁹

In 1904, the *Supplementum* III to the *CIL* was released, edited by Johannes Schmidt (1850–1894), who unfortunately died too early to complete the work. René Cagnat (1852–1937) and Hermann Dessau (1856–1931) took over, and the three of them edited 501 lemmas of inscriptions found in Caesarea (*CIL* VIII 20937–21438). Based on autopsy,

³⁴ Héron de Villefosse 1881, 103–111 also published one inscription from Caesarea transmitted by Schmitter and some other African inscriptions.

³⁵ One reported by Héron de Villefosse 1881, 105 no. 5 (= Demaeght – Poinssot 1882, 36 no. 10 = *CIL* VIII 21200). For the other 12 cf. Schmitter 1882, 192 no. 17 (= Cat 1882, 32–33 no. 18 = *CIL* VIII 21284), 278 no. 31 (= *CIL* VIII 21032), 281 no. 44 (= *CIL* VIII 21081); Schmitter 1883, 47 no. 60 (= *CIL* VIII 21146), 89 no. 73 (= *CIL* VIII 21031), 92 no. 84 (= *CIL* VIII 21008), 93 no. 85 (= *CIL* VIII 21090), 93 no. 88 (= *CIL* VIII 21349); Schmitter 1884, 102 no. 144 (= *CIL* VIII 21179), 104 no. 153 (= *CIL* VIII 21348), 105 no. 156 (= *CIL* VIII 21346), 232 no. 159 (= *CIL* VIII 21236).

³⁶ Cf. Leveau 1984, 512 with a full bibliography.

³⁷ See especially Gauckler 1892, 88–123; Waille 1895; 1902; 1903.

³⁸ Gauckler 1892, 113 no. 10 (= *CIL* VIII 22645, 480), 109 no. 66 (= *CIL* VIII 21357); Waille 1888, 44 no. 6 (= *CIL* VIII 21275); Waille – Gauckler 1891, 27 no. 24 (= *CIL* VIII 21303), 130 no. 55 (= *CIL* VIII 21337); Waille 1893 (= *CIL* VIII 21084).

³⁹ Demaeght 1887, 284 no. 1080 (= *CIL* VIII 21347 = *CLE* 1244); Cagnat 1899, p. cxcv no. 2 (= *CLE* 2020).

they re-edited some inscriptions already published and they made two inscriptions with a possible metrical intent known for the first time (*CIL* VIII 21352a and 21356).

Although some publications concerning the epigraphy of Cherchell came out,⁴⁰ for half a century no major update was made⁴¹ until the first female epigraphist studied Caesarea's words on stone: Henriette Pavis d'Escurac-Doisy (1925–2021) published 25 inscriptions, none of them is a metrical inscription (Doisy 1952).

During the difficult times of Lassus's excavations (see above pp. 14–15), lots of material (mainly mosaics and statues but also some inscriptions) was published in the journal *Libyca: archéologie, épigraphie* of the 'Service des antiquités', issued from 1953 to 1961 in nine volumes. Only one metrical inscription on a mosaic has been made public by Lassus (1959, 255).

In the 1960s, Paul-Albert Février, 'inspecteur des antiquités' from 1966 to 1968, entrusted an update of the inventory of inscriptions from Cherchell to Philippe Leveau (1940–). The inventory had been started by Pavis d'Escurac-Doisy and continued by Michel Janon (Leveau 1984, 5). Apart from Leveau's impressive and influential *Caesarea de Maurétanie* (1984) fueled by and based on the analysis of inscriptions, his main publications on Caesarea's epigraphy are three articles called "Nouvelles inscriptions de Cherchel" (Leveau 1971–74; 1975–76; 1977–79), published in the *Bulletin d'archéologie algérienne*. This journal, conceived as a follow-up to the above-mentioned *Libyca*, was published by the Algerian government with the support of French publishers. It came out from 1967 to 1982, covering the archaeological discoveries from 1962 to 1979 in seven volumes (and some supplements).⁴² Leveau's publications on Cherchell and its inscriptions are plentiful. He has edited more than 300 unpublished inscriptions of which 9 were new *carmina*.⁴³

During the archaeological mission of the French-Algerian team (1992–1993), headed by Mohamed Bousbaa and Leveau, 11 new inscriptions were found at Cherchell (Agusta-Boularot – Bousbaa 1993–95). One of them is a *carmen* (Agusta-Boularot – Bousbaa 1993–95, 103 no. 2).

In the 21st century, a new project on the inscriptions of Caesarea is underway: EpiCherchell.⁴⁴ Initially started in 2010 as an online database containing all the inscriptions from Caesarea, the main investigator Leveau and his international team decided to transform the project into a print publication. Currently, the 'équipe scientifique'⁴⁵ is working on the inscriptions from the Mauretanian client kingdom for the first of the

⁴⁰ In his few publications on new inscriptions from Caesarea (Cagnat 1887, 176–180; 1912; 1917), Cagnat 1908 published one *carmen*. Two other metrical inscriptions were published by Monceaux 1915, pp. cxxvi–cxxvii no. 2 and Albertini 1930–31, 232–233 no. 9.

⁴¹ However, few inscriptions were published by Carcopino 1943 (studied in detail by Carcopino 1946, 31–38) and Leschi 1932–33; 1946–49.

⁴² Recently, in 2020, volume VIII was published by the 'Centre national de recherche en archéologie'.

⁴³ Leveau 1970b, 166 no. 5 (*AE* 1971, 518); Leveau 1978b (*AE* 1978, 896); Leveau 1975–76, 148 no. 105 (*AE* 1981, 992); Leveau 1977–79, 149 no. 244 (*AE* 1985, 956), 149–150 no. 245 (*AE* 1985, 957) 150 no. 246 (*AE* 1985, 958) and 247 (*AE* 1985, 959), 151 no. 248 (*AE* 1985, 960), 153 no. 258 (*AE* 1985, 968).

⁴⁴ <http://ccj-epicherchel.huma-num.fr/fr/le-projet-epicherchel/> (accessed 2 October 2023).

⁴⁵ <http://ccj-epicherchel.huma-num.fr/fr/equipe-du-projet/> (accessed 2 October 2023).

planned volumes. This will be the first work collecting all the inscriptions from Caesarea Mauretaniae based on modern epigraphic editing criteria accompanied by many photographs.

9. The European and Algerian archives

Regarding the European archives, there are three main sources for the study of excavations in Algeria: cartographic documentation, legislative-administrative documentation and academic or private documentation (Mezzolani Andreose 2013a). The archival material is scattered and consequently, it is difficult to localise and access the documents. The main reason for this is the territorial subdivision, determined by the repatriation process in the final stages of French colonial control in Algeria: the ‘souveraineté’ documents were transferred to France while the ‘gestion’ documents remained in Algeria (Brochier – Goudail 2003, 5–6; Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 15).

Firstly, regarding the cartographic documentation, the ‘Commission d’exploration scientifique de l’Algérie’ and the army with the ‘brigades topographiques’ played an important role. I have already emphasised the documentary importance of the plates produced by Ravoisié for the volumes of the *Exploration scientifique de l’Algérie* (see above p. 7). He was not able to complete the work on Cherchell and some of the tables thus remained without description; others are still unpublished. All of them are stored in the ‘département des Estampes et de la photographie’ of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) (Oulebsir 1998; Koumas – Nafa 2003). Furthermore, the deposits of the ‘Archives nationales de France’ (ANF) in Paris keep the documentation related to the ‘Service des antiquités de l’Algérie’. This documentation also includes letters related to the ‘brigades topographiques’ in Algeria and Tunisia (from 1891 to 1934).⁴⁶ However, these are only letters, sent by the war ministry to the ministry of public education, announcing that reports will be sent.⁴⁷ The maps and topographical reports on Algeria in which the ancient ruins were marked, certainly used by Gsell (1911) for the preparation of the *Atlas archéologique*, were sent to Algiers as can be seen from the annotations in the margins of some of the accompanying documents found in the archives of the ‘Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres’ (Archives AIBL).⁴⁸ In addition, the maps preserved in the ‘Service historique de l’armée de terre’ (SHAT) at Château de Vincennes in Paris are of great importance. Among them are some maps of Cherchell from the first years after the conquest (Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 20). The last cartographic document I know of can be consulted in the Archives AIBL. It is an interesting cartographic sketch of Cherchell on two sheets (one with the centre of the city of which only the explana-

⁴⁶ On the ‘brigades topographiques’ see Février 1989, 54 and Bayle 1984–85.

⁴⁷ ANF, F 17 17235, I, cf. Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 18.

⁴⁸ Archives AIBL, G 17, cf. Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 18 n. 18.

tory part is preserved, another one with the western and eastern necropolis) indicating private properties.⁴⁹

Secondly, legislative and administrative documentation is available. Most of it is stored in the ‘Archives nationales d’outre-mer’ (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence since the end of colonialism (Clair 1988, 7–8): the part F 80 contains the documentation of the ‘ministère de l’Intérieur’, F 81 the documentation of the ‘ministère des Affaires algériennes’.⁵⁰ In these archives, there are official documents on archaeological research, on economic issues and on requests for funds. The documents include the correspondence of P. de Lhôtellerie with his superiors and the authorities during the time when he was director of the museum of Cherchell.⁵¹ Moreover, in the archives of the ‘Mediathèque de l’architecture et du patrimoine’ in Paris, the documentation of the ‘Service des monuments historiques’ is preserved. Agreements between Cherchell and the Louvre and notes on objects brought from Cherchell to France by Ravoisié are kept in the ‘Archives des musées nationaux’ (AMN) in Paris (Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 19). Documents on the excavations by Cardinal Lavigerie in 1876 can be found in the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 10537).⁵²

Thirdly, documents and dossiers created by scholars during their research as well as private archives of functionaries of the French colonial administration are also quite fruitful and important for epigraphic studies (España-Chamorro, forthcoming).

Léon Renier’s methods are perfectly illustrated by the manuscripts 452–455 in the ‘Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne’.⁵³ They have preserved the 2,253 sheets (drawings, notes, documents) used by Renier for his *Inscriptions romaines de l’Algérie*. The dossiers were put in order by Cagnat and Villefosse; the unpublished inscriptions were published by Cagnat (1887). However, as Leveau noted, it is still worthwhile to look at this material because it contains information that has not been published in the *CIL* or by Cagnat.⁵⁴ Moreover, the archives of the BBAW (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) preserve the *schedae* which Wilmanns, Mommsen, Schmidt, Cagnat and Des-sau produced preparing the edition of the *CIL* volumes.

The archive collection of Cagnat himself, kept at the ‘Bibliothèque Mazarine’, is of great importance for African epigraphic studies as well (España-Chamorro, forthcom-

⁴⁹ Archives AIBL, 17G-4 (1900–1904), cf. Mezzolani Andreose 2013a, 20.

⁵⁰ <http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/anom/fr/Presentation/Archives-ministerielles.html> (accessed 2 October 2023).

⁵¹ ANOM, F 80 1587–1588, cf. Leveau 1984, 2 n. 3.

⁵² Cf. Leveau 1984, 513 who also mentions some documents on this excavation that he consulted in the archdiocese of Algiers.

⁵³ Cf. <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=UNIA11152> (accessed 27 October 2023). I would like to point out that Ms. 273–280 of the Sorbonne library preserve the manuscripts of Captain Delamare’s expeditions to Algeria, donated by Renier’s sons. Renier received them from the heirs of Delamare; cf. <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=UNIA10745> (accessed 27 October 2023). According to Gsell (1912, p. vii), the 7th volume (Ms. 280) contains on pp. 247–249 some drawings related to Cherchell made by Delamare.

⁵⁴ Cf. Leveau 1984, 513: “Il [Cagnat] ne tint aucun compte de l’intérêt archéologique de ces documents. On y trouvera non seulement la localisation de découvertes épigraphiques qui n’ont pas été reproduites au *CIL* VIII (...) mais encore des renseignements archéologiques inédits (...)”

ing). Most of the documentation is from between 1882 and 1892, and it breaks off after 1897. This archive does not include much material on Cherchell, however: only two squeezes of inscriptions found near Cherchell are preserved there.⁵⁵ The personal archive of Serge Turrenc can be consulted in the ‘Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme’ in Aix-en-Provence. After he had been in charge of the region south of Constantine (that includes sites such as Timgad and Lambèse), he became the director of the archaeological site of Cherchell in 1962. The ‘fonds Turrenc’ comprises administrative documents, Turrenc’s notes, reports, letters and some photos (Brissaud 2013, 2).

Another archive to be mentioned in the context are the ‘fonds Poinssot’ (1875–2002), stored in the ‘Institut national d’histoire de l’art’ (INHA) in Paris and catalogued by the ‘service Patrimoine’ of INHA with the help of the laboratory AnHiMA of the CNRS between 2006 and 2014 (Chauffour – Saint-Amans 2014; Dondin-Payre et al. 2017). The Poinssot family had obtained positions of responsibility in the French colonial organisation and thus amassed an enormous number of private documents concerning excavations in Tunisia and Algeria. The richness of this archive has only been partially explored (España-Chamorro 2022, 1). It also includes some information on Caesarea (Chauffour – Saint-Amans 2014, 200, 202, 223):

- Dossier 106, 110, 01, 14. Epigraphy. Caesarea: photographs, printed drawings and squeezes (7 pieces)
- Dossier 106, 111, 01, 8. Epigraphy. Caesarea: handwritten notes (5 sheets)
- Dossier 106, 118, 01, 11. Reliefs. Caesarea: 26 photographs by Claude Poinssot (1966), 15 printed drawings, 2 squeezes, 4 drawings by Julien Poinssot, 1 postal card.

Furthermore, one section of this huge archive contains the ‘Sous-fonds Paul Gauckler’, the dossiers of a scholar who was very interested in Cherchell. It includes photographs, handwritten notes and squeezes from around 400 different places (including Caesarea).⁵⁶

Finally, the most important European archive for the study of Cherchell’s archaeology and epigraphy is the so-called ‘fonds Leveau’ of the Centre Camille Jullian (Aix-en-Provence) that, beyond the abundant documentation of Philippe Leveau (cf. Baudoin – Blanc-Bijon – Satre 2016; Blanc-Bijon 2022, 143), contains also other documents, including some that pertained to the ‘Service des antiquités d’Alger’ (Blanc-Bijon 2022, 143).

In contrast to the extensive documentation in European archives, it is not possible for me to verify if and to what extent Algerian archives provide information on administrative processes and excavations. There might be an institution in Algiers that preserves the documentation of the ‘Service des antiquités de l’Algérie’. These documents contain unpublished data on the excavations in the 1940s, Glénat’s correspondence and sketches addressed to Leschi, as well as negatives, casts and more from Lassus’s excava-

⁵⁵ One found in Sidi Brahim, another one in the village of Zurich (now Sidi Amar). I thank S. España-Chamorro for giving me information on this archive.

⁵⁶ Dossier 106, 113, 01. Epigraphy. ‘Sous-fonds Paul Gauckler’, cf. Chauffour – Saint-Amans 2014, 206.

tions according to Leveau (1984, 514). Furthermore, the archaeological documentation of Cherchell's last excavations should be stored in Algeria.⁵⁷ Ferdi seems to have had access to this material (Ferd 2005, 11–12). At least until 1982, this documentation was kept in the “réserves du nouveau musée de Cherchell” according to Ferroukhi (2020, 114 n. 22).

One dossier specifically seems to be of interest for research on metrical inscriptions. During excavations under a 15th–16th-century Muslim necropolis, directed by Mahfoud Ferroukhi (1987–1990), a Roman peristyle house was found in the south of the eastern area of the “terrain Boufarik”. The floor was decorated with mosaics. Near the entrance to a large room, probably a ceremonial hall (Ferroukhi 2020, 116–117 defined it as a ‘grand salle, probablement d’apparat’), a metrical inscription in dactylic hexameter, realised in tesserae, was found. It gives the name of the house owner, Iulianus (Ferroukhi 2020, 116). Currently, the inscription is unpublished and is hopefully still readable on site. A photograph of it is probably among the documents concerning this excavation. It is not known where these documents are, but one may assume that a reproduction and a transcription⁵⁸ of this inscription is stored in some archive room in the museums of Cherchell.

Conclusions

The history of the archaeological and epigraphic heritage of Cherchell since the time of the first travellers was seemingly characterised by what the authors of the *CIL* ‘superstitiously’ called *malus genius qui praesidet studiis epigraphicis terrae Africae* (*CIL* VIII, Auctorum recens, p. xxvi). Many unfortunate events such as shipwrecks, earthquakes, destruction, diseases of scholars, institutional problems and a lack of funds made it difficult to study the ancient remains of Cherchell. Most of the discoveries in Cherchell were made when archaeology was still in its infancy or during rescue excavations. It is therefore impossible to establish a satisfying archaeological overview of ancient Caesarea (Ferroukhi 2020, 112–113).

Still, a comprehensive work on the archaeology and society of Cherchell was published by Leveau (1984). A systematic edition and study of the epigraphic corpus of Cherchell is being prepared by the EpiCherchell project with its international team of European and Maghrebi scholars. It is the most important project on Caesarea’s inscriptions underway.

The institutional complexity that has characterised the history of ancient studies in Algeria points to a new era of collaborative approaches between the Maghreb and Europe. Researchers view their common history from the perspective of a ‘matrimonio

⁵⁷ But the documentation of the excavation directed by Leveau in the necropolis of the ‘gare routière de Cherchell’ in 1992–1993 is stored in the Centre Camille Jullian, cf. Blanc-Bijon 2022, 143.

⁵⁸ Ferroukhi 2020, 117 n. 27 writes that he read the inscription with the help of Serge Lancel and that the details of the reading are preserved in the currently unavailable excavation documentation.

culturale’ (cultural marriage) rather than a ‘patrimonio culturale’ (cultural heritage).⁵⁹ This means adopting a perspective of mutual collaboration and not of possession. On the one hand, Europe should return many of the monuments and artifacts taken from Africa during colonialism;⁶⁰ on the other hand, the Maghreb should facilitate the study of its ancient remains by European scholars. There are many good examples for such collaborative efforts, for example the collaboration between the German Archaeological Institute and the museum of ChercHELL. Moreover, from a broader point of view, the international conference series “L’Africa Romana”, that started in 1983, have greatly improved the relations between European and Maghrebi academies, universities and institutions, and they continue to do so.

Finally, since much excavation material remains unpublished, we can say for sure that new research in European and Algerian archives will lead to new discoveries and insights about the history of Caesarea.

Bibliographical abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L’Année épigraphique</i> , Paris 1888 sqq.
<i>AntAfr</i>	<i>Antiquités africaines</i> , Aix-en-Provence 1967 sqq. URL: https://www.persee.fr/collection/antaf .
<i>BAA</i>	<i>Bulletin d’archéologie algérienne</i> , Alger/Paris 1967 sqq.
<i>BCA</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance africaine</i> , Alger 1882–1886. URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb344861318/date .
<i>BSNAF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France</i> , Paris 1872 sqq. URL: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34349686n/date.r=+Bulletin+de+la+Soci%C3%A9t%C3%A9+nationale+des+antiquaires+de+France.langFR .
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1862 sqq.
<i>CLE</i>	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , ed. F. Bücheler – E. Lommatzsch – P. Cugusi, 4 vols., Lipsiae 1895–1926; Berlin 2023.
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> , Paris 1857 sqq. URL: https://www.persee.fr/collection/crai .
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , Roma 1881 sqq. URL: https://www.persee.fr/collection/mefr .

⁵⁹ My wording is inspired by a quote from Matteo Lucchetti, curator of the museo delle Civiltà di Roma, given in Marsili 2022: “Il museo cerca di guardare alle proprie collezioni con il concetto di ‘matrimonio’ piuttosto che di ‘patrimonio’ culturale, andando quindi a mettere l’accento non sul possesso delle opere ma sulle pratiche di cura verso gli oggetti presenti nella collezione”.

⁶⁰ Cf. Marsili 2022 for an update on the (still few) restitution operations to African countries planned by European politicians.

- RA *Revue archéologique*, Paris 1844 sqq.
URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32856350w/date>.
- RAf *Revue africaine*, Alger 1856–1962.
URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb328562033/date>.

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