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Proceedings of the European Humanities Conference

5-7 May 2021

Editors: Luiz Oosterbeek
Rosi Braidotti
Henrique Leitão
Rosário Costa
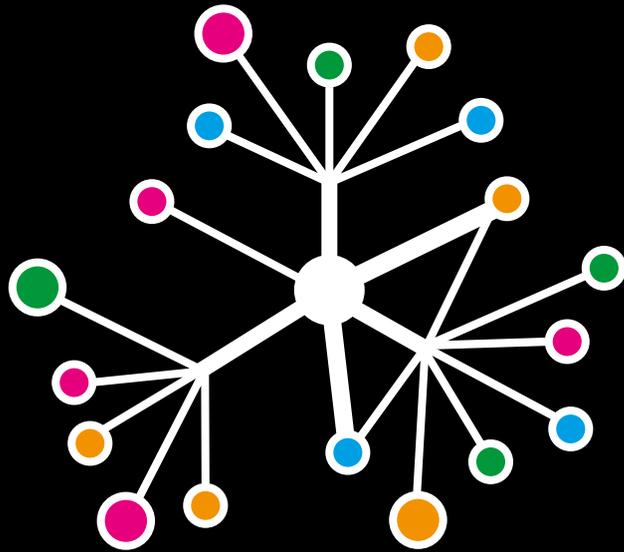
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CIPSH
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PHILOSOPHY AND HUMAN SCIENCES
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DE LA PHILOSOPHIE ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES

Fundação
para a Ciência
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PART 3: BRIDGING CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES AND LONG TERM UNDERSTANDING: MIGRATIONS AND DIVERSITY

PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE

Forewords

UNESCO:

Gabriela Ramos

Assistant Director-General for the Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO

With the beautiful word, *humanities*, which links our humanity to its knowledge and curiosities, we could not be more central to UNESCO's project.

Behind this word, which has a very ancient history, lies a conviction that the Founders of our Organization have placed at the heart of our name: to practice the sciences, and in particular the humanities, is to work for peace. Sciences, and human sciences, along with education and culture, are the bulwarks against war to be raised in the minds of men and women.

In 2021, 75 years after UNESCO's founding, our Organization jointly hosted the European Humanities Conference with our partners CIPSH, FCT and the Portuguese Government, we were living in what some call the 'plague' year. A reference to Daniel Defoe's Journal, published in 1722. A reminder that humanity has been here before, and a warning that we will be there again.

Let us read Defoe's words, three centuries before the term "fake news" was invented:

> *"The plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great...*
> *But the rumor was infinitely greater."*
> (DEFOE, 1995).

Defoe is not the only voice that speaks to us from the past. René Girard reminds us, "the plague is found everywhere in literature" (Girard, 1974). There is Thucydides describing the plague

in Athens, or Boccaccio depicting it in Florence. More recently, Tetsuo Takashima published the novel *The Pandemic* in 2010 which tells the story about a viral outbreak in China provoking lockdowns in Tokyo. Beyond words, Tintoretto's precise rendition of the symptoms in *Saint Roch Healing the Plague-Stricken* vividly illustrates misery.

Further, in his analytical course on *The Philosophy of Nature* in 1830, Hegel shows that to understand an epidemic, you have to understand the interactions between the internal functioning of the organism, the whole of nature outside it, including climate, geography, and history (Hegel, 2004).

The COVID-19 pandemic is evident to the need that we can and should learn from the past to prepare for the future. The humanities are the guardians of this knowledge, and they provide us with the tools to understand our predicament, cope with its challenges, and to come back stronger.

Today, the social, environmental, and geopolitical crises, as well as the contemporary technological and scientific advances and the evolution of our lifestyles will result in major changes in our societies. These new challenges require new tactics to be created so that a real societal transformation can be achieved. A more intimate approach to humanities is fundamental in this endeavor, and its relevance in policy-making must be emphasized. The vast body of knowledge in the human sciences can aid in our comprehension of the mechanisms behind social change. It offers valuable insights into the circumstances under which social practices can transform our societies and facilitates the implementation of technical tools and public policies. It enables us to recognize the barriers and catalysts to the positive evolution of individual practices and collective efforts, as well as comprehend institutional changes essential to the development of new economic and governance models.

For instance, the digital transformation has a profound impact on every aspect of modern society, from business and industry to education and healthcare. In this context, the humanities have a

crucial role to play in shaping and guiding this transformation to ensure that it is inclusive, ethical, and responsive to diverse human needs and values.

Let us quote Philip K. Dick, who wrote in his dystopian science fiction novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep:*

> *"The creation of artificial intelligence is a profound challenge to our understanding of what it means to be human. It forces us to confront the ethical implications of our own creations, and to question the nature of our own consciousness."*
>
> (DICK, 1968).

By incorporating the arts, literature, history, and philosophy, as well as interdisciplinary collaborations with fields like engineering and computer science, the humanities can inspire new ideas and approaches to digital technology that are functional but also meaningful and relevant to human experience.

Humanities have evolved in response to the emergence of new challenges through the creation of new sub-disciplines. For example, the digital transformation has had a significant epistemological impact on the humanities, creating the digital humanities. This field employs digital technologies to analyze and interpret cultural artifacts, texts, and other forms of data to gain new insights into human culture and society. Digital humanities tools can help to map social networks, track the spread of ideas and information, and identify patterns of behavior on digital platforms. These tools can also promote transparency and accountability in government by providing citizens with access to government data and information. Making government data more accessible and understandable empowers citizens to hold their governments accountable for their actions and decisions. Thus, the digital humanities can shape public discourse and policies related to privacy, data protection, and algorithmic bias, promoting a more informed and ethical approach to digital technology.

The digital transformation is far from being the only example in why the humanities are more relevant than ever. The humanities serve as a means to freedom, allowing for the continuous evolution of thought and the creation of new concepts to combat intellectual stagnation. However, we are currently facing a silent crisis in which they are increasingly disregarded. In a world where economic growth is the primary measure of progress, there is a risk of distorting the fundamental values that we hold dear, leading to the erosion of democracies worldwide. Only critical minds, nurtured by humanities from an early age, have the clarity to pursue these values.

Fostering critical thinking must be done without reducing knowledge to a mere utilitarian tool. This reduction risks hindering our ability to criticize authority, diminishes our empathy for marginalized groups, and limits our competence to deal with complex global problems. Losing these essential capacities jeopardizes the health and future of democracies and our hope for a more decent world.

The humanities can also make a significant contribution to developing new social policy agendas by fostering empathy and mutual understanding to reduce stigmatization and marginalization. In this regard, the humanities can help to cultivate a sense of shared values which is essential for building social cohesion and promoting greater equity and justice, creating the "common humanity" as described by Edgar Morin..

This was eloquently elaborated by Ernest L. Boyer and Martin Kaplan in an article entitled "Educating for Survival."

"The very survival of our civilization, they claim, depends in large measure on the capacity of its educational system to make us aware of the shared values and experiences that are the cement of any true community. To the extent that the humanities direct our attention to the fundamental human experiences, thoughts and

feelings that transcend the social, ethnic and religious differences that divide us, they are strengthening the essential fabric of our society. The mission of the humanities is to reveal to us this universal, immutable, human common denominator."

(BOYER AND KAPLAN, 1994).

In addition, humanities provide valuable insights into the social and historical factors that have shaped demographic trends and patterns in the last century, and can help us anticipate future ones. Historical analysis can help us understand the contexts of demographic changes and of migration patterns over time and the geopolitical factors that may have influenced these trends. Moreover, humanities can promote the incorporation of the socio-cultural dimensions of population growth and development in public discussions and policy-making processes. This can ensure that policies and programs are responsive to the needs and concerns of the communities they serve.

The humanities allow us to approach those demographic trends with a more nuanced understanding of their social and cultural dimensions. This can help us to ensure that our policies are inclusive and equitable and that they support the coordinated development of our populations.

Finally, the governance of regional and global commons such as oceans, forests, and the atmosphere is a complex and multi-faceted task that requires an interdisciplinary approach. In this regard, environmental humanities can provide critical perspectives on the social and cultural dimensions of environmental issues. By analyzing the ways in which different societies have understood and responded to environmental challenges in the past, research in environmental humanities can help identify potential solutions and strategies for addressing current environmental challenges. They can also shed light on how environmental issues are linked to social and economic inequalities and how these inequalities are perpetuated by existing political and economic structures.

Specifically, eco-ethics can provide ethical frameworks that emphasizes the value of the natural world and the responsibilities of individual and institutional action for protection. Eco-ethicists can help identify philosophical principles that should guide decision-making around environmental policy through a comprehensive evaluation of the ethical dimensions of environmental issues. They can also shed light on how different cultural and philosophical traditions have understood the relationship between human beings and the natural world, and how these perspectives can inform contemporary environmental debates and policy agendas.

Beyond the data and numbers, the humanities teach us that humans and the societies they create are not machines to be controlled by pulling a few policy levers. Even the best public policies in the world are not answers to uncertainty: the dialogue between the humanities and public policy needs to strike the right balance. The humanities are the key to recovering this form of humanism and resilience.

Behaviors, events, social structures, emerge from trillions of interactions among people, the environment, society, the economy. The humanities can help us understand how the past and our thoughts on the future influence these outcomes.

The European Humanities Conference was an opportunity to strengthen the humanities, in Europe and in the world, in three ways.

First, to ensure that the humanities, which are at the heart of primary and secondary education, also play a key role in higher education, regardless of specialization.

Second, to better fund and support research, while ensuring that it is based on greater interdisciplinarity.

And finally, to inform political reflection and public action on the basis of more open and broader perspectives.

At UNESCO, we believe that this openness — being open-minded and open to the world - is what the humanities are all about.

At the end of the EHC conference, member states adopted the The Lisbon Declaration with the main objective : to invite States and institutions to commit themselves to concretely support the

autonomy of the Humanities and to strengthen the design of political responses to major contemporary challenges. Our societies are changing, and there is a need to track that societal transformation, so let's build together the policies and practices that can help pursue societal resilience and cohesion.

Let's recall that in *La Peste*, Albert Camus also sparks a note of optimism: *"What we learn in time of pestilence: that there are more things to admire in men than to despise"*.

Let us work together to identify and nourish what is admirable.

For to confront philosophy, history, literature, the arts and all those disciplines that make up the humanities is to learn a critical spirit, allowing us to resist simplifications and prejudices. It is also to experience otherness by discovering other systems of thought, other tastes, other languages, something other than oneself. And, at the same time, it is to find the revelation of our common humanity, this awareness of the other that concepts such as *neddaaku* in the Peul language or *ubuntu* in the Bantu languages carry.

The humanities have always accompanied the great and profound changes in our societies. We believe that they must be given their place in the spotlight back. This means galvanising their full potential by giving them an appropriate framework. As Michel Foucault illustrated, the humanities go far beyond the realm of knowledge. They are already established practices and institutions. It is now up to us to rethink these practices and institutions, to continue to support the development of knowledge and to ensure that it contributes to public action.

Whether knowledge is an end in itself, the humanities have public value: they offer a long-term perspective, enhance creativity and put the human back at the center of the discussion. With this conference, UNESCO, in its function as a global laboratory of ideas, invited with its partnering humanities scholars to analyze humanity's current issues across all domains. Humanities are key tools to serve this function as it provides the required critical thinking to analyze, research and address global challenges, and

promote the creation of bridges between the different cultures that make up our beautiful organization.

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CIPSH:

Hsiung Ping-chen

Secretary-General of CIPSH

Dear colleagues and friends of European and global humanities, as the Secretary General of International Council of Philosophy and Human Sciences, I like to greet you at the opening of the European Humanities Conference.

Although the pandemic has challenged us with a mostly online event from Lisbon, I believe however this shall turn out to be a most memorable event. Because it is clear that everybody is looking for a moment of reprieve and reflection, for which we have prepared this perfect occasion for conversation and festivity. To be back in touch from May 5th to 7th, with three days of celebration, inspiring keynotes, exciting plenary sessions, and engaging roundtable discussions. At this critical time of humanities, it becomes evident more so than ever, even for people who are not in our businesses of letters and arts, that everybody's life will be but a senseless struggle without what humanities and arts can offer in way of education, research, and public sharing, as an everyday experience.

On our part, CIPSH likes to review with you our ongoing works: to view Humanity Report and Global History of Humanities. We also wish to demonstrate how we are developing new fields in Health Humanities, Technology and Humanities, to achieve sustainable goals. Facing the 21st century, we all need to be better anchored, especially from European traditions of humanities, for which I want to thank all of you, the over 3000, I heard, who had registered as presenters, attendees, and supporters of the event. Most of all, I like to thank our colleagues on the ground in Lisbon, working with our CIPSH president, Professor

Luiz Oosterbeek, for this unique opportunity. For now, do enjoy this feast of humanities from Lisbon, as we greet you from other corners as regional conferences of CIPSH move from Brazil to Portugal, Africa, Asia, and everywhere else. Thank you again for your participation. I truly look forward to seeing you in person before too long.

FCT:

Madalena Alves

President of FCT

From the last quarter of 2019 to the beginning of May 2021, the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) had the privilege of co-organising the European Humanities Conference, jointly with UNESCO's Social and Human Sciences Programme and the International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH). This Conference was held from Lisbon as a hybrid event (face to face and by streaming), at a time still shaped by the COVID 19 pandemic. Nevertheless, Portugal was the virtual epicentre of the debate and fruitful dialogue about global societal challenges for three days (5-7 May 2021), during the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the European Union. This was a great opportunity to promote the humanities. It is also worth highlighting the space that was given to young researchers in this event, as well as to R&D funding agencies, forums that took place on the eve (4 May).

The Conference's major goal was achieved: *"highlighting the specific contribution of the humanities to our world, in close coopera-tion with researchers from other disciplines such as the natural, social, engineering, and medical sciences, to discuss educational and scien-tific policy as well as processes of societal dissemination of knowledge."* Europe's responsibilities beyond its borders were not forgot-ten and diverse stakeholders other than researchers were also involved. The crowning achievement of this conference was the *Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation,* ultimately proposing the interaction between the humanities and the other sciences as a curricular component in all levels of educa-tion, including PhDs, in order to guarantee scientific, economic,

social and cultural development at the service of the humanity and the balance of ecosystems.

In the meantime, the FCT Board of Directors has changed. Now, I am very proud to take part of this initiative, albeit a posteriori, at the moment of publishing its written memory, as a way to refresh and perpetuate this relevant dynamic of thought and action.

As FCT is the Portuguese public agency that supports research in all areas of knowledge, we will always remain committed to supporting the humanities, especially when we see the respective scientific community concerned beyond its disciplinary silos. Like this community, FCT is committed towards a way of doing science that is guided by the issues of inter- and trans-disciplinarity, with a deep social and environmental engagement.

In addition to the usual portfolio of funding programmes that allow FCT to support scientists, research teams and R&D centers, FCT will participate in the next Joint Research Programme — *Crisis, Perspectives from the Humanities,* starting in 2023, in the scope of the network HERA — *Humanities in the European Research Area.* The aim of the Programme is fourfold. Just a very brief point: provide new knowledge and understanding of the origins, sources and causes of the major crises that Europe and the world faced in the past and are facing today; highlight the complex role of cultural and social practices in shaping responses to crises; explore the impact of culture in shaping resilience in the face of crises; emphasize how the humanities may contribute to the de-escalation and resolving of crises. This is our strategy to continue supporting the humanities, wishing them the fullest success in their research activities for the benefit of everyone.

Partners Addresses

WHC:

Adama Samassékou

President of the World Humanities Conference

La Conférence Européenne des Humanités est un véritable événement régional post-Liège, qui a su faire une évaluation de la mise en œuvre des conclusions de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités, en explorant l'essentiel des grands défis de notre planète en transition, du point de vue de la dynamique européenne.

Je me suis réjoui de sa tenue, dans le contexte de la crise sanitaire mondiale, qui a largement démontré, s'il en était encore besoin, la fragilité de notre environnement, menacé dans sa biodiversité, et celle de nos systèmes de gouvernance face aux défis planétaires, que seules les Humanités peuvent nous aider à relever durablement.

En ma qualité d'ancien Président du CIPSH et d'initiateur et Président de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités, une vérité implacable rythme et guide mon combat pour la réhabilitation et la refondation des sciences humaines à travers le monde : c'est que notre monde va mal sans l'apport de ces savoirs millénaires qui mettent l'humain au cœur des préoccupations de nos sociétés et de nos Etats, au cœur de nos utopies.

Partant de l'idée que la science peut contribuer à l'amitié entre les peuples, si elle évite de reproduire ses propres préjugés, la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités était une invite à réinventer la coexistence mondiale fondée sur le respect de la riche diversité de notre planète.

Lors de ce grand rendez-vous des humanités, nous avions une interrogation légitime, qui était de savoir le rôle et l'apport véritable de celles et ceux qui avaient la charge de nous éclairer sur la complexité des transformations sociales. Nous avions aussi à cœur d'œuvrer pour la réhabilitation et la refondation des sciences

humaines, pour un changement de paradigme permettant de réinventer un monde fondé sur le respect de sa riche diversité culturelle et linguistique et qui nous permettra de substituer aux relations conflictuelles de compétition une véritable solidarité universelle, seule susceptible d'aider à relever les défis de notre planète en transition.

En filigrane, notre vision était de trouver une alternative à l'approche euro-occidentalo centrée, en promouvant une démarche polycentrique et fécondante, fondée sur la diversité culturelle et linguistique du monde.

En effet, nous avons assisté impuissants, depuis le XVe siècle, à un vaste épistémicide ayant conduit à la mort ou à l'étouffement des langues, des savoirs endogènes non européens du monde, et simultanément à l'épanouissement des cultures européennes sur la planète. Il est temps que les sciences humaines et sociales se remobilisent afin de tenir compte des valeurs de toutes les sociétés humaines. Ces valeurs sont inscrites dans la langue –véhicule de la culture et de la pensée. Les sciences humaines, en particulier la linguistique, l'anthropologie, l'histoire, peuvent nous aider à faire émerger les fondamentaux culturelles de nos sociétés. Il s'agit bien de consacrer les ruptures épistémologiques, méthodologiques et pédagogiques nécessaires à l'émergence de sciences humaines et sociales reflétant une vision polycentrique du monde, et pouvant ainsi contribuer au renforcement du dialogue des cultures et des civilisations et partant, de la paix dans le monde. Les humanités pour nous, c'est la célébration du génie des langues de l'Humain, la connaissance du foisonnement de ses pratiques sociales, politiques, économiques, culturelles, cultuelles et artistiques.

Ainsi donc, il nous appartient de revigorer la coopération intellectuelle internationale et plus particulièrement de permettre aux pensées et œuvres du « Sud » d'être entendues et enseignées. Nous devons renforcer la solidarité entre les intellectuels occidentaux et les intellectuels africains, arabes, asiatiques, « latino-américains » car ces derniers nous disent les blessures de l'Histoire, source des révoltes d'aujourd'hui et périls pour demain. C'est,

nous semble-t-il, le seul antidote durable à la barbarie, s'il sait nous montrer la possibilité réelle d'une paix des langues, des religions, des identités. Cette évidence induit celle du renforcement d'une coopération réhabilitée entre les institutions des différentes régions du monde en charge des sciences humaines et sociales, c'est à dire des humanités.

Les conclusions de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités ne nous laissent guère le choix, elles qui exhortent le CIPSH à, je cite : « Promouvoir la refondation du cadre épistémologique des humanités à travers l'interaction et la convergence des différentes traditions académiques, la reconnexion des disciplines académiques à travers les humanités, et la restructuration du cadre de la recherche en sciences humaines », fin de citation. Liège a aussi été le lieu d'un appel appuyé aux institutions de l'enseignement supérieur, aux académies, aux centres de recherche etc. à, je cite : « promouvoir la recherche disciplinaire, ainsi que la collaboration interdisciplinaire avec les autres domaines de recherche dans la science et les humanités et avec les autres domaines de réflexion portant sur l'homme », fin de citation. Ces recommandations, si elles sont suivies et mises en œuvre, nul doute que nous parviendrons à donner vie aux Humanités de demain.

La refondation que nous prônons dans le processus de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités ne devrait pas concerner que les espaces non- européens mais tous les espaces, chacun des espaces étant marqué par sa spécificité. La particularité de la refondation dans les espaces non européens concernera davantage la question de l'héritage colonial. En effet, la plupart des sociétés anciennement colonisées se sont retrouvées dans une situation à la fois de négation de leurs propres humanités et de reproduction de modèles exogènes. D'un autre côté, ce qui paraît évident, c'est que les sociétés européennes et occidentales porteuses du projet colonial, ont développé des humanités qui, la plupart du temps, sont caractérisées par un euro-occidentalo centrisme niant ou marginalisant les humanités propres aux autres espaces.

La Conférence Européenne des Humanités aura été une opportunité essentielle pour faire, au niveau de l'Europe, le point des efforts consentis dans la perspective de refonder et régénérer nos espoirs communs, en droite ligne des conclusions de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités, qui s'est tenue, près de quatre ans auparavant, à Liège. Mais disons-le d'emblée, la refondation des humanités en Europe devra conduire à une nouvelle lecture de l'histoire partagée de l'Europe et du reste du monde, en particulier de l'Afrique, à une meilleure prise en compte de la diversité culturelle et linguistique du monde, en somme, à un véritable changement de paradigme permettant de substituer à un euro-occidentalo-centrisme stérile un polycentrisme fécondant et salvateur, nous permettant ainsi de nous hisser, ensemble, à la hauteur des défis massifs et des impensés des temps présents et futurs.

L'enjeu en vérité ne doit échapper à personne, celui de rendre sagesse, intelligibilité, paix, solidarité, à un monde aux changements et mutations généralisés, touchant à la finitude physique d'une planète poussée au bout de ses potentialités quantitatives, à la démographie mondiale, aux modes de socialisation portés par les échanges culturels à hauts débits numérisés et mondialisés, et bien plus encore. Les angoisses, frustrations, pertes de repères et explosions qui s'alimentent, au moins en partie, des effets corrosifs de ces changements sur les plus exposés, sont des sujets qui devraient être désormais au centre de nos préoccupations, et de nos inlassables investissements.

L'enchâssement des économies sous l'aiguillon du profit est-il suffisant à écrire les convivialités du monde contemporain ? On peut en douter au regard des crises systémiques à répétition qui sont autant de tragédies sociales et d'effondrements frappant des continents d'espoirs déçus. Les violences et bellicismes très inégalement instruits qui paraissent devoir dominer nos actualités, recouverts de ruses identitaires ou religieuses ou alimentés par des extrémismes réels ou instrumentalisés, ne sont-ils pas pour beaucoup les fruits amers des défaites de l'éducation dans son accès comme dans ses contenus ? Ne peut-on y voir aussi des addictions des sciences

humaines, par fatalisme ou défaut de moyens, aux failles des modèles productivistes dont l'efficacité se gagne au prix de la démesure du sous-emploi, de l'augmentation d'un chômage et du désespoir dont les statistiques minorent plus ou moins consciemment la réalité ? Et si, sans le vouloir, la pratique des humanités ignoraient une trop grande partie de l'existence humaine et du vivant, emportée par l'élan de la vitesse d'un monde « qui compte », auquel il faudrait avant tout faire pièce ou rendre compte ?

Ce sont probablement, j'en suis convaincu, ces changements de perspectives, de regards qui produiront des humanités à la mesure de l'humain, tout l'humain solidaire, dans cette double faculté d'erreur et de dépassement, qui donneront à nos humanités la hauteur nécessaire à une solidarité au-delà des clivages de toutes sortes : origines, genres, races, religions, idéologies, économies, performances.

A Liège, nous avions insisté sur la relation entre les humanités, sorties des seuls cercles de savants, et la société, qui devrait ainsi retrouver une indispensable centralité dans les décisions collectives, à toutes les échelles. Nous appelions à prendre date, dès nos réflexions refondatrices, des conceptualisations et des agencements institutionnels à ouvrager, pour remettre en phase, sans compromission ni diktats de part et d'autre, les savoirs des humanités avec les décisions politiques locales, régionales, globales.

Il est heureux que ce forum européen, avec l'implication du gouvernement du Portugal et de l'Union Européenne dans cette belle aventure, ait pu prendre en compte une question essentielle que j'ai toujours prônée : le dialogue permanent entre les décideurs politiques et les acteurs des sociétés savantes, favorisant ainsi une meilleure prise en charge par les politiques publiques des impératifs de la recherche dans le domaine des humanités.

Si la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités a été une véritable mise en perspectives pour la réhabilitation et la refondation des sciences humaines et sociales, pour un changement de paradigme permettant de réinventer un monde fondé sur le respect de sa riche diversité culturelle et linguistique, et qui nous permettra de

substituer aux relations conflictuelles de compétition une véritable solidarité universelle, seule susceptible de sauver l'Humanité, je me réjouis que les conclusions de la Conférence Européenne des Humanités aient non seulement reflété la pertinence de ces changements de perspectives, mais aussi prôné des pistes de solution à la hauteur des enjeux.

C'est Amadou Hampâté BÂ qui disait : « La beauté d'un tapis réside dans la variété de ses couleurs. S'il n'y a que du blanc, ce serait un drap blanc ; s'il n'y a que du noir, ce serait un pagne de deuil. C'est l'Univers tout entier qui est notre patrie. Chacun de nous est une page du grand livre de la Nature. Dans la vaste communauté humaine lancée à la recherche d'un nouvel équilibre, chaque peuple doit apporter la note de son génie propre afin que tout l'ensemble en soit enrichi. Chacun doit s'ouvrir aux autres, tout en restant lui-même », fin de citation.

C'est Don Elder Camara qui disait que lorsqu'on rêve tout seul, ce n'est qu'un rêve, mais quand on rêve ensemble, c'est déjà le début de la réalité…

Rêvons donc ensemble d'un monde où la reconnaissance de la diversité culturelle et linguistique fécondante permettra le développement d'humanités ouvertes susceptibles de garantir des relations pacifiques entre les peuples du monde, de développer un esprit de partenariat véritable et, à terme, de créer les conditions de l'émergence d'une gouvernance partenariale mondiale. Laquelle gouvernance permettra aux grands acteurs que sont les Gouvernements, la société civile (les académiciens, les universitaires, les chercheurs, les intellectuels de tous bords, les hommes et femmes de culture, les hommes de médias, les artistes etc.) et le secteur privé (de plus en plus conscient de sa responsabilité sociale) de travailler ensemble de manière consensuelle pour relever les grands défis de notre planète en transition.

ADAMA SAMASSÉKOU
Ancien Président du CIPSH
Président de la Conférence Mondiale des Humanités

CGEO:

Helena Henriques

Director of the Geosciences Centre of Coimbra University

The European Humanities Conference held in Lisbon (Portugal) on May 2021 represents a major milestone towards the need of bridging scientific knowledge and human and social knowledge, and strengthening the value of universal knowledge for addressing societal challenges.

Such vision is clearly emphasized in the Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation that requests education leaders and higher education institutions to ensure the integration of transversally course units on humanities and sciences interaction through all levels of education, including doctorate levels, as well as research and innovation initiatives aimed at sustainable innovation, co-designed with local communities, building from the humanities and their interaction with sciences and techniques.

The Geosciences Center of the University of Coimbra (Portugal) is a Research & Development unit of multidisciplinary nature, a fundamental vision to face global challenges. It integrates about 160 members with different scientific backgrounds and cultures who develop interdisciplinary approaches in their daily research and development activities.

The Geosciences Center welcomes and promotes territorial-based projects, guided by integrated approaches to these territories, which starts from the identification of resources, the study of their transformation through technology in time and space, and the evaluation of the sociocultural mechanisms for identifying needs and designing strategies to face dilemmas.

Geoscientific knowledge is crucial to face the current global challenges and it can help redefine the relationships between human beings and the Earth system. But it requires a geoethical perspective, namely, a reference framework of principles and values, as well as methods and practices towards issues concerning a sustainable interaction between the human being and the natural environment.

In this sense, the Geosciences Center sees itself in the objectives set out in the Lisbon Declaration, and its members undertake to pursue their activities in accordance with a holistic vision of culture. They all share the conviction that overcoming the established division between the natural and the human and social sciences, and integrating natural and social and humanistic scientific knowledge with non-scientific and non-Western forms of knowledge is the only way to manage the transformation of nature from a global sustainability perspective.

Arts, Humanities, Science, they are all faces of the same gem: culture. They are the product of human endeavor in a given social context, where knowledge and values intersect, in space and time. Accepting this intricate relationship and understanding its meanderings is the most appropriate way to face today's global challenges.

UAI:

Luisa Migliorati

International Union of Academies

The IAU's viewpoint

It is noteworthy that the very title of the 2021 edition of the EHC, *European Humanities and Beyond*, suggests that Humanities should be a driving force in society; but in connection with this, we must also specify towards which goals we should strive as actors in today's society. Many of the possible perspectives of the Humanities were addressed in the sessions and roundtables in which the Conference was divided; in the context of these insights, the IAU emphasizes a few points.

1. Precisely as IAU is an expression of the alliance of Academies aimed at strengthening the Humanities and Social Sciences, it always cared of supporting projects that apparently have less effect from what we might call a journalistic point of view, but greater in terms of meaning so that they become the subject of interest of the scientific community and of society and, consequently, tools for thinking about a better future, or in a trendy word, a sustainable one.

Linked to this consideration is the issue of the temporal aspect of research in the humanities, that is time needed for developing new paths and discoveries in the Humanities. When speaking about the Humanities, the big difference is to remember that they merely live with the long-term or the middle-term mentality and that this affects at a large scale the achievement of new progresses in the disciplines. The time is definitively different if you deal with Humanities and with Hard Sciences. This aspect

should be regularly mentioned and underlined, if we do not want to strengthen an actual already consolidated discrimination.

In fact, it is well known that these long-term research projects often do not attract funding, an element which is indispensable for the Hard Sciences, but equally so for the Humanities.

This pre-eminence of the scientific disciplines weighs heavily in the design of the various European funding opportunities for research.

Here a follow-up to the conference on the Humanities could bring an important added value to the thematic objectives we hope to attempt.

The sponsorship and funding of medium- and long-term research offered by the IAU is an action that is indeed counter-cultural, but extremely meritorious.

2. The main objective of the EHC was to draw the attention of Public and Political Institutions, Academia etc. to the centrality of the Human Sciences in the soul and life of peoples.

The Humanities are frequently considered to be of little use and people are not aware of how much they permeate one's life: we must help everyone to recognize this internal value; we need to ensure that people perceive the importance of what they have inside and make them grow socially and culturally.

At this point, it is also important to emphasize the contribution that the Humanities can make to the education of the young and, even more so, of the very young; actually, we must not forget the fertile ground that can be found in primary schools and the subliminal driving function that the very young have: just think of the involvement of parents in their children's activities.

Institutions should start programs in Humanities involving concretely people, instead of primarily pursuing the scientific field, rather than enhancing both looking at the contribution all give to a better life through different tools. Should we remember that the role of University in education at critical thinking through every discipline is fundamental, although relying on individual behavior? How can we "redirect" the closed-mindedness of some Academics towards the necessary open-mindedness? "This is the problem".

One issue that keeps open is that funding often seems to be directed more towards scientific research than towards humanistic research, as mentioned above.

3. An important addition to point 2 is the employment in today's society of young people trained in the humanities. For several years now we have witnessed an at least unfavourable attitude on the part of the political Institutions in many Countries.

It is essential to draw attention to the urgency of protecting the young generation of researchers in the Humanities, even though it is true that whatever disciplines are involved, universities and laboratories produce a considerable fair number of highly qualified scholars who find it extremely difficult to finally put into practice what they have learned to do over the years! Special attention should be paid to this army of young scholars who year after year come out of universities, ready and eager, stimulated by their teachers, determined by the results of their training and fully equipped to scale the difficulties of discovery. Market reality quickly slaps them in the face...!

European Authorities should pay deep and strong attention to the waste of qualifications and the dispersion of knowledge. They should be more imaginative and creative in building a stimulating network for qualified young researchers. In this sense again a follow-up on the humanities should focus primarily on this lack of perspective: no field can be nurtured and enriched without the permanent contribution of the younger generation.

Here too, the IAU has tried to make a contribution by establishing a prize for young researchers; it may be a drop in the ocean, but it is a signal given to the world of research on humanities and social sciences.

In conclusion, we have to say that the support for the Lisbon Declaration, already given by many Institutions, shows a progressing change in awareness of the value of Humanities, and we do hope that a real cultural operation has been launched that will lead to a profound structural change in our globalized society in the not too distant future.

HERA:

Wojciech Sowa and Charles Giry-Deloison

Resp. Chair and Vice-Chair of the Humanities in the European Research Area Network

Reflecting on the Humanities in Today's Society - A Perspective from HERA

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine by its neighbour on the 24th of February 2022, and the on-going war waged by that autocratic state since then, has brought to the forefront the core importance of the Humanities for our society. It is a very sad admission that we need such an overt, unfounded and unprovoked brutal aggression on a free democratic and peaceful European nation to rediscover that only the Humanities build the in-depth knowledge, create the methodologies, enable the critical approach and give the intellectual tools to understand and to analyse the past and present activities of human societies. Without disciplines and research fields such as history, linguistics, literature, religious studies, philosophy – just to name the most obvious — how could we fully comprehend the origins of this deadly crisis and put it into its historical and cultural context? One of the major lessons the Humanities teach is that only the clear understanding of a crisis enables us to respond to it. Undoubtedly this 'sad admission' applies also to all other similar situations throughout the world, but it is a fact that human beings tend to be only concerned by and react to events that touch them directly and/or happen on their doorstep.

The Humanities are concerned with what makes and characterizes the human being (values, beliefs, imagination, creativity)

and their essence is to be rooted in and to maintain a perpetual back and forth movement, always engaging the present (and the future) in the light of the past that they constantly scrutinise. In that respect, the Humanities are at the core of any reflective society and the latter needs to continually advocate their importance (and not only individual disciplines) and the role they can and do play in any question concerning human beings and their existence. In our increasingly complex and integrated societies this is an ongoing challenge as, in many cases, the impact of the Humanities is taken for granted and, therefore, these are seldom called upon to help understand and explain a problem. One must also acknowledge the fact that the Humanities are not always able to provide a concrete solution to a problem; rather they provide a broad context of deep understanding of it. There is also the fundamental question of the unique political and cultural role of the Humanities, which goes beyond the realm of research and science, and which profoundly shapes society: to create and preserve but also to look critically at the culture, the identity and the tangible and intangible heritage of a society (language, values, norms, etc.), in other words, the sense of identity, be it local, regional, national or community-based. In some respect the current war at the heart of Europe has raised the difficult question of the existence – or not – of a core set of European shared democratic values which would define European nations (or contribute to), and has forced politicians and citizens to reflect on what our society is. It is when society is confronted with so complex and vital issues that the Humanities demonstrate all their usefulness.

When analysing the role of the Humanities, it is important to have in mind that the word 'humanities' has different meanings and connotations across Europe (and, of course, outside Europe), reflecting the different national cultures, traditions and educational structures. Broadly defined, "Humanities" include those disciplines that focus on the dynamics and legacies of human culture and history. Traditionally this includes (but is not limited to) literary studies, linguistics, history, philosophy, archaeology,

anthropology, comparative religion, art history, heritage studies, musicology, ethnology, film studies, media studies and digital humanities. It sometimes also includes the interpretative research dimension of sociology, economics, geography, psychology and law, that overlap with the social sciences, particularly in cases where such disciplines employ Humanities methodologies. Equally, the Humanities may comprise the humanistic dimensions of science, from mathematics to geology. Methodologically, the Humanities are defined by their continual (re-)interpretation of historical evidence and data, as well as by their investigation of contemporary cultural phenomena and production of new data. They pay particular attention to the effects of ideas, language and culture on human understanding and behaviour. They scrutinise the epistemological and ideological assumptions that underpin the dynamics and conditions of knowledge itself. They analyse the nature and forms of creativity and cultural practice. Thus, the Humanities make vital contributions to the investigation of the most fundamental human and societal challenges, including cultural dynamics, the human aspects of the environmental change, technological development, health, migration, threats to democracy, the individual *v.* the group, diversity *v.* uniformity – and more –, by providing insight into their reasons and, also, into individual and collective responses to them.

Another important point is that Humanities research has a crucial role to play in creating a society that is enlivened by the blossoming of ideas and creativity, that enjoys respectful debate, that promotes critical thinking and that believes that innovation of any sort only comes through the discovery and thoughtful evaluation of alternatives. Creativy is, by essence, a central concept in the vocabulary of the Humanities. Implicitly or explicitly, it informs our values and our critical discourses but, at the same time, likening the Humanities to a source of or a panacea for creativity and innovation always carries the risk that Humanities research is understood as not being conducted 'for its own sake' but as part of an agenda of social improvement and economic

impact. This is an important issue, especially because the notion of 'creativity' has come to be absorbed almost naturally into a new formula, 'creativity and innovation', often branded as a key driver of the economy. Creativity and innovation is seen as a force central to progress and development to be harnessed into the service of economic growth. This centrality of creativity and innovation offers Humanities research the opportunity for real interdisciplinary engagement with the ways in which creativity is being revalued by science, technology and the wider economy though, at the same time, one must be mindful of any instrumentalisation of the values of creativity.

Today, the Humanities are confronted with the expectation that they can meet the challenges of the modern world (climate change and environment constraints, pandemics, threats to democracy, war…) by providing the society with the knowledge of how to find one's way through rapidly changing conditions of everyday life, how to remain human in a more and more demanding world and how to protect and engage with cultural heritage to understand its influence in shaping our identity in individual, local, national and global contexts. The Humanities are therefore expected to keep up with and comment on rapid socio-cultural changes from a scientific perspective. However, they cannot focus solely on current problems: the local and global dynamics of the cultural and social changes that mark so profoundly our societies are the results of complex historical processes at different levels. Therefore, the overarching goal of the Humanities is to understand the tension between the local and the global and between the past and the present (i.e. reconciling heritage with globalisation and modernisation). However, one of most important research challenges facing what is now often termed 'the global Humanities' is the preservation of their diversity, which is rooted in many different languages and cultures linked by complex networks of relations. Protecting cultural diversity is thus a crucial task for the Humanities – global or not.

Another set of challenges stems from the policies pursued by some countries in and outside Europe which have led to a form of marginalisation of the Humanities – or at least of some of the disciplines constitutive of them. To this must be added the economic consequences of the COVID pandemic and of the war in Ukraine, which have and are mobilizing the economies of all European democracies, potentially putting at risk the funding of Humanities research at the level that is required by our complex societies, as such research may not be considered a top priority.

Also affecting the Humanities are the growing tensions between the autonomy of Humanities research and the expectations of non-academic spheres, between the needs and traditions of research carried out by the different disciplines of the Humanities and political agendas where the requirements of the economy call for cost-effective applied research (and teaching), and between the different ways in which research is organized and carried out in the Humanities and the tendencies for unification in order to cut costs.

For its part, HERA, the Humanities in the European Research Area network of 25 European counties and 26 funding agencies, strongly believes that the Humanities play a core role in the current world and acknowledges that they have a political impact on society. HERA advocates that the fundamental question to address is not whether society (still) needs the Humanities but what do the Humanities bring to society in the medium to long term and, consequently, what kind of Humanities society does need. HERA also believes that the strength and the universal significance of the Humanities lie in the fact that they are 'good' in themselves and that they teach and empower people to pursue their truths by 'standing on the shoulders of giants'. HERA promotes the view that the main goal of the Humanities is the transformation of the social imaginary by making explicit the multitude of vocabularies used to describe human experiences. As no vocabulary naturally prevails over another, the Humanities should be understood not as a cluster of academic disciplines and fields of research but as

a disposition of mind and a methodology of research in which critical thinking prevails over accumulation of knowledge. In that respect, HERA favours an approach by which Humanities research plays a vital role in building relationships among a wide range of societal stakeholders, from citizens to policy makers, from industries to creative practitioners, and anchors creativity and innovation in questions of value, imagination and ethics, thus emphasizing the autonomy of the Humanities.

In that understanding of what the Humanities stand for, over the last ten years, HERA has funded 75 transnational transdisciplinary Humanities-focused projects that have addressed broad themes at the cutting edge of Humanities research, from inheritance and identity to creativity and innovation, from the uses of the past to public spaces as means and vectors of cultural integration in Europe.

Introduction

Luiz Oosterbeek

President of CIPSH
UNESCO Chairholder Humanities and Cultural Integrated
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Following the resolution of World Humanities Conference in Liege in 2017, and good examples of regional humanities conferences such as the South America Conference in Brazil which concluded with the signing of an agreement with the consortium of universities in the region, the European Humanities Conference (EHC) took place in Lisbon, Portugal on May 4-7, 2021, under the exciting and ambitious theme of "European Humanities and Beyond."

The conference focused on the four critical themes of **(1)** Multidisciplinary Dynamics; **(2)** Heritage, Mobility and Identities; **(3)** Influence and Impact of Humanities in Society; **(4)** The Humanities in the 21st century. Renowned international speakers addressed the occasion with plenary lectures, and academic panels followed suit. In addition, preparatory sessions on such questions as "the autonomy, resilience and sustainability of the Humanities", or "the Future of Humanities" were organized prior to usher in the May gathering. A Youth forum took place on May 4 to foresee the prospect of humanities development in different places.

Some five centuries ago, the Portuguese poet Camões wrote, in the dawn of Modernity, "*Times change, wills change / Being changes, trust changes / The whole world is composed by change / Always attaining new qualities*".

Times of fear, like those triggered by the terrific experience of dealing with two world wars and pandemic in one lifetime, a life of war and disease as in the first half of the 20th century, or in the dusk of Pericles century, may certainly trigger the anxiety for short term solutions, the search for undisputed beliefs or the false dichotomy between the design of convergent foresight

possibilities rooted in diversity of understandings and the need to find tools to meet those possibilities.

Modernity and enlightenment in Europe, despite all their contradictions, opened the path for accommodating the dialectic balance between a diversity that refuses totalitarian solutions and a convergence that seats on the understanding that all humans are humane, thus rejecting as emotionally and intellectually unacceptable any type of group segregation. One may call it a set of attempts to promote peace and well-being, pushing for a reflection that led to condemn slavery, racism, women abuse, repression of speech and so forth.

The history of European Humanities is not deprived of difficulties, mistakes, even crimes. But the basic framework designed through what we call today the Humanities emerged in Europe and allowed to build better conditions of live. And behind all academic reflection, may we call it Science or Humanities, is the happiness to discover new things that will bring …happiness, this strange and diverse feeling, perceived so differently according to the trajectory of human groups' cultures and individual itineraries. A feeling that often is accomplished through the unique human capacity to make tools, to reflect on them and, occasionally, to be subsumed by them.

European Humanities also stressed, from their onset, their own diversity, well expressed by grounding them in concepts that are closer to peoples' performances, such as *Humanities*, but also to the intellectual plasticity of philosophical reflexions, with *Geiteswissenshaften*, or to the search for solutions, with *Sciences Humaines*. Curiously, this cultural diversity and complementarity of the various understandings of the Humanities, would also be aknowledged to in the domain of political economy by Marx (reading those traditions as the labourist, philosophical and social roots of his own thought).

But, possibly, a main contribution of the Humanities is the call for always looking beyond simplified appearances, as when the Illiad evidences that even an hero, like Aquiles, is capable of the worst of

actions, as in relation to Hector. The difficulty to deal with death, and even its neglect in the context of war, as Homer evidenced, or of pandemic, as the Portuguese writer and philosopher Virgílio Ferreira questioned, is a recurrent indicator of a cultural weakness, an incapacity to look ahead and face uncertainty.

This is not about curiosities of the past, about sharing narratives, or about mere tales, but an attempt to understand and anticipate human behavioural patterns, which fall within historical, anthropological and textual analysis, sharing with other fields of academic research one same core: the method. Humanities are not only about raising questions, but they also help co-structuring responses, through a methodological cluster.

Sophocles illustrated, in a very sharp manner, how dealing with the past and with the dead seats at the heart of the values of well-being, of purpose and of foresight. We have seen it once again, during the current pandemic, in which defence of life became, to the vast majority of citizens, a reorganizer of debates and of foresight.

This Conference occured in a context of aggravation of the indicators of global transformations that are present for some decades now, having been accelerated by the post 2008 financial disruption and leading to what some characterise, and I would agree, as a new long-cycle depression, like those experienced between 1873 and 1896 and from 1929 till 1946. And, just as in the aftermath of WWI, the pandemic is imposing a global reflection on how the future is to be perceived: as the retrieval of the recent past, as a rehearsal of technical green transformations, or as a leap into an uncertain future that requires new utopia? The Humanities are not a totalitarian programme that will impose any of these views, but they are the ground to understand what is in stake, for societies to be able to make enlightened choices.

In this sense, Humanities bring into the anxiety of the short term the arguments of the mid and long term, allowing to change the time and space scales of reasoning, beyond the brief electoral cycles and the national limits of existing frontiers, allowing to

move from the despair of running from one problem into the next, towards a shared understanding of dilemmas.

This is why the Humanities, and their irreplaceable sources, archaeological sites, archives, museums and libraries, and the arts and sciences, are the fundamental basis of human flourishing, as long as their accessibility to all is preserved.

The International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences has initiated a series of projects that intend to contribute to resuming the place of the Humanities in the functioning of societies. The establishment of CIPSH academic chairs, the preparation of the World Humanities Report in the various continents, the Global History of Humankind, the World Logic Day with UNESCO, or the new projects in preparation on Humanities and Technology and on Health Humanities, are part of such a contribution. It is in the same spirit that CIPSH endorsed the Jena declaration, to be launched in late May, on *Humanities and Social Sciences for Sustainability,* and has initiated with UNESCO and Humanities for the Environment the establishing of *BRIDGES*, a new Humanities led coalition for a new understanding of the required steps in the domain of site and human-based sustainability.

This conference preparation counted with all the 21 international academic federations that were members of CIPSH at the time (a 22nd having joined since), with the over ten academic CIPSH and UNESCO chairs established within the CIPSH programme, which engage almost 200 leading higher education institutions and hundreds of individual contributions, namely through forums of debate, videos on exhibition and five pre-conference events (on global ethics, migrations, heritage, human rights in the information society, and the future of universities, besides the youth forum yesterday).

The debates in the coming three days started the 5th of May, the International day of Portuguese Language, with the acknowledgement of language diversity as a major component of human flexibility and will help to detail, for Europe, the general guidelines

approved in 2017 during the World Humanities Conference, and certainly kept the approach to look beyond European borders. The Lisbon Declaration is in this line.

On behalf of CIPSH, I wish to thank so many that contributed for this avenue. First, Adama Samassekou, President of the World Humanities Conference and of the Academy of African Languages, and former President of CIPSH, who proposed to start this process, over 10 years ago. Of course, we would not have a debate like this if intensive research and education efforts had not been pursued for decades, and we must thank many that accepted to support, give advice and kept offering major reflexions, namely Edgar Morin, Henry de Lumley and Emmanuel Anati, from the Honours Committee.

The Conference was in debt to the Executive Committee and the board of CIPSH, namely its secretary-general Hsiung Ping-chen, to a large number of higher education and research institutions across Europe, but also in China, the United States, Africa and South America. The most relevant work was performed by a very generous team of colleagues who accepted to make their contributions and help shaping the programme, as part of the scientific committee and of the various sessions, with the enthusiastic, friendly and intellectually bright coordination of Rosi Braidotti and Henrique Leitão.

The partnerships established with various institutions offered to the conference a geographical and cultural fundamental context, namely through the Gulbenkian Foundation (which allowed us to build a more humane and tangible experience, in a wonderful home of the humanities and the arts in Lisbon) and Humanities, Arts and Society (thanks to Margalit Berriet and the Mémoire de l'Avenir team).

Portugal embraced this project from the very beginning, having been active in the preparation of the World Humanities Conference, in 2017, and accepting to host the European Humanities Conference, now. The very good and close collaboration with UNESCO and FCT would not be possible if we had not found the strong vision

and commitment of Helena Pereira and José Paulo Esperança, President and Vice-President of FCT, of Gabriela Ramos, ADG of UNESCO for Human and Social Sciences, and the collaboration of a very dedicated team: José Amaral Lopes, Camille Guinet, Sara Garcês, Luís Ferreira, David Marçal, Georgia Sagum, Rosa Nico, Pedro Areias and José Andrade). Last but certainly not least, this is the outcome of the vision and perseverance shared, since the end of the World Humanities Conference, with John Crowley and Rosário Costa. Certainly, the personal engagement of the then Minister Manuel Heitor, namely in the preparation of the Lisbon Declaration, was crucial for the success of the Conference.

So, where do we stand?

The better words to express a vision for the Humanities in and beyond Europe came to me reading the poet Mia Couto, from Mozambique:

> *Existo onde me desconheço / aguardando pelo meu passado / ansiando a esperança do futuro. / / No mundo que combato morro / no mundo por que luto nasço.*
> *I exist where I know myself not / awaiting for my past / yearning the hope of the future. // In the world I fight I die / in the world I fight for I birth.*

Although due to the pandemic worldwide, the European Humanities Conference was forced to go mostly online, significant participation, ample dialogue, and positive outcomes from this scholarly exercise were still fruitful and engaging.

As an academic partner, CIPSH took this opportunity to share results of its ongoing projects, such as the European section of World Humanities Report in conversation with those from other regions, the latest developments of the Global History of Humanities and the establishments of UNESCO and CIPSH Chairs in Humanities. It also explored ways to launch new initiatives such as Health Humanities, Technology and Humanities.

The conference had five main objectives: 1) to detail for Europe the priorities to for the Humanities, following the recommendations of the World Humanities Conference; 2) to establish a clear multidisciplinary framework, open to all dimensions of knowledge and action, but clearly anchored on the specificity of the Humanities; 3) to achieve a widely European and beyond representativity; 4) to provide space for autonomous reflection and proposals of young researchers; 5) to build a convergence with public and non-academic institutions.

The Conference achieved these objectives.

It engaged 112 speakers (59 women and 53 men), from 23 European countries (but, also, North and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania). Out of these, 20% are historians, 20% from literary studies, 14% anthropologists and archaeologists, 14% from other humanities and 36% from other sciences.

The Conference allowed to cover, through 6 round tables, 10 special sessions and 3 main public lectures, covering a range of important research themes, both on strategic approaches (like multidisciplinary research or on traditional and new humanities) and contemporary concerns (like migrations, health or technology) and projects (like Bridges and the Global History of Humankind).

The younger researchers pursued their autonomous activity, while participating in the conference as a whole, and have presented their own reflections, which are part of this volume. While registering a strong convergence of purposes, CIPSH also welcomes their specificity and foresight, as well as their intention to pursue their networking that was initiated for the Conference.

Indeed, despite the online mode, this conference has allowed to establish new connections, to deepen details of several projects and identify several suggestions for new Humanities research projects. It brought together different intellectual and epistemological approaches, demonstrating that Humanities research is not a monolithic or totalitarian project, but a robust and open transformative academic framework.

While engaging all the members of CIPSH, 80 of the speakers were connected to various thematic or regional networks of universities and scholars, together establishing a basis for a robust convergence for future steps to follow. This convergence is expressed in the *Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation*, prepared by CIPSH, UNESCO, FCT and the Portuguese *Ministry for Research, Technology and Higher Education*.

Building from the various debates, an outcome document was also approved. Beyond the Lisbon declaration, it further identifies a series of recommendations, calling on EU member states, the European Commission, all education, research and innovation related institutions and the community of researchers and scholars, to: 1) Endorse the Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation; 2) Promote a stronger interaction of the humanities and sciences at all levels of education, overcoming divides that endanger science and the understanding of phenomena and processes.

The document then calls specifically on higher education institutions, research centres and similar scholarly bodies to: 3) Recognise that the Humanities are a core component of higher education historical and current impacts on the promotion of well-being and shared humanistic values, thus requiring adequate continuous research and education practices; 4) Recognise that without basic data and disciplinary fundamental research it will not be possible to pursue high quality interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary studies, which implies to take decisive action to preserve knowledge in currently threatened domains, such as the study of ancient languages or the open rendering of data on ancient material and textual documents, as well as the specific disciplinary developments of the various disciplines and sub-disciplines of the Humanities, such as history, anthropology, literature, archaeology, linguistics, philosophy and the various approaches of the new humanities; 5) Engage in current major societal debates, such as on heritage, inclusion, identity, history and memories, migrations, or global sustainability, through the diverse, robust and open approach of the Humanities and Sciences, anchored in

research methodologies, countering any form of simplification; 6) Contribute for language diversity and multilingualism , namely by promoting the publication of academic results in more than one language, countering the conceptual simplification imposed by the use of a restricted range of languages; 7) Foster close collaboration between history, philosophy and sociology of science and technology and sciences, for better understanding of the conditions of science advances, for meaningful addressing of problems and dilemmas, as well as for a stronger societal appreciation of the relevance of academic knowledge; 8) Embrace the contributions of the Humanities to face major contemporary challenges, namely in the domains of the implications of technological advancements, of the relations between health and well-being or of facing different forms of identities segregation.

Specifically on foundations, councils, sponsors and other funding bodies, both at a national and European level, the document asks to: 9) Acknowledge the autonomy of the Humanities domains of research and their irreplaceable contribution for expanding the scales of approach to societal processes, in time and space, thus allowing for the assessment of dilemma, for the understanding of meanings and for foresight; 10) Pay special attention to the threats imposed on fundamental Humanities research related to its sources of data – artefacts, texts and oral records – as well as to the new domains of Humanities research and their specific contribution for current societal concerns; 11) Help securing the generational renewal of Humanities experts, thus contributing for the preservation and transmission of knowledge and for the continuity and expansion of careers for younger scholars.

Finally, the document calls on EU member states and the European Commission to: 12) Implement the Declaration of Lisbon on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation; 13) Take responsibility on the preservation of material, textual and performative inherited knowledge expressions, including museums, libraries, archives, sites and monuments, integrating them with research and education and articulating all with the global

societal challenges in terms of co-designing transformative strategies for well-being and a humanistic understanding of sustainability; 14) Acknowledge the importance of a greater interaction between Humanities and Sciences at all levels of education, preparing future generations of citizens to better understand their complementarity; 15) Acknowledge the irreplaceable role of the Humanities to help building a critical understanding of complex societal phenomena and the importance of diversity and plurality for the design of sustainable collective strategies; 16) Recognise the relevance of the Humanities in all domains of human life, namely in the organisation of its economic and social drivers, from tourism and food production, to logistics, health or territorial management; 17) Foster the liberty and the material conditions for mobility of researchers and students across countries and institutions, building a stronger community of knowledge and its sharing and interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary interactions; 18) Promote policies on the open access to data and academic studies results, in a context of preservation of the contributions of researchers and of development of professional careers, particularly for young researchers, that may secure the continuity and social impact of their contributions.

The current volume has three parts.

First, it transcribes the three final documents of the Conference: the Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation; the Outcome document; and the Report of the Youth Forum on the Future of the Humanities.

The following three parts include contributions on the perspectives for the Humanities in the 21st century (part 1), on the influence and impact of the Humanities today (part 2) and on a core concern of current times: migrations and diversity.

The reader will find some recommendations and, above all, an invitation to reflect and not to take any issues without a critical judgment approach.

Approved Declarations

Lisbon declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation

Open to be signed by citizens and institutions as a result of the European Humanities Conference 2021, Lisbon, 7th May 2021

The undersigned,

Reaffirming the conclusion of the 2017 World Humanities Conference, convened jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH), that the humanities have an essential role to play in equipping societies to make sense of the contemporary challenges they face and enabling governments and other policy-makers and social actors to respond to them;

Stressing that the unique value of the humanities depends on the diversity of their concepts, methods, traditions and experiences and on their productive relationship with the social and natural sciences, including through innovative forms of transdisciplinarity;

Emphasizing, among the challenges on which the humanities can shed light, the priority importance of the Covid-19 pandemic and its multiple effects on inequalities, inclusion and well-being; radicalism and extremism; digital transformations and their ethical implications; and imagining and creating new ways of inhabiting the Earth and relating to one another;

Suggesting that such challenges cluster around the overarching importance of interpreting and reinterpreting what it means to be human in the face of a world in transformation;

Noting recent initiatives taken on these lines by UNESCO, including in particular the BRIDGES sustainability humanities action coalition within the Management of Social Transformations

programme and the preparation of the Recommendation on the Ethics of Artificial Intelligence; by the European Union, in particular the strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training; by national governments and agencies, including the preparation of the **European Humanities Conference** by UNESCO, CIPSH and the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT); and by CIPSH and Humanities research units, in particular the Global History of Humankind and the World Humanities Report;

Expressing concern that the humanities often lack, in higher education and research systems, the resources and recognition necessary for their full potential to be captured;

Underscoring that their contribution to policy making can be enhanced substantially, as they shed light on different human interactions and contexts and help improving decision making.

Welcoming the outcomes of the European Humanities Conference, which brought together in Lisbon, from 5 to 7 May, humanities stakeholders from Europe, and beyond, to explore shared intellectual and institutional challenges and propose practical responses to them;

The signatories hereunder,

1. *Invite* humanities scholars to mobilize their institutions and relevant stakeholders to guarantee that every single youngster throughout Europe has open access to humanities research, education and innovation by 2025, contributing effectively to increase humanities literacy throughout all European regions.

2. *Encourage* humanities scholars to engage actively in research, education and innovation activities under "open science principles" and in close collaboration with activities throughout different disciplines, as well as

policy-level discussion, contributing to new modes of knowledge production and diffusion, together with innovative concepts and understandings of evidence.

3. *Request* education leaders and higher education institutions to ensure that, from primary through all levels of education, including doctorate levels, integrate, transversally, course units on humanities and sciences interaction, strengthening the value of universal knowledge for addressing societal challenges.

4. *Request* research and higher education institutions and employers to actively promote mobility of students and researchers in the humanities, across geographic borders and disciplinary fields.

5. *Further request* higher education and research institutions to reach out to a wide range of stakeholders, through education, research and innovation initiatives aimed at sustainable innovation, co-designed with local communities, building from the humanities and their interaction with sciences and techniques.

6. *Undertake* to strengthen support for the humanities autonomy through existing funding mechanisms as well as innovative forms of financing.

7. *Invite* UNESCO, together with the institutions of the European Union, to seek appropriate modalities to bring together governments at Ministerial level, both in Europe and beyond, to further promote humanities research, education and innovation and to help designing corresponding policy actions.

Lisbon, 7th of May 2021

The undersigned endorse the Lisbon Declaration on the Humanities, Open Research and Innovation,

Ministry of Science, Technology and
Higher Education of the
Portuguese Republic

Ministry of Education, Science and
Sport of the Republic of Slovenia

United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization – Mana-
gement of Social Transformations
(UNESCO-MOST)

International Council for Philosophy
and Human Sciences (CIPSH)

Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia
— Portuguese Foundation for Science
and Technology (FCT)

International Science Council (ISC)

Science Europe

HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area)

International Union of Academies (UAI)

European Consortium of Humanities Institutes and Centers (ECHIC)

European Alliance for Social Sciences and Humanities (EASSH)

Fédération Internationale des Études Classiques (FIEC)

International Association for Aesthetics (IAA)

International Association for Humanities and Cultural Integrated Landscape Management (APHELEIA)

International Association for Promoting Geoethics (IAPG)

International Council of Historical Sciences (CISH)

International Geographic Union (IGU)

International Union of History and Philosophy of Science and Technology/Division of History of Science and Technology (IUHPST/DHST)
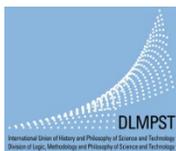
International Union of History and
Philosophy of Science and Technology/
Div. of Logics, Meth. and Philosophy
of Science and Technology (IUHPST/
DLMPST)

International Union of Prehistoric
and Protohistoric Sciences (UISPP)

Permanent International Committee
of Linguists (CIPL)

MAAYA, Réseau mondial pour la
diversité linguistique

Fédération Internationale des Langues
et Littératures Modernes

World Philology Union

Asian New Humanities Network
(ANHN)

Centre International des Sciences de
l'Homme, Byblos

Global University Network for innova-
tion (GUNI)

HERITY International

CLUB OF ROME — EMERGING NEW CIVILIZATION(S) INITIATIVE (ENCI)

EÖTVÖS LORÁND RESEARCH NETWORK (ELKH)

SWEDISH RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN ISTANBUL

ASSOCIAÇÃO PORTUGUESA DE ESTUDOS CLÁSSICOS (APEC)

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION, UNITED KINGDOM

CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL PLUTARCH SOCIETY (IPS)

LITHUANIAN ASSOCIATION OF CLASSICISTS

POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR ANCIENT STUDIES

RED ESPAÑOLA DE FILOSOFÍA

RESEARCH COUNCIL OF NORWAY

SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA DE ESTUDIOS CLÁSICOS

SOCIETAT CATALANA D'ESTUDIS CLÀSSICS

SPANISH SOCIETY OF LINGUISTICS

SWEDISH CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE (ACL)

INSTITUTO POLITÉCNICO DE TOMAR

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF ARTS, BUCHAREST

NOVA UNIVERSITY, LISBON

SAPIENZA, UNIVERSITÁ DI ROMA

UNIVERSIDADE ABERTA

UNIVERSIDADE DA BEIRA INTERIOR

UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA MARIA, BRAZIL

UNIVERSITY OF LIÈGE

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

UNIVERSITY OF MACERATA

UNIVERSITY OF NICOSIA

FACULTY OF ARTS AND LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BEIRA INTERIOR

ASOCIACIÓN MURCIANA DE PROFESORES DE LATÍN Y GRIEGO

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

CENTRE FOR ENGLISH, TRANSLATION, AND ANGLO-PORTUGUESE STUDIES, LISBON

CENTRE FOR HUMANISTIC STUDIES / CENTRO DE ESTUDOS HUMANÍSTICOS (CEHUM) DA UNIVERSIDADE DO MINHO

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS CLÁSSICOS E HUMANÍSTICOS (CECH) DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

CENTRO DE FILOSOFIA DAS CIÊNCIAS DA UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

CENTRO DE GEOCIÊNCIAS DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA CENTRO DE HUMANIDADES / CHAM — CENTRE FOR THE HUMANITIES, NOVA FCSH-UAC

ESCOLA DE LETRAS, ARTES E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS (ELACH) DA UNIVERSIDADE DO MINHO

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INSTITUTO DE SALUD CARLOS III (INSTITUTE OF HEALTH CARLOS III)

INSTITUTO TERRA E MEMÓRIA

INTERDISCIPLINARY CENTER FOR ARCHAEOLOGY AND EVOLUTION OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR (ICAREHB), UNIVERSIDADE DO ALGARVE

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MARGALIT BERRIET
Mémoire de l'Avenir

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Professor, CEO of the Research Council of Norway

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Professor Emerita of Philosophy of Science, Alma Mater Studiorum - University of Bologna

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Outcome document

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN HUMANITIES CONFERENCE,
Lisbon, 7 May 2021

We, the participants in the European Humanities Conference held in Lisbon, Portugal, from 5 to 7 May 2021, following several months of debates, exchange of proposals and preparatory meeting, gathering together to engage in interdisciplinary dialogues to establish a new agenda for the European Humanities;

Commending the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH) and the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) for their joint organization of the Conference;

Building on the long tradition of the Humanities in Europe, their diversity and inspiring reflexions, proposals and interaction with peoples' performances, leading to fostering better conditions of live;

Reaffirming the conclusion of the 2017 World Humanities Conference, convened jointly by UNESCO and CIPSH, that the humanities have an essential role to play in equipping societies to make sense of the contemporary challenges they face and enabling governments and other policy-makers and social actors to respond to them;

Considering the contributions of the regional Humanities Conferences organised in other continents;

Stressing that the unique value of the humanities relates to various dimensions, from their relevance in the identity and inner self of individuals to their relevance in overcoming any form of cultural discrimination, and that the diversity of their concepts, methods, traditions and experiences and on their productive

relationship with the social and natural sciences, including through innovative forms of transdisciplinarity;

Recognising that the Humanities have a productive capacity for transformation of their own institutions and academic mindset that is unparalleled, including the ability to redefine their conceptions of humanity and the human actor; the ability for interdisciplinary cooperation, thus filling a human vacuum within technocratically dominated (world) social processes; and the ability for intercultural cooperation, thus overcoming centrisms of all kinds;

Emphasizing, among the challenges on which the humanities can shed light, the priority importance of the Covid-19 pandemic and its multiple effects on inequalities, inclusion and well-being; radicalism and extremism; digital transformations and their ethical implications; and imagining and creating new ways of inhabiting the Earth and relating to one another;

Suggesting that such challenges cluster around the overarching importance of interpreting and reinterpreting what it means to be human in the face of a world in transformation;

Noting recent initiatives taken on these lines by UNESCO, including in particular the BRIDGES sustainability humanities action coalition within the Management of Social Transformations programme and the preparation of the Recommendation of Ethics of Artificial Intelligence; by the European Union, in particular the strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training; by national governments and agencies, including the preparation of the European Humanities Conference by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology; and by CIPSH and Humanities research units, in particular the Global History of Humankind and the World Humanities Report;

Expressing concern that the humanities often lack, in higher education and research systems, the resources and recognition necessary for their full potential to be captured;

Underscoring that their contribution to policy making can be enhanced substantially, as they shed light on different human interactions and contexts and help improving decision making.

Welcoming the outcomes of the European Humanities Conference, which brought together in Lisbon, from 5 to 7 May, humanities stakeholders from Europe, and beyond, to explore shared intellectual and institutional challenges and propose practical responses to them,

The European Humanities Conference,

1. Call on EU member states, the European Commission, all education, research and innovation related institutions and the community of researchers and scholars, to:

> — Endorse the Lisbon Declaration on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation.
> — Promote a stronger interaction of the humanities and sciences at all levels of education, overcoming divides that endanger science and the understanding of phenomena and processes.

2. Call specifically on higher education institutions, research centres and similar scholarly bodies to:

> — Recognise that the Humanities are a core component of higher education historical and current impacts on the promotion of well-being and shared humanistic values, thus requiring adequate continuous research and education practices.
> — Recognise that without basic data and disciplinary fundamental research it will not be possible to pursue high quality interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary studies, which implies to take decisive action to preserve knowledge in currently threatened domains, such as the study of ancient languages or the

open rendering of data on ancient material and textual documents, as well as the specific disciplinary developments of the various disciplines and sub-disciplines of the Humanities, such as history, anthropology, literature, archaeology, linguistics, philosophy and the various approaches of the new humanities.

— Engage in current major societal debates, such as on heritage, inclusion, identity, history and memories, migrations, or global sustainability, through the diverse, robust and open approach of the Humanities and Sciences, anchored in research methodologies, countering any form of simplification.

— Contribute for language diversity and multilingualism , namely by promoting the publication of academic results in more than one language, countering the conceptual simplification imposed by the use of a restricted range of languages.

— Foster close collaboration between history, philosophy and sociology of science and technology and sciences, for better understanding of the conditions of science advances, for meaningful addressing of problems and dilemmas, as well as for a stronger societal appreciation of the relevance of academic knowledge.

— Acknowledge that the association between Humanities and Arts strengthens the multidisciplinary cooperation across various fields of knowledge, as part of the process of enhancing creativity and imagining new futures.

— Embrace the contributions of the Humanities to face major contemporary challenges, namely in the domains of the implications of

technological advancements, of the relations between health and well being or of facing different forms of identities segregation.

3. Call on foundations, councils, sponsors and other funding bodies, both at a national and European level to:

> — Acknowledge the autonomy of the Humanities domains of research and their irreplaceable contribution for expanding the scales of approach to societal processes, in time and space, thus allowing for the assessment of dilemma, for the understanding of meanings and for foresight.
> — Pay special attention to the threats imposed on fundamental Humanities research related to its sources of data – artefacts, texts and oral records – as well as to the new domains of Humanities research and their specific contribution for current societal concerns.
> — Help securing the generational renewal of Humanities experts, thus contributing for the preservation and transmission of knowledge and for the continuity and expansion of careers for younger scholars.

4. Call on EU member states and the European Commission to:

> — Implement the Declaration of Lisbon on Humanities, Open Research and Innovation.
> — Take responsibility on the preservation of material, textual and performative inherited knowledge expressions, including museums, libraries, archives, sites and monuments, integrating them with research and education and

articulating all with the global societal challenges in terms of co-designing transformative strategies for well-being and a humanistic understanding of sustainability.

— Acknowledge the importance of a greater interaction between Humanities and Sciences at all levels of education, preparing future generations of citizens to better understand their complementarity.

— Acknowledge the irreplaceable role of the Humanities to help building a critical understanding of complex societal phenomena and the importance of diversity and plurality for the design of sustainable collective strategies.

— Recognise the relevance of the Humanities in all domains of human life, namely in the organisation of its economic and social drivers, from tourism and food production, to logistics, health or territorial management.

— Foster the liberty and the material conditions for mobility of researchers and students across countries and institutions, building a stronger community of knowledge and its sharing and interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary interactions.

— Promote policies on the open access to data and academic studies results, in a context of preservation of the contributions of researchers and of development of professional careers, particularly for young researchers, that may secure the continuity and social impact of their contributions.

Report of the Youth forum on the Future of the Humanities

Lisbon, Portugal, 4 May 2021

Humanities for the Future: a new European Agenda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We, Young or Early Career Researchers in the Humanities, gathered in the Youth Forum on the Future of the Humanities, held in Lisbon on 4 May 2021 as part of the European Humanities Conference 2021,

Considering that the Humanities have an enormously important role to play in society insofar as they foster the development of a type of rationality usually not emphasized in other disciplines, by cultivating memory of the past, empathy and communication, fostering a multiplicity of values, normative assessment, critical thinking and democratic deliberation, and by cherishing diversity;

Stressing that today the field of the Humanities is affected by a lack of recognition on the part of the general public and of many public and private stakeholders and institutions, and that this flawed perception of the Humanities' societal impact should be addressed and corrected;

Alerting that the current institutional framework guiding the functioning of academia and research funding brings significant challenges to researchers and scholars, in terms of access to funding, career stability and evaluation and that while these challenges affect all research fields, they are felt more acutely by early-career researchers, especially in fields, like the Humanities, that are often not deemed a priority by funding bodies;

Suggesting that transnational cooperation between researchers and institutions as well as a stronger role played by the EU in this process are crucial to properly address the abovementioned

challenges, which would imply a change in the paradigm of education and research, a transformation that within a supranational entity such as the EU, cannot be carried out by individual researchers, universities, national funding bodies or governments:

1. Call on higher education institutions, research centres and similar scholarly bodies to:

> — Avoid the pitfalls of a model of narrow monodisciplinary specialization by fostering true inter- and transdisciplinary research and education;
> — Recognize the plurality of meaningful traditions in knowledge production and thus to further the efforts to diversify and decolonize the curricula.

2. Call on foundations, councils, sponsors and other funding bodies, both at a national and European level to:

> — Resist the temptation of privileging "applied" over "fundamental" research, including the tendency to "invest" in fields or projects due to their alleged potentiality to generate profit, in the definition of their research priorities and allocation of funds;
> — Safeguard the autonomy of researchers by providing them with the capacity to choose the topics and methodologies of their work in a flexible fashion;
> — Implement context-specific assessment of research for each field without relying disproportionately on quantitative or bibliometric indicators.

3. Call on EU member states and the European Commission to:
> — Deepen their commitment to investment in research and innovation, wagering that

knowledge will always be an integral part of the solution for the (health, economic, social and other) crises affecting the continent and the world;

— Commit to tackling the problem of career stability in research, studying new ways to establish proper research careers in the EU, including the creation of an institutional framework to implement the much-needed unified European research career and incentivize institutions to reduce the levels of precarity of early-career researchers, safe-guarding leaves (maternity, sick, unemployment, etc.);

— Recognize the central role the Humanities play in preserving our shared human heritage for posterity and for shaping the future of our societies.

4. Call on researchers, scholars and funding institutions in the Humanities to closely adhere to and support the principles of open access free of charges for both authors and readers, and openness to the world in the dissemination and public engagement of their research, thus helping institutions and society at large to have a proper understanding of their work and its societal contributions.

5. Call on young or early career researchers and scholars in the Humanities to:

— At a national level, promote and where possible establish institutional events to further the discussion avenues on the Future of the Humanities, actively bridging the Humanities with other knowledge fields and encouraging a horizontal exchange of ideas;

— Mobilize at a transnational level in order to make their voices heard similarly to the effort

undertaken by this Youth Forum, and consider setting up a Network of Young and Early Career Researchers in the Humanities.

Report

We, the participants of the Youth Forum on the Future of the Humanities, held in Lisbon on 4 May 2021 as part of the European Humanities Conference 2021 (5-7 May 2021), in our capacity as young or early career researchers in the field of the Humanities, wishing to reflect on the current state of the Humanities in Europe and beyond, to identify the main concerns and priorities of researchers in the field, and to put forward a set of policy proposals aiming at the flourishing not only of the Humanities but of all scientific research in Europe:

Commending the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH) and the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) for their joint organization of the Conference in articulation with the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the European Union, and for including the perspective of young researchers through the promotion of the Youth Forum;

Thanking the European National Funding Agencies for their help in selecting researchers to participate in the Youth Forum, FCT and Instituto Politécnico de Tomar (IPT) for their help in setting up the Forum, and also all the researchers who responded to the call for expressions of interest to join the Forum;

Taking into account the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States, and notably its 4th goal, of ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all;

Considering the European Union's goals of research and innovation policy, and namely those defined in *A Vision for Europe*, of

promoting principles of open innovation, open science and openness to the world;

Recalling the European Parliament's 2010 Resolution on "Better Careers and more mobility: a European Partnership for researchers" that calls for the establishment of a single EU career model in the field of research;

Recognizing the inspiration drawn from the constitution of UNESCO, CIPSH and previous recommendations following events jointly organized by these institutions, including those gathered in the Outcome Document of the World Humanities Conference (held in Liège, Belgium, 6-11 August 2017), and namely of "securing the academic independence of researchers", fostering interdisciplinary research and improving "the participation of young scholars in all humanities research activities";

Having gathered more than 60 young or early-career researchers from all across Europe and who engaged in discussions and deliberations concerning the future of the Humanities for a period of 5 months, culminating in the Youth Forum in May 2021:

1) Put forward an **assessment** of the current state of the Humanities, **identifying** the following **challenges** and **perspectives** for the future:

1.1 Influence and Impact of the Humanities in Society

It is generally agreed that the Humanities should be valued in their diversity irrespective of any distinction between "fundamental" and "applied" research or any for-profit motivation, for two reasons. First, because the specificity of the knowledge developed in the Humanities is unique and valuable in itself; second, because one never knows what future applications there might be for any given research.

However, it is also acknowledged that some of the main reasons for the so-called crisis of the Humanities is a lack of understanding, on the part of the general public, of the work done

in the Humanities and the value it brings with it. This phenomenon is correlated with a lack of visibility of the Humanities in societies at large, as well as for public and private stakeholders. Many researchers argue that the external perception of the formative and social role of the Humanities is one of invisibility, on the one hand, and uselessness, on the other (when not one of spite and social inconsideration). Researchers are extremely keen to point out that such flaws in impact and social (mis)perception are due to a globalized trend to struggle for profit and short-term benefit in all sorts of human endeavor – and the consequences of such generalized mindset are widely absorbed (even stimulated) by schools, universities and governments.

As such, the assessment is that the current overall impact of the Humanities on society is rather minor. This seems to be due to the intangible character of most of its outputs, but the impact varies from discipline to discipline. Researchers tend to agree, though, that the impact of the Humanities should be greater and warn that ignoring them can have critical consequences. For instance, given that the Humanities strive to understand human beings, both individually and collectively, they can have a role in the understanding of conflicts and societal problems around the world.

Furthermore, the Humanities foster critical thinking and empathy, through a sort of noninstrumental rationality that is not usually developed in the STEM disciplines. Without exercising such skills, people are more prone to accept marginalizing narratives without questioning them. Hence, failing to acknowledge the true value of the Humanities helps perpetuate marginalization and systematic oppression. The Humanities must, therefore, strive to become more popular, also in order to help tackle these problems and make visible the meaningful contributions the field makes to society. In order to change the current state of affairs, the field must face the shared assumption that whatever is not profitable is not relevant. It is part of the role of the Humanities to question central aspects of life, such as the role of work and what

it is *to be* in a society dominated by technology. The Humanities, then, must find ways of affirming their worth.

1.2 Challenges faced by Researchers in the Humanities

Concerning the status of researchers and scholars in the Humanities and the difficulties and concerns they face, the following main challenges present themselves:

1.2.1 Access to Funding, Career Stability and Evaluation

Some of the main challenges in contemporary academia revolve around funding and while this affects all researchers, it can disproportionally affect these areas of research, such as the Humanities, which are not deemed a priority for many funding bodies. These challenges boil down to three intimately interrelated topics: (i) lack of funding, (ii) lack of stability and (iii) inadequate evaluation.

With regard to lack of funding, researchers state that low wages are affecting the quality of research. The lack of attractive jobs leads people to abandon research activities or emigrate. This, in turn, creates a vicious circle: as talented people abandon research or emigrate, the quality of academic output decreases, which leads to less funding; with less funding, there are less incentives to pursue academic careers in the Humanities, which then further pushes talented people to opt for other careers or emigrate. Lack of funding is also determining the topics of research, which are chosen in accordance not with their interest, but with what is trending.

At the same time, lack of funding means scarcity in research positions, which contributes to the lack of stability faced by young researchers in the Humanities. Lack of career stability deeply affects the worklife balance of young researchers (and, consequently, their personal and family lives). Mobility is highly valued among researchers but cannot be maintained through decades as it can become a burden, and it might hinder the raising of a family. The fact that no maternity leave is provided by most institutions

makes this issue especially stringent on women, thus reinforcing gender inequality.

Research itself is affected by the lack of stability. Having to work on their applications for funding, researchers have less time to focus on what is essential for their research. This creates (yet another) vicious circle: less time to focus on what is essential means less publications, which makes it more difficult to find a position and hence increases the pressure to apply for funding. A deliberate choice of a career in the Humanities, well into the twentieth-first century, is a risk.

And in times of deep economic recession, evidence of a deliberate public decision to disinvest in the field comes to the fore. And that is, per se, a trigger for public debate. And while it is hard to believe that a global trend, which has now more than thirty years, will be reversed when the whole world is facing an unprecedented and still poorly grasped economic downturn like the Covid-19 crash, yet there are reasons to defend that it is worthwhile to wager on the Humanities to help face the difficult challenges we must meet.

Projectbased research is also a concern, as it might undermine the independence of researchers, who become focused on pleasing the funders. Some researchers highlight the positive aspects of shortterm commitments at an early stage of one's career. They agree, however, that a better balance between tenured and nontenured positions is desirable.

Furthermore, the extreme competitiveness of research careers is accompanied by an evaluation of curricula based on quantity, rather than on the effective quality, of production. Quality, in turn, is often reduced to rankings, rather than to the content of the publications. The criteria to determine the quality and desired frequency of publications was borrowed from those employed in other areas of research, leading to an inadequate evaluation of young researchers' work.

The favoring of papers over books when evaluating curricula is seen as an incentive for researchers not to look for and reflect upon bigger considerations (the "big picture"), which are fundamental in the Humanities.

Also, the role of the Humanities in local communities is currently undervalued. Local publications and contact with local communities are not considered when evaluating curricula, in particular publications in languages other than English. This is less than ideal, as all the parties – the communities, the researchers and the Humanities as a whole – could benefit from a more in-depth local embedding – and reception – of the research undertaken.

Some researchers state that the challenges above stem from the neoliberalization of academia. Researchers on the Humanities are expected to produce outputs, rather than becoming true thinkers and pedagogues, and this is a major challenge to the independence of researchers and their capacity to pursue their own research interests and bolster their creativity in an unrestricted and meaningful way.

1.2.2 Other Challenges: Decolonizing the Curricula, Protecting Researchers' Well-being, Reaching the Young Generations and Connecting to Business

In addition to the major challenges pinpointed in 1.2.1 and which are due to the way in which contemporary academia and funding schemes are devised, there is a set of other important challenges, ranging from the way in which teaching curricula are built to the balance and well-being of researchers in the difficult and unforeseen circumstances caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, not forgetting the challenges of reaching out to younger generations and, for those who wish to do so, connecting research to alternative career paths in business.

Concerning curricula, there is a challenge arising from the tension between the way in which the canon and teaching practices have been built in the past, and the reality of plurality and diversity that has been often left out of the curricula. Researchers stress that the Humanities need to encompass the diversity of traditions and cherish plurality, embracing the contributions of other knowledge systems (indigenous, traditional, non-western, non-expert, etc.), in a braided-knowledge approach that

explores the various ways in which research and problem-solving can be addressed. The construction of inclusive curricula in the Humanities is crucial for this approach, requiring the analysis of who is excluded from the curricula and why, since they have traditionally been, and still are, dominated by a canon of dominant authors who are, more often than not, white, male, and Western. Comparative approaches should be used to make curricula more inclusive and livelier, establishing a dialogue between these dominant authors and marginalized currents of thought and/or creative production coming from different backgrounds, such as diversity in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality, able-bodiedness and so forth. If it is true that the Humanities are tightly linked to the multiple shades of our being-in-the-world with others, then it is crucial to tackle the issues of under-representation, explicit and implicit biases, and exclusion within the curricula as well.

A different challenge currently affecting scholars from all fields is the burden brought by the Covid-19 pandemic, with the transition to on-line work, the disruption of research plans and the anxiety brought about by a further menace to job stability as student enrollment drops and financing seems less than certain. Concerning this challenge, researchers in the Forum stressed the crucial importance of mental and physical well-being for the quality of their work and outputs. Given the current scenario in which pay is low and social acknowledgment is scarce, researchers claim that work-life balance must be kept at all costs, and relevant breaks must be made from the permanent need to be connected to the web and respect deadlines (a trend that was worsened by the pandemic).

Concerning the lack of social prestige of the Humanities, and the scarcity of student enrollment, researchers underline that there needs to be a change in mentality. And the responsibility for this lies both in scholars in the Humanities, who probably need to do a better job disseminating their work, but also, and fundamentally, in governments and funding bodies. One important feature of

the debate underlining this need for a change in mentality comes from examining the dangerous downside, for younger and future generations, of not having taken the Humanities seriously in the last decades. Researchers feel that education in the Humanities is fundamental to foster skills of empathy and critical thinking and that its absence can create pervasive vulnerabilities in the young generations such as a possible lack of historical awareness or a difficulty to express their views in a profound and coherent fashion.

As for career paths, some researchers also state that the Humanities could benefit from a better integration with businesses. Evidence exists that many successful people in business are also cultivated and for instance have strong reading habits; but many young people nowadays restrict themselves to reading short pieces of text in social media. This is not tantamount to saying that research funding should be incentivized by profit; indeed, an overwhelming majority of researchers defend quite the opposite, as the focus on output, production and for-profit incentives usually appear as obstacles. However, more pathways for integration with industry and businesses can be of use to people who have a background in the Humanities and perhaps also a history of research in the Humanities and who might want to apply these skills for business. If successful, this possibility could also open up new career paths and help attracting more students to the Humanities, thus helping to keep them viable in the long run. Furthermore, there should be institutional mechanisms for acknowledging independent researchers and for fostering transferable skills needed for people transitioning from research to other fields.

1.3 Perspectives for the Future

Given the challenges identified above, researchers participating in the Youth Forum reflected on what perspectives might lie ahead for the Humanities. This assessment of what is desirable for

the field puts us in the path for the more concrete proposals laid out in Section 2 of this report.

1.3.1. Securing the Autonomy of Researchers

Statements by participants in the Forum tend to consistently highlight the need for more autonomy to be given to the Humanities and their practitioners, especially for those working in academia, and stress the urge for a less profit-oriented design in public and private decision-making, as well as in research policies. Young researchers and professionals of the Humanities need to be allowed to choose the directions and methodologies of their work, free from decisions and strategies defined by the older generations and to which they had no opportunity to contribute. The definitions of 'productivity' and 'contribution' need to be open enough to allow young researchers the opportunity to define research areas and topics of their interest, with the methods of their choosing, even if they are not seen as immediate priorities by the funding agencies. Research agencies need to allow for 'unplanned' discoveries by also promoting basic research, in addition to the existing 'key' and 'hot' topics. As such, academics should be given more autonomy and more time – the current situation leads to fragmented and often superfluous and inconsequent research projects, where quantity is valued above quality. Therefore, we need to rethink the context and resources where research is made before pointing out specific issues as research priorities.

1.3.2 Research Priorities

Even though the autonomy defended above is seen as prerequisite for fostering creativity and should apply to individual research, participants in the Youth Forum are keenly aware that these priorities do exist and also mention some general orientations and topics that are felt as important. This applies both to core research in the Humanities, as well as to some of its novel

applications, such as those that deal with the 'Digital Turn', and to a deeper interdisciplinary engagement with other fields. Some of these wider movements and processes could be summed up as opening the Humanities to the World.

1.3.2.1 Opening the Humanities to the World

As already mentioned, one of the main challenges has to do with recognizing and valuing the diversity of knowledge sources. Decolonizing the Humanities is thus assumed as a topic of top priority, to make them more inclusive and truly representative. This can also be done by engaging local communities and intercultural dialogue, in addition to the attention given to a plurality of different traditions.

Another research priority is to make research more applicable in wider societal issues, such as climate, Covid-19 and pandemics, migrations, social injustice, the digital age, and so forth. Participants in the Forum note that we have been using past basic research in new and extraordinary ways during the current pandemic, and that these new applications should be promoted. The Humanities need also to explore the intersections with current movements to where society is heading – including cognitive humanities, subverting the conventional Humanities/science divide, or participating in the discussions on the origin and significance of art, literature and culture, currently taking place in cognitive sciences.

The Humanities need to also address the future, namely the creation of more sustainable futures. The needs for transition, our experience with the Anthropocene and the current relation with nature, each other, and technology, should be addressed. For instance, the environmental Humanities explore areas where urgent issues of our times collide, promoting the dialogical process of thinking about and acting on the future, to think of more sustainable and 'post-Anthropocene' ways of being human, including the concept of ecology. The Humanities have the power to open up

new perspectives on the world, to aid in opening and (re)defining the critical conceptual framework in a changing world, thus creating a commitment towards its transformation. Educating children and young generations is crucial in this process.

One of the ways in which these processes can be advanced is by further exploring the possibilities laid open by the 'Digital Turn', and which have been made more evident by the pandemic. Another one is by promoting in a more systematic manner interdisciplinary research and teaching, where the Humanities could have a very important role to play.

1.3.2.2 Humanities and the 'Digital Turn'

Digital technology has led to a questioning of some of the core assumptions of Humanities scholarship, with the popularization of digital methods in the Humanities in the last decade or so. This leads to two main questions: (i) how we can better use digital technologies in research in the Humanities, and (ii) what is the role of the Humanities in the digital age?

First, digital technology gives us tools and methods to engage, study, transform, criticize, and even play with our own research, and it is often today an inherent part of research. The digital Humanities are means to further develop this research, by asking new questions, in new ways, through new methodologies and new practices. Second, the world today is closely attached to the digital, and will continue to be so in the future. Humanities' soft skills are needed in the digital age and this will become apparent if research and practice establish a good dialogue with the digital world. Digital tools can also be used to educate and share knowledge about our common humanity, thus making the Humanities more attractive to the younger generations, in a way that traditional museums, for instance, often are not able to do.

At the same time, the digital turn also presents challenges and perils, and the Humanities are needed to help assess these challenges, which are similar to those presented by the trends towards

quantification and objectification, and the Humanities can help to put forward an informed critique of the excesses of these tendencies. As such, the analysis of the digital and digitalization can offer new insights into our modern life, and thus the emergence of the digital age and the transformation of fundamental human processes should also be a top topic of research for the Humanities.

1.3.2.3 Further Promoting Meaningful Interdisciplinarity

Participants in the Forum feel that today the Humanities usually do not promote relevant interdisciplinary work, despite the world being a system where, ultimately, everything is interconnected. Thus, interdisciplinary approaches should occur naturally, even if organized in different ways according to each situation.

Many agree that the major difficulty lies not in the Humanities themselves but in the rigid monodisciplinary way in which the production of knowledge and its education through life is structured. The specialization of each individual often starts in high school (and earlier in some educational systems) by demanding to 14/15 years old students to choose one area to the detriment of all others, resulting in a society in which each person knows more and more about less and less, thus increasingly creating difficulties of communication between different types of expertise.

Many believe that the solution for this situation may be in the creation of innovative means through which people can widen up their knowledge instead of narrowing it down, for instance by rethinking the structure of the academic institutions in such a way that knowledge could be gathered in more flexible ways. Such change may be difficult, at least in a near future, as many academics may not be open to imagine universities radically different. In fact, some believe that the movement towards such solution may face resistance and even result in significant cutbacks, while others report that interdisciplinary proposals are often hurt in their evaluation when submitted because evaluation panels tend to be conservative.

One possible way to experiment on this possibility is the development of interdisciplinary pilot-projects with small groups composed by people able to share their different methods and backgrounds to guarantee a broader scientific basis to their work, and then slowly build the institutional infrastructure needed to develop interdisciplinary projects. Because interdisciplinarity seems hard to achieve, such successful cases should be highlighted and disseminated in order to inspire others.

1.3.2.4 Rethinking Education in the Humanities from Schools to Academia

When discussing the future of the Humanities, research and education are two sides of the same coin as we cannot properly address the problems of one side without also taking into account the other.

Rethinking school practices is fundamental at every level, promoting research that is more involved, fosters the sharing of experiences, and crosses disciplinary boundaries. The goal should be that of forming thinkers, encouraging dissent rather than complacency, promoting the exploration of new and creative solutions, and providing critical (digital) literacy skills. It should not only be about providing answers, but instead about making questions and fostering dialogue.

As for higher education, and as hinted above, the tendency for exacerbated specialization needs to be countered by new attempts at interdisciplinarity and the curricula diversified. Positive examples include inter-faculty degrees, and the combination of courses from several departments, encouraging students to interact with different areas and contents.

Furthermore, the presence of educators with a background in the Humanities in education systems should be greater, so as to balance the greater presence of the STEM disciplines. The importance of STEM in academia seems to be long-lasting. Given that the Humanities foster a different kind of reasoning, they should perhaps focus on those areas where the STEM have little to

say, while also providing meaningful input to topics dealt with by these disciplines, but with the tools in which the Humanities excel. For instance, the Humanities will not, by themselves, aim to solve problems such as climate change or a pandemic, but they can contribute with historical accounts, normative assessments, critical thinking and deliberation on political options, and the ability to put forward arguments and synthesize discussions consistently, thus helping to find encompassing solutions. And the same goes for the assessment of crises and of economic phenomena. For instance, communicating work in History is of fundamental importance as it helps understanding and anticipating possible future changes.

2) Taking into account this assessment, put forward the following recommendations:

Participants in the Forum recognize that many of the above-mentioned challenges are not specific to the Humanities, but they seem to be aggravated therein. As such, they put forward, in their reflections, a set of recommendations on policies that are certainly relevant for the Humanities, but not exclusively. Taken together, they serve as hints to reformulate the organization of several aspects of the institutional framework guiding research in Europe, because facing these issues requires systemic changes at an international level.

Several suggestions were made, ranging from allocating more funds to research in the Humanities, to remunerating peer-review, preparing students (in M.A.'s and Ph.D. programs) to successfully apply for funding so as to help them deal with the competitive job market, strengthening the safety nets provided to researchers (e.g. the agencies' policies concerning maternity leave, and more research on researchers' well-being) and evaluating work in the Humanities according to qualitative criteria including context-specific factors such as integration with local communities.

Based on these deliberations and suggestions, researchers in the Youth Forum issue a call addressed at relevant institutions and stakeholders in the field of education, research and innovation in Europe, as well as to all relevant political bodies at several levels and individuals engaged in research in the Humanities and in other areas.

Besides being a call for reflection this is also a call for action, for the crisis of the Humanities is also a sign of a world in crisis and, conversely, vibrant research – including in the Humanities – is, we believe, also a condition of possibility for answering to these crises with the best knowledge at our disposal. But this necessitates meaningful changes in the institutional framework guiding research and education in Europe and elsewhere, and which should take place as early as possible, hopefully still under the Horizon Europe timeline (2021-2027).

As such, we, young or early-career researchers in the Humanities:

1. Call on higher education institutions, research centres and similar scholarly bodies to:

> — Avoid the pitfalls of a model of narrow monodisciplinary specialization by fostering true inter- and transdisciplinary research and education;
> — Recognize the plurality of meaningful traditions in knowledge production and thus to further the efforts to diversify and decolonize the curricula.

2. Call on foundations, councils, sponsors and other funding bodies, both at a national and European level to:

> — Resist the temptation of privileging "applied" over "fundamental" research, including the tendency to "invest" in fields or projects due to

their alleged potentiality to generate profit, in the definition of their research priorities and allocation of funds;

— Safeguard the autonomy of researchers by providing them with the capacity to choose the topics and methodologies of their work in a flexible fashion;

— Implement context-specific assessment of research for each field without relying disproportionately on quantitative or bibliometric indicators.

3. Call on EU member states and the European Commission to:

— Deepen their commitment to investment in research and innovation, wagering that knowledge will always be an integral part of the solution for the (health, economic, social and other) crises affecting the continent and the world;

— Commit to tackling the problem of career stability in research, studying new ways to establish proper research careers in the EU, including the creation of an institutional framework to implement the much-needed unified European research career and incentivize institutions to reduce the levels of precarity of early-career researchers, safe-guarding leaves (maternity, sick, unemployment, etc.);

— Recognize the central role the Humanities play — in preserving our shared human heritage for posterity and for shaping the future of our societies.

4. Call on researchers, scholars and funding institutions in the Humanities to closely adhere to and support the principles of open access free of charges for both authors and readers, and openness to the world in the dissemination and public engagement of their

research, thus helping institutions and society at large to have a proper understanding of their work and its societal contributions.

5. Call on young or early career researchers and scholars in the Humanities to:

> — At a national level, promote and where possible establish institutional events to further the discussion avenues on the Future of the Humanities, actively bridging the Humanities with other knowledge fields and encouraging a horizontal exchange of ideas;
> — Mobilize at a transnational level in order to make their voices heard similarly to the effort undertaken by this Youth Forum, and consider setting up a Network of Young and Early Career Researchers in the Humanities.

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Part 1:
The Humanities in the 21st century

Humanities in the 21st century:
between tradition and innovation

BY LUISA MIGLIORATI

Humanities in the 21st century:
between tradition and innovation

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Abstract

The 21st century states that the obvious difference between humanities and hard sciences is leaving defintely the field of opposition and moves more and more into cooperation aimed at advancing research. As a result of the pandemic, the association of the two spheres of knowledge has given a boost to the systems of virtual dissemination of historical heritage on behalf of cultural and research institutions; for example, the third mission has been greatly enhanced in universities. This has changed some of the attitudes of the general public who have rediscovered the value of the humanities, while a different attitude is held by some political institutions.

Au XXIe siècle, la différence évidente entre les sciences humaines et les sciences dures quitte définitivement le terrain de l'opposition et s'oriente de plus en plus vers une coopération visant à faire avancer la recherche. L'association des deux sphères de la connaissance a donné un coup de fouet aux systèmes de diffusion virtuelle du patrimoine historique de la part des institutions culturelles et de recherche; par exemple, la troisième mission a été fortement renforcée dans les universités. Cela a modifié certaines attitudes du grand public qui a redécouvert la valeur des sciences humaines, tandis qu'une attitude différente est adoptée par certaines institutions politiques.

Because of their characteristics, the Humanities are always suspended between tradition and innovation; there is no one-way street to follow, as the path of research in the Hard Sciences may be: the Humanities have a heavy past, on whose solid foundation they rest, and a future, towards which they tend, according to the evolution and changes typical of the human being; but, currently, the future seems to ensure good results only through the unconditional use of techniques and methods of the Hard Sciences, relegating to the background the investigative approach typical of the Humanities. There is therefore a continuous searching for balance between tradition and innovation, which leads also to contrasts among scholars in Humanities, some of whom, for instance, opt for a quantum solution for research topics, going far beyond the correct consideration that the use of new technologies shortens working time (Orlandi 2019).

The 21st century immediately showed itself to be a long period of rethinking and therefore of crisis. It is true that crises are always fruitful, though often of long duration; anyway, the natural process of 'maturing' was disrupted by an event that affected the entire planet: the COVID 19 pandemic.

The pandemic has taken the limelight forcefully also in relation to Humanities: we cannot ignore the signs that the pandemic is leaving in the way we relate to them. These signs are perhaps reversing what used to be a negative trend and bringing the Humanities back to the centre of attention of every individual.

Cultural heritage, in its multiple expressions in the sphere of Humanities, has been the subject of a reconsideration in the field of communication and dissemination. Lock down and interdiction of entrances to archaeological sites, museums, heritage buildings, libraries, etc. have forced to bring the same objects of the real visits into the individual home. The use of the virtual experience has prompted the refinement of narrative techniques that have involved the usual public much more than ever and conquered new audience, people which did not have to travel and suddenly had more time to follow these new activities.

As a matter of fact, there has been a boom in exhibitions and presentation of new cultural routes.

Aiming to this goal, new technologies are indispensable and the situation has led to a better integration between Humanities and technology in planning the transfer of knowledge to the general public. This step forward is also favoured by the enhancement of the third mission implemented by universities with initiatives aimed at promoting not only social inclusion, health and well-being, sustainability, but all the opportunities for access to scientific and humanistic knowledge.

On the other hand, users have become more proficient at exploiting the devices available.

So, Cultural Heritage has become a widespread heritage, reaffirming the statement of the Faro Convention on the Right of Participation in the Culture of the Citizen, in force since June 1, 2011!

Material Heritage has become immaterial/virtual. Technology has opened new cultural processes up. Communication, dissemination propose a greater awareness of who we are. The sum of "culture + digital" can become a means of inclusion.

In and for the same circumstances, Cultural Heritage has also become a widespread heritage outside the virtual, it has become a territorial Heritage. Again, due to the block to long-distance, national and transnational travelling, the interest of cultural tourism has focused on nearby areas; it has created proximity tourism, which, moreover, can take into account the security parameters dictated by the States.

I must say, however, that for some years now (perhaps since the beginning of this 21st century) mass tourism has also moved towards areas of cultural heritage and not just of pure leisure. The consequences are not always positive for the Heritage, but it is a fact. It is enough to think about the impact of the large cruise ships on the Venetian ecosystem, which is the most quoted example, but sure not the only one.

Shifting tourism to a higher cultural level has however favoured the minor Cultural Heritage, the one not universally

known, the one constituting the connective tissue of the star poles formed by the Art cities and by limited architectural complexes or landscape contexts. But there is still a lot to be done in this area: research, conservation and enhancement depend on funding, that is unfortunately poured mainly into super famous contexts.

The 23rd of April 2021 was the World Book and Copyright Day, promoted by UNESCO (https://en.unesco.org/commemorations/worldbookday). This year, book buying in Italy rose by 27%. Many people being interviewed answered that, because of the pandemic, they read more books. We must not turn back.

The path taken by people seems to go in the opposite direction to what the Institutions in some Countries decide on education. They are pushing the science sector, often lapsing into technicality, and reducing the time devoted to history, geography and the Humanities in total.

In my field of work, archaeology, I am witnessing the increasing integration of the Hard Sciences and the Humanities, at the level of the professionals.

In fact, the 21st century opened with an acceleration in the use of new technologies in the research fields of the Humanities and in particular archaeology. This has led to two different attitudes: 1: the correct use of new technologies as a useful tool for the advancement of research, 2: the race to use new technologies excessively and as an end in itself, forgetting the historical feature which is an bedrock of archaeological research. In relation to point 1, the 21st century is witnessing the confirmation and expansion of the cooperation offered by different disciplines to archaeological research; we can mention physical anthropology, archaeozoology, genetics, physics, chemistry and so on. Undoubtedly, this is also due to a greater openness of the Humanities towards the Hard Sciences. Moreover let's remember that digitisation has long since become one of the ordinary tools of Humanities and, as mentioned above, the pandemic has provoked a reshaping of the communication system of museums in the first place, and of cultural institutions in general.

On the subject of museums, Vincenzo Trione reports the very high value recorded by Google for online searches on "museum virtual tours" in April 2020, but he also recall the return to pre-Covid low values in the following months, finally coming to the conclusion that for the public "the irreplaceable experience remains the one linked to the 'physical' encounter with the body of the works." (Trione 2020). His statement is in line with what I have observed in the management of archaeological sites. In fact, regarding on-site visits, I have observed the desire for historical understanding, in the broadest sense of the term, overwhelming boundaries, but combined with curiosity about technical matters.

So it is not understandble why there is a different attitude of the Management of the Institutions, i.e. pushing Hard Sciences and not cooperation.

To recall the role of the Humanities documented in this century before the pandemic, I conclude by quoting the title of an article that appeared in July 2012 on an Italian newspaper, the Corriere della Sera: "The classics have conquered time and continue to explain the future to us" (https://www.corriere.it/cultura/12_luglio_11/torno-classici-hanno-vinto-tempo_3656e07a-cb5a-11e1-8cce-dd4226d6abe6.shtml).

We must be confident that the Humanities are regaining space, or, rather, that they are bringing back into evidence the space they have always had in our interior.

Bio-note

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A Constitution for the Anthropocene Body Politic:

Environment, Culture, and the Humanities in the Twenty-First Century

BY SERENELLA IOVINO

A Constitution for the Anthropocene Body Politic:
Environment, Culture, and the Humanities in the Twenty-First Century

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Abstract

The theme of the Conference Section inaugurated by this lecture is "The Humanities in the Twenty-First Century." By acknowledging the official approval of the BRIDGES Project on education for sustainability as a partner of the UNESCO Management of Social Transformation Program, Iovino evaluates the role of the Environmental Humanities in the agenda of the so-called "New Humanities," paying a special attention to their relevance during the COVID-19 pandemic. In this framework, she takes an Italian site from the UNESCO World Heritage List as a case in point: Venice and its Lagoon, which is both a symbol and a very concrete object of care, proving to be "a thinking machine" for contemporary natural-cultural dynamics. The lecture ends with the invitation to turn the current crisis into a constitutive moment for the "Anthropocene body politic," namely, the earthly collective of agents and of processes, both human and nonhuman, natural and technological.

Keywords
Body politic. Environmental Humanities. UNESCO. Venice. New Humanities.

To speak about the Humanities in the twenty-first century means above all to question what "human" and "humanity" mean. Being human, in the twenty-first century, signifies more and more to experience a condition of vulnerability, exposure and co-presence, a condition of different opportunities. Illnesses that intersect with social habits, cultural visions, and geopolitical balances; new media that interfere with our cognitive and ethical realms, the need to relate to an environment and a climate that we threaten and that threaten us in turn; the uneven repercussions of these dynamics: all this is a challenge to our cultural and political imagination. As an Environmental Humanities scholar, who has been involved in UNESCO activities since the decade of the Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), I find it inspiring that the BRIDGES Project, which is explicitly dedicated to education to sustainability, is now an official coalition partner of MOST, the UNESCO Management of Social Transformation Program.[1]

In my view, the inclusion in the UNESCO policy map of the Environmental Humanities is a remarkable step for both parties: for the UNESCO community, which acquires an important "epistemological reservoir"; and, certainly, for the Environmental Humanities community, which acquires a partner that will give institutional relevance and a more concrete impact to the work that humanities scholars have been pursuing in tandem with environmental scientists throughout years of research and activism in "cognitive democracy."

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[1] BRIDGES is a UNESCO initiative meant to promote a human-centered and humanities-driven education for sustainability. It works in partnership with UNESCO's MOST (Management of Social Transformations). The goal of the BRIDGES-MOST coalition is "to better integrate humanities, social science, and local and traditional knowledge perspectives into research, education and action for global sustainability through development and coordination of resilient responses to environmental and social changes at local and territorial scales" (see https://ihopenet. org/bridges/). The BRIDGES initiative is also a partner of the Humanities for the Environment Observatories (https://hfe-observatories.org). An introduction about the BRIDGES Project at the 2021 European Conference for the Humanities, held by Steven Hartman, is available on YouTube at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UesQX_wUpTU

The Environmental Humanities is a typically twenty-first-century humanities field. Indeed, it came about after the concept "Anthropocene," around the year 2000, entered the scientific debate[2]. And the reason why the Environmental Humanities started taking shape is that certain questions prompted by the idea of humans as a "geological force" could not be answered by geologists, climatologists, or environmental scientists alone: questions about responsibility and historical roots, about anxiety and loss, social behaviors, justice, even ontology—and questions about how to "think the unthinkable," as Rosi Braidotti (2013, p. 160) wrote anticipating Amitav Ghosh (2016).

This is a point worth mentioning. The crisis of the humanities in the "neoliberal university ruled by quantified economics and the profit motive" (Braidotti, 2016, p. 11) is a fact. The humanities are at risk, and the UNESCO World Humanities Report will soon tell us how grave this risk is. Of course, after one-and-a-half year of COVID-19, this risk becomes more and more concrete, and for a paradox: the funds earmarked for research have never been so conspicuous in both President Biden's Stimulus Plan and the Next Generation EU Recovery Plan. But "research" means here exclusively scientific and technological research. This, once again, potentially reduces the humanities to a merely ornamental role. Yet, also during the pandemic, the humanities have been very much alive. Like never before humanities scholars have experienced the thrill of being ubiquitous, restless, and public. COVID-19 has proven not simply what the humanities can be, but also what they cannot *fail* to be: the humanities cannot *not* be digital, public, biomedical, intercultural, and environmental (I am quoting

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[2] The first official proposal to call "Anthropocene" the last phase of the Quaternary is by Paul Crutzen and Eugene Stoermer (2000). As of July 2021, the hypothesis is still being evaluated by the International Commission on Stratigraphy (ICS) and the International Union of Geological Sciences (IUGS). However, on 29 August 2016 the ICS Anthropocene Working Group (AWG) presented a formal recommendation oriented towards recognition at the International Geological Congress. In May 2019, the AWG voted in favor of submitting a formal proposal to the ICS by 2021, situating the Golden Spike around the mid-twentieth century (beginning of the atomic era). Data available on: http://quaternary.stratigraphy.org/working-groups/anthropocene/.

these partitions from the Network of the European Humanities 21, also supported by UNESCO).[3] During these months, we have seen a need for stories and creative coalitions, but we have also been called to reflect on the sustainability of old and new practices. And we have discovered that many of them, including our "virtual" technological experiences, impact on ecosystems and reverberate differently on society. This gives the Environmental Humanities a *certain* relevance.[4]

But let me frame my standpoint for you: I am a European Humanities scholar teaching in an American public University—a "Research" University. Here, too, the humanities face their crisis— and yet I found here the possibility of an academic appointment which combined my two research fields: Italian Studies and Environmental Humanities.

From this standpoint, I will try to answer these questions:

1. Why are the Environmental Humanities so relevant now?
2. How do these two—Italian Studies and Environmental Humanities —go together?
3. How does this involve UNESCO?

Internationally, the Environmental Humanities are an increasingly consolidated discourse. The leading example is the web of Observatories of the Humanities for the Environment global network, which Prof. Hartman will describe in more detail. With hubs in North and Latin America, Europe, the Arctic, Africa, East Asia, the Pacific, and Australia, all these observatories are specifically dedicated to framing local matters from a global perspective. From the Arizona desert to the North Pole and the Pacific, issues

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[3] See https://neh21.net.

[4] Even though this issue has become increasingly popular during the pandemic outbreak, the Environmental Humanities have been exploring this issue for a long time. See, among others, Parikka, 2015 and 2018, and Iovino, 2019. Also very useful is the article "Why your internet habits are not as clean as you think" in the on-line BBC Smart Guide to Climate Change, available at: https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200305-why-your-internet-habits-are-not-as-clean-as-you-think

of indigenous ecologies, coral reef biodiversity, "native science," island aesthetics, post-nuclear landscapes: all these foci form a huge cultural and scientific conversation finalized to protection, conservation, and development of eco-political strategies.[5] This is valid for all Environmental Humanities projects: for example, my university, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is part of the consortium "Coasts, Climates, the Humanities, and the Environment" funded by a conspicuous Mellon-grant. Here scholars, scientists and local communities build together "Coastal Climate Archives," which will help study the history and impact of storms and tidal waters.[6] The examples in the US are too numerous to be quoted, but the Environmental Humanities are also thriving in Europe: in research centers (the Rachel Carson Center in Munich, the Environmental Humanities Lab at the KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, the Long Room Hub at Trinity in Ireland), master's programs and variously articulated initiatives in Turkey, at Cappadocia University, with an international journal, Ecocene, in Holland at Amsterdam's Vrije Universiteit, where they specialize in environmental history, at Aarhus University in Denmark, where the focus is on multispecies anthropology, in Norway at the Oslo School of Environmental Humanities, which experiments with "new forms of teaching in the Anthropocene," again, in Rome at Roma Tre, with a focus on ecology and architecture, in Germany at University of Augsburg with an emphasis on cultural ecology, in the UK, where Bath Spa provides a prominent example of trans-disciplinary ecocritical studies, in Switzerland… Theories and practices are flourishing in all these places.

The Environmental Humanities are animated by the ambition of intervening in the understanding as well as in the ethical reframing of inhabiting the world. The Environmental Humanities ask: What natural forces shape cultural processes?

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[5] See https://hfe-observatories.org.

[6] See https://college.unc.edu/2019/08/mellon-cchec/

And vice versa: how is reality the outcome of concurrent forces, both material and discursive, which intersect in the body of every living being, every territory, every object? What is the ecology of wars and migrations, of gender and of disability, what is an ecology of mind and what an ecology of matter? The Environmental Humanities are animated by the idea that our species as well as our planet are not "lonely" but are always already in a deep interchange. This implies that every form of politics must take into account this mutual belonging, this multiplicity, as well as the gaps of injustice among different species, or among members of the same species: ours. The Environmental Humanities teach us how important the "local" is and how difficult it is to "locate" environmental phenomena—in space as well as in time.[7]

But the Environmental Humanities also fully embrace Rosi Braidotti's invitation to explore intellectual avenues in which critique goes together with creativity (Braidotti 2013, p. 11 and *passim*), turning the humanities into a field of knowledge production and the cradle for new forms of resistance.

And here let me turn my focus closer to my research on Italy—and to UNESCO. One of the things that the Environmental Humanities have taught me is that you don't need to embrace the whole world to know the world. Though unique in themselves, places can be used as concepts, categories, cognitive tools, they can become lenses that make us see the life of other places. Italy for me is one of these place-concepts. Through Italy's lens you can understand the links of pollution and politics, industrial development and biodiversity at risk, social injustice and environmental disasters, the way climate change and illegal activities impact territories and people, the bio- and necro-politics of migrations, the environmental dimension of gender, species, ethnicity. And the creativity that emerges from all this. A major element in this discourse is landscape. Italy's landscapes speak of the contradictions of this country—and of its creativity. There are landscapes

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[7] In time: I am referring here to Rob Nixon's famous concept of "slow violence" (Nixon, 2011).

with factories or waste dumps in the middle of protected areas, landscapes of social fragmentation, landscapes of struggles and crises. Cultural and natural landscapes are often islands within this ambivalent fabric.[8]

In July 2021, fifty-eight of these were UNESCO landscapes, thus situating Italy at the top of UNESCO's World Heritage list. The files that are available on the UNESCO website emphasize all the reasons why a site has deserved inclusion in the list.[9]For every place, there are descriptions, compliance with the criteria, maps, and relevant documents. And this is of course the outcome of important team research. But I believe that these landscapes must be also examined with the eyes of environmental historians, of social justice theorists and activists, of philosophers and literary critics, of multispecies anthropologists and ecosemioticians, all working hand in hand with environmental scientists, geologists, climatologists. Seen through their eyes and conversations, new meanings emerge from these landscapes—meanings that can also be of inspiration for political action, both in terms of cautionary tales and of a wider awareness of the issues at stake. And, last but not least, the educational impact that this can have must not be underestimated. These landscapes, in other words, can become theories for thinking and agendas for action—also in relation to the Humanities and what they can be.

Let me quote one example: Venice. Salvatore Settis, one of the world's leading experts on landscapes as commons, has defined Venice "a thinking machine" (Settis, 2016), the epitome and the laboratory of processes that take place wherever the bond between landscape, citizenship, and democracy is tested.

We don't need to explain why Venice is on the UNESCO World Heritage list. We also know, however, that its place on the list is precarious for many reasons: over-tourism, depopulation and real-estate speculation, water mobility congestion (and the big

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[8] For an exploration of these topics, see Iovino, Cesaretti and Past, 2018 and Armiero and Iovino, 2020.

[9] See https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

cruise ships problem), the "shortsightedness" of the local administration and its corruption. The the case of the MOSE anti-high tide dams is an eloquent instance. I am summarizing and quoting from the report *Venezia, l'UNESCO e una cittá allo sbando (Venice, the UNESCO Dossier and a city in disarray)* presented to UNESCO in 2019 (Fabbri, Migliorini and Tattara, 2019).

However, many other things emerge from this landscape and this reality, if we approach them with the toolkit of the Environmental Humanities. With the Environmental Humanities, we can read Venice as a text in a larger context. This context embraces of course Venice's lagoon (as the UNESCO site's denomination also does). But this context also includes Venice's monstrous alter-ego, the Porto Marghera Petrochemical Plant, and all the issues related to it: issues of environmental justice and sustainability, ethics and biopolitics, history, and political ecology in a conversation with climate emergency, biodiversity, labor, epidemiology. The Environmental Humanities make us see, for example, that potential solutions turn out to be themselves problems (I am referring to the MOSE's impact on the Lagoon's bed and biodiversity[10]). The Environmental Humanities can invite us to consider the resonances between literature and reality, for example in the uncanny materialization of the "Death in Venice" trope, which becomes a narrative told by the city, the bodies of residents and workers, the ecosystem.[11]Literature even lets us see the larger plot of this narrative. I am thinking of Amitav Ghosh's last novel, *Gun Island*, in which Venice, New York, and the Sundarbans in India and Bangladesh are interlaced to expose the concrete faces of global warming, including migrations, sea level rise and the invasion of alien species (from tropical spiders to shipworms—a threatening reality in Venice!) (Ghosh, 2019).[12] With the Environmental Humanities, we can read this landscape as a narrative, whose stories emerge from the interplay between human

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[10] On this issue see Del Bello, 2018 and Massariolo, 2020, among many others.

[11] See Iovino, 2016 for an interpretation of Venice's "material narrative."

[12] On the shipworm invasion of the Lagoon see Tagliapietra et al., 2021.

and nonhuman agents, the creativity of matter and the creativity of people. And we can better hear the voice of the people, their stories, understanding them in a more comprehensive way. The Environmental Humanities impact our moral imagination of the earth as a whole and as a collectivity of individuals, stimulating strategies for action. They provide us with a convivial epistemology of the commons that transforms the humanities into activism for democracy and the planet. What UNESCO can get from this is a theoretical and educational background to its policies, useful to reconfigure notions such as identity, tradition, and heritage in a more inclusive and generative way. This discourse is valid for every landscape: seen through this lens, in fact, every landscape becomes a "thinking machine."

The Environmental Humanities are already a rising presence in Venice: the Biennale never fails to host and celebrate environmentally-sensitive artworks (but let me also recall the irresistible incursions of Banksy!).[13] And, very important, the newly established University Ca' Foscari MA's degree in Environmental Humanities led by Shaul Bassi (former director of the Venetian branch of the Center for the Humanities and Social Change).[14] An international journal *(Lagoonscapes: The Venice Journal of Environmental Humanities)*, which I am honored to co-edit with Stefano Beggiora, has been launched in the fall 2021. Ca' Foscari University has a UNESCO Chair on Water Heritage and Sustainable Development: here the Environmental Humanities discourse can—and will—be fruitfully grafted.[15]

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[13] Environmental issues have been regularly represented at the Biennale for several decades. See Celant, 1977 for one of the first occurences of this artistic emergence.

[14] The official webpage of the MA's Program is available here: https://www.studyatcafoscari.com/programmes/graduate/master-in-environmental-humanities/?_sp=0e7eb173-c62c-4007-b6bc-8cd7b9dccd34.1626909498549

[15] *Lagoonscapes: The Venice Journal of Environmental Humanities*, is available at: https://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni4/riviste/the-venice-journal-of-environmental-humanities/. On Ca' Foscari UNESCO Chair on Water Heritage and Sustainable Development, see: https://www.unive.it/pag/14024/?tx_news_pi1[news]=8413&tx_news_pi1[controller]=News&tx_news_pi1[action]=detail&no_cache=1

Among the stories inscribed in the landscape of Venice, there are stories that can teach us something about our specific situation today: the church of Santa Maria della Salute, or St. Mary of Health, for example, was erected out of devotion for the end of a pandemic, the plague of 1631.[16] The lesson we learn is simple: pandemics are cyclic cataclysms, they come and they go, which also means that they are not the only problems we are called to face.

COVID-19 has disrupted millions of lives. It has created an historical watershed. And it has been literally an apocalypse: a revelation. Very banally, it has revealed that humans are exposed—and that a microscopic agent can tell us that emperor is in fact naked. All this requires immediate action, of course. Yet, this urgency involves a risk: the risk of turning the coronavirus into an *absolute*. In other words, focusing exclusively on the virus, people (and governments) might end up neglecting that many of the issues at stake are environmental. This is a risk that we cannot afford: COVID, in fact, is not *the* ultimate catastrophe but *one* chapter in a bigger narrative, it is an epiphenomenon of a larger picture.[17]

The Environmental Humanities allow us to see the connections between the chapter and the bigger narrative[18]. They allow us to see the elements which shape the pandemic's ecology: an ecology of causes and effects ramified in space and time made of evolutionary pathways and crossings, endangered habitats and biodiversity, decades of neoliberal economy and centuries of colonialism, the maps of globalization and pollution, the ecology of contagion and cure, which is an ecology embedded in social, gender- and racial justice, and again the interlacement between power and the life of indigenous communities and their lands (as the case of Bolsonaro's Brazil tragically shows). Pandemics are also powerfully connected to climate change. Many tropical

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[16] See Ben-Ami, 2021.

[17] On this, see Iovino, 2020a and 2020b.

[18] For an Environmental Humanities response to COVID-19, see the articles in *The New Normal? An Environmental Humanities Response. Bifrost Online.* Available at: https://bifrostonline.org/

viruses are already thriving and spreading due to warmer climates. Scientists also believe that rising temperatures might free pathogens that have been trapped in the permafrost for millennia.

All this means that we cannot face the coronavirus crisis while keeping the global ecological crises out of the picture. And we need a culture for this. We need the humanities to read this planetary narrative and to interpret its signs: signs are important, because they can indicate directions that must be taken. And here let me quote a great Italian poet, Andrea Zanzotto: reflecting on the wounds that surround us—the wounds that affect our landscapes and our body politic, and Venice in particular—Zanzotto (2013) states that we must be able to *turn the evil into a sign:* in his words, we need to move further, "toward a never-seen where even evil could be stopped, emptied of its power, and rehabilitated as a sign, a trace, a form" (Zanzotto, 2013, pp. 104-105).

Turning the evil into a sign means transforming it into something we can read, and understand, and overcome. This is what the humanities are all about: the transformation of wounds into signs, of crises and emergencies into turning points and opportunities.[19]

This presupposes a precise assumption: There is no way back. The past has known many crises. But these crises have acquired a meaning only when, instead of restoring the old order, they were conducive to a new one. In other words, we don't need a restoration here—less than ever one modeled on the grand Restorations Europe has known.

Rather, we need a constitution. A constitution is the system of principles according to which a body politic is formed and ruled. It is the action of establishing an order—in this case a new order. Let me put the focus on this concept: body politic. If humans are a geological force, then the body politic of our time stretches beyond the human social body: it includes cities as well as forests, bodily cells as well as vegetation and fauna, animals in industrial farms and melting glaciers; it includes climate and the oceans,

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[19] I have extensively commented on this passage by Zanzotto in Iovino, 2016, pp. 72-73.

it includes our media and technological devices, it includes our waste. This body politic raises issues of political freedoms and individual wellbeing, issues of energy democracy and global pollution, issues of non-anthropocentric values. In the Anthropocene, "body politic" is a collective of agents and of processes, human and nonhuman, themselves resulting from collective dynamics and cycles. In the Anthropocene, this body politic is the earth. And it is all the invisible, non-hegemonic beings that are left in the shadow by the emergencies dictated by neoliberal politics.

The Environmental Humanities are able to shape the culture necessary for this constitutional moment; they can give us not only the coordinates of the many landscapes that we are called to read, but also the necessary roadmap for sustainability that human cultures—the humanities—must develop in the twenty-first century.

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Media Ecology and Cognition.
The Humanities and the Digital

BY MARIA TERESA CRUZ

Media Ecology and Cognition.
The Humanities and the Digital

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Abstract

The long history of human biological and cultural co-evolution has been, in its entirety, a history of the composition between the human and the non-human, a history of interactions and mediations between the physical, biological, technological and symbolic dimensions of existence. The full recognition of this reality dictates the need for an extended ecological thinking that also imposes on the humanities. Their contribution to a general ecology is, in fact, crucial, as the latter cannot do without a critique of the Anthropos's spiritual and cognitive primordiality and his externalization in modes of perceiving, thinking and acting upon the world. Media studies have been central to this critique and to the post-human epistemology that emerged, in particular, through digital culture. Ecological thinking thus requires a cognitive ecology which, in turn, constitutes itself as a critique of mediation, increasingly necessary, as both cognition and existence are now permeated by informationalization, computation and algorithmic governance, forming a planetary scale digital environment[20].

The language of the humanities

For decades now, the digital has been a dominant element in the Humanities, both in terms of the technocultural environment

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[20] This paper is dedicated to the doctoral students of the Communication Sciences course 2022, at NOVA University of Lisbon, where most of this research was discussed.

in which they exist and in terms of the forms of mediation that assist in their practice through research, production, publication and sharing of knowledge. Databases, specialized information networks and the world wide web, editorial platforms, data mining, modelling and visualization, automated analysis, image analysis and machine learning—all these processes are shaped by software, algorithms and AI processes and have already transformed, on a significant scale, the practice of the humanities, notably by providing access to and sharing of knowledge with a breadth unmatched at any other phase of human history. At all these levels, the humanities are already digital, to some extent, even though this idea pleases neither proponents of the Digital Humanities, nor their critics. Whatever uncertainty there may be about a paradigm shift does not, however, invalidate the fact that the humanities, too, have launched into the digital transition. The inevitability of that transition can be deduced from the past formation of the humanities—itself shaped by specific technical and medial conditions, including language, writing and print, documentation and archiving systems, and publishing models such as the book. The self-evident relationship between culture and memory transmission, which lies at the core of the humanities, might contribute to the illusion of continuity between old and new information technologies and the illusion that these technologies are neutral and secondary to the true subject of the Humanities. However, the fact that there is no culture or knowledge production without some form of mediation is exactly what makes it necessary to consider the importance of its mutation.

The rapid creation of new habits does not in turn prevent the discomfort of a certain illiteracy in the humanities' relationship with the digital, which has the advantage of bringing into greater awareness their extraordinary expertise in the field of "letters" and the techniques of writing and reading, giving us a better understanding of their relevance to knowledge formation in the humanities. The hermeneutic tradition, which founded the humanities as sciences of the spirit, is inseparable from the

mediation of language, of logocentrism and the grammatological and technological regimes that implemented it, such as those of the alphabet and of typography, of writing and print. Although this was perceived and even documented in humanities research, it did not really become the subject of conscious reflection as to its ultimate meaning until the linguistic and medial shifts of the 20th century.

Derrida's reflection on writing leads, *inter alia*, to a discussion of the phonocentrism that favoured the transparency of language as logos and the ideal self-presence of the spirit (as a kind of inner voice that talks to itself). Derrida criticizes the merely instrumental view of writing as "phonetic writing", to which he opposes the broader notion of a "general writing" or "arche-writing", showing that all Western metaphysics and the epistemology that stems from it are in fact impregnated with its originary technicity, a notion that he interprets based on the work of Leroi-Gourhan[21]. In *Of Grammatology,* he states: "Writing is not an auxiliary means in the service of science – and possibly its object – but first (….) the condition of the possibility of ideal objects and therefore of scientific objectivity. Before being its object, writing is the condition of the episteme" (Derrida 1976 [1967]: 27). The corollary of deconstructionism is therefore the following: "there is no deconstruction which does not … begin by calling again into question the dissociation between thought and technology, especially when it has a hierarchical vocation, however secret, subtle, sublime or denied it may be" (Derrida, 1986: 108). It is worth noting, in this passage, the denegation pointed out by Derrida, suggesting that the relationship between thought and technology is possibly one of the secrets that Western knowledge has best kept from itself. Some years later, Kittler stated that "the world of the symbolic" is

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[21] Cf. Timothy Clark "Deconstruction and Technology" (Clark 2000, 238- 257) and Federica Frabetti (2011) "Rethinking the Digital Humanities in the Context of OriginaryTechnicity" (Frabetti 2011, 1-22).

a "world of the machine" (Kittler 1997)[22] and that, "more than any other theorists, philosophers forgot to ask which media support their very practice" (Kittler 2009, 23)

Against this backdrop, the discussion on the adoption of writing by classical culture, presented in *Phaedrus* (Plato, 1972 [370 ac]), cannot but be seen as a moment of particular importance for the foundation of western knowledge and academia. This importance is rightly noted in the famous commentary devoted to the subject by Derrida (1972). Described by Socrates as a kind of *pharmakon*—a kind of remedy or instrument to support memory—, writing is also perceived by him as a risk of erasure or replacement of that same memory, with consequences for the process of anamnesis, which was, for Socrates, central to the discovery of truth. Writing therefore implies a different form of memory and, as such, a potential transformation of the psyche, marked by the technical ambivalence (between remedy and danger) that the *pharmakon* implies.

The long process of literacy teaching and the introduction of book and print technologies were key media transformations for cognition and the formation of modern knowledge, as well as for a first phase of the industrialization of culture that McLuhan named *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (McLuhan 1962). It is in periods of mutation that the mediation of thought becomes apparent in all its artificiality and potentiality, which should prompt an epistemological and political reflection about its virtualities and risks and the designing of strategies for its organization. Bernard Stigler establishes this task as that of a "pharmacology", continuing the discussion of the *pharmakon* in Plato that was initiated by Derrida (Stiegler 2011).

Any epistemic debate in the humanities will thus benefit from a critique of media and their relation to thinking, cognition and knowledge formation. However, such significant moments as the

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[22] See the essay by F. Kittler "The World of the Symbolic – A World of the Machine" (1997, 130-146).

Derridean deconstruction of phonocentrism or the Deleuzian reflection about cinema as *"une autre idée de la pensée"* are, despite their undoubtable relevance, fairly isolated endeavours. The emergence of media theory and media studies laid down the possibility for a more systematic critique of the relation between cognition and media but, as we know, the relation between language and thought has deep anthropological roots. It is the relation in which the animal becomes the Anthropos, as symbolic species and begins the long journey towards knowledge and action upon the world, armed with an initially rudimentary set of techniques and, above all, with the technology of language. The specific advantage of this techno-symbolic mediation would manifest itself in the kind of externalization of the mind and the relationship of the cognizing subject with himself and the world around him, ultimately leading to the ecological conditions of existence that we now describe as the Anthropocene. Ecological thinking is, therefore, inseparable from a cognitive ecology which, in turn, calls for a media critique or media ecology in its own right. The invention of a new language and information technology (the digital) and the prospect of a new stage of the externalization of the mind (that of artificial intelligence) require a media ecology whose need has always been dictated by human evolution itself.

Cognitive ecology: origin and challenges of the human

In the last decades, awareness of the ecological crisis and of an increasingly technological future, both implying a loss of human centrality, has caused the end of the modern anthropological narrative. The present is haunted by the difficulty of knowing, or even imagining, what will be our place and our role on the planet that is left and in the world of automation that lies ahead, despite the roadmaps for a green as well as a digital transition. *Staying with the trouble* (Haraway 2016), "learning to be truly present", co-inventing situated practices and discourses, such as through "speculative fabulation", is the proposal of Donna Haraway, who

advises against a "relationship to times called the future", whether they be "apocalyptic or salvific futures" (Haraway 2016, 1-3). However, the prevailing uncertainty of the present also leads to a search for answers in the remote past of the evolution of life and hominization, as if these contained the key to meeting the challenges of the present. The search for the "origin" has always helped the ontological questioning and allowed for some kind of "speculative fabulation" of its own. Above all, it calls upon an *evolutionary narrative* that seems to align with the need to reflect on the transitions of the present: the evolutionary biology from which we have sprung and the biological, technologic and symbolic coevolution that has enabled our existence as sapiens. The return of the evolutionary narrative is, to a large extent, linked to the effort to understand the origin of the human mind, currently complemented by the extensive literature of cognitive sciences and the advances in the computational modelling of the brain. The evolutionary, neurological, and computational theories are thus combined in the thematization of what the contemporary spirit calls "Artificial Intelligence" and onto which it projects the obsolescence or surpassing of the human being.

The coming together of cognitivism and "intelligent machines" was initially based on the conviction that a fundamental isomorphism exists between computation and human cognition as representation and processing of information, and it anticipated, from the outset, that the former would surpass the latter. This isomorphism reduces the human mind to a set of symbolic and logical operations[23], erasing both its embodied dimension and the forms of mediation that those operations entail. This first paradigm of AI (the jargon for which is GOFAI

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[23] This initial cognitivist hypothesis is critically described by Varela, Thompson and Rosch as follows: "Cognition (…) defined as computations of symbolic representations", according to "the cognitivist claim that the only way we can account for intelligence and intentionality is to hypothesize that cognition consists of acting on the basis of representations that are physically realized in the form of a symbolic code in the brain or a machine." (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991, 40)

— *Good Old-Fashioned Artificial Intelligence*) led to several initial successes (expert systems, the programming language PROLOG, chess programmes that beat world champions of the game, etc.). However, it also quickly showed its limitations regarding basic processes that our brains constantly perform as embodied minds, related in particular to the sensorimotor interaction with the environment. In *The Embodied Mind:* Cognitive Science and *Human Experience* (1991), Varela, Thompson and Rosch describe the capacity for "many cognitive tasks (such as vision and memory)", not as a merely representational function of an external world, "a function of particular symbols", but as the creation of an experience: "even the most hard-nosed biologist (…), would have to admit that there are many ways that the world is—indeed even many different worlds of experience (…) And even if we restrict our attention to human cognition, there are many various ways the world can be taken to be" (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991, 9).

A staunch evolutionary biologist, like Richard Dawkins, explains that "different species live in different worlds", stating that we humans have evolved as inhabitants of a *"middle world"*, "the medium scale environment" we are capable of grasping and in which we develop the capacity to act, between the microscopic world of the atoms and particles and the macroscopic world of stars and galaxies. However, because our brains are in an "evolutionary apprenticeship", because they are versatile and expandable, they have gradually transformed and trained themselves in new tasks through media that they themselves invented throughout the process of producing and sharing experience and knowledge. In *The Selfish Gene* (1976), Dawkins proposed the notion of "meme" as a cultural unit of imitation, replication and transmission of memory to its descendants, based on forms of mediation that could endure for far longer than the biological material itself, whose fate is to be dissolved into a genetic pool. This hypothesis is taken up by Lumsden and Wilson in *Genes, Mind, and Culture: The Coevolutionary Process* (1981) through the concept of *"culturegene"*, which is used to speak of the evolutionary correspondence between

neural networks and the gradual cultural formation of a first seman-
tic memory, among other aspects[24]. In *Not by Genes Alone* (2005),
Richerson and Boyd also posit this biological and cultural coevolu-
tion of humans, notably at the neurological level, through feedback
loops between genetic evolution, behaviour and environment.

Evolutionary theory has, from the end of the 19th century,
already formulated a similar principle—the Baldwin effect—,
according to which one of the outcomes of the species' effort
of adaptation to the environment is a change in the environ-
ment itself, which, in turn, will tend to favour adaptation. In *The
Embodied Mind*, the authors underscore that "what is required
for evolutionary change is not genetically encoded as opposed
to acquired traits" (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991, 200).
Evolution is therefore a "natural drift", through "self-organizing
processes", "under structural coupling with a medium", in a "coim-
plicative relation, since organism and medium mutually specify
each other" (…) Genes are, then, better conceived as elements
that specify what in the environment must be fixed for something
to operate as a gene" (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991,199).

In *A Mind So Rare* (2001), Merlin Donald describes the
unique character of the human mind, highlighting four essen-
tial aspects: "an expanded executive brain system, extreme cere-
bral plasticity, a greatly expanded working memory capacity, and
especially a process of brain-culture symbiosis" that he also calls
"deep enculturation" (Donald 2001, 10). He thus underscores the
biological and cultural coevolution of human cognition, including
in it the process of the emergence of language:

> *"Our conscious capacity provides the biological basis for
> the generation of culture, including symbolic thought
> and language. Conversely, culture also provides the only
> explanatory mechanism that can unlock the distinctive*

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[24] This research is understood by both authors on the basis of a dialogue between biology and
social sciences or what they also call "Socio-biology" in: Lumsden, Promethean Fire: Reflections
on the Origin of Mind (1983) and Wilson, Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge (1998)

> *nature of modern human awareness. Without deep enculturation, we are relatively helpless to exploit the potential latent in our enormous brains because the specifics of our modern cognitive structure are not built in. Our brains coevolved with culture and are specifically adapted for living in culture—that is, for assimilating the algorithms and knowledge networks of culture"*
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> (DONALD 2001, 11).

The main difference between our cognitive capacities and those of other animals cannot be dissociated from the fact that we are the only animal that invented the media to externalize and share mental processes, through which the brain is also shaped and transformed. Our cognitive difference lies, therefore, in a process of biocultural coevolution, which opens a large number of possibilities in terms of the relationship with the environment and with other living beings. As stated by Merlin Donald, "cultural mind sharing is our unique trait" (Donald 2001, 12), and it derives from the pressure of evolutionary adaptation itself, giving rise to different stages of "knowledge networks" (Donald 2001, 10)[25].

In *Origins of the Modern Mind* (1991), Donald describes this long process of coevolution (of about 2 000 000 years), pointing out the first evidence of a skilled archaic human, the *homo habilis*. This required control of movement and training, i.e., the emergence of a memory connected with action, and processes of learning and sharing based on repetition, imitation and enacting, that caused the externalization of a notional thought, even before the emergence of language. These aspects are characteristic of the first long stage of cognitive evolution of the archaic human, during

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[25] "The ultimate irony of human existence is that we are supreme individualists, whose individualism depends almost entirely on culture for its realization. It came at the price of giving up the isolationism, or cognitive solipsism, of all other species and entering into a collectivity of the mind" (Donald 2001, 12).

which the first ritual practices have also developed a first *"cognitive network"* that Donald describes as *"mimetic cognitive governance"*.

The two subsequent stages are marked by the relationship with language: the second stage, by the emergence of speech (between 500 000 and 70 000 years ago), and the third stage (starting around 40 000 years ago), by the invention of notational systems and writing practices (in the last 5000 years). This last stage also comprises the development of new consistent and diversified techniques, among which writing and reading that can be regarded as a superior kind of technical capability. Consequently, despite being the most significant distinctive trait of modern humans, having entailed the largest expansion and transformation of our brain thus far, language must be considered a kind of artefact. The transformation of the brain that accompanied the acquisition of language is dictated by the complexity of the processes associated with it, such as those related to hearing, vocalization and memory: the expansion of executive and metacognitive possibilities associated with the frontal lobes, the development of interactive, procedural and semantic memory systems, and the development of multifocal attention. Although the complexity of these processes might have required a kind of "language instinct", in the words of Pinker (Pinker 1994), or some innate mechanisms for learning it, as Chomsky proposes (Chomsky 1975), they must be understood in the context of their biological and cultural coevolution, as suggested by Darwin's famous statement according to which language is "half art, half instinct"[26].

It is equally relevant that the relationship between cognitive evolution and language takes place in two stages that are clearly differentiated and quite far apart in time. The different forms of mediation involved in a culture of speech and in a culture of

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[26] "A great stride in the development of the intellect will have followed, as soon as the half-art and half-instinct of language came into use; for the continued use of language will have reacted on the brain and produced an inherited effect; and this again will have reacted on the improvement of language" (Charles Darwin, The Descent of Man, 1871, chap. XXI, 610, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2300/2300-h/2300-h.htm#link2HCH0003 (accssed 21/02/2022)

writing are thus recognized as crucial and resulting in two differ-
ent cognitive stages. In conclusion, it is not at all sufficient to
define ourselves as a "symbolic species" without acknowledging
the different forms of mediation that the *symbolic* entails (Deacon
1997). We should rather refer to the emergence of a "symbolo-
sphere"[27], to use Robert K. Logan's term, a sphere in which funda-
mentally different media stages must be pointed out. The one that
begins with the notational systems and the alphabet leads to an
"exogrammatic culture" supported by *"new memory media external to
brains"* (as opposed to the notion of "engram" as brain memory).
This new stage involves the formation of "hybrid distributed cogni-
tive networks", (Donald 2001, 320-324), also described by Logan
as "propagation of extra-somatic organization" (Logan 2007, 85).

The externalization and exponential expansion of memory
through notational systems and archives entails a different form
of access to and management of information, one which enables
the great civilizational experiences and the institutionalized
forms of government and law that brought us to modern societies.
The invention of notational systems also triggers the emergence
of analytical reasoning and mathematical ideation, which should
not be seen as innate capabilities. Regarding the coevolution of
the forms of symbolic mediation and the brain, Donald also refers
to a neuronal reorganization, usually termed the "cultural recy-
cling hypothesis", which stems from the practices of writing and
reading, and the gradual imposition of literacy with increasingly
longer periods of formal education. This kind of neuronal reor-
ganization is currently attested by the neurosciences.

These studies show that when we acquire (alphabetical, math-
ematical or musical) reading skills, new functional architectures
are formed in our brain, cortical maps aimed at serving new
functions, something that does not happen in people who have

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[27] "In the same way", Logan continues, "that biology cannot be reduced to physics it is also the
case that the symbolic conceptual aspects of human behavior, namely, language and culture cannot
be reduced to, derived from or predicted from human biology. Nor can the future evolution of
language and culture (the symbolosphere) be finitely prestated" (Logan 2007, 86).

not learned to read. Katherine Hayles underscores that "learning to read has been shown to result in significant changes in brain functioning"; and "so has learning to read differently, for example by performing Google searches" (Hayles 2012, 2; Carr 2011). Studies on neurobiology have attested with growing consistency this type of phenomena of functional or even structural adaptation—referred to as neuroplasticity. This adaptation can result from specific accidents, but also from the ordinary experience of learning and memory creation in response to changes in attention, cognitive challenges and adaptation to new tasks. Therefore, it is necessary to study cognition in light of its biocultural evolution, its interaction with the environment, and its specific forms of mediation.

However, the evolutionary narrative tends to overlook cultural transformations that happened more recently and at a more accelerated pace, such as those related to modern media, evidencing, instead, the big leaps in evolution, like the one regarding language. Nevertheless, as discussed above, it acknowledges the different media stages of symbolic thought itself. More interestingly, it consistently points to the present digital transition as a leap as relevant as the one concerning the invention of language and notational systems of calculus and writing. The view that we might be on the verge of a new "leap" in cultural evolution, a leap with extraordinary implications for our cognitive capabilities and the neuronal organization of our brain, is now more or less explicitly widespread, and consistently points to the same set of aspects of contemporary technological experience: the continuous growth of artificial memory systems and information networks, the increasing capacity and autonomy of computational and algorithmic processes, the significant changes in our modes of attention and literacies, the constant immersion in a digital media environment and, in particular, the new stage of artificial intelligence. On the one hand, our brains are increasingly interconnected with the information networks, as if they formed a single hybrid and distributed system, and the aim of each individual life was merely to add a few more traits to it before disappearing.

On the other hand, the level of complexity, diversification and autonomy that computational applications have reached in the last few years, especially with the recent exploration of neuronal models, has once again rekindled expectations around Artificial Intelligence or an effective simulation of human intelligence.

These expectations are based on the implementation of Machine Learning systems capable of learning by themselves to perform certain operations, instead of fully programmed systems. These are operations associated, inter alia, with "non-conscious" or "primary" dimensions of cognition (Hayles 2017, Damásio 2021), many of which have been in a process of consolidation ever since our neurological system was formed, including operations associated with the sensorimotor system of our embodied mind. Such operations, which have become basic tasks for our mind, are nevertheless difficult to model and programme by artificial systems[28]. The implementation of some of them, however, has become possible in the past years: voice recognition, image analysis and machine vision, are increasingly used in "intelligent systems". These systems use automated learning processes based on neural architectures, which train them to extract patterns, through trial and error, from massive databases on which they operate. The paradigm of machine learning comprises, therefore, a dimension of blindness, or black box, which compensates for the difficulty in modelling those systems. In fact, the operations of the human brain remains largely unknown, and despite some extremely important advances, the challenge of its effective computational simulation continues to be, as described by the *Blue Brain Project*

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[28] Hayles includes this"mode of awareness", mentioned by various neuroscience specialists, in the concept of "non-conscious-cognition", explaining that it "operates at a level of neuronal processing inaccessible to the modes of awareness but nevertheless performing functions essential to consciousness". Perhaps its most important function is to keep consciousness, with its slow uptake and limited processing ability, from being overwhelmed with the floods of interior and exterior information streaming into the brain every millisecond." (Hayles 2017, 10)

(2013-2024)[29], like "finishing a trillion-piece puzzle when you only have a few piece to start with". Consequently, machine learning systems are shaped by the current state of the art in computation and by the data culture and economy that feeds it, constituting, to that extent, a specific stage of the digital cognitive ecology.

Speculations concerning an ultraintelligent machine (Good 1965) anticipated early on the possibility of a machine that is *"able to learn from experience"*, based on an *"artificial neural network"*, and the idea that such a machine "will need embodiment", i.e., to be "adequately integrated with its *sensorium* and *motorium* (input and output)" (Good 1965, 31-32). The horizon of this speculation is that such a machine might itself produce other machines, whose principles will be unknown to us, thus reaching autonomy and "singularity" at a level close to general intelligence and conscious-ness, a prospect that some view as a *"pernicious fantasy"*[30]. This is, however, the horizon of a transhumanist ideology that actively seeks the *enhancement* of the human being and the acceleration of that process by way of corporate research and investment. Thus, the narrative according to which our destiny is to be surpassed by forms of artificial intelligence that are evolved versions of ourselves presents technology as the final stage of biological evolutionism and of the process of selection of the fittest.

Evolutionary theory, however, aims to explain the variety of life as being the result of the organisms' adaptive response to the environment *"in its infinitely complex relations"* (Darwin 1859, 60–6), contradicting, to that extent, both the idea of a purely genetic specification and the idea of an original design or

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[29] "It is not feasible to map every detail of the brain experimentally because, there are too many parts (over 20,000 genes, more than 100,000 different types of proteins, more than a trillion organic molecules in a single cell, nearly 100 billion neurons, up to 1,000 trillion synapses and over 800 different brain regions in the human brain), too many complex relationships between all these parts, and then too many variations of the brain; across individuals, genders, age, and species." (The Blue Brain Project - https://www.epfl.ch/research/domains/bluebrain/blue-brain/about/)

[30] Cf. Dennett in the debate "On the Evolution of the Mind, Consciousness and AI", London, 13/03/2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o86W0DgrmRc&ab_channel=IntelligenceSquared (accessed 21/02/2021)

intentionality. Biological evolutionism, according to the "blind watchmaker" model (Dawkins 1986), implies that nothing takes precedence over the process of interaction with the environment and its complex interdependencies and contingencies. The view of Varela and Thompson accentuates this idea, with respect to the biological evolution of the mind: "to situate cognition as embodied action within the context of evolution as natural drift provides a view of cognitive capacities as inextricably linked to histories that are lived, much like paths that exist only as they are laid down in walking." And they add: "It should be noted that such histories of coupling are not optimal; they are, rather, simply viable", thereby ensuring the integrity of the system. On the contrary, for a dimension "to be optimal, the interactions of the system would have to be (more or less) prescribed", which could then compromise its viability (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991, 205). Fully in line with this idea, Hayles herself emphasizes the embodied condition of our mind and the fact that it possesses "an evolutionary history that intelligent machines do not share" (Hayles 1999, 284)[31].

In conclusion, the optimization of evolution by design, just as the idea of the natural selection of the fittest, has no parallel to the actual evolutionary process. In *From Bacteria to Bach and Back* (2017), Dennet warns that the introduction of "Intelligent Design" also re-introduces the logic of *memes*, i.e., the replication of strains without the necessary outcome in terms of diversity, contrary to the processes of biological and cultural co-evolution we entered millions of years ago. This assessment becomes

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[31] Cf. How We Became Posthuman: "As I have repeatedly argued, human being is first of all an embodied being, and the complexities of this embodiment mean that human awareness unfolds in ways very different from those of intelligence embodied in cybernetic machines (…). The body itself is a congealed metaphor, a physical structure whose constraints and possibilities have been formed by an evolutionary history that intelligent machines do not share. (…) There is a limit to how seamlessly humans can be articulated with intelligent machines, which remain distinctively different from humans in their embodiments. The terror, then, though it does not disappear in this view, tends away from the apocalyptic and toward a more moderate view of seriated social, technological, political, and cultural changes." (Hayles 1999, 283-285)

particularly relevant in the age we seem to be entering now, fuelled by evolutionary imagination —the "age of evolutionary design. An era of creationist processes, evolutionary computing and algorithms, deep machine learning and experiments with artificial life and artificial intelligence.

The notion of "intelligence" is itself symptomatic of yet other aspects at stake within this imagination. As Malabou points out, the notion of "intelligence is one of the key stakes for (…) eugenics"; it appeared in 1883 by the hand of Francis Galton, "Darwin's cousin and an avid reader of On the Origin of Species", who decided to apply "the concept of survival of the fittest", which "in Darwin's work was distinct from any value judgement or intention, (…) to a potential improvement of the species (...) developing a process of artificial selection in order to favour the appearance of certain characteristics while eliminating others, such as hereditary illnesses and mental degeneration" (Malabou 2017, 38-39). After the shock of Darwin's discoveries, the 20th century needed a constant pedagogy to counter the creationist narrative of an omniscient design of human beings and life. Paradoxically, the 21st century may need a similar pedagogy to unmask the alleged evolutionary basis of transhumanist creationism.[32]

Consequently, we must reflect upon the feeling of the Obsolescence of the Human Being (Anders, 1956) shared by both discouraged humanists as well as empowered transhumanists and develop a posthumanist critique long proposed by Hayles, Haraway and others, namely in the now more explicit condition of the Anthropocene. Today, as before, this posthumanist critique remains a critique of the liberal subject because, as Hayles stated already in 1999, "what is lethal, is not the posthuman as such but the grafting of the posthuman onto a liberal humanist view of the

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[32] Cf. Nick Bostrom (2005), founding director of the Future of Humanity Institute (Oxford University), explaining that many of humanity's problems are a result of us not having explored all our capacities yet. "To fix this problem", we need to explore "the space of possible modes of being", https://www.ted.com/talks/nick_bostrom_a_philosophical_quest_for_our_biggest_problems#t-7750 (accessed 21/02/2022)

self", or "of that part of humanity who had the wealth, power, and leisure to conceptualize themselves as autonomous beings exercising their will through individual agency and choice" (Hayles 1999, 285-287). This power, which perceives itself to be an expression of the exceptionality of the human being, stems from the legitimizing view that "humans are the dominant species on the earth because of their cognitive abilities", a view that calls for a "new planetary cognitive ecology" in as much as the conditions of general ecology directly depend on it (Hayles 2017, 3). That is why the task of an "affirmative" ethical and political thinking is to create the conditions for "posthuman knowledge production" and the "Critical Post-Humanities", as proposed by Rosi Braidotti. Therefore, "a change of perspective is needed": "repositioning terrestrial, planetary, cosmic concerns, the naturalized others like animals and plants, and the technological apparatus, as serious agents and co-constructors of transversal thinking and knowledge" (Braidotti 2019, 111). This change is already taking place, through new forms of knowledge and practices and a new interdisciplinarity between human sciences, environmental and earth sciences, biology, palaeontology, neurosciences, computational sciences, among others.

The long history of human biological and cultural coevolution is, in its entirety, a history of composition between the human and the non-human, a history of the interaction between biological, technological and symbolic life. Hayles further points out that "human involvement with technology did not happen at a late stage of this co-evolution but was there from the very beginning of homo sapiens" (Hayles 2014, 102) and that is why "we have always been posthuman" (Hayles 1999, 279, 291). The process by which "we invent things and things invent us" can be summed up by the concept of "technogenesis" (Hayles 2014, 102). The interactions and mutual implications between the biological, technological and sociocultural dimensions of human life should especially be acknowledged today, given the growing penetration of these various systems by computational technologies and the formation

of a cognitive ecology with ever- shortening cycles of epigenetic change. Now is the time to fully acknowledge the links between "biological life", "symbolic life", and "artificial life" because, in fact, "there is but one life" (Malabou 2019 [2017], xvi). Vitalism, mechanicism, materialism and animism have all been partial anticipations and symptoms of the posthuman epistemology. This new epistemology will require *"a nature-culture and medium-nature-culture continuum"*, as described by Rosi Braidotti (Braidotti 2019, 111). Indeed, the dichotomy and passage between nature and culture, "biological life" and "symbolic life", which have always been at the center of Anthropology, imply a division and, at the same time, a Gordian knot that the question of mediation has sought to untie and rearticulate without resorting to an ontology of technique nor, conversely, to a negation of technology. Such an endeavour is vital for a contemporary cognitive ecology.

Media ecology and post-human epistemology

In *How We Think* (2012), K. Hayles begins her reflection by noting that "we think through, with, and alongside media" (Hayles 2012, 1). She recognizes in this manner the centrality of media to cognition and thinking in general and, consequently, the contribution of Media Studies both to cognitive sciences and to the epistemology of the humanities, paying homage to several of its authors: "This, of course, is not a new idea. Marshall McLuhan, Friedrich Kittler, Lev Manovich, Mark Hansen, and a host of others have made similar claims." (Hayles 2012, 1). Indeed, media studies have produced a significant body of work that has become vital to the understanding of cognition and its relation to culture: evidence that oral cultures differed fundamentally from the experience of the "typographic man" (McLuhan 1962), which was mediated by the techniques of writing and reading, by books and the printing press; or, further yet, evidence that cinema, the gramophone, radio, television and other modern media transformed a predominantly literary culture into a culture of image and sound,

with new forms of representation, perception and attention. In the last decades, computation and digital media have, in turn, so radically changed the way we produce and disseminate knowledge, and the way we interact with information in general, that human culture seems to be undergoing a process of deep change within just a few generations. Consequently, according to Hayles, to understand the human condition and experience, one cannot forgo the contribution of the Comparative Media Studies, which "with its foregrounding of media technologies in comparative contexts, provides theoretical, conceptual, and practical frameworks for critically assessing technogenetic changes and devising strategies to help guide them in socially constructive ways" (Hayles 2012, 14). At the heart of the theory and study of media lies particular attention to the technical dimension of human experience, not just at the level of the relationship with nature but also at the level of the human being's own resources as a sentient, cognizing and social being. In conclusion, modern and contemporary media have brought to the foreground what the narrative about the long process of hominization and emergence of culture had already told us —"that human beings have always depended on and co-evolved with technologies", as Hansen points out in an essay about new media (Hansen 2003). This reality, however, has often been neglected by the humanities, which tend to oppose culture to technique more frequently than to seek a deeper understanding of this relationship.

In *La Technique et le Temps* (1985), Bernard Stiegler returns to the question of technology through the narrative of Prometheus, pointing out that it comprises, first and foremost, the acknowledgement of a fault— Epimetheus's fault (which Prometheus seeks to repair), as he left humans deprived of various qualities. He thus notes that technique makes up for this fundamental incompleteness of the human being, permeating, therefore, his very constitution. In this way, he returns to the idea of an originary technicity, which he describes as an "originary prostheticity" (Stiegler 1985, 98-100) or a process supplementing the organic

with the non-organic, a means "to pursue life through means other than life" (Stiegler 1985, 17). At the heart of this process lies the externalization of the mind, through means of retention and transmission of experience, which he terms "mnemotechnics". The originary role of technique lies, therefore, in a supplementation of memory that enables a different relationship with time. In the absence of this *time-binding* relationship, we would have a merely immediate relationship with life, without any sense of a past nor the prospect of a future, i.e., without culture. Mnemotechnics supplements both our genetic memory and secondary retentions (our lived experience and interactions with the environment) with a third memory that Stiegler names as "epiphylogenetic" - a fully externalized memory composed of "tertiary retentions" through technical and symbolic forms of mediation. "Mnemotechniques" are, in this sense, "technologies of the spirit" and the basis for all our knowledge: from "theoretical knowledge" (*"savoir théorique"*) and "know-how" (*"savoir faire"*) to "know how to act" (*"savoir agir"*) and "know how to live" (*"savoir vivre"*) (Stiegler 2011, 294-309). This view finds support in notions such as the "associated milieu" of Gilbert Simondon, (2017 [1958]), the "technical milieu" (of Leroi-Gourhan) that much like the natural environment, surrounds the human being (*"entoure l'homme"*) and "contains all the means of material action" (Leroi-Gourhan 1945, 333, 348), or "the new technical milieu" (of Jacques Ellul), in the sense that "technique has become the new and specific milieu in which man is required to exist, one which has supplanted the old milieu, viz., that of nature" (Ellul 1962, 394). For Simondon, too, "technicity" is a central aspect of the "mode of existence of the whole constituted by man and the world" (Simondon 2017 [1958], 173), to the extent that a psychic and social individuation of the human being entails his externalization (Simondon 2005) and this externalization, in turn, entails the formation of a technical and symbolic environment. In Stiegler's own account of these anthropological theses, "the individuation of the human being occurs in the environment, between the externalization

of the organs and the internalization of the prostheses"[33]. The connection between the human and the non-human is what is truly proper to the human being, implying processes of "exosomatization" and mediation that must be addressed by a general "organology", comprising the description of artificial organs or technical prostheses. (Stiegler 2004).

Media Studies can be understood as the descriptive analysis of these artificial organs of the human being that externalize and shape his cognitive, perceptual and affective dimensions. The differentiation and implementation of some of these apparatuses in modern times prevented the illusion of their naturalization and produced the mnemotechnical inscription of experience in the form of photography, phonography, telegraphy, cinematography, and videography. The material and technical encoding and decoding of these sensitive flows reveal the technicity of the script and remove any illusion about language as a natural feature of human beings, still associated with verbal language. The materiality of the analogical inscription uncovers the irreducibility of meaning to form, exposes the phantasmagorical aspects that exceed grammatization and fills the stream of consciousness with the sensorial flows and temporal objects of this new media aesthetics. This enormous historical rupture has often been perceived as a retreat of the symbolic and associated with the larger theme of the industrialization of culture as "aesthetic barbarism", according to the influential formulation of Adorno and Horkheimer (Adorno e Horkheimer 2002 [1947], 104). In contrast with the first stage of the industrialization of culture—that of typography—controlled by the leading institutions of knowledge (the church and the university), "the apparatuses of symbol production, which had pertained thus far to the artistic, theological, legal and political spheres (…), are now completely absorbed by the world trade and industry organization" that tye together the spheres of

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[33] Cf. "Milieu", Ars Industrialis, https://arsindustrialis.org/milieu (accessed 21/02/2022)

communication, cultural production and entertainment. (Stiegler 2001, 4).

In the 20th-century view of the humanities, media appear as the background of industrialized and massified culture and, therefore, as the diffuse object of critical thinking. The enormous relevance and influence of the cultural industry theme have not impeded, however, the further reflection on the relationship between culture and technique, which has, in turn, transformed into a critique of the humanities. This new critical assessment has called for a "medial turn" in cultural studies, countering dominant humanistic views, such as the ones of hermeneutics and semiotics. Materialism and technological determinism, which were frequently associated with the authors of this "medial turn", are not the only relevant aspects of this epistemic change. This shift also includes a relevant anthropological and ecological dimension. As the relationship between culture and media describes how media shape a technical and symbolic environment as the very condition of human existence and culture.

The revolutionary enterprise of *Understanding Media* (1964) as prostheses relates them to the challenges posed by the human condition, which, in McLuhan's view, are mainly linked to changes in the scale and pace of experience. Media enable response and adaptation to those changes in the cultural and social environment, ensuring the continuation of human existence: "man in his normal use of technology (or his variously extended body) is perpetually modified by it and in turn finds ever new ways of modifying his technology" (McLuhan 1994 [1964]. The notion of prosthesis implies, however, a fundamental ambivalence, for there is no prosthesis (even as "extension" or enhancement) without "self-amputation" (McLuhan 1994 [1964], 42). McLuhan gives yet another warning regarding the ambivalence of media by pointing out that the co-evolution of human and technique potentiates media themselves as much as humans, because "we must, to use them at all, serve (…) these extensions of ourselves, as gods or minor religions" of contemporary civilization. The

following image clearly describes media as tools for environmental coping, as well as the political implications of media ecology: "By continuously embracing technologies, we relate ourselves to them as servo-mechanisms (…) as the bee of the plant world, enabling it to fecundate and to evolve ever new forms" (McLuhan 1994 [1964], 46). The vision of a prosthetic being presents a clear parallel to the post-structuralist crisis of the human but also an interesting contrast to its no less famous image of the vanishing of man—*"comme à la limite de la mer un visage de sable"* (Foucault 1966, 398) — anticipating instead the posthuman metaphor of an essentially changed human being, namely the metaphor of the cyborg that will emerge later on.

Around the same time, cybernetics and electronic computers were paving the way into a new media condition, which McLuhan has also anticipated and coined as the "Electric Age", where the empty medium of electricity would allow the pure processing of information (McLuhan , 1994 [1964]: 9). This in turn would lead to a radical spatiotemporal contraction of experience and to a retribalization of society, condensed into yet another famous image - that of a "global village" (McLuhan , 1989). However, the age of electric media is also characterized as the one that has produced a *"model of the central nervous system itself"* and, "to the degree that this is so, it is a development that suggests a desperate and suicidal autoamputation" (McLuhan 1994 [1964], 43). Thus, since McLuhan, media theory is the study of artificial organs or technological supplementation for coping with changing conditions of human existence. It proposes a new dimension of ecological thought - media ecology – that describes the balance between human and technological modes of being and the social, cultural and political environment they co-evolved. To a large extent, this

media ecology is an ecology of the mind,[34] since media extend (and amputate) human perceptual, affective, and cognitive capabilities.

The designation of Media Ecology would emerge shortly after, with Neil Postman, who called for the inclusion of the techno-symbolic environment study in ecological thought besides that of the biophysical environment. Thinking of the profound transformation of modern societies, which he referred to as the triumph of the "technopolis" (Postmann 1993), he particularly noted the collapse of institutions and their replacement with technological forms of organization. In the "mediology" of Regis Debray, the notion of "media spheres" points to the equally inescapable conditions of a technically constituted existence. In the words of Debray, "reality has become a category of techno-culture", which, once again, bears an important political warning: "the machines of today are like the politics of yesterday. We may choose not to concern ourselves with them, but in that case, they will be the ones to concern themselves with us". (Debray 1992, 389). More recently, in *Media Ecology: An Approach to Understanding the Human* (2017), Lance Strate describes media ecology as "the conditions that shape us as human beings, drive human history, and determine the prospects for our survival as a species" (Strate 2017, 1). Media theory is inherently an ecological critique of culture through an ecology of the spirit. It is a fundamental contribution to general ecology since the latter cannot do away with a critique of the Anthropos' spiritual or cognitive

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[34] Gregory Baetson proposed the expression "ecology of the mind" in a work from 1972 to aggregate interdisciplinary research studies that shared a systemic and holistic epistemology with special attention to cybernetics. In a chapter on "the role of consciousness in the ongoing process of human adaptation", the following is stated: "Three cybernetic or homeostatic systems will be considered: the individual human organism, the human society, and the larger ecosystem. Consciousness will be considered as an important component in the coupling of these systems. A question of great scientific interest and perhaps grave importance is whether the information processed through consciousness is adequate and appropriate for the task of human adaptation. It may well be that consciousness contains systematic distortions of view which, when implemented by modern technology, become destructive of the balances between man, his society and his ecosystem" (Baetson 1972, 447).

priority and how its externalization determines modes of thinking about and acting upon the world. By revealing the intrinsically technological dimension of culture, it shows that it is insufficient to undertake a critique of modern technoscientific reason while attempting to preserve a vision of culture as an idealized space of unalienated spirituality and originary *poiesis*.

Media theory opened the way for the taking up again, on a new base (anthropological and ecological, more than ontological), of "the question concerning technology" (Heidegger 1977 [1954], 26-28), an inquiry unexplainably rare in a century already profoundly transformed by the power of technology. Nevertheless, as Bernard Stiegler pointed out at the beginning of the rather unique project of *Technics and Time* (3 volumes: 1994, 1996, 2001), the question of technology remains largely "unthought" (Stiegler, 1994: 9) for most of philosophy and the humanities and, as such, also the most significant "danger", to go back to Heidegger's note (Heidegger [1954]). Referring to media studies, Sybille Krämer repeats the same kind of diagnosis: "the media debate reached philosophy late", and the "orientation towards questions of media certainly originated at the margins of academic philosophy (…) and core areas like the philosophy of spirit and language, epistemology, and the theory of science, not to mention ontology and metaphysics, that remain largely unaffected by the issues in media theory". The explanation for this, she adds, is the fact that the idea of mediation disturbs the "unimpeded view" of that which is seen as "the 'actual' objects of humanistic work, like 'sense', 'meaning', 'spirit', 'form', and 'content' – an assumption that had previously been taken for granted by the humanities" (Kämer 2015 [2008], 28). Possibly no one has been more effective than Friedrich Kittler in drawing all implications from the" media turn" and in exorcising, through it, the ideality of the sciences of the spirit. Against the persisting view of philosophy that "teaches of an original' familiarity with ourselves'" (Kittler 1997, 132), Kittler points to the relevant questioning that began with psychoanalysis, emphasising not only the notion of the unconscious but also

Freud's description of consciousness as a "psychic apparatus" (cf. Kittler idem). Its functionalities, Kittler says, are externalised in each historical realisation of a "media system". The humanities' tendency, however, has been to cover up this uncanny (unheimlich) dimension of the human, i.e., the media that make our very spiritual existence viable or the set of "technological standards" in which it materialises itself historically (Kittler 1997, 132), as he explains in this famous provocative passage:

> *"so-called Man is not determined by attributes which philosophers confer on or suggest to people in order that they may better understand themselves; rather, He is determined by technological standards. Presumably then, every psychology or anthropology only subsequently spells out which functions of the general data processing are controlled by machines, that is, implemented in the real"*
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> (KITTLER 1997, 133).

Therefore, media theory is also a continuation of the critique of reason. It occupies the space left vacant by the universals or the *"a priori"* of the transcendental subject (Siegert 2015, 1), which it replaces with media technology, expressing an often assumed determinism or constructivism[35]. The same (transcendental) space has also been occupied, with different nuances, by other variations of the critique of reason, such as the apparatuses theory (that runs through Foucault, Deleuze, Agamben, and others), frequently avoiding, in its turn, a direct reflection on the question of technology. Other developments of media theory, although continuing

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[35] «In The *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Ernst Cassirer claimed that 'the critique of reason is turning into the critique of culture'. With the rise of so- called German media theory, an alternate formula has emerged: the critique of reason is turning into the critique of media. (…). A war is waging that pits "culture" against "media." (…) Both combatants are striving to inherit nothing less than the throne of the transcendental that has remained vacant since the abdication of the "critique of reason." (Siegert 2015, 1)

to emphasize the technicity of mediation processes, seek to avoid the correlationism of that transcendental space. Through the lens of new materialism and object-oriented theory, they extend the critical value of the notions of "mediation" or "mediality" to counter the ontological and anthropocentric beliefs of the humanities, a critique that continues to lay at the heart of media theory itself. In "Technical Mediation" (1994), Latour criticizes the exclusion of objects and technologies from the scope of agency and in "Towards an Ontology of Media" (2009), Kittler criticizes the "exclusion of physical and technical media from questions of ontology" (Kittler 2009, 23). For Latour, mediation is a "translation" process, "the blind spot where society and matter exchange properties": technical objects are themselves "full of engineers, chancellors and legislators, connecting their wills and storylines" with matter. As such, in "artefacts and technologies we do not find the efficiency and obscurancy of matter, imprinting chains of cause and effect onto malleable humans" but "actors in their own right", says Latour (Latour 1994, 62). For Kittler, in turn, ontological enquiry must transform into mediological questioning, because we now understand that "'in the middle' of absence and presence there exists no nothing anymore, but a mediatic relation". And he adds: if "the connections of media and ontology are to be formulated in more precise terms", we must then understand "the connections of mathematics and media" (Kittler 2009, 23). Hence the notion of "media of mathematics" which will frame his discussion.

The mathematical root of media technology expresses itself fully in the emergence of the computer, whose logical and calculation operations are rooted in a long genealogy of Western reason. Kittler's view of Western technology has common aspects with that of Heidegger, but the framework developed by each of them is quite different: for Heidegger, a history of being; for Kittler, an archaeology of media, with an emphasis on the notational systems of alphabets and numbers, the media of western reason's ideation and abstraction. The abstraction of reason is made possible through

cultural techniques, materialities and embodied practices, such as writing, reading, counting or making music. Consequently, the information age should not be understood as that of a new meta-physics but rather as a new age of code and notational systems (digital and software), a new technology of the symbolic (that of computation) and new materialities (transistors, interfaces, etc.). This view helps to clarify the "Postmedia" debate, which Kittler himself launched (as early as in the 80s) - the discussion of the possible culmination, or even end, of the epistemology of media, due to their current non-differentiation status or "convergence".[36] By looking at the computer as a symbolic machine, it emerges as an apparatus able to codify and program any other media, i.e., the media version of the universal Turing's machine. Later on, Manovich will name this the "meta-media paradigm" and describe the computer as "a simulation machine for old media" (Manovich 2005, n.p.). The computer thus combines all the functionalities of the media system (storage, reproduction and transmission) and all the sensory diversity of analogue media, but its genealogy goes back to a similar "monopoly" situation, held for a long time by language and writing (Kittler 1999 [1986], 4)[37]. This provides the grounds for a parallel between the digital and language, implied by most views about the computer, with several important impli-cations. Firstly, it causes a non-linear narrative of the history of media, moving from the domination or "monopoly" of language to the explosion and differentiation of analogue media, and then, once again, to the implosion and "monopoly", triggered by the digital: "what will soon end in the monopoly of bits and fibre

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[36] In *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (1986), Kittler expressed it as follows: "a total media link on a digital base will erase the very concept of medium" and "writing functioned as a universal medium—in times when there was no concept of medium" (Kittler 1986, 5-6).

[37] Kittler speaks of language as a supra-sensory entity that allows for the various sensuous qualities of the world around us to be "hallucinated" (Kittler 1999 [1986], 80). The same happens with the digital: "Inside the computers themselves everything becomes a number: quantity without image, sound, or voice" (Kittler 1999 [1986], 80). Hence the comparison: "In the Greek alphabet our senses were present – and thanks to Turing they
are so once again". (Kittler 2006, 59)

optics began with the monopoly of writing", Kittler states (1986, 4). Secondly, to include language in the history of media dissolves a distinction that the humanities have tenaciously protected, even after the "media turn". To think of the digital as a language makes language, in turn, appear as information technology. And, if the techno-symbolic emergence of language represented a leap with such enormous implications in the history of mankind, we should expect that digitization and the widespread use of computation will trigger equally decisive and unpredictable changes.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Hansen described the nature of this challenge and the new media age, once again, in anthropological and ecological terms: "what are the consequences for our understanding of the future prospects for human beings and for the life of our planet? Such are the stakes bound up in the issue of the 'newness' of new media" (Hansen 2010, 172)[38]. However, the dominant reception of the new media has mainly reflected a comparison with the familiar condition of modern media and mass culture and the well-known dialectics between euphoric and dysphoric expectations around media. The first moment pointed to such aspects as the creative and participatory possibilities arising from the virtuality, interactivity and connectivity of information systems and networks, but this view has been quickly surpassed by other much less positive and equally widespread themes: the datification and plataformization of most cultural, social and economic activity, new forms of exploitation and surveillance, and a set of dysfunctional phenomena such as ideological bubbles, fake news, hate speech, etc. Critical thinking repeats, in this way, the kind of dialectic that has locked us in

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[38] Above all, it is essential to consider this process as a transformation of the media ecology and, as such, as a technological and cultural transformation that affects the conditions of existence of the human being and his general relationship with life. It was this perspective that created, early on, a link between cyberculture and the problem of the posthuman in the work of such significant authors as Donna Haraway or Katheleen Hayles. Their prefigurations, while admittedly within the realm of the metaphor or of the fable, represent an effort to create an epistemology and a policy for the digital ecology.

a specific view of media technology and the industrialization of culture and, at the same time, has made it difficult to respond to it. The generative power of media places them at the centre of a phenomenology of "suspicion", in its most essential form, as Boris Groys points out: "the suspicion that behind the medial surface" lay "the manipulative, deceptive, and dangerous" power that shape the culture economy, leaving no alternative other than "protesting against it, accusing it, holding it accountable, and combatting it" (Groys 2000, 178). Media becomes the "scapegoat" (Stiegler 2011, 296) of all alienation, leaving nothing we might turn to other than the split-off institution of art.

Without denying the process of industrialization of culture, which, on the contrary, he describes and criticizes in-depth, Bernard Stiegler speaks of the need for new avenues for critical thinking, capable of framing this technical and industrial dimension of culture that takes place through the media, as "pharmaka". This vision acknowledges the central link between the human and technique, as well as the constitutive ambivalence of media: the danger of their toxicity, as well as the possibilities opened by each new media condition. Media innovation, therefore, implies responsibility and care for the forms of life and conditions of existence that we want to promote. Media analysis is thus also a "pharmacology", both critical and curative (Stiegler 2011). This pharmacology is even more urgent in the present time, characterized by the hyper-industrialization of culture and the risk of a general proletarianization of the spirit (Stiegler 2014 [2004], 1-13). Knowledge and information have become the main assets of "cultural capitalism" (Jeremy Rifkin 2000) or "cognitive capitalism" (Moulier-Boutang 2007), and they are currently based on the collection, analysis and exploitation of data about the psychic and affective resources of the subjects. By replacing the very experience of desire, will and

expectation[39], the data economy extends the power of capitalism as a psycho-power. But, most of all, the grammaticalization of cognitive, affective, symbolic and behavioural processes causes the alienation of knowledge, especially the knowledge of how to live (Stiegler 2014 [2004], 1-13). This process constitutes, according to Stiegler, the deepest aspect of the "disruption" caused by the new digital ecosystem, insofar as it "short-circuits" the processes of psychic and collective individuation and our ability to invent new modes of organizing our existence, accentuating the path towards entropy (Cf. Stiegler 2019 [2016], 8).

According to Stiegler, countering this fate implies understanding the technical exteriorization forms of the human spirit, rather than its mere denial or diabolization, and recognizing the potential of the new digital ecology. In fact, never before has humanity been able to produce and share such an amount of knowledge, nor has it had the possibilities of organization and dialogue with itself as those within its reach today, on a planetary scale. Stiegler, therefore advises developing a "cultural policy of the technologies of the spirit" (Stiegler 2004b, 25) and fostering an "economy of contribution" (Stiegler 2019, 25). The task of critique is that of a positive engagement with the current technological experience, refusing some possibilities, promoting the regulation of others[40], but also fostering experimentalism, participation in the design of processes and systems, educational innovation, and reinvention

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[39] "Desires, expectations, volitions, will and so on: everything that for individuals forms the horizon of their future, constituted by their protentions, is outstripped, overtaken and progressively replaced by automatic protentions that are produced by intensive computing systems operating between one and four million times quicker than the nervous systems of psychic individuals" (Stiegler 2019 [2016], 8).

[40] Em *Information and Biological Revolutions: Global Governance Challenges* (2000), Francis Fukuyama addresses the liberal myth that technological revolutions are not susceptible to regulation, a myth that is mainly rooted in the information technology revolution because of its scale and speed. However, he points out that various technologies have been the subject of reflection, regulation, and even, sometimes, abandonment after their emergence.

of institutions[41]. A critical reason endowed with a new techni-
cal ethos[42], in short, pharmacology, as a new context for criti-
cal thinking. The opposition between culture and technique that
largely shaped the humanities and the arts of the 20th century
will be an insufficient framework for the critical reception of the
industrialization of knowledge unleashed by the digital. However,
the first shock of the industrialization of culture and the arts
provides, a century later, fundamental material for the reflection
we now need to undertake and for the decisions on the kind of
institutions and knowledge formation we need to promote in the
21st century. This reflection requires the university and a transver-
sal deepening of digital studies. Even because, in what concerns
the digital revolution, a lot will have started with an academic
researcher's proposal and a PhD dissertation[43].

A policy for the technologies of the spirit needs to start by
recognizing the integration between human and non-human
cognitive processes, i.e., the integration of biological, physical
and technical systems in the formation of knowledge. Katherine
Hayles describes this integration as "cognitive assemblages" or
"distributed cognitive systems", "with well-defined interfaces
and communication circuits between sensors, actuators, proces-
sors, storage media, and distribution networks, and which include

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[41] Bernard Stiegler's intellectual path reflected a commitment to these various aspects: the co-
founding of the Ars Industrialis association (2005), including the promotion of public seminars
"Trouver de Nouvelles Armes" and the creation of *Pharmakon - École de Philosophy*; the foundation
of the IRI - Institut de Recherche et Innovation (2006) the co-foundation of the Internationes
project (2020), and the activity in French public organizations (IRCAM - Institut de Recherche et
Coordination Acoustique/Musique and CNNum - Conseil National du Numérique).

[42] In *"Qu'est-ce que Les Lumières?"* (1984), Foucault takes up Kant's critical project, understanding
it, not as a formal requirement of universal reason, but as a task of cosmopolitan reason, as an
"attitude" or "ethos" capable of extracting and inhabiting the actuality of the present. If the modern
ethos was, to a large extent, an aesthetic one (at least in Foucault's Baudelairean reading of the
modern), the new critical ethos needs to be a technical one or, as in the Yuc Hui's proposal,
"cosmotechnical" (Hui 2017).

[43] This reminder is from Friedrich Kittler, who repeatedly refers to Alain Turing's role in ushering
in the computer age.

human, biological, technical, and material components. They have the possibility to maximize cognition, precisely because they function as systems and because they include "non-conscious cognitive processes" that extend to modes of sensing and information processing of technical entities as well as different biological life forms, conscious and unconscious modes of human cognition "(Hayles 2017, 2-5). According to the neurosciences' state of the art, our own human cognitive processes happen in reality outside our modes of awareness, and they contribute to a kind of "core or primary consciousness" (Damásio 2000), inaccessible to any introspection or psyche analysis but essential for consciousness to function. On the one hand, the formation of knowledge implies a process of exomatization that increasingly involves establishing a network of connections between the human and the non-human: a cognitive ecology where the participation of other cognitive agents grows and, also, the opacity and knowledge automation. Many sectors (financial markets, urban and environmental management, air traffic, satellite and war equipment activities, Etc.) include sensing, monitoring, automatic analysis, and supported or autonomous decision-making systems. The scale of the information involved, and the complexity and speed of its processing are inaccessible to human consciousness, although they are somehow comparable to the complexity of specific non-conscious processes of our mind. On the other hand, this cognitive ecology is shaping our own cognitive and neurological processes, with epigenetic implications that we are beginning to detect within just a few generations. Katherine Hayles points that: "As digital media, (…) and other computational media embedded in the environment, become more pervasive, they push us in the direction of faster communication, more intense and varied information streams, more integration of humans and intelligent machines, and more interactions of language with code. These environmental changes have significant neurological consequences, many of which are now becoming evident in young people and to a lesser degree in almost everyone who interacts

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with digital media on a regular basis" [44]. They "become part of the cultural inheritance of a species, laid on top of and interacting with their genetic inheritance" (Hayles 2012, 11).

We are now reaching a significant feedback loop stage: the more information, the more we need distributed cognition and automation, and the more systems and automation, the better we can handle the information we have, which leads to more data, and more technical interaction, and more significant neurological impact. Many of these interactions occur daily, through tools for collecting, archiving, sampling, analyzing and modelling content and data (including natural language processing, machine vision and image analysis, extraction of patterns and automatic generation of content), and also outside the scope of HCI, through the interoperability of different types of physical, biological and technical systems, intelligent agents, robots, Etc. In this regard, David Berry notes that the processes in question can no longer be described solely as processes of exomatization. Instead, these technologies differ from all previously externalized techniques insofar as they penetrate and control, through datification, automation and embedded methods, all instances of thought, rationality and action, transforming themselves into a kind of infrastructure or what Berry proposes to address as "infrasomatizations" (Berry, 2018).

Hence, knowledge formation occurs through increasingly distributed infrastructures and processes, becoming more and more opaque, mainly because of the scale and acceleration of data processing, which vastly surpass our thinking capacities. This scenario, which has already been associated to the "end of theory" (Anderson 2008), is also that of a particular end of science, as

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[44] The phenomenon of brain plasticity is, according to specialists, particularly effective in children. Current studies show that "an infant's brain undergoes synaptogenesis, in which synaptic networks stimulated by the environment strengthen and spread, whereas those less stimulated shrink and diminish" (Hayles and Pötzsch 2014, 102). These studies point, in particular, to "a technologically enhanced rewiring of children's brains toward hyper attention at an age characterised by high degrees of neural plasticity. This might help them adapt even better to the socio-technical systems we are currently shaping, but it might come at a significant cost, the consequences of which we do not fully understand at present" (idem, 98).

practised throughout most of the 20th century, as well as that of a particular end of criticism, as a form of reason capable of accessing the foundations of its own exercise. In short, instead of representing the specificity and exceptionality of the human, justifying his unique position of mastery and control over the environment, cognition is precisely the instance where the post-human condition is now revealed. Hence the need to frame this new type of knowledge and layout a new task for thinking. In 1964, in "The end of philosophy and the task of thinking", Heidegger already pointed to cybernetics as the culmination of modern technoscience: "no prophecy is necessary to recognize that the sciences now establishing themselves will soon be determined and steered by the new fundamental science which is called cybernetics". At the same time, he also foresees the "dissolution of philosophy into the technicized sciences", insofar as they share the same Western metaphysical roots and dispositions Heidegger 2002 [1964], 58-59). According to Heidegger, it will then be necessary to organize the end of Philosophy and "bring us to the path which leads us to a determination of the task of thinking at the end of philosophy" (Heidegger 2002 [1964], 64).

In "Philosophy After Automation" (2021), Yuc Hui returns to this issue, pointing out some of the reasons that led Western thought to this cybernetic destiny, in particular, the fact that "modern western philosophy is fundamentally the pursuit of the universal through different means" (Hui 2021, 391) and that this universalization is carried out today through the planetarization of computing. Furthermore, the opposition between organism and mechanism on which (at least since Kant) the autonomy and self-determination of the subject are founded has been rendered obsolete by cybernetics, as shown by Norbert Wiener in *Cybernetics: Communication and Control in Man and Animals* (1948/1962). The algorithmic revolution, in turn, makes cybernetics increasingly effective as a science of control and recursivity and a new form of governance, undermining even more deeply the sovereignty of the human. The spread of computerization and

algorithmization will soon allow generalized automation, which will advance not only in the field of work but also in services, liberal activities and knowledge in general. As Stiegler says, "today automatization serves the autonomization of technics more than noetic autonomy" (Stiegler 2021, 241). In response to this scenario, it will be necessary to actively seek out possibilities for deautomatization, but, at the same time, "autonomy and automatism must be reconceived as a composition rather than an opposition", says Stiegler (Stiegler 2021, 241).

At the beginning of the 21st century, automation and the ecological crisis are, as Frase says, the two new "spectres haunting earth" (Frase 2016, 1), and it is crucial to understand the relationship between them. Despite the expectation that the digital transition can facilitate the ecological transition, computerization is, at the same time, the main factor in technological acceleration. In fact, as Yuc Hui says, we can understand "the real problem of the Anthropocene as that of a gigantic cybernetic system in the process of realization, a 'metaphysics without finality'", as he also points out, recalling the words of J.-F. Lyotard (Hui 2017, 2-3). This metaphysics, which implies a particular type of relationship to nature, is culminating in the present "monotechnologism", and that is why "a specific type of technology and rationality are transforming the earth into an artificial earth" (Hui 2021, 396). Yuc Hui, who repeats Heidegger's view in this regard, proposes the reintroduction of other cosmogonies, which must include, as Viveiros de Castro says, other forms of relationship to nature or "multinaturalisms" (and not just multiculturalisms), in order to "negotiate" the type of technology that is becoming universal. However, according to Yuk Hui, the solution can hardly emerge as some form of "strategic primitivism" or a return to "indigenous ontologies" (Hui 2021, 397). Thinking about other beginnings requires, in any case, aknowledging the "incontestable contingency of nature", against the belief in a "necessary triumph of technology over nature" (Hui 2021, 397) which is supposed by the Anthropocene itself.

The ubiquity and planetarization of computation are producing themselves a kind of "accidental megastructure" (in the words of Benjamin Bratton) which, to a certain extent, reintroduces a kind of contingent dimension and subverts the very idea of a (world where humans imprint their domination and their project). Bratton names this accidental megastructure "the stack" and describes it as a coherent but discontinuous planetary-scale infrastructure., that merges the social, the institutional and the technical, is composed of several layers ("Cloud", "city", "address", "interface", "user"), and "produces new territories in its own image", distorting our traditional models of experience. This kind of accidental "technological totality" does not focus on "computation in the service of governance, or in resistance to governance", but rather on "computation as governance". That is is why, according to Bratton, any political negotiation of "the stack", any possibility to "work through this schema, across their nonsense scales and toward different futures", entails "thinking with tools", asking ourselves not only "What can we do with it ?", but "What does it want from us?" and, at best, "what do we have to design better" (Bratton 2016, xvii-xviii).

Thus, the present technological system contains, in itself, factors of culmination and rupture with the very logic of the Anthropocene. Insofar as it deprives the human of a primordial place, it rather provokes a kind of second Copernican revolution, that of the post-human. This condition requires the recognition and adoption of what Simondon already called the "technical mentality": "It is not a question here of the rape of nature or of the victory of the Human Being over the elements, because in fact it is the natural structures themselves that serve as the attachment point for the network that is being developed". As an example, Simondon refers to the relay points of the Hertzian cables that "rejoin with the high sites of ancient sacredness above the valleys and the seas". Simondon speaks of this "technical mentality" as a form of intelligence that "successfully completes itself and rejoins nature by turning itself into a thought-network", a "material and

conceptual synthesis" whose "mazes are woven together with those of the world, in the concrete and the particular" (Simondon 2009, 22).

With the emergence of computation at every scale of reality there is an intensive dynamics of sensing and data gathering including the activity of satellites that encircle the earth, of probes that penetrate the oceans' floor or monitor the terrestrial critical zone, and of systems that produce a clinical, social and economic mapping of our bodies and behaviours. Cybernetics as a new form of intelligibility forces a new general ecology, which encompasses both technical and social processes as well as geo-biochemical processes, at various scales, infra and superhuman, from the world of bacteria to cosmic events, passing through the processes of globalization and those of climate change.

In the cybernetic age, we no longer inhabit a "middle world" (Dawkins), organized according to our perception and will. Instead, we experience an ecology of systems of different natures, organic and non-organic, which, like ourselves, are capable of receiving, storing, and processing information, opened to "circular causal and feedback mechanisms", which are also "governors", i.e., governing mechanisms or mechanisms of "control and communication (..) wether in the machine or in the animal" (Wiener 1985 [1961], 10-12). Cybernetic governance is a science of creating "equilibria in a world of possibilities and constraints" (Glasersfeld 2000, 95), balances that constitute a kind of "teleological mechanisms", says Margaret Mead (Mead 1968, 2), an apparent poor substitute taking the place of our old teleological systems. Our goals and ideals have now to be negotiated with the technical systems - the "minor gods" of our era, as McLuhan has called them - if we are not to be transformed into their "servomechanisms". This negotiation (or a politics of technics) is, therefore, of crucial importance and should not be viewed as a poor substitute for politics, quite the contrary. As we now know, we can no longer aspire to impose on nature the greater goals and ideals of humanity, those we have formerly negotiated with also greater

gods, who awaited us at the end of history, and in the name of whom ideology has made its share of victims, at least as many as technology itself. In a world that is now capable of self-governing, we urgently need to concern ourselves with technology, understand how to deal with it, as much as how it deals with us, and cooperate to achieve the balances that sustains us both.

Translation

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For our common and global future
The potential of Portuguese humanities R&D resources

BY ROSÁRIO COUTO COSTA

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Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) is the Portuguese public agency that supports both fundamental and applied research in all scientific fields. FCT is committed to contributing towards a more knowledge-based and inclusive society. All scientific fields should work together for a more sustainable future at all levels. Humanities have a crucial role to play in this challenge.

In Portugal, a diversity of R&D resources can converge to implement this vision in a logic of international collaboration. We present a brief mapping regarding our Humanities resources.

1. The Humanities in Portugal: main indicators 2019

1.1 Researchers

10% of Portuguese researchers, a total of 10,277 in headcount, work on Arts & Humanities (A&H). A&H researchers comprise 8% of all fields with 4,212.3 researchers in full-time equivalent.

Women have a higher relative weight in the humanities compared to all scientific fields (figure 1).

Arts & Humanities
Researchers in full-time equivalent
2019

All fields
Researchers in full-time equivalent
2019
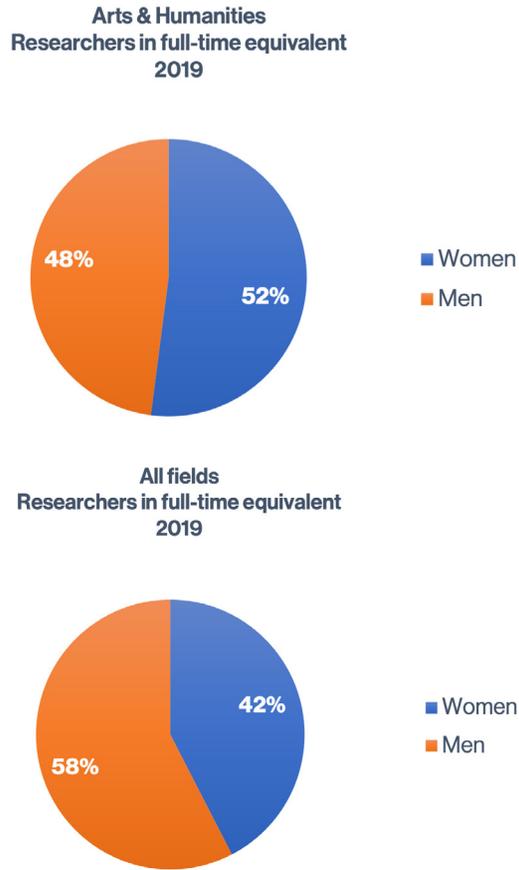
Figure 1

A&H researchers are heavily concentrated in Higher Education Sector (96%) when compared to the total of researchers (FTE). In this last group, the weight of the business sector reaches 38% (figure 2).

**Arts & Humanities
Researchers in full-time equivalent
2019**

- Higher Education Sector
- Business Enterprise Sector
- Private Non-Profit Sector
- Government Sector

2% 1% 1%

96%

**All fields
Researchers in full-time equivalent
2019**

- Higher Education Sector
- Business Enterprise Sector
- Private Non-Profit Sector
- Government Sector

1% 3%

38%

58%
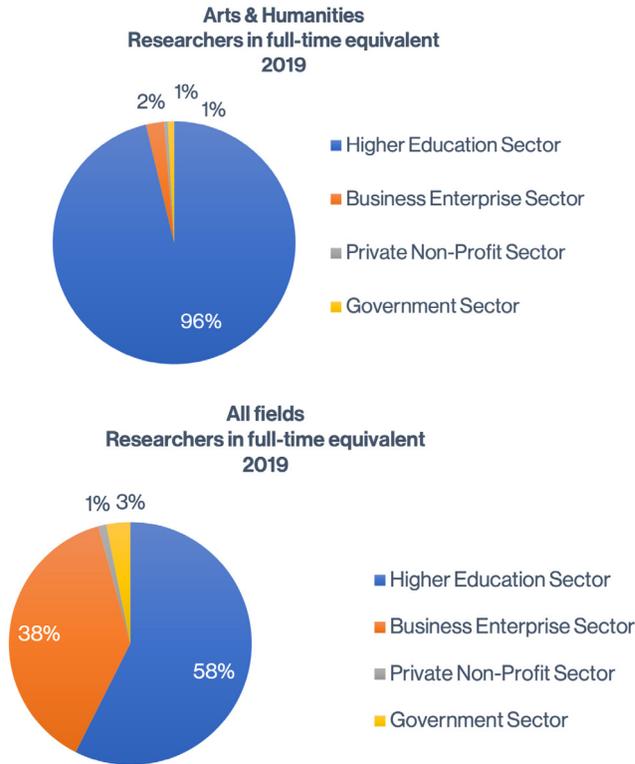
Figure 2

Humanities research in Portugal is strongly concentrated in the academic context. This fact has value in terms of critical mass. However, this also means an insufficient recognition of the skills of A&H graduates by the enterprises.

In the Higher Education sector, the distribution of A&H researchers (4055 FTE) by subfields is the following: first, History and Archaeology – 25%; second, Languages and Literature – 21%; third, Philosophy, Ethics and Religion, 10%. If we assume that these are the Humanities core disciplines, they comprise

56% of the researchers. In addition, Arts comprise 39% of A&H researchers and Other Humanities with 4%.

Figure 3 shows that Philosophy attracts mostly men, contrasting with Literature which is favored by women.

**A&H - Higher Education
Researchers in FTE - Women
2019**

- History and Archaeology
- Languages and Literature
- Philosophy, Ethics and Religion
- Arts
- Other Humanities

**A&H - Higher Education
Researchers in FTE - Men
2019**

- History and Archaeology
- Languages and Literature
- Philosophy, Ethics and Religion
- Arts
- Other Humanities
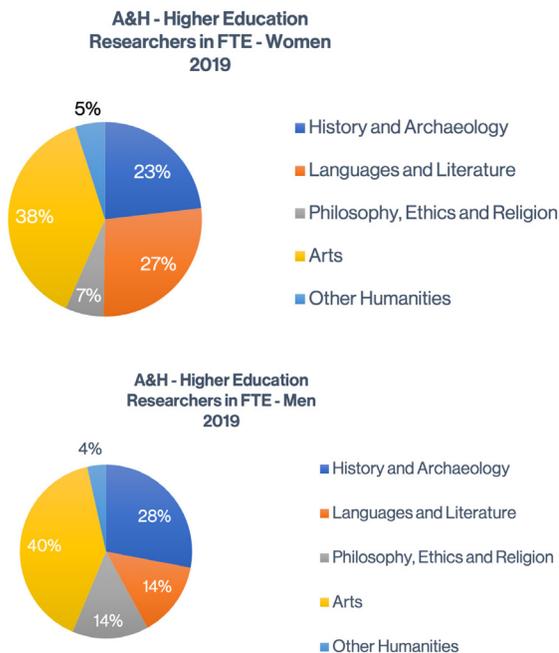
Figure 3

In 2020, Humanities Ph.D. residents in Portugal numbered 5156, 14% of the total (provisional values). In 2015, the values were 3959 and 13%. The majority of these Ph.D. have Portuguese nationality (92%), close to the value of all fields group (95%).

1.2 Investment

In Portugal, 157 million euros of GERD 2019 (Gross Domestic Expenditure on R&D) are allocated to Arts & Humanities. Art & Humanities expenditure is heavily concentrated in Higher Education Sector (93%). In Government Sector, the National Laboratory of Energy and Geology (LNEG) and the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (LNEC) have financial resources connected to A&H, showing some interdisciplinarity (figure 4).
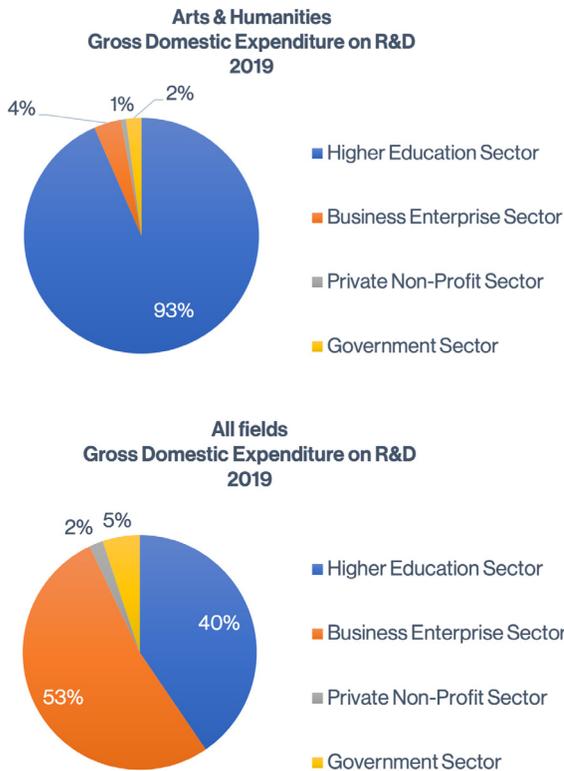

Figure 4

Public Higher Education takes 89% of A&H expenditure (universities: 81%; polytechnics, 8%) while private institutions take 11% (universities: 9,6%; polytechnics, 1,7%).

Coimbra, Lisboa, and Alentejo Central were the geographical areas that stood out in the humanities in terms of the weight of regional R&D expenditure during 2019.

2. The Humanities in Portugal: R&D institutions funded by FCT

Most of the Portuguese scientific research is carried out in R&D Units and Associated Laboratories, evaluated and funded by FCT, distributed through all areas of knowledge and throughout the national territory. Those are the basis of the Portuguese S&T system.

2.1. R&D units

The set of R&D units funded by FCT constitutes an organization of R&D activities of higher education and non-for-profit research institution, being the researchers' initiative. These units cross the more rigid structures of universities and polytechnics, their schools, and their departments. They are spread throughout the national territory.

R&D Units are periodically evaluated, every 4-5 years, by international panels of evaluators. Each process allows reconfigurations by splitting or merging former R&D Units as well as applications of new R&D Units. The last evaluation process (2017/2018) determined the funding for 2020-2023 of the institutions that reached the overall grade Good, Very Good, or Excellent.

Regarding the Arts & Humanities (A&H), we have 72 units with funding approved, representing 23% of the total (312 units). These institutions were distributed by the following Evaluation Panels (figure 5):

**R&D Units funded by FCT related to Arts & Humanities (72)**
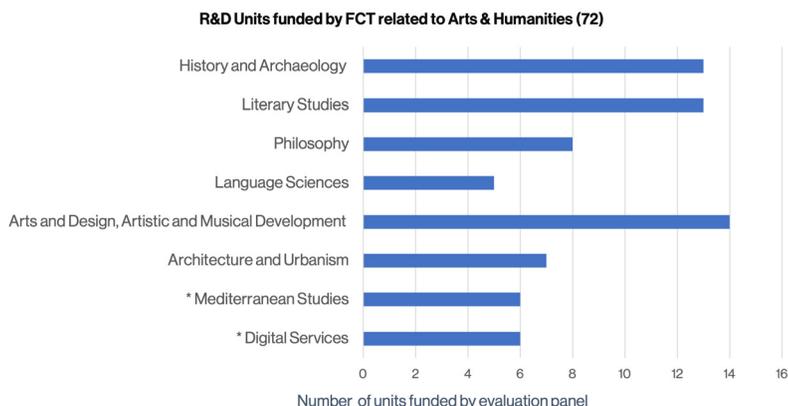
Figure 5

The twelve *interdisciplinary units are crossing very different scientific fields, going beyond Humanities, Arts, and indeed Social Sciences.

From the group of 72 A&H units, thirty-nine units (54%) are associated with A&H core disciplines (history and archaeology, literary studies, philosophy, and language sciences), hosting 58% of the integrated Ph.D. Members.

The distribution of the 72 units by the top overall grades is 18 with Excellent, 35 with Very Good, and 19 with Good (figure 6).

Regarding the integrated Ph.D. Members, 882 researchers belong to the Excellent units, 1960 belong to the Very Good units, and 811 belong to the Good units (figure 6). That means 78% of the mentioned Members are performing R&D in institutions with national and international recognition.

It should be noted that 10% of all researchers belong to interdisciplinary units articulating very different scientific fields; in several cases, Humanities researchers are a minority.

**A&H R&D Units (72)
by top overall grades**

**A&H R&D Units (72):
distribution of Integrated Ph.D. Members**
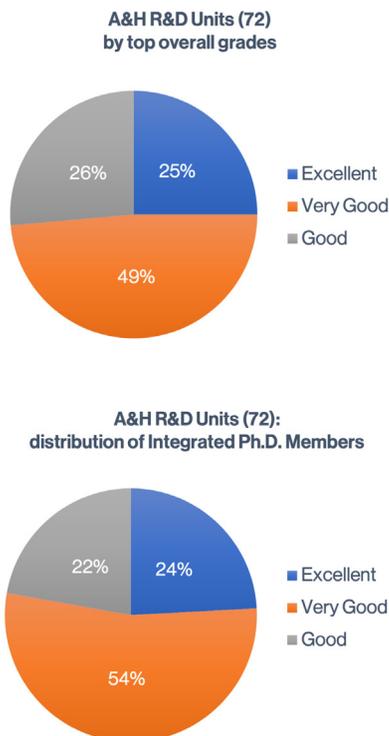
Figure 6

Analyzing the evaluation panels reports of A&H units, the positive dynamics of these communities emerge, namely the Excellent ones. We observe the recognition of several aspects: high-quality scientific work; multi-disciplinary collaborations without dilution of disciplinary expertise; international visibility of scientific production, parallel with the care of safeguarding the Portuguese language; successful strategies of internationalization, resulting in excellent international collaborations and connections; articulation between R&D and teaching, mainly Ph.D. programs but not exclusively; the capacity to attract researchers and students from other countries; the ability to obtain funding from different sources, national and international; and so on. There is evidence of internationally leading work.

These dynamics are possible in a context where management and governance are appropriated to the mission of these organizations. As a result, an open, thoughtful, and creative research environment is built, where several thematic groups operate within coherent objectives and grow in a balanced way.

In terms of social impact, the evaluation reports mentioned show a portfolio of traditional and innovative ways to connect A&H with society. That means the researchers are not in an ivory tower, even though 96% of A&H national research is carried out in the Higher Education sector. Some examples can be seen in the videos produced by them, included in the European R&D Exhibition in the Humanities [45].

The 72 A&H units are spread across the following institutions from Higher Education Sector (figure 7):

Public University Institutions

ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Universidade da Beira Interior

Universidade de Aveiro

Universidade de Coimbra

Universidade de Évora

Universidade de Lisboa

Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro

Universidade do Algarve

Universidade do Minho

Universidade do Porto

Universidade dos Açores

Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Public Polytechnic Institutions

Instituto Politénico de Bragança

Instituto Politénico do Cávado e do Ave

Instituto Politécnico de Leiria

Instituto Politécnico do Porto

Instituto Politécnico de Tomar

Instituto Politécnico de Viseu

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[45] Gestor Educast - Canal «European Humanities R&D Exhibition» (fccn.pt)
https://educast.fccn.pt/vod/channels/fqhyn49j2?locale=pt

Private University Institutions

Escola Superior Artística do Porto

Universidade Católica Portuguesa

Universidade Europeia

Universidade Lusíada

Private Polytechnical Institutions

Escola Superior de Artes e Design

Figure 7

2.2. Associated Laboratories

An Associated Laboratory is an R&D institution, or a consortium of them, with significant critical mass and excellent research capacity to pursue national science and technology policy objectives. Three features characterize these institutions:

— The contribution to public policies;

— The development of scientific or technical careers for Ph.D. through permanent employment contracts;

— The capacity to diversify the sources of funding for R&D activities in Portugal.

The FCT is responsible for carrying out a national assessment for the award, or renewal, of the Associated Laboratory (AL) title for a period of up to 10 years. Complementary funding is given to those institutions. Due to the resources that converge on these institutions, a remarkable enhancement is expected in thematic focuses chosen by them.

In 2021, FCT has concluded the evaluation of the 1st call for the attribution or renewal of AL status. The funding allocated is for 2021-2025. Three of the forty approved applications include the Humanities. The following table shows their thematic focus and the scientific areas committed to advancing in the knowledge that society needs, with enhanced features (figure 8).

	"IN2PAST Associate Laboratory for Research and Innovation in Heritage, Arts, Sustainability and Territory"	**"CES Centre for Social Studies"**	**"ICS Institute of Social Sciences"**
Thematic Lines	Science and Technology for Cultural Heritage	(Semi)peripheral Capitalism: Crises and Alternatives	Sustainability
	Landscapes, Territories and Cultural Heritage	Rule of Law and Democracy at a Crossroads	Citizenship
	Museums, Monuments and their Collections	Europe and the Global South: Heritages and Dialogues	Inclusion and Vulnerabilities
	Archives, from Preventive Preservation to Digitalisation	Risk(s), Ecology and Public Health	Memory and Legacies
	Cultural Circulation, Public Policies on Memory and Inclusive Citizenship	Urban Cultures, Sociabilities and Participation	
Scientific Areas	History and Archeology	Sociology	Sociology
	Arts	Law	Political Sciences
	Chemical Sciences	Economy and Management	Other Social Sciences
	Other Natural Sciences	Other Humanities	History and Archaeology
	Other Humanities	Other Social Sciences	

Figure 8

In these three organizational options, we see the convergence of different disciplines, essential to achieve a more sustainable future in the different dimensions: social, environmental, cultural, political, and economical.

The growing demand for interdisciplinarity to face current crises and problems is also manifest in recent FCT initiatives. With openness to the Humanities, for example, it is the case of:

— two Research and Innovation Thematic Agendas 1) Culture and Cultural Heritage and 2) Social Inclusion and Citizenship (https://www.fct.pt/agendastematicas/index.phtml.en), and

— several R&D project calls, for example: special support "Impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the crimes of incitement to hatred and violence and in hate speech"; special support "Portugal and the Holocaust: research and memory"; special support "Natural Park of Montesinho"; special support "Vale do Côa" (https://www.fct.pt/apoios/facc/index.phtml.en).

3. Portuguese Research Infrastructures supporting Humanities

Research Infrastructures (RI) are part of the Portuguese science and technology system. They are shareable platforms that can bring together equipment and human resources with the appropriate know-how, data …, allowing immeasurable advances in knowledge. In the national roadmap, we find five RI included in the thematic domain 'Social and Cultural Innovation' and valuable for Arts & Humanities. To get a better idea of the different possibilities, we identified these RIs:

> — The Digital Creativity Center (CCD) equipped with cutting edge technology in the areas of Digital and Interactive Arts, Computer Music, Sound Design, Audiovisual and Cinematic Arts, and Computer Animation;
> — E-RISH.eu, the Portuguese platform integrated into the European Research Infrastructure for Heritage Science;
> — PORTULAN CLARIN, research infrastructure for the Science and Technology of Language, part of the CLARIN ERIC;

— PRISC, Portuguese Research Infrastructure of Scientific Collections, to their preservation and access;
— ROSSIO, research infrastructure with open access to unique and diverse digital resources of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, in Portuguese language.

4. Exploring the R&D potential

In short, the large pieces of the humanities ecosystem puzzle are identified. How to better explore all this R&D potential? How to boost its R&D activity, improving both the quality and the impact? How to maximize the coherence in the allocation of resources?

An effective answer should require a reflection within each A&H R&D unit: re-thinking its unique identity, mission, research culture, main research questions, thematic organization, governance, resources, and strategies. It is vital to understand the specificity of its knowledge contribution and the expected societal impacts in the present and future. It is essential the willingness and the creativity to communicate the unit portrait to the outside, namely to the policymakers and citizens.

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FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
https://www.fct.pt/index.phtml.en

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https://www.fct.pt/index.phtml.en

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Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

Part 2:
Influence and Impact of the Humanities

Modern Archaeology in the Service of Society:

The case study of Paphos, ancient capital of Cyprus

BY EWDOKSIA PAPUCI-WŁADYKA

Modern Archaeology in the Service of Society:
The case study of Paphos, ancient capital of Cyprus

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Abstract

This paper focuses on what modern archaeology can offer to society. The author first introduces the concept of contemporary archaeology, which has long since departed from the stereotype of „spatula and brush" and has become a dynamically developing humanistic discipline while closely cooperating with the sciences. Using the example of Polish research in Paphos, a site from the UNESCO World Heritage List, conducted continuously for 56 years, the paper shows the contribution of modern archaeology to bringing the archaeological heritage closer to the public, raising awareness of it and promoting the results of archaeological research. This goal is achieved by organising such activities as various open-air and indoor exhibitions of photographs and objects, performances, popular science publications and their promotion, etc. Since last year, a new project of collaborative archaeology has also been implemented. Finally, the author emphasises the importance of the Humanities and points to the real threat of their marginalisation. Based on the experience developed with the team, she shows how to counteract it.

Résumé

Cet article se concentre sur ce que l'archéologie moderne peut offrir à la société. L'auteur introduit d'abord le concept d'archéologie contemporaine, qui s'est depuis longtemps éloignée du stéréotype de «spatule et pinceau» et est devenue une discipline humaniste en développement dynamique tout en coopérant étroitement avec les sciences. À partir de l'exemple de la recherche polonaise à Paphos, site inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, menée en continu pendant 56 ans, l'article montre la contribution de l'archéologie moderne pour rapprocher le patrimoine archéologique du public, le faire connaître et promouvoir la résultats des recherches archéologiques. Cet objectif est atteint en organisant des activités telles que diverses expositions en plein air et en intérieur de photographies et d'objets, des performances, des publications de vulgarisation scientifique et leur promotion, etc. Depuis l'année dernière, un nouveau projet d'archéologie collaborative a également été mis en place. Enfin, l'auteur souligne l'importance des sciences humaines et pointe la menace réelle de leur marginalisation. Sur la base de l'expérience développée avec l'équipe, elle montre comment y remédier.

Key words
modern archaeology, Paphos, Humanities, society, cultural heritage

Mots clés
archéologie moderne, Paphos, sciences humaines, société, patrimoine culturel

Introduction – what is modern archaeology?

Restoring the knowledge of cultures and civilisation through archaeology (and many other humanistic disciplines) is essential, because not only does it provide the basis for the understanding of the path humanity has travelled to achieve its current state, but it also helps us to understand contemporary conflicts and

problems (CIPSH and UNESCO, 2017, p. 50). I would also like to underline the educational role of archaeology, especially that of archaeological objects. The architectural remains, as well as movable objects we excavate, remain in the country and so the society can become familiar with them, thus, people can understand their cultural heritage and be proud of it.

Modern archaeology requires a close dialogue across disciplinary borders. Archaeology, of course, is a discipline of the Humanities, but over many years, it has been working very closely with the sciences and in particular, the natural sciences. I have had the opportunity to observe the development of our field so I can see this huge breakthrough which has taken place, especially in recent years — this is, in fact, a brand new version of archaeology! When I was a student, we used a spatula, a brush and an ordinary theodolite, and now we have tools from "the archaeologist's toolkit" as John Bintlif has described it, such as total stations, scanners, Ground Penetrating Radars (GPR), magnetometers and other devices for geophysical prospection, archaeometric analysis, as well as the use of photogrammetry and Geographic Information System (GIS) for storing all data, which is in digital form etc. etc. One could go on and on for a long time (see e.g. Papuci-Władyka ed., 2018).

The case of the Paphos research - what modern archaeology can offer to society

This paper illustrates the contribution of archaeology to society from a sample of the Polish research in Paphos. The ancient city of Nea Paphos was founded after Alexander the Great, at the end of the 4th century BCE, and functioned for a thousand years, also serving as the capital of Cyprus for several centuries. The extensive archaeological works in Paphos started after the accidental uncovering of the mosaics of the House of Dionysus (Fig.1 Ktisto area) in the 1960s and were directed by Cypriot Archaeologist, Kyriakos Nicolaou. He also uncovered other buildings, e.g. the

Agora-Odeon-"Asklepieion" complex at the foot of the Fanari Hill (Fig.1) and published the first plan of the city (Nicolaou 1966; summary of research Papuci-Władyka and Miszk, 2020, pp. 94, 98; Miszk 2020). Paphos is one of the most important archaeological sites on the island which, from 1980, was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Papuci-Władyka, 2018a). The Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Works of the Republic of Cyprus manages the Archaeological Site of Kato Paphos (commonly known as the Archaeological Park), which embraces large portion of the ancient city. Besides the Cypriot archaeologists, many foreign missions are operating in Paphos (Balandier ed. 2016; Balandier, Michaelides and Raptou, forthcoming; for summary of research see Papuci-Władyka and Miszk, 2020).

From 1965 until the present day, the Polish Archaeological Mission of the Kazimierz Michałowski Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw[46] has performed excavations in the residential quarter of the city in the area known as Maloutena, uncovering scanty relics of Hellenistic architecture but, more importantly, much better preserved rich Roman houses (Fig. 1).

Between these houses is the largest residence known from the Roman period in Cyprus, named the Villa of Theseus after the magnificent mosaic depicting the Athenian hero Theseus, slaying the Minotaur in labyrinth of Crete. The villa, with more than one hundred rooms, was in use from the 2nd to the beginning of 7th century CE. The House of Aion built before mid-4th century CE and adorned with an exceptional set of mosaic panels which portray mythological subjects provides an unique insight into a historical period when Christianity co-existed with the previous religious cult (Fig. 2). The house owes its name to this

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[46] Collaborating institutions have been inter alia: the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Wrocław University of Technology and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków; the research is financed by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw. https://pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/2019/02/15/nea-paphos/

god of eternal time represented in the central panel. These and other mosaics of very good quality uncovered by Polish and other missions, as well as other very rich material such as sculptures, wall paintings, pottery of different categories, coins, terracottas, glass and metal objects etc. has made Paphos so famous (Daszewski and Michaelides, 1988; Michaelides, 1992; for summary of Polish research in Maloutena with bibliography see Papuci-Władyka and Miszk 2020, pp. 94-97).

Fig. 1. The Archaeological Park of Kato Paphos with the areas mentioned in the text marked, taken from an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV – drone), W. Ostrowski 2019, Archive of the Paphos Agora Project

From 2011, the Jagiellonian University in Kraków also added their research into the Paphos Agora (Fig. 1), the main representative square of the city: this research is both international and interdisciplinary (Papuci-Władyka ed. 2020[47]). In the first stage of the research of the Paphos Agora Project (PAP), the aim was to verify the statements of K. Nicolaou, who found that the Agora covered an area of approx. 1ha and functioned from the 2nd to the

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4th century CE, and to examine its spatial organisation[48]. In the second stage, our research focused on locating and characterising the economic infrastructure of Paphos, determining the economic importance of the Agora in the economic life and network of the city, and evaluating the position and role of Nea Paphos in the context of urban centres of the Eastern Mediterranean Basin[49].

As a result of our excavations, it has been established, inter alia, that the the site of later Agora was occupied by public buildings from the very beginnings of the existence of the city i.e. from ca 300 BCE. Under the Ptolemaic rule, Paphos expanded quickly, especially from the end of the 3rd century BCE, when it became the main centre of the island, serving as the main military naval base and supplying the kingdom with timber and raw materials, mainly copper (easily accessible in the nearby Troodos Mountains). The representative Agora was erected after mid-2nd century BCE, i.e. much earlier than that suggested by Nicolaou.

Fig. 2. E. Papuci-Władyka gives a guided tour around Aion's House and its mosaics to Minister Y. Karousos, HE Embasador of Poland to Cyprus, I. Lichnerowicz-Augustyn, Director of the Department of Antiquities, M. Solomidou-Ieronymidou and guests, 2020, P. Lech, Maloutena and Agora Project Archive

It occupied an area of ca. 2.5ha and was a square with ca 160m long side surrrounded by large porticos (the East was a double portico and the South, a triple) constituting thus, one of the largest agoras in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Agora flourished also in Early Roman Times when it collapsed during an earthquake during the 2nd c. CE.

Both Polish missions have been co-joined in 2019 under the directorship of E.Papuci Wladyka and now, are involved in a new project aiming to reconstruct the landscape of the ancient city (see below).

Thus, the Polish mission, with its 56 years of work experience, is the longest continuously operating foreign mission not only in Paphos, but probably, in the entire island of Cyprus. The work of the Polish mission and other foreign expeditions is highly appreciated by the Cypriot authorities. As was mentioned recently by the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, Dr. Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou (2018), "the contribution of the various foreign archaeological missions working in Cyprus in the field of discovering, protecting and promoting the cultural heritage of Cyprus, and especially that of Paphos, cannot be overestimated."

In addition to the evident scientific benefits that our research brings, i.e. the increase in knowledge about the ancient civilisation of the island, there are also added values that should be emphasised. The architectural remains, as well as movable objects we excavate, remain in the country and they play great educational role: as was underlined above, the society can become familiar with them, people can understand their cultural heritage and be proud of it. The factor of mutual Polish-Cypriot cultural relations is also important[50]. For Cypriots,

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[50] In 2021 we celebrated the 60th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and Cyprus; as part of the celebrations, the President of the Republic of Poland, Andrzej Duda and his wife, Agata Kornhauser-Duda, visited our excavations in Paphos, cf. see e.g.
https://www.gov.pl/web/cyprus/opening-of-the-exhibition-poland-cyprus-1961-2021
https://polisharchaeologyincyprus.com/en/60-years-of-diplomatic-relations-between-poland-and-cyprus/
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it is important that foreign missions from different countries of the world come. And for us, it is important that we can conduct research in the Mediterranean area. Not only are scientific ties established, but also relationships on a private level (Jeorgis and Kazamias 2014; Papuci-Władyka 2018b).

Equally, we are working very hard to communicate the results of our research to the public in both Cyprus and Poland. The aim is to raise public awareness of the past and its heritage. As far as the Polish research on the Maloutena site is concerned, a conference celebrating 30 years of research between 1965-1995 was organised in Warsaw (Daszewski and Meyza, 1998). The mission's long-time director, W.A. Daszewski, became an honorary citizen of Paphos in 1994 in recognition of his and the members of his mission's merits in discovering the past glory of ancient Paphos. In 2007, the Mission with the support of the Municipality of Paphos and the Nature-loving Cultural Club of Paphos organised a photographic exhibition under title "Νέα Πάφος. Nea Paphos the Ancient Capital of Cyprus, Polish Archaeological Mission University of Warsaw 1965-2007 ", celebrating 40 years of the directorship of W.A. Daszewski. It was installed in the Visitors Centre in Archaeological Park of Paphos and was also shown later in Warsaw at the Kazimierzowski Palace on the University Campus. In Paphos, it was accompanied by a one day session when E. Papuci-Władyka addressed Paphos inhabitants with a lecture in Greek on the achievements of the expedition followed by a presentation of diplomas from the city of Paphos to the members of the Mission, W.A. Daszewski, E. Papuci-Władyka, H. Meyza and Z. Sztetyłło, for their role in discovering and protecting the cultural heritage of the city. More recently, a major exhibition on the occasion of 50 years of Polish excavations in Paphos, including the four years of excavations in the Agora, was organised at the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia in 2015, in collaboration with the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Nicosia and was open for many months to the great interest of the public. This exhibition was accompanied by the publication of a brochure

(Meyza and Zych, 2015). Finally, in the November of the same year, a conference named "Nea Paphos 50 years of Polish excavation research 1965-2015" took place at the seat of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the Staszic Palace in Warsaw.

From the very beginning, the Paphos Agora Project paid a lot of attention to disseminating and publishing the project's results and achievements not only in the scientific field, but also for the public. A website and a Facebook page were created, because no matter how you complain about social media, you have to admit that it plays a significant role in transmission of our results and achievements to society. We have also tried to make popular science books, exhibition catalogues, leaflets, etc., which are available free on-line (see below).

In order to bring our research on Agora in Paphos closer to the general public, the PAP team organised an outdoor photography exhibition in Planty in Krakow in May-June 2014[51]. The five years of the project was celebrated by an international scientific conference accompanied by a photography exhibition "In the heart of the ancient city", which was shown in Krakow (Papuci-Władyka and Dobosz eds. 2016) and later, in several other cities in Poland (Katowice, Poznań, Bielsko-Biała). An enlarged version was also presented in Paphos itself in 2017, when the city was the European Capital of Culture: this took place in the Visitors Centre in the Archaeological Park (Fig. 3) and enjoyed great patronage and interest during the several months of its exhibition period (Papuci-Władyka 2017)[52].

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[51] The Polish/English leaflet can be find here:
https://paphos-agora.archeo.uj.edu.pl/documents/5871239/147076785/wystawa.pdf/d2d88348-ce5c-47a0-b54d-c6dc363accd6

[52] From November 2018 the exhibition also was shown in Nicosia in the Ethnographical Museum (The Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios Mansion) in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities and the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Nicosia.

Fig. 3. Celebrating Pafos2017 European Capital of Culture: the official opening of the Exhibition: "In the Heart of the Ancient City" in the Visitors Centre, Paphos, 6th of October 2017, R. Słaboński, Paphos Agora Project Archive

As part of the celebration of Paphos as the European Capital of Culture, we also organised an open-air multimedia show in the harbour of Paphos at the Byzantin-Frankish-Ottoman fort (called Castle/Kastro, Fig. 1 and 4), which was free for the public[53].

Its subject was a reflection which combined our research results obtained with the use of modern technologies with an artistic vision of heritage (Konstaninovski Puntos, 2018). In the following year 2018, under the patronage of the Year of European Cultural Heritage[54], the popular science book, "Paphos-Mystery of the city of Aphrodite" have been published. Its subheading was "Archaeological heritage versus new technologies" (Papuci-Władyka

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[53] Our promotional campaigns aimed at introducing to the residents of Paphos and tourists the cultural heritage of the city received financial support from the authorities of the Jagiellonian University, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Nicosia and the Municipality of Paphos.

[54] In Poland coordinated by the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, which took over the patronage on our book, see: http://erdk2018.pl/en/news/thank-you

ed., 2018)[55]. It is not only richly illustrated, but it also perfectly shows how modern research works. The authors explain in the most accessible way possible how modern technologies used in archaeology allow us to discover, describe, document, protect and promote cultural heritage. This book was promoted at two events. The first was held at the main hall of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in November 2018, while the second, in Paphos, in September 2019 with the support of the Municipality of the city[56].

Fig. 4. The open-air performance "Mystery of the City of Aphrodite" by J. Konstantinovski Puntos on the wall of Paphos Castle, 6th of October, 2017, R. Słaboński, Archive of the Paphos Agora Project

Starting from 2020, the joint Polish expedition of the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, in cooperation with the Warsaw University of Technology, is implementing a new project entitled: "MA-P Maloutena and Agora in the layout of Paphos: modelling the cityscape of the Hellenistic and

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[55] The printing of the book was finaced by the City of Kraków.

[56] The event was recorded:

https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=2236968109763855&ref=watch_permalink

Roman capital of Cyprus"[57]. Its intended result will be the crea-
tion of a number of digital reconstructions of the city. At the
moment, the area of the Archaeological Park where we conduct
research, only shows in a few places, the remains of architecture
hundreds or thousands of years old. It is not like in Pompeii, where
large parts of the buildings are preserved. Historical turmoil and
numerous earthquakes have led to the serious destruction of the
original architecture of Paphos. The foundations and debris from
the collapsed walls are mostly remaining. Here, everything was
covered with earth and abundant vegetation. For a less experi-
enced visitor, this area hardly appeals to the imagination of the
past splendour of hundreds of years ago. Thanks to the modern
technology of all these scanners, drones and other devices and
various computer applications, it is possible to accurately repro-
duce what the city looked like, how people moved around it, and
actually, exactly how they lived.

Nea Paphos was planned on the basis of the Hippodamian
plan, i.e. the city was divided into quarters of buildings (insu-
lae) by a regular grid of perpendicular streets. The key research
results from the point of view of archaeology and urban plan-
ning were published by J. Młynarczyk (1990, pp. 160-242, fig. 16),
which were based on the discovered remains of buildings and
streets, as well as aerial photographs: this was how she proposed
a reconstruction of the plan of the ancient city. Currently, more
than 30 years after the publication of this study, it has become
necessary to verify the previous findings, taking into account,
the new discoveries and technologies of precise imaging. For
this purpose, an interdisciplinary research team of the MA-P
was built, combining representatives of fields such as archaeol-
ogy, geophysics, architecture and specialists in remote sensing
research, procedural modelling and spatial analysis. Researchers
are working on the creation of the HBIM (Historic Building

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[57] Financed by Opus 18 grant of the NCN no. 2019/35/B/HS3/02296 ; new website: https://
polisharchaeologyincyprus.com/badania/projekty/map/

Information Modelling) database, which is to replace the traditional inventory of structures found during archaeological excavations, and together with the procedural modelling in the City Engine software, it is to create a hypothetical reconstruction of the city landscape and buildings in 3D. To show the way the city developed and changed, reconstructions will be made for different stages of its development from the beginning of the 3rd century BCE until the end of the 5th century CE. The obtained 3D reconstructions will be then subjected to spatial analyses in order to establish the relationship between the layout of buildings and streets and the functioning of the city in terms of visibility, population flow, and potential number of inhabitants, thanks to which it will be possible to better understand ancient Paphos. Such 3D reconstructions have never been made before. They will be made available to the public on the website of the project and to visitors of the Archaeological Site of Kato Paphos. As a result of this, the community of Paphos, and more broadly speaking, Cyprus, as well as the numerous tourists (who we hope will return after the pandemic is overcome) will be able to see what the city really looked like. This is the same city, their city, which has carried the same name, Paphos, over all these centuries. We can therefore say that we are, as it were, returning to society, its heritage.

The MA-P team has also tried to bring the research results closer to society through collaborative archaeology activities, which have started to be implemented in 2021 by our collaborator, T. Fushyia. The collaborative archaeology component for Nea Paphos has three parts: A) research, B) public/community engagement activities, and C) site presentation. The study in part A aims to explore local societal and cultural values of the site by collecting narratives about the site and more generally, Paphos, from the residents who live around the Archaeological Park. It is obvious that the Nea Paphos archaeological site is an important manifestation of the long history of Paphos. While archaeological research is well developed, and part of its results have been mentioned above, the research on the perception of these

results among the local community has never been conducted. Associated personal and collective memories would help in the understanding of the meanings and roles of the archaeological site for the present-day Paphos residents. In part B, a partnership with local schools and/or general public is foreseen. In the case of collaboration with local schools, the main target audience of the activities are the local pupils in Paphos where a series of different on-site and classroom activities for different age groups will be implemented. It is also possible that the main audience will also be the general public and tourists in Paphos. It is particularly effective to reach out to people who usually do not visit either the local museum or the site, in order to generate interest in the site and recent archaeological work. A pop-up museum in different parts of the city (e.g. the harbour, supermarkets, the square in front of the city hall) is envisaged to be organised. A small theme-focused photo exhibition (e.g. Hellenistic city/ daily life in Roman period etc.) and recent discoveries with panels and objects (maybe 3D replicas) with an activity area for children is foreseen. This makes archaeology and history learning a fun, creative, self-reflective opportunity. The presentation of the site constitutes the last part C of the collaborative archaeology project. It will be focused on the Agora, the most important part of the city, where the administrative, economic, and religious activities took place from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. As was briefly presented above, the excavated monumental remains and research outcomes are fascinating. However, it is difficult for visitors to understand and appreciate the complexity of the building and how archaeology has revealed the history and functions of the building with conventional interpretation panels. The digital educational tool will be much easier to access and more attractive for visitors. The project is intended to utilise augmented reality (AR) technology and mobile applications; however, it is rather expensive, so the realisation will depend on what funding will be possible to find.

Challenges and problems

One of the strategic goals of the Portugal conference was to establish a series of policy and action recommendations to be taken by universities, research funding institutions, media, governments, as well as The International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences (CIPSH) and UNESCO themselves. I have shown the contribution of modern archaeology to society. Now I would like to point out some challenges and problems in trying to achieve these goals.

We have all been observing the marginalisation of the Humanities in recent years. Even at my university, we heard not so long ago that "Humanities only produce the unemployed." Therefore, it is necessary to remind ourselves repeatedly and even rather boringly, how important the Humanities are and that thanks to them, how we are able to reflect on the fundamental question: what does it mean to be human? As underlined above, the restoration of the knowledge of cultures and civilisation through the discipline of archaeology is essential, because not only does it provide the basis for understanding the past, but it also helps us to understand contemporary conflicts and problems. There is a danger that in times of economic crisis such as those caused by this pandemic, the Humanities and their needs will be marginalised, even postponed as "less important now". This must be prevented and counteracted.

The Humanities are extremely important in terms of intercultural contacts: getting to know each other, understanding, and respecting each other, as I mentioned this before. I would also like to underline the educational role of archaeology, especially that of archaeological objects.

The issue of insufficient funds to transfer the accumulated - and constantly increasing knowledge - to societies is critical, too. As we observe at the level of our activity, it is much easier to obtain funding for research, but not for transferring this knowledge to society. And I'm not talking about scientific publications, but about any popularisation of knowledge.

Equally, there is the need to strengthen the protection of archaeological heritage and its digitisation. It is imperative to counter the criminal profit-seeking: even in Europe, despite the existence of legal protection and regulations, there are cases (and not isolated cases) of illegal economic looting of cultural heritage. Increasing funding for 3D digitisation and reconstruction is needed. The pandemic has showed it perfectly - we cannot travel, so sharing the cultural heritage in a digitised form becomes extremely important; one should also document as much of the heritage as possible in digital form, especially in troubled areas where conflicts persist.

With respect to the issues of evaluation of the Humanities at an academic level: other principles for the evaluation of the Humanities should be established, because - as already emphasised at the conference in Liege - the Humanities must not be subjected to mere evaluation of their usefulness or employability. In this evaluation, activities related to the transmission of research results to the public should also be appreciated. As you know, scientists are assessed in terms of earning points for publications. Let me give you one example: the bilingual Polish-English publication on the cultural heritage mentioned above (Papuci-Władyka ed., 2018) gave very few points score to its authors, so it does not actually count in our personal academic evaluation. And, from the other hand, it is extremely important to show the public how public money is spent on research and what it brings to society: this book achieved that very well.

The experiences of the Polish mission in Paphos in the dissemination of knowledge resulting from many years of research conducted by it serve to restore the humanities to its rightful place. We achieved this thanks to the marriage of traditional humanistic methods with sciences and technology. We realize that such a combination is not "a panacea for all ills". These are only the first steps but the results and observations are promising, which is why we urge other fields of the humanities to boldly and critically draw on contemporary tools that broaden a better understanding

and perception of humanities issues. Nevertheless, for the further development of modern archeology and the humanities more broadly, it is necessary to develop and use also critical tools. They will tell us which of our actions are effective and expected, and which of them may lead to unnecessary confusion.

Our experience confirms the rightness of the chosen direction of transfer of knowledge about heritage to the society. Therefore, it is necessary to financially and substantially strengthen such activities that attract society to their cultural heritage, and to teach them to understand it, appreciate it and be proud of it.

Acknowledgements and brief bio-note

Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka is a Professor of Classical archaeology involved for many years in excavating and promoting the UNESCO world heritage site of Nea Paphos.

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The Roman roads:
distinctive elements of the European heritage

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The Roman roads:
distinctive elements of the European heritage

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Abstract

The study of Roman roads and of adjacent topics in Europe and in Romania has experienced more attention in the last 50 years for several reasons. First, the interest in the elements of the Roman frontier constantly grew in those countries which established the inclusion, within the UNESCO list, of the Roman *limes*. The present contribution tries to offer not only some answers, but also to shed light and to reflect upon matters regarding the preservation of the archaeological and cultural patrimony, which must become one of our main missions now and in the future. The first part of the study deals with some general aspects regarding the Roman roads as symbols of Roman power. The second part presents a brief history regarding the study of the Roman roads, including some essential contributions. The third part presents some data regarding the role of the roads in the organization of the Roman frontiers. The final part tries to answer a simple question: what do we need to protect the archaeological patrimony?

Résumé

L'étude des voies romaines et des thèmes adjacents en Europe et en Roumanie a connu plus d'attention au cours des 50 dernières années pour plusieurs raisons. Premièrement, l'intérêt pour les éléments de la frontière romaine n'a cessé de croître dans les pays qui ont établi l'inscription, dans la liste de l'UNESCO, du *limes* romain. La présente contribution tente non seulement d'apporter des réponses, mais aussi d'éclairer et de réfléchir en matière de préservation du patrimoine archéologique et culturel, qui doit devenir l'une de nos principales missions aujourd'hui et à l'avenir. La première partie de l'étude traite quelques aspects généraux concernant les voies romaines en tant que symboles de la puissance romaine. La deuxième partie présente un bref historique de l'étude des voies romaines, incluant quelques contributions essentielles. La troisième partie présente quelques données concernant le rôle des routes dans l'organisation des frontières romaines. La dernière partie tente de répondre à une question simple: de quoi avons-nous besoin pour protéger le patrimoine archéologique ?

Keywords
Roman roads, patrimony, Roman geography and space, Roman frontier, UNESCO.

Mots clés
Voies romaines, patrimoine, géographie et espace romain, frontière romaine, UNESCO.

The study of Roman roads and of adjacent topics in Europe and in Romania has experienced more attention in the last 50 years for several reasons. First, the interest in the elements of the Roman frontier constantly grew in those countries which established the inclusion, within the UNESCO list, of the Roman *limes*.[58]

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[58] Details about the Limes Project in Romania: https://limesromania.ro/en/articole/about-the-project/

Another reason for the growth of interest regarding the Roman roads is the intensive use of non-invasive methods for the identification of sites, which lead to the discovery of new road sectors. Such situation is true in many countries in Europe.

But why do roads represent such distinctive elements of the European heritage?

The present contribution tries to offer not only some answers, but also to shed light and to reflect upon matters regarding the preservation of the archaeological and cultural patrimony, which must become one of our main missions now and in the future. After all, the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised) (https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25), adopted on the 16th of January 1992, also known as the Malta Convention, mentions at art. 9: "Each Party undertakes: i. to conduct educational actions with a view to rousing and developing an awareness in public opinion of the value of the archaeological heritage for understanding the past and of the threats to this heritage; ii. to promote public access to important elements of its archaeological heritage, especially sites, and encourage the display to the public of suitable selections of archaeological objects." We have chosen this quotation (art. 9) because we truly believe that, to protect our common cultural, archaeological patrimony, we should always keep in mind this recommendation.

1. Roman roads — symbols of the Roman power

When we look at a map of a Roman province, which includes the locations of the main cities and rural settlements, the distribution of production sites, military fortifications, the Roman farms etc., we ask ourselves a simple question: which was the overall strategic and economic outlook of the Romans and what did the communication network mean for a Roman province? The answer is directly related to the Roman perception of space and time and the accuracy the Romans applied to achieve and maintain their road infrastructure. Not only during Roman times,

but in any period, the fate of many settlements and cities was closely linked to the transport system and roads.

Historians have often emphasized the strategic and military importance of roads. In the foreword to the work of Raymond Chevallier (Chevallier, 1972), Pierre Lévêque noticed that the road density and the study of the chronological development of the road network confirms that in the affirmation of the Roman Empire, roads were used to spread Roman civilization, and they represented a useful tool to spread Roman power. Or, to quote Anne Kolb, the roads "not only enabled the Romans to build up their power around the Mediterranean, but also made it possible for them to consolidate their conquests and create a functional system of administration. These routes formed the basis for an efficient means of communication between the various levels of government, while also facilitating the transport of goods. Economic and cultural life in the Roman world benefited from the existence of such a transportation system" (Kolb, 2014, p. 649).

Communication is essential for the development of civilizations. In the absence of elements that provide the opportunity to exchange information of any kind, a society becomes self-isolated. The Roman Empire, through its general policy, understood this perfectly. Communication is done "physically" using the infrastructure, which provides opportunities for goods and people to travel and to organize a territory, but also the access to information, the means of total control. Information means power. This assumption is valid for all periods. To administrate a huge territory, the emperors of Rome understood the need to invest human and financial resources into an idea and to support it strongly: namely, the creation of a communication infrastructure. "Road building was a political act", emphasized Ray Laurence in his book regarding the roads of Roman Italy (Laurence, 1999, p. 39). In another chapter he insists on the same idea: "What made a province Roman was the road system [...]. The road was a device of power that produced a distinctly Roman space across Europe and the Mediterranean" (Laurence, 1999, pp. 198-199).

From the 4th century BC, first in the Italian peninsula, and then from the 3rd century BC onwards, when the Roman conquests exceeded the borders of Italy, the Romans initiated a massive program specifically designed to build roads in order to ensure close connections of all conquered provinces and to create geographical and political cohesion. The program was continued later alongside new conquests, and the concept applied was that each of the territories conquered must be connected to Rome. The Roman emperors saw the road system as a key factor of geographical and political unity. Roads became extremely important in the history of the Roman Empire when Rome itself became a true source of civilization, because their existence facilitated the systematic control of each province. Beginning with the *milliarium aureum*, placed in 20 BC *in capite Romani fori*, between the *Rostra* and the temple of Saturn, 19 roads started in each of the provinces of the Principate. The implementation of roads took place gradually and constantly. Before the middle of the 2nd century AD, a total length of circa 100.000 km of *viae publicae*, as well as circa 200.000 km of regional and local roads were already built across large areas of the Roman Empire. Augustus and Trajan were the key emperors whose activities focused on road construction, but other emperors too understood the power of arteries. They did it so well, that even their contemporaries praised these actions. Aelius Aristides, writing the speech on Rome, delivered before emperor Antoninus Pius, has noticed this outstanding capacity of the Romans: "You have surveyed the entire globe, spanned rivers with bridges of all kinds, pierced mountains to create roadways, established waystations in uninhabited areas and introduced a cultured and orderly way of living everywhere" (Kolb, 2012, p. 53).

The road assured the unity of settlements, reducing the distances. It defined clearly the Roman perception of space, by offering the cities the possibility to interact between them. In this sense, the road represented a mechanism of Roman power. By creating a vast road network, the geographical space was no longer fragmented. The position of Rome, as the center of the

entire road system, assured its cultural and political control over all areas and provinces.

The geographical conception of the Romans, depicted in various road itineraries, highlights the importance of the communication system in the formation of a territorial unit. All the settlements in the Roman Empire emerged and developed in close connection with roads or with other settlements that were close to roads. Roman farms, cities, economic activities related to agriculture have always depended on the transport of persons and goods. From this point of view, the road was a crucial element in developing economic activities, agriculture and urban economy. The Romanization of a province was achieved not only by implementing an urban civilization, but also through roads. Moreover, the presence of the emperor in each province was felt through the inscriptions on milestones, which mention the construction or restoration of roads.

The whole unity of the Empire relied on the communication system. The construction and maintenance of such a huge amount of roads, was primarily the work of the state, and the state in turn relied on the efforts of legions and soldiers. All the territories conquered and administrated by Romans were filled with exceptional roads. In order to understand how these mechanisms functioned in such perfect unity, we have to see how Romans viewed their space, how they understood their geography. Roads are technical 'means' that assured the communication within the Roman Empire. This communication involved human resources (travel of officials, of individuals, merchants, soldiers, reasons for travel: personal, business, leisure, etc.).

Travel means time, planning, routes, stop points, distances, documents *(itineraria)*, inscriptions (milestones). Travel means information or presupposes getting to information, which, as today, was essential in Roman times. In this way, Romans created a unified space. If we analyze such things, we can take a closer look to the concepts of the Romans, or, in other words, to the historical truth.

2. Roman roads — brief history on the topic

The topic of Roman roads drew the attention of a large number of historians, archaeologists, specialists in ancient history, or even amateurs. In fact, there are thousands of publications edited until nowadays (books, articles, short notes, reviews) covering topics related to roads, milestones, ancient cartography, the Peutinger map, travel during the Roman times, road infrastructure, etc., So far, nobody was able to group these publications together in a book representing a bibliography of the Roman roads.

In 1916 Konrad Miller published a book on the Peutinger map (Miller, 1916). He presented the roads of the Roman Empire depicted on the Peutinger map, transferring the information on 317 maps-sketches. The index (catalogue with the settlements recorded in the Peutinger map) needed in fact a hard work to accomplish it, and this was achieved in difficult conditions, because the level of the knowledge of the topography of certain provinces was, of course, too reduced for that period of time. Therefore, Miller's contribution represents a tremendous intellectual effort to put together data for such an extended geographical area, comprising numerous provinces of the former Roman Empire. Moreover, one should not forget that Miller has published, in 1887 (Miller, 1887), and in 1888 respectively (Miller, 1888), other books focusing of the same topic.

In 1931 and 1934, the French archaeologist and historian Albert Grenier published his famous manual of Gallo-Roman archaeology. The second volume (Grenier, 1934) deals, among other themes, with roads. Grenier specifically outlined the idea that there is a significant gap between the antiquity and the modern era related to the construction of roads: 'le Moyen Age c'est la décrépitude progressive des routes' (cited by Rouche, 2003, p. 37). Of course, during the medieval age, new roads appeared, but numerous former Roman roads were continuously used, with or without any repairs, until the 18th and the 19th century. The same idea was again emphasized in 1962 by Raymond Chevallier, in an

outstanding study concerning the methods used in the research of Roman roads: 'On découvre avec surprise que la carte des voies anciennes existe virtuellement sur les cartes topographiques. Le tracé des voies a parfois peu varié jusqu'aux grands travaux routiers des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle' (Chevallier, 1962, p. 4).

A significant contribution to the study of the road network in the Roman Empire is that of Pierre Fustier (Fustier, 1968). His monograph is among the few works that analyzes the Roman roads and their use in medieval and modern times. Although the book focused on the evolution of the Roman roads and their state of preservation in France during the medieval and the modern ages, it was criticized in some points by some authors. For example, Marc Gauthier (Gauthier, 1973, p. 200) reproached Fustier that the book does not provide an updated discussion regarding the routes of the Roman and medieval roads in Western Europe. But he also noted an interesting fact, which is also available for different regions in Europe (Gauthier, 1973, p. 200): 'Le réseau romain se dégrade pendant tout le Moyen Âge, malgré l'œuvre considérable réalisée localement par les moines. L'absence de pouvoir central maintient cette situation sous la Renaissance, et il faut attendre le XVIIe siècle pour que naisse en France une politique des routes. L'essentiel du réseau français se développe au XVIIIe siècle grâce à la création de l'administration des ponts et chaussées, et le XIXe siècle y apportera peu d'améliorations et de compléments.'

A presentation of public roads in the Roman Empire was published by Thomas Pékary (Pékary, 1968). He discussed issues regarding the names of public roads, the road construction program, the responsibility for the road construction, the financing of these activities. Pékary's book remains valuable because it is based on the idea that Roman roads were a political tool for the unification of the Empire.

Raymond Chevallier constantly focused his attention on the road network of different provinces of the Roman Empire (especially Gaul), on the literary sources regarding Roman roads,

their technical characteristics, the methods of application of aerial photographs to the study of the road network, the research methodology of Roman roads, or travel in the Roman world. The first edition of his book *Les voies romaines* (Chevallier, 1972) was followed by a second one in 1997. The author described important issues related to Roman roads: their origin, their names, the classification of roads, the construction, infrastructure, superstructure and main technical characteristics of the transport system. Aspects concerning travel and roads were presented by Chevallier in another monograph (Chevallier, 1988).

Another good synthesis is the one written by Victor W. von Hagen (Von Hagen, 1978), published in several editions. In connection with the roads of the Empire we should mention the monograph of Gerhard Radke (Radke, 1981).

Colin Adams and Ray Laurence edited in 2001 a book on travel and geography in the Roman Empire (Adams and Laurence (eds.), 2001), which groups six important contributions written by Kai Brodersen, Benet Salway, Ray Laurence, Anne Kolb, Jon Coulston and Colin Adams. Brodersen discussed about the geographical knowledge of the Romans, with solid arguments showing that the Romans were not interested in the concept of 'scale maps'. For a traveler, an *itinerarium pictum* or *adnotatum* was enough for orientation an in order to make long-distance travels under optimal conditions. The author also discusses the problem of dating the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Salway tried to clarify the controversial problem of dating the same Peutinger map. Anne Kolb presented essential data concerning the official transport in the Roman Empire, *cursus publicus*. Jon Coulston analyzed in detail the scenes of Trajan's Column related to transport and travel. Ray Laurence analyzed the Roman roads from Britain, outlining their role in the development of the settlements. Finally, Colin Adams presented a discussion regarding the travel and transport system in Egypt based on ancient sources: papyri and private letters.

The Romans pushed bridge construction from technical engineering to monumental art. In 1994-1995, Vittorio Galliazzo

catalogued 931 bridges spread across the Roman Empire, of which 800 are in Europe, 74 in Asia, and 57 in Africa (Galliazzo, 1994; Galliazzo, 1995). It might seem a large number, but one should remember that the total length of roads in the Roman Empire at its height is approximated at circa 210,000 miles. This vast extent of roads obviously required a significant number of bridges. Among the most outstanding bridges, both from the point of view of their construction, but mostly because of their exceptional preservation state, we should record Trajan's bridge at Alcántara over the Tagus River, built in 104 AD (O'Connor, 1993, pp. 109-111), and the Pont du Gard in southern France, over the Gardon River, built in the middle of the 1st century AD. The longest bridge built during this period (1134 m) is the bridge over the Danube River, connecting Drobeta and Pontes, designed by Apollodorus of Damascus and built under Trajan from 103 AD to 105 AD. On Roman bridges a documented contribution is the book of Manuel Durán Fuentes (Fuentes, 2005).

On Roman milestones, roads, infrastructure and organization of the route network, decisive are the contributions of Ingemar König (König, 1970), David H. French (French, 2012; French, 2012a; French, 2012b; French, 2013; French, 2014; French, 2014a; French, 2014b; French, 2015; French, 2016; French, 2016a), or Anne Kolb (Kolb 2000; Kolb, 2001, pp. 95-105; Kolb, 2001a, pp. 505-507; Kolb, 2004, pp. 135-155; Kolb, 2011, pp. 9-18; Kolb, 2012, pp. 53-69; Kolb, 2013, pp. 192-221; Kolb, 2014, pp. 649-670; Kolb, 2016, pp. 3-8; Kolb, 2016a, pp. 223-238; Kolb, 2019, pp. 3-21). Anne Kolb currently works on a special project, CIL XVII Miliaria Imperii Romani, a project which has as main purpose the creation of a complete edition of the Roman milestones grouped as part of the famous Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (UZH - Historisches Seminar - Römische Meilensteine - CIL XVII Miliaria Imperii Romani).

Another synthesis on Roman roads is the one published in 2010 by Margot Klee (Klee 2010).

Major monographs on Roman roads refer to different provinces. In 1960 Hermann Schreiber published a study about the roads from Italy (Schreiber, 1960). For Spain, one should mention the exceptional contribution of Pierre Sillières (Sillières, 1990), a Ph.D. thesis published as a monumental book of 904 pages. In the last 30 years, the outstanding activity of Isaac Moreno Gallo must also be mentioned, including books, articles, and an impressive web page, TRAIANVS, where one can find information about various aspects of Roman constructions, aqueducts, and a interactive section on the roads from Hispania (VÍAS ROMANAS. Isaac Moreno Gallo (traianvs.net).

Although there is no monograph published so far for the Roman roads in Gallia, they were constantly studied and the results were published in a series of articles or books. The roads from Gallia were studied by Raymond Chevallier, G. Radke (Radke 1964, pp. 299-318), L. Fanaud (Fanaud, 1966), E. Thévenot (Thévenot, 1969), I. König (König, 1970), P. Broise (Broise 1974, pp. 89-110), M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier and G. Raepsaet-Charlier (Raepsaet-Charlier, Raepsaet-Charlier 1975, pp. 61-73), or D. Brentchaloff and J. Gascou (Brentchaloff and Gascou, 1995, pp. 245-254). These articles and books are focused on particular sectors of roads, Roman milestones, and ancient documents. More recently, other contributions were published (Gendron, 2006; Coulon, 2007).

In Britain, the Roman roads were systematically published by Thomas Codrington in 1903 (we consulted the third edition, Codrington, 1919). His monograph represented for the next period the only synthesis about the Roman roads in Britain. In 1955 and 1957 Ivan M. Margary published two volumes concerning the same topic (Margary, 1955; Margary, 1957). In 2008, Hugh Davies discussed the issues of the Roman roads in Britain (Davies, 2008).

Recently, the roads from Egypt were presented in a very good synthesis by Maciej Paprocki (Paprocki, 2019). The milestones from Pannonia were analyzed in a Ph.D. thesis defended in 2007

by Péter Kiss (Kiss, 2007). The roads from Pannonia were catalogued and presented in 2016 by András Bödőcs (Bödőcs, 2016). The same author recently published a study on Roman roads in 2020 (Bödőcs, 2020, pp. 1-12). The roads from Moesia Inferior were discussed in 2009 by Mitko Madzharov (Madzharov, 2009).

Ray Laurence beautifully addressed the question of the roads of Roman Italy in 1999 (Laurence, 1999). A decisive contribution for the level of knowledge regarding the roads and the topography of Roman Italy was brought by Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, who edited, starting with 1992, the journal *Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica*, now reaching number 33/2023 (Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica (lerma.it)). Several numbers were dedicated strictly to the roads of Roman Italy (Quilici and Quilici, (eds.) 1992; Quilici and Quilici, (eds.) 1993; Quilici and Quilici, (eds.) 1996; Quilici and Quilici, (eds.) 2002; Quilici and Quilici, (eds.) 2004).

Since 2000, the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, edited and coordinated by Richard Talbert (Talbert, (ed.) 2000), with its 99 full-color maps of the entire Roman world, at a very detailed scale, became a useful tool for researchers of the Roman roads and the topography of the Roman Empire.

Another important online database is the so-called Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire, hosted and managed by the Centre for Digital Humanities, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

In 2017, an international conference organized in Zürich by Anne Kolb aimed to draw a line on the up to date researches on Roman roads in different regions of the former Roman Empire. The results of this important scientific event were published as a conference book in 2019 (Kolb, (ed.) 2019a).

On the roads of Dacia and connected aspects, such as the Roman cartography, including the Peutinger map, we have published several monographs, in 2006 (Fodorean, 2006), 2013 (Fodorean, 2013) and more recently in 2016 (Fodorean, 2016).

Since 2015, following the invitation of our colleagues from the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in Barcelona, we gladly accepted

to be part of the international team who planned the beginning of a new digital TIR-FOR (Tabula Imperii Romani - Forma Orbis Romani) project. From the start, we realized that there are several technological aspects of the project that highlight the importance of a TIR type database developed on an online platform. The databases of each team are created in connection with and through a brand new platform (https://tir-for.iec.cat/).

The project provides not only innovative methods for the registration and the classification of the archaeological sites, but it also stimulates new research perspectives regarding the digitalisation of the archaeological heritage, which now represents a major priority in Europe. Numerous countries have already developed digital instruments to register, update and protect their archaeological heritage.

The project offers a new approach, a new methodology, and it also has an economical impact, because the record of each site provides a fundamental tool for the precise location of all sites. It also has a cultural impact. Using this database, steps will be made to protect the archaeological sites. The project integrates all the information into a single database. It also promotes the use of online technologies, which make information easily accessible for those interested in the archaeological heritage of the Roman world.

In 2021 we have finalized the volume *Tabula Imperii Romani - Forma Orbis Romani. Dacia* (Bărbulescu, Fodorean, Nedelea (eds.) 2021).

Besides books, articles and notes, documentaries were also produced, some of them also focusing on roads, such as the series "What the Romans Did for Us", with an episode dedicated to roads (What The Romans Did For Us 4of6 Arteries of the Empire - YouTube).

3. The roads and the limes

Roads were essential components of the Roman frontiers. That is why it is so important today to understand the value of the

Roman *limes* as an outstanding monument. In 2005, a trans-national program was implemented, focused on the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) (Breeze, Jilek, and Thiel, 2005; Breeze and Jilek, 2008; Visy, 2008; Breeze, 2009; Breeze, 2011; Farkas, Neményi, and Szabó, 2020; Breeze, Marcu and Cupcea, 2021). This was a success, since so many areas were mapped and numerous publications were printed during this time. The Romanian LIMES programme, which started in 2014, has as main objective the creation of the documentation regarding all the elements which are component of the Roman frontier within the territory of the country (Our Mission (limesromania.ro)).

4. What do we need to do to protect the archaeological patrimony?

Most European countries understand that they need to protect the archaeological heritage, as the Valletta Convention recommended. Therefore, the situation requires more protection and less excavations, unless necessary. However, one of the main problems in certain areas is the fact that preventive archaeology, or contractual archaeology, is perceived by certain investors as a factor for slowing the economic development. These people should realise that not only the Valletta Convention, but the legislation of each country as well, clearly specify that saving the archaeological patrimony is not a caprice, but is mandated by laws. Therefore, the 'polluter pays' or 'developer pays' principle is not enough. To protect archaeological sites and artefacts, we also need a greater level of education and awareness regarding the importance of the patrimony, not only for the specialists, but for all of us.

With these thoughts in mind, we think that we really need right now:

1. A proper understanding of the importance of certain sites in comparison to others. We cannot excavate everything. We need to

prioritize on the most important sites, which have a long excavating tradition and outstanding results (publications, etc.);

2. An accurate understanding of the importance of Article 9 of the Valletta Convention, which focuses on the concept of 'public awareness'. We need to excavate, but we need even more to preserve, to capitalize, to promote the archaeological patrimony, to facilitate the access of the public to archaeological sites, to make people understand why it is crucial to protect our monuments. In so doing we do not only educate our public, but we will be able to involve the civic organizations in the process of preservation and promotion of the archaeological sites;

3. The move towards accurate digital databases using GIS platforms. To prevent the destruction of the archaeological patrimony we need to know the accurate location of the sites. For this, we need to map all the sites, to verify the preservation state in the terrain, to carry out fieldwalking, to make topographic surveys for these sites, and to identify, analyze and interpret the artefacts. These are the real tasks. Therefore, we have to look again at our priorities, because it is important to manage the money, to accomplish needs and not waste financial resources. Otherwise, the future of our patrimony will be in danger.

To conclude, the roads remained the quintessential symbol of Roman power, of the Roman capabilities of conquering and penetrating new territories, and shaping the landscape, their landscape. After 2000 years, Roman roads are still part of our changing, sometimes unpredictable landscape. That is why we should do our best to keep them safe, to teach our children, our colleagues, our friends, our students, about their outstanding role in the cultural landscape of Europe. And that is why we should transmit this knowledge to the next generations.

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Digital Humanism:
the role of the human component in the Digital Humanities

BY SILVIA ORLANDI

"Digital Humanism":
the role of the human component in the Digital Humanities

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Abstract

Recent trends in scholarly publications, public debate on newspapers, and digital projects in the humanities seem to privilege the quantitative and computational approach to historical studies, as it is considered more objective, and therefore more correct. But some examples driven from direct experience, above all in the field of digital epigraphy, show how important the human component of any digital project still is for a whole and more correct comprehension of the traces of the past.

Abstract

Le récentes tendances dans les publications académiques, le débat public sur les médias et les projets numériques en sciences humaines semblent privilégier un approche quantitative et informatique des études historiques, considerée plus objective et, donc, plus correcte. Quelques exemples tirés de l'experience directe dans le domaine de l'épigraphie numérique montrent, toutefois, la grande importance de l'élement humain envers une compréhension globale et plus exacte des traces du passé.

It must be admitted that between the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium, humanities have lost their traditional central role in the western educational system and, more in general, their social relevance. This is particularly true for the disciplines that have to do with the ancient world, often seen as too far and too different from the contemporary reality. Different approaches have been tempted to face – if not to solve - this problem. On one hand, there is a constant commitment to persuade, with any kind of initiatives, the public opinion that ancient studies are still very important and significant even for a modern and technologically advanced society. Just to quote a couple of random examples, a series of online lectures on the living relations between past and present ("Dialoghi aull'antico e sul presente. Tra identità e alterità"), organized by the scientific journal "Donysus ex machina", has been released on the website of the publisher Editore Palumbo[59] , while an official and passionate statement on the importance of the inclusion of ancient history in the teaching program of Italian schools, by the President of the Association of the university professors of Greek and Roman History (CUSGR: Consulta Universitaria per la Storia Greca e Romana), was recently published on the online journal "Huffington post"[60].

But at the same time, as a result of this process, and maybe also with the hope to fill the gap between scientific and humanistic studies, recent trends in scholarship publications, public debate on newspapers, and digital research projects tend also to privilege the quantitative and computational approach to the humanities in general, and to historical disciplines in particular, as it is considered more objective, and therefore more correct.

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[59] Recordings available at: https://up.palumboeditore.it/show-details.html?id=29 (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[60] Full text available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.it/entry/caro-cingolani-la-conoscenza-della-storia-non-e-merce-di-scambio-di-l-criscuolo_it_61a3981fe4b07fe2011a6a49?utm_hp_ref=it-homepage (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

It seems – and it has been stated – that only the methodology traditionally applied to exact sciences can guarantee the objectiveness necessary to consider an historical research reliable, otherwise "history gets things wrong" to quote the title of a recent book by Alex Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 2018).[61]

Actually, new directions in the field of ancient history have opened wider and unexpected possibilities for the study of the human past, thanks to the study of climate change, paleobotanic, paleoanthropology, and so on. All this information, put at disposal by recent scientific research, are now to be considered along with traditional ancient sources for a more global approach to the past, as some recent volumes have shown very well. The book by Kyle Harper on the end of the Roman Empire (Harper, 2017)[62], and the collection of essays edited by Walter Scheidel under the title The Science of Roman History (Scheidel, 2018)[63] are two good examples of this new turn in historiography.

I also don't deny that the access to a huge quantity of digital material – the famous Big Data – ready to be automatically read and elaborated by a machine thanks to the Artificial Intelligence can not only speed the research process, but also open new and previously unthinkable scenarios. The idea is that increasing in a significant – and at the same time quick and cheap - way the quantity of digital data at our disposal will not only represent a new research tool, but will also generate new research methods and themes, suggested by the amount of the information itself [64]. That's

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[61] As a matter of fact, history has often been considered a not very reliable science. See, for example, the words used by Leonardo Sciascia in the Italian novel Il consiglio d'Egitto: "Il lavoro dello storico è tutto un imbroglio, un'impostura: e che c'era più merito ad inventarla, la storia, che a trascriverla da vecchie carte, da antiche lapidi, da antichi sepolcri".

[62] See also the reviews of Harper, 2017 by Degroot, 2019, Newfield, 2019 and Woolf, 2020. An interview with Kyle Harper on Economics Detective Radio can be also listened on YouTube at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E8wnscoMRMQ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[63] See also the review of Scheidel 2018 by Graham, 2019.

[64] This is, for example, the concept of the European project (and organization) Time Machine: https://www.timemachine.eu/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

why more and more digital research projects, with very good chances to be funded, plan to apply this methodology to different fields of the humanities, including ancient Greek and Latin epigraphy, that is my area of interest.

Just to give you a single but significant example, a recent study developed by a research team in Oxford, including Jonathan Prag and Thea Sommerschield[65] , has shown the amazing results made possible by the use of Deep Learning techniques to a sample of fragmentary epigraphic and literary texts. The so developed algorithm can generate a number of integration proposals much bigger than a human, or even a scholar's mind, among which the historian will be able to choose the best results, that are not necessarily the most statistically attested, but rather the ones that better fit the historical context. This study makes clear that even in the application of an extremely advanced technology, the human contribution remains fundamental in different phases of the project. First of all, in the "cleaning" of the data that are the starting point of the process, since the problem of low- quality information literally "explodes" with huge amount of digital material as in the case of big data. This phenomenon, that has been already studied in the field of archaeological data, but that is not clear enough to scholars and broad public, means even that behind the most advanced machine there is always a human mind. Moreover, what the machine can do is offering a large number of possibilities, statistically based, that represent an unvaluable help in the decision-making process, but – once again – the last word remains to the human scholar with his knowledge of the historical context.

And other examples, chosen in the field of ancient epigraphy, that, as I said, is my own area of expertise, can show that this is not an isolated case.

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[65] See the full report by Assael, Sommerschield and Prag, 2019 and the general information available at: https://wiki.digitalclassicist.org/Pythia (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

EpiSearch is a very ambitious project, whose pilot was recently funded by the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, aiming to a "digital coalescing" of ancient inscriptions and epigraphic manuscripts[66] : the idea is to build a digital environment where encoded epigraphic texts and encoded images of handwritten collection of inscriptions can dialogue and establish cross-references between the two different sets of data. Ideally, an "agnostic model" capable to go beyond singular and specific digital archives is the solution conceived to reach this goal, but practically nothing could happen without a human contribution before and after this step. Before, with a massive digitalization of both manuscripts and inscriptions, and after, with a careful check of the results, that can be improved as long as the expected and unexpected mistakes are spotted and corrected by human eyes and minds.

In fact, Machine reading is actually giving extraordinary results in the automatic recognition and interpretation of texts, but problems arise with ancient texts, as the inscriptions, where there is a frequent use of marks, abbreviations and non-alphabetical signs that sometimes have the same aspect of normal letters, but a different meaning according to the context in which they are used. The machine can learn the difference, of course, just as an image recognition system can learn to distinguish a jaguar – the animal, from a jaguar – the car. But a teaching process presuppose – even in a digital environment, as we have learned in these pandemic times - a human teacher.

For all these reasons, while more and more projects are proposing a computational approach to traditionally humanistic disciplines[67] , a parallel movement is arising, showing how important is the human component of the digital humanities. A human

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[66] A short paper on the concept of the project was presented by Daniele Fusi at the International Workshop "On the Way to the Future of Digital Manuscript Studies", held at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, 27-29 October 2021. Program available at: https://rmblf.files.wordpress.com/2021/09/on_the_way_to_the_future_of_digital_mss_studies.pdf (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[67] See, for example, the interesting results described by Prignano et al., 2017, or by Bornhofen and Düring, 2020, just to quote a couple of the innumerable possibilities.

component that should not be denied or hidden as a weakness point, but, on the opposite, declared and exploited as a fundamental resource to manage the uncertainty and nuances that characterize our studies. Natural intelligence, with its fallibility, of course, but also with its inevitable capacity of analysis, reflection and criticism is still something that our digital era can't get rid of[68] .

Not by chance, more and more research programs are realizing that without an education that includes the humanities, with the possibility of dealing with complexity and sophistication that a "philological approach" brings with it, it's often difficult to reach good and correct scientific results. In fact, in order to "extract" knowledge from data, seeing the relations among data is not enough: reflecting about the meaning of these relations, to understand them correctly, is also necessary. According to a recent, provocative proposal, the idea of "Digital Humanities" can also be presented as an interpretation (and a criticism, when necessary) of the Information Technology from the point of view of the humanities scholars and their methodological approach.[69]

In the past years, several conferences have been devoted to this theme and different initiatives have been taken in different part of Europe. Just to quote a few examples, a whole conference, organized by the University of Hamburg on July 9 to 10 2020, was devoted to the theme "Modeling Vagueness and Uncertainty in Digital Humanities"[70] , showing that representing the different (and often very low) levels of certainty that characterize above all historiographical information is the new challenge of the digital projects in this research field. Moreover, an official movement is born, called The Digital Humanism Initiative[71] , seeking to build

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[68] I have developed some observations on this subject in Orlandi, 2019. Some very interesting thoughts from a philosophical perspective can be found in Gruner, 2021.

[69] This is the interesting idea that lays behind the recent book by Varanini, 2020.

[70] A report and the recordings of the talks presented during the conference can be found at: Modelling Vagueness and Uncertainty in DH : hercore : Universität Hamburg (uni-hamburg.de) (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[71] With a very active website: https://dighum.ec.tuwien.ac.at/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

a community of scholars, policy makers, and industrial players who are focused on ensuring that technology development remain centered on human interests. A regular lecture series organized by this scholarly association ended up in the volume "Perspective on Digital Humanism", collecting several contributions on the inter-play of human and machine.[72] On the same path, Ammagamma[73], an Italian private society working on the application of Artificial Intelligence systems to different kinds of industries, has launched in 2019 a "Manifesto della razionalità sensibile", presented as a proposal of a humanistic concept of AI, underlining the impor-tance of human awareness in the use of highly technological tools.[74]

Nobody denies that we simply can't step back to the past, but I think that we should also be aware – and arise the awareness - that human intermediation, with its "semantic capital" (to quote Luciano Floridi, who, as Head of the Oxford University Research Group on the Philosophy of Information[75], has been studying this theme for many years[76]), is still a fundamental component of the building of knowledge, even in a scenario of extreme digital life.

Bio-note

Associate Professor in Latin Epigraphy at Sapienza University of Rome, in the last years Silvia Orlandi has paid much of her attention to technologies applied to epigraphic research.

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[72] Available at: https://dighum.ec.tuwien.ac.at/perspectives-on-digital-humanism/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[73] General information available at: https://ammagamma.com/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[74] Full text available at: https://www.razionalitasensibile.it/it/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[75] Structure and organization available at: http://www.cs.ox.ac.uk/activities/ieg/ (Accessed: 31 December 2021).

[76] See, for example, Floridi, 2014 or the collective volume Floridi, 2015.

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The Humanities, Museums and Art:

Reflections on Institutional Challenges and Interdisciplinary Opportunities in the 21st Century

BY ZOLTÁN SOMHEGYI

The Humanities, Museums and Art:
Reflections on Institutional Challenges and Interdisciplinary Opportunities in the 21st Century

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Abstract

Museums are challenging institutions. Not only have their origins and their past been challenging, but they constantly have to face novel challenges in the present, and this is very likely to continue in the future. On the other hand, museums are, in a way, *required* to be challenging—they need, or they should, act as institutions that permanently require us to reconsider our positions, our interpretations of our existence, the state of our culture, and the roles that the arts, humanities, and sciences play in our society, among numerous other pressing issues. This is why, when claiming that museums are challenging institutions, we should take into consideration all of these meanings. In this essay I will elaborate, in a bit more detail, the ways in which ways museums can be and should be "challenging." Reconsidering the opportunities of interdisciplinarity, it can have a crucial function in further developing museums, in order that they become institutions that not only create relevant cultural *content* that matters to people, but also a *context* that paves the way for fruitful dialogues between standpoints and methodologies. At the end of my essay, I will describe a complex project that draws inspiration from such interdisciplinary approaches.

Keywords: *Museums, Interdisciplinarity, HAS project*

1. Museums have a challenging history

Museums have a long history that, in certain ways, can be traced back to the public display of artworks in the Antiquity and Middle Ages, as well as to the aristocratic collections of *Kunst-und Wunderkammern* in the early Modern Age. (Schlosser, 1908) The Enlightenment brought the first "encyclopaedic" museums into existence, in which the complexity of human cultural production were displayed, even if the proportions and emphases of the canon have changed since then. Many of these museums are still among the leading such institutions on a global level, including the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Museo del Prado, to be followed in the 19th and 20th centuries by other great museums in practically all capitals and metropolises.

The challenges that these renowned museums—as well as the collections they house, which have continually grown—have had to encounter include, among other difficulties, wars and revolutions that are direct threats to the institutions and their collections. There have also been, and still are, financial constraints that have naturally had effects on numerous levels—maintenance of the collection and the building(s), expansions of the premises, support of professional programmes, etc. Among the challenges, we can also list the possible ethical issues of political interference that may negatively influence the public missions and scholarly work pursued in museums—for example, attempts at silencing the work of certain artists or groups.

Aside from these difficulties, however, we can see a challenge of another sort—one that concerns the origins of museums themselves. The birth of these institutions has been challenged in recent decades, by scholars questioning the motivations behind their foundation: Were these truly and purely scientific (or at least partially so), or were they influenced by rivalries between the new nation-states? In this sense, the nation that could collect and show the most numerous and best-quality works of art from the past could hope to be considered not only their legitimate

inheritor, but also as a culmination of human culture and civilization. This contested past naturally has consequences in the present, and provokes discussions regarding ownership, display, restitution, and so on.

2. Museums have a challenging present

Many of the current difficulties are similar and/or can be considered as continuations of the aforementioned issues, which include the dire situations caused by wars, changing political climates, financial difficulties and, of course, the recent global experience—the pandemic that forced museums to find solutions for drastically dropping visitor numbers, cancelled exhibitions, halted scientific collaborations, etc. However, even if these situations were not present—even in the most "tranquil" states—museums still need to constantly adapt to their times, and our own age is no exception. While some may wish to maintain the status quo out of comfort or fear of change, the roles, prospects and, especially, the function(ing) of museums must change, in order to allow them to play significant roles in peoples' lives.

Though it may seem a distant analogy, still, we can remember Arthur C. Danto's analyses on art and disturbation (sic! – Danto's expression in Danto, 2004 / 1986). The American philosopher surveyed artworks that not only "depict" or represent a disturbing or controversial topic, but create an actual, sometimes even threatening situation in which essential questions are to be examined. In this way, as Danto claimed, these cases disturb life, not (only) art or its history, traditional forms, or earlier manifestations. Given the many differences in the function(ing) of art and museums, obviously we cannot automatically adopt the concept of disturbing art to museums, and I do not claim that we should suddenly convert all our institutes into "disturbing museums." Nevertheless, there is still something we can learn from such a comparison, and to think of novel ways through which to possibly renew some aspects of the centuries-old museum experience.

For example, aside from the passive displays that, in our inter-active digital age, are getting less and less interesting for many visitors, more efficient methods of interference should be sought. And this really should be "interference," or even more—museums, as well as the activities pursued in them and organized by their curators, should *interfere*, should pose important and even diffi-cult questions. They should *bother* people. Issues of the margin-alization of art—its being accused of being either overly self-ref-erential and inaccessible, or appearing only in the framework of superficial blockbuster surveys, and hence losing its (former) direct and influential connection with the public—was already observed more than half a century ago by, among others, Edgard Wind (Wind 1963) and Arnold Gehlen (Gehlen 2016 / 1960), and should thus be taken seriously.

Fortunately, there are important signs that the issue is being acknowledged, and that attempts are being made to resolve it. Boris Groys argues for the precedence of the "project" over the "exhibition," for the museum to be converted from a place where we merely contemplate objects to one where things happen—lectures, presentations, discussions, screenings—hence, an insti-tution that creates an intellectually fertile flow of events and activities (Groys 2013; see also Somhegyi 2020a). Tristram Hunt, director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, summa-rized the current tasks as follows:

> *In an era of deepening nationalism and parochialism, where accounts of ethnic purity and manifest destiny abound, the ability of museums to tell complicated stories of hybridity and cosmopolitanism is vital.... Museums need to be brave in confronting the big issues.... Museums need to provide a civic arena for contentious debate. Through our exhibitions and public programme, we can frame and generate discussion with the kind of respectful and inclusive approach that is so often absent from contemporary political discourse. As politics gets*

> *more heated, we shouldn't fear that it is too difficult to*
> *entertain all shades of opinion under our roofs. We can*
> *show leadership in curating the ethics of disagreement.*
>
> (HUNT 2018)

Besides "bothering" people in the above, positive, sense, museums should naturally also *matter* to people. This is why Orhan Pamuk, in his famous manifesto, disputes the conventional structure of traditional museums—which appear as monumental illustrations, or even demonstrations, of universal historical narratives—and posits that it is more important to exhibit the microstructures of personal experience. (Pamuk, no date; see also Somhegyi, 2020b, chapter 12) Or, if that seems too ambitious for us yet, then at least we should find more ways to connect individual and global experiences through the platform of a museum.

3. Museums must be challenging

Based on the above, we can then claim that museums must be challenging, sometimes even "bothering" or "disturbing" institutions in order to maintain their relevance and importance on the cultural palette in today's world. We need to keep museums playing a central role in the cultural and educational life of people in a proactive way, not letting them becoming passive—and *passé*—institutions, but active centres with brave and bold agendas. They should challenge our thinking. They should not remain places merely to accumulate objects and to display them, and especially not to display them following old museological patterns and inclusivist ideas. When novel modes of functioning are found, the role of museums will definitely remain essential.

There are many ways in which we can (re)gain the centrality of museums and cultural institutions. While they cannot be listed and discussed here in detail, some are absolutely important to be mentioned. What is essential is exactly the need of being and becoming a common point, an interdisciplinary hub

where crucial questions can be investigated on multiple levels, and especially from multiple perspectives. Interdisciplinarity, trans-disciplinarity, and cross-disciplinarity are thus no longer additional luxuries or experimental curiosities in the methodology that we need to pursue only if there is sufficient energy and resources left for such an approach. No, they are an absolute must, since the complex issues we are facing in today's world, including the ones concerning global politics and the environmental crisis, can only be analyzed, and hopefully resolved, if we all work together. Museums can thus become primary venues to pursue such cross-disciplinary analyses, i.e., working as centres of research, experimentation, and knowledge creation, as well as locations to bring the results of such experiments closer to the wider public. This is thus an enlarged and more modern interpretation of the educative function of museums, in which the production and sharing of knowledge is conducted along more efficient and inclusive patterns.

Referring back to the origins of museums: As mentioned above, they emerged in part from the cabinet of curiosities, or *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, where different types of "curiosities" were displayed together. These curiosities included wonders of Nature, of the animal world, plants, geological items, etc., as well as artificial objects, the production of humans, like the artworks and objects we may label today as works of applied art, or pieces with relevance to ethnography and anthropology. Following the specialization of the disciplines and research areas that rapidly grew during the Enlightenment, such displays were divided, and later led to specialized museums of, for example, (only) fine arts or of natural history.

However, given our aforementioned, essential need for interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary approaches, perhaps we should take inspiration from the "interdisciplinarity" and the "inclusive" approach of those proto-museums that originally contained all forms of "curiosities." What we can learn from them is an interest in not making rigid distinctions and not creating unfriendly

standpoints against other academic disciplines and their approaches. We never really know what we can learn from each other. As often happens, the most novel, fascinating ideas come from fruitful dialogues with representatives of other disciplines.

4.) CIPSH and HAS, HAS Magazine

Toward the end of my considerations, let me quote one of our actual projects that is connected to, and draws inspiration from, this idea of cross-disciplinarity. It also aims at highlighting the importance of establishing a hub for thinking, creating, and investigating global issues, with the help of the research approaches, methodologies, and results of humanities and partner disciplines. This is the Humanities, Arts and Society Project, as well as the publication of *HAS Magazine.*

HAS Magazine is part of the HAS Project, a project by UNESCO-MOST, CIPSH, and Mémoire de l'Avenir. The aim of the Humanities, Arts and Society Project is to demonstrate the impact of the arts and creativity on society, to promote global understanding and collaboration between the disciplines, as well as to establish a worldwide movement of artists, researchers, thinkers, and project holders. Therefore, its mission is to raise awareness, through the arts and the humanities, of social challenges, in order to initiate change at a local and global level. The HAS platform publishes actions and research from initiatives that propose methods, solutions, and reflections. In that respect, the Humanities, Arts and Society project and platform provide active and interactive support to connect projects and creative ideas that act and reflect upon these issues. Humanities, Arts and Society endorsed, and is developing the art program line of the Jena Declaration, an effort to promote global sustainability, culturally and regionally.

The first issue of HAS Magazine (https://humanitiesartsandsociety.org/magazine/) was launched in June 2020, with the theme "Big Data and Singularities," followed by the second," Between Anxiety and Hope" in January 2021, and third, "Truth and Belief"

in June 2021. The fourth issue, investigating the concepts of "Engagement and Contemplation," was published in early 2022, and the fifth issue, "Spaces and Places. Two dimensions of Being" came out in July 2022. All issues are accessible online for free. Every issue is published in English and French, and the first two are also available in Chinese.

HAS Magazine's thematic volumes aim to investigate pressing issues in our world, collecting analyses, reflections, artistic contributions, and case studies of the examined subject matter, in which different approaches respond to each other and incentivize thinking together. We hope that each of the issues of *HAS Magazine* can be considered as a "mini encyclopaedic museum"—a fascinating collection of important contributions toward better understanding of the particular topic being analyzed. We are honoured to collaborate with scholars from all disciplines, as well as practitioners, educators, activists, and artists, in efforts to find efficient approaches and tangible results.

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Report on Health & Humanities Session
EHC, 7 May 2021

BY ISABEL FERNANDES & LUIZ OOSTERBEEK

Report on Health & Humanities Session

EHC, 7 May 2021

RAPPORTEURS: ISABEL FERNANDES & LUIZ OOSTERBEEK

This session was chaired by Isabel Fernandes, from Lisbon University, and counted with the keynote speeches of James Pawelski (Univ. of Pennsylvania) and Frédéric Worms (École Normale Supérieure of Paris) and the interventions of Silvia Peppoloni (Univ. of Rome, IAPG), Ulrika Maude (Univ. of Bristol), Hsiu-Hsi Chen (NTU Taipei, ANHN), Florian Steger (Univ. of ULM), Dwaipayan Banerjee (MIT), and Luiz Oosterbeek (Polytechnic Institute of Tomar, UISPP, APHELEIA).

James Pawelski focused on human flourishing, exploring specific humanities methodologies, and namely on positive psychology. He stresses that the origins of paideia and liberal arts is, precisely, such focus on flourishing, which remained in the renaissance and beyond. He then revised how focus on building new knowledge impacted on this initial approach, and the eclipsing of eudaimonic interests. He presented several examples on how to integrate the Humanities back to well-being, flourishing and related education.

Frédéric Worms argued it would be misleading to focus on Health and Humanities as possible opposites, instead of a same unity in face of a third term. If one breaks that unity, it would never be resumed. Accepting the divide would perpetuate not only a duality but a dualism, against the understanding of health as *mens sana in corpore sano*. Humanities have to deal not only with the mind, but to consider the global too, which changes to a certain level the understandings both of health and of humanities. Based on this reasoning he proposed a new concept of the Humanities, including self-knowledge of Humanity (classical humanities) and transdisciplinarity, but, also, vital and critical humanities.

A debate followed, introduced by Isabel Fernandes, involving all participants. Silvia Peppoloni connected the dimensions of health, sustainability, ethics and economics, stressing the need to change the ways of being and thinking. Ulrika Maude discussed the issue of suicide and of strategies to manage it, understanding its complex diverse cases and implications and stressing the potential role of literature in the process. Hsiu-His Chen exposed a series of inequalities in the context of the current pandemic, not only in terms of access to medical support but of consciousness values and mindsets. Florian Steger presented an international project, engaging several European countries and stressed the need to involve the Humanities in medicine and health care, namely in identifying the limits of public interventions, and to bridge the two fields together. Dwaipayan Banerjee discussed attitudes in face of cancer and other diseases, and the divides created with some people being identified with the sickness.

Isabel summarized the various speakers approaches with the word interdependence (local/global, political/environmental, body/body, individual/public, classical/critical humanities). Beyond research, she asked which changes would be required in education and field work?

James Pawelski stressed that the linguistic definition is fundamental since the ideal is also the domain. Talking about health is not the same as absence of health. He indicated that disease care is an indirect approach to flourishing. Need to think of health promotion and preservation, and not only illness prevention. Promotion requires as much attention as the negative, medical, side.

Responding to Luiz Oosterbeek, JP said we are very sensitive to threats and this build a negative approach, which is not bad, unless it becomes dominant and triggers anxiety and the feel of emergency. If all we do is that, we will simply wait for the next catastrophe. Health of the individual of the society cannot ignore nor focus on illness. It must have the foresight of long term. It is important to also focus on where we wish to be in the future, in a proactive sense.

Ulrika Maude considered that the Humanities tradition is primarily positive, even if a negative tradition exists and is needed.

Florian Steger agreed that a positive mode is fundamental, namely for health care. He considered that it is in later modern medicine that the negative approach on illness prevailed. Trying to find solutions is, therefore, fundamental. And narratives are very important in that context.

Silvia Peppoloni considered that the issues of the pandemic are very similar to processes like earthquakes: need to work prevention, probability, uncertainty… but the public is not comfortable with these concepts. Education, and not only information, is the key action to change this approach of the public.

James agreed that education is crucial. Also measuring is important.

Experience. If we exclude suicide, but death etc., private death we connaot move ahead, But, again, the pandemic reconnects. For instance, dyimng alone in the hospital aleradey happened, but now we felt it.

Isabel said let us revitalize the Humanities, health literacy, universal access to health and happiness.

Create a project with CIPSH

Luiz Oosterbeek argued that, as Frederic Worms said, the core theme today is the value of life, or the consideration of death. This is at the core of Sophocles or Homer, for instance, and Humanities have built on this, reflecting on the negative (which triggered ethical concerns rooted in moral), certainly, but also on the flourishing (which allowed for a fundamentally positive understanding of Humanity, despite the millennial periods of despair). But we should understand that the pandemic is integrating the various negativities perceived in the recent past (inequality, violence, environment, etc.), around a clear axis (life, including dignity in death vs death. including indignity), evidencing a divide between individual responses and institutional reactions, both globalized and divergent. Is this a divide between a flourishing and a negative

agenda. As in what concerns sustainability, when the accent is put in the negative drivers and not the positive potentials, which could explain why all sustainability strategies, so far, have failed.

Health and Environmental Issues:

The need for cooperation between Science and Humanities

BY SILVIA PEPPOLONI

Health and Environmental Issues:
The need for cooperation between Science and Humanities

SILVIA PEPPOLONI

Secretary General of IAPG — International Association for Promoting Geoethics

Abstract

The great environmental issues of our time, such as energy, exploitation of resources, pollution, land use, climate change, are closely linked to social, economic and political ones. Science and technology are proposing increasingly advanced and effective tools to find solutions to current global ecological problems, but they alone are unable to guarantee solutions that are also acceptable from an ethical, social and cultural point of view.

The pandemic we are experiencing clearly demonstrates that our relationship with the environment, and more in general with the planet, doesn't work. It is one of the tragic effects of the growing deterioration of already somewhat unstable balances between human communities and the environment. Urbanization and deforestation destroy biodiversity and increase the possibilities of contacts and opportunities for promiscuity between living species, favouring the leap of species by infectious agents, that begin to spread also among human beings, especially in situations of greater social vulnerability, where health conditions are more precarious, where social and economic inequalities are more marked.

Therefore, even the health problem, strictly connected to the environmental one, must absolutely be addressed with multidisciplinary approaches, which involve both the scientific disciplines, dealing with the Earth and ecological systems, and the humanities, that are capable of framing scientific knowledge in a horizon of sense, functional to a human progress that is really inclusive.

The planetary emergency caused by the pandemic provides us the opportunity to reflect on the urgency of a transition towards more sustainable and eco-compatible cultural and economic paradigms, on the need to strengthen international institutions and agreements to face global threats, taking into account also the very different social, economic and cultural contexts in which one goes to work, the historical and cultural diversity of the various populations that make up the complex mosaic of humanity.

Departing for a new phase of global history writing that reacts to the challenges of the 2020s.

Report on the Panel "A Global History of Humankind" at the European Humanities Conference "Humanities and beyond" in Lisbon, 5-7 May 2021

BY MATTHIAS MIDDELL

Departing for a new phase of global history writing that reacts to the challenges of the 2020s.

Report on the Panel "A Global History of Humankind" at the European Humanities Conference "Humanities and beyond" in Lisbon, 5-7 May 2021

MATTHIAS MIDDELL

Professor of cultural history and Director of the Global and European Studies Institute at Leipzig University; CISH

The International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences decided in 2019 to initiate a new Global History of Humankind project and nominated a working group to lay out organizational and conceptual foundations for such an endeavor which necessarily is a long-term project. Members of the working group are so far: Jeremy Adelman (Princeton University, USA); Katja Castryck-Naumann (Leibniz Institute History and Culture of East Central Europe, Leipzig, Germany); Mamadou Fall (Université de Dakar, Senegal); Satoko Fujiwara (The University of Tokyo, Japan); Catherine Jami (EHESS Paris, France); Jie-Hyun Lim (Sogang University, South Korea); Chandana Mathur (Maynooth University, Ireland); Matthias Middell (Leipzig University, Germany); Laurent Tissot (Université de Neuchâtel, Switzerland).

The panel to which Katja Castryck-Naumann, Laurent Tissot and Matthias Middell contributed with short online presentations commented by Chandana Mathur as well as by Mikhail Lipkin (Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for World History) gave a tour d'horizon of the history of UNESCO-histories of

mankind, the understanding of humankind (in comparison to humanity) and the foreseeable new context of world history writing in the 2020s.

The contributions are still online and allow to follow the arguments made during the panel at the website of the overall project.[77]

Interest in global histories is on the rise since the later 1990s and has not ended so far. There is a first generation of global historians who championed the field and have published important contributions in form of specialized monographs and articles as well as in the category of (sometimes multi-volume) authoritative synthesis. The main achievement, if it is possible to summarize it in one argument here, is the discovery of a connected world that is no longer to be interpreted primarily in national containers and following the lines of methodological nationalism. A myriad of publications shows the multitude of such connections originating from the mobility of people, goods, capital, cultural patterns, but also viruses. Global historians insist on the fact that sch connections are not a phenomenon of recent times only but date back deep in historical times. All sub-disciplines of historiography have contributed to this discovery and have build bridges to neighboring disciplines in organizing the production of knowledge anew when transcending the borders of individual territories and understanding historical development as caused not primarily by inner-societal factors but by the interaction between societies. There is no doubt, speed and size of such connections have increased especially since the 19th century with technological innovation allowing for faster and larger transportation and communication systems.

It is to be recognized that this historiographical innovation has reached a certain point of saturation while it is still ongoing and remains without doubt highly productive. Signals of such saturation are above all the growing number of overviews published by this first generation of global historians (who often

[77] https://home.uni-leipzig.de/globalhistoryofhumankind/

distinguish themselves explicitly from previous forms of world and universal history writing by insisting on their critical stance towards conceptual Eurocentrism and methodological nationalism and by the refusal of teleological approaches). Excellent works like the nine-volume thick Cambridge World History (edited by Mary Wiesner-Hanks)[78] or the six volumes of a joint venture of Harvard UP in the USA and Beck publishers in Germany (under the direction of Jürgen Osterhammel and Charles Maier) are milestones in the integration of all the new knowledge created since the 1990s. It is for the sake of space that we mention these two examples only, but the trend is much broader and new world or global histories have been published in French and Russian, in Flemish and in Swedish as well as in many other languages. Global histories of very different kind are published almost all over the world but with remarkable differences in focus and narrative design.[79] The market seems to be unsatisfiable and reminds of a period around 1900 when (then new) world histories were already something a lot of middleclass people had on their bookshelves at home. Similarly, the central messages of the new global history made it into the more general historical consciousness and contributed to the dominance of the paradigm that the future of the world is a global one. This does not necessarily mean that school curricula change everywhere and knowledge about places far away have perhaps not grown as wished by cosmopolitans but this is not the point here. Global history, if wished by its authors or not, has contributed to a sort of ideological globalism, btw. well described in a very differentiated way in Manfred Steger's book on globalisms.[80]

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[78] For a more thorough analysis of this giant effort to bring roughly 200 authors together to cover somehow the whole history of the world see: Katja Castryck-Naumann/ Matthias Middell (eds), Narrating World History after the Global Turn: The Cambridge World History (2015), in: Comparativ Vol. 29 No. 6 (2019) available at: https://www.comparativ.net/v2/issue/view/159

[79] Sven Beckert/Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds.), Global history, globally. Research and practice around the World, London 2018; Matthias Middell (ed.), The Practice of Global History. European Perspectives, London 2019.

[80] Manfred B. Steger, Globalisms: Facing the Populist Challenge, Lanham, MD 2020.

At the same time, critical voices indicate that there will something after the boom of global history as we knew it. Jeremy Adelman's essay asking for a possible future of global history[81] is quoted more and more often as opening new avenues to a less enthusiastic and naïve understanding of globalization.

The argument here is that fascination with global connections has some (by far not all) authors led to negligence towards the multiple power structures that were not only overcome by border-crossing activities but also reproduce. The reemergence of right-wing populism reminded global historians that nationalization has never been eradicated but, on the contrary, emerged in parallel to massive global connections especially since the late 19th century. There is good reason to revise some of the too rosy narratives of a period of first enthusiasm with globalization as the ultimate solution to problems of violent conflict, ongoing social inequality, and perpetuated injustice. In the light of these criticisms, global history appears less liberated from teleological thinking than it made believe.

But there is evidently more at stake than the rediscovery of territorialization and nationalization. Dipesh Chakrabarty has put the challenge upfront when putting the anthropocentric nature of global history into question.[82] He is surely not the first one who saw the contradiction between the regular use of the blue planet signet as a symbol for a genuine cosmopolitan global history approach and the dirty pictures one may get these days when photographing from the orbit. Big history insists already for quite some time on the necessity to integrate the history of the world's population into a much longer history of the planet. The "Fridays for future"-movement asks not only for immediate political reaction to the ongoing pollution but also for a new understanding of our own history and its connection with nature. But here is a substantial problem. One of the greatest achievements of global history in comparison

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[81] Jeremy Adelman, Is global history still possible, or has it had its moment? (2017). https://aeon.co/essays/is-global-history-still-possible-or-has-it-had-its-moment [accessed 13 March 2022].

[82] Dipesh Chakrabarty, The climate of history in a planetary age, Chicago, London 2021.

to former paradigms dominating the understanding of historical processes is the farewell to abstract, structuralist explanations and the insistence on actors doing this global history.

But who are the actors in a world beyond globalization as we knew it for the last decades and in a perspective that is no longer purely anthropocentric?

This leads to the question dealt with in Laurent Tissot's contribution to the panel on which we report here briefly. He compared the use of humanity vs humankind in different languages and concluded that this difference, if it exists at all, has very different meanings. It needs further elaboration before we can start building a larger narrative on one of these categories. This is also confirmed by a publication from 2020 in the journal Didattica della Storia. Journal of Research and Didactics of History, in which the two authors Claudia Bernardi (University Roma Tre) and Eric Vanhaute (University of Ghent) report on their plans for a textbook dedicated to high school pupil entitled "A Global History of Humanity". They summarize their aim as follows: spanning " from 70.000 BCE till the 21st century" and narrating "a global history of our world assuming a non-Eurocentric and non-nationalist perspective. The textbook covers the history of humanity through three volumes, combining a chronological and a thematic approach. Each volume is divided into three chronological chapters. Each chapter presents the four themes in which the textbook is structured: humans change nature; humans on the move; social organization and inequality; worldviews. The last part of this paper ties the long history of humanity narrated through the textbook to today's central questions, discussing the conditions in which we find ourselves today and the challenges we are facing in the coming years."[83]

We quote this here so extensively to make transparent that we are not the only group working into the direction of a

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[83] Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343064938_'A_Global_History_of_Humanity'_a_high_school_textbook_to_change_the_world [accessed 13 March 2022].

comprehensive work that takes inspiration from both the recent interest in global history and the new awareness for theories that discuss a possible shift to an Anthropocene. In these theories Humanity is assumed to be the central actor or is about to become it. Our focus goes into a similar direction, but we ask rather that we know how Humanity transforms from an imagined into a real actor in world history, when and where, why and with which consequences.

In my view, this is not an easy to answer question and invites for a large mobilization of research capacities but this time it will be not sufficient to combine the excellent knowledge produced by individual Area Studies in a comparative way but we need more of a transregional approach that has been discussed already but still remains marginal in the field of global history. We have discussed some of the central methodological issues with such a transregional concept in a collective effort summarized in a Handbook on this topic[84] since I do not believe that Humankind as the one and solely relevant global actors emerges ex nihilo when there is need – for ex. when climate change becomes so urgent that ever more people call for immediate action by such a Humankind. On the contrary, it is to expect that the process of formation out of so many different pieces and segments will be a lengthy and conflictual process, full of in- and excluding patterns as we can learn already from research on transnational movements and organization at previous junctures of globalization.[85]

The COVID-19-pandemic and the recent outbreak of war have taught us that climate change is perhaps the most fundamental but by far not the only one challenge, humankind in the making as a social formation that disposes of more than symbolic agency is facing. To observe with the tools of historical scholarship how such an actor is emerging seems to be a very noble

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[84] Matthias Middell (ed.), The Routledge handbook of transregional studies, Abingdon, New York 2018

[85] Matthew Evangelista, Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War, Ithaca NJ 1999.

task but should not be confused with wishful thinking inspired by normativity and idealism. A Global History of Humankind is, that's for sure, nothing that can be researched and written over night but needs collective wisdom and critical reflection as well as empirical grounding. The panel at the Lisbon conference was not more than a starting point but hopefully also not less than that.

Summary of the Session *"Humanities and Technology"*

BY CATHERINE JAMI

Summary of the Session
"Humanities and Technology"

BY CATHERINE JAMI

Director of the Centre d'Études sur la Chine Moderne et Contemporaine, CNRS, France

The European Humanities Conference (EHC) took place on 5-7 May 2021, engaging all the members of CIPSH, assembling 112 speakers (59 women and 53 men), from 23 European countries (but, also, North and South America, Africa, Asia and Oceania). Out of these, 20% were historians, 20% from literary studies, 14% anthropologists and archaeologists, 14% from other humanities and 36% from other sciences and the arts. Aiming to build an interactive network and convergence basis for scholarly exchange, EHC provided a wide platform for multitudinous research themes, both on strategic approaches (e.g., multidisciplinary research or on traditional and new humanities) and contemporary concerns (e.g., migrations, health or technology).

The session "Humanities and Technology" was held on 6 May, 2021 12:00 - 12:55 (Lisbon time)/ 01:00-01:55 pm (CET). In this session, scholars focused on the troubling relationship between technology and humanities today. With the advent of digital technology, bio-medical techniques, along with the crisis of climate change and COVID pandemic, the humanities are compelled to rethink their position in the age of "Post-humanism." On the other hand, science and technology, as one of the speakers Rosalind Williams suggests, should not be segregated from their human consequences. However, the rapid development of technology and science seems to leave behind, if not totally dispense, the humanities. From the nuclear threat to artificial intelligence, and pandemic, the speakers in this session aim to respond to the difficult questions posed by technology, which the classic humanities have been struggling to handle.

By proffering new perspectives to the current scenario, this session rethinks the role of humanities, introduces new concepts, and seeks to rebuild the bridge between the two isolated universes. Yue Miao's speech "Creativity, Connection, Expression - Exploration and Practice of Tencent's Neo-Cultural Creation" gave us a promising picture of the convergence among culture, technology, and business. In March 2018, based on Tencent's business practice, Tencent vice president Edward Cheng introduced a new cultural concept, "Neo-culture creativity," to facilitate the corporation between culture and business. The "Neo-culture creativity" generates an ecosystem that offers more ways to create content and to encourage new ideas and innovations. Within this system, quality stories can be adapted into other media forms for a wider audience; literature, anime, film and television, music, E-sports, and games enrich the ecosystem and facilitate interactions between authors and readers. With the incorporation with CIPSH, Tencent also aims to explore the relationship among culture, business, and technology. With this ongoing project, they explore the possibility of this new "ecosystem."

In rethinking the role of the university, Rosalind Williams' "A Broader Educational Mission: the Humanities in MIT " traces the history of MIT's curriculum requirements which insist on cultivating students' sense of humanities and communication. Rosalind Williams introduces the history of MIT educational emphasis on the humanities, arts, and social sciences (HASS requirement), and communication. The key figure of this institutional aspiration and educational mission is Warren K. Lewis. As a professor of chemical science, Lewis was involved in Manhattan Project and was one of the contributors to the atomic bomb. War and nuclear age troubled Lewis, and his insight of education led him to be the first chair of MIT "The Committee on Educational Survey." With the curriculum reform which later became HASS and communication requirements, Lewis directed MIT's education to a more interdisciplinary and comprehensive path, in which

engineering and science can no longer be segregated from their human and social consequences.

From the angle of academia, Silvia Orlandi's "Digital Epigraphy: Tra Automazione E Singolarizzazione" delineates the current academic debate on the role of humans in archeological studies. Orlandi proposes that archeological studies cannot be without human actions and thinking, despite the prosperity of technology or digital science and the trend of privileging quantitative and positivist methodologies. The disciplines of humanities are still crucial in analyzing the data collected by digital technology. Through the lens of humanities, the myth of objective histories can be renounced. Although digital technology helps academia to attain comprehensive information, it is human beings that can acquire a deeper understanding of the finding.

Cecilia Åsberg's "Synergy and Humanities: meeting change with feminist posthumanities" opens with Ursula Le Guin's quote that "life is a permanently troubling uncertainty" to unearth the problem of classic humanities. Åsberg addresses the existential concern in the time of pandemic in both life, activism, art, and academia. For example, how do the humanities respond to the normative conception of humans that leads to current injustice of the elderly, black people, covid patients, and the indigenous and subaltern in the Global South? Åsberg proposes feminist post-humanities as the answer to integrate technology, environmentalism, feminist studies, post-human studies, post-colonial studies to recast the humanities as disciplines other than Euroanglocentric and anthropocentric traditions. Feminist post-humanities challenge the classic humanist idea of the universe and bring other actors into the horizon, turning the permanently troubling uncertainty into possibilities.

Finally, Harold O. Sjursen's "Technological Ethics, Faith and the Crisis of Earth: How the Discourse of Humanities Fails to Address the Problems of Technology" traces the conceptual usage of technology in philosophy and humanities and its implications. Through consideration of the critical challenges posed by climate

change, artificial intelligence and robotics, CRISPR gene editing, Siursen suggests that the crisis of humanity lacks a stable perspective to make responsible judgments for the future. The limitations of the inherited discourse render the humanities, from philosophy to literature, ineffectual, not only in recognizing the problems brought by technology, but even in its primary task to understand the human condition.

Though different in kind, the speakers share the mutual concern about the volatile, if not precarious, relationship between the humanities and technology. From the business perspective to the highly theoretical thinking, the topics in this session aim to refurnish and broaden the established concepts such as human, culture, and technology. In their own way, they break the long-standing barrier between humanities and technology and usher these new kinds of understanding to the contemporary world. As such, the session does not confine itself in the academic tower, but is actively reaching out to our living world.

Comments on *Humanities and Technology*

BY ROSALIND WILLIAMS

Comments on
Humanities and Technology

ROSALIND WILLIAMS

Dibner Professor of the History of Science and Technology Emerita, Program in Science, Technology, and Society, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Seventy-six years ago, in August 1946, the president and vice president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology started the process of convening an institute-wide committee to review MIT's educational program in light of the challenges and changes brought about by the recent world war. They invited Warren K. Lewis, a distinguished chemical engineer who had participated in the Manhattan Project, to chair the group.

The Lewis Committee released its report at the end of 1949. Its main finding was to assert the importance of the humanities and social sciences as an integral, significant element of professional engineering education. The third chapter of the Lewis Report, titled "A Broader Educational Mission," explains why this integration is necessary:

> *The most difficult and complicated problems confronting our generation are in the field of the humanities and social sciences; since they have resulted in large measure from the impact of science and technology upon society, they have an intimate relationship with the other aspects of the M.I.T. program.*[86]

The acceptance of the Lewis Report by the MIT faculty began a process of reshaping the structure and requirements of the Institute to express its commitment to "A Broader Educational Mission."

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[86] Report of the Committee on Educational Survey to the Faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (The Technology Press, December 1949), p. 42.

This began with the creation of a new School of Humanities and Social Science in 1950. In the 1950s and 1960s MIT gradually revised its curriculum so all students would take at least one subject in the humanities and social sciences each semester.

In the 1980s and 1990s the School expanded its reach to include the Arts along with the Humanities and Social Sciences. MIT also redefined its curriculum to include a communication requirement that applies to each of the four undergraduate years. More recently MIT has been updating its physical facilities to include a performing arts center, a new MIT museum, and a renovated humanities library.

Most important, MIT continues to explore ways to integrate humanistic and technological education. This experimentation began in the 1970s with the establishment of a new department named the Program in Science, Technology, and Society. In the last five years, it has focused on the creation of a new College of Computing, which features a center for Social and Ethical Aspects of Computing. Just this month MIT has announced the creation of an academy for design as another way of integrating the humanities with engineering research and education.

In sum, since World War II MIT has undertaken a series of efforts to integrate the humanities and technology in "a broader educational mission." There are important lessons for us in reflecting on this still-evolving project. The first lesson is the power of historical events in defining "the most difficult and complicated problems confronting our generation." MIT's commitment to the humanities came out of its participation in the World War II effort to defeat totalitarianism. Today we again face the threat of totalitarianism, as well as "difficult and complicated problems" of climate change, pandemic, and nuclear arms, among others. These threats are technological but not only technological: we need the humanities to define values and priorities as in a world full of such risks and opportunities. In another memorable phrase

of the Lewis Report, "Education is preparation for life."[87] This is the historical world we live in, and the mission of the humanities is to educate us for life in this world.[88]

Another lesson from this postwar experience is that innovation is just as important in the humanities as in technology. The Lewis Report started a process of humanistic innovation that is still on-going. In this European Humanities conference, we want to start a process that leads to similar innovation in creating "a broader educational mission" for the humanities in Europe and eventually beyond. Our goal should be a new agenda for European and ultimately for global humanities: a broader educational mission that prepares us for life in this world.

ROSALIND WILLIAMS

Program in Science, Technology, and Society
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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[87]Report, p. 89.

[88] For more details on these educational initiatives, see Rosalind Williams, *Retooling: A Historian Confronts Technological Change* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2002).

The humanities?
How many divisions?

BY JOHN CROWLEY

The humanities?
How many divisions?

JOHN CROWLEY

Chairman & CEO, PHGD

In the process that led to the 2017 World Humanities Conference, and then from its outcome to the 2021 European Humanities Conference, with which I was closely involved in my then UNESCO capacity, the question how to defend the relevance of the humanities was a recurring theme. It can be interpreted in different ways, and points in a number of different directions. They are probably familiar to many readers, and are discussed from a range of vantage points in this publication, but it may nonetheless be useful to review them briefly.

First, the question raises a definitional issue, about the nature of the humanities and their distinction with other areas of inquiry or practice. Even in the most narrowly academic sense, this question has different answers in different contexts.

There is perhaps a broadly shared European and North American understanding, embedded in the institutional history of universities, of the humanities as interpretative disciplines, involving textual and metatextual methods and devoted to issues of meaning rather than explanation. Even this, however, is valid only in outline and comes up against some obvious difficulties. The academic standing of history thus varies in line with the existence or absence of a "human science(s)" framework, which is itself a specific institutional development, with its roots in 1930s France. Indeed, the question what to call the humanities in French was extensively discussed in 2013-2014 at the early stages of planning the World Humanities Conference. Many French speakers were *prima facie* more comfortable with the phrase *"sciences humaines"*, and the decision to use *"humanités"* was practical as much as conceptual. This understanding of the humanities

thus draws a line, or perhaps more precisely a fluid grey zone, between the humanities and the social sciences. Yet, at the same time, the "cultural turn" in the social sciences – which has also been, methodologically, a textual turn – has extended the greyness and fluidity at precisely the time when the question of defending the relevance of the humanities appeared institutionally urgent. If sociology, political science and international relations – or at least significant strands within those disciplines – are interpretative in methods and ambitions, as they are, then how are they to be differentiated from the humanities?

By contrast, I was always struck, during my years of active participation in international scientific cooperation, by the absence of the above demarcation, which was very familiar to me from my own studies, in Africa and Latin America. It is an exaggeration, of course, to say that *every* African or Latin American sociologist is at the same time a philosopher, and vice versa. But that connection between describing, interpreting and judging society (and thus understanding the social construction of description, interpretation and judgement) is at the very least a major and perhaps dominant tendency, which would hinder any intellectual or institutional attempt to draw clear, still less rigid, lines between the humanities and the social sciences.

Interesting as they are, these issues are perhaps not of major practical significance, since the relevance and importance of the humanities can be quite naturally extended to humanities methods and orientations in the social sciences. Indeed, this methodological and paradigmatic approach fits well with the contemporary emphasis on transdisciplinarity, in relation with issues, such as the environment and technology, that call for convergence and constructive synergy between a range of different ways of working. In particular, transdisciplinarity opens up a space for the use of interpretative methods in the natural sciences, and conversely for the application of natural science techniques, e.g. of modelling, in the humanities and social sciences.

So maybe one doesn't need to define the humanities to defend them. But even undefined, or defined in a fluid, post-disciplinary way, the case for the defence raises questions.

A first, and familiar, observation is that many defenders of the humanities are reluctant to use the language of "relevance" at all, especially in its dominant contemporary form of relevance to policymaking, innovation and economic growth. Furthermore, alternative framings of relevance in terms of compatibility with and support for contemporary social movements are often equally inimical to those sceptical of economically utilitarian views of "usefulness". Yet the idea of the humanities as valuable for their own sake, because they express and expand the flourishing of the human spirit as well as embodying a precious inheritance that deserves to be cherished, does little for the institutional survival of the humanities, at a time of pressures on higher education and research funding, precisely because it is abstract and uncontroversial.

A natural response to this combination of distaste and urgency is to seek forms of pragmatic instrumentalism in which the humanities, while defended for their intrinsic value, are also argued to be useful for something utilitarians care about. Ancient languages are a good example in this respect, because it's easy to show their instrumental value for archaeology, which in the area of the humanities is perhaps the most newsworthy of all disciplines. Indeed, articles have been published in the general press in the last few months on breakthroughs in the understanding of proto-Basque and runes through the medium of and in connection with archaeological discoveries. These are quite specialised areas. The articles may not be widely read. They are certainly less impactful among the general public than, say, the discovery of the grave of Richard III under a car park in Leicester, which was front-page news in the UK in 2015. But still, editors decided to put them in their newspaper, which is unusual for work in most areas of the social sciences and humanities. However, it is unclear whether this undoubtedly important connection is enough, in practice, to make the institutional case for ancient languages, and

in particular for their funding as they compete with the whole range of other disciplines.

The title of this article refers, as most readers will have guessed, to something Stalin supposedly said when he was informed by his advisers that Pope Pius XII was making public comments about World War II. The point being that moral authority, influence, articulacy – or even simply being right about the value of peace — count for nothing if one does not have the military capacity, or more generally the force, to impose one's views. Ultimately, the best way to defend something, on this view, is to equip it with the ability to inflict damage on others. *Si vis pacem, para bellum.*

A version of this interpretation proved significant in the gradual process by which, from 2013 to 2021, a case for the humanities was made and shared by a significant group of shareholders. Interestingly, it is a case that takes account of Stalin's cynicism, but also negates and goes beyond it. It states that neglecting the humanities leads to bad policies. The humanities have "divisions" — practical tools – the absence of which from existing, well-identified battlefields leads to defeat. But at the same time, the case asserts the importance of abstract ideas embedded in detailed interpretative study, not just for their own sake, but as a condition for making sense of the kinds of policy challenges that humanity faces and will face in the future.

Generals, it is proverbially said, are always fighting the last war. Military institutions, which are well aware of this, thus devote significant efforts to imagining what the *next* war might look like — to avoid it, if possible; to fight it, if necessary. And that very practical challenge calls to a striking extent on the interpretative methods of the humanities, not to the exclusion of other, more predictively inclined approaches, but in close synergy with them. For the future is an open space of possibilities that is shaped, *inter alia,* by imaginative attempts to capture it which, by transforming its own conditions of emergence, never quite succeed. Stalin, after all, probably didn't imagine that the election of a future Pope, in

1978, might play a non-trivial role in the collapse of the Yalta settlement that he had successfully negotiated in 1945.

And this point goes considerably further than the purely instrumental benefits of certain kinds of methods for certain kinds of strategic planning processes. Rather, it stresses that the policy challenges of the worlds to come cannot simply assume some unchanging, timeless meta-agent called "humanity", whose challenges to face those will be. The way in which ideas matter is through their dynamic, mutually constitutive interaction with technologies and institutions, which occasionally, through specific modes of resonance, create the conditions of "great transformations", to borrow Polanyi's title, in the course of which the subject of history, and not simply its object, is changed.

In this sense, it is much more than a play on words to assert that the humanities matter – and matter crucially, practically – for any policy challenge in which the question "what is it to be human?" is at stake. This was always true, as the history of inadequate intellectual and policy answers to flawed interpretations of the question shows very clearly. Racism, eugenics, repressive psychiatry, the subordination of women – these are just examples of fundamentally bad answers to the question what it is to be human. In his well-known novel *A Clockwork Orange,* Anthony Burgess made this a central theme of his satirical assault on the supposedly "progressive" criminology of the 1950s. If you imagine humans as clockwork mechanisms to be adjusted when they malfunction, says Burgess, in essence, then don't be surprised if you produce a society of malfunctioning automata.

But what then might be a good answer to the question what it is to be human? This obviously far exceeds the scope of this brief contribution, but let me nonetheless offer some pointers as to the implications of a critical, humanities-inspired engagement with traditional humanism, its limitations, and its possible overcomings.

To put it very simply, humanism as traditionally understood is first and foremost an ethical stance. It propounds, among other things, certain values of tolerance and mutual respect in the

context of a philosophical commitment to human dignity, human rights and shared human reason. But it is more than just an ethical stance. It claims to derive such statements about what humanity *should* share from a certain understanding of what human beings *do in fact* share. This set of connections is clearly open to criticism at all three levels: the supposed factual grounds for the unity of "the human", the conceptual connections between facts and norms, and the specific normative content of the humanistic norms. As the examples mentioned above indicate, all of these possible criticisms have in fact been made – extensively.

In more technical terms, which are unsurprisingly very Kantian, the conceptual structure of humanism might be thought of as follows. It combines in specific ways ontology, epistemology and deontology. Ontology, in the sense that humanism posits the centrality of the "question of Man", and further proposes an answer that effectively inscribes the ethical standing of humanity in its natural standing – the connection being a feature of the order of things. Epistemology, in the sense that humanism posits the ultimate compatibility of objective scientific knowledge (which describes humanity from the outside, as a component of the natural world) and subjective human self-knowledge (which interprets humanity from the inside, as the subject of freedom beyond the bounds of natural determination). And deontology, in the sense that humanism prescribes ways of treating others – including acquiring knowledge about them – that are compatible with their being.

Every aspect of this conceptual structure is problematic in various ways, but I would argue that the most profound difficulties lie at the ontological level. Once one frees oneself from the assumed centrality of "Man", as Foucault famously argued at the end of *Words and Things,* epistemology and deontology can stand alone and, appropriately restated, continue to guide a form of humanism that is both ethical and conceptual, and offers the framework in which the disciplines, spirit and methods of the humanities can guide both policies and strategic thinking about the possibility

spaces of policy issues that are incipient or yet to emerge – not to resolve them, but to integrate them into reflexive understanding.

In the face of challenges such as planetary vulnerability (not just of humans but also of ecosystems and other natural systems), technological transformations of biology (again, both human and non-human), growing information-processing capacities of machines and distributed networks, ageing at a scale unprecedented in human history, and many others, what is at stake is to provide an alternative justification for the basic humanistic values on the grounds that they represent the necessary basis (or part of the necessary basis) of any acceptable response to contemporary social, scientific, cultural and educational challenges. Such a justification needs to be sensitive not just to the limitations of the traditional ontological (i.e. implicitly and often explicitly biological) framework for humanism, but also to objections to the content and normative status, and not simply the grounds, of the UN system and of the normative instruments to which it has given rise. In essence, these are the objections that claim that ideas of human rights, human reason and human dignity are ethnocentric and/or anthropocentric.

To repeat the military metaphor, imagine fighting those battles without the divisions the humanities can mobilise!

An important implication of this argument is that the basic normative thrust of humanism – what it means to be "humane" — can and should be defended and articulated without being "grounded" in something "deeper". With respect to its legal codifications, this means emphasizing not the underlying conditions that make agreement about shared principles and mechanisms possible, but the procedures that can lead to agreement in the absence of any ultimate ground. This line of thinking has been extensively explored in recent philosophy. Furthermore, there is a considerable literature that connects the philosophical claims to more sociological / anthropological analysis of the life-world within which ungrounded normative commitments can be both possible and powerful.

A striking implication of this reconstructed humanism is its openness in principle to what would usually be regarded as post- or transhumanism. Once one accepts that humanity is not unitary, not clearly demarcated from non-humans, and unstable over time, the possibility that humanism might itself evolve should be taken seriously.

Indeed, it is a logical implication of non-biological, non-ontological naturalism that the self-conscious evolution of humanity, which is the transhuman project, is in principle compatible with a reconstructed humanism, subject to certain conditions about its ethical content. The point is not so much to limit science on ethical grounds, though this is what public debate often suggests. In fact, science and ethics are both central to our self-understanding. We are curious, rational, desiring creatures who yearn at once to master, to understand and to do the right thing. And we do this not just to the outside world, but to ourselves. We should beware, in this regard, of false oppositions between science and the humanities. Of course, particular scientists may do unethical things. But they are usually violating scientific method as well as ethics, as the deplorable histories of "scientific racism" and eugenics show very clearly. And the real – and justified – fears are about technologies, which implement social, political and commercial agendas by applying knowledge, rather than about the knowledge itself.

In other words, the key ethical question posed by the hypothetical self-conscious evolution of humanity is who should decide. The ethical answer, clearly, is humanity as a whole, on the basis of universally acceptable principles. With those safeguards, there would be no need on humanistic grounds to fear either science or evolution. However, for the very same reasons, the idea of humanity as a project cannot be just about "us". Ancestors and future generations, Great Apes and robots, sentient computers and the Earth's atmosphere – all of these are part of the subject and object of our practical, moral and epistemological concern. The question what it might mean to be "humane" with respect to such entities is inescapable, and it cannot be addressed, or even adequately

thought through, in purely technical terms. Furthermore, however important they may be, taking human dignity and human rights seriously does not exhaust the idea of humaneness.

With this in mind, the central idea I should like to emphasise in concluding this contribution is imagination, which has several important implications for the relevance – and with apologies for the word to those who are uncomfortable with it, the usefulness – of the humanities.

To act humanely is not simply to apply a set of rules about how to treat others. It is to reflect on the world in which we find ourselves – and which we shape by reflecting on it and acting in it – in order to understand, as best we can, what is at stake in it. We need therefore, first and foremost, to imagine ourselves, in terms of our personal integrity – which is less a given than an achievement –, our social relationships and duties, our standing in the cosmos. This work of imagination is inherently tentative and ever incomplete. It does not give rise to certain knowledge about a thing, but expresses the life of a being. We can get it wrong – tragically, comically, obscenely – but the mess is still ours.

We do not, generally speaking, imagine our world in splendid isolation. Even in our most solipsistic moments, life imitates art. Our imaginations are shaped, nourished, constrained by the cultural resources at our disposal. In seeking to become what we are, as Nietzsche provocatively put it, we respond to the books we have read, the music we have heard, the landscapes we have gazed upon. And most commonly, we become in the eyes of others – both concrete others known and unknown, whose real or imaginary approval we seek, and abstract others who serve as arbiters of good taste and appropriate behaviour. To act humanely is thus to engage in a dialogue that calls upon our imagination to make sense of claims, positions, statements that at first sight seem incomprehensible. This point bears on what may seem to be a weak point in my argument, which is the absence of any specification of the content of the humane. In fact, it is illusory to seek a set menu of beliefs and behaviour to comply with, beyond

the irreducible core of human rights and human dignity. Rather, we stand accountable for what we do and for the justifications we provide, including the possible limitations of our imagination in making sense of what is at stake.

It should be emphasized that while most of those we engage in dialogue with are humans, they have no privilege or monopoly. We routinely enjoy some kind of dialogue with our pets, and as Jacques Derrida suggested, this is more profound than mere unthinking anthropomorphism. The animal's gaze is part of what it means for us to be human – whether Derrida's cat in the bathroom or the elephant that George Orwell, in a famous essay, was required reluctantly to shoot. In the future, the need to engage imaginatively with non-human machines, the fundamental nature of which we are unable to determine, is likely to be increasingly significant.

Not everything is dialogue, however. We are equally called upon to be humane – or to renounce humaneness – in the face of silence, inscrutable otherness, active hostility and apparent vacuum. To take an extreme case, the Earth's climate system can answer us back – in a sense it is today doing precisely that. But this is not really a "dialogue". We are required to take responsibility for what we do to the climate system, on the basis of the knowledge we have about it, by an effort of imagination that gives meaning to our predicament beyond what science can explain, predict or control. More routinely, we are faced with conflicts – not just political and collective, but also personal – that cannot be solved on their own terms and require an imaginative leap to establish alternative grounds for separation and silence if not necessarily for dialogue.

Finally, the reasons to be humane at all are themselves primarily imaginative. Other options are possible, and indeed familiar to us. There can be nobility in the desire to conform *malgré tout,* or on the contrary to be the sole source of one's own values and existence. What might be judged noble in such an ethos is, precisely, the aristocratic combination of certainty and disdain for circumstances that puts glory above comfort and risk above safety.

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However, these perspectives offer no template for reaching practical agreement on how to live together among people who share neither background values nor procedural arrangements.

The concern to be humane, on the other hand, is the logical corollary of an imaginative world composed of fundamentally diverse entities, which are not hierarchically ordered and whose communicative capacities overlap, and in which both conflict and agreement are always possible and never guaranteed. This is not exactly to say that humaneness is safe and comfortable, or that it implies a democratic rejection of the aristocratic virtues, though there is clearly some truth in both claims. Clearly, however, a reconstructed humanism, one stripped of its ontological pretensions, implies tentative diffidence rather than robust confidence. For anyone feeling nostalgia for an earlier form of humanism, in which Man claimed the throne vacated by God, this may seem terribly disappointing. Nonetheless, appropriately equipped with the methods and knowledge of the humanities, it is the best option we have.

Part 3:
Bridging contemporary approaches and long term understanding: Migrations and Diversity

Migrations, invasions et autres déplacements de population
dans l'histoire de l'Humanité

BY FRANÇOIS DJINDJIAN

Migrations, invasions et autres déplacements de population
dans l'histoire de l'Humanité

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Résumé

Construire une fresque des « déplacements de population » pour utiliser un hyperonyme, c'est aussi écrire l'Histoire de l'Humanité, dans ce qu'elle a souvent de plus noire, malgré la considérable croissance démographique de la population humaine des derniers douze mille ans.

Pour structurer cette contribution, il a été distingué la colonisation d'une terre vierge par l'espèce humaine, l'installation en territoire partiellement peuplé ou dépeuplé, et l'installation dans un territoire déjà peuplé. Les différents modes de ces installations ont été analysés :

— Extinction, extermination, expulsion totale ou partielle (en zone montagneuse, en extrémité de territoire, en zones déshéritées ou en réserves) et assimilation de la population autochtone sous la domination des arrivants,

— Échec de l'installation pour des raisons environnementales, économiques ou militaires,

— Installation sous contrôle de la population autochtone (en zone frontière, en territoires à repeupler, en périphérie des villes).

Ces déplacements de population n'ont pas tous été brutaux et massifs. Ils ont été aussi souvent progressifs et demandés par les populations autochtones pour des raisons variées : repeuplement,

protection militaire, mise en valeur agricole, activités commerciales, activités artisanales, offres d'emplois, etc.

Les périodes historiques ont ainsi enregistré des événements tragiques (crimes de guerre, génocides, exodes) comme des évènements bénéfiques (paix, prospérité, développement économique) à l'origine de l'expansion démographique et géographique de diasporas à travers le monde que la conquête des océans à accéléré.

La fin du XX° siècle et les débuts du XXI° siècle ont vu l'émergence de nouveaux modes de déplacements des populations, avec la mondialisation (exode rural, accueil des réfugiés, travail transfrontières, travail saisonnier, fuite des cerveaux, flux d'étudiants, etc.) dont les flux sont le plus souvent dirigés vers les Etats démocratiques.

Abstract

To build a fresco of "population displacements" to use a hyperonym, is also to write the history of Humanity, in what it often has darkest, despite the considerable demographic growth of the human population of the last twelve thousand years.

To structure this contribution, it was distinguished the colonization of a virgin land by the human species, the installation in partially populated or depopulated territory, and the installation in an already populated territory. The different modes of these installations were analyzed:

— Extinction, extermination, total or partial expulsion (in mountainous areas, at the end of the territory, in deprived areas or in reserves) and assimilation of the indigenous population under the domination of the arrivals,

— Failure of the installation for environmental, economic or military reasons,

— Settlement under the control of the indigenous population (in border areas, in territories to be repopulated, on the outskirts of cities).

Not all of these population displacements have been brutal and massive. They have also often been progressive and requested by indigenous peoples for various reasons: repopulation, military protection, agricultural development, commercial activities, craft activities, job offers, etc.

Historical periods have thus recorded tragic events (war crimes, genocides, exoduses) as beneficial events (peace, prosperity, economic development) at the origin of the demographic and geographical expansion of diasporas around the world that the conquest of the oceans has accelerated.

The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century saw the emergence of new modes of movement of populations, with globalization (rural exodus, reception of refugees, cross-border work, seasonal work, brain drain, student flows, etc.) whose flows are directed towards democratic states.

1. Introduction

Il n'y a pas d'histoire de l'Humanité sans migrations, plus généralement sans déplacements de population, qui prennent des formes qui se diversifient avec la croissance démographique de l'Humanité. Les historiens de l'Antiquité, les philologues et les archéologues, avaient vu ou cru voir au XIX° siècle l'importance de ces migrations, influencés par les récits mythiques des premiers textes, notamment aux temps de la Protohistoire. Le marxisme et son évolution stadiale prônant l'autochtonisme avaient remis en cause ou pour le moins limité ces modèles (Djindjian, 2018), que les études paléogénétiques récentes réhabilitent partiellement, tout comme elles mettent en évidence les migrations des plantes et des espèces animales avec les changements climatiques accélérées et amplifiées depuis 12 000 ans par l'invention de l'agriculture et de l'élevage et la découverte du monde par les explorateurs.

La clarification du thème et son argumentation dans les temps préhistoriques et historiques nous oblige ici à distinguer la colonisation d'une terre vierge, l'installation en zone

partiellement peuplée, la migration dans un territoire déjà peuplé, et les invasions avec toutes leurs conséquences : massacres, esclavages, exodes, transferts de populations autoritaires ou négociés. Ces conséquences nous amènent alors à traiter des nettoyages ethniques, des génocides et des diasporas. Le passage en moins de quinze mille ans (durée infime à l'échelle de l'histoire de la terre) d'une population humaine de 1 à 2 million d'habitants à plus de sept milliards malgré les catastrophes naturelles, les famines et les épidémies, entraîne une surpopulation à l'échelle de la planète que seul le développement technologique (rendements agricoles, sélection des plantes et des animaux domestiques, transport, énergie, mécanisation, révolution sanitaire, instrumentation, informatique) a pu permettre. Cette surpopulation est aussi à l'origine de migrations modernes sous des formes nouvelles (emplois transfrontières, immigration illégale) qui sont également abordées ci.

2. Les causes des migrations et des déplacements de populations

La normalité d'un système animal, végétal (et donc humain) est sa stabilité évolutive, régulée par la compétition entre espèces comme l'avait proposé Darwin dans sa théorie de l'évolution. Si, à ses débuts, l'espèce humaine s'est comportée comme un prédateur animal (dont elle n'était pas le dominant), assez rapidement depuis le dernier million d'années, elle s'est imposée avec l'invention des armes et des pièges. Puis, avec l'innovation de l'agriculture et de la domestication animale, l'espèce humaine transforme l'environnement et domestique et/ou marginalise progressivement l'espèce animale sauvage.

Les migrations sont souvent le résultat de l'épuisement des ressources alimentaires à court terme ou moyen terme pour des raisons diverses :

> — Des raisons météorologiques (une succession de
> mauvaises années à l'origine de famines),

— Un changement climatique, comme par exemple une augmentation de l'aridité (entraînant l'inefficacité structurelle du système de gestion des ressources alimentaires),

— L'épuisement des sols,

— Des épizooties (comme la peste bovine dans l'empire romain au IV° siècle et en Europe au XVIII° siècle),

— Des épiphyties (comme le mildiou de la pomme de terre en Europe en 1840).

Les variations du climat à l'Holocène sont souvent invoqués comme la cause de la déstabilisation des sociétés agro-pastorales aux rendements encore fragiles : l'épisode froid 8200 BP, la crise d'aridité de 4200 BP à l'origine de nombreuses migrations à la transition entre les sociétés chalcolithiques et les sociétés du début de l'âge du Bronze, la péjoration autour de 1200 av. J.C. en relation avec l'effondrement des Etats méditerranéens (Mycéniens, Hittites) et la transition âge du Bronze/âge du Fer, les migrations celtiques du V° siècle av. J.C. , la péjoration de la fin de l'empire romain, et enfin le petit âge glaciaire à partir du XIV° siècle.

Le développement du pastoralisme nomade est une exploitation de la domestication animale appliquée à des territoires impropres à l'agriculture (savanes, steppes, déserts) ou à des zones où l'aridité croissante du climat holocène l'a faite abandonner. La structure sociale tribale (ou segmentaire selon Durkheim) et la transhumance réglée et territorialisée des populations nomades en font des sociétés non urbanisées et non étatisées. Mais ces populations deviennent un danger pour les sociétés sédentaires agro-pastorales quand un leader charismatique réussit à les fédérer sous son autorité et/ou quand survient une péjoration climatique. C'est l'origine des invasions indo-européennes venant d'Asie centrale (Yamnas, Cimmériens, Scythes, Parthes), de la conquête arabe au VII° siècle, des invasions turco-mongoles depuis Attila jusqu'à Tamerlan. Ces envahisseurs nomades, au fur et à mesure

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de l'avance de leur conquête militaire, agrègent des éléments des populations soumises, qui amplifient leur potentiel militaire. Ces invasions sont à l'origine des plus grands massacres, destructions et déplacements de populations de l'Histoire de l'Humanité. Beaucoup de ces groupes nomades ont disparu de l'Histoire, dispersés par des défaites (Scythes, Huns, Avars, Petchenègues, Coumans). D'autres se sont sédentarisés et ont créé des Etats (Khazars, Hongrois, Turcs, Mongols).

L'invasion d'un territoire entraîne souvent le départ de la population autochtone, qui va envahir le territoire voisin et crée un processus en chaine : Germains poussant les Celtes, Slaves poussant les Germains, Germains poussant les Slaves, etc.

Les premiers Etats se sont constitués autour des premières villes, qui se sont agrégées en royaumes (comme dans le cas de l'unification de l'Egypte par le premier pharaon Narmer vers 3 150 av. J.C. ou comme en Mésopotamie). Puis les royaumes se sont agrandis par conquêtes successives devenant des empires, regroupant sous une même autorité, le Roi des rois, des états d'ethnies, de langages et de religions différents. La perte d'autorité, la crise de succession, les difficultés économiques, les famines entraînent l'implosion de l'empire. Sa reconstitution par la force militaire produit massacres et déplacements de populations. L'Empire pharaonique, l'empire perse, l'empire romain, l'empire de Chine, le Califat islamique, l'empire ottoman, l'empire mongol, les empires coloniaux européens du XIX° siècle, l'empire d'Autriche-Hongrie, l'empire russe (sous le Tsar et sous le communisme) sont les exemples les plus connus. Ces empires, au cours de leur histoire, ont alterné des processus d'homogénéisation et des processus de tolérance des particularismes, qui ont concerné les lois, les coutumes, la langue, la religion et l'idéologie.

La dissolution de plusieurs grands empires en 1918, la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale en 1945, la décolonisation dans les années 1960 et l'effondrement de l'Union soviétique en 1991 ont entrainé des guerres civiles et des ethnogenèses, à l'origine

de génocides, de déplacements de populations et de nettoyages ethniques, qui ne sont pas terminés aujourd'hui.

3. La colonisation d'une terre vierge par les sociétés de chasseurs-cueilleurs

Actuellement, les plus anciennes traces de l'existence des hominidés et de leur production ont été trouvées en Afrique orientale il y a 2,8 millions d'années. Il en a été déduit que les premiers Hominidés ont quitté l'Afrique pour peupler le reste du monde (Djindjian, 2022a).

La sortie d'Afrique de *l'homo erectus/ergaster*, a été reconnue dans le Caucase (Dmanisi, Géorgie), en Europe (Atapuerca, Espagne) et en Asie (Chou-kou-tien, Chine ; Sangiran, Indonésie), qui se serait effectuée autour du million d'années. Mais cette sortie est probablement plus ancienne entre 1 et 2 millions d'années. Leurs auteurs fabriquent une industrie de mode 1 (choppers, chopping-tools).

La sortie d'Afrique de *Homo rhodesiensis*, dont l'équivalent européen est *homo heidelbergensis* et l'équivalent asiatique, l'homme de Dali (et probable *homo denisovensis*) survient à partir de 800 000 ans. Leurs auteurs fabriquent une industrie de mode 2 (acheuléen).

La sortie d'Afrique d'*homo sapiens archaïque* (ou « *homme moderne* »), apparu en Afrique au MIS 8-6, entre 300 et 200 000 ans, survient au Proche-Orient au MIS 5 vers au moins 100 000 ans (mais peut-être plus anciennement vers 185 000 ans à la fin du MIS 7).

Par la suite, tous les continents et les iles de la planète ont été colonisés par *homo sapiens:*

> — Peuplement de l'Europe par *homo sapiens* (50 000 ans),
> — Peuplement de l'Amérique par *homo sapiens* (40 000 ans),

— Peuplement de l'Australie par *homo sapiens* (50 000 ans),

— Peuplement du Japon (40 000 ans) par *homo sapiens* par le Nord (Kouriles) et par le Sud (archipel Nansei),

— Peuplement de Taiwan (au moins 30 000 ans) alors rattachée au continent,

— Premières incursions mésolithiques dans les iles de la Méditerranée : Chypre, Corse, Sardaigne, Cyclades (il y a 9000 ans),

— Peuplement des iles du pacifique par les austronésiens avec le modèle « Out of Taiwan » (à partir de 4 000 av. J.C.),

— Peuplement des Antilles à partir du Venezuela (IV° millénaire av. J.C.),

— Peuplement der l'ile de Madagascar (austronésiens vers 400 av. J.C., bantous vers 500 ap. J.C.),

— Peuplement de l'archipel des Canaries vers 3000 av. J.C. par les Guanches, venus d'Afrique. L'archipel est déserté quand le carthaginois Hannon au VI° siècle av. J.C. y accoste.

— Peuplement de l'Islande par les Vikings (IXème siècle),

— Peuplement des iles de l'océan indien (XVIIème siècle),

—Peuplement scientifique de l'Antarctique (XXème siècle).

Un des meilleurs exemples de la colonisation d'une terre vierge est l'expansion austronésienne (Bellwood, 1999) dans les iles de l'océan pacifique et de l'océan indien (figure 1) :

—Néolithique moyen de Chine du Sud (Bas-Yangzi) vers 7 000 av. J.C.,

—Installation à Taïwan (6 000 av. J.C.),

« Out of Taïwan », 4 000 av. J.C.,

—Philippines, Sulawesi, Timor, Indonésie, 2 500
    av. J.C.,
—Nouvelle-Guinée, Iles du Pacifique, 1 500 av. J.C.,
—Culture Lapita de Mélanésie et Polynésie
    (IIème-Ier millénaire av. J.C.),
—Madagascar vers 500,
—Amérique du Sud, vers l'an mil.
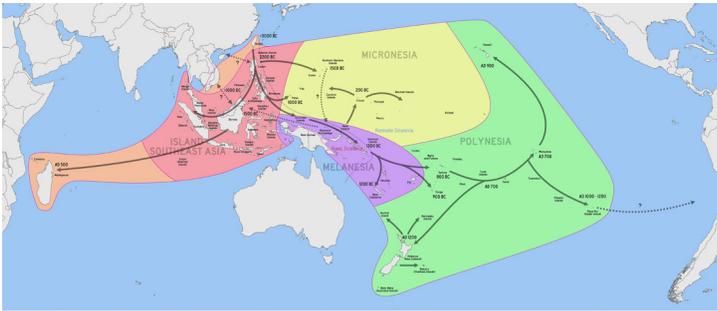
Figure 1

Bis langues austronésiennes

4. Installation en zone partiellement peuplée ou dépeuplée

Les estimations de la démographie des premières sociétés humaines mettent en évidence une croissance progressive globale des populations. Des épisodes de décroissance sont cependant connus au pléistocène, épisodes qui ont pu même entrainer régionalement des extinctions pendant les maxima glaciaires. Ainsi la population de la planète a sans doute été divisée par 3 au dernier maximum glaciaire il y a 20 000 ans. A l'Holocène, d'abord avec les chasseurs-cueilleurs mésolithiques qui bénéficient d'un environnement plus favorable puis avec les premières sociétés d'agriculteurs-éleveurs, la population ne cesse de croître, accélérée par la colonisation de nouveaux territoires et l'anthropisation progressive du paysage. Cette croissance a été freinée par les variations du climat de l'Holocène, et en particulier le retour de l'aridité en

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latitude basse et elle n'a été interrompu qu'avec les guerres, les épidémies et les famines. Aussi pendant un temps variable suivant les endroits, la « *carrying capacity* » d'un territoire a-t-elle été supérieure aux besoins des populations locales, laissant la possibilité d'installation de populations migrantes, et cela d'autant plus facilement, que leurs économies de ressources alimentaires étaient différentes et même complémentaires : chasseurs-cueilleurs à la mobilité différente, chasseurs-cueilleurs et premiers agriculteurs, agriculteurs et éleveurs, nomades et sédentaires, etc.

La migration *d'homo sapiens* hors d'Afrique, vers le Proche-Orient, puis l'Europe, l'Asie centrale, l'Asie du Sud-est, l'Australie et l'Amérique est un des exemples les plus médiatisés. En Europe, il remplace en moins de dix mille ans *Homo neanderthalensis*, non sans un métissage qui a laissé des traces dans le génome des populations actuelles. Il en est de même en Asie et en Asie du Sud-est (Sundaland).

A partir du VIIème millénaire av. J.C., la néolithisation de l'Europe s'effectue progressivement mais à des rythmes différents par des migrations d'agriculteurs-éleveurs provenant du Proche-Orient, accélérée par des évènements climatiques comme l'épisode 8200 BP, qui annonce une plus grande aridité, que ces migrations fuient en cherchant une Europe plus humide. Deux grandes voies ont été identifiées : la voie méditerranéenne (céramique cardiale) et la voie danubienne (céramique rubanée). En moins de 2 000 ans, la côte atlantique était atteinte. Les colons agriculteurs s'installent dans des territoires occupés par les chasseurs-cueilleurs mésolithiques (Djindjian, 2022b). L'acculturation et le métissage achèvent une néolithisation presque totale sauf dans les régions les plus septentrionales ou orientales de l'Europe où l'environnement n'était pas favorable à l'agriculture (figure 2).

Figure 2

Neolítico en Europa

En Afrique équatoriale, la migration des Bantous, dont les origines sont situées dans le centre de l'Afrique vers 3000 av. J.C., s'effectue vers l'Afrique orientale à partir de 1 000 av. J.C., vers l'Afrique australe entre 0 et 500 et jusqu'à Madagascar vers 500.

En Afrique du Nord, la question du pastoralisme Peul se révèle d'une grande complexité. Outre la langue multi-dialectale du fait de la grande distribution spatiale de ses locuteurs, le point commun de ces populations est une activité de pasteur nomade de bovins dont la pérégrination a varié avec le temps et les variations climatiques du Nord de l'Afrique, depuis l'introduction des bovins représentés sur l'art rupestre du Sahara. Les études génétiques montrent des métissages importants dans un stock majoritaire autochtone d'Afrique de l'Ouest mais avec la présence de gènes européens et du Proche-Orient, qui révèlent des origines et de nombreux contacts au cours de leur histoire. Ce qui fait le Peul est donc le métier de pasteur de bovin et la langue plus que le gène.

L'expansion des Slaves au VI° siècle est un exemple de progression plus ou moins pacifique. Ils sont mentionnés dans

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les chroniques historiques à partir du V° siècle dans le contexte des grandes invasions. A partir d'un noyau probable situé dans le bassin du Pripiet (Ukraine occidentale et Biélorussie actuelles), ils s'infiltrent à l'Ouest entre Oder et Elbe/Saale dans les territoires des Germains qui finissent par les bloquer au IX° siècle, en Bohème, en Moravie et en Hongrie ; au Sud dans les Balkans jusqu'au Péloponnèse ; à l'Est dans les bassins du Dniepr et du Don ; et même en Asie mineure. Ils se renforcent et se libèrent progressivement des Avars installés dans la plaine de Pannonie puis de l'empire Byzantin, qui finira par les acculturer (alphabet glagolitique de Cyrille et Méthode, conversion au christianisme).

5. Installation dans un territoire déjà peuplé

L'arrivée d'une nouvelle population immigrante dans un territoire déjà peuplé est à l'origine de changements le plus souvent dramatiques, qui dépendent du rapport de force entre les deux populations en présence. Quand l'immigrant, généralement en infériorité numérique tout au moins à ses débuts, domine l'autochtone par la force, il peut s'ensuivre pour la population autochtone, une extinction, une extermination, une expulsion totale ou partielle, une sélection (extermination des hommes et mariage forcée des femmes), l'esclavage, la confiscation des biens et des libertés et plus généralement le passage en l'état de dominé.

Dans le cas contraire, la population immigrante peut être exterminée à son arrivée, refoulée, installée en marge du territoire ou dans des zones déshéritées ou obligée d'accepter de pratiquer les métiers les moins gratifiants.

5.1 Extinction de l'ancienne population et remplacement par la nouvelle population

Dans de nombreux cas connus, l'installation d'une nouvelle population a entrainé l'extinction de l'ancienne population.

Le cas de l'extinction d'*homo neanderthalensis* (et de ses équivalents en Asie et en Afrique) et son remplacement par *homo sapiens* a déjà été évoqué précédemment.

Fait exceptionnel, un cas d'extinction a été décrit par les anthropologues. C'est celui d'Ishi (1862-1916), le dernier des Yahi, chasseur-cueilleur de Californie (Kroeber, 1961, 1968 en version française), recueilli et sauvé in extremis par A.L. Kroeber, professeur d'anthropologie à l'Université de Californie à Berkeley. La tribu des Yanas, estimée à 3 000 individus en 1848, ont été massacrés par les européens au moment de la grande ruée vers l'or en Californie. Les derniers survivants, une quinzaine en 1870, ont choisi de survivre dans la clandestinité pendant quarante ans, jusqu'au dernier, Ishi. L'histoire tragique des peuples amérindiens d'Amérique du Nord ont fait l'objet de romans historiques au début du XIX° siècle comme « *Le dernier des Mohicans* » par Fenimore Cooper en 1826 ou les « Natchez » par Alphonse de Chateaubriand également en 1826. Le peuple Chakta, dont il est fait mention, regroupe l'ensemble de la population amérindienne de la culture du Mississipi, qui est entrée en contact avec les Français de Louisiane, les Anglais de la Nouvelle Angleterre et les Espagnols de Floride. Malgré qu'ils se soient ralliés aux Etats-Unis dans la guerre d'indépendance et largement acculturés, ils firent l'objet d'une expulsion entre 1831 et 1833 du Mississipi vers l'Oklahoma en application de l'« *Indian Removal Act* ». Sur les 15 000 exilés, 2 500 moururent pendant le déplacement. En 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville nous a laissé un souvenir poignant des indiens Chakta dans son livre « De la démocratie en Amérique» :

> *« Les Indiens menaient avec eux leurs familles ; ils traînaient à leur suite des blessés, des malades, des enfants qui venaient de naître, et des vieillards qui allaient mourir. Ils n'avaient ni tentes ni chariots, mais seulement quelques provisions et des armes. Je les vis s'embarquer pour traverser le grand fleuve, et ce spectacle solennel ne sortira jamais de ma mémoire. On n'entendait parmi cette foule*

assemblée ni sanglots ni plaintes ; ils se taisaient. Leurs
malheurs étaient anciens et ils les sentaient irrémédiables»
(TOCQUEVILLE, *1992, p.377*).

5.2 Extermination de la population autochtone

Dans des cas plus nombreux que ceux que nous connaissons, car les périodes protohistoriques ne nous en ont pas laissé de traces, l'ancienne population a été totalement exterminée.

Le cas le plus récent est celui **des Hereros et Namas** en Namibie, presque complètement décimés par les Allemands en 1904 sous les ordres du général Von Trotha. 80% des autochtones (65 000 Hereros et 20 000 Namas) font l'objet de ce qui est considéré comme le premier génocide du XX° siècle (Bridgman, 1981).

5.3 Expulsion totale et/ou départ de la population autochtone

De nombreux cas d'expulsion totale et/ou de départ de la population autochtone sont connus, notamment dans l'histoire de l'Antiquité, où elle a fait l'objet de nombreux mythes (Héraclides, Enéide de Virgile, Moïse et les hébreux d'Egypte dans l'Ancien Testament).

L'effet domino des grandes migrations en est l'exemple le plus spectaculaire. Une population émigre chassé probablement par la péjoration climatique de la fin de l'Empire romain, s'installe dans un pays voisin d'où elle expulse la population, et ainsi de suite.

L'exemple le plus célèbre est celui des 300 à 400 000 **Helvètes**, peuplade celte installée sur le plateau suisse, qui, sous la pression des tribus germaniques, décide de migrer en 58 av. J.C. vers la Saintonge. Cette migration donne à Jules César l'occasion espérée de la guerre des Gaules, qui les vainc au passage de la Saône, puis à Bibracte et raccompagne les survivants (au nombre de 110 000) en Helvétie (Kaenel, 2012).

La conquête du nouveau monde (cf. infra) est l'occasion de massacres des conquistadors espagnols mais bien plus, lors du

contact des deux populations, d'apparition de maladies infec-
tieuses et d'épidémies. Si les européens ramenèrent en Europe
la syphilis, ils transmirent involontairement (sauf exceptions) de
nombreuses maladies infectieuses comme la variole, la grippe, la
rougeole, la diphtérie, la peste, le typhus, qui sont à l'origine d'un
génocide épidémique de près de 90% de la population (cf. infra).
Certains autochtones comprirent le lien entre ces épidémies et
l'arrivée des Européens. Ils choisirent alors de s'en éloigner. C'est
sans doute le cas de **tribus amazoniennes** qui installées au bord
des fleuves décidèrent de s'enfoncer dans la forêt tropicale pour
fuir le contact avec les Européens.

5.4 Expulsion partielle de la population autochtone

L'arrivée en force d'une population immigrante entraine une
réaction et une résistance de la population autochtone. L'équilibre
survient quand la résistance de l'autochtone crée à l'assaillant des
pertes des pertes supérieures aux gains. Trois grandes catégories
de refuges sont caractéristiques : les refuges en altitude des massifs
montagneux, les refuges en extrémité de territoires et les refuges
en territoires déshérités.

5.4.1 Les refuges en altitude de massifs montagneux

Le Caucase, depuis les débuts de l'Holocène, a servi de refuges
à de nombreuses populations qui, au moment de leur apogée,
avaient occupé de vastes territoires dans la grande plaine d'Eu-
rope orientale et en Asie centrale (figure 3).

Figure 3

Langues Caucase

Les Scythes ont dominé toute l'Europe orientale (steppes pontiques) et l'Asie centrale du VIII° siècle av. J.C. jusqu'à leur déclin, avec la défaite face à Philippe de Macédoine en 339 av. J.C., et face aux Sarmates à l'Est au III° siècle av. J.C., pour se réduire à un petit royaume sédentarisé et hellénisé au Nord de la Crimée. G. Dumézil dans *« Romans de Scythie et d'alentour »* (Dumézil, 1978), étudiant les légendes des Nartes que Julius Klaproth, le grand orientaliste russe avait découvertes en 1812, a montré que les Ossètes du Caucase étaient probablement les

descendants des Scythes qui s'étaient réfugiés dans le Caucase à la passe de Darial (« *passe des Alains* ») après leur défaite face aux Khazars. Les Alains, une population nomade indo-européenne assimilée aux Scythes, plus connus comme étant les fameux cavaliers cataphractaires (cavaliers cuirassés) des grandes invasions, défaits par les Mongols, sont aussi les ancêtres des Ossètes.

Les Arméniens, que nous a fait découvrir Xénophon dans l'Anabase, le livre narrant la fameuse retraite des dix mille mercenaires grecs qui traversèrent le Caucase pour atteindre la mer Noire en 400 av. J.C., occupaient un large territoire du Sud-Caucase et d'Anatolie orientale (Mutafian, 2001). Peuple descendant d'Urartu (c'est-à-dire parlant à l'origine une langue caucasienne ou kartvélienne comme actuellement le géorgien ou le laze et anciennement l'Urartéen et le Hourrite), ils se mélangèrent avec des indo-européens phrygiens qui, venus de Thrace, s'installèrent en Asie mineure vers 1200 av. J.C. après l'effondrement de l'empire Hittite, suivant une anecdote raconté encore par Xénophon vers 370 av. J.C. dans sa biographie laudative de Cyrus II (« *La Cyropédie* ») : il aurait réconcilié les Arméniens cultivateurs repoussés dans la montagne (où ils ne pouvaient plus cultiver) et les Phrygiens pasteurs nomades qui occupant la plaine ne pouvaient accéder aux pâturages d'altitude. Ce ne sera pas le cas avec le Haut-Karabagh quand, à partir du XI° siècle, les turcs Oghouses s'installent au Proche-Orient. Ils repoussent progressivement les Arméniens en haut de la montagne, en occupant les bas de vallées, enclavant le territoire, que Staline n'a pas voulu rattacher à l'Arménie en 1921, à l'origine des guerres et des nettoyages ethniques récents.

Les **Druzes** sont les membres d'une secte chiite ismaélienne, fondée par le persan Hamza et le turc Ad Darazî. Après la disparition du khalife fatimide Al Hakim au Caire, la secte s'est réfugiée au XI° siècle dans la montagne Druze située aux confins du Sud Liban, de Syrie et du Nord d'Israël (Firro, 1992).

Les **Dogons** sont des cultivateurs (de mil, de sorgho et de riz) initialement installés au Mali. Ils se sont réfugiés à partir du

XIème siècle notamment dans les falaises de Bandiagara pour fuir l'islamisation, territoire qu'ils ont défendu face aux Mossis de l'empire Songhai et face aux Peuls. Les Dogons étaient également d'excellents forgerons. Leur religion animiste des Dogons a été étudiée par l'ethnologue M. Griaule, qui en a publié la cosmogonie dans son livre « *Dieux d'eau* » (Griaule, 1966).

5.4.2. Les refuges en extrémités de territoire

Les populations refoulées par les arrivants peuvent trouver refuges aux extrémités de leur territoire.

La fin de **la civilisation celte**, qui a connu une grande expansion en Europe au 1er millénaire av. J.C., en est un bon exemple (Cunliffe, Koch 2010, 2013, 2016). A leur apogée au III° siècle av. J.C., ils occupaient une partie de l'Europe centrale, le Nord de l'Italie (Gaule cisalpine), la France, la Belgique, le Royaume-Uni (sauf les Pictes d'Ecosse), l'Irlande et, fait contesté, la péninsule ibérique (« *Celtibères* »). Á partir du Ier siècle av. J.C., les Celtes sont soumis à la pression des Germains à l'Est (migration des Helvètes) qui seront bloqués par Jules César sur le Rhin et à la prise de contrôle progressive et complète de l'Empire romain. Les grandes invasions voient au V° siècle les tribus germaniques s'installer en territoire gaulois (Francs, Goths, Vandales, Suèves, etc.) et en Angleterre (Angles, Frisons, Jutes, Saxons). Vers 600, en Angleterre, les royaumes anglo-saxons occupent l'Est et le Sud de l'ile (Northumbrie, Mercie, Wessex), repoussant les Celtes à l'Ouest, où ils subsisteront en Cornouailles, au pays de Galles, dans l'ile de Man et en Irlande, les poussant même à émigrer sur le continent, en Bretagne et en Galice (figure 4).

Figure 4

Les Aïnous font partie des premières populations ayant occupé l'archipel du Japon, bien que les questions de leur origine et de la date de leur arrivée restent encore à régler. Les études génétiques récentes concluent que les Aïnous sont les descendants directs des chasseurs-cueilleurs de la période Jomon datée entre 14 000 et 600 BP (Leroi-Gourhan A et Arl., 1984). L'arrivée des premiers agriculteurs introduisant la riziculture (culture Yayoi) venus de Corée du Sud au Ier millénaire av. J.C. et leur installation dans l'ile la plus méridionale de Kyūshū va progressivement les amener à occuper l'ensemble des iles de l'archipel et à refouler vers le Nord les Aïnous (Jomon final), puis dans l'ile d'Hokkaido, et à progressivement les acculturer. Ils seront encore étudiés par A. Leroi-Gourhan en 1938 (figure 5).

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Figure 5

5.4.3. Les refuges en territoires déshérités

Les dernières populations de chasseurs-cueilleurs que les ethno-
logues ont encore connus au XIX° siècle et au début du XX° siècle,
survivaient généralement dans des territoires impropres à l'agri-
culture et à l'élevage qui les avaient préservés : zones de forêts
tropicales (indiens d'Amazonie, pygmées d'Afrique équatoriale,
Négritos du Sundaland), zones arctiques (Inuit, Tchouktches,
etc.), zones désertiques (bushmen du Kalahari, aborigènes austra-
liens), Patagonie, iles Andamans.

Quand les Anglais prirent possession de l'**Australie**, elle était
entièrement occupée par des aborigènes dont les premiers étaient
arrivés il y a environ 40 000 ans. Quand les premiers colons débar-
quèrent en 1788, il y avait environ 250 tribus, chacune ayant ses
villages, ses frontières, son dialecte, un effectif global estimé à envi-
ron 400 000 habitants dont il ne resta bientôt plus en 1911 que

31 000 individus. La résistance aborigène pendant tout le XIX°
siècle entraina représailles et massacres ; les maladies infectieuses
apportées par les Européens et la démoralisation s'y ajoutèrent. Il
ne resta aux aborigènes que les espaces non récupérés par les colons
pour l'agriculture et l'élevage. Les 200 survivants des six mille habi-
tants de l'ile de Tasmanie (« *Black War* ») furent ainsi expulsés en
1830 sur l'ile Flinders et condamnés à l'extinction (Isaacs, 2005).

Le peuple San (ou bushmen ou bochiman) occupait jadis toute
l'Europe australe, descendants directement des chasseurs-cueilleurs
homo sapiens du LSA (« *Late Stone Age* ») pléistocène. Ils subirent
d'abord l'arrivée par le Nord-est des Khoïkhoï (ou Hottentots)
éleveurs puis des Bantous, agriculteurs sédentaires qui réduisirent
leur territoire. L'arrivée par mer et par le Sud des Européens à partir
du XVII° siècle, les Boers d'abord puis les Anglais, les repoussèrent
progressivement dans le désert du Kalahari. Cette histoire a été
remarquablement racontée par V. Ellenberger, descendant d'une
famille de missionnaires protestants installés en Afrique australe
en 1833, dans un livre préfacé par H. Breuil (Ellenberger, 1951). La
fin de l'apartheid en Afrique australe n'a pas mis fin au calvaire du
peuple San comme le révèle la politique menée à leur encontre par
le Bostwana bantou encore aujourd'hui.

5.4.5. Le confinement en réserves

Ce sont les Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui ont créé le concept de
réserves au nombre de 310 où ont été confinés à partir de 1851
les descendants des 550 tribus amérindiennes ayant survécu à la
conquête du nouveau monde (Sutton, 1975). Elles ne représentent
que 2,3% du territoire des USA (figure 6). Le Canada possède
également 2 300 réserves couvrant 0,28% de la superficie du pays.

Indian Reservations in the Continental United States
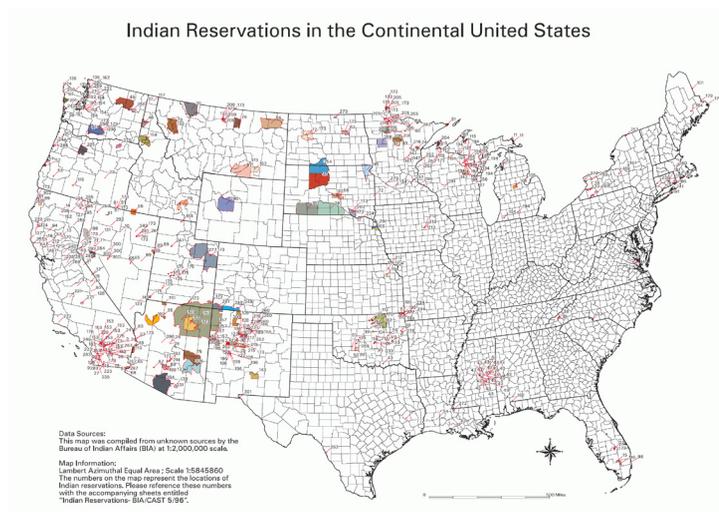
Figure 6

6. L'invasion et la domination d'une population migrante minoritaire

La différence de rapports de forces entre envahisseurs et autochtones explique que des populations minoritaires prennent le contrôle d'un territoire déjà peuplé. Ils y établissent alors une société inégalitaire, la minorité dirigeante se réservant la plus grande partie du pouvoir et des richesses et la perpétuant dans les générations suivantes (cf. le système des castes en Inde). Depuis le IV° millénaire av. J.C., les exemples se sont succédé de populations nomades à la mobilisation rapide et aux capacités guerrières éprouvées, envahissant les territoires occupés par des populations sédentaires d'agriculteur-éleveurs, peu armés et peu défendus comme les sociétés de la fin du néolithique et du chalcolithique.

6.1 Les premiers nomades cavaliers d'Asie centrale

L'Asie centrale, où la domestication du cheval est connue au IV° millénaire av. J.C. dans la culture de Botaï, est le creuset des

premières invasions nomades des cavaliers de steppes vers l'Europe et le Proche-Orient.

La culture Yamna (ou culture des tombes en fosse) du III° millénaire av. J.C. pénètre en Europe orientale. Elle acquiert la métallurgie du bronze au contact de la culture de Maikop au Nord du Caucase et arrive au contact des la grande culture chalcolithique Cucuteni /Tripolié (Boug/Dniestr) alors en phase finale et de la culture de Sredny Stog (Dniepr inférieur). La culture de Yamna est souvent citée dans la littérature comme marquant l'arrivée des premiers Indo-Européens, théorie qui semble confirmée par de récentes études génétiques.

Au cours des deux derniers millénaire av. J.C., de nombreux peuples cavaliers nomades sont connus par les sources écrites, cités notamment par Hérodote, à partir du moment où ils atteignent les steppes pontiques, au Nord de la Mer Noire (Hérodote).

Les Cimmériens sont les premiers d'entre eux, installés vers 1200 av. J.C., ils migrent vers 700 av. J.C. sous la pression des Scythes et de la péjoration climatique, en passant par le Caucase en Asie mineure, détruisant au passage le royaume d'Urartu, le royaume de Phrygie et son roi Midas et le royaume de Lydie (et son roi Gygès) avant d'être battus et dispersés par le roi lydien Alyatte II en 610 av. J.C.

Autre population indo-européenne, **les Scythes**, originaires de l'Asie centrale et de l'Altaï (scythes orientaux), où ils ont laissé de nombreux kourganes (dont les fameux kourganes gelés comme celui de Pazyryk), pénètrent en Europe orientale vers le VIII° siècle av. J.C. et s'installent dans les steppes pontiques, après avoir chassé les Cimmériens (Schiltz, 1994). Nomades, ils dominent les populations autochtones d'agriculteurs néolithiques (qu'Hérodote appelle à tort les scythes laboureurs) et vendent les récoltes de blé aux Grecs qui installent des comptoirs à partir du VII° siècle av. J.C. payé par de riches objets en or au style mêlant l'art des steppes et la mythologie grecque (collier/pectoral, pendeloques, vases, etc.) qui seront retrouvés dans les kourganes (l'*« or des Scythes »*) et qui inspireront aux joailliers d'Odessa quelques faux célèbres

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comme la tiare de Saitapharnès qui abusa Salomon Reinach en 1896 pour 200 000 franc-or. Les Scythes effectuent de nombreux raids militaires en Assyrie (prise et destruction de Ninive en 612 av. J.C.), en Perse et jusqu'en Egypte. Pour se venger de leurs incursions, Darius Ier mène en 513 av. J.C. une campagne militaire de grande ampleur contre les Scythes, qui, selon Hérodote, le ridiculisent en refusant le combat, en épuisant dans une poursuite sans fin et en harcelant son armée jusqu'au pont de bateau sur le Danube construit par les Grecs qui restant fidèles à leur parole, permirent à Darius de sauver son armée et de retourner en Perse. Les Scythes furent défaits par Philippe de Macédoine en 339 av. J.C. et le dernier refuge scythe en Crimée fut conquit à la fin du II° siècle av. J.C., par Mithridate VI, roi du Pont. Une autre migration scythe édifia un royaume sur le bassin de l'Indus au Ier siècle av. J.C., qui remplacera les Grecs d'Alexandre. Ils seront supplantés par les Parthes et les Tokhariens.

Les Sarmates, ou Sauromates pour Hérodote, installés à l'Est du Don, profitèrent de l'affaiblissement des Scythes pour occuper la steppe pontique, du IV° siècle av. J.C. au IV° siècle, date à laquelle ils furent défaits par l'invasion des Goths, qui détruisirent au passage les comptoirs grecs de la Mer Noire.

Les Parthes, une autre tribu scythe d'Asie centrale, pénètre en Iran et y fonde un empire sous le règne d'Arsace Ier, au milieu du III° siècle av. J.C. Ils domineront le Proche-Orient pendant cinq siècles (Ghirshman, 1962).

6.2 Les grandes invasions du IV°/V° siècle dans l'Empire romain et les fondations de royaumes barbares.

L'effondrement de l'Empire romain en Occident et sa continuité en Orient, sous le nom d'Empire Byzantin sont un évènement majeur dans l'Histoire de l'Humanité car elle révèle la possibilité de l'effondrement total d'un Empire, qui a duré 1 000 ans et que l'on croyait indestructible. Les exemples plus anciens en effet, après une période de crise plus ou moins profonde, avaient survécu

sous d'autres formes étatiques comme l'Egypte pharaonique (avec les périodes intermédiaires, la domination des Perses et la dynastie ptolémaïque) et la Perse (qui revit avec les royaumes hellénistiques, et les empires des Parthes et des Sassanides). En Occident, de nombreux historiens se sont interrogés sur les raisons de cet effondrement et leur littérature est abondante avec un net regain de nos jours (Montesquieu, 1734 ; Gibbon, 1788 ; Toynbee, 1934-1961 ; Rostovtzeff, 1926-57, Ward-Perkins, 2005 ; Harper, 2019, etc.), où se rejoignent processus internes (économie, gouvernance, instabilité chronique, déchéance morale, christianisme), processus externes (invasions, péjoration climatique, épidémies) et déconstruction (il n'y a pas eu effondrement !).

La fin de l'optimum climatique romain (250 av. J.C.- 400 apr. J.C.) a contribué à la déstabilisation de l'Empire romain en déclenchant des mouvements de populations, nomades à l'origine (les Huns) puis agriculteurs sédentaires (les tribus germaniques), qui se sont déclenchés de proche en proche et démultipliés. Une fois le limes romain franchi, ces envahisseurs, groupes divers constitués au hasard des avancées, et dirigées par des chefs guerriers charismatiques, se sont installés à l'intérieur de l'Empire et ont formé des royaumes souvent éphémères mais parfois pérennes : Francs, Wisigoths, Anglo-saxons (figure 7).
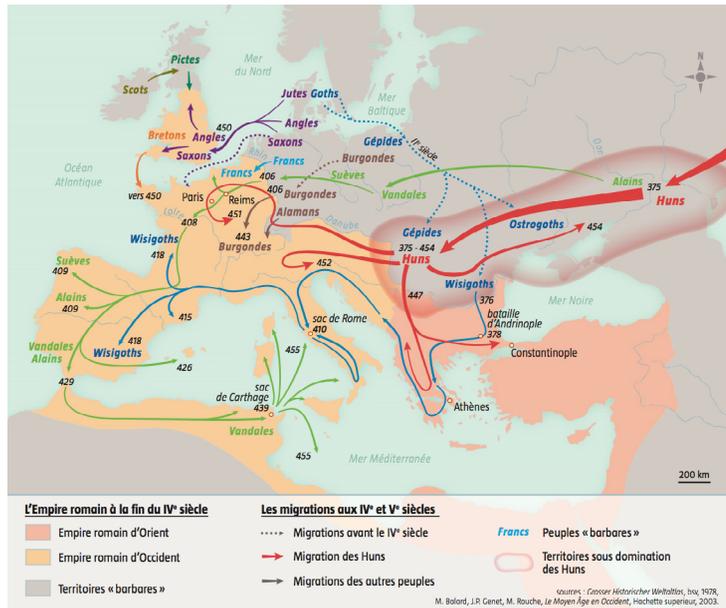
Figure 7

— Les Huns (375 - 454) probablement d'origine Xiongnu turcs, et mélangés à des scythes indo-européens, créent l'empire des Huns du Rhin à la Caspienne, bousculant les tribus germaniques, qui émigrent dans l'Empire romain.

— Les Goths (II°--VIII° s.) : royaume d'Italie (488-553), royaume de Toulouse (413- 507) puis royaume de Tolède (400-711),

— Les Lombards en Italie (568 – 774),

— Les Burgondes (413-476-534),

— Les Alains, peuple scythe, défaits par les Huns en 370. Ils fondent un royaume au Nord du Caucase (VI°-IX° s.), envahissent la Gaule et s'y installent en créant le royaume d'Orléans (V° s.),

—Les Alamans (IV°- V° s.),

> — Les Vandales (439-534 en Afrique du Nord), les Suèves, les Quades, etc.
>
> —Les Angles, les Jutes et les Saxons en Grande-Bretagne (V°- XI° s.), entrainant la migration des Celtes de Grande–Bretagne en Armorique et en Galice (III°-VI° s.),
>
> — Les Francs (V°-VIII° s.) : royaume des Francs.

6.3 Les invasions à partir du VI° siècle

L'effondrement de l'Empire Romain d'Occident, la fragilité des nouveaux royaumes constitués, un environnement climatique plus défavorable (V°-X° s.) sont à l'origine d'un incontestable *« dark age »*, le Haut Moyen-âge, qui favorise de nouvelles invasions et migrations.

Les Avars (VI° s. - VIII° s.), groupe mongol installé dans la plaine de Pannonie, ont dominé l'Europe centrale pendant deux siècles, menant des guerres contre l'Empire Byzantin, avant d'être exterminés par Charlemagne entre 691 et 805.

Les Magyars (IX° s.), groupe finno-ougrien venu de l'Est de l'Oural, ont migré vers la Volga au IV° s., puis sur le Don au VIII° s. sous domination Khazar, puis en Ukraine au IX° s. Chassés par les Petchenègues, ils s'installent en Pannonie en 896. Ils se convertissent au christianisme et deviennent le rempart de l'Europe face aux invasions venues de l'Est.

Les migrations turques se sont échelonnées entre le IV° siècle et le XI° siècle : Khazars entre Dniepr et Caspienne (VII° s.-X° s.), proto-Bulgares sur la Volga et en Bulgarie (VII° s.), Oghouses entre Caspienne et Aral (VIII°-XI° s.), Seldjoukides en Iran, Asie mineure, Caucase, Proche-Orient, Bactriane (XI°-XII° s.) et en Anatolie (XI°-XIV° s.), Petchénègues entre Dniepr et Caspienne (IX°s.), Coumans ou Polovtses dans la steppe pontique au XI° s. jusqu'en Hongrie (Coumanie), Turkmènes et Khirgizes en Asie centrale.

La conquête arabe (VII°-IX° siècle) s'effectue au détriment de l'Empire Byzantin qui est réduit à ses territoires d'Asie mineure et européens, de l'empire sassanide (651) entièrement disloqué et

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du royaume wisigoth de péninsule ibérique qui est conquis (VIII°
s.), transformant la Méditerranée en « lac musulman » que seule
la flotte byzantine peut contenir en Egée et en Adriatique, facili-
tant les razzias sur les côtes de Méditerranée occidentale, dont les
rivages sont désertés. La conquête arabe a été guerrière et meur-
trière : Jérusalem (614), Yémen (632), Egypte (639-641), Caucase
(642), résistance berbère au Maghreb (680-703), Asie centrale
(751), Indus permettant le contrôle du commerce sur l'Océan
Indien jusqu'à l'arrivée des Portugais au XVI° s.

Les Vikings (VIII° -XI° s.), population scandinave de
marchands, de mercenaires et de pirates, ont profité de l'améliora-
tion climatique, annonçant l'optimum climatique médiéval, favori-
sant la navigation dans l'Atlantique Nord et de leurs embarcations
(drakkar) pour lancer des raids de pillage sur les côtes atlantiques
et en remontant leurs fleuves (Angleterre à partir de 793, Irlande
à partir de 795, Ecosse, France) puis en s'y implantant (Danelaw
en 866 ; Orcades et Shetland en Ecosse, 872 ; Normandie, 911).
Les Vikings colonisèrent l'Islande (870), le Groenland (982) qu'ils
durent abandonner avec l'arrivée du petit âge glaciaire vers 1500 et
découvrirent l'Amérique du Nord (Vinland) vers l'an mil (Bauduin,
2019). L'histoire postérieure, qui est marqué par l'intégration des
Vikings dans l'espace européen, voit l'expansion du duché de
Normandie et la conquête de l'Angleterre en 1066 par Guillaume
le Conquérant et la création du Royaume normand de Sicile à
partir de 1130 par Roger II (figure 8).
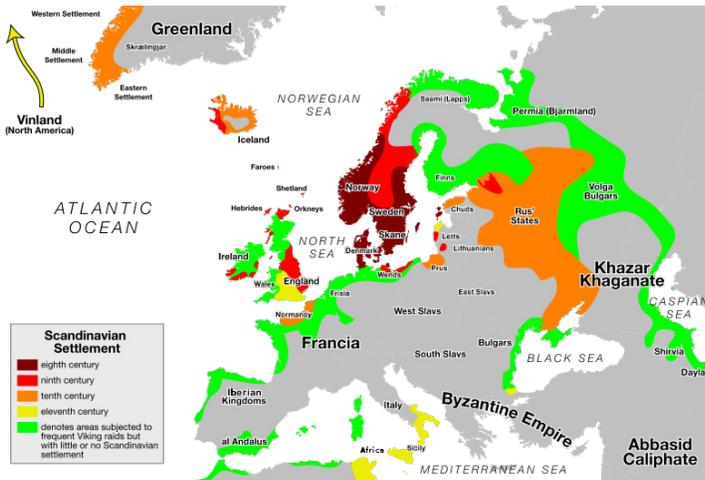
Figure 8

Si les Vikings norvégiens et danois allèrent vers l'Ouest, les Vikings suédois allèrent vers le Sud-est en ouvrant la voie commerciale du Dniepr pour pratiquer le commerce entre Baltique et Mer Noire (jusqu'à Constantinople) initialisant la création du royaume de la Kievskaia Rous' (Novgorod, 862 ; Kiev, 863), selon la chronique de Nestor. De 907 à 1043, de nombreux raids militaires furent lancés par les Varègues contre Constantinople sans succès mais qui eurent comme résultat de leur rendre les traités commerciaux plus avantageux. Vers 950, la slavisation des Varègues semble achevée. La voie de la Volga vers la mer Caspienne a également été ouverte entre 864 et 1041 ; le raid de 913, avec 500 bateaux, qui pilla les ports de la mer Caspienne, se terminal mal pour les Vikings qui furent exterminés au retour par les Khazars. Le raid Viking de 943 amena les Khazars à fermer la navigation sur la Volga.

6.4 La migration hilalienne

La dynastie fatimide chiite, installée au Caire après avoir conquis toutes l'Afrique du Nord au X° s., voulut punir les Zirides berbères (978-1048) après la rupture de leur allégeance en leur envoyant en

1051 les tribus arabes des Banu Hilal qui nomadisaient au Nord-ouest de la péninsule arabique. Ce furent 50 000 guerriers et 200 000 nomades qui s'abattirent sur la prospère Afrique du Nord, tel un nuée de sauterelles comme l'a écrit Ibn Khaldoun (2002, 2012), détruisant tout sur leur passage, villes, champs cultivés, arbres fruitiers qui étaient le résultat de plus de deux millénaires d'aménagements agricoles. Il en résulta une grande anarchie, le reflux des populations berbères vers des villes fortifiées, l'abandon d'une grande superficie de terres cultivées, l'arrêt des échanges commerciaux et un affaiblissement durable du pays qui fut finalement conquis en 1152 par les Almohades venus du Haut-Atlas marocain. De la migration hilalienne, il résulta un métissage avec la population berbère et une arabisation du langage.

6.5 Les invasions mongoles

Les invasions mongoles (1220-1242) furent les avant-dernières grandes invasions nomades venant d'Asie. Suite au regroupement des tribus mongoles sous son autorité, Gengis Khan est à la tête d'une formidable armée, sous son commandement, puis celle de ses fils et de ses petits-fils. La Chine (1205-1279), le Proche-Orient : empire Khwarezhmien (1219/1221) ; le sultanat seldjoukide (1243); le califat abbasside (1258) ; la Syrie face aux Mamelouks (1260, 1271), l'Europe (1230-1242) et l'Inde (1221-1237) seront les cibles d'une conquête qui se veut mondiale. Les invasions mongoles figurent parmi les guerres les plus meurtrières de l'histoire de l'Humanité, car à l'invasion succède le pillage systématique, l'incendie des localités et l'esclavage des populations capturées (Chaliand, 1995). Au moins 20 à 40% de la population meurt, massacrée ou à la suite des épidémies. En Asie centrale, la destruction des réseaux d'irrigation entraine l'abandon d'une agriculture présente depuis plus de six mille ans et le retour au nomadisme.

En Europe, l'invasion mongole entraine la destruction du royaume de la Kievskaia Rous' et de toutes ses villes (Kiev, 1240), puis s'attaque à la Pologne, la Hongrie, la Bohème, la Croatie, la

Roumanie, l'Autriche, la Lituanie. Rien ne résiste aux cavaliers mongols que les fortifications, la cavalerie cuirassée et la guérilla en forêt et en zone marécageuse. Selon Plan Carpin (Plan Carpin, 2008), les Mongols se retirent d'Europe centrale en 1242 suite à la mort du khan Öguedeï pour élire son successeur. D'autres raids, de moins grande ampleur furent menés contre la Pologne (1259, 1287), la Hongrie (1285), la Serbie (1291) et dans les Balkans, contre les Bulgares et l'empire Byzantin, jusqu'en 1337. Au milieu du XIV° siècle, les Européens (Pologne, Lituanie, Hongrie et principauté de Moscou) profitent de l'affaiblissement de la Horde d'Or, pour reprendre l'initiative.

La principale conséquence de l'invasion mongole de l'Europe est l'installation durable des Tatars dans leur voisinage immédiat, en Bessarabie, dans la région du Boug, en Crimée et dans la steppe pontique. Leurs destructions et l'hémorragie démographique des habitants emmenés en esclavage ont maintenu les pays d'Europe orientale et notamment la Roumanie et l'Ukraine dans un état chronique de faiblesse économique et politique pendant plusieurs siècles. Les derniers descendants de la Horde d'Or sont présents en Crimée (ils furent déportés en Sibérie par Staline en 1945 et purent y revenir à l'indépendance de l'Ukraine) et dans la Dobroudja en Roumanie (suite à un transfert de population négocié entre l'empire Russe et l'empire Ottoman en 1812).

Tamerlan, émir de Transoxiane en Asie centrale, a bâti un grand empire éphémère dans la seconde moitié du XV° siècle par des grandes campagnes militaires : Asie centrale (Horde d'Or), perse, Asie mineure (Ottomans), Proche-Orient (Mamelouks), Inde (prise de Delhi en 1498) et Géorgie. Les historiens parlent souvent de « *catastrophe timouride* » tant ses destructions et massacres ont été considérables (Roux, 1991). Les estimations sur le nombre de morts de ses victoires sont comprises entre 1 et 17 millions de personnes (soit environ 5% de la population mondiale de l'époque). Babur, descendant de Tamerlan, revient s'emparer de Delhi en 1526 et crée l'empire Moghol en Inde (1526-1707 à son

apogée) qui déclinera jusqu'à la prise de contrôle des Britanniques au milieu du XIX° siècle.

7. La conquête du nouveau monde

La découverte du nouveau-monde est l'œuvre des navigateurs européens de la fin du XV° siècle. En 1488, la découverte du cap de Bonne-Espérance par Bartolomeu Diaz puis par Vasco de Gama en 1497, permet aux Portugais de découvrir la route des Indes et d'y établir au XVI° siècle des comptoirs (Cochin), disputant ainsi le commerce des épices aux marchands musulmans. En 1492, Christophe Colomb, pour l'Espagne, découvre les iles des Antilles et en 1501, Amerigo Vespucci, pour le Portugal, découvre le Brésil et donne son nom à ce nouveau continent. Fernand de Magellan effectue la première circumnavigation (1519-1522) en franchissant le détroit qui porte depuis son nom. Au XVI° siècle, les Européens se lancent alors dans l'exploration du monde : Portugais (Indes, 1497 ; Brésil, 1501 ; archipel indonésien et Chine, 1511 ; Australie, 1522 ; Japon, 1543 ; fondation de Macao 1557), Espagnols (Caraïbes, 1492 ; Venezuela, 1499 ; Floride, 1513 ; Panama, 1513 : Balboa découvre le Pacifique ; Mexique, 1519 ; Pérou, 1531 ; Californie, 1533), Anglais (Amérique du Nord, côte Est, 1607 ; Australie, 1770 (Cook)), Français (Canada, 1534 ; Acadie, 1605 ; fondation de Québec 1608 ; Louisiane, 1699 ; Australie, 1788 (La Pérouse), Hollandais (Indes néerlandaises, 1610 ; Australie à partir de 1606 ; Côte Est Amérique du Nord –« Nouvelle Néerlande », 1613, Le Cap, 1652).

Ces découvertes furent à l'origine d'établissements de comptoirs de commerce, de conquêtes (Mexique des Aztèques par Cortès, Pérou des Incas par Pizarro), de colonisations (Amérique, Afrique australe, Australie, Iles du Pacifique) qu'accompagne le prosélytisme missionnaire des catholiques (Franciscains, Dominicains, Jésuites) et des protestants (calvinistes hollandais, presbytériens anglais).

En Amérique, les colonisations sont accompagnées par une immigration variable suivant la démographie des pays européens : française au Canada et en Louisiane ; anglaise sur la côte Est de l'Amérique du Nord ; portugaise au Brésil ; espagnole en Amérique centrale, en Amérique du Sud, et sur la côte Ouest de l'Amérique du Nord ; hollandaise (Boers) en Afrique australe (Bernand, Gruzinski, 1991, 1993).

Ces conquêtes font l'objet de destructions et de massacres, mais aussi et surtout entrainèrent l'apparition de maladies infectieuses et d'épidémies, qui sont à l'origine d'un génocide épidémique de près de 90% d'une population estimée par W. Denevan à 54 millions d'habitants avec une marge d'erreur de 20% (Denevan, 1992). Les populations d'amérindiens d'Amérique du Nord (USA et Canada) se seraient ainsi réduites de 3,78 millions en 1492 (selon Denevan) à 260 000 individus à la fin du XIX° siècle.

Ne pouvant plus compter sur la main d'œuvre autochtone, les colons européens firent alors appel aux esclaves africains à l'origine des traites négrières qui transportèrent à travers l'Atlantique 11 millions d'individus dont 90% d'entre eux sur une courte période de 110 ans, avant que les Européens, eux-mêmes, à partir du début du XIX° siècle, sous l'impulsion d'abord de l'Angleterre en 1807, n'interdise ces traites puis l'esclavage (Pétré-Grenouilleau, 2004).

8. Les échecs des migrations

Si l'Histoire reconnait surtout les succès, l'étude des échecs informe mieux des conditions de réussites ou d'échecs des migrations. Les principales causes sont des échecs d'implantation, des abandons de territoire après une implantation réussie, une extermination par les populations autochtones et une expulsion.

8.1 L'échec d'implantation

Les Vikings (cf. supra) ont laissé quelques traces (site de l'anse aux Meadows sur l'ile de Terre Neuve daté de 1021) de leur découverte de l'Amérique du Nord vers l'an mil (Vinland) telle que raconté dans la saga d'Erik le Rouge. La raison évoquée de cet échec fut les relations difficiles avec les autochtones Béothuks qui occupaient Terre Neuve.

Les Austronésiens ont peuplé toutes les iles du Pacifique et de l'Océan indien (cf. supra). Il est donc surprenant qu'ils n'aient pas laissé de traces et de peuplement en Australie. Un élément inexpliqué est la présence du Dingo, un chien retourné à la vie sauvage. Le dingo apporte sans doute la preuve du passage des Austronésiens en Australie il y a 5 000 ans, mais qui n'y ont pas fait souche.

En 1584, **dans le détroit de Magellan**, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa établi une première colonie espagnole de 300 personnes, pour en contrôler l'accès, dans un lieu nommé la Ciudad del Rey Don Felipe. Il fut malheureusement pris et retenu prisonnier à son retour par une flotte anglaise. Les colons, sans ravitaillement, moururent de faim et de froid dans les années qui suivirent. Le navigateur anglais Thomas Cavendish en 1589 récupéra les derniers survivants et donna le nom de Port Famine aux ruines de la colonie.

8.2 L'abandon du territoire pour des causes naturelles

Le réchauffement climatique des débuts de l'Holocène mais avec une remontée progressive des eaux permet aux **chasseurs-cueilleurs mésolithiques** de prendre pied sur les **iles de la Méditerranée**, dont la distance à la côte est de moins de 30 km, la distance franchissable de jour avec un radeau de fortune : les Cyclades en mer Egée, la Corse par l'ile d'Elbe, puis la Sardaigne, la Crête, Chypre. La plupart de ces colonisations furent des échecs, les mésolithiques ne trouvant qu'une faune endémique en cours d'extinction (quelques cervidés) et des gros rongeurs, ressources alimentaires insuffisants pour pérenniser leur installation. Il

faudra attendre l'arrivée, quelques milliers d'années après, des agriculteurs néolithiques avec plants, graines et animaux domestiqués pour que ces colonisations soient un succès.

Les Vikings colonisèrent le Groenland en 982. La colonie fondée par Erik le Rouge a été estimé de 3 000 à 5 000 individus, appliquant le mode de vie islandais, pratiquant l'élevage (vaches, moutons, chèvres), la chasse (renne, phoque) et la pèche. Ils exportaient l'ivoire de morse et les fourrures et importaient le bois et le fer. L'arrivée du petit âge glaciaire à la fin du XIII° siècle les obligea à abandonner l'ile vers 1500, après 500 ans d'occupation. Par contre, l'Islande colonisée en 870 par les Vikings mais située à une latitude plus basse, ne fut jamais désertée. Les analyses génétiques révèlent que si les hommes avaient un ADN viking, la plupart des femmes avaient un ADN d'origine celtique, victimes de rapts sur les côtes de Grande-Bretagne.

8.3 L'extermination des immigrants

L'histoire des Cimbres, des Teutons et des Ambrons est particulièrement bien documentée par les historiens romains, notamment Florus (Florus, 2003). Originaires du Jutland, ils commencent un périple de migration à partir du II° siècle av. J.C. à travers l'Europe centrale et occidentale (figure 9). Poursuivis par les légions romaines, ils les battent à Noreia en Styrie, en 113 av. J.C., en Narbonnaise en 109 BC, à Agen en 107 av. J.C., à Orange en 105 av. J.C. Les Romains prenant conscience du danger, nomment Marius pour diriger les légions, qui remportent une première victoire à Aix-en-Provence en 102 av. J.C. et enfin à Verceil en 101 av. J.C. dans le Piémont, où ils furent exterminés. Selon la légende, de nombreuses femmes se suicidèrent après avoir tué leurs enfants. Des 160 000 Cimbres, 60 000 prisonniers survivants furent vendus comme esclaves.
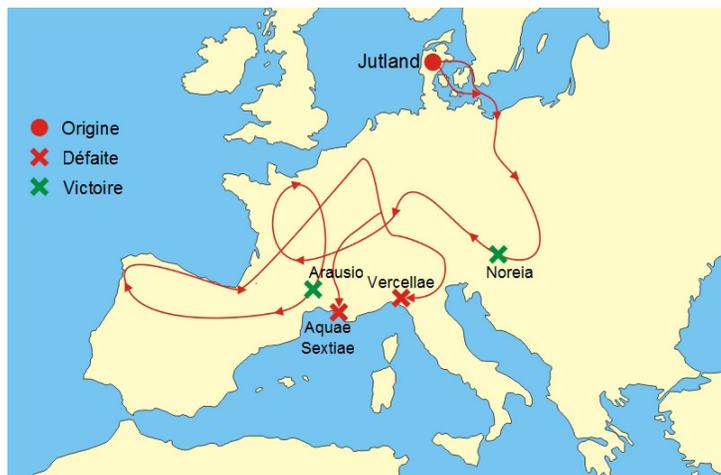
Figure 9

8.4 Les expulsions ou les départs forcés

Les expulsions et les départs forcés correspondent aux cas de populations minoritaires dominantes mais dont la fortune des armes a changé et sont obligés de quitter leur territoire d'adoption.

L'exemple le plus célèbre est la **sortie d'Egypte** par les Hébreux, dont l'Ancien Testament nous a donné le récit mythique et allégorique bien connu. La réalité archéologique et le récit de Manéthon sont plus prosaïques, et les rattachent aux Hyksos (XVIII°- XVI° s. av. J.C.) :

> — Arrivée des Hyksos dans le delta du Nil au cours de la deuxième période intermédiaire, invasion hourrite ou infiltration cananéenne, avec Avaris comme capitale,
>
> — Les Hyksos contrôlent la basse et la moyenne Egypte. Six pharaons de la XV° dynastie ont des noms sémites, proche des noms cananéens,
>
> — Lutte contre la Haute-Egypte à la fin de la XVII° dynastie et défaite finale des Hyksos sous Ahmôsis Ier, pharaon de la XVIII° dynastie,

> — Les Hyksos fuient l'Egypte et retournent en Palestine.

Flavius-Josèphe (« *Contre Appion* »), se basant sur Manéthon, identifie l'exode d'Israël avec l'expulsion des 480 000 Hyksos d'Avaris (Flavius-Josèphe, 2018).

L'occupation de la péninsule ibérique lors de la conquête arabe en 711-718 entraina une domination musulmane qui dura jusqu'à **l'expulsion finale des Maures d'Espagne**, suite à la reconquête progressive des rois catholiques. Cette domination musulmane n'est pas uniforme. La période omeyade est marquée par une apogée de la civilisation Al Andalous avec l'arrivée du survivant omeyade Abd al Rahman 1er qui fonde l'émirat de Cordoue en 756, et dont la dynastie perdure jusqu'en 1011. Le pays se fragmente alors en petits royaumes, les Tainas (1031-1086), subit l'invasion des Almoravides venus de Maurétanie, puis celle des Almohades (1147-1228), d'origine berbère, qui seront battus à la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa en 1212. La présence musulmane en Espagne est alors réduite au petit émirat de Grenade (1238-1492) qui a accepté la vassalité du roi de Castille.

Le décret du 29 avril 1492 ordonne l'expulsion des Juifs d'Espagne, refusant le baptême. Cette décision fait suite aux persécutions commencées par les Almoravides et les Almohades. Les estimations donnent 250 000 conversions et entre 40 000 et 100 000 expulsions.

En 1606, le roi Philippe II d'Espagne ordonne l'expulsion des Morisques, musulmans convertis au christianisme par contrainte ou par décret royal au début du XVI° siècle et leurs descendants. Sur les 500 000 Morisques qui représentaient 4% de la population totale, 40% auraient évité l'expulsion et de nombreux expulsés (50 000 probablement) ont pu revenir. Il en est cependant résulté un déclin économique et démographique momentané du royaume d'Aragon et du royaume de Valence. Les expulsés s'installèrent principalement au Maghreb, en Turquie et en Grèce.

L'empire Ottoman, *« l'homme malade de l'Europe »*, à la fin du XVIII° siècle, voit les menaces se préciser, externes venant des Russes et des Autrichiens, et internes par les aspirations des populations chrétiennes à sortir du joug ottoman (Ternon, 2002). Une succession de massacres mobilise l'opinion européenne à leur cause (Ile de Chios 1822 ; siège de Missolonghi 1826 ; Batak en Bulgarie 1876 ; révolte crétoise, 1897 ; arméniens 1894). Le déclin de l'empire Ottoman, ralenti par l'Angleterre et la France (guerre de Crimée 1853), n'empêche pas l'indépendance de la Grèce en 1821, l'autonomie de la Serbie en 1830 (et son indépendance en 1878), puis les traités de San Stefano et de Berlin en 1878, qui entrainent à terme celles de la Bulgarie (1909), de la Roumanie (1881) et du Monténégro. La guerre 1914-1918 allait accélérer la fin de l'empire ottoman allié à l'Allemagne (mouvement Jeunes Turcs, génocide des arméniens, des grecs pontiques et des syriaques en 1915 ; guerres balkaniques 1912-1913 ; accords Sykes-Picot au Proche-Orient, traité de Sèvres 1920 ; abolition du califat 1924). C'est alors que Mustapha Kemal avec l'appui de l'armée se révolte contre le traité de Sèvres et essaie de constituer un Etat turc sur les ruines de l'empire Ottoman. C'est le début d'une ethnogenèse qui n'est pas encore terminée aujourd'hui. C'est le tour du nettoyage ethnique des Grecs d'Asie mineure et des Arméniens de Cilicie après les victoires militaires turques de 1922 et la prise de Smyrne qui aboutit au traité de Lausanne en 1923 qui fixe les frontières actuelles de la Turquie. 1,5 millions de chrétiens (Grecs et Arméniens) d'Anatolie et de Thrace orientale sont chassés et sont accueillis en Grèce tandis 500 000 musulmans de Macédoine et d'Epire quittent la Grèce et sont accueillis en Turquie. Cependant, il faut rappeler que Grecs et Arméniens sont présents en Asie mineure depuis plus de 4 000 ans tandis que les Turcs ne sont entrés qu'au XI° siècle en Asie mineure et qu'au XIV° siècle en Europe. Il faudrait donc parler de nettoyage ethnique pour les premiers et d'expulsion pour les seconds et non « d'échange » de populations expression du narratif turc actuel. Au début du XX° siècle, les chrétiens représentaient 20% de la

population du territoire de l'actuelle Turquie, ils ne représentent plus que 0,2% aujourd'hui. L'ethnogenèse a donc parfaitement réussi, Kurdes exceptés…

Les décolonisations des années 1960 en Afrique ont entraîné des départs forcés de ressortissants des pays colonisateurs. L'indépendance de l'Algérie a entrainé le départ d'environ 1 million de français en 1962, précipité par le pogrom d'Oran du 5 juillet 1962. L'indépendance du Congo belge entraine le départ de 40 000 européens en juillet 1960 suite à la mutinerie de la Force publique.

La dislocation de l'Union soviétique, le 25 décembre 1991, entraina l'indépendance des nombreuses républiques, qui étaient des anciennes colonies de l'Empire russe (Asie centrale) ou des prises de guerre (pays baltes). Entre 1985 et 1991, la déstabilisation de l'Union soviétique entraina de nombreux pogroms et départs forcés dont furent victimes les minorités (Caucase, Asie centrale), et, après l'indépendance de ces républiques, les départs plus ou moins forcés de nombreux russes qui y étaient installés, en particulier en Asie centrale.

9. Les migrations sous contrôle de la population autochtone

Les migrations ne prennent toujours la forme d'une invasion violente. Elles peuvent résulter d'un accord négocié entre les deux parties, d'une demande de la population autochtone ou de l'application d'un droit d'asile.

9.1 Les installations en zone frontière

L'Empire Romain a mis en place un système à plusieurs niveaux composées des tribus alliées installées au-delà du *limes*, une fortification-frontière et des troupes auxiliaires composées de soldats qui ne sont pas citoyens romains mais dont le rôle est de défendre l'empire, en protégeant le *limes* et en faisant des incursions

régulières au-delà. C'est ainsi que, entre 250 et 500, Rome contient la pression des tribus germaniques mais les fortifications du limes rhénan ne suffiront plus à contenir leurs assauts répétés.

L'Empire Byzantin procèdera d'une façon équivalente, n'hésitant même pas à préférer acheter la paix plutôt que de livrer une guerre encore plus coûteuse (Théodose II et les Huns d'Attila en 440). Aux frontières des Empires, des populations chassées ou déplacées sont installées pour garder la frontière, suivant un système de paysans-soldats dont la fonction est de ralentir les envahisseurs jusqu'à l'arrivée de l'armée. Ils furent utilisés (armée locale des thémata) pour la première fois par les Byzantins à partir du IX-X°siècle sur la frontière du Taurus face à l'empire arabe. Le roi de Hongrie Géza II installa des colons Saxons en Transylvanie au XII-XIII° siècles pour défendre la frontière Sud-est du royaume contre les invasions des Tatars et plus tard des Turcs. Les Autrichiens employèrent des Serbes fuyant la domination ottomane pour tenir la frontière de Croatie avec l'empire Ottoman au XVI° siècle. Les Nazis imaginèrent cette solution pour planifier la colonisation les territoires conquis sur l'Union soviétique. Leur plan prévoyait l'installation de 10 millions d'« Allemands » sur ces territoires en 30 ans, tandis qu'environ 30 millions de Slaves et de Baltes devaient être assimilés ou transférés de force en Sibérie pour libérer la place pour les nouveaux arrivants.

Les cosaques se sont auto-constitués à partir du XIV° siècle en groupes libres de cavaliers nomadisant dans les no man's land entre Tatars d'un coté et Polonais, Moscovites, Lithuaniens et Moldaves de l'autre dans les bassins inférieurs des vallées du Dniepr, du Don et de la Volga. Issus d'origines diverses nomades mais rapidement slavisés et christianisés, ils accueillent des individus en marge de la société ou fuyant le servage ou l'esclavage. Dès la fin du XV° siècle, les cosaques zaporogues du Dniepr assurent la défense officielle des frontières polono-lithuaniennes dans les régions du bas-Dniepr et du Boug face aux Tatars. Le rôle des cosaques dans des révoltes au XVII° siècle en Ukraine et au XVIII° siècle en Russie entrainèrent une reprise en main par

la Russie tsariste à partir du XVIII° siècle. Les Cosaques russes protégeaient les territoires frontaliers de la Moscovie contre les incursions des Tatars de Crimée, de Kazan et d'Astrakhan, formant des communautés sur le Don, la Volga et le Kouban (Lebedynsky, 2004).

9.2 Les comptoirs de commerce

Les comptoirs de commerce sont des établissements, le plus souvent des ports, consacrés au commerce où s'installent des intermédiaires qui assurent la négociation et le transport des marchandises entre producteurs et acheteurs. Les comptoirs sont le plus souvent établis par et pour un peuple commerçant : Phéniciens et Grecs qui se partagent la Méditerranée au Ier millénaire av. J.C. ; Musulmans dans l'océan indien après la conquête arabe ; Vikings entre Baltique et Mer Noire ; Portugais, après la découverte de la route des Indes. Mais ils sont également contrôlés par les pays accueillant les comptoirs sur leurs territoire, par des règles juridiques et financières précises, comme par exemple en Inde ou en Chine avec Canton, Macao et Hong-Kong.

Les comptoirs de commerce de la Méditerranée (dont les échelles du Levant) sont des ports où se sont installées des populations commerçantes qui contractent chacune dans leur propre réseau ethnique, confessionnel et même parfois familial, comme notamment les Grecs, les Juifs, les Arméniens, les Vénitiens, les Génois, etc. qui se regroupent souvent par quartier dans ces ports : Marseille, Gènes, Le Pirée, Alep, Tripoli, Alexandrie, Istanbul, Smyrne, Odessa, Chisinau, Lvov, Tunis, Alger, etc. Dans ces comptoirs, se mêlent différentes religions, langues, cultures et traditions dans un climat de tolérance indispensable à la bonne marche du commerce. Ce cosmopolitisme est le résultat de l'installation de commerçants le plus souvent attirés par le pays hôte et non d'immigrations. Au commerce maritime s'ajoute le commerce fluvial et le commerce terrestre. La prospérité économique de la Pologne est liée au rétablissement du commerce entre Baltique et

Mer Noire par la Vistule et le Dniestr, avec Lvov comme comptoir de commerce et le port de Chisinau en Moldavie. La route de la Soie, du II° s. av. J.C. au XV° s. est le meilleur exemple de route commerciale terrestre (Vergé-Franceschi, 2002).

9.3 Les camps de réfugiés

L'accueil des populations immigrées dépend de leur importance démographique, des moyens mobilisés par le pays hôte et du contexte politique de l'immigration. Elles sont donc très variables : arméniens victimes du génocide après 1915, républicains espagnols en exil (1936-39), juifs en Israël (Ma'abarot dans les années 1950), harkis en France en 1962, réfugiés syriens en 2015, pour ne citer que quelques exemples. Les camps de réfugiés gérés par le Haut-commissariat des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés (UNHCR), les pays hôtes ou des ONG existent toujours et leur nombre dépasse aujourd'hui plusieurs centaines et gèrent sans doute plus de 2 à 3 millions d'individus : Tibétains en Inde, camps de réfugiés syriens en Turquie, Jordanie et Liban, réfugiés soudanais au Tchad, au Kenya et en Ouganda, réfugiés Rohingyas au Bengladesh, camps des iles grecques et italiennes, jungle de Calais, etc.

9.4 Les installations en périphérie des villes

La progression de l'urbanisation ou autrement dit de l'augmentation de la population vivant en milieu urbain résulte de plusieurs phénomènes :

> — Exode rural, lié au progrès des rendements puis à la mécanisation de l'agriculture qui entraine la baisse de besoin en main d'œuvre dans les campagnes,
>
> — Exode rural lié à la sédentarisation des populations nomades (plus ou moins forcée comme en Asie centrale communiste dans les années

1930) ou au déclin du nomadisme tradition-
nel (des zones semi-désertiques du Proche-
Orient vers les villes),
— L'installation en milieu périurbain des immi-
grés, une fois sortis des camps mais aussi des
immigrés clandestins.

Les bidonvilles, sans oublier les townships sud-africains et les
favelas brésiliennes, regrouperaient aujourd'hui le chiffre astrono-
mique de 30% de la population mondiale.

L'intégration progressive des immigrés leur permet alors de
s'installer et de se regrouper dans des quartiers périphériques ou
banlieues pauvres, où le communautarisme va s'exercer. L'expansion
récente des grandes métropoles, comme la ville de Londres, est
caractéristique. Les quartiers chinois (ou Chinatown) installés
dans le monde entier sont les plus connus mais chaque vague
d'immigration historique est à l'origine d'un quartier commu-
nautaire, qui se transforme plus ou moins rapidement avec l'in-
tégration et la progression sociale des immigrés, génération après
génération et la résilience culturelle.

10. Les transferts de populations

10.1 Les repeuplements

Empire byzantin (VII°-VIII° siècle)
Héraclius laisse les Serbes s'installer entre Save et Alpes dinariques
au VII° siècle. Justinien II installe au VIII° siècle les Mardaïtes du
Liban en Péloponnèse et les Slaves de Macédoine en Bithynie.
Théophile (829-842) installe 7 000 turcs à Sinope, les Valaques
(communautés romanophones de Roumanie) en Thessalie, les
Slaves dans le Péloponnèse, les Coumans et Petchenègues en
Macédoine (Moglena).

Israël (1948) et l'immigration juive en Palestine (alya)

25 000 juifs étaient recensés en Palestine en 1881. Entre 1881 et 1914, 50 000 sont arrivés de Russie suite aux pogroms. Entre 1919 et 1928, 115 000 sont arrivés d'Europe orientale et centrale. Entre 1929 et 1939, 140 000 sont arrivés d'Europe orientale et 40 000 d'Allemagne et d'Autriche. Entre 1939 et 1948, 80 000 clandestins arrivent car le gouvernement britannique n'accorde plus de visas. Entre 1948 et 1952, ils sont 700 000 (plan Ben Gourion). Entre 1956 et 1968, 500 000 juifs viennent principalement du Maghreb après la guerre israélo-arabe de 1956. Actuellement 6 500 000 juifs sont recensés en Israël.

10.2 Les déplacements forcés

La déportation des Juifs dans l'Ancien testament

Il y eu d'abord la déportation des Juifs de Samarie (royaume de Juda) par les Assyriens en 772. Il y eu ensuite la déportation des Juifs du royaume d'Israël par Nabuchodonosor II à Babylone 597, 587, 582 av. J.C. et leur retour à Jérusalem en 538. Ils sont sans doute peu nombreux, car seule l'élite aurait été déportée (sans la population rurale). L'Ancien Testament cite le chiffre improbable de 40 000 individus si on le compare aux 12 500 habitants de la Judée d'après les estimations des archéologues et historiens. Beaucoup d'entre eux restent volontairement à Babylone où ils forment la première diaspora juive.

Les Arméniens déportés de Djoulfa à Ispahan en 1606

A la suite d'une guerre entre l'empire Ottoman et la Perse pour le contrôle de la vallée de l'Araxe, le Shah Abbas rasa ce qui allait devenir le Nakhitchevan, fit brûler la ville de Djoulfa en 1605, alors riche et industrieuse peuplée de 50 000 personnes. Il déporta l'ensemble de la population arménienne à Ispahan et en installa les survivants (environ la moitié) dans les faubourgs, quartier dont le nom devint la Nouvelle Djoulfa, à l'origine d'une florissante colonie marchande. Durant les années 1665-1695, les arméniens de la Nouvelle Djoulfa contrôlèrent le commerce international entre la

Perse et l'Europe quand la Perse s'ouvrit à l'Europe, puis s'installant dans l'Océan indien jusqu'en Chine, ils furent à l'origine d'un réseau eurasiatique de commerce (Chaudhuri, Kekonian, 2008) lors de l'apogée du royaume Safavide.

Pendant ce temps, le Nakhitchevan fut repeuplé par l'empire Ottoman de tribus kurdes et turcomanes destinées à tenir la frontière. Le cimetière de Djoulfa avec ses stèles Khatchkars a été entièrement détruit par les autorités Azéris entre 1998 et 2005 pour anéantir toute trace de peuplement arménien présent dans cette région depuis plus de trois millénaires. La réécriture de l'Histoire se fait également avec les bulldozers.

Les Tatars de Crimée

Les Tatars sont les descendants des tribus turco-mongoles de la Horde d'Or installés en Crimée depuis le XIV° siècle, région de steppes arides favorable au pastoralisme (les derniers Scythes s'y étaient également réfugiés). Ils pratiquent l'élevage dans la steppe et la culture des arbres fruitiers dans les vallées montagneuses où ils se sont sédentarisés, mais ils étaient bien connus des pays chrétiens voisins (Russie, Moldavie et Pologne/Lituanie/Ukraine) pour les razzias et la traite d'esclaves slaves qu'ils vendaient à l'Empire Ottoman par le port de Caffa. Les historiens estiment qu'un million d'esclaves ukrainiens furent ainsi capturés et vendus entre 1475 et 1700, dont la plus célèbre fût Roxelane, la fille d'un pope de Galicie, vendue comme esclave et devenue favorite de Soliman le magnifique, puis affranchie et épouse unique. La Crimée fût conquise par Les Russes en 1792. Des Tatars quittèrent la presqu'île pour rejoindre l'empire Ottoman. Ils devinrent minoritaires en Crimée suite à l'installation par l'empire russe de nombreux colons, ukrainiens, russes et allemands. La guerre de Crimée de 1853, la politique de russification d'Alexandre II puis la terreur stalinienne des années 1930 réduisirent encore la population Tatar (Magocsi, 2014). Du 18 au 20 mai 1945, 238 500 Tatars, accusés de collaboration avec l'armée allemande, dont près de la moitié sont morts dans les trois années suivantes, furent

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déportés en Asie centrale et en Sibérie par J. Staline. Rattachée à l'Ukraine devenu indépendante en 1991, 250 000 tatars ont pu revenir s'y installer. L'annexion militaire de la Crimée par la Russie en 2014 a entrainé de nouvelles répressions.

L'exode ou le départ forcé de 720 000 palestiniens du futur état d'Israël en 1948

Pendant la guerre de 1948, 720 000 palestiniens sur les 900 000 habitants de la région fuirent ou furent expulsés dans une proportion qui reste sujet de débat entre historiens (cf. la question du plan Daleth), sans droit de retour. Dans les années qui suivent, au Moyen-Orient, entre 500 et 600 000 juifs émigrent ou sont poussés à le faire dont 260 000 s'installent en Israël entre 1948 et 1951.

10.3 L'esclavage

Les débuts de l'esclavage dans les sociétés humaines de l'Antiquité sont certainement plus anciens que ce qui nous est connu par les premiers textes écrits (Mésopotamie, Egypte ancienne, Hittites, Grecs, Rome, etc.), certainement à l'âge du Bronze et peut-être au Néolithique. La doxa marxiste en a fait un stade dans son évolution stadiale des sociétés *(communisme primitif, esclavage, régime féodal, régime capitaliste et régime socialiste),* ce qui a eu comme effet de passer ou silence la continuation jusqu'au XX° siècle de l'esclavage dans de nombreuses parties du monde (dernières abolitions officielles : Ethiopie, 1942 ; Arabie saoudite, 1960 ; Oman, 1970 ; Mauřétanie en 1980 ; Pakistan en 1992 ; mais aussi rétablissement par l'Etat islamique en 2014 et en Lybie en 2016).

La réduction à l'esclavage a plusieurs causes : prisonniers de guerre dans l'Antiquité (et c'est encore le cas de Charlemagne dans sa guerre contre les Saxons païens), expéditions militaires des sociétés dont l'économie est basée sur les razzias et le pillage (c'est notamment le cas de la plupart des sociétés islamiques en Afrique, au Proche-Orient et en Méditerranée), servitude pour dettes, ou seulement par hérédité. Les esclaves sont généralement assujettis

aux travaux les plus pénibles : mines, carrières et voirie, travaux agricoles, tâches domestiques, exploitation sexuelle, gladiateurs.

Après la fin de l'empire romain, le christianisme empêche de réduire en esclave les chrétiens ce qui tarit le marché des esclaves Slaves de l'empire byzantin quand ceux-ci se convertissent à partir de 980. Il en est de même dans l'Islam, où les musulmans ne peuvent être réduits en esclavage. L'Islam se reporta alors sur les Chrétiens en Méditerranée et sur les païens en Afrique. La traite de la Méditerranée par les pirates barbaresques est active depuis le VIII° siècle. A Alger, en 1350, on dénombre encore 20 000 esclaves français. La seule solution est le rachat, tâche qui est dévolue à des Ordres religieux (Trinitaires, Mercédaires). Entre 1500 et 1800, le nombre de personnes réduites en esclavage en Méditerranée et vendues sur les marchés d'Alger, de Tunis et de Tripoli est estimée à plus d'un million d'individus. Ce sont les deux guerres entre les Etats-Unis et les Etats barbaresques (1801-1805 et juin 1815) qui ont commencé à freiner la piraterie en Méditerranée. Mais c'est la colonisation de l'Afrique par les Européens qui a réellement mis fin à l'esclavage au XIX° siècle.

Autre acteur majeur, entre le IX° et le XI° siècle, les Vikings pratiquent systématiquement l'esclavagisme dans leurs raids de piraterie en Atlantique et à l'Est de l'Europe.

Les esclaves de la traite orientale arabo-musulmane provenaient principalement d'Afrique subsaharienne, d'Afrique du Nord-Ouest, d'Europe méditerranéenne, des pays slaves, du Caucase et du sous-continent indien, et étaient importés au Moyen-Orient, au Proche-Orient, en Afrique du Nord, dans la corne de l'Afrique et dans les îles de l'océan Indien (Heers, 2008). (figure 10).

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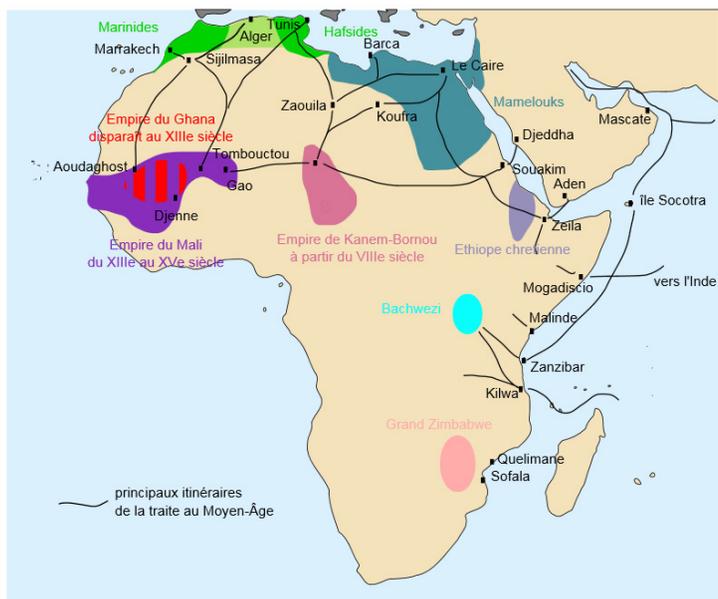
Figure 10

La traitre atlantique concernait la fourniture d'esclaves pour le continent américain et était opérée par des navires européens (anglais, français, portugais, espagnols) qui s'approvisionnaient sur la côte africaine auprès des marchands d'esclaves africains (Pétré-Grenouilleau, 2004). Les chiffres publiés font l'objet d'estimations différentes par les historiens spécialistes du sujet. Il semble cependant y avoir un accord sur les chiffres suivant :

— Traite arabo-musulmane (12 à 17 millions d'individus sur 13 siècles),

— Traite intra-africaine (8 à 14 millions d'individus),

— Traite atlantique (11 à 12,5 millions d'individus sur la période 1501-1866).

L'exemple le plus spectaculaire est celui de Zanzibar. En 1860, l'ile comptait 20 000 esclaves sous la domination de 500 marchands Omanais, une société presque entièrement consacrée à

la culture du clou de girofle. Entre 1830 et 1873, 700 000 esclaves, pour la plupart venant de la région des grands lacs, furent vendus à Zanzibar.

Si l'esclavage a officiellement disparu sur la planète, d'autres formes apparentées comme le proxénétisme, la traite des blanches, le travail clandestin, la passe de migrants, le mariage forcé, le travail des enfants, subsistent encore de nos jours.

11. Les ethnogenèses ethniques, religieuses ou idéologiques

Les ethnogenèses sont des processus qui visent à homogénéiser une population sur des critères, qui, au cours de l'Histoire de l'Humanité, ont été des critères de nature variable : ethnique, religieuse (guerres de religion), idéologiques (communisme du XX° siècle), politiques (fascisme du XX° siècle), économiques (oppositions entre nomadisme pastoral, agriculture sédentaire et chasse/cueillette) et autres. Le critère ethnique est d'ailleurs en lui-même le résultat d'une ethnogenèse antérieure, qui a pu résulter soit d'une auto-organisation soit d'une action autoritaire. L'ethnogenèse est un processus systémique qui même s'il est activé par les classes dirigeantes ou l'intelligentsia, s'auto-entretient et peut finir par être relayé par la plus grande partie de la population. Dans les périodes historiques, l'ethnogenèse est liée à la constitution ou à la dissolution de systèmes étatiques : les Empires favorisent l'hétérogénéité des populations tandis que les Nationalismes en favorisent l'homogénéité. Aussi est-ce souvent dans les périodes de transition : Empires en conquêtes ou Empires en désintégration, avec les guerres qui les accompagnent, que surviennent les événements les plus dramatiques de ces processus : génocides, crimes contre l'Humanité, nettoyages ethniques, crimes d'Etats.

11.1 Les nettoyages ethniques du XXème siècle

Nous nous limiterons ici à évoquer les nettoyages ethniques du XX° siècle, mais nous aurions ou aussi bien évoquer tous ceux dont nous avons la trace depuis les débuts de l'Age du Bronze.

En 1923, comme résultat de **l'ethnogenèse turque** menée par M. Kemal Atatürk suite à l'effondrement de l'Empire Ottoman, les Grecs d'Asie mineure firent expulsés (traité de Lausanne). Ils étaient pourtant présents sur la côte méditerranéenne de l'Asie mineure depuis au moins 3 500 ans (locuteurs du grec Linéaire B) (cf. supra). Les Grecs du Pont, c'est-à-dire des comptoirs de la rive Sud de la Mer Noire en Asie mineure, fondés au VII° s. av. J.C. par la ville de Milet comme Sinope et Trébizonde, furent l'objet à partir de 1916, par le gouvernement Jeune Turc d'Enver Pacha, d'un nettoyage ethnique cité dans la littérature sous différent noms : « *tragédie pontique, extermination pontique, génocide* » qui fit entre 100 000 et 150 000 morts. Les derniers survivants furent expulsés en 1923. Enfin, le pogrom d'Istanbul les 6 et 7 septembre 1955, entraina le saccage des commerces et des maisons du quartier grec, la vandalisation des églises et la profanation des tombes. 135 000 personnes quittèrent Istanbul (dont 59% de grecs, 17% d'Arméniens, et 12% de Juifs). Il ne restait plus à Istanbul que 7000 grecs en 1978 et 2500 en 2006.

La rectification des frontières européennes en 1945 a été à l'origine de nettoyages ethniques importants. Par ordre d'importance, ce processus a concerné les populations d'origine germanique installées en Europe orientale depuis la fin du Moyen-âge, notamment dans les provinces orientales de l'Allemagne (Prusse) et en Pologne d'avant-guerre : Prusse orientale, Poméranie orientale, Brandebourg oriental, Silésie, soit 7 millions), de la Tchécoslovaquie (Sudètes, 3 millions), de la Hongrie (180 000 expulsés et 170 000 envoyés en Union soviétique), de la Yougoslavie (500 000), de la Roumanie (200 000) et de l'Union Soviétique (Allemands de la Mer Noire, de la Bessarabie à la

Volga, invités par Catherine II et ses successeurs depuis la fin du XVIII° siècle ; ils furent préventivement déportés en Sibérie en 1941 devant l'avancée de l'armée allemande).

Ce sont entre 12 et 16 millions d'individus (plus 2 millions de victimes) qui ont été concernés, ce qui en fait un des plus grands nettoyages ethniques de l'Histoire. Trois phases ont été distinguées : fuite des populations allemandes devant l'arrivée de l'armée rouge *(« opération Hannibal »),* expulsions locales à l'arrivée de celle-ci et expulsions systématiques par les autorités soviétiques après l'accord de Postdam du 2 Août 1945.

L'expansion territoriale du régime nazi en Allemagne à partir de 1938 (avec le rattachement des Sudètes de Tchécoslovaquie), avait déjà inauguré ce processus. Il s'amplifia après la signature du pacte germano-soviétique : 900 000 polonais expulsés de Pologne occidentale annexée par l'Allemagne en 1939, expulsion des allemands résidents dans les pays baltes et en Bessarabie et installation en Pologne occidentale en 1939-1940,

La partition de l'Inde, au moment de son indépendance le 15 Août 1947 *(« Indian Independence Act »),* a provoqué l'un des plus grands déplacements de population de l'Histoire. 12,5 millions de personnes ont rejoint l'un ou l'autre des deux pays, crées sur une base religieuse : Islam pour le Pakistan et le futur Bangladesh de 1971, Hindouisme pour l'Inde, à l'origine en outre d'environ 1 millions de morts (Markovits, 1994).

Avec l'affaiblissement de l'Union soviétique dans les années 1980, la réaction contre le parti communiste unique et la montée des nationalismes, les tensions internes de **la Yougoslavie** existantes depuis son origine au début des années 1920, la font éclater. Bien qu'essentiellement d'origine slave, d'où son nom, la population est divisée par la religion qui résulte de son histoire depuis le Moyen-âge et qui explique les conflits : catholiques croates et slovènes, orthodoxes serbes, monténégrins, bosniaques, macédoniens et kosovars ; musulmans bosniaques et kosovars. De 1990 à 2000, des conflits violents entrainèrent l'implosion de la

Yougoslavie et la sécession de ses entités malgré les efforts de la Serbie pour en conserver l'intégrité et le contrôle : sécession de la Slovénie (1991), indépendance de la Croatie (1991-95), guerre de Bosnie (1992-95), guerre du Kosovo (1998-99). In fine, la Croatie a accueilli 750 000 déplacés de Serbie et de Bosnie, soit 16% de sa population ! La Serbie a accueilli 500 000 déplacés provenant du Kosovo. Le nombre total de tués des conflits a fait plus de 140 000 victimes. Les Bosniaques ont eu les pertes les plus lourdes relativement à leur démographie.

Les Rohingyas composent un groupe ethnique à majorité musulmane originaires du Bengale et installés dans l'état d'Arakan, dans l'Ouest de la Birmanie, où domine à 70% l'ethnie Barma, bouddhiste (et les importantes minorités Shan, bouddhiste et Karen animiste). Depuis 2016, un million de Rohingyas ont fui la Birmanie et sont installés au Bengladesh dans des camps de réfugiés.

11.2 Les génocides et crimes contre l'Humanité du XX° siècle

La définition de génocide vient de propositions faites à la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Nous reprenons ici une définition stricte, qui stipule des exterminations programmées, systématiques et radicales par un Etat.

Le premier génocide du XX° siècle est celui des **Arméniens, des Grecs pontiques et des assyriens** (Syriaques orthodoxes) de l'empire ottoman en 1915. Pour les seuls Arméniens, le nombre de victimes s'élève à 1 250 000 disparus soit 77% de la population. Les survivants ont émigré vers la Russie, l'Europe et l'Amérique, où ils forment une diaspora actuellement de 8,5 millions d'individus. Pour les Assyriens, le nombre de victimes s'est élevé à 275 000 soit plus de 50% de la population. Pour les Grecs du Pont, le chiffre s'élèverait entre 100 et 150 000 victimes.

Un génocide peu connu est celui de l'**Holodomor** (extermination par la faim) en Ukraine (mais aussi au Kouban) en 1933 décidé par l'Union soviétique pour obliger les paysans à

la collectivisation des terres et à entrer dans les kolkhozes. R. Conquest a estimé en 1986 à 5 millions pour l'Ukraine (soit 19% de sa population) et 7 millions pour l'ensemble de l'Union soviétique (Conquest, 1986). Des chiffrages plus récents donnent des estimations entre 2,5 et 3,5 millions pour la seule Ukraine. Il est utile de mettre en relation l'Holodomor avec la Grande famine en Chine, de 1959 à 1961, dont l'estimation des victimes est située entre 15 et 55 millions de personnes, qui en fait la famine la plus meurtrière de l'histoire de l'Humanité. Les causes de cette famine ont été attribuées aux erreurs de la politique maoïste du « Grand Bond en avant ».

Le génocide des Juifs pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale (Shoah) a été un projet d'extermination systématique et global de l'Allemagne nazie entre 1941 et 1945 contre les Juifs des pays sous domination nazie, qui a conduit à l'élimination de 5 à 6 millions de Juifs d'Europe, soit les deux tiers de sa population, d'abord par l'armée allemande (« shoah par balles ») puis dans des camps d'extermination (Ehrenbourg, Grossman, 1995). Les Juifs ne furent pas les seules victimes de l'idéologie nazie. **Les Tsiganes** en furent aussi l'objet : 220 000 individus soit 25 % de la population, ainsi que **les handicapés enfants et adultes** (80 000 victimes entre 1939 et 1941).

Entre 1975 et 1979, le régime **Khmer rouge du Cambodge**, qualifié d'ultra-maoïste, a massacré environ 1,7 millions d'individus, soit 21% de la population du Cambodge. En 1979, suite au conflit entre le Kampuchéa démocratique (Khmers rouges appuyés par la Chine) et la République populaire du Kampuchéa (appuyée par le Vietnam et l'URSS), 1 million de cambodgiens se réfugient à la frontière thaïlandaise, puis 150 000 d'entre eux dans un camp de réfugié thaïlandais.

Les génocides de la région de l'Afrique des grands Lacs ont concerné le Rwanda, le Burundi, l'Est du Zaïre et à moindre titre l'Ouganda. Ils sont le résultat d'un long conflit opposant la population majoritaire Hutus, agriculteurs d'origine bantou, à la population minoritaire Tutsi, pratiquant le pastoralisme de bovins,

dont le profil génétique à forte composante bantoue possède une composante nilo-saharienne significative dans les lignées paternelles, qui révèle une lointaine origine septentrionale largement métissée dans le temps. Les deux communautés parlent la même langue Bantou. La domination Tutsi s'organisa en petits royaumes qui se constituèrent au moins depuis le XVIIème siècle. L'administration locale sous contrôle monarchique était alors basée sur un équilibre constitué de trois responsables locaux, respectivement en charges du militaire, du pastoralisme et de l'agriculture. Elle n'empêcha pas cependant le renforcement d'un féodalisme pastoral à partir du XVII° siècle. La colonisation de la région par les Anglais en Ouganda, par les Allemands en Rwanda et au Burundi, remplacés en 1919 par les Belges du Congo, détruisit cet équilibre en lui substituant une organisation à deux têtes (le responsable local et son adjoint) qui profita aux Tutsis sur lesquels s'appuyèrent les empires coloniaux. Ces trois siècles de changements accentuèrent progressivement mais inéluctablement une double ethnogenèse de la société qui se cristallisa au moment de la proclamation de l'indépendance au Burundi et au Rwanda quand les majorités Hutus remportèrent les élections, abolirent les monarchies au Rwanda et au Burundi et forcèrent à l'exil les rois Tutsis et leurs clientèles, qui n'acceptèrent jamais la perte de pouvoir.

Au Burundi, les conséquences furent les massacres de 1972 (au moins 100 000 victimes), les massacres de 1988 (20 000 victimes) et la guerre civile de 1993 (au moins 100 000 victimes, 800 000 exilés et 200 000 déplacés sur une population de 12 millions d'habitants) entre Tutsis et Hutus.

Au Rwanda, avec une population d'environ 12 millions d'habitants, le génocide des Tutsis qui s'est déroulé d'avril à juillet 1994 est le plus connu du grand public. Cependant, une guerre civile existait depuis la création en Ouganda en 1987 du Front Patriotique Rwandais FPR et de sa branche armée l'APR qui lance des attaques sur le Rwanda à partir de 1990 entrainant des interventions de la France et de l'ONU, et aboutissant à l'accord d'Arusha en janvier 1993. Conséquence de l'assassinat le 6 avril

1994 du président Hutu J. Habyarimana dans l'explosion de son avion touché par un tir de missile, les cent jours du génocide par des milices hutus firent 800 000 victimes, essentiellement des Tutsis mais aussi des Hutus modérés. Simultanément, l'APR opère un génocide inverse sur les populations Hutus dans les zones qu'ils contrôlent déjà dans le Nord du Rwanda, puis dans les zones progressivement conquises et enfin à la poursuite des personnes réfugiés dans les camps au Zaïre (1 à 2 millions Hutus) à travers tout le pays, dans la cadre de la première et de la seconde guerre du Congo entre Rwanda, Ouganda et Zaïre. Les témoignages permettent de l'évaluer entre 500 000 et 1 million de victimes. Il faudra du temps pour permettre aux historiens de faire toute la lumière sur les nombreuses responsabilités dans la plus grande tragédie de la fin du XX° siècle (Chrétien, 2000 ; Lemarchand, 2002, 2021 ; Reyntjens, 2017 ; Rever, 2020).

En 1995, la ville de **Srebenica** (Bosnie) a été le témoin du massacre de 8 000 hommes et adolescents bosniaques par les forces serbes et serbo-bosniaques malgré la présence de casques bleus néerlandais, qui ne se sont pas interposés. Ce massacre est un des épisodes de la stratégie de la Serbie de réaliser un nettoyage ethnique, vallée par vallée, et village par village, de la Bosnie, dans la partie peuplée par des Serbes et des Bosniaques.

A partir de 2003, la guerre du **Darfour** est marquée, dans la région située dans la partie Ouest du Soudan, peuplée par des populations noires Four et Masalit, parlant des langues nilo-sahariennes, d'économie sédentaire et agricole, converties à l'Islam, par les attaques répétées de milices arabes, les Janjawid, à l'origine des chameliers, renforcés par des pasteurs Baggaras, dans le contexte général de la guerre civile du Soudan entre Nord et Sud activée par la découverte de ressources pétrolières dans le Sud. Les estimations donnent un chiffre pour la période de 2003 à 2012 entre 180 000 et 400 000 victimes auxquels s'ajoutent des camps de réfugiés situés au Tchad, au Kenya et des camps de déplacés au Soudan dont l'effectif atteindrait 2,7 millions de personnes.

11.3 Le communisme au XX° siècle

Depuis leur naissance en octobre 1917 à la chute de l'Union soviétique le 1991, le communisme et ses régimes amis, sont une des grandes, sinon la plus grande, caractéristiques de l'histoire du XX° siècle.

Longtemps niés par la propagande de ces régimes, les crimes du communisme ont été commis et justifiés au nom de la théorie de la lutte des classes et du principe de la dictature du prolétariat, comme le note la résolution adoptée par le Conseil de l'Europe le 25 janvier 2006 (Courtois, 1997) :

> — L'extermination de la classe dirigeante (aristocratique, démocratique), des classes moyennes (« bourgeoisie »), des paysans aisés (« koulaks »),
>
> — Les purges des opposants par des procès politiques,
>
> — Les grandes famines en Union soviétique (1932-33) et en Chine (1959-61) (cf. supra), la famine en Corée du Nord des années 1990 (1 à 2 millions de victimes),
>
> — La répression des grèves ouvrières,
>
> — La répression (1921-1954) et la grande terreur rouge (1937-38) en Union soviétique :
>
> Le 14 février 1954, le procureur de l'URSS, le ministre de la justice et le ministre de l'intérieur envoyèrent une note à N. Khrouchtchev communiquant des estimations pour la période « entre le 1er janvier 1921 et le 1er février 1954 : 3 777 380 condamnations pour « activités contre-révolutionnaires » par les « collèges spéciaux » et les « troïkas » de l'OGPU et du NKVD, le collège militaire de la Cour suprême et les tribunaux militaires. 642 980 d'entre eux furent condamnés à mort.

Il faut y ajouter la déportation de 2 100 000 personnes lors de la dékoulakisation entre 1929 et 1933. Parmi eux 530 000 à 600 000 hommes femmes et enfants moururent.

Pendant les années de la Grande terreur rouge (1937-38), 681 692 individus ont été exécutées et près de 2 millions furent envoyés dans les camps du Goulag.

— La révolution culturelle en Chine (1966-1976)

Ye Jianying, général, premier vice-président du Parti communiste chinois puis chef d'État de 1978 à 1983, a déclaré que « 20 millions de personnes ont été exécutées, 100 millions de personnes persécutées et 80 milliards de yuans gaspillés pendant la révolution culturelle ». Des historiens fournissent des estimations plus réduites entre 3 et 8 millions de morts, mais qui restent dans l'ordre de grandeur de 1% de la population.

— Les camps de travail forcé:

Les goulags soviétiques de 1934 à 1953 internèrent 10 à 18 millions de prisonniers dont 1,6 millions y sont morts. En 2017, N. Werth et L. Jurgenson (Werth, Jurgenson, 2017) évoquent les chiffres de 20 millions de détenus et 4 millions de morts entre 1929 et 1954.

Les laogaïs chinois (ou « camps de rééducation ») internèrent dix millions de prisonniers chaque année de 1949 à 1977. Certaines estimations donnent le total de cinquante millions d'individus dont 20 millions y seraient morts (Laogai research Fundation). Plusieurs millions d'individus y seraient encore internés de nos jours.

— Les déplacements de population :

— Tchétchènes et Ingouches du 23 au 28 février 1944 : 500 000 personnes, dont un quart ou la moitié périrent dans le transfert et l'installation,

— Tatars, le 18 mai 1944 : 238 500 personnes, dont près de la moitié sont morts dans les trois années suivantes,

— Juifs russes installés au Birobidjan (50 000 personnes).

— Les exils:

— Russes blancs (1 5000 000 individus dont 400 000 en France),

— Juifs soviétiques (1 200 000 individus entre 1948 et 2010),

— Coréens du Nord (30 000 vers la Corée du Sud après la fermeture des frontières ; 100 000 vers la Chine),

—Boat people vietnamiens (1975-1990 : 250 000 morts et disparus en mer ; 930 000 réfugiés),

— Exilés cubains installés aux Etats-Unis (1965-1973 : 300 000; 1980 : 125 000 cubains expulsés dit exode de Mariel ; 170 000 départs après les années 1990 et au total 1,5 millions de personnes entre 1959 et 2019, soit 13,5% de la population totale),

— Émigrants allemands de RDA (1949-1990 : 4 millions, dont 3 millions entre 1949 et 1961 date de la construction du mur de Berlin ; 380 000 sur autorisation entre 1962 et 1988 ; 33 000 achetés par la RFA entre 1963 et 1989 ; 725 000 entre début 1989 et le 3 octobre 1990, date de la réunification).

—Les invasions militaires (Pologne, pays baltes, Finlande, Tibet, Corée, Ukraine)

12. Les déplacements de population suite à des guerres civiles

La guerre de Trente Ans en Europe centrale (1618-1648) est une série de conflits entre les puissances catholiques (Habsbourg) et les Etats allemands et scandinaves protestants. Plusieurs provinces ont été dépeuplées par suite de la mort ou de l'exode des habitants vers des contrées plus sures. Les historiens estiment que certaines régions ont perdu jusqu'à la moitié de leur population (Saxe, Hesse, Alsace, Franche-Comté, Lorraine) ou même les deux tiers comme le Palatinat. On s'accorde aujourd'hui sur le chiffre de 3 ou 4 millions de morts en trente ans pour une population initiale de 17 millions d'habitants, soit environ un habitant sur cinq.

Au XVI° et au XVII° siècle, **les guerres de religion** entre catholiques et protestants français sont à l'origine de nombreux massacres (comme la Saint-Barthélemy à Paris, le 24 août 1572, puis dans toute la France, qui fit jusqu'à 30 000 victimes). Point final de cette guerre civile, la révocation par Louis XIV de l'édit de Nantes en 1685 entraina l'exil de 200 000 huguenots principalement vers les Pays-Bas, la Suisse, l'Allemagne protestante (dépeuplée à la suite de la guerre de Trente ans), la Russie, l'Angleterre, ainsi que la Nouvelle-Angleterre en Amérique et l'Afrique du Sud. Cet exil a eu des répercutions négatives importantes sur l'économie et l'industrie française (cf. le *Mémoire pour le rappel des Huguenots* de Vauban en 1689).

L'issue de la **guerre civile espagnole** (1936-1939) entraina l'exil de 440 000 républicains vers le France à partir de 1937 mais surtout en 1939 après la chute de la Catalogne. Il y eu d'autres destinations comme le Mexique (20 000) et l'Union soviétique (des cadres communistes et quelques milliers d'enfants).

La guerre du Donbass en Ukraine se déroule à partir de 2014 dans un territoire au Sud-est de l'Ukraine, qui est un bassin houiller et de minerai de Fer et de manganèse de 60 000 km2. La région est ainsi devenue le grand centre de métallurgie lourde (et de

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chimie lourde avec le sel gemme également présent) de la Russie tsariste à la fin du XIX° siècle et de l'Union soviétique jusque dans les années 1990 (en 2000, il y avait encore 600 000 mineurs dans le Donbass ukrainien alors que les mines étaient fermées dans la partie russe du bassin minier). La production du charbon à coke était l'équivalent de celle de la Ruhr ou de la Pennsylvanie aux USA. La région du Donbass était la plus peuplée d'Ukraine avec 200 h/km2, constituée de paysans ukrainiens (cosaques) et d'ouvriers et mineurs importés de Russie de gré et parfois de forces (Baltes). Déjà en 1897, le recensement russe dénombrait 52,4% d'Ukrainiens et 28,7% de Russes. Sous l'Union soviétique, la collectivisation des terres et l'Holodomor réduisent la population ukrainienne à environ 25%. Après la deuxième guerre mondiale, qui entraina la dévastation et le dépeuplement de la région industrielle, il fallu réimporter en masse des ouvriers et lors de recensement de 1989, 45% de la population se réclamait d'origine russe, même si paradoxalement, lors du referendum de 1991 pour l'indépendance de l'Ukraine, 84% de la population a voté oui. Les difficiles dix premières années de l'indépendance de l'Ukraine entraînèrent une détérioration de l'économie du Donbass, qui dû être soutenue artificiellement par le reste du pays, et notamment grâce à l'élection d'un président issu du Donbass V. Ianoukovytch qui aurait du être nommé en 2005 (mais qui avait emporté le scrutin par une fraude massive), et qui le devint en 2010 jusqu'à la révolution de Maidan en 2014, qui entraina le soulèvement du Donbass et l'invasion de la Crimée par l'armée russe. Dans le Donbass sécessionniste, la guerre entraina l'exil de 500 000 personnes vers la Russie et de 1 million de personnes vers l'Ukraine sur une population totale de 6,5 millions de personnes avant 2014. L'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie le 24 février 2022, marque une nouvelle étape dans le retour de l'impérialisme russe qui s'était déjà manifesté depuis les années 2000 en Tchétchénie, en Géorgie et en Crimée. 8 millions d'Ukrainiens sur une population de 48 millions se sont réfugiés en Europe occidentale, chassés par une armée russe qui, excitée volontairement

par un narratif antinazi, pratique en toute impunité le crime de guerre (bombardement d'édifices civils, tortures, tueries, viols et pillages) et la déportation, prélude à ce qui pourrait devenir un nouveau génocide.

13. Les diasporas

Les origines des diasporas sont multiples. Elles peuvent être commerciales (comptoirs phéniciens, comptoirs grecs, échelles du Levant), économiques (famines, manque de travail, misère, attirance pour des pays plus prospères), politiques (fuite de régime totalitaires d'extrême droite et d'extrême gauche, fuite de régimes corrompus), les résultats d'exodes dus à des tensions ou à des guerres, etc. Les diasporas représenteraient aujourd'hui 10% de la population de la planète (Chaliand, Rageau, 1991).

— **La diaspora grecque** (5 millions)

Il faut distinguer la colonisation grecque antique de la diaspora du XIX° et XX° siècle.
La colonisation grecque antique est le résultat du commerce maritime sur la Méditerranée, à partir du VIII° siècle av. J.C., à l'origine de nombreux comptoirs (figure 11) :

> — En Mer Noire (Sinope, Trébizonde, Héraclée du Pont, etc. sur la côte septentrionale de l'Asie mineure : Olbia, Chersonèse, Théodosie, Tyras, Eupatoria et Panticapée, Phanagoria, etc. sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire),
> — En Sicile : Syracuse, Agrigente, Megara Hyblaea, Catane; Sélinonte, etc.,
> — En Méditerranée occidentale : Marseille, Lattes, Olbia de Provence, Empurias,
> — En Afrique du Nord : Cyrène, Barce, Bérénikè (Benghazi), Arsinoé (Tokra).
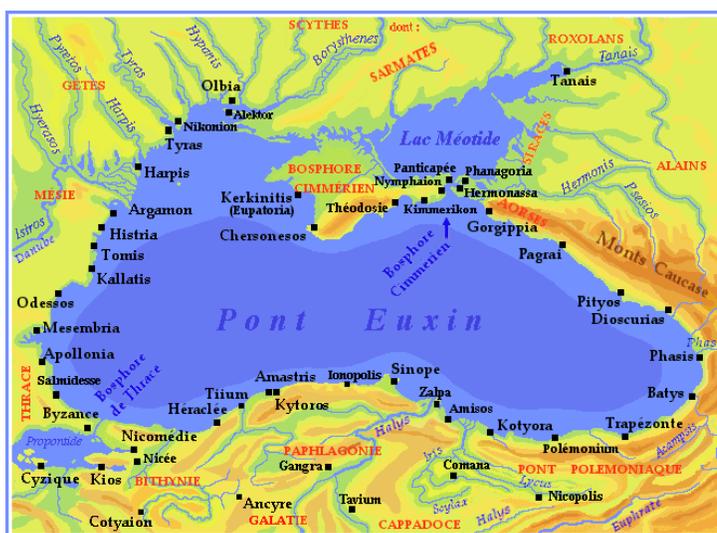
Figure 11

La conquête de la Perse par Alexandre le Grand, et la constitution des royaumes hellénistiques par ses successeurs, allait être à l'origine de la création de nombreuses villes où les Grecs allaient s'installer (Alexandrie, Antioche, Séleucie de Piérie, Laodicée, Apamée, Pergame, Doura Europos, Séleucie du Tigre, Aï Khanoum, etc.), entrainant un appauvrissement des élites et de la démographie de la Grèce européenne.

La diaspora grecque du XIX° et XX° siècle est principalement liée aux guerres d'indépendance liées à la fin de l'Empire Ottoman et aux difficultés économiques du nouvel état. Les principales destinations d'émigration ont été les Etats-Unis (1 280 000), l'Australie (400 000 soit 1,7 % de la population totale), l'Europe (1 million), le Canada (300 000) et l'Amérique du Sud (150 000).

— La diaspora des Juifs (7 millions de personnes en diaspora et 6 millions en Israël)

La diaspora juive est très ancienne. Elle remonte à la fin du IV° siècle, quand, sous la domination hellénistique, les Juifs des anciens royaumes de Juda et d'Israël viennent s'installer dans les villes créées par les Grecs. Ainsi, à l'incitation de Ptolémée Ier, de gré ou de force, 120 000 juifs de Judée et d'Israël viennent s'installer à Alexandrie où ils occupent deux des cinq districts de la ville. La présence des Juifs en Italie est attestée dès le IIème siècle av. J.C. dans l'Empire romain, commerçants en provenance d'Alexandrie. La plaidoirie hostile de Cicéron met en évidence leur activisme et leur prosélytisme à Rome en 59 av. J.C. Jules César puis Auguste les favorisent par des exemptions d'impôt puis l'attribution de la citoyenneté romaine à ceux qui résident à Rome. Flavius Josèphe estime à 30 à 40 000 le nombre de juifs vivant à Rome au Ier siècle, confirmé par les découvertes archéologiques de cinq catacombes juives et les ruines d'une douzaine de synagogues dans la Rome antique.

Le prosélytisme des communautés juives est à l'origine de conversions de populations païennes dans l'Empire romain (notamment les populations berbères d'Afrique du Nord) jusqu'à l'édit de Constantin en 313, qui le leur interdit. Au Proche-Orient, le royaume yéménite Himyar se convertit officiellement au judaïsme à la fin du IIIème siècle. Les Falashas d'Ethiopie, au-delà des mythes rêvés de leurs origines, sont à rapprocher, selon les résultats des études génétiques et de l'archéologie, de l'influence sabéenne, que le royaume d'Axoum concrétise à partir du Ier siècle av. J.C. L'intégration et le prosélytisme des juifs dans le monde arabe expliquent l'influence sur la rédaction du Coran qui contient des récits de l'ancien testament et des traditions juives locales, notamment de Médine (Amir-Moezzi, Dye, 2019).

Les Khazars sont un autre exemple d'une population nomade d'origine turco-mongole, venue s'installer entre Mer Noire et Caspienne, entre 650 et 850. Entre le christianisme de l'empire Byzantin et de la Kievskaia Rous' d'une part et l'Islam de l'empire arabe d'autre part, ils se convertissent vers 750 au judaïsme devenu religion d'état. Cela n'en fait pas pour autant les ancêtres

de tous les juifs ashkénazes d'Europe centrale (prônée entre autres par Arthur Koestler dans son livre *«la treizième tribu »* (Koestler, 2008)). Il n'y a guère de trace des ashkénazes pendant le haut Moyen-âge. L'existence de communautés juives romaines installées dans l'environnement des légions romaines à la frontière du Rhin et du Danube et commerçant avec elles, est l'hypothèse la plus probable mais rencontre un problème démographique si l'on compare les estimations de populations entre le IV° siècle et le XI° siècle. Pendant presque 7 siècles, nous ignorons presque tout des processus d'adaptation de ces communautés à la fin de l'empire romain, aux grandes invasions et aux premiers royaumes barbares. Nous connaissons mieux leur déplacement progressif à partir du XIII° siècle vers l'Europe centrale puis vers l'Europe orientale dans l'accueillante Pologne. Et nous ne connaissons le yiddish qu'à partir du X° siècle comme langue du haut-allemand créolisée par l'hébreu, l'araméen et l'ancien français puis à partir du XIV° siècle par la langue slave. Enfin, une étude génétique semblent montrer une présence réelle mais faible de gènes khazars, qui correspondait à des migrations de restes de population khazars attestées en Europe centrale au moment de la destruction du royaume Khazar (Nebel *et al.* 2005). L'expulsion des juifs d'Espagne, en 1492, marque l'arrivée des Séfarades en Europe orientale via l'empire ottoman. Ainsi, à Lvov, dans l'actuelle Ukraine, les séfarades s'installent au milieu du XVI° siècle dans une ville où la communauté ashkénaze est déjà présente depuis le milieu du XIII° siècle, non sans conflits entre eux.

— **La diaspora des Arméniens** (8,5 millions en diaspora, 3,3 millions en Arménie ex-soviétique et 160 000 dans le Haut-Karabagh)

La première diaspora arménienne est une conséquence de l'invasion des Turcs seldjoukides (Manzikert, 1071) puis des Mongols en 1220. Elle est favorisée par le contact avec les états d'Occident qui découvrent cette nation chrétienne au moment des croisades

(1095-1291) et sur laquelle ils peuvent s'appuyer. C'est dans ce contexte que se crée le royaume arménien de Cilicie (1080-1375). A sa chute, 30 000 arméniens émigrent alors à Chypre, dont les Lusignan sont les rois, puis sous domination vénitienne jusqu'en 1571. Les Arméniens vont alors progressivement jouer un rôle dans le commerce à travers la méditerranée. Ils s'installent à Lvov, au moment de sa fondation en 1256, à la demande du prince de Galicie, Daniel. Ils s'installent en Crimée à Caffa, pendant la période génoise qui s'achève en 1475, et sont encore présents à l'arrivée des Russes en 1783. A la chute de Candie, possession vénitienne en Crête de 1212 à 1669, ils répondent à la demande de Colbert pour s'installer à Marseille (« Chofelins »), où ils développent le commerce des cotonnades (indiennes).

La deuxième diaspora est due aux premiers pogroms dans l'Empire Ottoman, à Istanbul. En 1894-1896, les massacres hamidiens du nom du sultan Abdül Hamid II, surnommé « le sultan rouge » pour cette raison, fit 200 000 victimes et 100 000 réfugiés. En 1909, les massacres de Cilicie, notamment à Adana, font trente mille victimes et cent mille sans abris, tout le quartier arménien d'Adana ayant été pillé et brûlé par trente mille miliciens aidés par les troupes gouvernementales, malgré l'arrivée des marines occidentales. Le génocide de 1915 (cf. supra) terminera le processus dont les rescapés seront le flux essentiel de la diaspora arménienne.

— **La diaspora des Roms** (8 à 10 millions dans le monde)

La diaspora des Roms n'est pas à proprement parler une diaspora, puisque les Roms sont l'exception d'une population nomade dont l'origine linguistique est située aux Indes, dans l'Uttar Pradesh. Les études génétiques ont confirmé cette origine, estimant leur départ il y a environ 1 000 ou 1 500 ans. La créolisation de la langue met en évidence l'itinéraire parcouru jusqu'en Europe, dont les premières traces sont avérées au XV° siècle. Ils se seraient mis au service des Mongols, dont ils dressaient les chevaux et

ceux-ci les ont amenés jusqu'en Europe, en Anatolie, en Perse et dans l'empire byzantin,

— **La diaspora chinoise**

La diaspora chinoise est le résultat de processus complexes dans le temps et dans l'espace qui ne se laisse pas résumer en quelques phrases. Nous avons précédemment évoqué la migration austro-nésienne dans les iles du pacifique et de l'océan indien à partir de Taiwan qui a débuté il y a 6 000 ans. Aux périodes historiques, des vagues de migrations sont connues au Moyen-âge, au temps de la dynastie Song (960-1279), liées au commerce dans la mer de Chine méridionale, avec la péninsule indochinoise qui avait débuté à l'époque du royaume Funan entre le Ier et le VIème siècle, où les commerçants chinois commencèrent à s'installer. Au XV° siècle, sous les Ming, les réseaux maritimes chinois dominèrent le commerce en Asie du Sud-est avec les fameuses sept expéditions de l'amiral Zheng He entre 1405 et 1433, qui ouvrirent le commerce avec les marchands musulmans de l'océan indien. Puis arrivent par la voie maritime les Occidentaux à partir du XVI° siècle : Portugais (Canton, Macao), Espagnols (Manille), Hollandais (Java, Taiwan), ouvrant l'ère d'un commerce international.

C'est à partir de 1840, que la décadence du régime impérial et la pression occidentale, entre le traité de Nankin de 1842 et la proclamation de la république de Chine en 1912, va accélérer considérablement l'émigration chinoise.

1,5 millions de Chinois vont émigrer à Singapour (où ils représentent aujourd'hui 2,5 millions de personnes soit 75% de la population totale) et dans les plantations et mines des colonies en Asie du Sud-est. La diaspora chinoise y est forte : Thaïlande (6 millions soit 10%), Philippines (5 millions soit 8%), Birmanie (2 millions soit 4%), Brunei (55 000 soit 16%), Malaisie (2 millions soit 8% majoritaires dans les grandes villes). A partir de 1868, l'immigration s'ouvre sur la côte ouest des Etats-Unis et du Canada, attirée par les ruées vers l'or et la construction des

lignes de chemin de fer (coolies), et au Pérou pour la récolte du guano. Dans le monde indopacifique, les communautés chinoises tiennent généralement le petit-commerce, l'import-export, la finance et les professions libérales, avec des implantations fortes dans les villes et regroupés dans des quartiers chinois (china-towns). La diaspora chinoise représente aujourd'hui 40 millions de personnes dans le monde (figure 12).
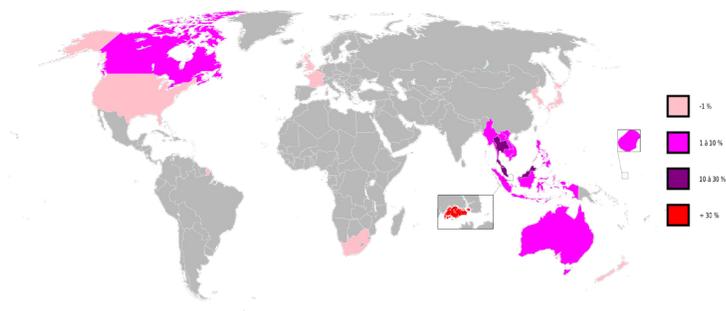

Figure 12

— La diaspora des Basques

Les Basques, qui sont 2,65 millions de personnes en Espagne et en France, possèdent une diaspora importante, probablement liée au droit d'ainesse qui le fait seul héritier du patrimoine familial et qui a poussé les cadets, profitant de la conquête espagnole, à une constante émigration depuis le XVI° siècle (figure 13). Elle représente 4,5 millions d'individus en Amérique du Sud et au Mexique. Ce sont en Argentine, 10%, en Uruguay, 14%, et au Chili, 21% de la population totale qui aurait des origines basques. Ils ont également migré en 1849, en Californie, dans le contexte de la ruée vers l'or de 1849.

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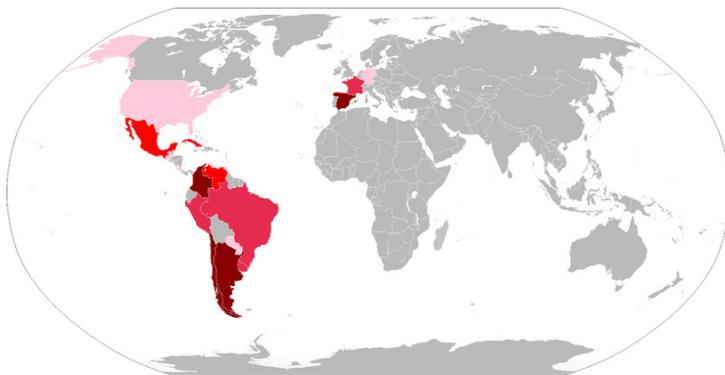
Figure 13

— La diaspora des Irlandais

La Grande famine d'Irlande (1846-1851) est liée à l'arrivée de la maladie du mildiou de la pomme de terre, qui était la base des ressources alimentaires de la population. Malgré la chute brutale des rendements, la production a continué à être exportée vers l'Angleterre, provoquant une famine qui fit 1 million de victimes et 2 millions de migrants. L'émigration resta structurelle et la population passa de 8 millions en 1846 à 4,4 millions en 1911 (figure 14). La plupart des Irlandais ont émigré dans des pays anglophones comme les États-Unis, le Canada, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, soit environ 6,4 millions de personnes. De nos jours, environ 80 à 100 millions de personnes à travers le monde dont 36 millions aux États-Unis déclarent avoir des origines irlandaises.
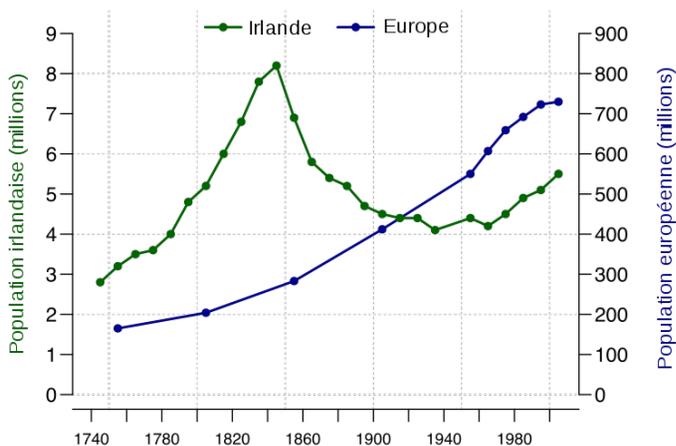
Figure 14

Cette épiphytie a également concerné les Highlands écossais, et a entrainé un exode de 1,7 millions de personnes qui quittent l'Ecosse, entre 1846 et 1857, pour le Canada et l'Australie.

— La diaspora des Italiens

À partir de la fin des années 1880, l'Italie connaît notamment une grave période de crise économique. Entre 1876 et 1900, plus de 220 000 départs annuels d'Italiens sont déjà dénombrés. Le taux migratoire moyen va s'élever progressivement et atteindre en 1913 près de 875 000 départs. De 1900 à 1915, ce sont plus de 8 millions d'Italiens qui quittent leur pays. Ils émigrent d'abord au sein de l'Europe industrielle (France, Belgique, Allemagne). Mais plus de 50% des départs se font également vers l'Amérique, principalement les États-Unis, le Brésil et l'Argentine. 30 millions de personnes au Brésil, 28 millions en Argentine, 1 million en Uruguay, 18 millions aux Etats-Unis ont des ascendants italiens. En 1945, la reconstruction de l'Europe entraine l'émigration de 3 millions d'Italiens vers la France, l'Allemagne et la Belgique.

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— La diaspora des Ukrainiens

La diaspora des Ukrainiens est une conséquence des répressions de la culture ukrainienne à partir de la domination russe du XVIII° siècle, sous Pierre le Grand et Catherine II., qui atteindront des sommets avec la politique de russification d'Alexandre II et d'Alexandre III et la période soviétique. C'est à l'Ouest de l'Ukraine, à Lvov (Lemberg), dans la Galicie sous le contrôle tolérant de l'Autriche-Hongrie à partir de 1772 lors du second partage de la Pologne, que cette culture ukrainienne va se conserver et se transmettre dans l'Ukraine sous domination russe.

L'occupation allemande en 1918, la guerre civile, l'Holodomor, la terreur stalinienne, l'occupation nazi, la victoire des armées soviétiques, les luttes des partisans ukrainiens jusqu'en 1954, allaient provoquer autant d'émigrations.

Les estimations donnent une diaspora de 1,2 million de personnes d'origine ukrainienne au Canada, 890 000 aux États-Unis, 500 000 au Brésil, 300 000 en Argentine, sans compter ceux qui vivent dans les anciennes républiques soviétiques (1 million). Des communautés importantes vivent en Europe (1 million), soient environ 5 millions d'émigrés. En outre, plus de trois millions d'Ukrainiens travaillent à l'étranger de façon permanente avec un permis de travail, plus sept à neuf millions de travailleurs qui s'exilent régulièrement pour quelques mois par an, essentiellement en Europe, grâce aux facilités de visa obtenues. Ce dernier point est plus général et révèle une faiblesse des sociétés postsoviétiques dont le faible niveau d'investissement, le taux élevé de corruption et des régimes politiques qualifiés souvent de démocratures, démoralisent les jeunes diplômés et les jeunes travailleurs et les motivent à émigrer vers les démocraties occidentales.

14. Les acculturations

L'acculturation du dominé par le dominant et dans plusieurs cas du dominant par le dominé est une conséquence des invasions et des migrations.

L'exemple de Rome, faisant la conquête des royaumes hellénistiques, mais les Grecs acculturant les Romains, était souligné par P. Grimal en 1960 dans la *« Civilisation romaine »* (Grimal, 1960) : *« la Grèce conquise avait conquis son farouche vainqueur »*. Pour P. Veyne, l'hellénisation de Rome lui donne une justification idéologique pour ses conquêtes militaires en apportant la civilisation romaine aux barbares.

L'acculturation par l'Empire byzantin, qui se traduit par l'adoption du droit romain, de la culture grecque ancienne et de la religion chrétienne, connu un réel succès sur les populations slaves (Kievskaia Rous' ; Serbes) et slavisées (Bulgares). Après la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453, ces populations se considèreront comme les héritières de Byzance, et n'auront de cesse, après avoir surmonté l'invasion mongole, et libéré les Balkans, de reconquérir Constantinople, ce qui a failli être fait par l'armée russe en 1878 si l'Angleterre ne s'en était pas mêlée. Telle était également en 1844 l'objet de la Grande Idée (« Μεγάλη Ιδέα ») d'une Grèce ayant pour capitale Constantinople et centrée autour de la Mer Egée, rêve perdu au traité de Lausanne en 1923.

La colonisation de l'Afrique par les puissances européennes entraina une acculturation des populations africaines, qui se traduisit par l'adoption des langues européennes, du droit européen, de l'administration européenne et l'évangélisation dans les zones non encore soumises à l'Islam. Après la décolonisation, la résilience de cette acculturation, dans le cadre de la Françafrique et du Commonwealth, est forte. Sur les 300 millions de locuteurs francophones dans le monde, 85% sont africains.

Le cas de la russophonie se pose dans des termes voisins, dans l'empire russe au XIX° siècle comme dans l'Union soviétique au XX° siècle, dans les républiques soviétiques et dans les pays du

bloc communiste après 1945. Comme l'avait énoncé J. Staline, lui-même en 1950 dans les colonnes de la Pravda, condamnant alors la théorie marxiste stadiale de la langue de N. Marr, la langue russe s'imposait parce qu'elle avait gagné la deuxième guerre mondiale et non pas parce qu'elle était le stade ultime socialiste de l'évolution stadiale des langues. Ce processus russophone s'est arrêté en 1991 et a commencé à refluer sous l'effet de la faible démographie russe et des réactions nationales en Asie centrale, en Ukraine, dans le Caucase et dans les pays baltes. Dans les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale du bloc soviétique, l'usage de la langue russe est remplacé par l'anglais chez les nouvelles générations, et sa disparition sera rapide (Robert, 2004).

L'acculturation anglo-saxonne du monde moderne commence au XIX° siècle avec l'empire victorien (et l'abandon du français comme langue diplomatique et aristocratique de l'Europe) et s'accentue au XX° siècle avec le rôle joué par les Etats-Unis comme *« gendarme du monde »*. Elle se manifeste par l'usage devenu universel de la langue anglaise, par la promotion des principes démocratiques et par le soutien à des valeurs sociétales nord-américaines, facilitée par la diffusion des technologies modernes tout au long du XX° siècle (automobile, avion, équipement électroménager, téléphonie, ordinateurs, réseaux, Internet, réseaux sociaux, etc.), des contenus (films, programmes de télévision, musique, clips) et des symboles de modernisme *(« américanisation »)*.

15. Les migrations contemporaines

Les migrations contemporaines présentent des nouveaux traits, caractéristiques du monde actuel : complexité systémique, surdensité démographique, mondialisation, nouvelles guerres de religions, conflits gelés, terrorisme, corruption, changement climatique, etc. (note 1)

— Réfugiés pour persécutions ethniques, religieuses, régimes politiques, guerres civiles

Le nombre de refugiés ne semble jamais avoir été aussi important pour une période de paix comme celle que nous vivons depuis 1945 (Forcade, Nivet, 2007). Ils proviennent d'instabilités structurelles dans les états issus de la décolonisation, dans les sociétés postsoviétiques, dans la radicalisation du monde islamique, dans le réveil de la Chine, dans les effets secondaires de la mondialisation et dans les conséquences des croissances démographiques incontrôlées en rapport avec la révolution sanitaire, la disponibilité des ressources alimentaires et le marché de l'emploi pour les jeunes dans des états indépendants de fraiche date. La guerre civile syrienne, au cours de laquelle sont intervenus financièrement et militairement de nombreux acteurs a entrainé l'émigration de plus de 4 millions de personnes qui ont été accueillis dans seulement cinq pays limitrophes du Proche-Orient (Turquie, Liban, Jordanie, Irak, Egypte). Une partie d'entre eux pénètrent en Europe en 2015, créant une crise migratoire qui se terminera par l'accueil de 350 000 personnes environ dans l'espace européen (figure 15).

Figure 15

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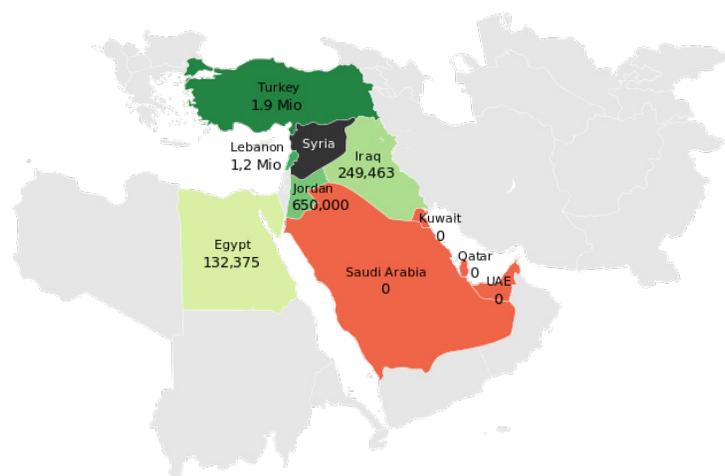
— Exode rural vers l'urbain

L'exode rural a commencé au XIX° siècle dans les payas euro-péens, en liens avec les progrès de l'agriculture et facilitant les débuts de l'industrialisation. Il s'est accéléré au XX° siècle avec la mécanisation de l'agriculture. Il affecte les pays en voie de déve-loppement dans la seconde moitié du XX° siècle, accéléré par leur croissance démographique rapide et les besoins en main d'œuvre industrielle, entrainant des implantations en banlieues des villes (et notamment les villes européennes faisant appel à l'immigra-tion) et favorisant en corollaire le retour d'un islam pratiquant (Kepel, 1987).

— Effet domino de la main d'œuvre transfrontalière et frontalière

La mondialisation a eu comme un effet secondaire le déplacement de main d'œuvre d'un pays à l'autre suivant un gradient de salaire. Le « problème » du « plombier polonais », symbole du dumping social en Europe, est en fait une question mondiale quand le « plombier » ukrainien travaille en Pologne et que le « plombier » turkmène travaille en Ukraine permettant ainsi au « plombier » français de travailler en Suisse! Pour l'activité frontalière dans la communauté européenne, les principaux pays d'accueil sont le Luxembourg, la Suisse, Monaco, l'Allemagne et les principaux pays fournisseurs, la France, la Belgique, l'Italie pour une estima-tion d'environ 380 000 personnes franchissant quotidiennement la frontière pour travailler (statistiques de la communauté euro-péenne pour les années 1990). Il existe une autre main d'œuvre transfrontalière, qui concerne les personnes qui quittent tempo-rairement leur pays avec un visa de courte durée pour travailler dans un pays voisin.

—Travail saisonnier

Le travail saisonnier s'applique à des emplois de courte durée du fait même de la nature du travail : récolte agricole ou horticole saisonnière, tourisme d'été ou d'hiver, périodes de fêtes, festivals, épreuves sportives, animation culturelle, artistes, etc.

— Flux d'étudiants

Dès le XIX° siècle, les flux d'étudiants à destination des pays ayant un enseignement universitaire développé ont commencé à devenir significatifs, ayant un double effet positif pour les pays envoyant leurs étudiants pour former leurs élites et des spécialistes et pour les pays les accueillant créant des réseaux à long terme. La France, l'Allemagne, le Royaume-Uni, puis à partir de 1950, les Etats-Unis, et pendant la guerre froide, l'Union soviétique pour les pays communistes amis, ont été ces pays d'accueil d'étudiants. Le projet Erasmus de la communauté européenne, où les étudiants font un parcours universitaire dans plusieurs pays européens, a connu un grand succès. Un site Internet de l'Unesco fournit les flux d'étudiants, pays par pays. La Chine envoie 1 millions d'étudiants à l'étranger, principalement aux Etats-Unis, en Angleterre, en Australie, au Canada, au Japon et en Corée. La Russie reçoit 300 000 étudiants venant des anciennes républiques de l'Union soviétique. L'Arabie saoudite envoie 70 000 étudiants principalement aux Etats-Unis et en Angleterre et en reçoit autant des pays du Proche-Orient (http://uis.unesco.org/fr/uis-student-flow).

— Fuite des cerveaux

La fuite des cerveaux désigne les flux migratoires de chercheurs, de scientifiques et plus généralement de personnes à haut-niveau de qualification ou d'études universitaires, qui s'installent à l'étranger pour trouver de meilleures conditions de vie, de salaires et de travail. Ce flux est estimé actuellement à 5 à 10 millions de personnes par an et le nombre total des migrations s'élève à 230 millions en 2014. Les pays les plus affectés sont les pays à faible

PIB, les pays totalitaires et les pays à niveau de corruption élevée qui poussent les jeunes générations à l'exil, et dont le diplôme facilite le départ (Bernard-Grouteau, 2007).

16. Conclusions

La croissance exponentielle de la population humaine des douze derniers mille ans, passant d'environ 1 millions à plus de 7 milliards d'individus explique l'évolution et les différences des mécanismes de migrations.

Les premières migrations furent celles de la diffusion de l'espèce humaine, des chasseurs-cueilleurs, sur la planète, liées aux cycles des climats. Puis vint la révolution de l'agriculture et de l'élevage, dont les multiples foyers profitèrent du climat exceptionnel de l'Holocène humide, pour initialiser un processus de contrôle progressif de l'humanité sur son environnement et sur ses espèces animales et végétales. La recherche des meilleurs environnements et les variations climatiques de l'Holocène entrainèrent de nouvelles migrations et des rencontres avec les sociétés résilientes de chasseurs-cueilleurs. Puis arriva le développement du nomadisme pastoral avec l'aridification du climat. La croissance démographique, la densité d'occupation des territoires et la fragilité des sociétés agropastorales face aux aléas météorologiques, aux variations climatiques et aux épidémies allaient créer une instabilité déjà à partir du IV° millénaire av. J.C. mais surtout à partir de la fin du III° millénaire, à l'origine de migrations régulières de populations nomades venant d'Asie, qui ne prirent fin qu'au XV° siècle, qui entraina l'effondrement des premiers Etats comme des premiers Empires.

Ces migrations, aussi violentes furent-elles par les massacres et les esclavages qui en résultèrent, entrainèrent des brassages dans les populations que les études paléogénétiques commencent à nous retracer, démontrant que les ethnogenèses sont plus culturelles que génétiques. Ces ethnogenèses, par ses cycles répétitifs de tolérance et d'interdits des traditions culturelles (langues,

religions, coutumes, savoir-faire) entrainant renaissances et répressions, sont à l'origine d'uniformisations contraintes mais aussi de nettoyages ethniques et de génocides, aboutissant dans le moins pire des cas à des migrations et à des diasporas.

A l'opposé, une toute autre migration est celle liée au commerce international qui, pour la bonne marches des affaires, requiert la paix (qui, dans un contexte de guerre quasiment permanente aux périodes historiques, semble l'exception), la tolérance des différences, la pratique des langues des autres et le respect de leurs coutumes et de leurs religions. Celle-ci constitue des têtes de ponts à travers les continents, accueillant les diasporas, jusqu'à être victimes elles-mêmes de nouvelles ethnogenèses.

La mondialisation des empires qui était encore limitée à des parties de continents jusqu'au XVI° siècle (Empire perse, empire romain, empire arabe, empire mongole, Chine), devint progressivement planétaire avec la circumnavigation des Européens, qui constituèrent à partir du XVIII° siècle de nouveaux empires à travers les océans. Il s'ensuivit des guerres, des épidémies, des émigrations européennes et une amplification de l'esclavage qui s'était restreint au monde arabo-musulman pendant plusieurs siècles, et auquel la colonisation européenne du continent africain mit un terme à la fin du XIX° siècle.

La montée des nationalismes dans le XIX° siècle européen déstabilisa les empires qui s'effondrèrent créant de nouveaux Etats-nations aux frontières incertaines qui allaient provoquer à la fin du XIX° siècle et au XX° siècle des migrations conséquences de génocides et de nettoyages ethniques. L'apogée du communisme entre 1920 et 1990 allait quant à lui provoquer les mêmes conséquences condamnant cette fois l'appartenance à des classes sociales à éradiquer plutôt que l'ethnie, la langue ou la religion.

Depuis 1945, la planète enregistre une croissance démographique rapide liée aux progrès sanitaires et à l'absence de conflits mondiaux (remplacés par des conflits locaux et des guerres civiles non moins meurtriers et aboutissant à des émigrations). Les ethnogenèses, désormais principalement religieuses se sont même

amplifiées. La mondialisation économique aboutit à une compé-
tition qui favorise le pouvoir d'achat de la population mondiale
au détriment des activités moins compétitives et des activités à
faible valeur ajoutée et à salaires élevés, créant chômage, pertes
d'activités industrielles, balance des paiements négative, inflation
et endettement des Etats, jusqu'à ce que le gradient des salaires
et le coût des transports s'équilibrent. Enfin, la corruption, qui
gangrène la vie économique et sociale des Etats, pousse les élites
à l'émigration, qui est démultipliée dans les états de non-droit.
Ces phénomènes entrainent la volonté d'une partie de la popula-
tion mondiale à rechercher dans états démocratiques qu'elle pense
prospères et stables sur le long terme, une espérance de vie qu'elle
ne trouve plus dans leur pays d'origine.

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Note 1 :

Le lecteur retrouvera de nombreux articles et dossiers à thèmes concernant les migrations contemporaines dans la revue sociologique : « *Revue internationale des migrations européennes* » (37 volumes depuis 1985)

Légendes des figures

Figure 1—Expansion austronésienne dans les iles de l'océan pacifique et de l'océan indien (d'après P. Bellwood)

Figure 2—Colonisation néolithique de l'Europe

Figure 3—Le Caucase : un refuge d'ethnies et un conservatoire des langues

Figure 4—Les refuges celtes après l'invasion des Angles, des Jutes et des Saxons

Figure 5—Passé et présent des Aïnous dans l'archipel japonais

Figure 6—Réserves amérindiennes aux USA (Bureau des Affaires Indiennes, USA)

Figure 7—Les grandes invasions en Europe de 150 à 500 ap. J.C.

Figure 8—L'expansion Viking (VIII°-XI° siècle)

Figure 9—L'extermination des Cimbres et des Teutons par les légions romaines

Figure 10—La traite arabo-musulmane en Afrique

Figure 11—Les comptoirs grecs de la Mer Noire

Figure 12—La diaspora chinoise

Figure 13—La diaspora basque

Figure 14—L'effondrement de la population irlandaise après la grande famine de 1846, à l'origine de la grande émigration

Figure 15—Les réfugiés syriens au Proche-Orient

Secularism and Multiculturalism:
Interrelated Political Challenges

BY TARIQ MODOOD

Secularism and Multiculturalism:
Interrelated Political Challenges

TARIQ MODOOD

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There may be various reasons to rethink political secularism but in my view the most significant today, certainly in Western Europe, is what I understand as the multiculturalist challenge. It is clear West European states are now highly exercised by the challenges posed by post-immigration ethno-religious diversity and that the new Muslim settlements of the last fifty years or so are at the centre of it. This forces new thinking, not only about questions of social integration but also about the role of religion in relation to the state and citizenship. Accordingly, a fundamental issue that many thought had long been settled re-emerges with new vitality and controversy, namely political secularism, especially as it articulates with questions of tolerance, recognition, and governance. My own contribution to the climate of 're-thinking secularism' has been to argue that what is sometimes talked about as the 'post-secular' or a 'crisis of secularism' is, in Western Europe, quite crucially to do with the reality of *multiculturalism*. By which I mean not just the fact of new ethno-religious diversity but the presence of a multiculturalist approach to this diversity: the idea that equality must be extended from uniformity of treatment to include respect for difference; recognition of public/ private interdependence rather than dichotomized as in classical

liberalism; the public recognition and institutional accommoda-
tion of minorities; the reversal of marginalisation and a remaking
of national citizenship so that all can have a sense of belonging to
it. This multiculturalist challenge, at one time seen to go with the
flow of liberalism – of human rights, racial equality, decomposi-
tion of collectivities such as the nation – is properly understood as
requiring not just the reform and extension of liberal democratic
institutions but a re-thinking of liberalism (Levey 2019). Equally,
the question arises, with greater and greater force, what impli-
cation does the emergence of this ethnoreligious socio-political
complex have for political secularism (indeed for secular institu-
tions such as workplaces, schools, hospitals, universities etc more
generally). These are the themes of my *Essays on Secularism and
Multiculturalism (2019)*.

In them, the first step of my argument is to show that
Islamophobia is a form of cultural racism, the next step is to show
that anti-racism, whether in terms of difference-blind neutral
liberal state or in terms of active de-Othering, is not enough.
We need a conception of equal citizenship that brings together
the equality of same treatment with the equality of respect for
difference, in short, a multiculturalism. Combining a sociology
of cultural racism, an analysis of a number of West European
political controversies involving Muslims and a political theory
of multiculturalism I show that equal citizenship requires a
difference-sensitive accommodation of Muslim and other reli-
gious identities and that this means revisiting and rethinking
the concept of political secularism. I distinguish between the US
religious-freedom based separation of church and state, a French
style marginalisation of organised religion in the public space and,
thirdly, what I argue is the dominant mode of political secularism
in western Europe. I call this 'moderate secularism' and I elab-
orate its norms in the way of a Weberian ideal type or contex-
tualised political theory, demonstrating that it does not consist
of a separation of religion and the state. It in fact includes state
recognition of and state support for religion (eg., all the states of

the EU, including France, fund specific faith schools or instruct specific Christian faiths in state schools: Stepan 2011: 217) but insists that religious authority must not control political authority. In giving primacy to liberal democratic constitutionalism it marries a conception of religious freedom with an understanding that religion can be a public good - or harm - and that the state may need to assist it in achieving that good. I argue that Muslims can be and should be accommodated within moderate secularism; and to do so is to achieve an egalitarian integration, a multiculturalised secularism.

Religion and Multicutural Accommodation

How in Western Europe groups and controversies defined in terms of race or foreignness came to be redefined in terms of religion and how the accommodation of Muslims came to be the dominant issue in relation to multiculturalism has now been well established (Modood, 2005 and 2007/2013). Part I of my *Essays* probes further this trajectory of racialisation in relation to issues such as Islamophobia, hate speech and Muslim assertiveness. The rest of the book looks at how these controversies have a multiculturalist aspect and as such have stimulated debates about what was thought to be the dead topic of secularism; and also reflect a little on the modes of analysis I deploy.

This identarian thrust of anti-racism, besides showing the religious roots of anti-racism in the US in the third quarter of the twentieth century, and the influence of that movement in Britain, is however critical to the emergence and development of multiculturalism. Whilst Canada's state multiculturalism and the contribution of its illustrious political theorists such as Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka, James Tully and Joe Carens is, with good reason, often cited as a beacon of multiculturalism, in Britain the African-American influence is stronger. It gave to British multiculturalism its bottoms-up and anti-racist character which is not so evident in, say, Canada or Australia, where in both cases

multiculturalism was largely led by European-origin white ethnic minority lobbies and elite policymakers (Uberoi 2009 and 2016, Levey 2008, Modood 2022).[90]

This is partly because group identities are not just a 'multi' but groups can shift from say a race to a religion focus, or fuse foci, for example by combining ethnicity and religion. Moreover, religion itself is of course a multi-dimensional activity. For example, there is scripture, doctrine, worship, organisation, codes of living, community, art, architecture and so on. The multiculturalist interest is centred on an ethnoreligious identity group that needs to be protected against racism and whose practices and symbols need to be accommodated in a respectful way in the public culture and institutions of a country in which currently they are marginalised or not recognised as part of that country. A good example of such an ethnoreligious group which has been subject to racialisation are the Jews. Jews could be understood to be followers of a religion, Judaism, but 'follow' here clearly cannot mean to believe in and strictly adhere to its rules. Many proud, self-defined Jews who are recognised as Jews by fellow Jews, as well as non-Jews, are atheists and/or do not participate in approved collective worship and/or do not follow the rules of living such as keep a kosher kitchen or cover their heads appropriately. Indeed, it is perhaps better to think of Jews as a people with a religion, such that peoplehood and religion mutually inform each other, with religion a characteristic or a possession of a people, not of individuals per se. So, while Jews would not be the people that they are without Judaism, not every individual Jew has to be religious in order to be a Jew. Moreover, there can be sources of Jewish identity other

[90] Relatedly, it meant that British multiculturalism was built on and incorporated a prior focus on socio-economic issues, especially on racial disadvantage and social mobility. A happy consequence was that few in Britain thought socio-economic integration and ethnocultural accommodation were rival policy programmes as in the Netherlands, where the initial culturalist accommodation was abandoned in favour of socio-economic integration, as if one could only have one or the other. It has recently been argued that Norway too is exhibiting a bottoms up multiculturalist struggle (Stokke 2019).

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than those that are the strictly religious, such as the Holocaust as a memory of a people or a collective commitment to the state of Israel. I hasten to add I am talking of a socio-political understanding of Jews, including the self-understanding of many Jews, not an understanding internal to Judaism. I am aware that different branches of Judaism have their own and differing criteria for defining who is a Jew and that the differing criteria are a matter of great religious and – in so far as it pertains to the state of Israel – political dispute, both amongst different branches of Judaism and between them and non-religious Jews.

As with Jews, so similarly with Muslims (and Hindus, Sikhs and so on, albeit not discussed here). Various Islamic schools and sects have their own view on what is expected of a Muslim and while they have some influence on how Muslims will decide who is and is not a fellow Muslim, as in the Jewish case, that is not decisive. Muslims also relate to each other as family members, as a community, as a political unity against Islamophobia or for justice for Palestinians, where non-religious Muslims, as long as they are not conspicuously anti-Islam, are taken to be Muslims. Muslims, in my book, are primarily understood in this way, namely as a people or ethnic groups with a religion, Islam, without any assumption that all individuals are religious or that the unity of the group is exclusively religious. In recognising they are a group or a people we do not need to assume an exaggerated unity, just as in talking of black people in Britain or as an Atlantic diaspora we do not. Indeed, in thinking with my chosen category, 'ethnoreligious', we not only make explicit that we are talking about people not simply doctrines or organised religion, these just being a feature of the people, as in my example of the Jews, not exhaustive of the category. We also have a tool for recognising internal variation, especially in terms of ethnic group aspects. For example, many British Muslim parents have a strong preference that their children marry a Muslim. In communicating this to their offspring, whether they are aware or not, they are likely to assume 'Muslim' means a specific ethnicity: for example, Pakistani

parents may feel that their off-spring have not understood them if one of them introduces a Somali Muslim as a prospective partner. The parents' image of a Muslim – at least in a context like this – is likely to be an ethnoreligious one, namely of a Pakistani Muslim. This ethnic dimension can be found at the very heart of the religion. Of the more than 1,100 mosques in Britain for which data are available, the large majority are mainly mono-ethnic and less than five percent have a multi-ethnic management committee (Naqshbandi 2017).

Thinking of groups such as Jews and Muslims as ethnoreligious has another advantage in that these terms do not just describe religiosity or people in terms of religion. They are groups who are racialised as a homogeneous, single group with uniform characteristics (sometimes this refers to a biological appearance but it does not have to (Modood 2005). This is done because the group in question is perceived to be a threat or inferior or simply exotic; and each of these can be the basis for discrimination and unfavourable treatment of members of the group.

This complicates the phenomenon of racism. For example, Asian Muslims suffer from colour racism. But they also suffer from cultural racism. The perception of such Muslims, whether it be in some hard-core racist discourses, such as those of the British National Party, or implicit in the wider British society, is that their defects lie deep in their culture rather than in a biology that produces their culture. This means that Asian Muslims, more than, say, black Britons, suffer a double racism. This does not mean that they suffer more racism—such as harassment, discrimination, and institutional exclusion—than blacks. That is a complex empirical question, and one would have to be sensitive to the fact that the answer may vary by class, age, gender, geography, social arena, and so on. I think that systematic research of this sort would indeed show that the racism against Asian Muslims has been underestimated since at least the 1960s. My point is that research of this kind requires a conceptualization of racism that

includes cultural racism as well as colour racism and an understanding that Asians suffer a double or a compound racism.[91]

Racialised groups should be protected against incitement to hatred. The latter involves not just the danger of immediate violence, but the production as well of a climate of opinion or emotions, or the exploitation of that climate; not just the arousal of certain hatreds in the dominant group but also a fear and humiliation in the victim group that can lead in turn to conflict and violence. Whilst the purpose of such laws is to protect people not religious beliefs, the people in question may be people marked by religious identity: Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland, Jews and Muslims in Britain. It is evident that some Muslims are connected to aspects of their faith with such deep emotion that disrespectful attacks upon it will cause them the kind of distress that is caused to other groups by reference to (say) images of black bestiality or by holocaust-denial (Modood 1993). Add to this a set of domestic and geopolitical circumstances in which these Muslims – and here we might include as well Muslims who are less intense in their religion – feel that they are being targeted and harassed as culturally backward, as disloyal and as terrorists, in short as not belonging to, say, Britain, as unwanted and under threat. Does this not explain the explosions of protest, anger and violence sparked by *The Satanic Verses*, for example, or to the cartoons of the prophet Muhammad published in the Danish newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten* (Modood et al 2006, Levey and Modood, 2009)? Such cases may or may not be caught by a suitably framed law, but thinking about such vivid examples is necessary to understand what should be prohibited and what should be censured. Indeed, censure is important for those who, like myself, want to limit the use of law here. To rule out legal restrictions *and* censure is to leave minorities friendless and risk

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[91] It should be clear that arguing that some groups suffer more racism and related disadvantages than others is quite different from an a priori 'hierarchy of oppression' argument (Modood 2021).

developing violent responses today and deep-seated divisions for the long term (*Essays* chapter 3).

Religion and Secularist Accommodation

The emergence of the non-racial forms of minority identity asser-tiveness that I mentioned in the last section was not anticipated or welcomed by British (or European) politicians or sociology. Similarly, just as the sociology of race for some time had a poor and distorted understanding of the identities of Muslims and the kinds of exclusion they experience in the West – a 'misrecogni-tion' of an ethnoreligious group in terms of race and class - polit-ical theory, including political theory of multiculturalism, has been slow to rise to the occasion (Parekh 1990 and 2006 [2000], Modood 2013 [2007]). If we have to think normatively of the place of religion in a polity and ultimately a multicultural citi-zenship, then existing political theory is not a good place to start because it has too limited a traction with actual liberal democratic secular polities in which the challenge of a multicultural citizen-ship is being exercised. Standardly, theories of political secularism assume that it consists of separation of state and religion and/or state neutrality in relation to religion. Yet, even a cursory glance at what we might take to be secular states shows this to be false. Nearly a third of all western democracies have an official religion and more than half of all 47 democracies in the Polity data-set officially or unoffically give preference to one religion. Indeed, most of the others give preference to more than one religion (Perez and Fox, 2018). So, let us seek greater empirical traction than political theorists usually do by beginning with a minimalist understanding of secularism, namely the view that there are two significant modes of authority, political and religious, and each must be allowed to enjoy a certain autonomy within their own spheres of concern. Each actual political instantiation or norma-tive concept will be more than this but by beginning with this minimalist concept, we will not take a particular interpretation or

set of institutions to exhaust the possibilities that exist. Rather, it enables us to work with the full range of empirical cases without normatively excluding them or misdescribing them empirically.

Even 'autonomy' of spheres is perhaps too strong to cover all the cases we observe in the world, and it is best to just recognise there are two sets of institutions and activities, the political and the religious, each to some extent, sometimes to a limited extent, organises itself in its own way, with its own conception and practice of authority. Specifically, political secularism is the claim that religious authority should not control political authority in the sphere of government, law and citizenship. Note that this understanding of secularism does not give automatic priority to religious freedom, conscience, toleration or democracy. Of course all these are important but for me they are constituent features of liberal democracy and so become features of secularism in a liberal democracy. One such version of secularism, which I identify by a grounded, empirical-normative focus on the institutions and practices of countries like Britain, is what I call 'moderate secularism', and it does indeed give an important place to freedom of religion (chapter 8). Yet, at the same time when one considers the former Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Turkey and even aspects of *laïcité*, one sees that there is no necessary connexion between religious freedom and secularism, and secularists in certain times and places prize secularism above freedom of religion — as in France.

Nor should we attribute liberals' concern to not treat religion as special (Eisgruber and Sager 2009) to secularism. For secularists religion *is* special; their concern to delimit the sphere of religion is not extended to economics, science, the arts and so on but is singularly targeted on religion. Moreover, moderate secularism is characterised by an additional specialness as regards religion. It recognises that religion has a public good (and not just a harm) dimension and this may be supported by the state if it is judged by the state that it assists in bringing out the good. It does not promote the idea of political authority/autonomy in an

anti-religious way, rather it allows organised religion and religious motives to play their part in contributing to the public good. This may be taken to be a form of privileging religion and of course it is. What must be borne in mind is that few if any states uniquely privilege religion. Whether our criteria is the expenditure of tax revenues, management by the government or symbolic status as 'national' or teaching in state schools, most states privilege various sectors of the economy, science and universities, museums, areas of natural beauty, the arts and sport and so on – all matters strictly outside the sphere of political authority. So apart from extreme libertarians and anarchists, most of us rightly have no problem with the idea of state privileging various social activities and judge each case on its merits – what I call 'multiplex privileging' (*Essays*, chapter 10). It may be that we think that religion is unworthy of privileging in some or all of the above ways. Yet that is not the existing political contexts in which multiculturalists are seeking egalitarian inclusion. Moreover, the liberal goal of state neutrality about culture or religion is impossible (Modood 2013 [2007]).[92] Indeed, there is a sense in which the separation of religion and state is not a neutral view about religion; it is a very definite view that favours some religions and attitudes to religion while disfavouring religions that want a partnership with the state. Or, to put it another way, if non-separation of religion and the state is reflective of an ethical-cultural perspective – what following Rawls, is referred to as 'a conception of the good' – then so is its negation, the separation of religion and politics. There may be good arguments for separation but they describe few contemporary states and to pursue separation is not an ethically neutral position. Most liberal democratic states may not choose multiculturalism or to accommodate ethno-religious groups but they are not prevented

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[92] Worth noting is how some political theorists who argue that cultural neutrality on the part of the state is impossible and so support the state endorsement of one language argue that state endorsement of any number of religions is a wrongful breach of neutrality. It is interesting that such discussions usually include reference to Quebec (Kymlicka 2001a; Bouchard and Taylor 2008).

by doing so by their existing form of political secularism. That is my key conclusion here.

Multiculturalist Moderate Secularism

Let me offer two examples of how I think multiculturalism and moderate secularism can be brought together. It is meant to illustrate how the two 'isms' may work together, not be an institutional blueprint to be applied everywhere.[93] It also gives an indication of how I think majority and minority identities can be part of a national framework.

The first example is that of the Church of England, which clearly is an institutionalised feature of England's and Britain's historical identity. This is reflected in symbolic and substantive aspects of the constitution. For example, 26 Anglican bishops sit by virtue of that status in the upper house of the UK legislature, the House of Lords. It is the Archbishop of Canterbury that presides over the installation of a new head of state, namely the coronation of the monarch. I do not see the presence of a state church, such as the 'established' Church of England, as contrary to political secularism[94], as long as it does not impinge upon political authority, is consistent with liberal democratic constitutionalism, and contributes to the advancement of the public good – which in the context of religious diversity includes the promotion of multiculturalism. Given the rapidity of changes that are affecting British national identity, and the way in which religion, sometimes in a divisive way, is making a political reappearance, I think it would be wise not to discard lightly this historic aspect of British identity, which continues to be of importance to many even when few attend Church of England services and when that Church may perhaps have been overtaken by Catholicism

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[93] I show how my key concepts have some traction in relation to Flanders, Belgium in Modood 2017.

[94] Laborde 2018 has also come to the view that a Church of England type of establishment – 'modest establishement' – is compatible with minimal secularism (in Laborde 2013 she argued that it was compatible with a Rawlsian liberalism but not republican liberal secularism).

as the religion with the most participants in the country. Yet, in my advocacy of a multiculturalized Britain I would like to see the Church of England share these constitutional privileges—which should perhaps be extended—with other faiths. However, multiculturalism here does not mean crude "parity". My expectation is that even in the context of an explicit multifaithism the Church of England would enjoy a rightful precedence in the religious representation in the House of Lords and in the coronation of the monarch, and this would not be just a crude majoritarianism but be based on its historical contribution. To this must be added the multiculturalist condition, namely the Church's potential to play a leading role in the fostering and development of a multiculturalist national identity, state and society. Both the historical and the multiculturalist contributions to national identity have a presumptive quality, and usually they qualify each other, yet where they are complementary the case for "establishment" is enhanced and most of all where there is simultaneously a process of inclusion of non-Anglican faith communities.

My second example is about religion in the common school, that is to say, non-denominational state schools.[95] I think multiculturalist moderate secularism should support a compulsory religious education (RE) in which children of all faiths and none are taught about a variety of faith traditions and their past and current effects upon individuals and societies, upon the shaping of humanity, taught to classes comprising those of all religions and of none. Such classes should certainly include the contribution of humanism as well as the atheistic critique of religion and can be combined with ethics. In many countries there are advocates for RE as part of a national curriculum. The main issue in relation to majority precedence is in relation to religious instruction (RI), the induction into a specific faith. Broadly speaking there are two majoritarian possibilities. We have a society where there

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95   I am not here discussing state-funded faith schools, which are common in many European countries. For discussion of such schools and why such funding should be extended to Muslim faith schools, see Meer (2007) and Tinker (2009)

is a majority religion and that alone is allowed as RI, and minorities might be exempted from those classes but no alternative religious instruction is provided. Or secondly, the majority view is that there should be no RI in state schools, as in the USA or in France (except in French state-funded religious schools). Is it fair to impose either of these policies on minorities that do want RI?

That is an appropriate subject for a national dialogue but if after that certain minorities want RI as well as RE, then a truly national system, certainly a multicultural system, must make an effort to accommodate minority RI. In my understanding then, under both the majoritarian possibilities the minorities should have the right to have their religions instructed or worshipped within the national system. On the other hand, minorities do not have the right to stop the majority from including the instruction of their religion. We should not, for example, ask schools to cease Christian RI or worship or celebrating Christmas *because* of the presence of Muslims or Hindus; rather, we should extend the celebrations to include, for example, Eid and Diwali. Such separate classes and faith-specific worship needs to be balanced with an approach that brings all the children together and into dialogue; indeed, without that it would be potentially divisive of the school and of society. But where that is in place, voluntary pursuit of one's own faith or philosophical tradition completes the multiculturalist approach to the place of religion in such schools. Learning together about different faiths, including what they have in common and – separately - being instructed in or inducted into one's faith community heritage as a normal school occurrence and not something excluded from the school community are then the two mutually balancing aspects of multiculturalism.

In this example, I draw on three principles which are derived from my discussion of multiculturalism in the *Essays:*

> 1. Schools should promote cross-cultural understanding and nurture inclusivity so all can develop a common sense of belonging

2. The presence of minority identities should be accommodated on an *additive* not a subtractive basis

3. The needs of minorities should not simply be understood in terms of majority preferences: just because the majority does not want something (e.g., to display faith through dress or RI classes), it does not mean there should not be institutional provision for a minority if it strongly feels it needs it and it is not harming anyone.

These two examples also illustrate an important point about the national culture. The general liberal and civic nationalist approach is to say that diversity requires a 'thinning' of the national culture so that minorities may feel included and do not feel that a thick majoritarian culture is imposed on them. This is also the approach of liberal multicultural nationalists. Will Kymlicka argues that 'liberal states exhibit a much thinner conception of national identity. In order to make it possible for people from different ethnocultural backgrounds to become full and equal members of the nation….In so far as liberal nation-building involves diffusing a common national culture throughout the territory of the state, it is a very thin form of culture…' (Kymlicka 2001b: 55-56).[96] Yet the two examples above are not a thinning of moderate secularism or of religion in state schools, they are a pluralistic thickening. Multiculturalism adds to the national culture by not disestablishing the national church but bringing other faiths into relationship with it. Indeed, in general, a multicultural society requires more state action to not just respect the diversity but to bring it together in a common sense of national belonging and that in many instances means adding to a sense of national culture not hollowing it out. In the kinds of cases my book is concerned with,

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[96] On how to evaluate if a minority is alienated from a national religious framework, see Modood and Thompson 2021)

the bringing of minority faith communities into playing a role in aspects of the national or public culture alongside Christians and humanists requires us to think differently about the country and so may require an appropriate public narrative about the kind of country we now are (CMEB 2000). In this way, multiculturalising secularism means multiculturalising our national identity; and conversely, multiculturalising our national citizenship requires multiculturalising secularism – what we might call 'multicultural nationalism' (Modood 2018, Modood and Sealy 2021).

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Comment on Migration, culture diversity of large cities and post-socialist reality:
the case of Moscow

VLADIMIR KOLOSSOV

Comment on Migration, culture diversity of large cities and post-socialist reality:
the case of Moscow

VLADIMIR KOLOSSOV

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After the collapse of the USSR, Russia became one of the world's largest centers of attraction for migrants. The problems associated with them have become an important factor in the economic, social and political life of the country. On the eve of the pandemic, there were 12.9 million legal migrants in Russia, about 1.5 million illegal, and another 300-500 thousand people came annually for "other purposes" (in fact, also to work). At the same time, migrants are concentrated only in large cities - centers of 20-30 regions out of 85, in which they can earn more than in their own country - first of all, in the Moscow agglomeration and in St. Petersburg. At the end of 2019, 1.6 million migrants were concentrated within the administrative boundaries of Moscow alone. 1.4 million of them were citizens of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Belarus and other countries of the former USSR. This high concentration of migrants potentially contributes to the risk of social conflict.

However, the social space of large Russian cities retains socialist features. Social differences in a socialist city were determined by functional differences between its parts, and not by the level of income and ethnicity of the inhabitants. Russian cities are still

characterized by a mixture of social groups not only within the same district, but most often also within an apartment building. Therefore, until now, Moscow, St. Petersburg and even more so other cities have managed to avoid the formation of ethnic ghettos and districts with degraded buildings and urban environment. The transition in the management of urban development from the approach to the city as a "profit-making machine", which prevailed in the first decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to the principles of "new urbanism" contributed to social stability. In recent years, particular attention has been paid to public spaces, the development of municipal transport and a comfortable urban environment accessible to all residents.

In Moscow, the largest, "richest" and most advanced city in Russia, which has the rights of a region ("subject of the Federation"), the most mosaic ethnic composition of the population has developed, on the one hand, in the central areas and along the most important avenues with the most attractive urban environment, and on the other periphery - former industrial outskirts. This means that at present the settlement of migrants is determined not by the desire for compact living but by differences in the well-being of ethnic elites and labor migrants employed mainly in construction, municipal economy and the service sector.

Nevertheless, market processes and increasing differentiation of incomes lead to the division of social space according to the level of real estate prices. The housing market is directly influenced by the social status of the district or neighborhood. The prestige of the area is inherited from the past periods of the historical development of cities and has changed little so far. Sociological studies show that the influx of migrants, especially those from Central Asia and the Caucasus, ranks high in the rating of problems worrying residents of the periphery of Moscow, St. Petersburg and other large cities. Frustrated "indigenous" residents claim privileged access to social services. At the same time, most migrants are critical of the way of life in these cities, dissatisfied with the indifference or even hostile attitude of their neighbors.

Incidents in Moscow and other cities have become signals of trouble in interethnic relations. In the fight against illegal migration and criminality, municipal authorities have long emphasized the use of administrative, police and other measures based on fear of insubordination. Supporting ethnic culture (folk festivals, exhibitions, festivals) and focusing on cooperation with ethnic elites, who often sponsor segregation, city authorities often view ethnic communities as monolithic groups. In fact, they are deeply differentiated in terms of social status, property and integration into the life of the city, and therefore, an interest in maintaining and strengthening their ethnic identity and otherness. Ethnic groups are incorrectly associated with ethnic minorities.

It will be possible to avoid acute conflicts in the future if the city authorities are able to pursue a policy of integration of society on the basis of common objectives and taking into account the legitimate interests of non-citizens, and at the same time to strengthen civil solidarity.

Report on the Migration & Diversity Session
EHC, 6 May 2021

BY SANDRA PONZANESI

Report on the Migration & Diversity Session
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My main take away from this broad and extremely interdisciplinary round table concerns two major points and several new challenges that I would like to indicate.

The two major points that I would like to address as connecting but also diversifying the different interventions is by using the notion of the chronotope Mikhail Bakhtin referring to the interconnection of time and space. Chronotope is seen as a conceptual and analytical tool that allows reaching a sociocultural and dialogical understanding of human action and interaction in space-time.

Time

We have seen, on the one hand, that we have to think of migration according to the long durée, the deep time of history, as something that has always been part of human development and essential to human civilization. From the keynote speaker **François Djindjian** to **Marta Arzarello**, we understand migration as something which is not only going back millions and millions of years, but as our way to live, as we are the results of several phenomena of migration. Time is also what impacts on heritage as introduced by **A. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz** who shows the impact of migration on conservation, management and sustainability of heritage places, through various examples from Turkey. This long durée is also expressed in the intervention by **Pedro Conceição** on the debated concept of the Anthropocene which must be understood as the impact of humans on our planet and

on our environment, for a long time, altering the balance of equality and justice, not just nature and population.

Space

The second axes that needs to be noted is that of space and spatiality, which is prominent in the paper of **Vladimir Kolosov** who has spoken about the interesting phenomena of migration within the city of Moscow, articulating how migrations from Central Asia and from the Caucasus to major cities such as Moscow and S. Petersburgh bring a complex factor of diversity in these large cities and the clash or confrontation with post-socialist reality. The urban space, spatialization of housing, job opportunities and upward mobility becomes features of policies of centralization and ethnic differences, which are less monolithic and cohesive than expected.

Space and urban integration is also central to **Adams Bodomo** who focuses on the Complex Linguistic Repertoires of The African Community in Vienna and how these different repertoires have implications for the migrant access to the labour market and integration into the hosting society.

But of course, in each intervention both space and time are essential to the discussion on migration and diversity, to the articulation of what migration means for the humanities and what lessons we can learn from our long history of migration and richness of diversity that it has brought to our civilization both on global and local scale. So, the issues of times and scale is also important to frame the debates and envision policies or recommendations that could be generated for the future. On this I would offer four signposts that have been implicitly addressed by all contributions and which are important for thinking about migration and diversity for the future as well.

I. EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION:
They might all sound synonyms but they are

actually different terms from governmental top down to community and individual bottom--up initiatives. As **Tariq Modood** has clearly expressed equality is not about the same but about embracing individual identities in their differences, ethnic, religious or others. It is not just about rights and duties but about citizenry where all people might have a sense of belonging. Multiculturalism is about addressing and accommodating minority needs and not just based on majority requirements.

2. **DIGITAL HUMANITIES:** there has been little attention to the question of how the digital has changed the experience of migration, but how all increased datafication and surveillance have created new invisibilized boundaries and new great potential for connectedness across borders. **Pedro Conceição** has reflected on how the internet broadband creates inequalities for those who have access and those who do not and the implications that this has for mobility and equality. Also much addressed in the keynote by Robert Dijkgraaf in which everything from Covid 19 to intellectual property goes through data, data extraction and data outsourcing.

3. **AGENCY:** Thinking on the large scale of the human migration and development it is important to think of the human as actor of change, and do not go with migration as crisis, or as catastrophe, but changing our vision on development based on needs and moving towards development as empowering people

and based on the renewal of values and norms which is beneficial for all humanity as **Pedro Conceição** said quoting Amartya Sen "People are Agent not patient." And this also in agreement with the beautiful figuration evokes by Robert Dijkgraaf who said in his keynote this morning that "We should aspire to intellectual greenhouses where thinking and thinkers can grow", combining both the metaphor of sustainability and technological development with human freedom and agency.

4. **AUTONOMY:** I am referring here to a concept that has been theorized by critics and thinkers of migration such as Nicholas de Genova and Sandro Mezzadra among others, in which there is turn in migration studies in which the focus has shifted from the apparatuses of control to the multiple and diverse ways in which migration responds to, operates independently from, and in turn shapes those restrictions. It proposes that migratory movements yield moments of autonomy in regards to any attempt to control and regulate them.

Concluding Remarks after the Round Table

Citizenship as linked to nation-states should not be in opposition to cosmopolitanism and the supranational idea of movement and conviviality.

However, we should be in favour of cosmopolitanism(s) in the plural, or better on cosmopolitanism from below, which refers to how migrant are at present the greatest force that create

intercultural contacts and changes, and therefore cosmopolitan contacts, though at time forced and unwanted.

So even though it has a universalistic heritage (from Immanuel Kant as Tariq Modood reminded us) we should not let go of this term but expand it and revisit it.

The same goes for the notion of citizenship that should be not just be normative and linked to legal rights, but include cultural differences and embrace multiculturalism as part of its principle.

Migrations will continue to exit and be an unstoppable 'autonomous' force. It is part of the right to mobility and the right to movement. The last decades have seen a surge in migration flows, expulsions (Saskia Sassen) and forced removals. It is important to keep the human dimension of migration into focus as a right and not as a crime and to envision new opportunities for the transcultural and transnational *modus* vivendi which is part of the human or of humanity.

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Name		Session
António Damásio	Professor of Psychology, Philosophy and Neurology, and David Dornsife Chair in Neuroscience	Public Lecture
Rauna Kuokkanen	Professor of Arctic Indigenous Studies at the University of Lapland	Public Lecture
Marina Warner	Writer; Professor of English & Creative Writing, University of London	Public Lecture
Adams Bodomo	Professor of African Studies, University of Vienna, FILLM	Migration and Diversity; General History of Africa
Ana Lúcia Araújo	Professor of History, Howard University	The Slave Route programme
Angela Melo	Director - Policies and Programmes, Social and Human Sciences Sector of UNESCO	The Slave Route programme
Anne Snick	Club of Rome-EU chapter & WAAS Fellow	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Augustin Holl	Distinguished Professor, Xiamen University, UISPP	General History of Africa
Ayse Güliz B.Altınöz	Associate Professor · Middle East Technical University Department of Architecture	Migration and Diversity
Benedikt Loewe	Professor, Universities of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Cambridge	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Benno Werlen	Professor of Social Geography, University of Jena; IGU	Introducing BRIDGES: a Humanities-led sustain ability science coalition
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Christian Pohl	Senior scientist, Co-Director USYS TdLab, ETH Zürich	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Darja Fišer	Professor at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving

Doireann Wallace	Research Management at Trinity College Dublin	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Dwaipayan Banerjee	Professor of Science, Technology, and Society at MIT	Health and Humanities
Edward Cheng	Vice president of Tencent	Humanities and technology
Evgeny Kuzmin	Vice-Chair, Intergovernmental Council for the UNESCO Information for All Programme	Traditional cultures and language diversity
Ewdoksia Papuci-Wladika	Professor, Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities, Poland	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Florian Steger	Professor and Director of the Institute of the History, Philosophy and Ethics of Medicine at Ulm University	Health and Humanities
Florin-Gheorghe Fodorean	Director of the Institute of Classical Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University	Heritage, mobility and identities
François Djindjian	Professor University of Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne; UISPP	Migration and Diversity
Frédéric Worms	Professor of Philosophy, École Normale Supérieure de Paris	Health and Humanities
Frieda Steurs	Dean of the Subfaculty of Language and Communication at the KU Leuven; CIPL	Traditional cultures and language diversity
Gabi Lombardo	Director of the European Alliance for SSH	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Gilvan Oliveira	Professor of Language and vernacular literature at Federal University of Santa Catarina; MAAYA	Traditional cultures and language diversity
Harold Sjursen	Professor Emeritus, Philosopher; New York University; ANHN	Humanities and technology
Henrique Leitão	Professor of History of Science and Technology, University of Lisbon	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Hiltraud Casper-Hehne	Head of the Department of Intercultural German Studies, Götingen University	Introducing the Network of European Humanities
Hsiu-Hsi Chen	Associate Dean of College of Public Health, NTU; ANHN.	Health and Humanities
Hsiung Ping-chen	Professor of History, Chinese University of Hong-Kong; Secretary-General of CIPSH	Humanities and technology
Ineke Klinge	Professor of Gender Medicine at Maastricht University	Gender and Science
Isabel Fernandes	Professor of Literature, University of Lisbon	Health and Humanities
James Pawelski	Professor of practice and director of education in the Positive Psychology Center at the University of Pennsylvania,	Health and Humanities
Jan Palmowski	Secretary General of the Guild of European Research-intensive Universities	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society

Jane Ohlmeyer	Erasmus Smith's Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Jens Braarvig	Professor of Religious Studies at the Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo; UAI	Traditional cultures and language diversity
Jesús de La Villa	Professor of Ancient Greek Linguistics and Literature, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid ; FIEC	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Jo Sofaer	Professor of Archaeology within Archaeology at the University of Southampton	Heritage, mobility and identities
Josep M. Villalta	Director, Global University Network for innovation	Multidisciplinary Dynamics as Education and R&D strategies for meaningful problem solving
Karen O'Brian	Professor of Sociology and Geography at the University of Oslo	The Humanities in the 21st Century
Katja Castryck-Naumann	Research Fellow at the Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe	Global History of Humankind project
Lamine Diagne	Programme Specialist at the Research, Policy and Foresight Section, Social and Human Sciences Sector of UNESCO	General History of Africa
Laurent Tissot	Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Neuchatel; CISH	Global History of Humankind project
Luisa Migliorati	Professor at the Department of Ancient World Studies at Roma *Sapienza*	The Humanities in the 21st Century
Luiz Oosterbeek	Professor of the Polytechnic Institute of Tomar; President of CIPSH	Health and Humanities
Maria Teresa Cruz	Professor to the Communication Sciences Department of NOVA University of Lisbon	The Humanities in the 21st Century
Marta Arzarello	Professor of Prehistory, University of Ferrara; UISPP	Migration and Diversity
Martino Rossi Monti	Researcher, Institute of Philosophy, Zagreb	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Matthias Middell	Professor of cultural history and Director of the Global and European Studies Institute at Leipzig University; CISH	Global History of Humankind project
Mikhail Lipkin	Professor, Russian Academy of Sciences	Global History of Humankind
Noel Salazar	Professor in Anthropology at KU Leuven; IUAES/WAU	Heritage, mobility and identities
Orlando Grossegesse	Professor at the University of Minho	Migration and Diversity

Pedro Conceição	Director of the Human Development Report Office of the United Nations	Migration and Diversity
Rina Caceres	Director of the "Cátedra de Estudios de Africa y el Caribe" at the University of Costa Rica	Slave Route programme
Robbert Dijkgraaf	Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Rosalind H Williams	Dean for Undergraduate Education and Metcalf Professor of Writing at MIT	Humanities and technology
Rosi Braidotti	Distinguished University Professor at Utrecht University; CHCI	The Humanities in the 21st Century and Introducing the Network of European Humanities
Sandra Ponzanesi	Professor Gender and Postcolonial Studies, Utrecht University	Migration and Diversity
Scherto Gill	Research Fellow at the University of Sussex	The Slave Route programme
Serenella Iovino	Professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Romance Studies Department.	The Humanities in the 21st Century
Shari Boodts	Radboud University Nijmegen, Institute For Historical, Literary And Cultural Studies, Post-Doc	Heritage, mobility and identities
Silvana Colella	Professor of English at the University of Macerata; ECHIC	Heritage, mobility and identities
Silvia Orlandi	Professor in Latin Epigraphy at Sapienza University of Roma	Humanities and technology
Silvia Peppoloni	Researcher at Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia; IAPG	Health and Humanities
Steven Hartman	Professor in the Faculty of History and Philosophy, University of Iceland	Introducing BRIDGES: a Humanities-led sustainability science coalition
Tabue Nguma	Assistant Programme Specialist. Social and Human Sciences Sector of UNESCO	Slave Route Programme
Tarik Modood	Director of the Bristol University Research Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship	Migration and Diversity
Teresa Moure	Writer. Professor of Linguistics at the University of Santiago de Compostela	Traditional cultures and language diversity
Tim Jensen	Professor and Head of Study, the Study of Religions, Institute of History, University of Southern Denmark; IAHR	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Torbjorn Loden	Head of the Stockholm China Center at Stockholm University; UAI	The Humanities in the 21st Century
Ulrika Maude	Director of the Centre for Health, Humanities and Science, University of Bristol	Health and Humanities

Wera Grahn	Professor in Gender Studies, Senior Lecturer and Head of Unit at Linköping University	Heritage, mobility and identities
Winnie Soon	Professor in the Department of Digital Design at Aarhus University	Influence and impact of the Humanities in society
Wladimir Kolosov	Director of the Center of Geopolitical Studies at the Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences; IGU	Migration and Diversity
Zoltan Somhegyi	Associate Professor of Art History, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary; International Association for Aesthetics.	Heritage, mobility and identities