UCL Press

Chapter Title: Father Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850—1932) versus Paul Gauckler (1866—1911): The struggle to control archaeology at Carthage at the turn of the twentieth century
Chapter Author(s): Joann Freed

Book Title: Life-writing in the History of Archaeology
Book Subtitle: Critical perspectives
Book Editor(s): Clare Lewis, Gabriel Moshenska
Published by: UCL Press. (2023)
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv37mk2fp.15

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms



This book is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0). To view a copy of this license, visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/.



UCL Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Life-writing in the History of Archaeology*

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

9

Father Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932) versus Paul Gauckler (1866–1911): The struggle to control archaeology at Carthage at the turn of the twentieth century

Joann Freed

Introduction: The problem of a nationalist bias

Father Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932) excavated Punic, Roman and Early Christian sites at Carthage in Tunisia for 50 years and preserved his finds in his own museum, today the Musée National de Carthage.[1] During his lifetime he was a respected member of the French academic community and his publications in scholarly and popular journals brought him fame. Yet today his massive contribution to the archaeology of Carthage is denigrated and to a great extent his publications are ignored. Reputable scholars today perpetuate this negative attitude thoughtlessly, as they do not understand its origin, while the first history of the archaeology of Carthage considered Delattre, whose contributions were fundamental, a problem too difficult to tackle.[2] My subject is the story behind Delattre's negative reception by modern archaeologists and historians.

Between 1892 and 1904, Paul Gauckler (1866–1911), the young head of the Tunisian Antiquities Service, faced off against Delattre, who was by then an experienced archaeologist excavating the Punic cemeteries of Carthage. Gauckler's attempts to unseat Delattre ended in disaster for Gauckler, although the political context would not have predicted this outcome. But today French scholars try to vindicate Gauckler and imply

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

that Delattre was somehow in the wrong. This chapter responds to the claims of Gilbert Charles-Picard that Gauckler was the first scientific archaeologist in Tunisia and was driven out of his job because of his homosexuality,[3] and to the claims of Clémentine Gutron that Delattre as a Catholic priest was 'not really French', and that by doing archaeology in Tunisia, Delattre 'placed himself above the law'.[4] In fact, Delattre's rights were written into the Tunisian laws.[5] Charles-Picard, head of the Tunisian Antiquities Service from 1942–1955, repeated gossip from half a century earlier, but Gauckler's sexuality, for which there is no objective evidence, is a red herring. There is no evidence for Picard's claim that Gauckler used superior methodology, much less for the claim that Gauckler's sexual identity cost him his position: homosexuality was not illegal in France at the time.

Once the relevant events had been laid out chronologically, I found 'everything yet to explain'.[6] Where does this modern prejudice against Delattre originate? French nationalism was a major impetus for the archaeology of North Africa in the nineteenth century,[7] but certainly not all distortions in the history of archaeology stem from simple nationalism,[8] which Delattre and Gauckler both served. The French conflict between church and state was a crucial issue in the conflict between Delattre and Gauckler, but it does not completely explain the ongoing resentment against Delattre. In their day, colonialism united many interests; it was the last French national adventure in which the Catholic Church and the traditionally aristocratic army could equally participate.[9] Because colonialism increased France's international status and gave opportunities for the propagation of Catholic Christianity, certain churchmen, like Archbishop Lavigerie of Algiers, the founder of the White Fathers, of which Delattre was an early recruit, warmly supported it.[10] Today French colonialism seems unjustifiable, but both Delattre and Gauckler participated equally in that system.

Janet Malcolm stated that the biographer stands in quicksand, since new evidence, but even more 'the coming into fashion of a new ideology' may 'transform any character into a bad one'.[11] I argue that the resentment against Delattre originates in fixed ideas with such deep roots in French secular and republican identity that they ensure a negative evaluation of Delattre's work today.[12] The French Revolution attempted to destroy both the aristocratic level of French society and the Catholic Church. A century later the Third Republic, which followed the ousting of Emperor Napoleon III in 1870, imposed a moderate version of the ideals of the French Revolution. The new ideal of the meritocracy of French bureaucracy against the old aristocratic system necessarily led to denigration of the

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

achievements of a Catholic priest in comparison to a properly appointed bureaucrat: this is an intensely French prejudice, questionable in societies that value religious freedom.

My theoretical approach to life-writing in archaeology

Biography 'provides a unique and powerful point of access' to the social structures that determine and affect archaeological work.[13] Biography is based on the concept that *individuals* do the work,[14] a concept that has survived heavy philosophical attack.[15] I agree with Marc-Antoine Kaeser that biography is microhistory.[16] The rules of historiography must apply, but I do not agree that history can be 'scientific'. Because as a biographer I must select and interpret, the history I write can only be *methodologically correct*. Biography tries to capture the subject's point of view, but it unavoidably superimposes the biographer's, which is also culturally determined. This chapter presents *my* view of a particular historical contretemps. No biography can be considered the final word, but life-writing can be more or less sophisticated and more or less aware of pitfalls.

Archaeological biography is a necessarily lengthy process that involves many layers of knowledge and judgment, including, at least implicitly, a grasp of research methodology and current theory. There is no professional programme of preparation in the history of archaeology.[17] Yet the required skill set is demanding and the work cannot be undertaken lightly. I have an ongoing research interest in Carthage as an archaeological site. Language training in French, Greek and Latin gave me an essential base. My dissertation prepared me to be a pottery analyst at Carthage in Tunisia with one of the Canadian UNESCO archaeological teams. Beginning in 1985, more than 20 years of six-week summer seasons at Carthage with several different excavations made me aware that Delattre's excavations over the half-century of his life as an archaeologist (from 1875–1932) formed the basis of most of what we then knew about Punic, Roman and Early Christian Carthage. In 1990 I participated in the reorganisation of the galleries of the Musée National de Carthage and, with the permission of then Site and Museum Director Abdelmajid Ennabli, I catalogued the amphoras that Delattre had excavated and preserved. This project gave me an insider's view of Delattre's museum and an understanding of how Delattre's finds relate to his publications.[18] Intrigued by the claim that Delattre's publications were unavailable, I began an annotated bibliography of his work, demonstrating that hundreds of Delattre's publications were in the best French academic

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

journals.[19] I differ from Delattre in that I am not French, not a man, do not have a religious vocation, do not know Arabic, and do not have Delattre's prodigious energy and lifelong dedication to one place. These differences protect me from the temptation of confusing my subject with myself.[20]

No one has previously attempted a biography of Delattre.[21] The French reviewers of an early paper of mine on Delattre's archaeological methods encouraged me to consult the archives of the White Fathers in Rome. Delattre's publications both in professional journals and popular Catholic publications, as well as mission diaries he kept, his personal correspondence and obituaries in the archives, and notices in internal papers, formed the basis of a chronological timeline of his life. Delattre's life fell into three periods: his early life at Carthage, which ended with the death of Archbishop and Cardinal Lavigerie, was that of a young priest/adventurer (1875–1892). A middle phase as a mature, respected and popularly famous scholar (1892–1904) was followed by a third phase of almost 30 years committed to the excavation of Early Christian sites at Carthage (1904–1932).[22] Delattre's excavations built on the work of earlier archaeologists at Carthage, about which I wrote a book based on papers in the British National Archives. That work included a study of the topography of Carthage;[23] knowing the topography is essential to understanding Delattre's excavation results.

The importance of Delattre and Gauckler for the archaeology of Carthage

Delattre had the powerful advantage of living in the centre of the ruins of the ancient city of Carthage, the capital of the Punic Empire, the second city of the western Roman Empire, and the city that was home to Tertullian and Augustine. The site had been intensively robbed after the Arab conquest of AD 698 and was still being robbed when Delattre arrived. Much of his earliest archaeological work at Carthage had the character of rescue excavation – he was the first to know if a stone robber's pick hit something of special significance. His work on sites that were being destroyed or damaged preserved information and finds that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Delattre's excavations provided unique insights on elite Punic burials in shaft tombs; on the construction of the Roman city and on the slave administrators of the emperor, and finally on the layout of the church complexes of Early Christian Carthage.

Delattre is important, not for advances in methodology, although his methodology improved over his long career, but for the tremendous

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

amount of evidence he unearthed, published and preserved in his museum – much of which would be impossible to excavate today, because the sites are covered by suburban housing. Delattre was a Catholic priest, an early member of the Society of Missionaries of Africa ('White Fathers'), but, largely due to the guidance of the founder of the society, Charles Martial Allemand-Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, Delattre saw no conflict between science and religion. Lavigerie had the contacts in Paris, in scholars Ernest Renan and Léon Renier, for example, to get Delattre a grounding in epigraphic method;[24] ancient inscriptions had joined sculpture as the central interest in ancient material culture by the time Delattre arrived at Carthage in 1875. Delattre eventually provided thousands of inscriptions from his excavations (many of them epitaphs) to the editors of the major *corpora*,[25] which allowed many later scholars to use his finds and insights without crediting him. In his 'middle period', he carried on long-term excavation of sites such as the Punic cemeteries of Douïmès and 'near Sainte-Monique'. Delattre preserved his finds in the Musée National de Carthage, the museum he founded.[26]

In contrast, Gauckler, as director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service from 1892–1904, was responsible for the archaeology of the entire country. Gauckler began work at Carthage in 1895 and he and his subordinates excavated Punic, Roman and Early Christian sites in the city, often sites that had already been partially excavated by Delattre. Gauckler used the same methods as Delattre, published in the same scholarly journals, including the *Comptes rendus* of the Academy of Inscriptions, issued annual reports on the work of the Antiquities Service and preserved his finds in the Musée du Bardo in Tunis.

Three periods in Delattre's life as an archaeologist at Carthage

The young Delattre was a devout and obedient adventurer, who came to Carthage somewhat oblivious of the political use that Lavigerie was making of him. Lavigerie stationed Delattre at Carthage, where the Chapel of Saint Louis on 'the' Byrsa Hill was already a potent symbol of French and Catholic influence in Tunisia.[27] 'The' Byrsa was a historically over-determined site: Saint Louis, King Louis IX of France, a failed Crusader against Islam, met his death from plague there in AD 1270. The site was also the centre of Punic Carthage and, as we now know, it was the centre of the Roman city street grid.[28] The French, who had already controlled

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Algeria for 50 years, seized Tunisia with minimal military losses during the invasion of 1881, and the government they imposed was a Protectorate, so Tunisia continued to be a sovereign country under a Bey.[29]

My subject is Delattre's middle period, from 1892–1904, in which his constant discoveries at Carthage provided the base for Punic archaeology. Although still a missionary, Delattre was also a diocesan priest and an archaeologist, excavating, publishing his finds in professional and popular journals, and running his museum. He was already famous, with many renowned, wealthy, and even royal visitors. In 1891 Delattre contributed 2,000 inscriptions to René Cagnat's North African supplement to the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions.[30] By the time his mentor Lavigerie died in 1892, Delattre was a mature professional of 42 and was planning an ambitious excavation on the south side of 'the' Byrsa at Carthage.[31]

Paul Gauckler arrived at Carthage as Inspector for the Tunisian Antiquities Service that same year. He was the second person in that role, appointed by the Bey of Tunis, subject to the French Resident General in Tunisia and to René du Coudray de la Blanchère, the first Director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service, with ties to the French Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris, which oversaw education and museums in Tunisia. Although Gauckler was just 26, he was a graduate of the prestigious École Normale Supérieure in Paris. A 'normal school' for the preparation of high-school teachers, it was in fact a cloistered institution for a very small number of academically elite young men preparing to teach in French lycées (academic high schools), who also had the best available preparation for writing a doctoral thesis. Gauckler was a practising Protestant and a leftist Republican, strongly opposed to the dominance of the Catholic Church in French political life.[32] His job gave him authority over Delattre and he was determined to carry on his own excavations at Carthage.[33]

By 1890 the French Third Republic, the first Republican government in Europe, had survived for two decades. Catholicism was seen as its major internal enemy, since French Catholics and surviving aristocrats often made common cause. During the years that Gauckler headed the Antiquities Service a rising wave of anticlericalism – that is, anti-Catholicism – in France encouraged Gauckler to believe that Delattre and the White Fathers could literally be expelled from Tunisia.[34]

Delattre's struggle with Gauckler wore him out during a period in which his archaeological discoveries increased exponentially while his missionary society gave him decreasing support. After more than a decade of conflict with Gauckler, Delattre decided in 1904 to narrow his

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

field of endeavour, devoting himself to the early Christian Church at Carthage. This began the third and longest phase of his life as an archaeologist at Carthage, and the one with which he is most strongly identified.[35] By the time Delattre died in 1932, more than a quarter century later, many scholars were not aware of the earlier phases of his career.

Delattre's role as archaeologist and missionary

Lavigerie was no ordinary archbishop; a former professor of religion at the Sorbonne, he had a command of the political situation on an international scale. After France invaded Tunisia in 1881, Lavigerie controlled Catholic administration there as Cardinal, Archbishop of Carthage and Primate of Africa.[36] By 1892 the White Fathers had bought up about half of the ancient site of Carthage;[37] they built a seminary with space for Delattre's museum and a huge cathedral on the summit of the Byrsa. Lavigerie had appointed Delattre archpriest of the Cathedral well before construction was complete. The Cathedral of Carthage was a French and aristocratic as well as a Catholic symbol, paid for by Saint Louis's direct descendants.[38] Delattre's enterprise was in flagrant opposition to the ideals of the French Revolution and to the secular rule of a bourgeois meritocracy, the ideal of the Third Republic.

Delattre wanted to devote significant time to archaeology and convinced Lavigerie to mobilise the necessary resources.[39] Lavigerie's decision was not made out of pure reverence for 'science'. A museum or collection was a modern European concept, and Lavigerie wanted to plant French culture in this Muslim country. Lavigerie also saw that the mission at Saint Louis could earn a fame that would support his other projects, the most important of which was converting sub-Saharan Africa to Catholic Christianity.[40] Archaeology also gave Lavigerie's men another outlet for their energies, since, although White Fathers were missionaries, in Tunisia they could not legally proselytise. Some of his fellow missionaries resented Delattre's intellectual interest in Carthage. Throughout his life, Delattre struggled to keep two conflicting identities in balance: the modest Catholic missionary persona he never abandoned and the circumstantially determined persona of famous archaeologist. As an archaeologist, he acted in his own interest. He built a museum with fabulous finds,[41] and he wanted to keep those finds under his own control. Since spiritual self-evaluation was a regular part of his priestly life, and even of his day, he was well aware of an internal conflict.[42]

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

The organisation of archaeological research in colonial Tunisia

Even before the French controlled Tunisia, Lavigerie brought Delattre's interest in archaeology to the attention of the Academy of Inscriptions in Paris. As soon as the French invasion was underway, he published a 64-page 'letter' that asked their support for Delattre at Carthage, which a committee headed by Ernest Renan was happy to approve.[43] Nearly all of the French intellectuals Delattre regularly worked with were eventually elected to one of the 55 chairs of the Academy of Inscriptions, an exclusive self-elected club of the highest ranking Parisian academics, which met weekly to hear presentations on academic work. Academicians had extraordinary status in France; they are the 'Immortals', guaranteed a substantial obituary by a fellow Academician. About one-quarter of the members of the Academy were Classicists, ancient historians or archaeologists; they all supported Delattre, whose work appeared regularly in their *Comptes rendus*.

Already in the 1880s, the French established an infrastructure that supported archaeology in Tunisia from Paris. During the first years following the French invasion of Tunisia in 1881, young French archaeologists René Cagnat and Salomon Reinach, both graduates of the École Normale, advised Paul Cambon, the French Resident General in Tunisia, and Xavier Charmes, a brilliant young bureaucrat at the French Ministry of Public Instruction, on the creation of laws protecting antiquities in Tunisia.[44] With the approval of the Bey, Resident Cambon founded an Antiquities Service in Tunisia, 67 years before France got something similar in 1942.[45] He also appointed its first Director, the young René du Coudray de la Blanchère, another graduate of the École Normale.[46] Cagnat, Reinach and La Blanchère were members of the new Commission for North Africa in Paris, which organised and encouraged publication of archaeology in Tunisia, whether by professionals or amateurs, including soldiers and priests.[47] Delattre had avoided directing the newly created Bardo Museum in Tunis, although he was acting head until La Blanchère's appointment, preferring to concentrate on Carthage, the 'pearl' of Tunisian sites. The year 1888 was a particularly brilliant one for Delattre; his friend Antoine Héron de Villefosse, curator at the Louvre and newly elected to the Academy of Inscriptions, brought three distinguished Academicians to see Delattre when they attended the opening of the Bardo Museum: they were Henri Wallon, known as the 'Father of the Republic' for his contribution to

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

the constitution of the Republic; archaeologist of the Holy Land and diplomat, the Marquis de Vogüé, and Georges Perrot, Director of the École Normale.[48]

Education in Republican France and the role of the École Normale

After the defeat of Napoleon III in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, followed by the revolutionary 'Paris Commune', France was governed by the Third Republic, a moderate and constitutional version of the ideals of the French Revolution. The Third Republic prioritised individual merit and secular education to improve the intellectual level of the citizenry and provide a structure in which individual excellence could be demonstrated. From 1883, Minister of Public Instruction Jules Ferry imposed compulsory secular primary education for all French children. His drive to educate the French nation in accordance with Republican ideals hit the Catholic Church hard; the Jesuits were driven out of France and many Catholic teaching orders were forced to disband.[49]

Under the Third Republic an elite system of education was established for the top one per cent of students. The middle class ('bourgeois') young men who came through this rigid system to achieve a bureaucratic or teaching post by personal merit strongly identified with the Republican system.[50] Most of Delattre's archaeological colleagues were graduates of the École Normale. René Cagnat, who had the greatest influence on French archaeology in Tunisia in this period, was a *normalien*, as were Academician Georges Perrot, and other colleagues of Delattre: Salomon Reinach; La Blanchère, and younger scholars Paul Gauckler, Paul Monceaux, Stéphane Gsell and Jules Toutain. These young men had the best preparation in France for the doctorate and university teaching in Classics, history or geography. In Delattre's day the École Normale also produced a high proportion of French government ministers, journalists and bureaucrats.[51]

About 25 brilliant young men entered the arts programme of the Normale annually, publicly ranked by exam both on entry and graduation. The Normale gave a three-year university course in a closed boarding school – a hothouse for intellectual development, with a tradition that graduates supported each other without question. The atmosphere also supported homosexual interests: Salomon Reinach's youthful journal described his emotional love affairs there (although he described himself as a virgin), as well as those of his fellow *normalien* René de la Blanchère.[52]

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Discreet homosexuality was not a criminal offence in France and did not preclude a successful career.

In the period when Delattre was in conflict with Gauckler, Delattre's warmest and most loyal friend in Paris was Antoine Héron de Villefosse, conservator at the Louvre and a devout Catholic. Villefosse had trained at the École des Chartes: when Delattre's problems with Gauckler erupted, Villefosse feared the powerful cabal that the École Normale represented. Delattre, in contrast, had attended Catholic seminary in Rouen. A seminary education at the time was the equivalent of a three-year undergraduate degree, oriented to the Classics, like the École Normale, but at a lower standard; on the other hand, it was a much higher education than the national norm. This was not the end of Delattre's education: in the 1880s Delattre was also coached by Archbishop and Cardinal Lavigerie, and by Léon Renier, an Academician who had made the first collection of Latin inscriptions in Algeria.[53] René Cagnat, two years younger than Delattre but already in 1887 professor at the Collège de France, the most prestigious university in Paris, also advised Delattre.

Competition and conflict between Delattre and Gauckler

The events of the conflict between Gauckler and Delattre play like a tennis match with equally matched opponents. Paul Gauckler had worked under La Blanchère for two years in Algeria before La Blanchère sent him to Tunisia in 1892. I believe La Blanchère chose the 26-year-old Gauckler over Jules Toutain, La Blanchère's able assistant and the natural incumbent, because he thought of Gauckler as not likely to accomplish much. Gauckler's opinion of himself, as third in his graduating class at the École Normale, was much higher. In the letter accepting his new post he also declared himself a Protestant, a coded way of announcing his radical Republican sympathies. Gauckler arrived in Tunisia as Inspector, still under the thumb of La Blanchère and with a ridiculously tiny budget of 2,400 francs per annum to cover archaeological expenses for the entire country.[54] When La Blanchère headed the Service, from 1884 until his departure in 1892, he had had a budget of 30–40,000 francs, paid for by France.[55] During Salomon Reinach and Ernest Babelon's major excavations at Carthage in March and April of 1884, their workmen cost them 8,000 French francs.[56] Gauckler might have been able to hire 10 unskilled men full-time on this annual budget, but he needed a draftsman, site supervisors, museum guards and conservators as well. Gauckler soon found he could not excavate at Carthage because the

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Catholic diocese owned the land and Delattre was entrenched there, and this greatly displeased him. He immediately ordered a map of Carthage from the Tunisian topographic services with diocesan ownership marked.[57] But Gauckler had the good sense to get experience as an archaeologist before directly confronting Delattre. From 1893–1895 he excavated at Oudna, where he acquired a passionate but then unfashionable interest in mosaics.[58]

Delattre's unbelievably successful excavations at Carthage in 1893 include the discovery of bas-reliefs of Victory and Abundance on Byrsa Hill;[59] the 'First Amphora Wall', which dated completion of the Roman re-engineering of the Byrsa Hill to post 15 BCE,[60] and new excavations in the Archaic period Punic necropolis of Douïmès. In November 1894, Delattre read a paper on his excavations at Douïmès at the Academy of Inscriptions in Paris;[61] during these years he received between 3,000 and 6,000 francs from the Academy every year for excavations at Carthage.

Already in May 1893, after six months as Inspector, Gauckler instituted a pattern of ungracious behaviour. He did not inform Delattre about a visit from Raymond Poincaré, the Minister of Public Instruction and later twice Prime Minister of France. Poincaré and his entourage visited Delattre's museum anyway and honoured Delattre by making him an Officer of the Ministry of Public Instruction.[62] Gauckler spent his summers in France; in the summer of 1893 a series of negative articles about Catholic dominance in the archaeology of Tunisia appeared in the Tunisian press. The articles reflected ideas Gauckler shared with Salomon Reinach, who had excavated at Carthage 10 years earlier, but had little effect on public opinion.[63]

In 1894 Gauckler presented a list of 19 monuments at Carthage, 10 owned by the Catholic diocese, to be controlled by the Antiquities Service. Xavier Charmes at the French Ministry of Public Instruction did not approve, and a year later just three of the 19 sites Gauckler had proposed for classification at Carthage were approved by the Tunisian government: the summit of 'the' Byrsa; the basilica of Damous el-Karita, and the Punic necropolis on Bordj-Djedid, but this did not impede Delattre's excavation on these sites. Meanwhile a group of French and Tunisian intellectuals founded the Institut de Carthage at Tunis and a scholarly journal, *Revue tunisienne*; Gauckler's support for this group was less than lukewarm. Salomon Reinach, Gauckler's friend and fellow graduate of the École Normale, visited Tunis and lectured at the Institut de Carthage, expressing his annoyance that the White Fathers owned 'the' Byrsa Hill and had built on it,[64] but again, this protest had no effect.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

A new French Resident General, René Millet, arrived in January 1895. Millet, also a *normalien*, was influenced by Gauckler's arguments against Delattre, but wanted Gauckler to publish on hydrology, applying ancient science to modern colonial problems. Gauckler objected, and his insubordination stressed his relations with Millet.[65] When Resident Millet then visited Delattre's museum, Millet not only promised Delattre his total support, but made it clear he did so as a good Catholic.

In 1895 the new Archbishop of Carthage, Monsignor Combes, dedicated a chapel in the central trench of the amphitheatre to commemorate the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicity; Delattre approved this Catholic misuse of an archaeological site. Gauckler was in trouble with the French Ministry of Public Instruction in April for 'temporising' over Resident Millet's demand that he produce reports on Roman hydrology, but the Resident defended him.[66] At the end of April, Gauckler apologised to René Cagnat for some unguarded outburst. Perhaps Gauckler had learned that Cagnat was planning an official publication of Delattre's museum; by the time it appeared, in 1899, Delattre's museum contained more than 100,000 objects.[67]

Delattre was at the apogee of his worldly success in 1895. The Centenary of the Institut de France, the home of all five French Academies, took place on 25 October 1895 and Delattre was invited. He saw many friends in Paris, as he had at least 14 academic patrons at the Academy of Inscriptions. He was invited to the Chateau of Chantilly, home of the Duke d'Aumale,[68] who had presented his chateau to the Institute. Meanwhile, Gauckler opened his first excavation at Carthage at Bir es-Zitoun, near where Delattre had dug cemeteries of Roman slave administrators on the west side of the ancient city. After working there briefly, Gauckler irritably returned the site to Delattre early in 1896, saying Delattre had more money for excavation.[69] Jules Toutain, Gauckler's contemporary at the École Normale, finished his two doctoral theses on North Africa in 1895; Gauckler never finished his doctorate, which wasn't required of him, but would have spoken in his favour.

In April 1896 the French Learned Societies met in Tunis, and Gauckler organised the sessions on archaeology. Many distinguished French Academicians attended. Gauckler, working hard to make a good impression, wrote a brief guide to the Bardo Museum at this time.[70] The Bardo had consisted of only two rooms until 1896, but Gauckler now opened three new rooms with mosaics. But Delattre was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour at the opening of the Congress and Gauckler had to make the congratulatory speech.[71]

In June 1896, a military doctor, Louis Carton, who had a strong publication record as an amateur archaeologist in Tunisia, wrote to

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Resident Millet that Gauckler's qualifications were weak and offered to take over his position. This is the earliest sign of Carton's active opposition to Gauckler. Although Carton's offer never became generally known, Gauckler knew of it, because Resident Millet showed him the letter.[72]

Gauckler becomes Director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service

Then came a stunning event: La Blanchère, the absentee Director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service, died unexpectedly in Paris, the victim of a sore throat. With the support of René Cagnat, Gauckler was appointed Director, and also got control of the Bardo. The 30-year-old Gauckler now had the base to achieve his ambitions, and he immediately sent his first *Marche du Service* report to the printer; in it he said that Delattre's museum did not have room for the objects Delattre was finding.[73]

At the end of 1896, the Academy of Inscriptions and the Ministry of Public Instruction began work on an accurate topographic map of Carthage, known today as the Bordy map. The project was entrusted to Delattre, but by January Gauckler had hijacked it. Engineer Bordy, a good Catholic, consulted with both, but became a devoted friend to Delattre. René Cagnat collaborated on the map from Paris as Secretary of the Commission for North Africa. In 1898 Gauckler and Delattre were sent copies to add their notes; Gauckler announced that he would add all the information necessary. Fortunately Cagnat knew better, and Bordy, a determined supporter of Delattre, ensured that Delattre's name and notes were also on the plan when it finally appeared.[74]

In January 1897, Delattre's close friend Antoine Héron de Villefosse was elected annual President of the Academy of Inscriptions. Paul Monceaux, a *normalien* and rising young scholar, began to collaborate with Delattre on early Christian North Africa and Monceaux's brilliance made early Christianity an attractive subject to other scholars.[75] Gauckler immediately dug at Delattre's old excavations at the Christian basilica of Damous el-Karita and lifted mosaics from another basilica, Bir Ftouha. In the autumn Jules Toutain catalogued the Roman lamps at Delattre's museum; Toutain became a firm friend of Delattre.

The threat to move Delattre's museum

Delattre experienced Gauckler's third major effort to undermine him in 1898, when Resident Millet announced that he wanted to move Delattre's

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

museum from the mission's headquarters on Byrsa Hill to the quarantine hospital near the ports at Carthage.[76] Millet argued this would be a good thing since Delattre could die at any time; Delattre was only 47, but, after all, La Blanchère had recently died suddenly at 43. Delattre was very worried for the first six months of this year. Because Gauckler said Delattre's museum was too crowded, Delattre got backing from his Superior, Mgr Livinhac, to take over the old refectory, doubling his museum's size. In June Resident Millet visited, and a week later he assured Delattre that he had given up his plan of moving the museum.

Gauckler's budget improved greatly in 1898; the Tunisian government increased his grant and the French Ministry of Public Instruction gave him 10,000 francs per year. In his *Marche du Service*, Gauckler claimed credit for Delattre's new discoveries at the Punic necropolis on Bordj-Djedid, as well as the subvention Delattre had received to excavate the amphitheatre, and repeated that Delattre's museum was so crowded that his finds could not be catalogued. Gauckler meanwhile told fellow administrators that he intended to impose 'a spirit of subordination' on archaeology in Tunisia.[77]

Delattre complained about Gauckler's machinations to his friend Héron de Villefosse. In May 1898, Delattre received a magisterial letter from René Cagnat, who wrote:

> Our rule has always been to leave you master of the terrain of Carthage, because it was yours before any of us set foot in Tunisia, because you have conquered it by your labour, and because we think the land is large enough that it is not useful to get in one another's way.[78]

Delattre had the right man on his side, because Cagnat was able to control the situation from Paris. But despite Cagnat's awareness that Gauckler was not behaving in a reasonable or even normal way, he continued to support him. In the meantime Delattre was able to excavate and Gauckler had not succeeded in taking Delattre's museum from him.[79] But after six years of psychological warfare, Delattre had built up a backlog of incomprehension, resentment and fear, evident from his disturbed handwriting and inarticulate and incomplete drafts of appeals to his friends.[80]

It is not hard to understand why Gauckler resented Delattre's control over archaeology at Carthage. Furthermore Gauckler ordinarily arrogated the work of all archaeologists in Tunisia to himself and could be forgiven for doing so in his *Marche du Service*. His quick work at getting his name on the Bordy map might be construed positively by those who

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

admire a 'smooth operator'. But his desire to destroy Delattre and take over Delattre's museum had no chance of approval from Ali Bey and his family members, who knew and supported Delattre, from the French administration in Tunisia, members of the Academy of Inscriptions and the Commission for North Africa, or from the larger public in both Tunisia and France, especially those French Catholics who read *Missions catholiques* and *Cosmos*, in which Delattre published constantly. Gauckler's support came from a narrower base: he had friends at the École Normale, the Academy of Inscriptions and the Commission for North Africa, and his funding came from the French Ministry of Public Instruction, but he owed his job to the Bey, and was supervised by the Resident General, which made him a direct concern of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the autumn of 1898 Gauckler requested money from the Academy of Inscriptions, competing directly with Delattre, who had already received 5,000 francs for excavation in the amphitheatre. Happily, the Academy was able to give each of them 3,000 francs. While Delattre worked in peace for the rest of 1898, Gauckler was complaining bitterly about his restricted budget, although it was now almost ten times larger than it had been in 1892. In January 1899, Gauckler moved into excavation at Carthage on a larger scale, opening a long trench beside Delattre's old trench at Douïmès. He soon discovered a treasure of Roman sculpture under the 'Maison de la Cachette' and excavated other Roman houses, a Christian basilica and a late Punic kiln.[81] His assistants dug on the Odeon Hill and at Roman tombs south of the Carthage ports.

In February Gauckler invited Delattre to tour the Bardo Museum with him and a visiting Cardinal. Although Gauckler had headed the Tunisian Antiquities Service for the past seven years, he had never previously invited Delattre to the Bardo. Delattre had sent Gauckler a friendly letter on his first appointment, and Gauckler sent Delattre his annual letters of permission and visited the Museum of Saint Louis occasionally, but there was no friendship between Gauckler and Delattre, and not even a good facsimile of collegiality.

For the rest of 1899 Gauckler was planning Tunisian exhibits for the Universal Exposition in Paris, but Delattre now shied away from cooperating with him. Gauckler's health was poor and he was often home in bed. But he had help from his assistants Louis Drappier at Carthage and Eugène Sadoux and Louis Poinssot at Dougga, while Bertrand Pradère was excavating the Temple of Caelestis and the Capitolium at Dougga. The competitive Dr Carton was also excavating the theatre there, to Gauckler's disgust.[82] Young volunteers, whom Gauckler encouraged, especially military men, were excavating as many as 20 other sites in Tunisia.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Gauckler's career successes

In 1899 Gauckler got full control of funds for excavation in Tunisia,[83] but the Academy funded Delattre directly after Héron de Villefosse pointed out that it was humiliating for the older and more experienced Delattre to have to ask Gauckler for funding. Villefosse pressured Delattre for exciting finds. In January 1900 Gauckler visited Delattre's museum with Resident Millet and his wife, both now Delattre's firm friends; they were accompanied by historian Gabriel Hanotaux, recently French Minister of Foreign Affairs.[84] Gauckler was still at odds with Millet and probably wanted to be there for damage control. Delattre was digging in the Punic necropolis 'near Sainte-Monique' on Bordj-Djedid, and Gauckler was worried that his own finds were not spectacular enough. But early in 1900 Gauckler was able to remove Dr Carton from Dougga, having convinced Louis Liard at the Ministry of Public Instruction that Dougga was an excellent site for students from the French School at Rome, who could not dig in Italy, Greece or Turkey because these countries sharply limited foreign excavation.[85]

The Paris Exposition opened in April 1900 and Gauckler's exhibits were impressive.[86] Gauckler's annual funding just from the French Ministry of Public Instruction was doubled to 20,000 francs because the Tunisian exhibition earned so much money. But Gauckler was more arrogant and insubordinate than ever; Resident Millet was so angry with him that he removed him from the Tunisian governing council and tried to cut him off from the Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris.[87] Through Gauckler's deliberate negligence no one got credit for their contributions to the Paris exhibition but Gauckler – who won a major grand prize, a silver medal for his workshop that produced traditional Arab stucco, a grand prize for scientific missions and a gold medal as collaborator. Gauckler wrote a defensive letter to Delattre: it was not just Delattre, but also Stéphane Gsell in Algeria; amateur archaeologists Dr Carton and Captain Hannézo in Tunisia; architect Henri Saladin, who was Cagnat's close friend, and others, who got no recognition.[88] But Gauckler's skin was saved for the moment, when Resident Millet was recalled from Tunisia over an unrelated issue.

French separation of Church and State

In 1901 there was a tremendous political backlash against the Catholic Church in France as fallout from the Dreyfus Affair. An innocent Jewish army officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Dreyfus, had been convicted of

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

treason through the duplicity of a fellow officer inside the traditionally Catholic French army. When in 1898 Zola's newspaper story 'J'accuse' aroused international attention, it divided French public opinion. France could not afford to discredit her army. Many Catholics had attacked Dreyfus as a traitor before all the facts were known, and a leftist Republican government now made the Catholic Church the scapegoat.[89] In March Gauckler wrote an impromptu angry letter to the centrist *Dépêche tunisienne* attacking the Catholics, and the newspaper published it. He then apologised to Delattre, saying that illness had caused him to be intemperate.

In 1901 Gauckler's assistant Louis Drappier discovered an impressive cache of Roman statues in the cisterns of the Odeon, while Delattre started finding late Classical marble sarcophagi in Punic grave-shafts on Bordj-Djedid. In July French Prime Minister Waldeck-Rousseau proposed the 'Law of Associations', aimed to remove Catholic religious congregations from all teaching. As if in response, Delattre was promoted to Commander of Nicham-Iftikhar (the Tunisian 'Order of Glory') by Ali Bey, an honour approved by the French Resident. The White Fathers had to request authorisation for their existence from the French government and the decision hung fire for six months. Looking for popular validation, Fathers Delattre and Vellard wrote a new edition of their Carthage guidebook and Delattre published a memoir of his work.[90] Delattre was still excavating at Bordj-Djedid, and Villefosse again pressed him for spectacular finds.

At the end of 1901 a new and highly competent Resident General, Stephen Pichon, another *normalien* and a radical Republican, arrived in Tunisia and immediately visited Delattre's museum. In January 1902 only five male Congregations, including the White Fathers, were authorised to exist in France; more than 50 Congregations were not authorised and 20,000 men with religious vocations were expelled from France.[91] But the White Fathers were protected because their work supported France in colonial Africa.

By this time Alfred Merlin, a graduate of the École Normale, Fellow at the French School at Rome, and soon to marry René Cagnat's daughter, was excavating at Dougga, nominally under Gauckler's supervision, while amateur archaeologists were working all over Tunisia. Then Dr Louis Carton had his military posting changed from France to Sousse in Tunisia. In June 1902 Carton organised the Sousse Archaeological Society, establishing himself as the expert archaeologist in the south of the country.[92] And after Villefosse's emphasising that Delattre needed extraordinary finds because of the competition, Delattre discovered eight

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Hellenistic marble sarcophagi in the late Punic necropolis on Bordj-Djedid in 1902, including four spectacular anthropoid sarcophagi.[93]

President of France Émile Loubet visited Delattre at Carthage in April 1903, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Théophile Delcassé also visited the Bardo. Meanwhile the new Prime Minister of France Émile Combes,[94] a former Catholic seminarian, but now a leftist radical, was trying to break the century-old French Concordate with the Vatican,[95] by which, in 1801, Napoleon had agreed to the free practice of Catholicism and to paying bishops and clergy, in return for a veto on the appointment of bishops and the agreement of the clergy to a civil oath of allegiance to him.[96] Rumours again said the White Fathers might be expelled from Tunisia. In the summer Gauckler, in France on vacation, sent a confidential report to Salomon Reinach proposing a hostile takeover of Delattre's museum.[97] In the autumn a journalist attacked the White Fathers' ownership of their museum in the French press, but a member of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris rose up to accuse Gauckler of being behind the attack; naturally Gauckler felt persecuted. In December Gauckler visited Delattre, telling him openly that his museum was easily worth a million francs and *must* belong to the state.[98]

Gauckler's removal and the White Fathers' renewed authorisation

The story now hurried to its climax. In January 1904 Gauckler sent Delattre a letter of authorisation as usual, but to both, expropriation of Delattre's museum seemed likely. But then Gauckler learned that the Tunisian government had slashed his budget, despite the fact that in his 12 years in Tunisia he had increased the Bardo's exhibition space from two to 23 rooms, many filled with mosaics. Undaunted, Gauckler proposed the expropriation of the Roman theatre of Carthage, which belonged to the Catholic Diocese. But Gauckler continually ignored the autonomy of Tunisia, offending the Bey and the Resident. Resident Pichon now informed the French Ministry of Public Instruction that the Residency had given Gauckler 36,000 francs over the past five years; this was clearly a protest. Louis Liard and Charles Bayet in Paris immediately expressed their continued support for Gauckler. By March 1904, both Gauckler and Delattre were showing signs of severe strain: Gauckler's comments in a letter to Louis Liard suggested mental illness[99] and for the first time Delattre felt overburdened with work and increased his spiritual reliance on the Virgin.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

In June 1904, Dr Carton's military unit was moved from Sousse to La Goulette, five kilometres from Carthage; from then until his death in 1924 Carton too focused on excavation at Carthage.[100] In July France and the Vatican broke off the Napoleonic Concordate. Fathers Delattre and Vellard made a strategic visit to their friend and neighbour, the new Bey Mohammed.[101] Young scholar Alfred Merlin, who was cataloguing inscriptions at Delattre's museum, began a warm friendship with Delattre. At the end of August the White Fathers received authorisation for the second time, a blow to Gauckler's hopes for their expulsion from Tunisia. In November Delattre was in Rome for a Catholic congress on the Virgin Mary, as 1904 was the fiftieth anniversary of the dogma of her immaculate conception. There Cardinal Rampolla urged Delattre to finish a book on the earliest evidence for the Virgin in North Africa.[102] This was the beginning of the third and longest phase of Delattre's career, in which the early Christian church became his major concern.

By the end of 1904 Gauckler feared that Cagnat and Saladin, his fellow *normaliens*, as well as the influential Héron de Villefosse, had turned against him.[103] Gauckler sent Delattre his annual authorisation and a collegial letter on 31 December 1904, but Gauckler was in fact ill with exhaustion, abdominal upset and laryngitis. In mid-January Émile Combes's violently anti-Catholic government was forced to resign, but Combes's legislation remained under discussion. At the same moment, Gauckler was asked to justify the large subventions he had received from the Ministry of Public Instruction. In February, attacks on Gauckler's archaeological administration appeared in newspapers at Sousse, almost certainly planted by Dr Carton.

Now Gauckler really began to behave badly. Dr Carton announced a jaunt to the Christian Basilica at Uppenna with his Sousse Archaeological Society; Gauckler flatly denied permission. On Valentine's Day 1905, Gauckler prevented Resident Pichon and French Minister of Justice Ernest Vallé from meeting with Delattre. Not long after, Gauckler arranged a meeting between his assistant Ernest Sadoux and Delattre and Catholic administrator Monsignor Tournier at Uppenna, 100 kilometres from Carthage by an all-day train trip; the Fathers prepared a backup plan, which came in handy, because Sadoux did not meet them, and Gauckler's apology, blaming Sadoux, made no sense.[104]

At the end of February 1905, an attack on Gauckler appeared in *L'Avenir du centre*, a newspaper in Sousse. Another newspaper reported a vote of censure against the Tunisian Antiquities Service, sent to Resident Pichon in Tunisia and to the Learned Societies in France, that is, to Héron de Villefosse, the organiser that year.[105] This attack was probably written

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

by Dr Carton; Villefosse already knew Carton was deeply bitter about Gauckler's control of archaeology in Tunisia. But on 19 March the government debate on the separation of church and state began; Gauckler still had reason to hope that he would prevail against Delattre.

In April 1905 the French Learned Societies, chaired by Héron de Villefosse, met in Algiers. Gauckler headed a session and his patrons from the French Ministry of Public Instruction were there. On 3 May Héron de Villefosse was at Carthage visiting Delattre; Dr Carton and his wife had asked to be included. Just in time for many visiting Parisian dignitaries to see it, an attack on Gauckler appeared in *La Tunisie française*, with another in the moderate *Dépêche tunisienne* the next day. These stories attacked Gauckler's arrogance in running the Antiquities Service; they said nothing about his sexual preferences.[106] To demonstrate their support, Gauckler's friends in the Ministry of Public Instruction at Paris immediately sent him his annual subvention of 20,000 francs.[107]

Gauckler left Tunisia for Paris before the end of May 1905, perhaps a bit earlier than usual for his annual summer vacation. In June he presented a paper to the Commission for North Africa in Paris, and in July he addressed the Academy of Inscriptions, still as Director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service. In July the 'Law of Separation' was ratified, concluding the separation of the Catholic Church from the republican state of France: good news for Gauckler. But meanwhile one of Gauckler's archaeological volunteers, Commander Ordioni, learned that Gauckler had been confronted in Paris with some misdemeanour; Ordioni hoped 'nothing more will come up'. The draft of a letter of Charles Bayet in the French National Archives suggests that Gauckler had already been asked to resign.[108]

During the months in which Gauckler's status was in limbo, only Georges Perrot, of his fellow *normaliens*, wrote a letter of support for him;[109] *normaliens* Cagnat, Reinach, Toutain, Gsell and Monceaux did nothing. In October René Cagnat's son-in-law, Alfred Merlin, replaced Gauckler as Director of the Tunisian Antiquities Service; the announcement came from Resident Pichon. The appointment was approved by Prime Minister of France Maurice Rouvier, who was also Minister of Foreign Affairs. Rouvier knew both Delattre and Gauckler personally as he had been Resident General in Tunisia from 1892–1894. The appointment of Merlin forced Gauckler to resign.

Resident Pichon had written to Prime Minister Rouvier saying: 'Following incidents about which I verbally informed the department . . .', implying it was unsuitable to put these into writing.[110] So the decisive matter in Gauckler's downfall is unknown. As far as we can tell, his misdemeanours were not criminal. The fact that he was not appointed

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

elsewhere is disturbing, however, as he had a right to an appropriate appointment as a graduate of the École Normale. His use of his funding may have been an issue. Gauckler was not helped by his difficult personality: charming with supporters on a good day, he could range from being obnoxious, to making those around him fear he was mentally ill, and perhaps stress caused him to devolve into clinical paranoia. When Alfred Merlin arrived as the new Director, Tunisians were delighted, if confused by Gauckler's unexplained departure. Merlin supported Delattre and his museum and continued to excavate at Carthage in the context of a warm friendship between the two men.

On 9 December 1905 the separation of church and state was enforced in France, and because of the new Pope's intransigence, all Catholic Church property, including Delattre's former seminary in Rouen, was confiscated, and 42,000 French priests were no longer paid by the state.[111] In France today, the principal of *'laïcité'* ('secularism' in the special French sense of freedom *from* religion in the public domain) is defended by law.[112] Yet because of political expediency, in Tunisia in 1905 no church property was confiscated, none of the remaining members of religious orders and societies were expelled, and diocesan priests were paid as before. What actually occurred in Tunisia was not what 'should' have occurred; the events that had such long-term effects for Delattre and Gauckler require very close analysis.[113]

Conclusion: A fairer evaluation

In this chapter my subject is a conflict between an archaeologist whose primary identification was religious (Delattre), who was supported by an international religious institution (the Catholic Church) and an international public, against an archaeologist of primarily nationalist identification (Gauckler), who fought for his peculiarly French view of professionalism within a bureaucratic system that selects for excellence. Both men were generously funded by institutions of their national government for political reasons. Their work supported the colonialist cause, which aggrandised France by exploiting the resources of a weaker country. Both men were intensely committed to building museums and conserving and interpreting their finds, and both were intellectually supported by prestigious intellectual associations and published by prestigious national academic journals. Both men used the same rather slapdash excavation methods of their times and both could be accused of antiquarianism in their enthusiasm for objects.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

The conflict between Gauckler and Delattre was a French conflict that took place on Tunisian soil. Gauckler was ambitious to control the archaeology of Tunisia, but his conflict with Delattre was more basic. Gauckler fiercely upheld the secular principles of the French Third Republic. He never accepted that Tunisia was a sovereign country with different interests from those of France. The existence of Delattre's museum suggested that French Catholics could make an important intellectual contribution outside the bureaucratic system, an idea that Gauckler rejected. The final outcome was a tragic defeat for Gauckler, whose life and career were ruined by his dismissal; he took his own life in Rome in December 1911.

Gauckler excavated multiple sites in Tunisia and filled the Bardo Museum with mosaics, but he did not do the job he was hired to do, which was to coordinate the work of *all* amateur and professional archaeologists in Tunisia and facilitate publication of their finds. Father Delattre survived because everybody – scholars, ministers of government, and a raft of the rich and famous – knew and liked him personally. In addition, he was there first, six years before the French occupation; his museum and his discoveries were famous; his work supported that of other scholars; his work enhanced the image of France, and the Catholic Church was crucial to French colonial control in Tunisia. But Delattre did his greatest volume of work in the period in which he was under constant pressure from Gauckler. Both made tremendously important finds and the archaeology of Carthage owes a great deal to both.

Why then do the French today praise Gauckler and denigrate Delattre? The opinions I cited in the introduction of this chapter come from Gilbert Charles-Picard and Clémentine Gutron, both successful French bureaucrats, and their opinions are highly politicised. Over the past two centuries, the French have suffered many blows to their national identity and amour-propre. In the twentieth century imperialism and colonialism were discredited. While the Revolution had violently rejected monarchy, aristocracy and the Catholic Church a century before the conflict between Delattre and Gauckler, these threats to revolutionary ideals continually resurfaced. France actively rejected the Empire of Napoleon III when Delattre was a very young man; the separation of church and state at the turn of the twentieth century was another win for the ideals of the Revolution. The French Revolution is the great watershed that led to republicanism, secularism and the reward of individual merit. Under the Third Republic this meant the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in a bureaucratic government based on a meritocracy of intellect. For the highly educated French, Gauckler is on the right side of history and Delattre, a Catholic priest, is not.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

The conflict between priest and bureaucrat had a reputational winner in the short run (Delattre) and a reputational winner in the long run (Gauckler), but for both men their achievements have largely fallen into oblivion despite the importance of their discoveries, because archaeologists have avoided using their body of work. Gauckler produced important publications on Carthage after his forced departure. Delattre's and Gauckler's publications are no longer difficult to find,[114] and are supported by the accessibility of their finds in their respective museums. And, as Givens pointed out, 'the depth of the archaeological past is relatively shallow';[115] the discoveries of these earlier archaeologists are still relevant. Theories of biography in archaeology have emphasised the importance of individuals, the pressure of nationalist agendas and the guidance of international congresses in deciding the histories that will prevail. But biography also reveals the factor of complicated human interactions, with mixed motives, philosophical, political and personal, and with repercussions that encourage disregard of archaeological data.[116] Archaeologists are not historians: they can benefit from the biographer's revelation of this type of historical bias.

Notes

1 I have used Delattre's papers in the Archives of the White Fathers (Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa), on the Via Aurelia in Rome. I also presented a version of this chapter to a Classics Colloquium at Bryn Mawr College on 6 May 2016, at the invitation of Alicia Walker, who, with Christine Atiyeh, is digitising materials on Delattre from the Archives of the White Fathers. Much is now available on Artstor under "The White Fathers at Carthage", https://library.artstor.org/#/collection/87731690. I presented a version of this paper at the White Fathers' headquarters in Rome on 19 October 2016, at the invitation of archivist Father Dominique Arnauld and late librarian Father Fritz Stenger. I owe special thanks to the late Father Ivan Page, archivist at my earliest visit in 2000, and to Father François Richard and Fathers Arnauld and Stenger.

2 Iván Fumadó Ortega, *Cartago. Historia de la investigación*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid: Escuela Española y Arqueologia en Roma, 2009); reviewed by Joann Freed, 'The unvarnished story of archaeology in Carthage and Tunisia', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25 (2012): 988–95, with a review of Clémentine Gutron, *L'archéologie en Tunisie (XIXe–XXe siècles). Jeux généalogiques sur l'antiquité* (Paris-Karthala-Tunis: IRMC, 2010).

3 Gilbert Charles-Picard, 'La recherche archéologique en Tunisie des origines à l'indépendance', *Cahiers des Études Anciennes* 16 (1983), 17.

4 Gutron, *L'archéologie*, 84.

5 A complete set of laws establishing the Tunisian Antiquities Service appeared between 8 March 1885 and 7 March 1886; Christian Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport "confidentiel" sur le musée de Carthage rédigé en juillet 1903 par Paul Gauckler, directeur des Antiquités et Arts de la Régence de Tunis, conservé aux archives du Musée d'Archéologie Nationale', *Antiquités nationales* 40 (2009): 245. Delattre had earlier been assured by Resident Paul Cambon that his rights to excavate and preserve finds in his Museum would not be affected; Pierre Gandolphe, 'Origines et débuts du Musée Lavigerie', *Cahiers de Byrsa* 2 (1952): 165–6.

6 Nathan Schlanger, 'Introduction', in *Archives, Ancestors, Practices. Archaeology in the light of its history* eds. Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (Oxford–New York: Bergbahn Books, 2008), 2.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

7 Éve Gran-Aymerich, *Naissance de l'archéologie moderne, 1798–1945* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1998).
8 Marc-Antoine Kaeser, 'Talking about readings of the past: a delusive debate', *Archaeological Dialogues* 7 (2009), 34–6.
9 Monique Dondin-Payre, 'La découverte de l'Afrique romaine: L'influence des acteurs et de l'idéologie sur l'élaboration de l'histoire', *Pallas* 68 (2005), 35–48.
10 Joseph D. O'Donnell, *Lavigerie in Tunisia: The interplay of imperialist and missionary (*Atlanta, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1979).
11 Janet Malcolm, 'A house of one's own', *The New Yorker*, 5 June 1995, 75.
12 For another view similarly prejudiced against Delattre: Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport'.
13 Tim Murray, 'The art of archaeological biography', in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and Discoveries*, ed. Tim Murray, vol. 2, *E–M* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 879.
14 Douglas R. Givens, 'The role of biography in the writing the history of archaeology', in *Rediscovering Our Past: Essays on the history of American archaeology*, ed. Jonathan E. Reyman (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), 51–7.
15 Marc-Antoine Kaeser, 'Biography, science studies and the historiography of archaeological research: managing personal archives', *Complutum* 24 (2013), 102.
16 Marc-Antoine Kaeser, 'Biography as microhistory. the relevance of private archives for writing the history of archaeology', in *Archives, Ancestors, Practices. Archaeology in the light of its history*, eds., Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (Oxford–New York: Bergbahn Books, 2008), 9–20.
17 Kaeser, 'Biography as Microhistory', 10–11.
18 Joann Freed, 'Early Roman amphoras in the collection of the Museum of Carthage', *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 40 (1996), 119–55.
19 Joann Freed, 'Bibliography of publications by Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932)', *CEDAC Carthage* 20 (2001), 2–60.
20 Kaeser, 'Biography, science studies', 104.
21 Specifically on Delattre before my own work, I have found only an article by Ève and Jean Gran Aymerich, 'Les grands archéologues: A.-L. Delattre', *Archeologia* 208 (1985), 74–80.
22 Joann Freed, 'Le père Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932) et les fouilles archéologiques de Carthage', *Histoire et missions chrétiennes* 8 (2008), 67–100 (tr. Jean-Claude Ceillier).
23 Joann Freed, *Bringing Carthage Home. The excavations of Nathan Davis, 1856–1859*, University of British Columbia Studies in the Ancient World 2 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011); especially 50–68 on the topography.
24 William H. C. Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity. A history* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1996), 69–72.
25 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol VIII, 1881-, especially sections on Carthage (*CIL* VIII 999–1169; 12462–14286; 24516–25361) and on *instrumentum domesticum* (stamps on pottery, lamps and amphoras); for example, Greek amphora stamps recorded by Delattre = *CIL* VIII, 22639, 1–196. Delattre also has important entries in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, vol. I, 1881.
26 Delattre's Musée National de Carthage, a precious resource for archaeologists and historians, has been closed 'for renovation' since the autumn of 2019, with some access for scholarly research in 2022.
27 Pierre Gandolphe, 'Saint-Louis de Carthage, 1830–1850', *Cahiers de Byrsa* 1 (1950), 269–307 and pls 6–22.
28 Jean Deneauve, 'Le centre monumental de Carthage. Un ensemble cultuel sur le colline de Byrsa', in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. 1. Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité*, ed. Claude Lepelley, vol. 1, Actes du IVe colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 113e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Strasbourg, 5–9 avril 1988) (Paris, 1990), 143–55; Iván Fumadó Ortega, *Cartago fenicio-púnica. Arqueología de la forma urbana* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013).
29 Jean Ganiage, *L'Expansion coloniale de la France sous la troisième République, 1871–1914* (Paris: Payot, 1968).
30 Johannes Schmidt and René Cagnat, eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. VIII: *Inscriptiones Latinae Africae*, part 4 (Berlin: Reimer, 1891).
31 Alfred-Louis Delattre, 'Fouilles archéologiques dans le flanc sud-ouest de la colline de Saint-Louis en 1892', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1893): 94–123 and pls 11–12, figs 1–6.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

32 My account of the conflict between Gauckler and Delattre depends heavily on the intensive archival research of the late Dominique Raynal (1944–88): Dominique Raynal, *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique. Uppenna I, Les fouilles 1904–1907*, vol. 1 (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires de Mirail, 2005), especially 171–81.
33 For the details, Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport'.
34 Théodore Zeldin, ed., *Conflicts in French Society. Anticlericalism, education and morals in the 19th century* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).
35 For Delattre's excavations of Christian sites at Carthage, see Joann Freed, 'Louis-Alfred Delattre', in Stefan Heid and Martin Dennert, eds., *Personenlexikon zur christlichen Archäologie, Forscher und Persönlichkeiten vom 16. bis 21. Jahrhundert, aus über 30 Ländern Europas, Asiens, Nordafrikas und Nordamerikas*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012).
36 François Renault, *Cardinal Lavigerie: Churchman, prophet and missionary* (London: Athlone Press, 1994), tr. from François Renault, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie. Visions d'hier, orientations d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).
37 Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 237–40. Gauckler ordered a map from the Tunisian topographic services with diocesan properties marked; he got this in 1893. The Diocese owned 208 hectares, especially around Byrsa Hill and the north. The whole ancient site covers about 400 hectares.
38 Deux Pères Blancs du Cardinal Lavigerie [André Vellard, and A.-L. Delattre], *Carthage autrefois, Carthage aujourd'hui. Description et guide* (Tunis: J. Barlier, 6th ed., 1927), 40–1.
39 Charles M. Lavigerie, *Lettre à M. le Sécretaire perpetuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'utilité d'une mission archéologique permanente à Carthage*, 17 avril 1881 (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1881); reprinted in Lavigerie's *Oeuvres choisies,* (Paris: Poussièlgue, 1884), vol. 2, 397–431.
40 François Renault, *Lavigerie, l'esclavage africain, et l'Europe*, 1868–1892, 2 vols. (Paris: Boccard, 1971); also Aylward Shorter, *Cross & Flag in Africa: the 'White Fathers' during the colonial scramble (1892–1914)* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007).
41 The collection of the Musée National de Carthage in Carthage, Tunisia, is still largely based on Delattre's finds: Gandolphe, 'Origines et débuts', 151–78. For a view that I consider prejudiced and ill-informed: Clémentine Gutron, 'Mise en place de l'archéologie en Tunisie: le Musée Lavigerie de Saint Louis de Carthage (1875–1932)', *IBLA* 194 (2005), 169–80.
42 A proper description of Delattre's spiritual life would require another paper. As a member of the White Fathers, he attended and/or celebrated religious services every day, regularly engaged in 'examination of conscience', and participated in regularly scheduled retreats whose purpose was religious contemplation and self-examination.
43 Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 67–73.
44 Xavier Charmes, *Le comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (histoire et documents)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886); François Arnoulet, *Résidents généraux de France en Tunisie—ces mal-aimés* (Marseilles: Narration Éditions, 1995).
45 Ève Gran-Aymerich, 'L'archéologie française au Maghreb de 1945 à 1962', in *Savoirs historiques au Maghreb. Constructions et usages*, eds. Sami Bargaoui and Hassan Ramaoun (Oran: Éditions CRASC, 2006), 243–65.
46 Hervé Duchêne, *Notre École Normale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994), 157 and note 1; for La Blanchère's obituary, Stéphane Gsell, 'Chronique archéologique africaine', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 16 (1896), 489–90.
47 Jehan Desanges, 'La commission dite de l'Afrique du Nord au sein du CTHS: origine, evolution, perspectives', in *Afrique du Nord antique et medieval. Numismatique, langues, écritures et arts du livre, specificité des arts figurés. Actes du VIIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord*, ed. Serge Lancel (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1999), 11–24.
48 *Chroniques trimestrielles* 1888-07-00.39-4, 2.11, 6 mai 1888. *Chroniques trimestrielles* was an internal paper of the White Fathers, now an online database at Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa website, 'Chroniques et Rapports Annuels': http://www.msv3.org/Main.aspx?BASEID=MDACH.
49 Zeldin, *Conflicts in French Society*.
50 Christophe Charle, *Les Élites de la République, 1880-1900* (Paris: Fayard, 1987).
51 Robert J. Smith, *The École Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1982).
52 Duchêne edited and published three memoirs: 'Notre École Normale', by Émile Zola; 'Rapport sur l'ENS', by Ernest Bersot; and 'Types de normaliens', by Salomon Reinach, in Duchêne, *Notre École Normale*.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

53 Léon Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1854).
54 Raynal quoted a statement of Gauckler of 13 December 1904, Archives Nationales de France F17/2969A; Raynal, *Uppenna I,* 29, note 6.
55 Raynal, 'Autres enjeux', 571–2; Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 232.
56 Salomon Reinach and Ernest Babelon, 'Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884)', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1886), 8. Gauckler's 2400 francs could buy 600 days of skilled construction labour in Paris in 1892; John McMackin (ed.), 'International Labor Statistics', *Bulletin, State of New York Department of Labor* 6 (1904), 328–29. Wages in Tunisia were much lower; Reinach and Babelon were evidently grossly overcharged for labour.
57 Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 237.
58 Paul Gauckler, 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina', *Monuments Piot* 3 (1897), 177–230 with plates XX–XXIII; Paul Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 1. *Tunisie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, text 1910 and plates 1913).
59 Antoine Héron de Villefosse, 'Rapport de M. Héron de Villefosse sur des découvertes faites à Carthage par le R. P. Delattre pendant les premières mois de l'année 1894', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 38.3 (1894): 197–201. For discussions of these finds: Iris Tillessen, *Die Triumphalreliefs von Karthago* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, 1978); Gilbert Charles-Picard, 'Le monument aux Victoires de Carthage et l'expédition orientale de Lucius Verus', *Karthago* 1 (1950), 65–94.
60 Alfred-Louis, Delattre, 'Fouilles archéologiques dans le flanc sud-ouest de la colline de Saint-Louis en 1892', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1893): 94–123 and pls 11–12, figs 1–6. For discussion of these finds: Stefanie Martin-Kilcher, 'Amphoren der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit in Karthago: Zu den Lebensmittelimporten der Colonia Iulia Concordia', *MDAI(R)* 100 (1993): 269–320, especially 286–96, and Joann Freed and Jennifer Moore, 'New observations on the earliest Roman amphoras from Carthage: Delattre's first amphora wall', *CEDAC Carthage* 15 (1996), 19–28.
61 Alfred-Louis Delattre, 'Notes sur la nécropole punique voisine du Serapeum, à Carthage', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 38.6 (1894), 430–42. This was the beginning of the excavation of an archaic Punic cemetery (Douïmès) that continued for three years.
62 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, Diaire of Saint Louis, 29 May 1893, with a long description of the events; *Chroniques trimestrielles* 1893-07-00.59-2,2.30, for 29 May 1893 (online database at AGMAfr website, see note 48); other details from an anonymous author, 'Carthage', *Missions catholiques* 25 (1893): 255.
63 Jacques Alexandropoulos, 'Paul Gauckler (1866–1911): une evocation de son passage à Tunis d'après les fonds des archives départementales de l'Arièges', *Pallas* 56 (2000): 119–37.
64 Lucien Bertholon, 'Salomon Reinach: Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie', *Revue tunisienne* 2 (1895): 85.
65 Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 241.
66 Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 45, note 31, citing Archives Nationales de France F17/13059.
67 *Description de l'Afrique du Nord. Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie.* Vol. 8. *Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage. Collection des Pères blancs formée par le R. P. Delattre.* Part 1: P. Berger (with an introduction by A. Héron de Villefosse), *Antiquités puniques*, 1900; Part 2: E. Babelon, H. Saladin, and R. Cagnat, *Époque romaine*, 1899; Part 3: R. P. Delattre, *Archéologie chrétienne*, 1899 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1900).
68 Delattre, who was wearing hobnail boots, slipped and fell on the parquet floors; Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, 'Y I, I Anecdotes', in Cahier V. These anecdotes are memories of Delattre's friend Augustin-Fernand Leynaud (1865–1953), Archbishop of Algiers, although he is not named.
69 Paul Gauckler, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Tunisie. I. Fouilles dans le premier cimetière des officiales à Carthage', *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 56 (1894 [1897]), 83–124.
70 Paul Gauckler, 'Guide du visiteur au musée du Bardo', *Revue tunisienne* 3 (1896): 309–26.
71 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, *Notices necrologiques* IV, for Delattre, 52*; documents collected for the Legion of Honour can be consulted in the Base de données Léonore, https://www.leonore.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/ui/, under the name 'Delattre, Louis-Alfred'. A detailed account, largely in Delattre's handwriting, dated 2 April 1896, was written for *Chroniques trimestrielles* 1896-07-00.71-7,1.1 (2 avril 1896) (online database of Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, see note 48).

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

72 Alexandropoulos, 'Paul Gauckler', 131, note 40.
73 Gauckler's eight *Comptes rendus de la Marche du Service* were privately published in Tunis (Imprimerie rapide) for 1896–1903 (1897–1904); for this comment, 1896 (1897), 10.
74 Ingénieur Bordy, *Carte topographique et archéologique des environs de Carthage, avec le concours de MM. le R. P. Delattre, le général Dolot and P. Gauckler*, scale 1/5,000 (Paris: Service Géographique de l'Armée, [c1900]).
75 Leila Ladjimi Sebaï, 'Introduction', in *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe,* vol. 1, Paul Monceaux, (Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1966), 16–18.
76 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, 'Y3, I, Musée', letter from Delattre to Mgr Livinhac (January 5, 1898).
77 Paul Gauckler, 'Le service des antiquités', in MM. Anterrieu, Berge, Boulle et al., *Conférences faites en 1898 sur les administrations tunisiennes*, 467–95, copy consulted at the Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes (IBLA), Tunis, June 2014; Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 46 and note 34, cited Gauckler's paper from a copy in the French National Archives, 'Sur l'utilité du Service des Antiquités et Arts', Archives Nationales de France F17/17236. See also Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 232, note 26, citing the same paper of 1888–9 as 'Présentation du Service des Antiquités'.
78 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter of Cagnat to Delattre (22 May 1898); cited in Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 174, note 12; further cited Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 175, note 15; Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 177, note 22.
79 Raynal noted that Gauckler's activities were not 'decisive'; Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 175.
80 Kaeser noted this type of evidence of psychological distress; Kaeser, 'Biography, science studies', 107, n. 5.
81 Paul Gauckler, 'Découvertes à Carthage', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 43.2 (1899), 156–62.
82 Myriam Bacha, *Patrimoine et monuments en Tunisie* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013), 158–64.
83 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter of Héron de Villefosse to Delattre (5 January 1900).
84 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, diaire de Saint-Louis, Carthage (13 January 1900); Arnoulet, *Résidents*, 64–6.
85 Jean-Pierre Laporte, 'Un archéologue en Tunisie, Louis Carton (1861–1924)', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 39 (2009): 246–7.
86 Paul Gauckler, *Marche du Service* for 1900 (dated 15 April 1901), 17–19; Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 236.
87 Letter of Gauckler to Bernard Roy (26 July 1900), written from the Gauckler home in Paris, quoted in Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport', 241 and note 73, citing INHA (Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris), Fonds Poinssot.
88 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter of Gauckler to Delattre (19 October 1900).
89 Eric Cahm, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*, tr. Eric Cahm (London: Longman, 1966); Mary McAuliffe, *Dawn of the Belle Époque. The Paris of Monet, Zola, Bernhardt, Eiffel, Debussy, Clemenceau and their Friends* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), passim.
90 Alfred-Louis Delattre, *Un pèlerinage aux ruines de Carthage et au Musée Lavigerie*, (Lyons: X. Jevain, 1902).
91 Patrick Cabanel, ed., *Une France en Méditerranée: écoles, langue et culture françaises, XIXe-XXe siècles*, Colloque international, Toulouse, 10–12 mars 2005 (Grane: Créaphis, 2006), 15, 24; Frank Tallett and Nicholas Atkin, *Religion, Society and Politics in France since 1789* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 151–3.
92 Laporte, 'Louis Carton', 248.
93 Published by Villefosse; Antoine Héron de Villefosse, 'Les sarcophages peints trouvés à Carthage', *Monuments Piot* 12 (1905): 79–111.
94 No relation to the Archbishop of Carthage at that time, although they shared the same last name.
95 Catherine Salles, *La IIIe République au tournant du siècle, 1893–1914* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1985): 103-4.
96 Lewis Rayapen and Gordon Anderson, 'Napoleon and the Church', *International Social Science Review* 66 (1991): 125–6.
97 Landes, 'À propos d'un rapport'.
98 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter of Delattre to Maison-Carrée in Algiers [probably to Livinhac] (18 December 1903).

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

99 'Justice confounds my enemies! Everything is well in the best of all possible worlds. Until the day that they can strangle us in a corner, in silence'. Letter of Gauckler to Louis Liard, 18 March 1904, cited by Alexandropoulos, 'Paul Gauckler', 136–7.
100 Laporte, 'Louis Carton.'
101 *Chroniques trimestrielles*, see note 48, 1904-12-00.111-1, 3.5; 17 juillet 1904.
102 Alfred-Louis Delattre, *Le culte de la Sainte-Vierge en Afrique d'après les monuments archéologiques* (Lille and Paris: Société de St-Augustin, 1907), preface and 232.
103 Letter from Gauckler to Toutain, quoted by Alexandropoulos, 'Paul Gauckler', 131, who gives no closer date.
104 Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter of Delattre to a friend in Rouen (21 February 1905), Y1, I, 'fragments biographiques'; letter of Delattre to Abbé Catteville, an old friend at the Grand-Seminaire de Rouen (24 February 1905), which is unclear as to whether Delattre visited Uppenna on Sunday, 19 February, but stated that he went on to Sousse to visit the Catacombs and Leynaud; also cited by Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 254. Archivio dei Missionari d'Africa, letter from Gauckler to Delattre (21 February 1905).
105 26 February 1905: 'Mesquinerie administrative', in *L'Avenir du Centre*, a paper published at Sousse, cited by Dominique Raynal, 'Autres enjeux et contraintes de l'archéologie en Tunisie aux débuts du Protectorat', in *La Tunisie mosaïque: diasporas, cosmopolitisme, archéologies de l'identité*, eds. Jacques Alexandropoulos and Patrick Cabanel, (Toulouse: Presses universitaires de Mirail, 2000), 580, note 22; the articles were attributed to Louis Carton in Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 51.
106 Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 62–3 and notes 72 (letters of Carton to Delattre in April) and 73 (article of April 30, repeated in *Dépêche tunisienne*, May 4, 1905).
107 Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 64, note 77, citing Archives Nationales de France F17/17238 and memo in the Tunisian Institut National du Patrimoine for a payment to Sadoux.
108 Draft of a letter by a Minister of Public Instruction, 17 July 1905, quoted in Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 65–6, and note 80, citing Archives Nationales de France F17/17236; the document is reproduced in Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 242, fig. 44.
109 Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 178, note 27, citing telegram of 24 June 1904, Archives Nationales de France F17/17236; letter of Perrot as Secretary General of the Academy of Inscriptions to the Ministry of Public Instruction, 7 July 1904, cited by Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 178, note 27, from the same archival folder.
110 Letter of Resident Stephen Pichon to the President of the Council, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rouvier, quoted by Raynal, *Uppenna I*, 60 and note 66, Archives Nationales de Tunisie, Section d'État, Series E, Direction de Service, Dossier of Alfred Merlin.
111 Maurice Larkin, *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890. La Belle Époque and its legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 60.
112 For an intelligent discussion of the resulting problems, Constant Méheut, interviewed by Michael Barbaro, 'France, Islam and "Laicité"', Friday, 12 February 2021, podcast, New York Times/The Daily: https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/12/podcasts/the-daily/france-secularism-laicite-samuel-paty.html
113 Kaeser, 'Biography, science studies', 105.
114 Freed, 'Bibliography of Delattre'. In the summer of 2022 I placed a complete (unpublished) bibliography of Gauckler's publications on my page at Academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/73346897/Paul_Gauckler_publications. More than 90% of the full publications of these men can be found online today, largely on the French online sites Gallica and Persée.
115 Givens, 'The role of biography', 55.
116 Bruce G. Trigger, 'Historiography', in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and discoveries*, ed., Tim Murray, vol. 2, *E–M*, (Santa Barbara: ABC- CLIO, 2001), 638.

Bibliography

Alexandropoulos, Jacques, 'Paul Gauckler (1866–1911): Une évocation de son passage à Tunis d'après les fonds des archives départementales de l'Arièges', *Pallas* 56 (2000), 119–37.

Anonymous, 'Carthage', *Missions catholiques* 25 (1893): 255.

Arnoulet, François, *Résidents généraux de France en Tunisie—ces mal-aimés* (Marseilles: Narration Éditions, 1995).

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Bacha, Myriam, *Patrimoine et monuments en Tunisie* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013).
Bertholon, Lucien, 'Salomon Reinach: Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie', *Revue tunisienne* 2 (1895): 84–7.
Bordy, Ingénieur, *Carte topographique et archéologique des environs de Carthage, avec le concours de MM. le R. P. Delattre, le général Dolot and P. Gauckler*, scale 1/5,000 (Paris: Service Géographique de l'Armée, [c1900]).
Cabanel, Patrick, ed., *Une France en Méditerranée: écoles, langue et culture françaises, XIXe–XXe siècles*, *Colloque international, Toulouse, 10–12 mars 2005* (Grane: Créaphis, 2006).
Cahm, Eric, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics*, tr. Eric Cahm (London: Longman, 1966).
Charle, Christophe, *Les Élites de la République, 1880–1900* (Paris: Fayard, 1987).
Charles-Picard, Gilbert, 'Le monument aux Victoires de Carthage et l'expédition orientale de Lucius Verus', *Karthago* 1 (1950), 65–94.
Charles-Picard, Gilbert, 'La recherche archéologique en Tunisie des origines à l'indépendance', *Cahiers des études anciennes* 16 (1983): 11–20.
Charmes, Xavier, *Le comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (histoire et documents)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886).
Delattre, Alfred-Louis, 'Fouilles archéologiques dans le flanc sud-ouest de la colline de Saint-Louis en 1892', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1893): 94–123 and pls 11–12, figs 1–6.
Delattre, Alfred-Louis, 'Le mur à amphores de la colline de Saint-Louis à Carthage', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1894): 89–119 and pls 3–4.
Delattre, Alfred-Louis, 'Notes sur la nécropole punique voisine du Serapeum, à Carthage', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 38.6 (1894): 430–42.
Delattre, Alfred-Louis, *Un pèlerinage aux ruines de Carthage et au Musée Lavigerie* (Lyons: X. Jevain, 1902).
Delattre, Alfred-Louis, *Le culte de la Sainte-Vierge en Afrique d'après les monuments archéologiques* (Paris: Société de St-Augustin, 1907).
Deneauve, Jean, 'Le centre monumental de Carthage. Un ensemble cultuel sur le colline de Byrsa', in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. 1. Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité*, vol. 1, Actes du IVe colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 113e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Strasbourg, 5–9 avril 1988) (Paris, 1990), 143–55.
Desanges, Jehan, 'La commission dite de l'Afrique du Nord au sein du CTHS: origine, évolution, perspectives', in *Afrique du Nord antique et medieval. Numismatique, langues, écritures et arts du livre, specificité des arts figurés. Actes du VIIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord*, ed. Serge Lancel (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1999), 11–24.
Description de l'Afrique du Nord. Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie. Vol. 8. *Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage. Collection des Pères blancs formée par le R. P. Delattre.* Part 1: Berger, Philippe (with an introduction by A. Héron de Villefosse), *Antiquités puniques*, 1900; Part 2: Babelon, Ernest, H. Saladin, and R. Cagnat, *Époque romaine*, 1899; Part 3: Révérend Père Delattre, *Archéologie chrétienne*, 1899 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1900).
Dondin-Payre, Monique, 'La découverte de l'Afrique romaine: L'influence des acteurs et de l'idéologie sur l'élaboration de l'histoire', *Pallas* 68 (2005): 35–48.
Duchêne, Hervé, *Notre École Normale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994).
Freed, Joann, 'Early Roman amphoras in the collection of the Museum of Carthage', *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 40 (1996): 119–55.
Freed, Joann, 'Bibliography of publications by Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932)', *CEDAC Carthage* 20 (2001): 3–60, online on the website of the Tunisian Institut National du Patrimoine (INP): https://www.inp2020.tn/cedac/cedac_20.pdf.
Freed, Joann (tr. Jean-Claude Ceillier), 'Le père Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850–1932) et les fouilles archéologiques de Carthage', *Histoire et missions chrétiennes* 8 (2008): 67–100.
Freed, Joann, *Bringing Carthage Home. The excavations of Nathan Davis, 1856–1859*, University of British Columbia Studies in the Ancient World 2 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011).
Freed, Joann, 'Louis-Alfred Delattre', in *Personenlexikon zur christlichen Archäologie, Forscher und Persönlichkeiten vom 16. bis 21. Jahrhundert, aus über 30 Ländern Europas, Asiens, Nordafrikas und Nordamerikas*, eds., Stefan Heid and Martin Dennert, 2 vols. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012).

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Freed, Joann, 'The unvarnished story of archaeology in Carthage and Tunisia', [review of Fumadó Ortega 2009 and Gutron 2010], *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25 (2012): 988–95.
Freed, Joann, and Jennifer Moore, 'New observations on the earliest Roman amphoras from Carthage: Delattre's first amphora wall', *CEDAC Carthage* 15 (1996): 19–28.
Frend, William H. C., *The Archaeology of Early Christianity. A history* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1996).
Fumadó Ortega, Iván, *Cartago. Historia de la investigación*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid: Escuela Española y Arqueologia en Roma, 2009).
Fumadó Ortega, Iván, *Cartago fenicio-púnica. Arqueología de la forma urbana* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013).
Gandolphe, Pierre, 'Saint-Louis de Carthage, 1830–1850', *Cahiers de Byrsa* 1 (1950): 269–307 and plates.
Gandolphe, Pierre, 'Origines et débuts du Musée Lavigerie', *Cahiers de Byrsa* 2 (1952): 151–78 and plates.
Ganiage, Jean, *L'Expansion coloniale de la France sous la troisième République, 1871–1914* (Paris: Payot, 1968).
Gauckler, Paul, 'Découvertes archéologiques en Tunisie. I. Fouilles dans le premier cimetière des officiales à Carthage', *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 56 (1895 [1897]): 83–124.
Gauckler, Paul, 'Régence de Tunis, Direction des Antiquités et des Beaux-arts', *Comptes rendus de la marche du Service* (Tunis: Imprimerie rapide [8 issues for 1896–1903], 1897–1904).
Gauckler, Paul, 'Guide du visiteur au musée du Bardo', *Revue tunisienne* 3 (1896): 309–26.
Gauckler, Paul, 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina', *Monuments Piot* 3 (1897): 177–229, plates XX–XXIII.
Gauckler, Paul, 'Le service des antiquités', in *Conférences faites en 1898 sur les administrations tunisiennes* (Sousse: Imprimerie française, 1898), 467–95.
Gauckler, Paul, 'Découvertes à Carthage', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 43.2 (1899): 156–62.
Gauckler, Paul, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. 2, 1. *Tunisie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, text 1910 and plates 1913).
Givens, Douglas R., 'The role of biography in writing the history of archaeology', in *Rediscovering our Past: Essays on the history of American archaeology*, ed. Jonathan E. Reyman (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), 51–66.
Gran-Aymerich, Ève, 'L'archéologie française au Maghreb de 1945 à 1962', in *Savoirs historiques au Maghreb. Constructions et usages*, eds., Sami Bargaoui and Hassan Ramaoun (Oran: Éditions CRASC, 2006), 243–65.
Gran-Aymerich, Éve, *Naissance de l'archéologie moderne, 1798–1945* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1998).
Gran Aymerich, Ève and Jean Gran Aymerich, 'Les grands archéologues: A.-L. Delattre', *Archeologia* 208 (1985): 74–80.
Gsell, Stéphane, 'Chronique archéologique africaine', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 16 (1902): 441–90.
Gutron, Clémentine, 'Mise en place de l'archéologie en Tunisie: le Musée Lavigerie de Saint Louis de Carthage (1875–1932)', *IBLA* [Revue de l'Institut des Belles-Lettres Arabes] 194 (2005): 169–80.
Gutron, Clémentine, *L'archéologie en Tunisie (XIXe–XXe siècles). Jeux généalogiques sur l'antiquité* (Paris–Karthala–Tunis: IRMC, 2010).
Héron de Villefosse, Antoine, 'Rapport de M. Héron de Villefosse sur des découvertes faites à Carthage par le R. P. Delattre pendant les premières mois de l'année 1894', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 38.3 (1894): 195–201.
Héron de Villefosse, Antoine, 'Les sarcophages peints trouvés à Carthage', *Monuments Piot* 12 (1905): 79–111.
Kaeser, Marc-Antoine, 'Biography as microhistory: the relevance of private archives for writing the history of archaeology', in *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in the light of its history*, eds. Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (Oxford–New York: Bergbahn Books, 2008), 9–20.
Kaeser, Marc-Antoine, 'Talking about readings of the past: a delusive debate', *Archaeological Dialogues* 7 (2009): 34–6.
Kaeser, Marc-Antoine, 'Biography, science studies and the historiography of archaeological research: managing personal archives', *Complutum* 24.2 (2013): 101–8.

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Ladjimi Sebaï, Leila, 'Introduction' in *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paul Monceaux, vol. 1 (Brussels: Culture et civilisation, 1966).
Landes, Christian, 'À propos d'un rapport "confidentiel" sur le musée de Carthage rédigé en juillet 1903 par Paul Gauckler, directeur des Antiquités et Arts de la Régence de Tunis, conservé aux archives du Musée d'Archéologie Nationale', *Antiquités nationales* 40 (2009): 227–48.
Laporte, Jean-Pierre, 'Un archéologue en Tunisie, Louis Carton (1861–1924)', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 39 (2009): 239–64.
Larkin, Maurice, *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890: La Belle Époque and its legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
Lavigerie, Charles M., *Lettre à M. le Sécretaire perpetuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres par l'Archevêque d'Alger de l'utilité d'une mission archéologique permanente à Carthage*, 17 avril 1881 (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1881); reprinted in Lavigerie's *Oeuvres choisies,* (Paris: Poussièlgue, 1884), vol. 2, 397–431.
McMackin, John, ed., 'International Labor Statistics,' *Bulletin, State of New York Department of Labor* 6 (1904), 304–29 (on HathiTrust).
Malcolm, Janet, 'A house of one's own', *The New Yorker*, June 5, 1995, 58–79.
Martin-Kilcher, Stefanie, 'Amphoren der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit in Karthago: Zu den Lebensmittelimporten der Colonia Iulia Concordia', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäolgischen Instituts (Abteilung Roma)* 100 (1993): 269–320.
McAuliffe, Mary, *Dawn of the Belle Époque. The Paris of Monet, Zola, Bernhardt, Eiffel, Debussy, Clemenceau and their Friends* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011).
Murray, Tim, 'The art of archaeological biography', in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and Discoveries*, ed. Tim Murray, vol. 2, *E–M* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1999), 869–83.
O'Donnell, Joseph D., *Lavigerie in Tunisia: The interplay of imperialist and missionary* (Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 1979).
Rayapen, Lewis, and Gordon Anderson, 'Napoleon and the Church', *International Social Science Review* 66 (1991), 117–27.
Raynal, Dominique, 'Autres enjeux et contraintes de l'archéologie en Tunisie aux débuts du Protectorat', in *La Tunisie mosaïque*: *diasporas, cosmopolitisme, archéologies de l'identité*, eds. Jacques Alexandropoulos and Patrick Cabanel (Toulouse: Presses universitaires de Mirail, 2000).
Raynal, Dominique, *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique. Uppenna I, Les fouilles 1904–1907*, vol. 1 (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires de Mirail, 2005).
Reinach, Salomon and Ernest Babelon, 'Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883–1884)', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1886), 4–79.
Renault, François, *Lavigerie, l'esclavage africain, et l'Europe*, 1868–1892, 2 vols. (Paris: Boccard, 1971).
Renault, François, *Cardinal Lavigerie: Churchman, prophet and missionary* (London: Athlone Press, 1994), tr. from F. Renault, *Le Cardinal Lavigerie. Visions d'hier, orientations d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).
Renier, Léon, *Mélanges d'épigraphie* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1854).
Salles, Catherine, *La IIIe République au tournant du siècle, 1893–1914* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1985).
Schlanger, Nathan, 'Introduction', in *Archives, Ancestors, Practices. Archaeology in the light of its history*, eds. Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (Oxford–New York: Bergbahn Books, 2008).
Schmidt, Johannes and René Cagnat, eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. VIII: *Inscriptiones Latinae Africae*, part 4 (Berlin: Reimer, 1891).
Shorter, Aylward, *Cross & Flag in Africa: The 'White Fathers' during the colonial scramble (1892–1914)* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007).
Smith, Robert J., *The École Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1982).
Tallett, Frank, and Nicholas Atkin, *Religion, Society and Politics in France since 1789* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991).
Tillessen, Iris, Die Triumphalreliefs von Karthago (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, 1978).
Trigger, Bruce G., 'Historiography', in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and discoveries*, ed., Tim Murray, vol. 2, *E–M* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 630–9.
Vellard, André, and Alfred-Louis Delattre [Deux Pères Blancs du Cardinal Lavigerie], *Carthage autrefois, Carthage aujourd'hui. Description et guide* (Tunis: J. Barlier, 6th edition, 1927).
Zeldin, Théodore, ed., *Conflicts in French Society. Anticlericalism, education and morals in the 19th century* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

This content downloaded from 193.188.47.71 on Mon, 28 Sep 2026 13:22:34 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms