

scène de la mort au combat, bien connus aujourd'hui.

La dernière partie du livre de G. Laderman, qui s'intitule « Naissance de l'industrie de la mort », décrit en détail le traitement du cadavre du président Lincoln qui fut présenté au peuple lors d'un long périple funèbre à travers tout le pays. Il y voit le triomphe des embaumeurs professionnels et la légitimation du « business de la mort » auquel il consacre son dernier chapitre.

Le progrès scientifique et la technique de l'embaumement, perfectionnée à l'occasion de la guerre, vont permettre, grâce à l'avènement de la société de consommation, l'essor de « l'industrie de la mort » à la fin du XIX^e siècle. L'embaumement, qui était tabou au début du siècle, puis se pratiqua presque clandestinement en milieu médical dans les années qui suivirent, devint légitime et respectable après la guerre. Et c'est là que l'analyse de G. Laderman est un peu courte. Suffit-il que le corps ait perdu de sa valeur symbolique potentielle, en raison du déclin des croyances religieuses ou de la tuerie de la guerre, suffit-il de l'avènement de la société de consommation pour expliquer l'engouement des Américains pour l'embaumement ? Ne retrouverait-on pas ces éléments dans d'autres pays qui n'ont pas pour autant adopté « the American way of death » pour reprendre le titre du livre de Jessica Mitford (1963) traduit en français sous le titre *Le cher disparu* ? Il aurait fallu explorer davantage certaines des implications de la société de consommation : dans une telle société, tout devient marchandise, même le corps du mort. C'est aussi que, comme le dit Jean Baudrillard, « le bonheur c'est la référence absolue de la société de consommation ». La société américaine a non seulement le culte du bonheur, mais elle a aussi celui de la jeunesse et de la santé : même les morts doivent rester jeunes. L'auteur ne s'interroge pas sur ce refus de voir la mort telle qu'elle est, sur le fait que maquillée, elle devient presque un pseudo-événement. Et c'est ce

maquillage qu'il aurait fallu analyser en le replaçant dans le contexte de la culture américaine de la fin du XIX^e siècle, dont certains aspects durent encore. On aurait aimé que l'auteur se demande ce que cette pratique doit à cette culture. Il aurait pu suivre les pistes intéressantes ouvertes par Umberto Eco dans ses analyses de goût des Américains pour l'« hyperréalité », une « réalité » entièrement fabriquée, un chef-d'œuvre du faux (*La guerre du faux*, 1985) et par Miles Orvell dans *The Real Thing. Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*, 1989). Orvell voit le XIX^e siècle comme le siècle de l'imitation, la technique, c'est-à-dire la machine, permettant de tout reproduire. « L'industrie de la mort » montrerait jusqu'où cet art de l'imitation peut aller puisqu'elle peut donner au mort l'apparence du vivant. En ce sens, la commercialisation de l'embaumement n'offre-t-elle pas un condensé de la culture de masse qui prend son essor à la fin du XIX^e siècle et qui allie le culte de la technique, la fétichisation du corps et l'obsession de la « real thing » qui se nourrit de simulacres ou d'illusions ?

Marianne DEBOUZY

Avner BEN-AMOS, *Funeral, Politics and Memory in Modern France, 1789-1996*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, 425 p.

Robert Hertz soulignait le fait que la mort d'une personne ne marquait pas seulement la disparition d'un individu mais signifiait aussi l'amputation d'une société de l'un de ses membres. C'est avec ce présumé ethnographique qu'Avner Ben-Amos interroge dans ce livre remarquable les pratiques funéraires mises en œuvre par l'État en France depuis la Révolution française. Son enquête dépasse d'ailleurs ce seul terrain. Elle insère en effet les funérailles d'État dans tout un

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