Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara

*Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara* describes life on and around the contemporary border between Algeria and Mali, exploring current developments in a broad historical and socioeconomic context. Basing her findings on long-term fieldwork with trading families, truckers, smugglers, and scholars, Judith Scheele investigates the history of contemporary patterns of mobility from the late nineteenth century to the present. Through a careful analysis of family ties and local economic records, this book shows how long-standing mobility and interdependence have shaped not only local economies but also notions of social hierarchy, morality, and political legitimacy, creating patterns that endure today and that need to be taken into account in any empirically grounded study of the region.

Judith Scheele is post-doctoral research Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford University. She is a social anthropologist who has conducted extensive fieldwork in Algeria, Mali, and, more recently, Chad. She is the author of *Village Matters: Knowledge, Politics and Community in Kabylia, Algeria* (2009).
African Studies

The African Studies series, founded in 1968, is a prestigious series of monographs, general surveys, and textbooks on Africa covering history, political science, anthropology, economics, and ecological and environmental issues. The series seeks to publish work by senior scholars as well as the best new research.

Editorial Board

David Anderson, University of Oxford
Catherine Boone, University of Texas at Austin
Carolyn Brown, Rutgers University
Christopher Clapham, University of Cambridge
Michael Gomez, New York University
Nancy J. Jacobs, Brown University
Richard Roberts, Stanford University
David Robinson, Michigan State University
Leonardo A. Villalón, University of Florida

A list of books in this series will be found at the end of this volume.
Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara

Regional Connectivity in the Twentieth Century

JUDITH SCHEELE

University of Oxford
Contents

List of Maps and Photos  page viii
Acknowledgements  ix

Introduction  1
1. Founding Saints and Moneylenders: Regional Ecologies and Oasis Settlement  25
2. Saints on Trucks: Algerian Traders and Settlement in the bilad al-sudan  60
3. Dates, Cocaine, and AK 47s: Moral Conundrums on the Algero-Malian Border  95
4. Struggles over Encompassment: Hierarchy, Genealogies, and Their Contemporary Use  125
5. Universal Law and Local Containment: Assemblies, Qudāḥ, and the Quest for Civilisation  164
6. Settlement, Mobility, and the Daily Pitfalls of Saharan Cosmopolitanism  199
   Conclusion: Saharan Connectivity and the “Swamp of Terror”  233

Glossary  241
References  243
Index  267
Maps and Photos

MAPS

I.1. Algeria and northern Mali  page 2
1.1. Gourara, Touat, and Tidikelt  29
1.2. The Awlād Sīdi Shaykh  46
2.1. Zijlāwī trade and settlements  79
3.1. Truck trade between Tamanrasset and Gao  101

PHOTOS

1.1. Faggāra and water divider  30
1.2. Nawāzil al-Ghuniya  31
1.3. Irrigation register  32
3.1. Trans-Saharan truck  98
3.2. Northern Malian traders  107
4.1. Genealogical diagram: Muhammad al-Amīn Fāl  155
5.1. Library in Talmin  166
5.2. Legal documents  167
5.3. Contract  168
Acknowledgements

This book is a debt incurred – most importantly with my hosts, friends, and informants in Algeria and Mali: the Bakraoui family in Tamantit, especially Saida, al-Bakri, Fatima and all her sisters and brothers, who hosted me in Tamantit and put me in touch with their cousins, in particular al-Hadj Mohammed, who in turn granted me access to the family library. I am also indebted to their cousins in Adrar: Moustapha, 'Atiq, her mother, and Rachid, who helped me at first find my feet in the south; and Rachid's mother, who put me up in Algiers. Also in Adrar, I am grateful to the Kalloum family, in particular Yousef, Zoulika, and Meriem, for their indefatigable hospitality and advice; and their cousin Mekki, for access to the family archives and family history. I am grateful to Mounir Akacem and Brahim, for their friendship and patience, and Mounir’s family in Tamanrasset and Algiers. I also thank the Cherfaoui family for their never-failing hospitality, in particular Najat, Nasera, and Asma; their neighbours, Miriam, Messaouda, and her cousin Hanna; and their families, as well as Dahman and Fatiha, for Kabyle reminiscences in the grand sud. I am indebted to Professors Chouchane, Houtiya, and Bendara for their advice and access to relevant documents; and the shaykh Bilkabar in Mtarfa for granting me full access to his richly furnished and well-organised manuscript library and for assistance in producing digital copies. I thank Shaykh Ma’zuz in Talmin and Shaykh Tayyeb in Kusan for granting access to their archives, and Mehdi Titafi, then director of the Adrar national manuscript centre, for establishing first contacts. I owe more than I can say to Zineb and the Ferjani family for their hospitality in Aoulef and Adrar and for facilitating access to Shaykh Bây’s vast library; and to ‘Abd al-Qâdir Layl, PDG and ‘Abd al-Karîm Dahadj for their life
stories, so generously supplied. I am equally indebted to Zineb’s uncle Karim Moulay for his generosity, delicious dinners, and valuable insights and her aunt Zahra and niece Lalla Aicha in Bamako for their hospitality and warm welcome. In Tamanrasset, I extend thanks to my hosts, the Bajouda family: Mehdi and Fatma, his fine sense of humour and her unforgettable cheerfulness. I am much indebted to Al-Hadj Abdelkarim for his profound knowledge and contacts in Tamanrasset, Tit, Gao, and on the road in between. I thank Abdallah, Khadija, and Hammou Zafzaf for their hospitality in Tit and Dadda Halawa for her help in Tamanrasset and her hospitality in Timbuktu and Algiers, her colleague Deija for her time, and her niece Mama for her warm welcome. I am grateful to Ighles and his team for treating me like royalty on the long road to Gao, and his family, especially his sister, for their help and hospitality. I owe a debt of gratitude to Mina and Abdullahi in Gao for their unquestioning hospitality and to the Awlād Dahi, especially Matou and Moustapha, for their hospitality in Bani w-Iskut and in Gao and its surroundings, and for their help in and with al-Khalil. I am much obliged to the Arab traders in the Souk Washington in Gao, who readily submitted to my questions; and especially to Amar, and to Hamza and his family, for their help and hospitality. I further have to thank Cheibou and Fatouma for long evenings spent chatting in Gao and Cheibou’s father for his hospitality in Bamako; the Ahl Arawān more generally, for their hospitality in Bamako, Timbuktu, and Arawān. Omar Kabyle, stranded in Gao, for his friendship, unfailing support, and kindness. I am grateful to the staff at the Cedrāb for their patience and knowledge; Al-Mukhtar for his hospitality in al-Khalil; and my hosts in Kidal and Aboubakrine ag Ghissa for his help with administrative hurdles in Kidal; and Tayyeb and Fatiha for their kindness and friendly reception in Ain Séfra.

I would further like to thank Bob Parks and Karim Ouaras at the CEMA in Oran for looking after me administratively and for providing the occasional break on the coast, as well as an ever-lively forum for intellectual debate, and the ISH in Bamako for providing a research permit for Mali. Funding for this research was provided by the British Academy (small research grant no. SG-47632), and by two post-doctoral fellowships held at Magdalen College and All Souls College, University of Oxford, respectively, which provided ideal settings for preliminary research and writing. Most especially, I would like to thank Paul Dresch for detailed comments on draft versions of this book: the overall intellectual debt that I owe him is impossible to put in words, as is his and his wife Melinda’s never-failing support and friendship. Morgan Clarke,
Acknowledgements

Simon Quinn, Julien Brachet, Armelle Choplin, and Peregrine Horden have read all or parts of this book at various stages, and their comments and insights have proven priceless, as have those provided by two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge. Charles Grémont and Abderrahmane Moussaoui generously hosted me in Aix and Marseille and shared their intimate knowledge of northern Mali and southern Algeria with me; Charles further made me aware of the manuscript treasures kept at the Institut de France in Paris. An early version of this book was presented as the Evans-Pritchard lectures 2009 at All Souls College, and the result benefited greatly from questions and comments made during these lectures, in particular by Wendy James. Some of its ideas were tried out in the workshop “Navigating Northwest Africa: Towards an Analysis of Saharan Connectivity?” (coorganised with James McDougall), held at Magdalen College in September 2008: I would like to thank James and all the participants at this workshop for their contribution and debate, especially Ann McDougall to whose scholarship this book owes a great deal. These ideas were further tried out on unsuspecting students who took a post-graduate option course here in Oxford on the Sahara in early 2011, co-taught with James McDougall: again, their contributions are much valued. Lastly, many thanks go to Julien Brachet for drawing (and patiently re-drawing) the maps included in this volume.