

Writing Ottoman and Italian Colonial Libya: Intelligence Gathering and the Production of Colonial Knowledge

Nicco A. La Mattina

University of California, Los Angeles

Abstract: By mid-nineteenth-century, European powers became interested in Libya as a valuable asset to their colonial expansion into North Africa. In the context of fascist Italy, explorers such as Emilio Scarin gathered geographic, demographic, and ethnographic knowledge central to the establishment of colonial settlements. However, Italian knowledge of Libya bore within it the sedimentation of decades of descriptive accounts that developed in response to pre-1911 colonial projects in Libya, such as finding a route to the Niger (Lyon-Ritchie), opening trade relations with colonial possessions in Central Africa (Duveyrier), and determining the autochthony of Libyan and North African Jewry (Slouschz). These discursive antecedents were important to Italy's "Libyan colonial archive" and its colonial interests, military and economic. The knowledge produced as part of the Italian colonial occupation of Libya can be shown to have contributed to British ethnological knowledge, especially as advanced by Edward Evans-Pritchard. Focusing on Fascist rule of Libya, this article highlights how intelligence gathering imperatives drove and influenced military reports and writings about Libya and its inhabitants from the early-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. I argue that while motivated by colonial economic interests, this ethnological archive emerged in relation to and in conversation with other European colonial projects in the larger Maghrib.

Keywords: Libya, Fascism, Colonialism, Exploration, Libyan Berbers, Libyan Jewry.

Introduction

When Italian researchers undertook expeditions throughout Libya in the 1930s, under the banner of Fascism, they already had a framework for understanding what they encountered, one which bore within it the sedimentation of over a century's worth of descriptive accounts of the land, its history, its people, and their neighbours. So, concepts that originated and developed in relation to English and French interests in North Africa already populated Italy's "Libyan colonial archive,"¹ i.e., the discursive foundation of seeing, understanding, and governing Libya. For instance, category formation over the course of the nineteenth century in French colonial Algeria crucially set the scene by distinguishing, from the perspective of military engagement, the sedentary Berbers of the mountains, who defended a patrimony and were

1. Cf. Edmund Burke, III, "The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archive, 1880-1930," *History and Anthropology* 18, 1 (2007): 1-9; idem., *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

thus patriotic from the nomadic Arabs of the plains who dispersed in battle and were thus considered unreliable.² It is unsurprising, then, that in the early- to mid-twentieth century Italians found the patriotic Berbers of the Nafūsī mountains surrounded by a sea of Bedouin anarchy. The representations of North Africa and of Libya that Italians inherited were themselves grounded in the political exigencies of other states and empires such as of the English and of the French. Intelligence-gathering imperatives were important to the development of these representations: political and commercial interests in and around Libya influenced the descriptive practices of the English, French, and German explorers in the Ottoman territory that would later serve as the discursive background to Italian exploration. In this article, I highlight the political foundations of the representation of Ottoman and Italian colonial Libya to foreground the role of intelligence gathering in the production of ethnographic knowledge of Libya.

As examples of intelligence gathering in pre-Italian Libya, I turn to the Ritchie-Lyon expedition undertaken in 1818-1820 toward the end of the nominally-Ottoman Qaramanli dynasty, to the excursion of geologist-explorer Henri Duveyrier in 1860-1861 during the expansion of Ottoman rule, and to the travels of Orientalist Nahum Slouschz in 1906-1908 on the eve of the Italian occupation. I also turn to anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who served as a Tribal Affairs Officer in Cyrenaica from 1942-1944 during the British Military Administration, as a further example of intelligence gathering as well as of how Italy's Libyan colonial archive was taken up in the wake of Fascism. The purpose of this exposition is not to give a detailed and comprehensive account of each case, which would far exceed the scope and constraints of this article. Instead, here, I draw on these as examples of how intelligence-gathering imperatives drove and shaped the description of Libya in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, contributing to the development of strategies and concepts that came to seem self-evident to Italian researchers during Fascism. But, I also draw on these examples to highlight how antecedents are visible or not to the resultant colonial archive. Attention is given in each case to the political organization of discourse, that is, to how representations of Libya are borne from and are answerable to specific interests and political circumstances. Uptake of antecedents is, however, itself politically and discursively conditioned. Consequently, while the expository style adopted here is partly chronological, it is also framed by the work of Fascist human geographer Emilio Scarin during the first

2. Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995).

half of the 1930s. So, not only was ethnographic knowledge produced from the intelligence-gathering imperatives of the French and English, but the intelligence-gathering imperatives and the colonial archive of the Italians played a determining role in how the former would be understood and acted on.

Emilio Scarin and Fascist Colonial Libya

In 1932, General Nicola Vacchelli, director of the Istituto Geografico Militare, president of the Reale Società Geografica, and enthusiastic Fascist deputy, set in motion a programme for eight expeditions throughout the Fezzan and Ghāt in southwestern Libya from 1932 to 1935. These missions varied in character, ranging from geological, botanical, parasitological, archaeological, ethnographic, linguistic, geographic and anthropo-demographic, etc. These last three were the themes of the sixth mission in the spring of 1934, with famed Berberologist Francesco Beguinot cataloguing and studying rock inscriptions in Tifinagh characters and Elio Migliorini and Emilio Scarin conducting various geographic, anthropometric, and economic studies of these territories. Scarin had been travelling through Italian colonial Libya since 1930, beginning his career by visiting coastal Tripolitania and the Gharyān, where he studied the form and distribution of habitations, believing that:

“Such a study is an excellent means to know ever more deeply the mentality of the indigene, something very difficult, but which must be taken strongly into consideration by the colonial legislator, not to mention by all agricultural, industrial, etc. organization when it needs the collaboration of the submitted populations [*sottomessi*].”³

In 1932 he travelled in Tunisia, Algeria, Tripolitania, and Fezzan, reaching (with military escort) as far as the Tumu plateau bordering French West Africa,⁴ which was considered a critically important water source for controlling the Fezzan.⁵ His demographic and anthropo-geographic findings were published by the Centre for Colonial Studies in *Le oasi del Fezzan* [The Oases of the Fezzan] in 1934.⁶ For six months from 1933 to 1934,

3. Emilio Scarin, “Tipi indigeni di insediamento umano e loro distribuzione nella Tripolitania Settentrionale,” in *Atti del primo congresso di Studi coloniali (Firenze, 6-12 Aprile 1931-LX)*. vol. III: Etnografica - Filologica - Sociologica (Florence: Centro di studi coloniali, 1931), 24.

4. Emilio Scarin, “Un’ escursione nel Fezzan Meridionale (Umm el-Araneb-Tummo),” *L’Universo* 14, 9 (1933).

5. Emilio Scarin, “I confini della Libia,” *Rivista geografia italiana* 42, 4-6 (1935): 98; cf. Enrico De Agostini, “Sulle frontiere meridionali della Libia,” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 7, 1, 1 (1936): 36-41.

6. Emilio Scarin, *Le oasi del Fezzan: Ricerche ed osservazioni di geografia umana* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934).

Scarin was tasked by the Centre for Colonial Studies, the Central Institute of Statistics, and the Ministry of the Colonies to undertake statistical studies in Cyrenaica.⁷

Scarin did not travel in disguise, had nearly unlimited access to Libyans and their homes, and was not significantly restricted to particular regions in the course of his missions. Not only did he travel openly as an Italian official, with the power to coerce locals to respond to his inquiries,⁸ but he travelled relatively easily throughout the Fezzan in a Fiat 522 on the roads built under the Italian administration of the Southern Military Territory.⁹ Indeed, his ability to travel freely was directly tied not only to colonial infrastructure – which he made much use of, including roads and local military posts – but also to the military occupation of these regions that guaranteed his safety. On 21 January 1930, by the time of his travels in the Fezzan, Murzuq had been re-occupied by Italian troops after roughly fifteen years of so-called “rebellion” in Tripolitania, and the Second Italo-Sanūsī War in Cyrenaica came to a close on 24 January 1932 after nine years of fighting. Scarin refers to the period after 1930 and 1932 as the time of “definitive Italian occupation,” begun in 1922 with the “re-conquest” campaigns and then the priorities of the Fascist regime shortly thereafter.

“After the Italian occupation there were numerous Italian and foreign scholars who undertook systematic studies in the whole region from a geographic, ethnographic-linguistic, or economic point of view (...) however, the greatest impulse came after 1922, when the new colonial direction of the Italian Government led to the extension of direct and real dominion over all the colonial territories, thus making possible, easy, and peaceful the path of all the itineraries.”¹⁰

Scarin collected data through photography, barometers, observation, and especially questionnaires. On these questionnaires, Scarin took down information about the size and type of habitation, of which he identified four possible types (walled, troglodyte, hut, or encampment), the number of people living in the habitation and their age and sex, their race, religion, and language. He also used a questionnaire to record economic information such

7. Scarin, *Il movimento demografico della Libia orientale nel 1934* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1938).

8. See Scarin, “Sopra una prima rilevazione statistica di carattere etnografico in Cirenaica,” in *Atti del secondo congresso di Studi coloniali (Napoli, 1-5 Ottobre 1934-IX)*. vol. IV: Etnografica - Filologica - Sociologica (Florence: Centro di studi coloniali, 1935), 253.

9. See Scarin, “Determinazioni altimetriche rilevate durante un viaggio nel Fezzan,” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 12, 10 (1935): 666, note 2.

10. Scarin, *L'insediamento umano nella libia occidentale* (Rome: Il Ministero dell’Africa italiana, 1940), 18-19.

as the number and size of gardens and available wells, the extent of palm, olive, vine, and fig cultivation, and the number and types of animals.¹¹ In his statistico-demographic research in Cyrenaica for 1934, he recorded the number of marriages, live births, and deaths of “Italians,” “Foreigners,” and “Indigenes,” the latter divided between “Muslims,” “Jews” [*Israeliti*], and “Other Religion.”¹²

Like many other Italian researchers, Scarin believed that the nominally Arab population of Libya was in fact entirely Berber in race, but mixed and Arabized to various degrees.¹³ This relatively popular theory emerged out of the work of French anthropologists Lucien Bertholon and Ernest Chantre at the beginning of the century, who believed that the results of their anthropometric studies proved the axiom that “in North Africa, all that is not Black is Berber.”¹⁴ While some prominent Orientalists, such as Beguinot,¹⁵ did not find Bertholon and Chantre completely convincing, the question of Arabization was ubiquitously important to researchers. Scarin claimed that

“Arabization has reached the point that some individuals, with marked Berber somatic characters assured me, for example, of being pure Arabs whose ancestors arrived from the East. In all the Fezzan, very rare are the human groups whose members declare themselves to have originated from Berber ethnic groups, while very frequent are the Berber somatic characters.”¹⁶

In French colonial Algeria, the concept of Arabization expressed a criticism of the Bureaux Arabes, whose failure to discriminate between Berbers and Arabs was believed to have contributed to the assimilation of the former to the latter,¹⁷ but also a simple explanation for why Berbers might speak Arabic and eventually lose those moral qualities attached to them by French observers, such as patriotic sedentism and monogamy. The Arabization of the Berbers of important centres and groups in Morocco was advanced against the idea that the study of Berber languages would be important in the French

11. For example questionnaires used in 1932, cf. “La Giofra e Zella (Le oasi del 29° parallelo della Libia occidentale),” *Rivista geografia italiana* 44, 5-6 (1937): 164-6.

12. Scarin, *Il movimento demografico della Libia orientale nel 1934*, 8-9.

13. Scarin, *L'insediamento umano nella libia occidentale*, 172.

14. Lucien Bertholon and Ernest Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale: Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Algérie* (Lyon: A. Rey, 1913), viii.

15. Francesco Beguinot, “Berbero,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 7, 2 (1916): 32; “Notizie sul “Bérberi”,” in *Relazione sulla situazione politica economica ed amministrativa delle colonie italiane*, Atti parlamentari: Legislatura XXIV (Sessione 1913-18), Camera dei Deputati, Vol. LV (Rome: Camera dei deputati, 1918), 105.

16. Scarin, *Le oasi del Fezzan*, 170.

17. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 183.

occupation of Morocco.¹⁸ For Italian researchers, Arabization could reconcile the belief that Libya was mostly or completely racially Berber, but nonetheless was characterized by Berber-Arab racial antagonism: only non-Arabized Berbers retaining the Mediterranean spirit [*genio*] and thus being racially solidary with Italians, to whom Arabized Berbers, believing themselves to be Arabs, were hostile. There was, nevertheless, room to suppose that part of the population were remnants of the so-called Hilalian invasion, and thus racially Arab according to the prevailing logic about race. In any case, for Scarin, the concept of Arabization bridged his division of Berber constructions from Arab constructions in his study of habitations and human settlement. In some cases, antagonism and battles between Berbers and Arabs are used to explain why some constructions are not identifiable as Berber or Arab, but rather only as “random adaptations” for protection, as at Banī Walīd.¹⁹ In other cases, Arabization straightforwardly led to the shift toward Arab characteristics from a Berber foundation, such as at Waddān.²⁰ Furthermore, for Scarin, Arab racial solidarity could be effected through Arabization, such that Scarin claimed that the villages of the Wādī as-shāṭi’ suffered less from the “Arab tyranny of the period 1915-1930” because, even with the “important Sudanese influence” on the population, they were identified as of the same race and were thus spared.²¹ The “decadence” of Fezzan is attributed in part to these racial dynamics.²²

As noted above, Scarin viewed his work as contributing to knowledge of the *sottomessi* – i.e., those who supposedly submitted, or were made to submit, to Italian rule – for the purpose of understanding how to enlist them in “collaboration.” Scarin often takes time to distinguish the Italian from Ottoman administration (as well as “Arab tyranny”), lauding how Italian colonial projects have improved the Fezzan and the Jufra oases, such as the building of roads, the rebuilding of mosques, fighting malaria, etc. The intel gathered by Scarin is framed as serviceable to these ends. For instance, knowledge of indigenous habitation and irrigation was considered important for effectively sedentising the population and moving the inhabitants of smaller oasis villages into larger, and more controllable, cities.²³ Knowledge of the regional availability of water and the ability of different oases to be efficiently exploited in terms of cultivation and trade was crucial to the

18. e.g., Jean Lafaye, “Le pays des Haouara,” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d’Alger et de l’Afrique du Nord* 18, 1 (1913): 13-14.

19. Scarin, *L’insediamento umano nella libia occidentale*, 132-3.

20. Scarin, “La Giofra e Zella,” 213-4.

21. *Ibid.*, 22; “Descrizione delle oasi e gruppi di oasi,” in *Il Sáhara italiano*, ed. C. Zoli, vol. 1: Fezzán e oasi di Gat (Rome: R. Società geografica italiana, 1937), 609.

22. Scarin, *Le oasi del Fezzán*, 169-170; “Il Fezzán,” *L’Universo* 16, 5 (1935): 389.

23. Scarin, “Murzuch negli ultimi secoli,” *L’Universo* 14, 12 (1933): 951.

development of agricultural policy toward the Fezzan.²⁴ The shift to a policy of demographic colonization – i.e., settler colonialism – further necessitated such intel, from ruling out the viability of settler colonialism in the Fezzan, to understanding the demographic trends of Cyrenaica, where large scale Italian settlement and agricultural development was planned. The bureaucratic structures of administration required intel on its newly subdued territories in order to govern, and Scarin was one official tasked with gathering intelligence of importance to colonial policy and governance more generally.

Pre-Italian Colonial Exploration of Libya

While many concepts populating Italy's Libyan colonial archive can be traced to French activity in Algeria in the nineteenth century giving rise to a process of the category formation studied by Patricia Lorcin, in what Edmund Burke III describes as a “patterned set of stereotypes about the nature of Muslim Algerian society,”²⁵ no less important were the English, French, and German explorers who deployed those concepts with regards to Libya. Some important accounts of nineteenth-century explorers, especially if they were originally published in German, were republished in Italian translation in the series *Archivio Bibliografico Coloniale* (1915-1921) or as books, such as the writings of Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs, even receiving second editions after the Italian occupation of Libya. French works were less likely to receive translations than German works, and French editions were generally read and cited by Italian researchers, while English texts were rarely translated into Italian at all, often cited in English or sometimes in French translation. Many of these texts were incredibly important resources for both the Italian military and Italian scholars, who relied on these itineraries and descriptions to guide their movements and inform their researches. In the rest of this section, I turn to three cases: (1) The Ritchie-Lyon expedition, which was narratively and descriptively rich but generally not treated as an important source of ethnographic information in Italy's Libyan colonial archive; (2) the Duveyrier excursion, which produced perhaps one of the most important descriptive works dealing with the Fezzan in the nineteenth century and was recognised as such during Italian colonialism in Libya; and (3) Slouschz's travels, which had practically no uptake by Italian researchers despite the fact that it produced one of the very few accounts of several Jewish populations in Libya during the Ottoman period.

24. Scarin, *Le oasi del Fezzan*, 185-7.

25. Burke III, “The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archive, 1880-1930,” 3.

The Ritchie-Lyon Expedition

In 1817, John Barrow of the British government commissioned Joseph Ritchie to travel to Murzuq, the capital of the Fezzan, and establish himself as vice-consul to the Regency of Tripoli, where he would gather intelligence and possibly proceed to Bornu, to establish official relations, and to Timbuktu with the ultimate aim of discovering the course and termination of the Niger River.²⁶ After failed attempts to follow the Niger from West Africa,²⁷ it was thought that trans-Saharan trade routes, in which Tripolitania and the Fezzan had important waypoints and markets, would be more accessible and would afford more opportunity to gather intelligence based on the reports of caravans and merchants. Already in 1785, the French Navy had given funds to August von Einsiedel to travel from Tripoli and the Fezzan to Senegal, though he never left from Tripoli due to the outbreak of plague and his concerns about traveling safely among the locals.²⁸ Establishing a British presence on the Niger, it was hoped, would give the Empire a commercial advantage they would rather not have conceded to the French.²⁹ However, Ritchie died shortly after reaching Murzuq. George Francis Lyon, who had accompanied Ritchie in this expedition, was a Lieutenant in the British Royal Navy and a skilled draughtsman. He went on to publish *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa* in 1821,³⁰ in which he provides richly detailed accounts of the landscape, preparation of food, styles and colours of dress, and architecture in Tripoli and throughout the Fezzan.

Five years earlier, the very descriptive epistolary accounts of the capital by the sister-in-law of the British consul to Tripoli (known only as Ms. Tully) were published, which were informed by her decade-long residence in the city in the 1780s.³¹ She had the benefit both of being herself and of grounding her insights in long-term observation, a mainstay of anthropological ethnography. However, like many others after them,³² Lyon and Ritchie travelled in disguise.

26. Bathurst to Ritchie, 1 February 1818, "Mission to the Interior: Mr Ritchie's Papers," Records of the Colonial Office, CO 2/8, Richmond, UK: The National Archives; cf. George Francis Lyon, *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, in the Years 1818, 19, and 20* (London: John Murray, 1821), 2-3; on such expeditions, cf. Edward W. Bovill, *The Niger Explored* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

27. Bovill, *The Niger Explored*, chapters 1 and 2.

28. Einsiedel to Herder, 28 December 1785, in Heinrich Düntzer and Ferdinand Gottfried von Herder, eds., *Von und an Herder: Ungedruckte Briefe aus Herders Nachlaß*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Dyk, 1861), 381-83; Tully, *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa* (London: Henry Colburn, 1816), 103-5. In Tully's account, von Einsiedel is named as Baron de Haslien.

29. Bovill, *The Niger Explored*, 2.

30. Lyon, *Narrative of Travels*.

31. Tully, *Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli*.

32. Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 22-24.

Before leaving for Tripoli they studied Arabic,³³ and throughout their expedition they disguised themselves as Mamluks, or slave soldiers usually captured from Europe.³⁴ Their disguise extended well beyond dress: Lyon, for instance, learned to perform public prayers, attended mosque services,³⁵ took the name Saïd ben ‘Abd Allah,³⁶ and participated in social life, remarking that, during drinking parties in Murzuq, “I frequently remained the only sober person amongst them; so that I was able to make observations.”³⁷ As they travelled southward, though their language skills more than once occasioned suspicion, their true identities were known only by the Bey of the Fezzan and his retinue, who escorted them to Murzuq. To this end, one dimension of information gathering involved convincingly disguising themselves: “we fully adopted the dress and appearance of Moslems, using all our endeavours to become acquainted with their manners.”³⁸ Alongside and complementing disguise was effective communication, to which end, upon receiving his appointment, the importance of local languages was stressed to Ritchie:

“It is scarcely necessary to impress on your mind how very desirable it will be, in every point of view that you should make yourself acquainted with the language spoken by the people in order to communicate freely with them, and obtain such information of the countries to the southward as may be useful towards your ulterior proceedings.”³⁹

Both Ritchie and Lyon elicited wordlists and itineraries especially for languages and destinations outside of Libya, as preparation for arriving at the Niger. For instance, before leaving Tripoli, Ritchie conducted an interview with “Mohammed, the Schoolmaster at Tripoli,” collecting some fifty “words of the language of Tombuctoo,” a brief account of the Saharan Tuareg, and information on the route between Tripoli and Timbuktu, where Mohammed was born.⁴⁰ Einsiedel had similarly published itineraries and second-hand accounts nearly thirty years earlier by likewise conducting interviews.⁴¹ And

33. Ritchie to Goulburn, 20 April 1818, “Mission to the Interior: Mr. Ritchie, Lieut. Lyon,” Records of the Colonial Office, CO 2/9, Richmond, UK: The National Archives; Lyon, *Narrative of Travels*, 2.

34. Lyon, *Narrative of Travels*, 67.

35. *Ibid.*, 78.

36. *Ibid.*, 7.

37. *Ibid.*, 172.

38. *Ibid.*, 7.

39. Bathurst to Ritchie, 1 February 1818, CO 2/8.

40. Ritchie, *Collectanea Africana*, CO 2/8; “Notes respecting the Interior of Africa,” CO 2/9, partially reproduced by John Barrow, “The Course of the Niger,” review of *Voyage dans l’intérieur de l’Afrique aux sources du Sénégal et de la Gambie, fait en 1818, par ordre du Gouvernement Français*, by Gaspard Mollien, *Quarterly Review* 23, 45 (1820): 229 ff.

41. August von Einsiedel, “Nachricht von den inneren Ländern von Afrika, auf einer 1785 nach Tunis unternommenen Reise, aus Berichten der Eingebornen gesammelt,” in *Sammlung merkwürdiger Reisen in das Innre von Afrika*, ed. E. W. Cuhn, vol. 3 (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1791).

though Scarin dismissed Lyon's second-hand account of Ghāt,⁴² since he never visited the city but only collected intelligence from Murzuq, it was, however, the first-hand account of the Fezzan that set Lyon's writing apart.

Lyon's account continues to be relevant today to researchers of the history of the trans-Saharan slave trade,⁴³ which was in fact a principal concern of the British in Libya. The political influence of anti-slavery developed in Britain as its economy moved away from a more export-oriented preoccupation with keeping production costs down, to a liberal fixation on establishing a free-labour market based on consumer want.⁴⁴ Since slavery was ostensibly counterproductive to laissez-faire principles, it was believed that the development of free-labour markets was a prerequisite to the advance of civilization and to individualist liberty.⁴⁵ In his related 1845-1846 expedition, James Richardson – who also travelled in disguise – maintained that the aim of his mission was “not so much a journey of discovery, as to collect a statistical account of the slave-trade, and see whether there are any practicable legitimate means for extinguishing the odious traffic.”⁴⁶ For Ritchie, however, ending the slave-trade in Libya was more of a means to an end, suggesting that the British government could pay the Pasha of Tripoli an indemnity to secure his funds against abolishing an important source of his revenue. This was important to the expedition because it made movement through the Fezzan to Niger and Chad difficult on account of hostilities occasioned by the Bey's “slave-hunting expeditions.”⁴⁷

“In Conversations which I have had with Negroes from [Bornu] & other parts of [Sudan], I have been uniformly told that the bad Understanding existing at present between Tripoli and those Countries, originates in the predatory Excursions made by the Bey of Fezzan into unprotected districts for the purpose of carrying off Slaves, which have been so extensive and successful as to render his name the terror of those

42. Emilio Scarin, “L'insediamento umano della zona fezzanese di Gat,” *Rivista geografia italiana* 44, 1-2 (1937): 9.

43. e.g., John Wright, *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Paul E. Lovejoy, “Commercial Sectors in the Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Central Sudan: The Trans-Saharan Trade and the Desert-Side Salt Trade,” *African Economic History*, 13 (1984): 85-116.

44. David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 19-21; cf. Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (London: Penguin, 1985).

45. Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 21-23.

46. James Richardson, *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara in the Years of 1845 & 1846*, vol. 1 (London: R. Bentley), 239.

47. Ritchie to Bathurst, 28 October 1818 and 29 November 1818, CO 2/9; Ritchie to Goulburn, 28 October 1818, CO 2/9.

Regions. I believe this is the real motive of the [Pasha]'s refusal to send an Embassy with me to [Bornu]."⁴⁸

It was hoped that Britain could mediate with Bornu and Tripoli to end these excursions, and to this end the Ritchie-Lyon expedition was tasked with gathering intelligence on the slave trade in Tripolitania.⁴⁹ Another option was to aid Tripoli in a war against the kingdom of Bornu on condition that the slave-trade be fully stopped:

"If [al-Mukni, Bey of the Fezzan,] was firmly established in [Bornu], his protection would open an immense extent of the Continent to British Travellers; He would probably introduce a degree of civilization (particularly if the Slave-Trade should be abolished,) which has never yet existed in any part of the Interior."⁵⁰

Many long passages in *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa* focus on the inhumane treatment and movement of slaves across the Sahara, in effect delivering a moral argument for intervention by way of exhibition, as well as providing important intelligence on the trade-value, sources, and destinations of slaves. Such arguments were mostly unimportant to Italian researchers, who, along with many French observers, viewed the end of the slave trade in Libya as a major cause of the decreased prosperity of the Fezzan, and generally disliked British interference.

The Ritchie-Lyon expedition pre-dated French colonialism in Algeria and so it also pre-dated the concept of the Arab-Berber dichotomy. In this and other early descriptions of Libya, differences between Berber and Arab were not conceived ethnically or racially,⁵¹ but rather linguistically. Tully *does* distinguish between "those who come from Arabia" and "the Arabs of Africa,"⁵² but the latter are not singled out and nowhere are they referred to separately as *Berber*. Rather, Tully distinguishes these sedentary Arabs from Bedouins, who "like birds of passage, have no settled habitation."⁵³ Lyon also makes this second distinction, between sedentary and nomadic, stating that "in the Tripoline dominions, and in the Fezzan also, there are two kinds of Arabs, one wanderers, the other fixed residents in towns."⁵⁴ Nonetheless, within the category of nomads, Bedouin is distinguished from Tuareg. So,

48. Ritchie to Bathurst, 29 November 1818, CO 2/9; cf. Dennis Dale Cordell, "Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanūsīya: A Ṭarīqa and a Trade Route," *Journal of African History* 18, 1 (1977): 23.

49. cf. Ritchie to Bathurst, 24 March 1819, CO 2/9.

50. Ritchie to Goulburn, 10 May 1819, CO 2/9.

51. cf. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 23-27.

52. Tully, *Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli*, 12.

53. *Ibid.*, 12-13, 20.

54. Lyon, *Narrative of Travels*, 41.

Lyon does not speak of Berber *people*. He says of the inhabitants of Sokna, a Jufra oasis town, that they “speak a language peculiar to themselves and to the Tuarick [Tuareg] of the Great Desert” which he believes to be “the Breber [Berber], or original African tongue, still spoken in the mountains behind Tunis, [and] in some parts of Morocco.”⁵⁵ However, in speaking of the people of Sokna he always refers to them as Arab;⁵⁶ he also says that “the Arabs of Sockna are of the tribe Riahh (رياه)[Riyāḥ رِيَاح],”⁵⁷ which in fact is the name of the tribe that Scarin would later describe as Arab “nomads that live in the territory of Sokna” as opposed to the sedentary Berber population of the town.⁵⁸ These early descriptions, occurring before the scientific and administrative formalization of the distinction between Arab and Berber in French colonial Algeria, do not draw these same distinctions in the same way, rendering them of limited use to post-occupation Italian researchers aiming to explain the Fezzan by way of racial characteristics and antagonisms. More important to Italian researchers were Lyon’s wordlists, such as his wordlist of “the Berber dialect of Sokna” reprinted and commented on by Orientalist and medical doctor Tommaso Sarnelli.⁵⁹

Henri Duveyrier

France was over two-decades into its colonial conquest of Algeria when, expanding southward, in 1852, the French occupied Laghouat and, in 1853, they occupied the Mزاب valley. It was hoped that the French could benefit commercially from Saharan caravan trade, but without the mediation of Mزابite merchants. The overt objective was to secure traffic between the newly held positions in southern Algeria and the major caravan-trade centre Ghadāmes in Ottoman-ruled western Tripolitania; however, in attempting to independently establish trade agreements with the Kel Ajjer confederation to sanction and protect travel from eastern Algeria to Ghadāmes, a secondary aim was no doubt to weaken the obstinate Beni-Mزاب.⁶⁰ According to the captain at Laghouat, Auguste Margueritte, the Beni-Mزاب “would lose their monopoly of this commerce and its benefits” and would likely not be competitive with French traders.⁶¹ Following his return from Tunisia, where

55. *Ibid.*, 74, 111.

56. *Ibid.*, 72-74, 79, 103.

57. *Ibid.*, 79.

58. Scarin, “La Giofra e Zella,” 203.

59. Tommaso Sarnelli, “Il dialetto berbero di Sokna: Materiali lessicali, testi manoscritti in caratteri arabi, con trascrizione e traduzione,” *L’Africa italiana* 44, Supplement (1925): 1-46.

60. Jacques Frémeaux, *Les Bureaux Arabes dans l’Algérie de la conquête* (Paris: Denoël, 1993), 185-6.

61. Quoted in Charles Philebert, *Algérie et Sahara: Le Général Margueritte* (Paris: Spectateur militaire, 1882), 192.

he documented the western Djerid region not-yet familiar to Europeans,⁶² Henri Duveyrier was sanctioned to travel with the Kel Ajjer to Ghadāmes, Ghāt, and ultimately Aīn-Salah. This mission resulted in the publication of *Les Touareg du nord* in 1864,⁶³ which was highly influential. In it, Duveyrier meticulously details the geology and vegetation of those parts of the Fezzan he passed through, as well as certain sociological and broadly historical information regarding these areas, such as Ghadāmes, Ghāt, Murzuq, etc. For Duveyrier, this mission had a threefold purpose. Alongside the scientific aims, were aims to open up “political and commercial relations between Algeria and central Africa” with the regions of western Libya as intermediaries, and to prepare himself “through the study of men, customs, and dialects” for a second mission further into the Sahara and central Africa.⁶⁴ As with Ritchie and Lyon, Duveyrier practiced intelligence gathering as preparation for further expeditions, but already his discursive framework for understanding Libyans, and the Kel Ajjer more broadly, was responsive to the French military-colonial imperatives of reconnaissance and safety, classically treated by Patricia Lorcin.⁶⁵ Also, guided by his Saint-Simonian belief in the civilizing power of technological and infrastructural development and his commitment to providing descriptions that would contribute to the French colonial project, Duveyrier gathered considerable intelligence regarding where trade routes in the Sahara could be improved by drilling for water or cultivating special vegetation, which should be understood as a major goal of his long chapters on geology and botany.

Though Duveyrier was a civilian explorer and a geologist, he was not an unskilled observer of sociological phenomena and had a penchant for historical analysis, though he was at times frustrated by his lack of access to records and to places. For instance, after having been denied access early in his travels in Algeria, he looked forward to the day “when the Beni-Mzab would no longer *have the right to refuse* to show their chronicles and law registers.”⁶⁶ He similarly lamented that he was unable to continue on to Tuat owing to the presence there of Muhammed ben ’Abd Allah who resisted French colonialism,⁶⁷ and that he was discouraged from travelling to the Harūj massif in eastern Tripolitania because of “the fanaticism of the towns

62. Henri Duveyrier, “Lettre adressée au président de la Société de géographie,” *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* series 4, 20, 9 (1860): 209-13.

63. Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara: Les Touareg du nord* (Paris: Challamel aîné, 1864).

64. *Ibid.*, i.

65. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*.

66. Henri Duveyrier, “Coup d’œil sur le pays des Beni-Mezāb et sur celui des Chaanbā occidentaux,” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* series 4, 18, 10 (1859): 232; emphasis added.

67. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 84, 370-1.

of el-Fogaha and of Zella and the nomadic Arabs of the mountains.”⁶⁸ In other words, Duveyrier did not hold to an ethnographic ethics respectful of a community’s right to control and curate access to information,⁶⁹ but rather viewed rejection as something that could be overcome through liberalisation or, failing this, the coercive power of the French colonial government, as would be the case less than a century later for Scarin in Italian occupied Libya. He also blamed the Sanūsī religious order for making the Sahara unsafe for European explorers, accusing them of being responsible for nearly every death of a European travelling through the Fezzan, and lamenting that he was not allowed entry into some towns owing to their disapproval.⁷⁰ And while he had a talent for observation, his observations are not only occasioned by French colonial imperatives, but also shaped by contemporary Orientalist discourse and more specifically the “Algerian colonial gospel,”⁷¹ i.e., the moralization and eventually racialization of the colonial dichotomy between Arab and Berber.⁷² To demonstrate this point, I will briefly draw on Duveyrier’s description of uterine inheritance, or inheritance passing to the children of one’s sister.

Duveyrier is sharp enough to notice that what can be inherited is of two kinds among the Tuareg, though he calls these “legitimate” and “illegitimate” goods.⁷³ Unlike individually-owned (“legitimate”) goods, which are distributed to one’s children, these rights are inherited by the oldest son of the oldest sister:⁷⁴ tribal inheritance and affiliation are uterine. Not only does he take this to be another in a long line of arguments that the condition of women is better among the Tuareg than the Arabs – a relatively typical moral differentiation in the Algerian colonial gospel⁷⁵ – Duveyrier tells the traditional story of the

68. *Ibid.*, 75.

69. Cf. Erin Debenport, “The Potential Complexity of “Universal Ownership”: Cultural Property, Textual Circulation, and Linguistic Fieldwork,” *Language & Communication* 30, 3 (2010): 204-10.

70. Henri Duveyrier, *La Confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed ben ‘Alī es-Senoūsī et son domaine géographique* (Paris: Société de géographie, 1884).

71. Burke III, *The Ethnographic State*.

72. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*.

73. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 396. Of course, his ‘translation’ is perhaps the first problem. He translates *ehāre n-butālma* as “word-for-word: *goods from injustice* [*biens d’injustice*],” which he describes as “collectively conquered goods,” including various tributes and rights. However, *butālma*, related to *bayt al-māl* (بيت المال), does not translate “injustice;” rather, Foucauld glosses this as “public treasure.” Foucauld also suggests that *ehāre n-butālma* is synonymous with *ehāre n-əttəbəl* or a “good of the drum[-group].” Since Tuareg leaders receive the drum upon election, for Foucauld this drum comes to stand for the leader’s “sovereignty” so *ehāre n-əttəbəl* can be understood as a “good belonging to the sovereign” or “the public” represented by the sovereign, such as a right or a tribute. Charles de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, 4 vols. (Paris: Impr. nationale de France, 1951), I, 111, IV, 1923-1925; cf. Mohammad Nehlil, *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1909), 92-93.

74. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 397-9.

75. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 64-67, 248.

origin of this institution, which he takes to be evidence of “the superstitions of paganism” since in the story a sultan is rendered childless by “the evil-eye, something like the *jettatura* of the Italians!” and as a result chooses his uterine nephew as his heir.⁷⁶ In both cases, Duveyrier argues that the Tuareg are only superficially Islamized, since they adhere to pre-Islamic institutions and beliefs and even supposedly show traces of Christianity in their “respect for women.”⁷⁷ Of course, Duveyrier can hardly be blamed for not recognising the Maussian implications of this institution, but the larger point is that this inheritance practice is precious intel, reporting on the religious pliability of the Tuareg. The broader political dimension of this intel is apparent in Duveyrier’s description of the political situation in Ghāt – an oasis-town in south-western Fezzan not yet under Ottoman administration. According to Duveyrier, the sheikhs of Ghāt traditionally come from the Ihajenen tribe, and he describes all the previous sheikhs as being “of pure Ihajenen origins.”⁷⁸ However, the sister of the previous sheikh married a rich Arab merchant from Tuat. In spite of his own recognition of matrilineal clan-inheritance, Duveyrier sees this as the replacement of a Berber with an Arab and a native Ihajeneni with a foreign Tuati sheik.⁷⁹ Since the oldest uterine nephew of the previous sheikh only had a short tenure, his younger brother el-Ḥaj el-Amin had become sheik. According to Duveyrier, these are crucial points of tension in the relationship between Ghāt and the Kel Ajjer. Of his poor reception in Ghāt, Duveyrier rejects religious fanaticism as a motive: “the religion is only a mask, interest is the only motive for this conduct.”

“[El-Ḥaj el-Amin] wants an investiture of the Ottoman Porte to ratify, in his person, the substitution, on the throne of Ghāt, of an Arab for a Berber, of a Tuati for a Ihajeneni, of a younger brother for a still-living older brother, and, to this end, since he has been in power, he has worked to bring the Turks to Ghāt, first to have his usurpation consecrated, then to no longer have to deal with the Uraghen, his neighbours.”⁸⁰

Since French interests are in opening up trade, and Duveyrier always foregrounds the shared commercial interests of the Kel Ajjer, this piece of information about western Libya is an opportunity for Duveyrier to directly involve the French across their Algerian border as a mediator between the Kel Ajjer and Ghāt.⁸¹ All of the dichotomies of the “colonial gospel” under French

76. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 398.

77. *Ibid.*, 340-1, 414.

78. *Ibid.*, 268.

79. *Ibid.*, 269.

80. *Ibid.*, 273.

81. *Ibid.*, 274.

military colonialism in Algeria are present: the Berber Tuareg of the Kel Ajjer are more civilized, more prone to sedentism, keep the trade routes safe and prosperous, facilitate European expansion in Africa, and are not “religious fanatics,” whereas the Arab element introduced into Ghāt already allegedly destabilizes western Libya and commerce and threatens to pull this area more firmly not only into the Ottoman but also into the Sanūsī sphere. Enthusiasm with the prospects led to an official mission in 1863 to Ghadāmes to sign a pact with the Kel Ajjer to protect French merchants,⁸² for which Duveyrier’s intel was considered urgent.⁸³

Les Touareg du nord was an important source for information on the Fezzan for Scarin and other Italian researchers, remaining, until the Italian expeditions of the 1930s, a principal source for the cartography of the Fezzan.⁸⁴ Nearly every one of the missions into the Fezzan in the 1930s cites Duveyrier for the wealth of his geological, botanical, zoological, ethnographic, geographic, and even linguistic observations.⁸⁵ For instance, Scarin used Duveyrier’s claim that the Wādī al-‘Ājāl up to Sebha was in the zone of Tuareg influence in the nineteenth century to argue that the near absence of Tuareg from al-‘Ājāl in 1932 is indicative of a westward movement of the Tuareg owing to the progressive “Arab infiltration” of the last decades,⁸⁶ referring no doubt to the period of the “rebellion” from 1915 to 1930, and the consequent Arabization of the Fezzan contributing to its decadence. On the other hand, his detailed description of the locations of wells, vegetation, and routes throughout the Fezzan intended to aid French infrastructural projects ultimately played a much larger role in Italian infrastructural projects in the same capacity as Scarin’s descriptive practices roughly seven decades later. In terms of concepts such as Berber and Arab he conformed and contributed to the Algerian colonial

82. Hippolyte Mircher and Ludovic de Polignac, *Mission de Ghadamès (septembre, octobre, novembre & décembre 1862)* (Algiers: Duclaux, 1863), see especially Art. 3.

83. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, ix.

84. Attilio Mori, “Storia dell’esplorazione,” in *Il Sáhara italiano*, ed. C. Zoli, vol. 1: Fezzán e oasi di Gat (Rome: R. Società geografica italiana, 1937), 28-29 note 1.

85. Cf. Roberto Corti, “Rapporto preliminare sulle ricerche botaniche eseguite nel Fezzàn,” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 10, 11 (1933): 757; Paolo Graziosi, “Relazione preliminare delle ricerche compiute nel Fezzàn dalla missione preistorica della Reale Società Geografia Italiana,” *ibid.* Series 6, 11, 2 (1934): 114; Edoardo Zavattari, “Relazione preliminare sulle ricerche di biologia sahariana compiute nel Fezzàn,” *ibid.*, 4-5: 320-1; Francesco Beguinot, “Studi linguistici nel Fezzàn,” *ibid.* Series 6, 12, 10 (1935); Antonio Mordini, “Note etnografiche sul Sahara Italiano,” *ibid.*, 5-6: 358-9; Biagio Pace, “Relazione preliminare delle ricerche compiute nel Fezzàn dalla Missione di archeologia e paleoantropologia della R. Società Geografica Italiana,” *ibid.*, 2-3: 168; Ardito Desio, “Relazione preliminare sulla missione geologico-morfologica della R. Società Geografica Italiana nel Fezzàn,” *ibid.*, Series 7, 1, 8-9 (1936): 546; Sergio Sergi, “Le reliquie dei Garamanti,” *ibid.*, 1. Also, Duveyrier is mentioned in nearly every entry of the 1937 volume of *Il Sáhara italiano* detailing these missions.

86. Scarin, *Le oasi del Fezzàn*, 77.

gospel of his time, and was found to be perceptive from the perspective of the conceptual framework of Italy's Libyan colonial archive. So, unlike Ritchie and Lyon, whose ethnographic observations were not considered of too much importance because they appeared ethnographically unsophisticated from the perspective of later researchers and their ethnic/racial categories, Duveyrier's had considerable uptake among Italian explorers and researchers.

Nahum Slouschz

With the establishment of the Tunisian protectorate as well as the growing influence of Italy in Libya in the late nineteenth and the turn of the twentieth century, the sort of expeditions from Ritchie's to Duveyrier's became less possible as the Ottoman Empire sought to secure its last North African possessions in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. If in the early 1880s, traveller Gerhard Rohlfs complained about the lack of telegraph lines owing to Ottoman negligence in Tripoli,⁸⁷ by the middle of the decade the Ottoman Empire was developing infrastructure in the region to assert the legitimacy of its claim to Libya.⁸⁸ According to Harvey Goldberg, expeditions into the interior were forbidden out of "fear of aiding foreign intelligence operations."⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in 1889 the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) sent David Cazès (director of the AIU school in Tunisia) to Tripoli to report on the socio-professional and educational situation, with the aim of establishing an apprenticeship school there. Cazès detailed the various jobs in the city, their pay, and their racial distribution, and argued that since the Jews of Tripoli have suffered as a result of the decline in caravan trade, they will need to be prepared for new employment opportunities.⁹⁰ During his time in Tripoli, Cazès, who was also a historian,⁹¹ reported on the antiquity of Libyan Jewry on the basis of a funerary inscription he saw during his mission.⁹² Nearly two decades later, on the eve of the Italian occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, orientalist Nahum Slouschz likewise reported from Libya first under the auspices of the AIU as well as the Académie des inscriptions et belles

87. Friedrich Gerhard Rohlfs, *Kufra. Reise von Tripolis nach der Oase Kufra: Ausgeführt im Auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1881), 5-6.

88. Mostafa Minawi, *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

89. Harvey E. Goldberg, "Editor's Introduction," in *The Book of Mordechai: A Study of the Jews of Libya* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1980), 8.

90. David Cazès, "Israélites de la Tripolitaine," *Bulletin de l'Alliance israélite universelle* 2nd series, 14 (1889): 106-12.

91. *Essai sur l'histoire des israélites de Tunisie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'établissement du protectorat de la France en Tunisie* (Paris: Armand Durlacher, 1881); cf. Colette Zytnicki, "David Cazès (1850-1913), historien des Juifs de Tunisie: Un 'métis culturel'?", *Outre-Mer. Revue d'histoire* 94, (2006): 352-3.

92. David Cazès, "Antiquités judaïques en Tripolitaine," *Revue des études juives* 20, 39 (1890) 106-12.

lettres (AIBL) and the Mission scientifique du Maroc (MSM), and a couple years later on behalf of the Jewish Territorial Organization (JTO).⁹³

During his first mission to Libya, Slouschz travelled throughout Tripoli and the Gharyān mountains and when he returned two years later he spent some time in coastal Cyrenaica. In his Tripolitanian travels, Slouschz donned a fez “in the Turkish fashion” and pretended to be “a professor interested in Jewish education,”⁹⁴ not unlike Cazès’s actual position nearly two decades earlier. While, like other explorers including Ritchie and Lyon, Slouschz’s disguise was in part intended to fool locals, it was also important to not “attract the attention of the Italians, to whom the same permission has been repeatedly refused,”⁹⁵ though apparently Italians expressed approval upon learning of his excursions.⁹⁶ More specifically, facing the Jewish communities of the Gharyān, Slouschz prepared to travel “in the rôle of [Hakham], or learned Rabbi,”⁹⁷ a position of religious authority that no doubt granted him considerable access, and which was sometimes successful.⁹⁸ However, while travelling with an actual rabbi like Mordecai Hakohen, Slouschz was taken instead for Ottoman nobility,⁹⁹ another position of authority conferring access. Feigning such religious or political positions allowed Slouschz, he says, “to be the first modern Jew to penetrate into the Hinterland of ancient Libya;”¹⁰⁰ i.e., the Libya that would, he believed, provide the empirical proofs for his Judeo-Berber thesis,¹⁰¹ in which the indigenous Jews of North Africa are understood to be Judaized Berbers of the Roman epoch from Cyrenaica.

Like Cazès’s mission to Tripolitania, part of Slouschz’s intelligence gathering activities aimed at protecting and “civilizing” local Jewish communities,¹⁰² which he considered to be as “primitive” as the Jews “of

93. Nahum Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927), vi-vii.

94. *Ibid.*, 44.

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*, 116-7.

97. *Ibid.*, 46.

98. *Ibid.*, 96.

99. *Ibid.*, 118.

100. *Ibid.*, 117; cf. “Israélites de Tripolitaine,” *Bulletin de l’Alliance israélite universelle* 3rd series, 31 (1906): 103.

101. Cf. Slouschz “Étude sur l’histoire des Juifs et du Judaïsme au Maroc. Première partie: Les origines juives au Maroc,” *Archives marocaines* 4 (1906): 1-67; *Hébraïco-phéniciens et judéo-berbères: Introduction à l’histoire des Juifs et du judaïsme en Afrique*, *Archives marocaines* 14., (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1908).

102. Colette Zytynicki, “‘Une filiation trois fois millénaire’: Un texte de l’historien Nahum Slouschz sur les origines des Juifs et du judaïsme en Afrique (1909),” *Diasporas. Histoire et sociétés* 5 (2004): 113.

southern Algeria before the French occupation.”¹⁰³ Many of Slouschz’s writings from his time in Libya can be understood as intelligence answerable to an ambition of the AIU, as historian Renzo De Felice put it, “[to provide] the European powers with all the information needed to make their intercessions on behalf of the Jews as timely and effective as possible.”¹⁰⁴ So, in his report to the AIU on the Gharyān Jews, Slouschz reports on the abuse Jews suffer from Arabs and the poor state of education to argue that enlightened policies from the Ottomans and a “good Hebrew teacher” could improve the situation,¹⁰⁵ and that “a representative of the *Alliance* could raise the material and social level” of the nearby Yafran Jews.¹⁰⁶

“But what is needed above all, is to intervene with the Turkish authorities with the aim of restoring to these descendants of ancient, indigenous Jews all the sanctuaries, the ḥaras, and the cemeteries that still exist today, and that local traditions, the indigenes themselves, and the documents designate in more than fifty localities.”¹⁰⁷

His descriptions of the Jews of Libya tend to paint quite a negative picture: he describes them as economically precarious and languishing in filth, as well as regular targets of violence.¹⁰⁸ During his second visit to Libya, Slouschz did some travelling in Cyrenaica with the ИТО to determine whether or not areas of coastal Cyrenaica would be suitable for Jewish colonisation.¹⁰⁹ Slouschz’s contribution to the report of this mission was a brief history of the Jews in Cyrenaica, which played an important role in his “genealogical-migratory framework of history.”¹¹⁰ In this report Slouschz detailed how the Jews of Cyrenaica thrived in this region of eastern Libya, which Greeks, Romans, and Arabs have been unsuccessful at populating; to this, he suggested, “it is as though it were awaiting its valiant Jewish Aborigines.”¹¹¹ With Slouschz, all intelligence gathering, including of a philological nature,

103. Nahum Slouschz, “Les Turcs et les indigènes en Tripolitaine,” *Revue du Monde musulman* 1, 3 (1907): 364.

104. Renzo De Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835-1970*, trans. J. Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 13, cf. 20-24 for examples of such reporting.

105. Slouschz, “Israélites de Tripolitaine,” 106.

106. *Ibid.*, 108.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Slouschz, “Les Juifs en Tripolitaine,” *Revue du Monde musulman* 1, 5 (1907): 28-34.

109. Slouschz, “Une Expédition à travers la Cyrénaïque,” *Revue du Monde musulman* 3, 5 (1909): 59-65.

110. Goldberg, “*Book of Mordechai*, ‘Intro,’ ” 17.

111. Nahum Slouschz, “Jews and Judaism in Ancient Cyrenaica,” in *Report on the Work of the Commission Sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organization under the Auspices of the Governor-General of Tripoli to Examine the Territory Proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Cyrenaica* (London: Jewish Territorial Organization, 1909), 52.

is rather straightforwardly driven and shaped by the specific political interests of Zionism and the expansion of French colonial influence.

The centrality of Jewish autochthony to Slouschz's projects not only reflects his own preoccupation with history, but also French colonial preoccupations with native policy. Daniel Schroeter has argued that viewing Jews as indigenous to North Africa may have been a reflection of anxieties surrounding the conferral of citizenship to colonial subjects; namely, the desire to not repeat the Crémieux decree of 1870 that naturalized Algerian Jews.¹¹² Slouschz's expedition in Libya was sponsored partly by the AIBL, and he developed his Judeo-Berber thesis around ethnographic observations of purportedly distinctive pre-Islamic traditions among Libyan Jews and epigraphic and archaeological evidence of pre-Rabbinic Judaism.¹¹³ Information on ancient Libyan Jewry were potentially important to the research of practical interest in Morocco carried out by the MSM,¹¹⁴ inasmuch as the origins of autochthonous (Judeo-Berber) Moroccan Jews were to be sought in Libya, for which Slouschz enthusiastically argued.¹¹⁵ For Slouschz, indigenous Moroccan Jews (as opposed to, for instance, Sephardic Iberian Jews) originated in Cyrenaica, from warrior Judeo-Berber groups that, in their westward movement, split into the Nafūsī who remained in Libya and those who continued on to the Aurès and the Tell, a fraction of which continued on to the Riff.¹¹⁶ Slouschz believed that, in his travels through northern Tripolitania, he had been witness to evidences of this thesis in the form of archaeological, epigraphic, ethnographic, and linguistic discoveries and "survivals." The information he gathered toward answering the question of the origin of North African Jews addressed itself to the conflicting political interests of Zionism and of French colonialism in Morocco, and the tension between these eventually led to the discontinuation of his services, by Lyautey, in planning the reorganization of the Jewish communities and the construction of native policy.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the intelligence he gathered in Libya focused centrally on what he considered to be primitive pre-Rabbinic

112. Daniel Schroeter, "On the Origins and Identity of Indigenous North African Jews," in *North African Mosaic: A Cultural Reappraisal of Ethnic and Religious Minorities*, ed. N. Boudraa and J. Krause (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007).

113. Nahum Slouschz, "Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France* 12, 2 (1909): 481-565.

114. Burke III, *The Ethnographic State*, on the practical orientation of the Mission scientifique du Maroc.

115. Slouschz, "Juifs et du Judaïsme au Maroc (1)," *Hébræo-phéniciens et judéo-berbères*.

116. Slouschz, "Juifs et du Judaïsme au Maroc (1)."

117. Cf. Colette Zytnicki, *Les Juifs du Maghreb: Naissance d'une historiographie coloniale* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), 167-9.

Judaism, in service both to his thesis of North African indigeneity and Judaic continuity and to his belief in the historical civilizing role of ancient Jews and the contemporary civilizing role of the French and European Jews in North Africa.¹¹⁸

But, unlike Duveyrier and even Ritchie and Lyon, Slouschz is nearly invisible from Italy's Libyan colonial archive. Slouschz is never cited by Scarin and is practically absent from the Italian historiography of European exploration. Geographer Attilio Mori is perhaps a rare exception, though he is less interested in Slouschz's travels or his views on Libyan Jewry; instead, Mori drew from Slouschz's essay on the history of the Qaramanli regime in Tripoli, itself mainly drawn from Mordechai Hakohen's historiographic researches,¹¹⁹ to contrast Turkish oppression with the ideals of Italian liberation.¹²⁰ The intelligence gathered by Slouschz partly addressed the political immediacies of Ottoman administration, no longer in place after Italian occupation, and partly to a more theoretical argument about Jewish indigeneity and importance to North Africa, which was positively at odds with the conceptual orthodoxy of Italy's Libyan colonial archive and with Giolitti's Liberal Italian and Mussolini's Fascist interests in Libya. Not only did Slouschz's views on Libya's Jews and the Judeo-Berbers run counter to the Italian colonial association of the Berbers with Mediterranean indigeneity, but Slouschz also believed that Europeans' negative reactions to Sanūsīyya were exaggerated,¹²¹ a position unacceptable and (perhaps illegible) to Italians who inherited a suspicion of the Order, viewed them as an obstacle to political sovereignty, administration, and colonization, and against whom the Italians would go to war twice. For Slouschz, the Sanūsī were not enemies of the Jews.¹²² Instead, Slouschz believed that the Sanūsī were waning in power, a tendency that would be reversed if they could re-establish and invigorate religious solidarity in the face of Italian colonialism.¹²³

118. Slouschz, for instance, argued in *Hébræo-phéniciens et judéo-berbères* that Jews were simultaneously indigenous to and civilisers of North Africa through "amalgamating" with local populations, that there is a "persistence of the [Hebrew] races coming both Eritrea and the Mediterranean" and that they played "a civilising role in the Northern countries [of Africa], as with the Berbers," 453.

119. Nahum Slouschz, "La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli," *Revue du Monde musulman* 2, (1908): 9-10

120. Attilio Mori, "Turchi e italiani alla conquista del Gebel," *Il Marzocco*, 18 May 1913; cf., as a similar post-war example, Costanzo Bergna, "I Caramànli," *Libia* 1, 2 (1953): 45.

121. Slouschz, "Une Expédition à travers la Cyrénaïque," 64.

122. Slouschz, "Les Juifs en Tripolitaine," 31; Alfred Le Châtelier and Nahum Slouschz, "Les Senoussiya en Tripolitaine," *Revue du Monde musulman* 2 (1907): 171.

123. Le Châtelier and Slouschz, "Les Senoussiya en Tripolitaine," 181-2.

Evans-Pritchard and the British Military Administration of Libya

Anthropologist E. E. Evans Pritchard arrived in Cyrenaica in November 1942 at the beginning of the British Military Administration of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (the Fezzan and Ghadāmes were occupied by the French), where he served as a Tribal Affairs Officer. Intelligence gathering operations in Libya were very important to the British at this time. This was true both in Tripolitania, where British intelligence operatives closely monitored political activity, Arab nationalism, and Italian attempts to regain influence in the region,¹²⁴ and in Cyrenaica, where the British were tied up in negotiations with Idrīs as-Sanūsī over his leadership role and consequently in the sociology and history of Sanūsīyya.¹²⁵ British interests in Libya included not only protecting British assets in Egypt, but also securing North Africa as a domain of influence for the “Western Powers” in the ensuing geopolitics of what would become the Cold War,¹²⁶ but opinion was divided on how to keep Libya within the British sphere of influence. One major question was whether political Islam, as in the case of Sanūsīyya, could “cooperate” with liberal European states such as Britain,¹²⁷ recalling the negative image of the Order’s religious fanaticism painted by Duveyrier. Unlike intelligence gathered on the personal connections and the financing of political parties in Tripolitania during the British Military Administration, the archival remanency of which has been studied by Francesco Cresti,¹²⁸ intelligence on Sanūsīyya took the form of partly structural-functionalist and partly historical anthropological accounts of the Order written most prominently by missionary Charles C. Adams (who mostly confined himself to providing a historical account) and Evans-Pritchard in several short monographs written to inform the British officials on these matters;¹²⁹ additionally, Evans-Pritchard authored some articles on Italian administration in Cyrenaica. Debate on Sanūsī leadership ranged from

124. Federico Cresti, “Il Nazionalismo libico a tripoli durante l’amministrazione Militare Britannica: Note su aḥimad e ‘alī al-faqīh Ḥasan e sul ‘blocco nazionalista libero’, *al-Kutlah al-waṭaniyyah al-Ḥurrah* (1945-1949),” *Oriente Moderno* 85, 2-3 (2005): 389-422; “Interesse pubblico e interesse privato nella politica della Libia durante l’amministrazione militare britannica (1945-1949),” *Studi Storici* 49, 1 (2008): 235-59.

125. Todd M. Thompson, “Covert Operations, British Views of Islam and Anglo-Sanusi Relations in North Africa, 1940-45,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37, 2 (2009): 293-323.

126. Cresti, “Interesse pubblico e interesse privato,” 239, 258; Yehudit Ronen, “Britain’s Return to Libya: From the Battle of al-Alamein in the Western Libyan Desert to the Military Intervention in the ‘Arab Spring’ Upheaval,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, 5 (2013): 235-59.

127. Thompson, “Covert Operations,” 295.

128. Cresti, “Il Nazionalismo libico a tripoli;” “Interesse pubblico e interesse privato.”

129. E.g., through the British Military Administration Press, Evans-Pritchard authored essays such as *The Place of the Sanusiya in the History of Islam* (1943), “Tribes (Habitat and way of Life)” and “Tribes and their Division” (1944), *The Non-Sanusiya Orders in Cyrenaica* (1944), *A Note on Zawaya of the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica* (1944), and *Biographical Notes on Members of the Sanusi Family* (1945).

1940 to 1945, but by early 1948, the British had decided to support Idrīs as the future leader of Libya, and in 1949 backed his proclamation of an emirate over Cyrenaica,¹³⁰ the same year that Evans-Pritchard's *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* was published.¹³¹

Evans-Pritchard spent two years in eastern Libya from 1942 to 1944, and by his own account, “in the course of [his] wanderings, (...) [he] covered more than two thousand miles by horse and camel” among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica,¹³² serving as a Tribal Affairs Officer with the British Military Administration. For his research into Cyrenaica and its tribes, Evans-Pritchard had hoped to consult the books at the public library in Benghazi, but these had been destroyed during the fighting in the North African campaigns, so he encountered some difficulty in finding important works on relevant subjects during his time in Libya,¹³³ though he consulted a wider range of literature in the libraries of England upon his return.¹³⁴ However, he was critical of the concepts and interested positionalities of Italy's Libyan colonial archive:

“If Italian writings on Libya were voluminous they were of uneven quality. There was much repetition and, after the Fascists got control in 1922, propaganda. It is clear that all writers under the Fascist regime, whatever their subject, were expected to write (...) if at all, in a derogative or patronizing vein about the Arabs and the Sanusiya order. There is little of real scholarship in their writings.”¹³⁵

On the other hand, as early as January 1944, Evans-Pritchard advocated to the Foreign Office that Cyrenaica be established as a semi-autonomous Sanūsī emirate under Egyptian sovereignty, “[returning] to the world to which she belongs by tradition and culture.”¹³⁶ Because Evans-Pritchard was interested in portraying Sanūsīyya positively, he subverted certain categories, concepts, and frameworks of Italian colonial historiography, such as rebranding the “rebels” of Italy's colonial wars as “patriots.” Nevertheless, he made considerable use of Italian writers for their observations, historico-archival work, geographic, and genealogical work to argue that the Bedouin were adapted to their environment, that Sanūsīyya was adapted to the Bedouin, and

130. Cf. Thompson, “Covert Operations,” 312; Cresti, “Interesse pubblico e interesse privato,” 249.

131. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949).

132. *Ibid.*, iii.

133. Evans-Pritchard, “A Select Bibliography of Writings on Cyrenaica,” *African Studies* 4, 3 (1945): 146.

134. Evans-Pritchard, “A Select Bibliography of Writings on Cyrenaica (Part II),” *African Studies* 5, 3 (1946): 189.

135. Evans-Pritchard, “Bibliography of Writings on Cyrenaica,” 147.

136. Memorandum, “A Note on the Place of Cyrenaica in the Arab World, and its Future,” 4 January 1944, Records of the Colonial Office, FO 141/944, Richmond, UK: The National Archives, quoted in Thompson, “Covert Operations,” 309.

that Italian operations in Cyrenaica had, as Slouschz had foreseen, furthered unification of the territory under the Sanūsī banner, such that Sanūsīyya had become the authentic political expression of eastern Libya.

Unlike Italian researchers, Evans-Pritchard rejected Duveyrier and his view of the Sanūsī, claiming, for instance, that “Duveyrier’s account, used very uncritically by other writers, is largely to be blamed for the exaggerated stories of the secrecy, puritanism, fanaticism, power, and numbers of the Order.”¹³⁷ Indeed, Duveyrier blamed the Sanūsī (“our enemies”)¹³⁸ for making travel through the Fezzan unsafe and in effect restricting his access, and felt the need “to inform the [French colonial] government on the Sanūsī hostility and on the obstacles that they pose to the extension of our relations with the Sahara and Central Africa,”¹³⁹ and so he felt that intel on Sanūsīyya was imperative to the study of geography “and to the success of future explorations, from which geographers await the completion of the reconnaissance of the northern half of Africa.”¹⁴⁰ To this end, Duveyrier, claimed it was “necessary to surveil this religious brotherhood and to oppose its development wherever possible.”¹⁴¹ However, Duveyrier’s account of Sanūsīyya makes use of a more Orientalist methodology, focusing heavily on doctrine, the content of prayers, and the Sanūsī literature that he consulted. For this reason, Duveyrier’s understanding of Sanūsīyya as a religious order is incompatible with Evans-Pritchard’s representation of the Sanūsī, since, according to Evans-Pritchard, the Sanūsī Bedouin of Cyrenaica were almost entirely illiterate, unaware of the minutiae of Sanūsī doctrine, and were motivated in their actions more by tradition, their segmentary social organization, and historical circumstance. Furthermore, rather than as enemies, Evans-Pritchard regarded the Bedouin of Cyrenaica as allies, having fought with the British against the Italians.¹⁴² For him, to keep Cyrenaica as a British ally meant recognising what he took to be its natural national expression: Sanūsīyya.

Evans-Pritchard’s argument is that the limited rainfall and vegetation contribute to making Cyrenaica “a pastoral country, primarily a country of sheep farming,” making the nomadic pastoralism of the Bedouin an ideal adaptation to the environment, in opposition to the “already half-ruined Italian towns, villages, and farms.”¹⁴³ Each tribe is highly segmentary and

137. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, 6.

138. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 301.

139. *Ibid.*, 300-1.

140. Duveyrier, *La Confrérie musulmane de es-Senoûsi*, 3.

141. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du nord*, 306.

142. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, “Cyrenaica,” *The Geographical Journal* 105, 5-6 (1946): 227.

143. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, 34, 39, cf. 31-33, 38.

most of the time without political unity, divided at the highest level into sub-tribes and at the lowest level into family groups, with authority distributed at every level except when the tribe acts corporately.¹⁴⁴ So, when Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, originally from north-western Algeria, came to Cyrenaica from his time in the Ḥijāz, he was understood to be a Marabout, or religious leader “standing outside the tribal system,”¹⁴⁵ on the basis of which he built a missionary organization that was separate from the tribal system and not identified with any one tribe.¹⁴⁶ Sanūsī lodges were established in “all the more important tribal aggregates”¹⁴⁷ as representatives of Sanūsīyya mapping tribal divisions but also, emblematically, their unity.¹⁴⁸ So, the organization of the Order, and Sanūsīyya as an emblem of their social existence, came to be the vehicle of the tribes’ corporate action. When the tribe is forced to act corporately, as “in war or in dealing with an outside authority which for its purposes recognizes the tribe as an administrative unit,”¹⁴⁹ then, it now operates under the banner of Sanūsīyya. The historical account that Evans-Pritchard gives essentially argues that the various wars and negotiations with the Bedouin under this banner on the part of both the Italians and the British have led to Sanūsīyya developing into the political expression of the Bedouin and eventually of all of Cyrenaica. Tribal structure had become important intelligence for understanding and directing policy toward the Bedouin, Sanūsīyya, and Cyrenaica comparable to intelligence on the political dealings of individual actors in Tripolitania. It was part of the British Military Administration’s way of seeing, understanding, governing, and eventually relinquishing Libya, ultimately answerable to British geopolitical interests.

Conclusion

In this article, I looked at how intelligence gathering imperatives drove and influenced the description of Libya from the nominally-Ottoman Qaramanli dynasty in the early nineteenth century to the British Military Administration in the middle of the twentieth century, with special attention given to Italian colonial Libya under Fascism. I also looked at how the descriptions and conceptual frameworks tied to these intelligence-gathering operations were variably compatible with later intelligence-gathering operations and colonial archives. Ritchie-Lyon, Duveyrier, and Slouschz contribute to the production of knowledge of Libya, but do so each according

144. *Ibid.*, 54-59.

145. *Ibid.*, 67.

146. *Ibid.*, 18.

147. *Ibid.*, 78.

148. *Ibid.*, 88.

149. *Ibid.*, 59.

to the concepts and interests of Fascist researchers such as Scarin in Italian colonial Libya and of British officials such as Evans-Pritchard following the war in North Africa. This continues to be true, as these writings on Libya are cited in academic and popular works on Libya, receive translations into Arabic, and serve as important sources of information in locally-written histories of communities from around the country.¹⁵⁰ In this sense, Edward Said's formulation that "British knowledge of Egypt *is* Egypt"¹⁵¹ for British Orientalists must be nuanced inasmuch as British knowledge of Egypt was built on, incorporated, and discursively organised knowledge of Egypt from many sources grounded in their various concepts and interests. The representation of Ottoman and Italian colonial Libya had political foundations and discursively articulated antecedents. Italian Fascist knowledge of Libya may have been Libya for Scarin and other researchers, but Italian Fascist knowledge included English, French, and German knowledge of Libya shaped by the intelligence-gathering imperatives arising from the projects of finding a route to the Niger, of opening trade relations between French colonial Algeria and Central Africa, and even, through the silence of its exclusion, of reporting on the situation and history of Libyan and North African Jewry. Italian Fascist knowledge was also taken up into British knowledge of Libya, present both straightforwardly as a source of important information on Britain's new colonial subjects, as well as negatively through the subversion of its concepts and interests – as the British aimed to elevate the Sanūsī and contravene Italian influence, reversing Fascist Italy's project during their colonial era.

Bibliography

- Barrow, John. "The Course of the Niger." Review of *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique aux sources du Sénégal et de la Gambie, fait en 1818, par ordre du Gouvernement Français*, by Gaspard Mollien. *Quarterly Review* 23, 45 (1820): 225-44.
- Beguinet, Francesco. "Berbero." *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 7, 2 (1916): 810-830.
- . "Notizie sul "Bérberi."" In *Relazione sulla situazione politica economica ed amministrativa delle colonie italiane*. Atti parlamentari: Legislatura XXIV (Sessione 1913-18), Camera dei Deputati, Vol. LV, presented 23 February 1918 by the Ministro delle colonie, 103-9. Rome: Camera dei deputati, 1918.
- . "Studi linguistici nel Fezzàn." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 12, 10 (1935): 660-5.
- Bergna, Costanzo. "I Caramànli." *Libia* 1, 2 (1953): 5-59.
- Bertholon, Lucien, and Ernest Chantre. *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale: Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Algérie*. Lyon: A. Rey, 1913.
- Boum, Aomar. *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

150. There are too many translations to list here, as well as too many local histories that make use of these translations; in fact, this in itself, as well as the individual translations and histories, deserve detailed study, which, unfortunately, far exceeds the scope of this article.

151. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 32.

- Bovill, Edward W. *The Niger Explored*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Burke III, Edmund. "The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archive, 1880-1930." *History and Anthropology* 18, 1 (2007): 1-9.
- . *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014.
- Cazès, David. *Essai sur l'histoire des israélites de Tunisie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'établissement du protectorat de la France en Tunisie*. Paris: Armand Durlacher, 1881.
- . "Israélites de la Tripolitaine." *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* 2nd series, 14 (1889): 106-12.
- . "Antiquités judaïques en Tripolitaine." *Revue des études juives* 20, 39 (1890): 78-87.
- Cordell, Dennis Dale. "Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanūsīya: A Ṭarīqa and a Trade Route." *Journal of African History* 18, 1 (1977): 21-36.
- Corti, Roberto. "Rapporto preliminare sulle ricerche botaniche eseguite nel Fezzàn." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 10, 11 (1933): 752-61.
- Cresti, Federico. "Il Nazionalismo libico a Tripoli durante l'amministrazione Militare Britannica: Note su aḥimad e 'alī al-faqīh Ḥasan e sul 'blocco nazionalista libero', *al-Kutlah al-waṭaniyyah al-Ḥurrah* (1945-1949)." *Oriente Moderno* 85, 2-3 (2005): 389-422.
- . "Interesse pubblico e interesse privato nella politica della Libia durante l'amministrazione militare britannica (1945-1949)." *Studi Storici* 49, 1 (2008): 235-59.
- De Agostini, Enrico. "Sulle frontiere meridionali della Libia." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 7, 1, 1 (1936): 36-41.
- De Felice, Renzo. *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835-1970*. Translated by J. Roumani. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985.
- Debenport, Erin. "The Potential Complexity of "Universal Ownership": Cultural Property, Textual Circulation, and Linguistic Fieldwork." *Language & Communication* 30, 3 (2010): 204-10.
- Desio, Ardito. "Relazione preliminare sulla missione geologico-morfologica della R. Società Geografica Italiana nel Fezzàn." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 7, 1, 8-9 (1936): 541-50.
- Düntzer, Heinrich, and Ferdinand Gottfried von Herder, eds. *Von und an Herder: Ungedruckte Briefe aus Herders Nachlaß* Vol. 2. Leipzig: Dyk, 1861.
- Duveyrier, Henri. "Coup d'œil sur le pays des Beni-Mezāb et sur celui des Chaanbā occidentaux." *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* series 4, 18, 10 (1859): 217-41.
- . "Lettre adressée au président de la Société de géographie." *Bulletin de la Société de géographie* series 4, 20, 9 (1860): 209-13.
- . *Exploration du Sahara: Les Touareg du nord*. Paris: Challamel aîné, 1864.
- . *La Confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed ben 'Alī es-Senoûsī et son domaine géographique*. Paris: Société de géographie, 1884.
- Einsiedel, August von. "Nachricht von den inneren Ländern von Afrika, auf einer 1785 nach Tunis unternommenen Reise, aus Berichten der Eingebornen gesammelt." In *Sammlung merkwürdiger Reisen in das Innre von Afrika*, edited by E. W. Cuhn, Vol. 3, 433-47. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1791.
- Eltis, David. *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. "A Select Bibliography of Writings on Cyrenaica." *African Studies* 4, 3 (1945): 146-50.
- . "Cyrenaica." *The Geographical Journal* 105, 5-6 (1946): 227-9.

- . “A Select Bibliography of Writings on Cyrenaica (Part II).” *African Studies* 5, 3 (1946): 189-94.
- . *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949.
- Foreign Office (Britain). 1944. “Tripolitania and Cyrenaica: Suggested Linking of Latter Country with Egypt.” Records of the Colonial Office, FO 141/944. Richmond, UK: The National Archives.
- Foucauld, Charles de. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*. 4 vols. Paris: Impr. nationale de France, 1951.
- Frémeaux, Jacques. *Les Bureaux Arabes dans l'Algérie de la conquête*. Paris: Denoël, 1993.
- Goldberg, Harvey E. “Editor’s Introduction.” In *The Book of Mordechai: A Study of the Jews of Libya*, written by Mordechai Hakohen, 1-35. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1980.
- Graziosi, Paolo. “Relazione preliminare delle ricerche compiute nel Fezzàn dalla missione preistorica della Reale Società Geografia Italiana.” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 11, 2 (1934): 107-26.
- Lafaye, Jean. “Le pays des Haouara.” *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* 18, 1 (1913): 1-38.
- Le Châtelier, Alfred, and Nahum Slouschz. “Les Senoussiya en Tripolitaine.” *Revue du Monde musulman* 1, 2 (1907): 169-82.
- Lorcin, Patricia M. E. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995.
- Lovejoy, Paul E. “Commercial Sectors in the Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Central Sudan: The Trans-Saharan Trade and the Desert-Side Salt Trade.” *African Economic History*, 13 (1984): 85-116.
- Lyon, George Francis. *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, in the Years 1818, 19, and 20*. London: John Murray, 1821.
- Minawi, Mostafa. *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. London: Penguin, 1985.
- Mircher, Hippolyte, and Ludovic de Polignac. *Mission de Ghadamès (septembre, octobre, novembre & décembre 1862)*. Algiers: Duclaux, 1863.
- Mordini, Antonio. “Note etnografiche sul Sahara Italiano.” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 12, 5-6 (1935): 351-62.
- Mori, Attilio. “Turchi e italiani alla conquista del Gebel.” *Il Marzocco*, 18 May 1913.
- . “Storia dell’esplorazione.” In *Il Sáhara italiano*, edited by C. Zoli, Vol. 1: Fezzàn e oasi di Gat, 15-37. Rome: R. Società geografica italiana, 1937.
- Nehlil, Mohammad. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1909.
- Pace, Biagio. “Relazione preliminare delle ricerche compiute nel Fezzàn dalla Missione di archeologia e paleoantropologia della R. Società Geografica Italiana.” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 12, 2-3 (1935): 163-79.
- Philebert, Charles. *Algérie et Sahara: Le Général Margueritte*. Paris: Spectateur militaire, 1882.
- Richardson, James. *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara in the Years of 1845 & 1846*. Vol. 1, London: R. Bentley.
- Ritchie, Joseph. 1818-1820. “Mission to the Interior: Mr Ritchie’s Articles.” Records of the Colonial Office, CO 2/8. Richmond, UK: The National Archives.
- Ritchie, Joseph, and George Francis Lyon. 1818-1820. “Mission to the Interior: Mr. Ritchie, Lieut. Lyon.” Records of the Colonial Office, CO 2/9. Richmond, UK: The National Archives.

- Rohlfs, Friedrich Gerhard. *Kufra. Reise von Tripolis nach der Oase Kufra: Ausgeführt im Auftrage der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1881.
- Ronen, Yehudit. "Britain's Return to Libya: From the Battle of al-Alamein in the Western Libyan Desert to the Military Intervention in the 'Arab Spring' Upheaval." *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, 5 (2013): 675-95.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Sarnelli, Tommaso. "Il dialetto berbero di Sokna: Materiali lessicali, testi manoscritti in caratteri arabi, con trascrizione e traduzione." *L'Africa italiana* 44, Supplement (1925): 1-46.
- Scarin, Emilio. "Tipi indigeni di insediamento umano e loro distribuzione nella Tripolitania Settentrionale." In *Atti del primo congresso di Studi coloniali (Firenze, 6-12 Aprile 1931-IX)*. Vol. III: Etnografica - Filologica - Sociologica, 24-44. Florence: Centro di studi coloniali, 1931.
- . "Murzuch negli ultimi secoli." *L'Universo* 14, 12 (1933): 943-51.
- . "Un' escursione nel Fezzàn Meridionale (Umm el-Araneb-Tummo)." *L'Universo* 14, 9 (1933): 711-25.
- . *Le oasi del Fezzàn: Ricerche ed osservazioni di geografia umana*. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934.
- . "Determinazioni altimetriche rilevate durante un viaggio nel Fezzàn." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 6, 12, 10 (1935): 666-70.
- . "I confini della Libia." *Rivista geografia italiana* 42, 4-6 (1935): 77-102.
- . "Il Fezzàn." *L'Universo* 16, 5 (1935): 387-403.
- . "Sopra una prima rilevazione statistica di carattere etnografico in Cirenaica." In *Atti del secondo congresso di Studi coloniali (Napoli, 1-5 Ottobre 1934-IX)*. Vol. IV: Etnografica - Filologica - Sociologica, 249-54. Florence: Centro di studi coloniali, 1935.
- . "Descrizione delle oasi e gruppi di oasi." In *Il Sáhara italiano*, edited by C. Zoli, Vol. 1: Fezzàn e oasi di Gat, 603-44. Rome: R. Società geografica italiana, 1937.
- . "L'insediamento umano della zona fezzanese di Gat." *Rivista geografia italiana* 44, 1-2 (1937): 1-69.
- . "La Giofra e Zella (Le oasi del 29° parallelo della Libia occidentale)." *Rivista geografia italiana* 44, 5-6 (1937): 163-245.
- . *Il movimento demografico della Libia orientale nel 1934*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1938.
- . *L'insediamento umano nella libia occidentale*. Rome: Il Ministero dell'Africa italiana, 1940.
- Schroeter, Daniel. "On the Origins and Identity of Indigenous North African Jews." In *North African Mosaic: A Cultural Reappraisal of Ethnic and Religious Minorities*, edited by N. Boudraa and J. Krause, 164-77. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.
- Sergi, Sergio. "Le reliquie dei Garamanti." *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana* Series 7, 1, 1 (1936): 1-12.
- Slouschz, Nahum. "Étude sur l'histoire des Juifs et du Judaïsme au Maroc. Première partie: Les origines juives au Maroc." *Archives marocaines* 4 (1906): 1-67.
- . "Israélites de Tripolitaine." *Bulletin de l'Alliance israélite universelle* 3rd series, 31 (1906): 103-9.
- . "Les Juifs en Tripolitaine." *Revue du Monde musulman* 1, 5 (1907): 28-34.
- . "Les Turcs et les indigènes en Tripolitaine." *Revue du Monde musulman* 1, 3 (1907): 364-72.
- . *Hébræo-phéniciens et judéo-berbères: Introduction à l'histoire des Juifs et du judaïsme en Afrique*. Archives marocaines 14. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1908.

- . “La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli.” *Revue du Monde musulman* 2, 9-10 (1908): 58-84, 211-32.
- . “Jews and Judaism in Ancient Cyrenaica.” In *Report on the Work of the Commission Sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organization under the Auspices of the Governor-General of Tripoli to Examine the Territory Proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Cyrenaica*, 51-52. London: Jewish Territorial Organization, 1909.
- . “Un voyage d'études juives en Afrique.” *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France* 12, 2 (1909): 481-565.
- . “Une Expédition à travers la Cyrénaïque.” *Revue du Monde musulman* 3, 5 (1909): 59-65.
- . *Travels in North Africa*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927.
- Thompson, Todd M. “Covert Operations, British Views of Islam and Anglo-Sanusi Relations in North Africa, 1940-45.” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37, 2 (2009): 293-323.
- Tully. *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa*. London: Henry Colburn, 1816.
- Wright, John. *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Zavattari, Edoardo. “Relazione preliminare sulle ricerche di biologia sahariana compiute nel Fezzàn.” *Bollettino della R. Società geografica italiana Series* 6, 11, 4-5 (1934): 318-27.
- Zytnicki, Colette. “‘Une filiation trois fois millénaire’: Un texte de l'historien Nahum Slouschz sur les origines des Juifs et du judaïsme en Afrique (1909).” *Diasporas. Histoire et sociétés* 5 (2004): 109-16.
- . “David Cazès (1850-1913), historien des Juifs de Tunisie: Un ‘métis culturel’?” *Outre-Mer. Revue d'histoire* 94, 352-53 (2006): 97-106.
- . *Les Juifs du Maghreb: Naissance d'une historiographie coloniale*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011.

الكتابة عن ليبيا المستعمرة العثمانية والإيطالية: جمع المعطيات الاستخباراتية وإنتاج المعرفة الاستعمارية

ملخص: بحلول منتصف القرن التاسع عشر، أصبحت القوى الأوروبية مهتمة بليبيا كورقة مهمة في مشروعها التوسعي الاستعماري في شمال إفريقيا. وفي السياقات الزمنية لإيطاليا الفاشية، جمع المستكشفون مثل إميليو سكارين المعرفة الجغرافية والديموغرافية والإثنوغرافية المركزية لإنشاء المستوطنات الاستعمارية. ومع ذلك، فقد حملت المعرفة الإيطالية بليبيا في طياتها ترسبات عقود من الروايات الوصفية التي تطورت استجابة لمشاريع استعمارية تعود إلى فترات ما قبل عام 1911 في ليبيا، مثل محاولة إيجاد طريق إلى النيجر (ليون-ريتشى)، وفتح علاقات تجارية مع الممتلكات الاستعمارية في وسط إفريقيا (دوفيرييه)، وجهود تحديد أصل يهود ليبيا وشمال إفريقيا (سلوش). وكانت مثل هذه السوابق السردية مهمة لـ “الأرشيف الاستعماري الليبي” المتعلق بإيطاليا ومصالحها الاستعمارية، العسكرية منها والاقتصادية. ويمكن إثبات أن المعرفة التي تم إنتاجها في سياقات الاحتلال الاستعماري الإيطالي لليبيا قد ساهمت في تعزيز المعرفة الإثنولوجية البريطانية، خاصة كما قدمها إدوارد إيفانز بريشارد. وبالتركيز على فترة الحكم الفاشستي لليبيا، يسلط هذا المقال الضوء على مدى إسهام دواعي جمع المعلومات الاستخباراتية وكيفية تأثيرها على صياغة التقارير والكتابات العسكرية حول ليبيا وسكانها من أوائل القرن التاسع عشر إلى منتصف القرن العشرين. ويبدو أنه على الرغم من أن هذا الأرشيف الإثنولوجي قد كانت وراء إنتاجه اهتمامات لها صلة مباشرة بالمصالح الاقتصادية الاستعمارية، فقد

ظهرت عناصره في علاقة بالمشاريع الاستعمارية الأوروبية الأخرى التي استهدفت بقية البلدان المغاربية وفي حوار معها.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ليبيا، الفاشية، الاستعمار، الاستكشاف، البربر الليبيون، يهود ليبيا.

Écrire sur la Libye coloniale ottomane et italienne: Collecte de renseignements et production de connaissances coloniales

Résumé: Vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle, les puissances européennes se sont intéressées à la Libye comme un atout précieux pour leur expansion coloniale en Afrique du Nord. Dans le contexte de l'Italie fasciste, des explorateurs tels qu'Emilio Scarin ont rassemblé des connaissances géographiques, démographiques et ethnographiques essentielles à l'établissement des colonies coloniales. Cependant, la connaissance italienne de la Libye portait en elle la sédimentation de décennies de récits descriptifs qui se sont développés en réponse à des projets coloniaux pré-1911 en Libye, comme trouver une route vers le Niger (Lyon-Ritchie), ouvrir des relations commerciales avec les possessions coloniales en Afrique centrale (Duveyrer) et déterminer l'autochtonie des juifs libyens et nord-africains (Slouschz). Ces antécédents discursifs étaient importants pour les "archives coloniales libyennes" de l'Italie et ses intérêts coloniaux, militaires et économiques. On peut montrer que les connaissances produites dans le cadre de l'occupation coloniale italienne de la Libye ont contribué aux connaissances ethnologiques britanniques, en particulier celles avancées par Edward Evans-Pritchard. En se concentrant sur la domination fasciste de la Libye, cet article met en évidence comment les impératifs de collecte de renseignements ont conduit et influencé les rapports et écrits militaires sur la Libye et ses habitants du début du XIX^e au milieu du XX^e siècle. Je soutiens que, bien que motivées par des intérêts économiques coloniaux, ces archives ethnologiques ont émergé en relation et en conversation avec d'autres projets coloniaux européens dans le Maghreb élargi.

Mots-clés: Libye, fascisme, colonialisme, exploration, berbères libyens, juifs libyens.