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In memory of Hans Anthony Zimmerman (1984–2012),
gentle soul, dexterous mind, brave inhabitant of
an unjust body.

Contents

Note on Translation and Transliteration

In North Africa, as elsewhere, Jews, like Muslims, were known by their first name and the name of their father (e.g., Meriem bent Lalou) and did not bear a patronymic—until the state dictated otherwise. In 1961, France required southern Algerian Jews who wished to acquire French nationality to assume a patronymic and fix the spelling of their name, at which point, as we shall see, the choice and spelling of names became politicized for the individuals involved. Earlier archival sources transliterate southern Algerian names into French variously, sometimes spelling a person's name in multiple forms in the course of a single document. Upon these names I have imposed standardization through transliteration, while tending to remain faithful to the sources. In the interest of maintaining constancy with my source material, I employ colonial-era place names, offering contemporary names or spelling in brackets at first usage (e.g., Géryville [El Bayadh]). Transliterations from Arabic hew to the guidelines of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, without diacritics. Transliterations from Hebrew and Yiddish employ the relevant Library of Congress system, also without diacritics.

All translations are my own unless otherwise mentioned.

Prologue: The Lost Archive

In December 1961, amidst the bloody dénouement of the Algerian war of independence (1954–1962), Algeria's governor-general directed assistant district commissioner of Ghardaïa Jean Moriaz to create, retroactively, a civil register for the Jews of the Mzab, a valley of five fortified oasis cities in the north of the Algerian Sahara, six hundred kilometers south of Algiers.[1] The register would document the births and deaths of all living Jews born in the Mzab, enabling them—according to a law of June 1961—to acquire French citizenship and join the flow of roughly 140,000 northern Algerian Jews, one million *pieds-noirs* [Algerians of European descent], and a hundred thousand *harkis* [Muslim Algerians who had fought on the side of the French during the Algerian war of independence] fleeing a soon-to-be sovereign Algeria for France. This register was designed to undo eighty years of legal precedent by which the Jews of the Algerian Sahara were denied the rights and privileges granted northern Algerian Jews.

With the passage of the Crémieux decree in 1870, the French state granted Jews in the northern departments of Algeria French citizenship forty years after the colonization of Algeria began. But in the military-ruled Southern Territories, which existed as an administrative entity from 1902 to 1957, Jews, like Muslims throughout Algeria, were categorized as *indigènes* [indigenous subjects] and were subject to "local civil status" laws, with their political rights radically curtailed.[2] These laws recognized the legitimacy of Qurʾanic, Berber, Mozabite, or Mosaic laws and institutions in matters pertaining to marriage, divorce, paternity,

Fig. 1 A rabbi from Ghardaïa stands before his city, c. 1930. French military rule in the Southern Territories of Algeria assigned Ghardaïa's rabbis the authority to conduct and register communal births, marriages, and divorces. Photograph by Marian O'Conner. © Royal Geographical Society (with IBG).

and inheritance, and assigned a *qadi*, a Muslim jurist or, in Algeria's Southern Territories, a rabbi, authority to oversee related legal matters, including the maintenance of communal ledgers (see figure 1).

With the application of Mosaic personal status laws in Algeria's Southern Territories, the several thousand Jews who lived in this region became, over eighty years of French colonial rule, the only Jews in Algeria, France, or North Africa to live for an extended period under military rule rather than civilian rule or protectorate status, simultaneously beholden to rabbinical law and military authority.[3] This Jewish community was

also the only Jewish community across the colonial world systematically constrained in its access to a culture of legal pluralism—that is, to a culture of multiple, decentralized legal orders.[4] Jews in the Mzab, unlike Jews elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East, had no opportunity to earn the protection of foreign powers, to acquire standing as foreign nationals or extraterritorial subjects, or to serve the colonial administration, as did Jews elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East, even if they did have access both to Muslim and colonial courts for civil matters. When France granted southern Algerian Jews French citizenship with common civil status in June 1961, it was meant to undo these realities, but it could not undermine the historic trend of legal differentiation.

Charged with the task of retroactively assembling a civil registry of Mzabi Jews, Jean Moriaz sought the aid of a distinguished member of the Jewish community, Hayim Partouche. In Moriaz's home, the pair conferred with the patriarchs of Ghardaïa's extant Jewish households and consulted rabbinical registries dating to 1898, conducting their conversations in the dark of night so as to operate discreetly. Based upon these efforts, Moriaz and Partouche assembled a list of 2,437 names. The list was completed but a few months before the remaining, roughly one thousand Jews of Ghardaïa would be "repatriated" to France. Weeks later, Algeria was declared a sovereign nation.

Moriaz's list and the rabbinical registries upon which it was based were deposited with the municipality of Ghardaïa. But the information these sources contained was never more crucial for the French state. Preoccupied with control over the future writing of the Algerian past, the French had articulated a determination to "repatriate" Algeria's archives as well as its "European" citizens.[5] Mzabi Jews had been declared French, but the production of paperwork attending their naturalization as citizens prone to common law had been hurried and partial. Without complete information, the state could not reward these newly minted French citizens with the legal status, rights, and official papers to which they had become entitled, and this, in turn, risked muddying the central binary of European/Muslim upon which a decolonizing France was coming to insist.

Alas the government found it was lacking the necessary paperwork. Jean Moriaz had abandoned his retroactive registry when he left southern Algeria: and, in the context of a newly independent Algeria, the retention of archival material by Ghardaïa's municipality served as a complex gesture of independence. Despite repeated demands by the French, the municipality of Ghardaïa refused to relinquish either the documents or microfilmed copies of them. The French Ministry of Justice implored Moriaz to rewrite his register a third time, but his existing notes, carried

to France, were found to be irremediably lacking. Faced with lacunae of documentation, French officials and Jews of southern Algerian origin would for years struggle at the legal interstices of colonial and postcolonial law.

This book is about the way in which the notion of legal difference comes to be invented and maintained. It considers how, over roughly eighty years of colonialism and decolonization in the Algerian Sahara, a community of Jews was imagined and configured (by the French state and military, by social scientists, by northern Algerian Jews, and by international Jewish philanthropies based in France, Israel, Britain, and the United States) as anachronistic, as indigenous, as subjects of Mosaic Personal Law, as a lost tribe, as a "human isolate," as a swarm of "synagogue bugs," as the only shtetl dwellers in a post-Holocaust world, as a cause célèbre, as French citizens, and as *pieds-noirs*. It explores how members of this community experienced and negotiated the categories imposed upon them, particularly in dialogue with the military regime that oversaw Algeria's Southern Territories. In the pages that follow, I tell the story of a group of Jews whose difference from Jews elsewhere and from their non-Jewish neighbors was legislated into reality by the French military regime in southern Algeria and was subsequently mistaken for innate by generations of social scientists, whose writing in turn legitimated policy shifts that dictated the legal fate of Mzabi Jewry. The so-called indigeneity of Mzabi Jewry, which was essentially colonial and juridical in formulation, continued to haunt France, Mzabi Jewish émigrés, and scholarship on modern Jewry long after Algeria became a sovereign nation and France entered the postcolonial world.

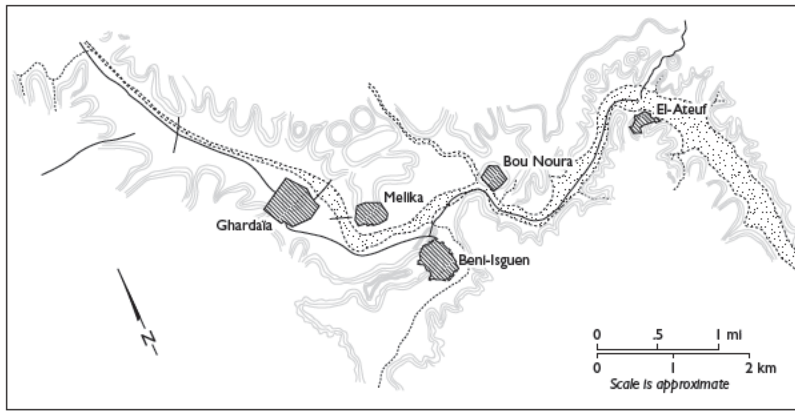
Documents are ignored and sought, left behind and hoarded, rewritten and remembered, buried and plagiarized. Historians are famously obsessed with the documents they find: in writing this book, I have been equally motivated by documents that are missing. It is in fact these absent documents that left me weighing confounding questions. How did state-sanctioned rabbinical registries—which find few parallels in the modern world—come to exist in the Mzab Valley? Why should the Algerian war of independence so dramatically alter the status of a Jewish communal ledger, warranting the state-sponsored fabrication of a civil register? What might these elusive sources tell us about Saharan Jewry, about the veracity or fallacy of the "difference" that colonial law assigned the peoples of North Africa, or about the complex ways in which Jews in North Africa experienced decolonization? Finally, obsessively: could these missing sources be found?

These questions have traveled with me to some thirty libraries and archives in Algeria, France, Britain, Israel, Italy, and the United States, where I have focused primarily on French, English, and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew-language sources (surprisingly, my knowledge of Yiddish also came into play), seeking additional help with sources in Arabic and an oral narrative in Tumzabt [the dialect of Berber spoken in the Mzab]. The resulting voices have led me to weave the following story—less the history of a single, seemingly isolated community than a rumination on how legal difference is concocted, and on why its meaning and global relevance are perceived, variously, to shift with time.

Inventing Indigeneity

Named a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1982, the Mzab Valley, located some six hundred kilometers south of Algiers, in the north of the Algerian Sahara, and in the northeast of the Great Western Erg [Grand Erg Occidental], consists of five fortified oasis cities (*ksours*)—Ghardaïa, Melika, El-Ateuf, Beni-Isguen, and Bou Noura—built by Ibadites (Sunnite Muslims of the Ibadite rite, or Al-Ibadiyah) in the tenth century (see map 1). Berberophone Ibadites dwelt in the valley since at least the eighth century, but their numbers were greatly augmented when greater numbers settled in the Mzab after fleeing persecution at the hands of an expansionist Fatimid dynasty.[1] The resulting five fortified towns were ordered according to strict architectural principles meant to ensure the protection of their inhabitants. Each was organized around concentric circles of streets that emanated outward from a mosque to ramparts surrounding the hilltop city; beyond each of the town's boundaries was a summer citadel, a palm grove, a cemetery, and an additional mosque.[2] Still today the cities of the Mzab Valley remain recognizable for their sinuous white, pink, and red architecture—including distinctive pyramidal mosques constructed of gypsum, sand, and clay—and have attracted luminary architects since the nineteenth century, among them Le Corbusier. The architectural distinctiveness of the Mzab proved one reason the region earned UNESCO's competitive appellation.[3]

Though the Mzab would remain majority Ibadite for some ten centuries, the valley was long home to other groups as



Map 1 The Mzab Valley, c. 1883. Map by Bill Nelson.

well. Many of these people—non-Ibadite, Arabophone Muslims, Jews, members of the Chaamba (Shaʾanba) confederacy, Sudanese slaves and their descendants, Tuareg, Larba—passed through, settled in, or were forcibly brought to the Mzab because it was situated on historic trading routes that connected the valley intra- and extra-regionally, facilitating the exchange of goods within the Sahara, between the Sahara and the Tell [or Tell Atlas, the mountain range that stretches across Morocco and Algeria], and on an east-west trajectory, linking the Mzab to Morocco, Tunisia, and the eastern Sahara.[4] Commercial flows between these areas relied on four trans-Saharan caravan routes, two of which converged at Ghardaïa, making this town a significant entrepôt.[5] Dates and woven woolen products were the most important exports of the valley, with dates grown in a tenth-century palm garden (in the Tuwat it was known as *al-Janna*, in French, as the *palmérie*) situated a few short kilometers from the town center. This grove was irrigated by a centuries-old system that channeled rare floodwaters from the Oued Mzab, allocating it carefully through town and to the date palm gardens, storing the water, also, in deep wells near by.

Arabophone (and likely bilingual Berberophone) Jewish communities have lived in the Sahara since the medieval period.[6] Concentrated in the northern portion of the Algerian Sahara, in eastern Libya, and in southeastern Morocco, Saharan Jewish communities were historically connected by commerce and culture, by migratory waves, and by the exchange of religious texts and practices—though, as we shall see, the incursion of colonial boundaries and law often served to divide them along

novel lines. For centuries, Jewish merchants, peddlers, and religious emissaries traveled through the Sahara, utilizing trading routes that stretched both south to north and east to west and which served to connect Saharan oases with one another, with entrepôts in western, sub-Saharan, and eastern Africa, and with northern Mediterranean centers.[7] Some of those Mzabi Jews who participated in trans-Saharan caravan commerce helped fill niches as artisans or conveyors of henna, ostrich eggs, and ostrich feathers. Others were engaged in cultural exchange, as was the chief rabbi of Ghardaïa, Haroun ben Khalfallah, who died of typhoid while traveling home by caravan in 1899.[8] To call these Jews—or indeed, the region itself—"Algerian" before the period of French conquest is a misnomer yet very nearly unavoidable: such is the all but unshakable imprint that colonial (and, subsequently, national) boundaries place upon the historical imagination.[9]

Sources do not agree on whence, when, and why Jews arrived in southern Algeria, or to the town of Ghardaïa, where they came to be demographically concentrated.[10] The most plausible theory is that the Jewish settlement of the Mzab dates to the fourteenth century, at which time a small number of Jewish families from the Tunisian island of Jerba were brought to Ghardaïa by its Ibadite leadership in order to serve as metal workers and jewelry makers. This community was supplemented in the fifteenth century by the immigration of Jews from Tuwat [Tamentit] after the outbreak of anti-Jewish sentiment and violence in that historically very Jewish center and was likely bolstered further by the arrival of Jews from Jerba, whose Ibadite community was linked to the Mzab through a network of satellite communities that stretched from Libya to Algeria.[11] Jews continued to be well represented in these professions into the twentieth century, though they also served as shop owners, tanners, wool carders, cobblers, and weapon repairers, as well as in various other artisanal capacities.[12] (In the late nineteenth century, a middle and upper class began to form in the community, including Jewish families that amassed considerable wealth.) The first generation of Mzabi Jews remained and proliferated, and the community was supplemented through various modest waves of immigration. As a result, the Jews of Ghardaïa were a socially heterogeneous, if compact, community, whose members could rightly point to various origins. By 1908 there were roughly twelve hundred Jewish residents in town, representing one-eighth of the total population. Additional, smaller pockets of Jews lived in neighboring Metlili and Guerrera. By 1949 the community had grown to just over sixteen hundred, while the percentage of Jews relative to the overall population had shrunk to one-fifteenth. Significantly, though Jews were

Fig. 2 Jewish men, women, and children in the Jewish neighborhood of Ghardaïa. Stereoscopic photograph, c. 1900. The street is typical of the cities of the Mzab Valley, while the children's and adults' clothing and headgear would have helped to mark them as Jews. Courtesy of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa.

a minority in these Sarahan localities, there was an unceasing Jewish presence in the Mzab Valley for some six centuries. Thus while it is narrowly true that in the aggregate, Saharan Jews "moved from one place to another when patron-client relations changed and religious tolerance decreased" such that "Saharan Jews were not fixed to any Saharan space," in Ghardaïa specifically, as in the Mzab Valley more generally, the Jewish presence was unusually long lived and continuous (see figure 2).[13]

Difference, Normativity, and Narrative

Due to the strategic priorities of the French colonial regime and military, as well as to the asymmetric systems of rule erected over Algeria's north and south, the small Jewish community of southern Algeria came to be deemed marginal to France, Algeria, and the mainstream of Algerian Jewry over eighty years of French military rule in the Sahara. Generations of anthropologists viewed this community as culturally calcified, unmoored from political context and time. Even northern Algerian Jews spoke of the "thick wall" that separated Mzabi Jewry from Jewish communities elsewhere.[14] Today, to the extent to which Saharan Jews are remembered at all, they are presented as exotic outliers—a forgotten Jewish tribe. How does a historian insist upon the importance of a story that has been deemed tangential by so many for so long?

In this book, I argue that the perceived marginality of southern Algerian Jewry was not a historical given but, rather, a product of eighty years of French colonial law and military policy in the Sahara. I suggest, further, that though the Jewish population of the Algerian Sahara was always a small one, demographically dwarfed by the various coastal communities to which scholars have typically paid greater heed, their importance to the history of Algeria, of North Africa, of Jewish history, and of colonialism far exceeds what numbers might imply.[15] A history of southern Algerian Jewry does not merely flesh out the story of colonial Algerian or North African Jewry, supplementing a historical record that has thus far been incomplete. More ambitiously, the case of Mzabi Jewry offers four important and intertwined lessons about Jews' relationship to imperialism and decolonization in North Africa and the Middle East; the nature of colonial rule in Algeria; the importance of regionality as a dimension of colonial history; and, finally, the complexity of legal typologies in the colonial and postcolonial world.

It recently has been suggested that the naturalization of Algeria's Jews as French citizens hewed to a logic that justified the exclusion of Muslims

from the French body politic.[16] This was certainly true for Algeria's Jewish majority. And yet, for a minority of Algeria's Jews, "Jew" and "Muslim" were not inverted legal categories, nor subject populations who were consistently kept at bay from one another. The first insight afforded by a history of Algeria's southern Jewish population is that colonialism could dictate that certain Jews were viewed and treated, legally speaking, rather more like Muslims than Jews elsewhere, with the result that on a quotidian basis, they were more closely entangled with Muslims than with other Algerian Jews. This conclusion speaks to the hazards of approaching Jewish history as a discrete, homogenous, or "natural" field, and, conversely, points to the necessity of writing entangled histories of Algeria's Jewish and Muslim residents.[17]

Though colonial law segmented southern Algerian Jewry off from northern Algerian Jewry, the Jews of the Mzab were not alone in the difference colonial jurisprudence ascribed to them. Indeed, the case of southern Algerian Jewry provides evidence of yet another variation of colonial rule that was produced as the French authorities sought—sometimes methodically, sometimes with frantic desperation—to achieve mastery over and control of their diverse subject populations in North Africa.[18] This provides evidence of the technologies of rule that Ann Laura Stoler has labeled "imperial formations"—macropolities that "thrive on the production of exceptions and their uneven and changing proliferation . . . scaled genres of rule that produce and count on different degrees of sovereignty and gradations of rights."[19] In so far as it documents the unfolding of one such "genre of rule" in southern Algeria, this book should be perceived less as a story of Jewish exceptionalism than as further documentation of the creative (though hardly logical or humane) manner in which colonial authorities imposed power upon individuals and their communities.[20]

My second, interrelated point pertains to the nature of French colonial rule in North Africa and the relationship between Jews and colonialism more generally. Much scholarship on Algerian Jewry has valorized Algerian Jews' relationship to France, on the one hand, and imperialism as an institution, on the other: accepting, to various degrees, the French republican premise that an affiliation with France afforded rights and opportunities to Algerian Jewry—positing, even, that Algerian Jews were subject to a "soft" form of colonialism.[21] The case of Mzabi Jewry indicates that Algerian Jews were not, as a group, favored by colonial rule. French military and colonial officials disaggregated Algeria's Jewish population, creating a legal hierarchy within it, and situating some Jews (e.g., those from the south) on a par with Muslims, who were also labeled

indigènes. What's more, Algerian Jews did not always fall on the "European" or "French" (that is, broadly speaking, the "advantaged") side of a French/*indigènes*, or, ultimately, European/Muslim binary. Indeed, some Algerian Jews officially remained *indigènes* late into the twentieth century—even if the French state reversed their legal status in the course of decolonization. This revelation has broad consequences. Attending to southern Algerian Jewish history presents an ideal opportunity to write colonialism and decolonization into Jewish history, working against the prevailing historiographic trend of viewing these crucial historical phenomena as irrelevant to modern Jewish lives.[22]

The third point is that the case of southern Algerian Jewry forces us to return with fresh eyes to certain colonial typologies that have long since been discredited as analytically simplistic, including, notably, the ubiquitous binary of east-west. A North African Jew was among the first to illustrate this binary, using it to offer a lasting critique of colonialism. Writing in Paris as early as the 1950s, when his native Tunisia was still under French colonial rule, Albert Memmi drew upon his own history as a Jewish man coming of age in French Tunisia to articulate his feelings of being minoritarian, to meditate on various relationships of dominance generated by colonialism, and to explore the condition of being a Jew—a condition he termed "judéité."[23] Memmi's early writings offered crucial concepts and terminology that would come to characterize colonial and postcolonial studies over the ensuing decades, decades in which (thanks especially to Edward Said's 1979 masterpiece, *Orientalism*) the east-west binary was granted an almost iconic stature.[24]

In recent decades, a tremendous wealth of scholarship has muddied the binary of east-west (and with it the associated binary of colony/metropole), such that further critique of these dyads could scarcely seem to warrant attention. It is nonetheless striking that for southern Algerian Jews, the crucial legal duality was not east-west but south-north. This was not a reproduction (or a mere pivoting) of the east-west binary that was traditionally thought to delineate Orient from Occident, for the differences between southern Jews and northern Jews that were legislated into reality in Algeria did not reproduce dichotomies that existed elsewhere in the colonial world, or, for that matter, other regions under French control (notably, Tunisia or Morocco). From the perspective of Jewish history, the division of Algeria into two regional, administrative, and legal zones created new sets of legal binaries and parallels that lacked contemporary peer or model. What is required of the current scholarship is to restore regionality as a genuine feature of colonial North African and of Jewish histories.

To be sure, various lines of regional differentiation crosscut Algerian Jewry. The Jews of eastern Algeria—especially of Constantine and the communities that bordered it—were more traditional than the communities of Algiers and Oran to the west, for these western cities had absorbed various waves of Jewish immigration and hence were more fluid in nature. Northern Algerian Jewry as a whole, meanwhile, was itself divided along a north-south axis, with certain Jewish communities that could be deemed "southern" by cultural or topographical metrics falling on the northern side of the administrative border that divided the departments of Algeria from the Southern Territories. In its internal complexity, Algerian Jewry was akin to Maghribi Jewry writ large. In Morocco and Tunisia, where Jews were also characterized as "indigenous" under French protectorate rule, rural Jewish communities in the Atlas Mountains and Sahara (in the Moroccan case) and in Jerba and adjoining satellite communities (in the Tunisian) diverged in crucial respects from urban coastal communities to the north and northwest (respectively).[25] This litany of intra-regional difference could easily be extended and nuanced, but the essential point remains. To speak of the legal division between northern and southern Jews in Algeria is not to privilege one regional demarcation above others, but, rather, to draw attention to the dizzying multiplicity that belied tidy colonial classification, and that continues to defy neat historical categorization.

Withdrawing our focus yet further, the case of Mzabi Jewry offers evidence of the dizzying forms of legal pluralism so ubiquitous to the modern world.[26] Jews in Algeria's south were not privy to the breadth of extraterritorial relationships upon which Jews in Tunisia, Morocco, or northern Algeria had so long depended, though they could, as we shall see, engage in legal "forum shopping" by having their civil cases adjudicated in both Muslim courts and courts of the state.[27] The fungible categories, institutions, and legal system that France imposed on Algeria's Southern Territories were internally hybrid: a motley mix of jurisprudence inherited from the Ottoman period, of legal norms that were put in place in northern Algeria in the immediate aftermath of conquest (but which were not necessarily long retained in that region), of Jewish law (at least in so far as colonial and military officials understood it), of the Algerian Muslim juridical system (itself far from singular), and of French legal codes that guided the treatment of Jews in Algeria's north. No one of these systems provided strict legal precedent for the governor-general of Algeria and French military commands in Ghardaïa as they shaped a legal superstructure for Mzabi Jewry. Instead, these intersecting legal models were impressionistic sources of inspiration that could be strate-

gically borrowed from, tinkered with, or ignored as the authorities and their legal counsel saw fit.

In one sense, this system allowed Mzabi Jews less pushback than it afforded Muslims. As Allan Christelow has demonstrated, the French colonial state's creation and oversight of Muslim law courts in Algeria created a class of *qadis* who were beholden to the regime—and who also, paradoxically, served to legitimize Islam as a source of anticolonial resistance.[28] No such parallel existed for Jewish leadership in Algeria's Southern Territories. They were was too small in number, weak in authority, and bereft of peer group to mimic Algeria's *qadis*. At the same time, as early as the immediate aftermath of the extension of French rule to the Mzab, and for the ensuing eight decades of the colonial period, individual Mzabi Jews and groups of them found ways to test the elasticity and limits of the laws imposed upon them, especially through the submission of countless petitions and appeals to the authorities. As they jockeyed with French functionaries—who themselves were often bewildered by a confusing and imprecise legal and administrative landscape—these Jews proved that colonial law and classifications were neither abstractions nor distant administrative realities. These were things one lived with, evaded, was pinioned by, and challenged. These were things that were often misunderstood and constantly changing. Most importantly of all, these were things that found expression in concrete, everyday aspects of life: influencing where one lived, shopped, and worked; where one's children were educated and treated in cases of medical emergency; whether one could travel to a neighboring town, to another part of Algeria, or abroad; who could oversee one's marriage or divorce; how one could express one's political voice. Colonial laws and classification were tangible and lived, the stuff of cultural as much as administrative history.

Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède [née Maria Esterina Giovanni], authors of an influential 1963 ethnography on the Jews of Ghardaïa, believed that this population had, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, "gradually become extremely inbred both physically and intellectually, and had developed in consequence eccentric characteristics as is usual in very old communities that are both socially and biologically isolated and numerically very small and stable." They saw this population as "about as neat and tidy a human isolate as one could hope to find in the entire world."[29] This book paints a radically different picture. It presents a history of southern Algerian Jewries that courses with the central dramas, tensions, and events of the twentieth century, and it suggests that certain global historical phenomena (such as the power imbalances imposed by colonial rule, the First or Second World Wars, the Algerian war of

independence, or the epoch of decolonization) can be understood anew once they are read through the lens of the Algerian Sahara and its Jews.

Organizationally, this book assumes a form evocative of what Madeleine L'Engle—writing, not entirely coincidentally, in 1962—called "a wrinkle in time," a way of allowing for "travel through space without having to go the long way around."[30] By this I mean that this book begins and ends with a single moment in June 1962 but in the interim embarks upon a historical journey, a kind of extended flashback that allows for a complex understanding of the book's beginning and ending. These bookends, chapters 1 and 6, focus on the departure of the extant community of Ghardaïan Jewry from the Mzab just weeks before Algeria became a sovereign nation. As we shall see, this event was viewed and judged variously by various parties, and these viewpoints are at times directly conflictual. The embarcation of Jews from southern Algeria has been called an exodus, a homecoming, a failure, a betrayal, and an exile: the departing Jews have been spoken of, variously, as émigrés, refugees, *pieds-noirs*, traitors, and repatriates. Two countries (France and Israel) have claimed exclusive credit for organizing the mass movement of Jews from the Mzab, while certain Jews of Mzabi origin remember themselves as the crucial lynchpins of this moment.

This book provides the historical background to explain this thicket of contrary interpretations, resisting simple labels in favor of thick reportage. I begin with the account of Briggs and Guède, witnesses—and, as we shall see, active participants—in the dramatic events that took place in southern Algeria in the summer of 1962. Our first chapter presents a heterodox rereading of *No More for Ever* (1963), Briggs and Guède's study. This book is a crucial starting point, for it came to serve as a definitive account of Saharan Jewish life, teaching so many (scholars, statesmen, and bibliophiles alike) what we have since believed to be true about the Jews of southern Algeria. In the interest of reconstructing what Briggs and Guède's book—and, as we shall see, colonial law and competing national memories—has obfuscated, we then turn back to the colonial conquest of the Algerian Sahara.

In the chapters that follow, we examine how, in the immediate aftermath of colonization and over the ensuing eighty years of military rule, colonial law and policy sought to segment southern Algerian Jewry off, first from Jews in northern Algeria and, subsequently, from their Muslim neighbors. In chronological order, chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 examine how this "segmentation" unfolded in dialogue with global events, including French efforts to micromanage and strategically differentiate its colonial populations as part of what James McDougall has called "a brutal opera-

tion of the power of modernity to reorder the world";[31] the Dreyfus affair, during which anti-Semitic hostility rippled across France and Algeria, finding favor in the eyes of certain military representatives in the Mzab; the imposition of conscription in French colonies during the First World War, when France deployed roughly five hundred thousand colonial subjects in indigenous troops on the battlefields of Europe; the economic constraints of the interwar years; the evolving Ibadite engagement with Algerian national, pan-Maghribi, and pan-Islamicist movements; the start of Mzabi Jewish emigration, first a trickle, eventually, a flood; the discovery, in 1956, of oil and natural gas in the Algerian Sahara, and the spectacular, state-sponsored petroleum boom that followed; the increasingly magnetic attraction for global Jewish philanthropies the world over of the Jews of the Mzab; and, finally, the outbreak of the Algerian war of independence (1954–1964), which led not only to a declaration of that country's sovereignty but to the emigration of the vast majority of Jews from southern Algeria. These overlapping backdrops painted, our last chapter returns us to the summer of 1962 and Ghardaïa's Noumerate Airport, considering anew how different parties have differently interpreted the evisceration of Jewish life in the Algerian Sahara.

Looking beyond 1962, a conclusion traces various afterlives of Mzabi Jewish history. Here, we reconstruct the enduring impact of colonial law upon Jews of Mzabi origin living in France in the mid- to late 1960s, and explore the lot of the small number of Jews who remained in southern Algeria after that country's sovereignty was achieved. For Jews of southern Algerian origin, I argue, decolonization was not delimited by Algerian independence but was a process that persisted throughout the 1960s—and beyond.

Finally, an epilogue offers a visit of sorts to the contemporary Mzab. In it, we survey crucial sites of the Jewish past and tentatively meditate on the shaping of local Muslim memories of Jews. This visit ends as did my research: with an exploration of the municipal archives of Ghardaïa, and the quest to uncover those elusive, coveted, and contentious documents of the southern Algerian Jewish past with which we began—Moriaz's fabricated register and the notebooks of Ghardaïa's chief rabbis.

Jews and French Colonialism in the Algerian Sahara

The French conquest of Algeria commenced in 1830, when the French military, landing in Algiers, initiated combat with Janissary infantry troops marshaled by the dey of Algiers. By approximately 1848, France

Map 2 Algeria. Map by Bill Nelson.

could claim control over Algeria's north, a region known as the Tell. Only thereafter did France set its sights on the rest of Algeria, including the Sahara (see map 2).

As Benjamin Brower has elegantly demonstrated, the occupation of the Sahara was a protracted, uneven, and, most of all, intensely violent process, marked by an extremity of physical aggression that continued military practices that had been applied in the north.[32] This incursion touched the Mzab in stages. In 1853, after the French military occupation of Laghouat, Governor-General Jacques Louis Randon negotiated a protectorate agreement with the Berberophone, Ibadite leadership of the region. In return for an annual tribute of funds and a gesture of submission, the Mzabis continued to control matters internal to the region and were given the right to move freely through French-controlled territories. At the same time, Mzabi notables were offered the unprecedented assurance

that their institutions and cultural mores would be respected—indeed, the French boasted of Ibadite egalitarianism, thrift, and order, calling the community the "Puritans of the Desert."[33] (As others have aptly explored, cognate fantasies surrounded colonial visions of the Kabyles.)[34] French admiration for the Ibadites did not prevent them from violating the 1853 agreement. In 1882, the military occupied and annexed the Mzab, establishing an administrative base, military garrison, and Bureau arabe [Arab Office, or Department of Indigenous Affairs] in Ghardaïa.[35] Like the Sahara more generally, the administrative district that encapsulated the Mzab Valley, the Circle of Ghardaïa, was not integrated into any of the three departments—of Oran, Constantine, and Algiers—that structured Algeria's north.[36] It fell, instead, under the control of French commanders in Ghardaïa, representatives of a military-ruled zone that would, in 1902, be incorporated into the Southern Territories. Officials within this 316,629-square-mile administrative region (populated by an estimated 359,960 people in 1901) reported to the governor-general of Algeria. However, the Southern Territories was a discrete administrative region in which military officials maintained a great degree of independence in determining quotidian policies on the ground. This region was also assigned its own budget. The Southern Territories would remain under military administration until 1957 (see map 3).[37]

French authorities would never overturn the terms of the 1853 protectorate agreement they created with Ibadite notables in the Mzab. This was not due to the authorities' sustained belief in Mozabite cultural distinctiveness or autonomy, but, rather, to the fact that the governor-general's office viewed the Ibadite leadership of the Mzab as a strategic ally, and the Mzab itself as a distant and inconsequential territory. As a result, according to the terms of the 1853 agreement, the Mzab occupied an exceptional administrative status for the first four decades of colonial rule in the Sahara, until, in 1925, the state began a decades-long process of regularizing the legal identities of Muslim residents of the Southern Territories. Just where the limits of autonomy lay was never precisely defined, however, and well before 1925—and, indeed, long after—French authorities fielded manifold legal challenges from Ibadites protesting violations of the tenents of protection.[38] Any history of southern Algerian Jewry must take these legal contestations into account, for they highlight the inconsistent nature of French military rule in the Mzab, as well as drawing attention to the often divergent reactions of Muslims and Jews to the ebb and flow of French policies in the Algerian Sahara.

Even as the particular status of the Mzab was being ironed out in the

Map 3 The administrative organization of French Algeria. From 1848 to 1962, the departments of Oran, Algiers, and Constantine were incorporated into France. The Southern Territories remained under military rule from 1902 to 1957, at which point they were integrated into the departmental structure. Map by Bill Nelson.

wake of conquest, the governor-general determined that the region's Jews, like Algerian Muslims, would be categorized as *indigènes* [indigenous subjects]. This arrangement echoed that which existed in Tunisia and Morocco when they were French protectorates (established in 1881 and 1912, respectively).[39] In each of these contexts, French colonial and military officials were loath to repeat the experiment that had been initiated earlier in Algeria (and which they had quickly come to see as failed, if not disastrous)—of naturalizing colonized populations of autochthonous Jews; thus in the Mzab, as in Protectorate Tunisia and Morocco, the French state's legal and administrative posture toward Jews bore the anxious imprint of events that had unfolded in northern Algeria. And yet, Jews in the Southern Territories of Algeria were in a unique position relative to Jews in Protectorate Tunisia and Morocco, for they did not

have access to the array of legal options such as could be found elsewhere in North Africa.[40] In the Mzab, Jews had no opportunity to earn protégé status [i.e., the protection of foreign powers], to acquire standing as foreign nationals, or (until the very end of the colonial period) to serve the colonial administration. These strategies of extraterritorialism disaggregated the legal, social, and economic fate of Tunisian and Moroccan Jewries under French rule, and significantly improved the odds at material success of (and hence availed multiple social pathways to) many North African Jews.[41] In the absence of these opportunities, Mzabi Jews were arguably more vulnerable to the whims of colonial law than were North African Jews elsewhere—even if they could maneuver strategically between colonial and Muslim authorities in their adjudication of civil cases.

In any case, just who *was* an indigenous Jew of the Southern Territories proved incredibly difficult for the authorities to resolve. Not only was the physical boundary between north and south difficult even for French functionaries to identify, the constant movement of bodies and goods across this border undermined its rigidity. Meanwhile, some Algerian Jews who might be considered "southern" or "Saharan" by cultural, commercial, or geographic measure (including those who resided in Aflou, Géryville [El Bayadh], Laghouat, Djelfa, Bou-Saada, Biskra, and Guemar El-Oued) were incorporated into "northern" Algerian territory as part of the 1830 conquest, and thus were naturalized as French citizens in 1870, with the passage of the Crémieux decree.[42] What's more, cultural boundaries proved far more porous than the governor-general's rulings seemed to appreciate. Social scientists and French officials alike found themselves mistaking "indigenous" Saharan Jews for "northern" Saharan Jews with French citizenship and unable to distinguish between Saharan Jews and their Muslim neighbors. Distinctions between kinds of southern Jews also proved thorny: for example, the governor-general's office puzzled over how the law might differentiate between "indigenous" Saharan Jews and the considerable numbers of Saharan Jews of Moroccan origin who lived in border communities such as Figuig and Colomb-Béchar [Béchar]. Were these Jews "foreign," even though many had never migrated, only experienced the moving of boundaries around them? Were they entitled to the designation "indigenous"? Confounding resolution to these quandaries was the fact that while the governor-general had labeled the southern Algerian Jewish population *indigènes*, military officials in Ghardaïa Circle had the latitude to refer to them as *étrangers* [foreigners], making policy decisions accordingly. And then there were northern Jews who had reason to become (or pose as) southerners. Instances like this were

not uncommon during the Vichy years (July 1940 to August 1944), when a move from north to south might allow an Algerian Jew with French citizenship to evade restrictive legislation in place in the north.

Algerian, Saharan, southern, northern, indigenous, foreign, Moroccan, Jew: over eighty years of French rule in the Algerian Sahara, none of these terms proved to have a fixed legal meaning. Precisely what (or whom) they denoted shifted from moment to moment and context to context, according to political climate, the elasticity of state boundaries, the whim of French military officials, and the efforts of the subjects involved. In the absence of technical precision, colonial jurisprudence and military policy manufactured southern Algerian Jewish difference.

If classifications such as "northern" and "southern" were elastic, they certainly were not merely semantic, and nor was their import limited to the legal realm. These designations signaled entirely different relationships between France and its varied Jewish subject populations; as in its treatment of Muslims, in its treatment of Jews the French colonial state in Algeria eschewed standardization in favor of compartmentalization. In the north, as Joshua Schreier has demonstrated, a "civilizing mission" guided French policies toward Jews: here the colonial state, through the apparatus of the consistorial system, assumed oversight of all aspects of Jewish communal affairs, including the hiring of officially approved rabbis, the standardization of Jewish education, and the regulation of Jewish space and family practices. In this manner, the French state sought to assimilate Algerian Jewry into French civil society, according to republican and bourgeois norms.[43] By contrast, a civilizing mission did not guide French colonial policy toward Jews in Algeria's Southern Territories—nor, until French colonial rule in Algeria was all but expired, did French colonial or military leaders express any desire to absorb southern Jews into the French body politic. In the absence of a reformist agenda, French policies toward Jews in the Southern Territories favored stasis over change; if there was to be no civilizing embrace, better that the relationship should remain entirely at arm's length.[44]

Rejecting the view that Mzabi Jews were akin to northern Algerian Jews, military policy in the Southern Territories sought to actualize what colonial law codified: that Algeria's Saharan Jews were *indigènes* whose daily lives were indelibly imprinted by their local civil status. Thus in matters of criminal law, the Jews in the Sahara were brought before the same French institutions (the Bureaux arabes [literally, Arab offices, or offices of indigenous affairs]), as were Muslims. They were funneled into a public health care system that catered to the region's indigenous residents. Though Jewish boys received a religious education from Ghardaïa's

rabbi, they (and, in time, Jewish girls) attended the same public schools as did their Muslim neighbors. French military authorities imposed administrative structures on the Jewish community of the Southern Territories that mimicked those that ordered Algeria's Muslim communities.

Finally, in the south of Algeria, Jews were granted complete independence from the state in their pursuit of sexual and marital practices that had been carefully policed relative to Jews in Algeria's north. This policy, which would garner the attention of an assortment of international philanthropic and human rights organizations in the 1950s, allowed southern Algerian Jewry to practice polygamy, divorce, and unilateral repudiation for the duration of colonial rule. (Though outlawed by the Ashkenazi rabbinate in the tenth century, polygamy was sanctioned by the *toshavim* [literally, "the residents," e.g., autochthonous Jews] of North Africa and the Middle East into the modern period; due to colonial law, in the Mzab it persisted far longer, and in a more concentrated setting, than in most other regions.)[45]

In all of these ways, and over time, colonial law aligned Algeria's Saharan Jews with Algerian Muslims. That Mzabi Jews *were* eventually granted French citizenship with common civil status in June 1961, when the French National Assembly's Law 61–805 transformed "French citizens of Algerian departments and the Departments of the Oasis and of the Sahara who have kept their Israélite civil status" into French citizens prone to common law, should not be seen to undermine the general trend.[46]

Over eighty years of colonial rule in the Mzab, Jewish residents dealt with the overwhelming tide of administrative inertia in a variety of creative ways, submitting countless petitions and appeals to the administration of the Southern Territories. Women applied for the paperwork required to travel abroad. Men asked if they might enlist in the French army. Parents pleaded for their children to attend medical clinics designed for Europeans. Saharan Jewish families consisting of a mix of naturalized citizens and indigenous subjects demanded what legal status would pass to the next generation. Individual and groups of Mzabi Jews inquired whether it was possible to shift their legal status. In the absence of legal precision, the "difference" that colonial law invented for and assigned to Saharan Jewry produced a constant negotiation between Jews and military officials in the Algerian south. These negotiations were persistent, but they flared up around certain pivotal episodes that brought local, colonial, and global politics into interaction. Such moments lend structure to the pages that follow, putting local Jewish history in active dialogue with larger Algerian, North African, colonial, postcolonial, and global Jewish frames.

We begin with the Sisyphean rock one must incessantly push against in researching the southern Algerian Jewish past—Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède's 1963 study, *No More for Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*. As we excavate the history of this book, we discover that much of what social scientists have believed to be true of Saharan Jewry was shaped in the shadow of imperialism, amidst the chaos of decolonization, and at the epicenter of a post–World War II crisis about the methods and function of American anthropology. Briggs and Guède took voyeuristic delight in the idiosyncracies they perceived in southern Algerian Jewry. What eluded these authors was the fact that the very practices they viewed as innate to Saharan Jewry (and alien to the modern condition) were systematically nurtured, if not invented, by French colonial law. Briggs and Guède did not, in short, accept a premise fundamental to this study: indigenous Jews are made, not found.

ONE

Anthropology and the Ghost of the Colonial Past

When, in the summer of 1962, the last remaining Jews of Ghardaïa joined the stream of *pieds-noirs*, *harkis*, and northern Algerian Jews in emigration to France, many observed their departure: their non-Jewish neighbors; members of the French military, state police, and Mzabi "native regiment"; international Jewish and Zionist philanthropies; and the international press. Among these observers was Lloyd Cabot Briggs, an American anthropologist and employee of Harvard University's Peabody Museum. Author of *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert* (1958), Briggs had lived in Algeria on and off for some twenty years. Together with his research assistant, Norina Lami Guède [née Maria Esterina Giovanni], a nurse of Italian background, Briggs was in Ghardaïa in 1962 conducting research on the town's Jewish community for *No More for Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, a book he would publish two years hence with Guède as junior author.

To Briggs and Guède, the Jews inside Ghardaïa's Noumerate Airport appeared as mindless bodies—brutes, even. In the authors' account, the Jews stand and squat, attired in "gaily colored native dresses and head shawls," "chattering with their mouths full while flies and little children, equally unperturbed, continued to crawl and clamber everywhere." The hours passed, the women "munched and chattered incessantly," while "orange peel and bean skin accumulated all around them like gently falling snow." Briggs and Guède stood to the side, in the shadows, "ideally placed to photograph the exodus." The observers retreated

for food and drink, returning after a two-hour break. Still the Jews waited in the "breathless heat," "dozing where they sat or sleeping curled up in the litter on the floor of the waiting room." The plane at last arrived, and the passengers, returning home from hajj, slowly disembarked. The Jews "milled about furiously for a few minutes like frightened cattle in a stockyard pen," and eventually "trotted and stumbled" toward its doors, scarcely visible beneath their swirling clothes and enormous bundles, appearing, to Briggs and Guède, less like individuals than "a shifting kaleidoscopic knot of brilliant colors."[1]

No More for Ever has had an extraordinary reach. Briggs and Guède's research exerted a tangible influence on French policy toward the Jews of Algeria's Southern Territories; indeed, the 1961 legal reclassification of the Jews of this community as French citizens (and the extensive conversation that led up to this reclassification) bore the distinctive "watermark" of the scholars' preliminary findings.[2] Librarians and archivists the world over have continuously referred me to the book to explain the documents their collections' hold. To this day, the book is cited by scholars of Jewish studies and Maghribi studies as a definitive source on the Jews of Ghardaïa: a transparent documentation of an extinct community, an enduring source of a world that is no more, and a requiem to a Jewish community that abandoned its ancestral home in the midst of war. The book's legacy has obscured a stormy past. Far from a neutral account, *No More for Ever* was informed by contentious anthropological methods, was laced through with Briggs's own complicated politics, and, finally, can be reread less as a mirror on the Jewish community of Ghardaïa than as a pro-colonial scrim.[3] Watching the last Jews of Ghardaïa leave their homes for France, Briggs and Guède anticipated their own departures, mourned the abandonment of Algeria by a fickle Fifth Republic, and elegized the ruin of a colonial system they had long lived in and benefited from. Like Jewish Ghardaïa, the Algeria they knew was to be "no more for ever."

The history of *No More for Ever* begins not in southern Algeria but in Boston, Massachusetts, and not in the realm of scholarship but rather that of international intrigue. Briggs's entrée to Algeria was not exclusively anthropology, it seems, but also espionage.

Strategic Services?

When Lloyd Cabot Briggs submitted an application to the FBI in April 1942, hoping to serve the Office of Strategic Services [OSS], the precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency, as a civilian in North Africa, he iden-

tified himself as the recipient of a 1931 bachelor's degree in anthropology from Harvard University, a 1932 diploma in anthropology from the University of Oxford, a 1938 master's degree in anthropology from Harvard and nearly a decade's experience as a stockbroker; a fluent speaker of French and a passable speaker of German and Spanish; a graduate of ten army extension courses and holder of a Restricted Radio Telephone Operator's License; and member of various academic societies in England and the United States. Briggs required only one week's advance notice for deployment and was willing to accept "any" pay.[4] His application did not state that the applicant could also boast a powerful genealogical lineage—both Lloyd Cabot Briggs and his wife of seven years, Eleanor Moncrieffe Livingston, hailed from Boston Brahmin families.[5] What a fine match Briggs made for the OSS, called by some the "Oh So Social" due to the significant number of socially prominent men and women it attracted.[6] As for Briggs himself, he was—in the words of his interviewer at the OSS—"cool" and "tough."[7] Six months after lodging his application with the FBI, Briggs arrived in Algiers. He was thirty-four years old. Blue blood, personal connections, an elite education, a robust work portfolio—combined, these elements ensured that Briggs would "occupy the equivalent of the position of a Major in his assignment in North Africa" and be paid $443 each month, including $250 in base pay, $105 for lodging, $63 for "subsistence," and $25 for "foreign duty."[8] It was a significant sum and a lofty title for a young man with neither military nor intelligence experience to occupy in war-torn Algiers.

Created by presidential military order of Franklin Roosevelt but a year prior to Briggs's arrival in Algeria, the OSS existed for three years, from 1942 to 1945, after which the obligations of the organization were assumed by the Department of State and Department of War, an arrangement maintained until President Truman created the Cenral Intelligence Agency in 1947. Because they possessed linguistic skills that were rare among members of the armed forces, social scientists (numerous anthropologists among them) were targeted by the OSS as would-be employees; as such, the scholars were tasked with supplying the Joint Chiefs of Staff with information pertinent to the war effort (much of which was obtained through espionage), conducting special assignments and spreading Allied propaganda. David Price has argued that the Second World War ushered in an era of optimism within the anthropological community, which overwhelmingly supported the idea of scholars' contributing to the war effort; this was a departure from the skepticism of earlier years (in 1917, Franz Boas famously warned fellow anthropologists against putting their skills to the service of the state) and in no way signaled the

tremendous discord and rancor that would divide the profession in the Cold War era.[9]

In subsequent years, Briggs evinced neither modesty nor shame about his service to the OSS. In the heady year 1967 he chose the *Fellow Newsletter* of the American Anthropological Association to reminisce about his mutually informing work as an OSS officer and anthropologist (this amidst a controversy over a proposal that the AAA to endorse a "Resolution against Warfare" that censured the American government's means of fighting the Vietnam War, including "deliberate policies of genocide" that "offend human nature").[10] A similarly sanguine spirit surfaces in the memoir of Carleton Coon, an erstwhile mentor of Briggs's at Harvard, who also served the OSS in North Africa during the war.[11] Coon was a self-proclaimed adventurer who had already spent some two decades living, working, and traveling in North Africa, mostly in the Rif Mountains of Morocco. His account of his time as an OSS employee, in which he boasts of training assassins and kidnappers, is nothing short of swashbuckling, occasionally straining credulity and not infrequently raising ethical questions.[12]

How did Briggs spend the war years? In the wake of the war, when Briggs was nominated for a Medal of Freedom, his supervisor, Rudyard Boulton, would describe Briggs's wartime activities in warm but vague terms: "Mr. Briggs was appointed Security Officer of the Regiment with duties of devising ways and means of indoctrinating regimental personnel, forestalling attempts at penetration on the post of enemy agents, screening and vetting foreign personnel to be employed locally and behind the enemy lines and assuring the safety of the classified documents of the Regiment."[13] In fact, Briggs's experience of war was brief. During the Allied invasion of southern Europe, he joined the Seventh Army as a special security detail in France, but was forced to return quickly due to ill health. By then, most Americans stationed in North Africa had been withdrawn. Briggs was desperate to stay. In a series of frantic letters to his supervisors in Washington, he insisted that the OSS required a man on the ground in Algiers, "certainly the most important city south of Marseille and west of Cairo." Without such a representative in North Africa, Briggs fretted, the OSS would "lose face," and "the U.S. Government will lose face (but seriously, and I believe it *is* serious)," and certain career diplomats with whom he viewed the OSS (or, perhaps, himself) to be in competition (American Consul Robert Daniel Murphy was one) would win "a rather violent scramble . . . for North Africa."[14]

So began a strange few years, in which Briggs lived in Algiers as a civilian but served, undercover, as "Chief of Station, OSS, Algiers"—a title he

either adopted or was assigned in December 1944. In this capacity, he voluntarily adopted a code name for himself ("179") and for others with whom he communicated; he entered into an increasingly embattled relationship with the office of the American Consul General; and he labored without pay for at least six months (from October 1944 to April 1945) because, it seems, no one was directly supervising him.[15] Perhaps the single strangest document generated during these ambiguous months was by Briggs's father-in-law, Gerald Livingston, who wrote a caustic letter to the OSS in October 1946 begging the agency to order Briggs's return. Briggs, Livingston wrote, "has very important responsibilities here [in the United States]," including an elderly mother, a wife, a daughter "who is rapidly growing up," (his daughter Eleanor was then seven years old) and a business that was allocating Briggs "a good proportion of the firm's earnings" despite the fact that he was "doing no work." Briggs "has certainly done his duty for our country," his father-in-law continued, cautioning, "No one is essential in any job." "All the husbands of my daughter's friends have returned and are back in their former positions in civilian life," Livingston concluded: "It looks to me as though Mr. B thinks the world will come to an end unless he runs your affairs at Algiers."[16]

Briggs's father-in-law may have been a crank, but he was not the only discontent; nor was he wrong in sensing something was amiss with his son-in-law in Algiers. Briggs and his wife would divorce within the year, and he was to remarry Madeleine Dañus, a native of Marseille, soon after.[17] In the professional realm, too, all was not as it seemed. In the unruly, immediate postwar years, a number of grievances against Briggs were lodged with the OSS. One was by Harold Finley, newly appointed American consul in Algiers, who expressed concern about "the erroneous character of the information [Brigggs] transmits to the OSS." Finley's attention had apparently earlier been drawn to the unreliability of Briggs's reportage, but his letter to the American Consulate General focused on two recent episodes. The first of these was a report of 29 July 1946, concerning the ostensible arrival, from Brazzaville, of the renowned Algerian nationalist Ahmed Ben Messali Hadj. Briggs's report describes the political activist being "received with an impressive informal spontaneous demonstration consisting principally of numerous Moslem owned vehicles forming a cortege to accompany him, and also rushing about certain sections of town, with their occupants shouting "Vive Messali" and similar sentiments."[18] This information, Finley noted, did not square with that generated by his own sources, including Air France (which had no evidence of Messali's arrival from Brazzaville), government officials, or the city's "newspaper men": he speculated, further, that Briggs's report

may well have confused Messali with André Marty, secretary of the Communist Party, "who was in transit through Algiers on July 27, and for whom a 'tea' was given at the Hotel de Ville."

The second piece of information to which Finley objected concerned the political predilections of Algiers' Jewish community. In a memo of 30 July, Briggs informed his supervisors of negotiations between the Jewish Consistory and "Moslem Nationalists," "by which, in the event of the granting to Algeria of partial or complete autonomy, the Arabs undertake to give the Jews a sort of 'preferred status,' that is to consider them rather as Moslems than Europeans in matters where there is a differentiation between the two. The Jews on their part [*sic*], have agreed to help the Moslems to achieve as great a degree of independence as possible, and to help them get the new state running." This possibility, Finley's complaint noted, was "startling news, coming at a time when Moslem-Jewish antipathies are extremely bitter."[19] Finley's letter to his superior notes that he called Briggs to his office, remarking that it would be prudent for Briggs and the Consulate General's office to "report the same 'facts,' even if, as might be expected from time to time, our interpretations of the facts differed." Briggs replied that he was under instruction from the OSS "to report what he hears without necessarily checking his information. . . . He added that if the information he reported turned out to be wrong, his error would be discovered in Washington before the report was made available to the Department of State and other Departments having an interest in intelligence." Finley asked Briggs whether he might read the OSS's orders to this effect, to which Briggs retorted they were oral instructions delivered in Washington. It was an episode for which Briggs would be indirectly censured by his superiors.[20]

Was Finley, new consul in town, struggling to assert authority over an American not directly subordinate to him, whose experience he found threatening or whose standing he felt undeserved? Was Briggs genuinely lazy in his reporting? These questions—which are impossible to answer with confidence—are less intriguing than is Briggs's attitude in Algiers, his relationship to the information he gathered, and the narratives this information emboldened him to build. For what Lloyd Cabot Briggs's early history in Algeria teaches us is that this was a lover of drama: a man animated by subterfuge, flashy names, grand encounters, moments of suspense. He was comfortable stringing loosely related anecdotes together—anecdotes gathered second- and thirdhand, their original source unidentifiable—and weaving the results into a tale whose vividness was ultimately more pleasing than its veracity. He was also a man who delighted in connections and credentials, even if their depth was exagger-

ated.[21] These impulses Briggs transmitted from his days in the OSS into "the field" of the Sahara and, ultimately, into the pages of *No More for Ever*.

Briggs returned to the States in the spring of 1947, and found that his erstwhile mentors at Harvard were receptive to the idea of his "returning to the academic fold." (Prior to his tenure with the OSS Briggs had passed qualifying exams at Harvard that advanced him to the status of doctoral candidate.) His hope was to conduct a portion of his coursework at the University of Algiers, where he had already been approved as a doctoral candidate.[22] Were he to return to Algeria, he wished to carry on laboratory work at the Bardo Museum of Algiers with the help of Maurice Reygasse (the museum's director and former district commissioner of Tébessa), to excavate a cave in the Gorges de Palestro, and to tour the country, looking for Paleolithic deposits.[23] All these ambitions Briggs would realize within the decade. He successfully pursued a doctorate in physical anthropology (awarded in 1952) under the mentorship of Earnest Hooton and with the assistance of Coon, writing a dissertation that focused on the prehistory of northwest Africa and that hinged on research carried out at the Bardo's Laboratory of Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archeology. The year after his degree was completed, Briggs would travel to the Algerian Sahara for the first time in the company of Reygasse and the distinguished American photographer David Douglas Duncan, who was preparing a photographic essay on the Tuareg of the Sahara for *Life* magazine.[24] (As Briggs wrote to his classmates at Harvard on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of their graduation: "A great place if you like deserts, which I do.")[25] (See figure 3.)

Over a period of fourteen years (1948–1962) that followed his doctoral training at Harvard, Briggs established a home in Algiers (at 7 rue Pierre Viala) and purchased a farm nearby—these Briggs shared with Dañus, who served as something of an assistant to her husband, occasionally accompanying him on his travels.[26] All the while, Briggs was amassing an extraordinary private collection of Tuareg art, especially of the Algerian Sahara. Some of these objects he purchased from other collectors, including Reygasse and a number of French army officers, researchers, and colonial administrators; some he purchased on behalf of the Peabody Museum through the American School for Prehistoric Research, an Algiers-based institution affiliated with the Peabody.[27] Following Briggs's wishes, his family would donate the bulk of his extraordinary collection to the Peabody after his death.[28]

Even before Briggs journeyed to the Sahara with Reygasse, he was writing *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert*. The book's introduction

Fig. 3 American anthropologist Lloyd Cabot Briggs (left) and other unidentified Europeans visit with the supreme chief of the Kel Ahaggar-Tuareg (center), c. 1953. While living in Algeria on and off for fourteen years, Briggs amassed an extraordinary collection of Tuareg art. This photograph was taken by David Douglas Duncan, who was in the Sahara preparing a photographic essay on the Saharan Tuareg for *Life* magazine. Courtesy of David Douglas Duncan and the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin [story 39015, roll C-19, frame 21].

explained to readers: "for the purposes of ecological and cultural description, we will attempt to picture the Saharan peoples as they were two or three generations ago, when substantial modern European political and economic influence had not yet penetrated much beyond the outer fringes of the Desert. Those days will be our 'present' whenever possible."[29] This methodological approach had the advantage of being romantic and practical. As Briggs himself confessed, the study was based on little to no fieldwork but was based, instead, on the published scholarship of others, and, especially, on the insights of Reygasse.[30] Reygasse, recalled Briggs jovially, offered the anthropologist the "benefit of his inexhaustible fund of instructive anecdotes and miscellaneous information gathered in the course of extensive travels in the Sahara in years gone by. In many long and pleasant conversations he drew for me pictures of the Desert and its inhabitants so clear and vivid that I was reasonably familiar with many parts of the area before ever I set foot in them."[31]

Briggs did log time in Ghardaïa while preparing to write *No More for Ever*, but all evidence suggests that Guède did the lion's share of research. (This is acknowledged in the book's preface: it was also echoed to me, as family lore, by Eleanor Briggs, Lloyd Cabot Briggs's daughter.)[32] Relative to the wealth of information one can find on Briggs, the barest details are known of Guède. Born Maria Esterina Giovanni, in Modena, Italy, to a working-class Catholic family, Guède served the antifascist underground movement [Associazione Matteoti] from 1924 to 1935, in the course of which she received a nursing degree from Ospedale Maggiore in Milan in 1933. Two years later, she moved to Algiers to work as a laboratory assistant and clinical surgical nurse, a position she maintained for nine years. During the Second World War (from 1940 to 1943), she participated in the French resistance in Algiers, was granted an anesthetist's certificate by the British Military Field Hospital in Ben Aknoun, and (from 1943 to 1945) served the Allied intelligence.[33] Likely it was in this capacity that she met Briggs, then a new arrival to Algeria. The two must have maintained contact during the subsequent decades, enabling Briggs to invite Guède to join him in the south after his wife found herself unable to help him with his research. Now married to a Frenchman, Auguste Georges Guède, a "contractual civilian employee in the French Army," Guède could boast some twenty-five year's experience working with Muslim and Jewish patients, fluency in French, and a "good working knowledge of Arabic."[34] Guède had no prior experience conducting anthropological fieldwork, but to Briggs she proved an indispensible collaborator.

No More for Ever

When Guède was hired by Briggs to assist him with research in Ghardaïa, he had already made repeated visits to the city, having passed through on an annual basis since 1949 and engaged in some form of fieldwork in 1951. However, it was only with Guède's arrival, in the fall of 1961 that Briggs made genuine inroads with the Jewish community of the Mzab, and especially its women. As the preface to *No More for Ever* makes clear, Guède was responsible "for the greater part of the actual gathering of material directly from informants in the field, and also for a considerable part of [the authors'] interpretation of it."[35] As Briggs wrote, "It was not until Guède became my assistant that we succeeded in entering fully and freely into the everyday life of an average Saharan Jewish family."[36] Eliding the "high degree of sexual segregation within the community" was

not the only advantage Guède afforded. It seems Briggs may have been a bit squeamish when it came to certain kinds of encounters and information. *No More for Ever* dwells repeatedly—calmly, but with a certain priggishness—on the theme of human waste. Briggs also corresponded with his friend Carleton Coon in bawdy language about the genital depilation practices of the Jewish women of Ghardaïa, noting that when it came to gathering information about such matters, "There's nothing like having a good female assistant handy!"[37]

At the core of *No More for Ever* are six chapters structured around what Briggs and Guède understood to be crucial events in the typical lifecycle of a Jew from the Mzab: birth, childhood, marriage, family life, and death. (Two rather more politicized chapters bracket the book—these, focused on the emigration of the bulk of the remaining community of Mzabi Jewry in the midst of the Algerian war, we will return to shortly.) Briggs's voice is arguably most languorous when describing normative communal events within this cycle—the initiation ceremony [*kittab*] for a five-year old boy, for example, or the feast of Bishemaoon (in Briggs's words, "a sort of Saharan version of an old-fashioned New England church picnic"). But the most vivid moments in the book are those that convey information that could only have been gleaned by Guède: the midwife's treatment of the umbilical cord after a baby's birth, the working out of petty disputes between female neighbors, the distinctive pinch marks women made upon the loaves they baked in communal ovens, the experience of a bride on the morning of her wedding, the lively social environment generated by a gathering of female wool carders, the distinctive way in which a Jewish woman from Ghardaïa pinned her hair or fastened her shawl. Consider this account of the domestic burial of a premature fetus:

> When a child was born less than four months after conception, the fetus was hidden secretly underneath a flagstone in the pavement of the living room-patio. A big gourd or water bag, such as was normally kept hanging from the ceiling in some part of this apartment, was then hung over the loose flagstone, so that water would drip very slowly but steadily upon it "until everything is gone." The stone was then cemented back in place again and the episode was over. A careful look at the floor of the main living area in the house of a Saharan Jew would often tell a visitor how many early miscarriages the lady of the house had had.[38]

The unnamed "visitor," here, is surely Guède, for she alone gained access to the homes of female informants, including that of Deborah Kazoula,

Guède's source on this theme. Briggs's *Living Races of the Sahara Desert* has no comparable material: it is interested in races, not individuals, in broadly painted caricatures, not fine-grained detail.

As they researched *No More for Ever*, Briggs and Guède engaged in observation and questioning, with nine members of Ghardaïa's Jewish community constituting their crucial informant pool. These individuals are thanked in the authors' preface, in which other unnamed informants—some of whom are assigned pseudonyms in the book itself—are also mentioned. Among the most important of the authors' Jewish informants was Miriam Attiya [bent Hayim Partouche], the wife of Briggs's tailor, Robine Attiya. "Miriam," as the authors called her, quickly became "the focal point" of Briggs and Guède's investigations. In Briggs's words, Miriam was "one of our principal informants, and as such she proved to be invaluable; also her house became our main base of operations in the field."[39] In this respect, *No More for Ever* was an exercise in metonym, with the authors treating myriad aspects of Attiya's life (her living space, religious and superstitious practices, dress, her warm and spicy personality) as miniature replicas of an imagined Ghardaïan Jewish whole. In a nod to the standards of anthropology championed by Margaret Mead (who had her own interest in the Jews of the Algerian Sahara), Briggs and Guède conducted their fieldwork with an eye toward ethnographic synthesis, the reproduction of a cultural whole.[40]

And yet *No More for Ever* was a far cry from Mead's own, coauthored study, *Life Is with People: The Jewish Little-Town of Eastern Europe*, the first English-language ethnography of Eastern European Jewry, which had been published fourteen years earlier, and which was quickly leaving an indelible mark on the American and American Jewish imagination.[41] The books share certain impulses, especially their presentation of the Jewish communities they described as timeless and isolated. (Strikingly, these books each coursed with Cold War politics, to the point that each had a principal author who was also a spy.)[42] In fact, Briggs and Guède explained the religious practices of Ghardaïan Jewry by likening them to those practiced by Jews in the shtetl, as represented in *Life Is with People*, a study Briggs and Guède thought could not "be recommended too highly as a full and concise, and also very readable, essay on the submodern Judaism of primitive communities in eastern Europe."[43] However, while *Life Is with People* envisioned a Jewish community sutured by the threads of religious practice, scholarly (Jewish) study, and a communitarian spirit—an essentially happy, if fragile, world—*No More for Ever* emphasized aspects of Jewish savagery: unhygienic conditions, superstitious

Fig. 4 Hayim Partouche from three angles, c. 1958. To supplement his anthropometric research, Lloyd Cabot Briggs took photographs of Muslim and Jewish residents of the Sahara, picturing each of his subjects from three angles. Selections appear in *The Living Races of the Sahara* (1958) and *No More for Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town* (1964), with their subjects identified by "race" rather than name. Only by cross-referencing Briggs's collection can one identify the man in these unpublished photographs as Partouche. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University [55–37–50/13139.1.16–18; digital files 99040026–28].

practices unmoored from structured religion, strict gender segregation, physical deformity, displays of female hysteria, frenzied norms of eating, lax educational standards, and libertine attitudes toward sex.

The single most important wedge dividing *No More for Ever* and *Life Is with People* was methodological. At its heart, *No More for Ever* was an exercise in physical rather than cultural anthropology, with Briggs a devotee of anthropometric techniques that no scholar would have dared apply to European Jewry in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust. In addition to conducting interviews with select members of Ghardaïa's Jewish community, Briggs and Guède also assembled somatological data on thirty-six male and sixty female members of this community: measuring their nasal profile; skin and hair color; eyebrow currency; sitting height; chest breadth, depth, and girth; head length, breadth, and height; and number of erupted molars. The resulting data was assembled in three tables in the first appendix to *No More for Ever*. It was also visually reiterated in a selection of photographic headshots illustrating examples of "Typical Ghardaïa Jew[s] and extreme variant types," as pictured from three angles.[44] Though *No More for Ever* is not without its tender moments or sentimental photographs, there is a cruelty in these particular images; with their subjects appearing as if in criminal mug shots, they manifest what Andrew Apter has called the "optic violence of colonial approbation" (see figure 4).[45]

Precisely how Briggs and Guède's subjects viewed the scholars' anthropological endeavor—and no doubt they did not do so in a single fash-

ion—is difficult to say, for *No More for Ever* offers no unmediated access to their voices. Though he makes no mention of the fact in his study of the Jewish community of Ghardaïa, in *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert* Briggs writes of some Jewish men cordially refusing to allow themselves to be measured by the author, a refusal he dismissed as "a ritual demonstration in defiance of a rival political group."[46] This underestimated what was surely a more delicate and nuanced situation. A hint of the complexity of the Jewish response to Briggs and Guède's research is found in a vignette that appears in the appendix to *No More for Ever*, more or less as an aside. Here the authors mention that a number of measurements they desired proved unobtainable "because most of the men were unwilling to remove their baggy trousers while the women could not be persuaded to take off any of their clothes at all" (see figure 5). The situation threatened to escalate:

> Indeed, one lady, more elegant than most, did an about-face and left abruptly when she saw what Mrs. Guède was up to. This was a hard blow; we thought we had our first flat refusal, and in such circumstance one refusal always leads to others. But not at all: in a few minutes the *grande dame* was back again, wreathed in smiles and wearing a magnificent new gold-trimmed and velvet dress over the clothes she had on before.[47]

Briggs and Guède evidently interpreted this woman's change of costume as honorific, a show of sanction for their endeavor. On closer reading, one wonders if there was a subtle form of confrontation behind the unnamed woman's action. It is possible that her sartorial transformation was driven by the desire to have more distance between skin and anthropometer—by the desire to signal that she was grander than the process to which she was subjected. One could even read this episode as farce, if the donning of a party dress (one worn, no less, atop another, presumably less fancy outfit) is understood as a means of undercutting an otherwise somber, portentous moment. Without a counter-narrative to Briggs and Guède's own, these theories remain speculative.

And what, after all, was at stake if one subjected oneself to measurement by a European and an American social scientist in Algeria in the first years of the 1960s? Like so many amateur and professional anthropologists who preceded them in the Mzab, Briggs and Guède had the visible support of the French authorities. During his days with the OSS, Briggs had "cooperate[d] with French intelligence and counter-intelligence and police agencies, both civilian and military, and was in touch directly with one or another of their high ranking officials nearly every day." While conducting fieldwork on the Jews of Ghardaïa, Briggs

Fig. 5 In the course of anthropological research on the Jews of Ghardaïa, Briggs and Guède gathered somatological data on thirty-six men and sixty women (respectively). They concluded that the Jews of this community "do not look Jewish, as a rule." Photographic montage, "Typical Ghardaia Jewess (top) and extreme variant type," figure 16 in Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède, *No More for Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 55, no. 1 Reproduced courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

said he "remained in touch" with his "previous official contacts," who were by now "personal friends."[48] More: the military granted Briggs special rights as a researcher, and the scholar was often accompanied by at least one member of the French civil service (often Jean Moriaz)—at other times military officers, presumably armed, joined his entourage. For this, Briggs and Guède would appear unsavory company indeed to many Muslims in Algeria. On the other hand, in the context of the Mzab, where the French met relatively strong support by the Ibadite population during the Algerian war of independence, matters may have been different. To Ghardaïan Jews anxious for a means of exit that the French authorities had the power to provide, forging a relationship with Briggs and Guède would be more complex: submitting to the anthropologists' scrutiny might have seemed a strategic gamble. In a complex political cauldron, cooperation with the visiting anthropologists would have imparted different meanings to a variety of witnesses—including the anthropologists themselves, their French escorts, fellow Jews, and any Muslims that might be looking on.

These dynamics did not concern Briggs or Guède. The authors' appendix on physical anthropology, in which the preceding vignettes are told, are principally devoted to clarifying the authors' scientific method. "The techniques of measurement and standards of observation that we employed," wrote the authors, "were, with two exceptions, those which are now standard practice at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. They are described succinctly in the second edition of [Earnest] Hooton's [1931] *Up From the Ape*, and are too widely known to require further comment."[49] This was a boldly reactionary stance for a young scholar to assume in 1962. Hooton was responsible for building at Harvard what has been called the strongest interwar program in physical anthropology in the country: there, he trained not only Briggs but a broad generation of scholars.[50] By at least the 1930s and certainly by the 1940s, however, Hooton's influence, along with that of Harvard's program, was losing ground to a new anthropology pioneered by Franz Boas and Bronisław Malinowski, with Colombia University its institutional center. (Writes one scholar, Hooton's *Up from the Ape* "displayed the utter turmoil which physical anthropology was undergoing" at the time of its publication.)[51] No hint of this epistemological drama enters Briggs and Guède's telling; nor is there any hint that either found problematic the application of physical anthropology to a Jewish community so soon after the Holocaust.

What did Briggs and Guède's somatological data teach them? "Perhaps the most striking thing physically about [the Jews of Ghardaïa]," wrote the authors,

is that they do not look Jewish, as a rule; they do not look like other Jews elsewhere. . . . Only very seldom do you see an individual whose face evokes the automatic reaction "That's a Jew." On the rare occasions when this does occur, the face in question is never of the Ashkenazi variety, which generations of Jewish immigrants from central Europe have made familiar to all Americans, but is always more or less Sephardic, or sub-Sephardic, so to speak. Sephardic Jews, whose faces and noses are relatively long and thin and who consider themselves vastly superior to other Jews, are found mainly around the Mediterranean basin and particularly in Spain and Portugal. . . . Although we came to know all the Ghardaia Jews well, at least by sight, we found only one whom we agreed could be classified as an apparently pure Sephardi morphologically. The reason for this is simply that these Jews were not really Jewish physically.[52]

Making reference to the aforementioned photographs of "Typical Ghardaia Jew/Jewess and extreme variant types," the authors subsequently identify "Saharan Jews . . . [as] a Mediterranean population, basically of the eastern Berber or Kabyle variety . . . in which the Jewish look has faded to the point where it is still perceptible only very faintly in a very few individuals."[53]

Briggs and Guède's attribution of a "Jewish type," and their occlusion of the Jews of the Mzab from this category, earned them criticism from certain scholars of Jewish studies. Approbation there was, too—Briggs received flattering correspondence from distinguished academicians of Jewish studies such as Haim Zeev Hirschberg and Isadore Twersky, to whom he sent copies of his book. (With Shlomo D. Goitein, the illustrious scholar of Jewish life in the Islamic Middle Ages, Twersky was also recognized as among Briggs and Guède's "Technical Consultants." What this relationship entailed, and how these scholars responded to the book, is unclear).[54] Regardless, Briggs and Guède's manuscript found a publisher only with difficulty, and the published version received a number of biting reviews.[55] Perhaps the most incisive came from Mario Bick, then an instructor of anthropology at State University of New York, Stony Brook, and Hunter College. Writing for *Jewish Social Studies* in 1967, Bick expressed discomfort with Briggs's appendices, filled with anthropomorphic data, which he found "confusing" and not always supportive of the authors' conclusions. "Far more irritating are the authors' general conclusions on the physical anthropology of this community," wrote Bick, drawing attention to Briggs and Guède's theory that among the Saharan Jews, "the Jewish look has faded to the point where it is still perceptible only very faintly in a few individuals." "This interpretation," Bick retorted, "represents the vestigial remains of what I thought was

a long-discredited concept of a distinctive Jewish race."[56] Briggs, never one to cede the last word, apparently penned Bick a personal reply, and a brief but dense correspondence between the pair ensued. Briggs's personal papers only contain Bick's side of this conversation, which includes an expansion of his critique, and Briggs's own rather fussy comments in the margins (including corrections of Bick's grammatical errors).[57]

Bick's review was entirely fair and might, indeed, have been expanded. Not only was *No More for Ever* swimming against a methodological tide in positing the existence of a Jewish race, not only was it confused in its summation of Sephardic culture (which, of course, lacked a morphological or emotive norm and had long since ceased to be geographically centered in Spain and Portugal), its presentation of Mzabi Jewry as a fundamentally isolated, eccentric population ("almost super-Jewish in some ways but also singularly un-Jewish in some others," wrote Briggs: "the most primitively Jewish community left in the whole world after the Jewish exodus from the Yemen") was naïve. Milton Jacobs, an anthropologist of Moroccan Jewry, elaborated upon this point in a response to a positive review of *No More for Ever* that was written by Leonard Kasden and published in *American Anthropologist*. While Kasden had lauded the book (in an admittedly rather generic review), Jacobs turned readers' attention to its flaws, arguing, in particular, that though the authors of *No More for Ever* might be correct that the Jews of Ghardaïa were unique relative to Jews in Europe or America, they were "similar to their fellow religionists who lived within and adapted to the dominant Arab-Berber culture and power of that region." "I find it difficult to believe," concluded Jacobs, "that the Jews, Arabs, and Berbers of Ghardaïa, a 1,000-year-old trading town, have not influenced one another and have not been influenced by the ebb and flow of culture throughout North Africa."[58] Harvey E. Goldberg (now a distinguished anthropologist and sociologist of North African Jewry and Israeli culture, but at the time relatively junior in his career) echoed this critique a few years later in an article that also drew attention to the acute need for anthropologists of North African Jewry to "develop conceptual tools to deal with the links between communities and their wider sociocultural contexts." This impulse, Goldberg reflected, was entirely absent from Briggs and Guède's study; "The reader of *No More For Ever*" he wrote, "is constantly pulled between the authors' stress on the *simplicity* of the culture and the recalcitrant facts that indicate *complex* linkages between this Jewish community and the world outside."[59]

Situating Ghardaïan Jewry deeply within a regional, regionally Jewish, or global context would indeed have been means for Briggs and Guède

to better understand the relative uniqueness of this community. Understanding their history as deeply imprinted by the history of colonialism (or the politics of anticolonial struggle) might have been another. It is an odd feature of *No More for Ever* that the book's ethnographic sections are determinedly ahistorical (even extra-temporal) while, at the same time, the book's narrative momentum builds toward the sudden, precipitous emigration of the entire remaining Jewish population of Ghardaïa in the course of the Algerian war—the subject of the book's last chapter ("A Study in Despair") and the rupture that makes up the book's title. Despite this narrative thread, colonialism is all but a ghostly specter in the four ethnographic chapters that make up the core of *No More for Ever*. The colonial regime is represented most vividly in the bodies of the various military and civilian officials who chummed about with Briggs and often shadowed him on his ethnographic explorations. Though the book paid homage to these French officials, Briggs and Guède appeared not to ruminate on the role of these officers, or the regime they served, in influencing the shape of Jewish culture in Ghardaïa. One could argue that the authors did not understand French colonialism to have had any palpable impact upon the Jewish community of the Mzab. This was a world isolated politically and genetically, in Briggs and Guede's view, an essentially static world that was "blasted loose from its deep and ancient roots almost overnight," in the course of the Algerian war of independence.[60] Within this configuration, French authority, like the Jews themselves, was essentially powerless, and the amorphous forces of the Algerian independence and anticolonial movements—and the nameless "rebel agents and sympathizers" who championed their cause—the guilty home-wreckers.

It is only in the last chapter of *No More for Ever* ("An Exercise in Despair") that the authors root Mzabi Jewish culture within a political context. The chapter traces the breakdown of a Mzabi social fabric by which the Jews of Ghardaïa experienced a certain fragile détente (what they called a "three-cornered standoff") built upon the material interests of Ghardaïa's Ibadite, Muslim, and Jewish communities.[61] (Briggs and Guède did concede that certain ripples upon this pond predated the Algerian war, including the violence of the Vichy years, after which some of Ghardaïa's Jews determined to emigrate to Palestine.) The Algerian war, the authors argued, did not immediately impact the Jews of the Mzab—though sporadic violence in the region dated to the early years of the war, "people soon got used to this kind of thing happening every now and then," and were more focused upon the sudden, intense economic boom under way in their region.

As for what was left of Ghardaïa's Jewish community, Briggs and Guède ascribed them little political vision or agency, instead presenting them as figures acted upon by history, whose only recourse was despair or departure. Consider this account, reportedly prompted by a tense encounter between Miriam Attiya and a Muslim shepherd who had long tended the sheep of the town's Jewish community. The shepherd demanded of Attiya why Guède visited the Jewish neighborhood, what she thought of the war, and whether she intended to remain in Ghardaïa "now that we have won." Not satisfied with Attiya's replies ("she's my friend," Attiya reportedly announced, "she's like a sister to me"), the shepherd ostensibly ended their encounter by cursing "the god of the French woman." The cluster of Jewish women who had observed the pair's conversation responded with outrage, with one proclaiming: "They [i.e., Muslims] are a foul race!" Her neighbor offered more:

> "They have something that arises here," said one, touching the bump in her backbone where the neck joins the shoulders. "It passes up over the top of their heads and down to the level of their eyes, and they are blinded by it." "But what is it?" Mrs. Guède asked her. "It is the independence," she replied, "and it will last for forty days or forty weeks or forty years." And that seemed to be the only explanation that they could give of this weirdly cabalistic concept.[62]

Lacking a modern interpretive sensibility, bestial in their view of the world, hewing to timeless spiritual practices, the Jews of Ghardaïa were, in Briggs and Guède's eyes, untouched by politics even as war swirled around them.

Anthropology, Law, and the Ghost of the Colonial Past

Why has *No More for Ever* assumed a mantle of authenticity despite the book's problematic methodology, the publication of a number of critical reviews in the immediate aftermath of its publication, its lead author's fraught relationship to his topic, and, finally, its underlying pro-colonial polemic?

One could look for answers to these questions within the realm of academic writing, but a more surprising answer emerges from French archives. Even before the publication of *No More for Ever*—even before Guède joined Briggs as a research assistant in southern Algeria—Briggs and the leading French military and civilian officials in southern Algeria

were together building a composite portrait of southern Algerian Jewry. Briggs, as we have seen, relied heavily on the intellectual and material support of French officials as he engaged in his research, and his research expeditions were often conducted under the oversight of military officials. *No More for Ever* was dedicated to Jean Moriaz, the civilian officer in Ghardaïa who came to be charged with the repatriation of *pieds-noirs* from Algeria's Southern Territories in the denouement of the Algerian war—the same man enlisted to reconstruct Ghardaïa's Jewish civil register amidst the chaos of this community's departure. This book's dedication elevated Moriaz beyond the status of friend or guide—it lionized him as the very savior of Mzabi Jewry. In so many respects, *No More for Ever* served as homage to French colonialism in the Algerian Sahara.

On the other hand, the imprint of Briggs's research is everywhere in the French archives. Charles Kleinknecht, who served as district commissioner in Ghardaïa from 1955 to 1962, remained in correspondence with Briggs after their departure from the Mzab, and he wrote Briggs a glowing letter upon reading *No More for Ever*.[63] When Kleinknecht prepared his own unpublished manuscript on the history of the Jews of the Mzab—a draft version of which he presented to the Centre des hautes études sur l'Afrique et l'Asie modernes [CHEAM] in November 1962—he utilized Briggs and Guède's title as a front-page epigraph.[64] Jean Moriaz, too, implicitly drew upon Briggs's research in official correspondence and in a number of published essays on Ghardaïa and the Mzab that he wrote during his tenure as a civilian officer in the Sahara.[65] Even more arrestingly, when Moriaz endeavored to create a civil register of Mzabi Jews, he turned to Hayim Partouche: the father of Miriam Attiya—Briggs and Guède's central informant in Ghardaïa and the so-called focal point of *No More for Ever*.

Though there is no single document that links Briggs to the successful passage of Law 61–805, it is evident that the case the government made in defense of this resolution hinged on insights yielded by Briggs and Guède's inquiries, filtered through official correspondence by Moriaz and Kleinknecht. There is irony in this indebtedness, for Briggs and Guède did not depict a Jewish community ripe for assimilability. Yet, for all the pair focused on the bestial nature of Mzabi Jewry, they nonetheless provided proof that there existed a "lost Jewish tribe" in the Sahara. Briggs and Guède provided the French government with a narrative of, and indeed, the opportunity for, a triumphant act of rescue. Without actually having a hand in the emigration of Mzabi Jewry, the pair nonetheless helped engineer a homecoming—or, at least, a policy that could be touted as such. Perhaps it was in anticipation of this debt that the French government

decorated Briggs with the Ordre de Mérite Saharien [Order of Saharan Merit] in 1960.

Even before *No More for Ever* was published, Briggs and Guède's study loomed as a futuristic valorization of French colonial policy in the Mzab: a work that promised to depict a final act of French benevolence in the face of Muslim-instigated chaos. As much through the story it promised to tell as through the findings it relayed, *No More for Ever* exerted an influence on the crucial, final stage of legal negotiations between the Jews of southern Algeria and French civil and military authorities—shaping, even as it professed to scientifically describe, Jewish culture in the Algerian Sahara.

It may be tempting to dismiss *No More for Ever* as the work of a reactionary; or to dismiss Briggs himself as a naïf manipulated by French officialdom, used as the English-language publicist for a dying cause. Here I have argued otherwise. Between Briggs and the military and civilian officers who wielded power in southern Algeria (or had a hand in the naturalization and "repatriation" of Jews from this region), the flow of influence was multidirectional. French officers abetted Briggs and Guède's work in the Sahara; these scholars produced scholarship that valorized French rule; and Briggs was honored for his findings, with his scholarship touted precisely because his pro-colonial narrative provided scholarly validation of France's shifting ambitions in the era of decolonization. That Briggs existed on the periphery of mid-twentieth-century anthropology mattered little to his back-and-forth with French officialdom; on the contrary, *No More for Ever* had lasting ramifications in the realm of policy and, over time, became an enduring work even for the scholarly community.

As we shall see in future chapters, Briggs and Guède's book carried on a tradition forged over eighty years of colonial rule in the Mzab. From the very inception of French rule in the region, military and colonial postures toward the Jews of Algeria's Southern Territories were mutually informed by social scientific (and, especially, anthropological) writing about this community. Conversely, social scientific writing, such as that by Briggs and Guède, often mistook for innate certain qualities of the southern Algerian Jewish community that were, in fact, cultivated—if not altogether instilled—by colonial rule.

Having reconstructed some of the political thicket that encased *No More for Ever*, we are left asking: what did Briggs and Guède fail to see in Ghardaïa? Of what would an elaborated—and less definitively pro-colonial—history of southern Algerian Jews consist? To address these questions, we must turn the clock back to the onset of colonial rule in

the Mzab, when the French military and colonial leadership shaped the initial laws and policies that would govern Jews in the Algerian Sahara for some eighty years. From there, we may trace our way back to the 1950s and 1960s, when Briggs and Guède conducted their research in the Mzab—back, even, to Noumerate Airport, where the pair witnessed the departure of the extant community of Ghardaïan Jewry in the summer of 1962—to tell a story of departure that differs dramatically from their own.

TWO

Jews Northern and Southern: The French Annexation of the Mzab and the Boundaries of Colonial Law

In the spring of 1902, Meriem bent Lalou Partouche appealed to military representatives in Ghardaïa for the paperwork that would allow her to undertake a six-month pilgrimage to Jerusalem with her husband, the wealthy merchant Mouchi [Moshe] ben Brahim Partouche. Meriem Partouche was unusual in posessing the means for such a rare, costly voyage; but notwithstanding her class, Partouche's legal status was typical of most Muslims and southern Algerian Jews in Algeria. She was not a citizen, nor did she hold official papers of any kind. When Meriem Partouche appealed to the military authorities in Ghardaïa, then, she was appealing for many things: for the right to leave her native valley, the Mzab, and to travel to the port of Algiers; for the papers that would allow her to cross colonial boundaries; and for the documentation that would register her liminal legal identity. Meriem Partouche's petition was signed by her husband, on her behalf, in a shakey Hebrew hand.[1]

After noting that the would-be pilgrims were "in a situation of fortune that permits them to undertake the voyage," the governor-general's office approved the travelers' requests. Whatever paperwork was granted Partouche has

not surivived, but the governor-general's authorization named her a "non-naturalized Jew from the Mzab."[2] So did Partouche embark on her six-month journey with a negative legal identity: this Jewish woman was definable, in the eyes of the law, only by what she did not posess.[3]

The pages that follow tell the story of the French conquest of the Mzab, and the fraught process by which, immediately after the conquest, military authorities sought to identify, categorize, and delineate the small population of Jews in this Saharan valley. As we will learn, as French colonial and military authorities shaped an administrative structure in the Mzab and contemplated the legal station of the Muslim, Jewish, and enslaved populations therein, they sought to take a different legislative tack, relative to the region's Jews, than had been pursued in northern Algeria a dozen years earlier: labeling Jews like Meriem Partouche *indigènes*, and shaping laws, policies, and institutions that would uphold this classification. The choice to delineate southern Algerian Jews from northern Algerian Jews, legally speaking, was rather narrowly inspired—meant to safeguard French strategic interests and protect a fragile status quo in the Mzab. Inadvertently, it triggered decades of confusion about the legal implication of being—and ruling over—"non-naturalized" Algerian Jews.

Conquest, "Protection," and Military Rule in the Mzab

In the context of France's violent, fifty-year conquest of the Sahara, the colonial history of the Mzab formally commenced in May 1853, when the French military negotiated to turn the five oasis cities of the valley into a protectorate of France. In exchange for submission to French rule and an annual fee, the Mzabis retained what French officials referred to—apparently without irony—as "absolute control" of their internal affairs.[4] This was hardly an agreement among equals, and over the course of the following thirty years, the French monitored with alarm what officials referred to as increasing "disorder" in the Mzab, including attacks on military stores and locals' illegal ferrying of arms and gunpowder from Gabès, in southern Tunisia. Such claims provided local administrators with a pretext for military intervention; the French responded with ever-greater violence, occupying and annexing the Mzab in 1882. In this year, the military administration formed a base in Ghardaïa.[5]

Half a century after the annexation of the Mzab was complete, a variety of parties—Jewish philanthropists, members of the French military and civil service, social scientists—would argue that the French authorities ought to have immediately extended the purview of the Crémieux de-

cree to include Jews in southern Algeria, thereby extending them French citizenship as was held by Jews in the north.[6] At the time of annexation, this position had few defenders and many critics. Among the defenders was General Charles-Joseph-Marie Loysel, the commander of the French army in Algeria, who ruminated in an 1882 letter to the military administration: "The Jews of the Mzab should necessarily be considered as French citizens; they ought to be exempt from state taxes like their coreligionists in Algeria, eligible to vote, and subject to conscription."[7] Argued Loysel, the Mzabi Jews were considered pariahs by the local Muslim population, and would surely embrace an offer of French nationality—even if they exhibited an underlying resistance to service in the French military.[8] It was a naïve theory, one that understood neither the relationship between Jews and Muslims in the Mzab nor the administration's trepidation when it came to extending the Crémieux decree to the region's Jews.

Loysel found himself to have powerful critics, including Louis Tirman, the governor-general of Algeria, and Minister of Justice Paul Devès, who favored a literalist interpretation of the Crémieux decree. The 1870 naturalization order had been designed for the Jews of the departments of Algeria, Devès argued, when the Mzab was a protectorate and part of no department.[9] Because the Crémieux decree had extended naturalization explicitly and exclusively to Jews in Algeria's departments, legally there was no mandate for its extension to the south. Loysel argued that Mzabi Jews were not eligible for naturalization en masse, but could seek it individually, as could Muslims throughout Algeria.[10]

In resisting the extension of naturalization to the Jews of the Mzab, Tirman and Devès were yielding to the pressure of anti-Semitic factions in Algeria and France—factions that, since 1870, had railed against the state's preferential treatment of Jews in Algeria.[11] The influence of these parties was rarely acknowledged directly in military correspondence. Instead, military and colonial officials were inclined to pin upon southern Muslims responsibility for the administration's disinterest in extending the Crémieux decree to southern Algerian Jews. Again and again, military officials emphasized that by not extending French citizenship to Mzabi Jewry, they hoped to avoid compromising the delicate truce the military had brokered with Ibadite notables during the conquest of the Sahara. This conclusion rested upon the assumption that the Ibadite leadership of the Mzab would recoil at the naturalization of southern Algerian Jewry due to their tacit anti-Semitism; in the words of General Félix-Gustave Saussie (who served, after Loysel, as commander of the French army in Algeria), granting naturalization to the Jews of the Mzab was "inopportune and dangerous," because it would spark Ibadite discontent.[12] Similar

arguments were made by others, until the position became irrefutable by dint of repetition.[13] Over the course of eighty years of colonial rule in the Mzab, military authorities repeatedly stressed that naturalizing the region's Jews was "impolitic," brokered no advantage, or undermined French authority. From 1882 to 1945, only a dozen or so Mzabi Jewish families would succeed in petitioning for naturalization by the French state—a tiny percentage given the professed demand.[14]

To be sure, tensions between Muslims and Jews in the Mzab were not unheard of in and prior to the early years of French rule in the Sahara. Military records speak of an 1872 pillaging of the synagogue in Ghardaïa, and of an 1882 attack on a caravan of Jews originating from nearby Guerrera.[15] In their coverage of these incidents, however, French authorities noted their exceptional nature. Even more striking is what official sources did not document: evidence to support the military's supposition that the Ibadite leadership of the Mzab opposed the naturalization of the valley's Jews. One cannot help but wonder if the fantasy of Muslim anti-Semitism was deployed as subterfuge for the military administration's (and the settler colonial population's) own anti-Jewish impulses, much as when the authorities falsely identified northern Algerian Muslim opposition to the Crémieux decree as the crucial catalyst for the Kabyle Revolt of 1871.[16] We shall return to this theme in the following chapter.

Crucially, when military leaders proclaimed that the Ibadite leadership of the Mzab was highly sensitive to (would-be) Jewish favoritism, it freed them from intervening into oasis politics, which were notoriously contentious. In the Mzab one faction or another was incessantly appealing to the French for aid in their internal struggles, and managing tensions between the region's Arabophone and Berberophone populations must have appeared challenge enough to the authorities even before Jews were figured into the mix. Thus when it came to the aforementioned instances of anti-Jewish violence, the military leadership maintained itself unable to "interfere in the interior affairs of the Mzab."[17] "Interference" was an apt description of the colonial project generally, but in this instance, the administration was rather more interested in delineating priorities and creating a hierarchy among would-be allies in the Mzab. Though in the north Jews rose to the top of these strategic lists, in the south they were but distractions—as marginal to local administrators, one could say, as the Mzab was to the governors-general of Algeria.

Given the degree of their perceived irrelevance, the treatment of Jews in the Mzab can be compared with the treatment of slaves indentured in or trafficked through the region. So significant to the military administra-

tion were their alliances with the Ibadite leadership in the Mzab that they led the French to sanction slave ownership and trade in the region—both of which benefited the existing leadership—in violation of official French support for abolition.[18] In fact, the failure of the French regime to retroactively apply the Crémieux decree to Mzabi Jews, on the one hand, and its resistance, on the other, to extending abolition to slaves living in or being trafficked through the Mzab, were strategies directly related to each other in the minds of the military administration. Official correspondences occasionally presented the judicial and administrative problems posed by slaves and Mozabite Jews as one and the same—perhaps because both occupied a liminal legal status in this nascent colonial environment.[19] Strikingly, the minister of justice's final determination on the legal status of Mzabi Jewry included within it his definitive determination that slavery ought to be abolished in the Mzab—though, in actual fact, it was allowed to morph into a semi-legal system of forced indenture.[20]

With annexation complete, the Mzab fell administratively under the rule of the Circle of Ghardaïa, an administrative structure at whose center stood the city of Ghardaïa. According to terms of annexation issued by the French in 1884, Ghardaïa itself (like the other towns of the Mzab) was semiautonomous, administered by a *qāʾid* selected by the governor-general. Working in tandem with the *qāʾid* was a municipal government: this agency oversaw all public affairs, including the operation of a police force, tax collection, water distribution, the servicing of caravans, public assistance, and the running of a clerical school. The municipality was also responsible for presenting a list of possible *qāʾid* to the governor-general when the position required filling (see figure 6).[21]

Legally, male residents of the Mzab were placed on a par with Muslim men elsewhere Algeria; that is, they were beholden to French law for criminal and public matters and to their own code of civil status in matters of marriage, divorce, paternity, and inheritance. The code of civil status, which was transmitted by the so-called *droit du sang* [law by descent, also called "local law"], deferred to religious law. Algerian Muslims were to abide by Malikite or Ibadite law in matters of civil status, with a *qadi* [a Muslim judge or magistrate] imbued with the authority to oversee births, deaths, marriages, divorce, and succession, and Muslim courts were given authority (the reach and potency of which shifted over time) to settle related matters of legal contest.[22] (Matters of criminal and some cases of civil law were heard before the local Bureau arabe.) For their part, Jews in the Mzab were to observe the "statut personnel mosaïque" [Mosaic civil status] in like matters, with a rabbi granted roughly the legal authority of

Fig. 6 Market place, Ghardaïa, c. 1953. Situated on historic trading routes that connected the Mzab Valley intra- and extra-regionally, Ghardaïa exported dates and woven woolen products. The headgear and clothing of the men pictured suggests they are Ibadite. This photograph was taken by Lloyd Cabot Briggs in preparation for *The Living Races of the Sahara* (1958), but was not published in that volume. Author's collection, courtesy of Eleanor Briggs.

a *qadi*.[23] Shaped initially for the Jews of the Mzab, the Mosaic civil status would extend to all Jewish residents of the Southern Territories of Algeria after this administrative entity was constituted in 1902.

"Mosaic Law," such as it was implemented in the Mzab, is best understood as the French colonial authorities' selective, strategic preservation and reformulation of Ottoman law—notably the granting of authority by the state to Jewish leadership to oversee and adjudicate most aspects of its intra-communal affairs. The great irony is that by the time these aspects of Ottoman law were implemented by the French in the Mzab, they had been all but legislated away in the Ottoman Empire—eliminated, no less, by a reformist-minded regime that found inspiration in French administrative and legal models.[24] To put this another way, though the notion of

"Mosaic Law" respected certain preexisting intra-communal practices of the Mzabi Jewish community, and while decisions made by the valley's rabbis may have honored Jewish law, the codification of "Mosaic Law' by the state reflected an inventive wedding of early modern Ottoman and modern French colonial jurisprudence. "Jewish" this law was not.[25]

Legally speaking, Mosaic civil status was intended to have an indelible quality. If a Jew born in the Mzab migrated to the north of Algeria—which Mzabi Jews appear not to have done in large numbers until the 1950s—theoretically it would not alter his or her legal status, which passed from father to child. For this reason, Kelif ben Sliman, a Jewish man born in Ghardaïa, raised the hackles of the military administration in 1886 when it was discovered that he had allowed himself to be conscripted in Biskra (in the Department of Constantine) despite being, as a Mzabi Jew by birth, ineligible for military service.[26] For Mzabi Jews, geographic mobility did not recalibrate legal status: Mosaic civil status accompanied them wherever they traveled, legally mooring them to the place of their birth. So it was for Meriem bent Lalou, with whom this chapter began, and Simon Partouche, a Mzabi Jew who wished to return from Palestine in order to visit his ailing mother, Sultana Sellam bent Daoud ben Isaac. In both instances, these individuals journeyed as "non-naturalized" residents of the Mzab, much as would their Muslim neighbors.[27]

However clear-cut the law appeared, as colonial rule in the Mzab unfolded, the General Government was obligated to make fine and highly subjective distinctions between legal "types" of Jews, with French military officials seeking to calcify who was a Mzabi Jew and to police this boundary rigorously. When the jeweler Meyer ben Chemouil Attia abandoned his wife and children in Ghardaïa and relocated to Tangiers, the authorities took the dramatic step of calling for the intervention of the Moroccan consulate, whose staff summoned Attia in order to urge him to return home. At stake was not so much the military's willingness to protect an *agunah* [an abandoned wife, as defined by Jewish law] as the particular panic instilled by the movement of Mzabi Jews outside the bounds of the Southern Territories, and the inability of the authorities to keep tight reigns on those who did.[28] One anxious motivation was that Mzabi Jews, once relocated to Morocco, Tunisia, or northern Algeria, would attempt to pass as Frenchmen or women; another was that foreign (likely Moroccan and Tunisian) Jews might penetrate Ghardaïa's Jewish community, potentially elevating their own legal status in the process. To curb the possibility of northward migration, the French military administration was particularly anxious to clearly delineate Ghardaïa from nearby towns that were, administratively speaking, on the northern

edge of the Sahara—that is, colonized rather than annexed territory (see figure 7).

Such was the case with the city of Laghouat, an entrepôt roughly one hundred kilometers to the north of Ghardaïa that had much commercial and social intercourse with the Mzab. The French conquered Laghouat in a particularly bloody siege of 1852, initially placing the town within the administrative Department of Algiers. Roughly twenty years later, Laghouat's roughly one hundred Jewish residents were naturalized as French citizens under the Crémieux decree, rendering them "northern" Jews from an administrative and legal perspective.[29] In the wake of the annexation of the Mzab in 1882, the General Government's offices noted with frustration that it was impossible to determine which Jews were rightfully Laghouati and which were residents of the Southern Territories: in the absence of a civil registry in the south, sufficient documentation to delineate these populations simply did not exist.[30] Such administrative uncertainty allowed the Jews of the Mzab certain latitude. In his study on the Mzab, Abel Andre Cöyne, a captain in the French military, noted in 1879 that Jews from the Mzab would travel to Laghouat in order to enjoy whatever social or material benefits of assumed citizenship they could; on their return home, their status would revert to what Cöyne called "the laws peculiar to the Mzab."[31]

The challenge of differentiating Laghouati and Ghardaïan Jews would, from an administrative perspective, become infinitely more complex with the passage of time. In 1905, Laghouat was joined administratively with the Mzab as part of the Southern Territories, and thus effectively de-departmentalized. Thereafter, it was possible for individual Jewish families residing under a single roof and within a single administrative unit to combine members who were either French (that is, Laghouati) or *indigènes* (that is, Mzabi), depending upon the moment and way in which they had been encountered and classified by the state. Such was the case of the children of Meriem bent Maklouf and Brahim ben Isaac Sellam, who had married in Laghouat in 1890. Because she had been born in Laghouat, Meriem was legally French. Brahim, who was born in Ghardaïa, was an *indigène*, legally beholden to Mosaic Personal Law. When Brahim appealed to the General Government for clarification about his children's legal status in 1930, the office determined the pair's offspring were French citizens. [32] This determination was presumably made in accordance with the law of 10 August 1927, which allowed a French woman to keep her citizenship if she married a foreigner and to pass her citizenship to her children, and represented a rare moment of lenience within an otherwise

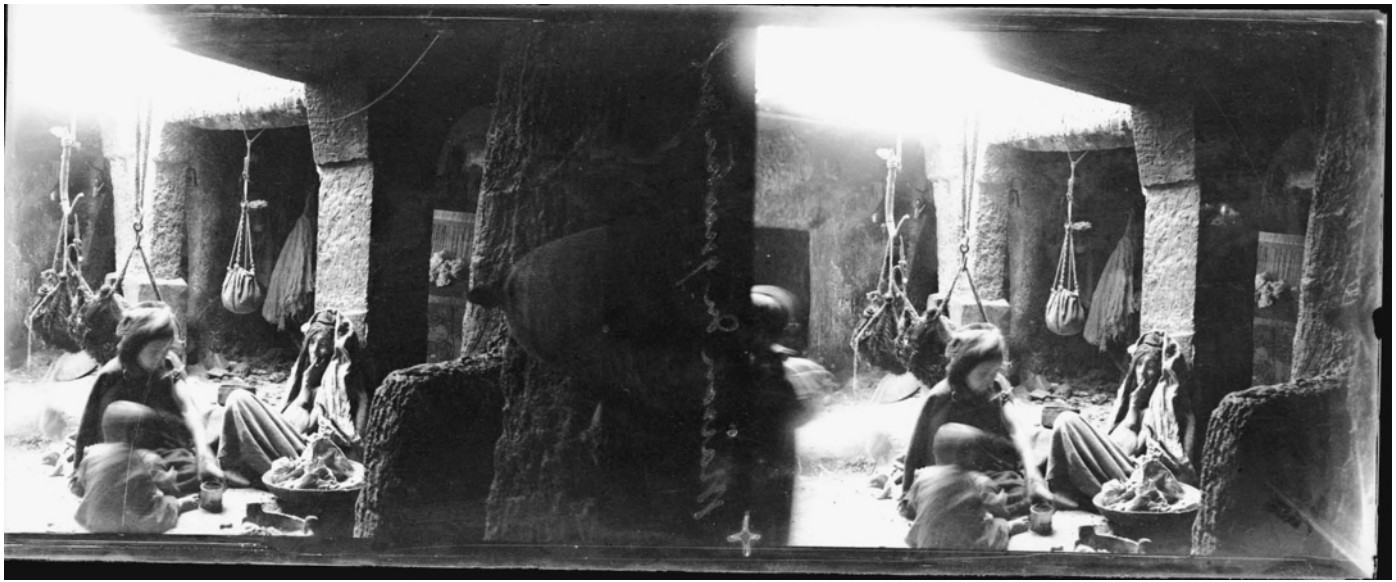


Fig. 7 A Jewish mother and her children at home, Ghardaïa, c. 1900. Judging by the size of this domestic space, this family probably was reasonably well off. Typical homes in Ghardaïa's Jewish district had two stories, an L-shaped entrance that allowed for ventilation and privacy, open skylights (shown here at top), and interior walls of pale blue, yellow, or green. Courtesy of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa.

highly restrictive model. In this instance, at least, the temporary expansion of legal opportunities for French women trumped the strictures applied to the Jews of Algeria's south.[33]

Even as the military administration feared that Mzabi Jews might seek to pass as northern Jews (and hence as French), they were also anxious that "immigrant" Jews might seek to assimilate themselves into the Mzabi Jewish population, as had so many Moroccan and Tunisian Jews in Algeria's north; for this reason, military administrators rushed to forbid Jews of Moroccan or Tunisian origin from adding their names to Ghardaïa's Jewish voter registry.[34] These populations seemed to have little to gain, legally speaking, from being recognized as Mzabi Jews—the only tangible advantage being that Jewish men on the town's voter registry could help select Ghardaïa's head rabbi. What was at stake, in this instance, was symbolism rather than pragmatism. Attempts to police the legal delineation between Jews in the Moroccan Sahara and those in the Algerian Sahara masked officials' desire to fix the (notoriously elusive) boundary between those Saharan regions themselves—a struggle that remains contentious to this day. It would take some sixty years for the repercussions of the law delineating southern "Moroccan" and southern "Algerian" Jews to be realized. When the time came for the French state to consider the mass naturalization of Mzabi Jews, a community of Jews of Moroccan heritage living in Colomb-Béchar—a town on the Algerian side of the Moroccan-Algerian border—would indeed petition the French state to be considered Mzabi.[35] In the course of decolonization, the early colonial anxieties of the French were thus perversely vindicated.

Thus far I have emphasized the myriad ways in which early colonial law in the Algeria Sahara rendered Jews in the Mzab anachronistic relative to Jews in the north of Algeria. However, it must be stressed that the laws imposed upon Mzabi Jewry emulated those that had existed relative to Jewish subjects in the Tell in the early years of French colonial rule, and which continued to exist relative to Muslim subjects of French colonialism. Specifically, one could compare the legal status of Jews in the Mzab, as it was codified after 1882, to that experienced by Jews and Muslims in the north of Algeria between 1865 and 1870, during the five-year period (prior to the passage of the Crémieux decree) in which both groups fell under the *sénatus-consulte* of 1865 (a *sénatus-consulte* was a feature of French law during the First and Second Empires.)[36] This directive permitted so-called indigenous Jews and Muslims in Algeria to apply for French citizenship if they renounced their Mosaic or Muslim civil status—a possibility that held little appeal for the vast majority of Jews in Northern Algeria (who wished to retain individual and communal

control over such matters as family law, Jewish education, and the oversight of rabbis and synagogues) and proved to appeal to an even smaller percentage of Algerian Muslims.[37] After the annexation of the Mzab, the 1865 directive was extended to the south, though there, as in the north, it proved unappealing for Jews and Muslims alike, who did not pursue the option en masse.[38] (The tiny number of Mzabi Jews who did successfully petition for French citizenship through the 1865 directive would appear as "Europeans" in colonial record-keeping, perversely coming to serve on paper as the members of the small settler colonial population of the Mzab.)[39]

When it came to the legal loophole of the 1865 directive, military officials were not entirely without guile. The League des droits de l'homme [League of the Rights of Man], a French organization that took an interest in the legal fate of the Jews of the Mzab in the 1920s, discovered in the course of their investigations that Jewish applicants for naturalization who were willing to renounce their Mosaic civil status found that the officers in charge of reviewing their applications stalled them for months, if not years. So great was these administrators' disinclination to see the legal status even of individual Mzabi Jews altered that, through inaction, they narrowed the legal loophole created by the 1865 directive.[40] In this fashion, military officials actively hardened the distinction between northern and southern Jews.

Mzabi Jews were quick to test the legal limits military rule imposed upon them. Mere months after the conquest of the Mzab, twenty-two Jewish men from Ghardaïa approached the Bureau arabe of Ghardaïa Circle to demand that they, their wives, and their children be granted French citizenship. The French official who received the group did so with great suspicion, reporting to his superiors that the petitioners appeared "unprepared to receive the title of French citizens," and that they possessed an "imperfect understanding of the rights and duties that would fall to them in the event of naturalization."[41] So skeptical was the bureaucrat of the applicants' intentions that his report failed to mention why their appeal had been lodged in the first place, prompting his superiors to demand more details.[42] The officer expanded that the group had articulated their demand "outside of their quarter, after copious libation," and that they were led by one Moussa ben Youcef.[43] The officer belived Ben Youcef had a crassly economic motivation: French citizenship, the petitioner ostensibly insisted, would "make it much easier to buy and sell in the city of Ghardaïa," shielding the Jews "from local customs and mores, 'selon leur bon plaisir.'" When pressed, members of the group explained further that Jewish access to water in Ghardaïa had been limited by local law to

a single, insufficient source; that they were treated as inferiors by their Mozabite neighbors, who compelled them to step aside when passing in order to avoid touching Muslim garments; and, finally, that they were forbidden from touching merchandise for sale at the local market.[44]

These explanations were tailor-made to appeal to the officials' own presuppositions. The governor-general sanctioned a formal inquiry only to discover that the eight youngest petitioners were unwilling to pursue their claims due to their resistance to performing military service, a necessary obligation attending French citizenship. Nine other petitioners tentatively agreed to complete the mandatory paperwork required to advance their case but failed to do so—perhaps after being so pressured by their wives. Five petitioners remained undeterred. This group presented the requisite paperwork to the military government, only to be swiftly denied. General de Savigne, the official who reviewed the petitions, claimed they did not rest on "patriotic motives," and objected that the Mzabi Jews in question seemed interested only in evading local law and securing material advantage. As de Savigne argued, the Jewish petitioners had "done nothing to merit this naturalization, in which they see only rights and advantages, but do not consider the duties which they would need to fulfill." The general noted, finally, that extending naturalization to Jews in the Mzab would be an impolitic act that would sow seeds of discord among the local population, ultimately tarnishing French "domination and prestige."[45] In this exchange between Jewish petitioners and military representatives, the Mzab's Ibadite residents stood as a silent, hypothetical interlocutor, on whom military officials projected their own anxieties.

This was not the only instance in which Mzabi Jewish appeals for citizenship faltered on the issue of military service. Non-naturalized as they were, the Jews of the Southern Territories were not subject to military conscription, as were Jews in Algeria's north. And neither individual Jewish petitioners nor members of the French military, it seems, were confident it was prudent for Mzabi Jews to serve France militarily. From the perspective of the military, Mzabi Jews—in contrast to the so-called second generation European residents of French Algeria—were numerically insignificant, and, therefore, their en masse conscription of minor concern.[46] French authorities did not make this point directly. Rather, they dismissed petitions for citizenship submitted by male Jews from the Mzab on the basis that the applicants were not well poised to serve the state. Such was the official response to an 1884 petition for citizenship by Mardochée Djaoui, a Jewish man born in Ghardaïa who then resided

in nearby Bou-Saada. Ambitiously, Djaoui based his appeal on the argument that Jews in the Mzab had been put in a distinctly inferior position by the state. The request was denied, with officials citing Djaoui's lack of readiness to serve France militarily. Similarly denied was the request of a second applicant, Kelif ben Sliman, who submitted his own petition for naturalization two years later.[47] Mzabi Jews' perceived readiness and/or willingness to serve in the French army functioned, it would seem, as a test—and, de facto, as an insurmountable bar—that measured their worthiness as would-be French citizens. If Jews were not able to serve France militarily (which military administrators repeatedly stressed they were not), they were *also* not ready to uphold the obligations of citizenship. This debate would assume new direction during the First World War, when France deployed hundreds of thousands of colonial subjects, many Algerians among them, onto the battlefields of Europe.

Leading a Jewish "Nation" in the Mzab

As colonial officials and military administrators strained to formulate a distinct legal regime for southern Algerian Jewry in the aftermath of the conquest of the Sahara, so too did they impose structures of leadership that would reflect and sustain Jewish regional and political particularity—and their own strategic desires. Among the first orders issued by the governor-general of Algeria concerning Jews in the Mzab was one that formally charged a *chef de la nation juive* [head of the Jewish nation] in Ghardaïa with representing his coreligionists to the colonial and military authorities. This ordinance also established a Jewish *djemaa* [city council], a body that was to seat nine representatives, of whom one was the *chef* and the others elected by the Jewish men of Ghardaïa.[48] The power of the *chef* only grew with time. In 1915, when a military reorganization expanded the authority of the Jewish *djemaa*, it was determined that the *chef*, who would continue to be appointed by the French, would serve as president of this body.[49] (The same year, perhaps to hedge the *chef's* power, members of the community established a Jewish cultural association in Ghardaïa. The function of this organization appears to have been notional.)[50] In 1923 the *chef* was invited to sit on Ghardaïa's municipal council from which Jewish leadership had been banned previously, and, at the same time, his authority was extended, allowing the office holder to collect taxes for the community, oversee communal education, and provide support for public charges.[51] Some thirty years later, the *chef* was

added to the payroll of the French military administration after its then-holder, the goldsmith Makhlouf Partouche, requested remuneration equal to that granted a *qā'id*: one hundred francs per month.[52]

The *chef* was an administrative amalgamation, a curious admixture of Ottoman, Jewish, and French colonial structures. The position appears to have been modeled on the *muqaddam* [literally, "leader"], a Muslim or Jewish notable imbued with the authority to represent his community.[53] This term was used for leaders across the Islamic world, including the Ottoman realm, though the figurehead's function differed over time and space; with the onset of French colonial rule in the Tell, the figure of the Jewish *muqaddam* was for a time respected. Indeed, in the years between the French conquest of Algeria and the 1845 adoption of the consistorial system, French authorities appointed a single Jewish *muqaddam*—also referred to as *chef de la nation juive*—to represent Algerian Jewry.[54] However, while the position of the Jewish *muqaddam* would be long-lived in the Mzab, in northern Algeria it quickly fell into disfavor. Already by the early 1840s, French military and colonial officials and French-Jewish reformers alike had come, counterfactually, to view the Jewish *muqaddam* as a pernicious holdover of an Ottoman regime that did not—as did the standing French administration—actively agitate for the assimilation of its Jewish subjects.[55] Thus in relation to the north, French authorities soon jettisoned the titles *muqaddam* and *chef de la nation juive* in favor of the more seemly *adjoint israélite au maire* [deputy mayor for Jewish affairs]; ultimately, with the grafting of the consistorial system upon Algeria's Jews and Protestants in 1845, France legislated away the former positions in the north with a stroke of the pen.[56]

Organized by the Ministry of War, the consisteries were modeled after those that had existed in France since 1808 and designed to oversee all major aspects of the Jewish communities in the north of Algeria. The Jewish consistory was charged with hiring officially approved rabbis, standardizing Jewish education, and regulating Jewish spaces and family practices; under its auspices, French colonial authorities aspired to assimilate Algerian Jewry into French civil society, according to republican and bourgeois norms.[57] The consistorial system was not extended to Algeria's Southern Territories after its annexation by the military regime. In its absence, military administrators assigned far more (quasi-civil) autonomy to the *chef* of the Jewish nation, inspired in part by norms that had been in place in northern Algeria prior to the establishment of the consistorial system.

Thus what administrative structures had become obsolete for colonial administrators, military officials, and reformers in the north remained

live for those in the south. Some forty years after the position of *chef de la nation juive* was rejected as unbefitting the Jews of northern Algeria, the French regime determined that this administrative position—and with it the broader notion of Jewish autonomy from the civil state—was yet appropriate for the Sahara. With the reinstitutionalization of the *chef de la nation juive* in the Mzab came an additional proviso, surely meant to forestall forms of local Jewish resistance to French military rule that had so afflicted the civilizing mission in the north: the *chef de la nation juive* in the Mzab was obligated to be sympathetic with French authority. Though ostensibly elected by male members of the community, the *chef* could serve only with the approval of the governor-general.[58] So it was that when one of the earliest *chefs de la nation juive* died of typhoid while returning by caravan from Touggourt in 1899, the governor-general solicited proposals for his replacement, ultimately approving the choice of Brahim ben Moussa ben Attia, a merchant who dwelt in a nearby village.[59]

The *chef de la nation juive* in the Mzab was the shadow of a second institutional form, this one designed for Algerian Muslims. For as it emulated the *muqaddam*, the *chef* was also modeled on the *chef indigène*, an institutional figure vested with the authority to mediate between Muslim subjects in a given administrative circle and the military administration represented there by a Bureau arabe [Arab Bureau, or Department of Indigenous Affairs]. Designed to discipline and "civilize" Muslim subjects, the Bureaux arabes were created in 1844 and numbered close to fifty at their peak, in 1870, when they were disbanded in the Tell. Though the Bureaux operated for less than thirty years in the north of Algeria, they—and with them the associated figure of the *chef indigène*—remained extant in the south into the twentieth century, with Jews as well as Muslims dependent on their judgment.[60] Monthly and annual reports by the Bureau arabe of Ghardaïa Circle suggest that Jews came before the organization of their own volition and by official order—bringing accusations of their own (as did one Jewish woman against an abusive husband and another against an absentee husband) or in response to the accusations of others (such as the theft of a camel).[61]

In the immediate aftermath of the French conquest of the Mzab, defining the legal status of Mzabi Jewry (as of slaves who had been brought to the valley) was among colonial and military officials' earliest concerns. Consensus among these parties did not come easily. Certain military representatives on the ground defended the notion that Algeria's southern Jewish population should be grandfathered into the Crémieux decree.

Others, highly placed in the administration, retorted that expanding the 1870 decree beyond Algeria's northern departments would violate its terms and alienate the Ibadite leadership with whom the French had negotiated a fragile détente. Only after Governor-General Tirman and Minister of Justice Devès ruled that Mzabi Jewry were not eligible for group naturalization did the administration begin to selectively trawl for putative antecedents to colonial rule that might be applied to this population. The "Mosaic status" represented a creative melding of erstwhile Ottoman and French jurisprudence; the notion that Jewish emancipation should be sought individually rather than assigned collectively, harkened back to the *sénatus-consulte* of 1866; the *chef de la nation juive* resurrected structures that had been eradicated after being judged ineffective and conceptually problematic for Jewish and Muslim communities elsewhere in Algeria. Cobbled together, these legal and administrative superstructures did not easily accommodate the complex reality of Jewish life in the Algerian Sahara. Mzabi Jews like Meriem Partouche (the would-be pilgrim with whom this chapter began) traveled, sought passports, lived far from home, married other Jews who were French citizens, and, if they were men, occasionally sought to conscript themselves. For French administrators, Jewish indigeneity—rather like the geographic boundaries of the Southern Territories themselves—proved immensely difficult to identify, delineate, and enforce.

THREE

Governing Typologies: From the Conquest of the Mzab to the Touggourt/ Dreyfus Affair

In the autumn of 1888, a Muslim man by the name of Salah ben Saʾid collapsed after conducting ablutions in the *mikvah* [Jewish ritual bath] in the heart of Ghardaïa's Jewish quarter, just a few doors from the synagogue. A policeman and the *chef* of the Jewish community rushed to the scene and carried the invalid to a doctor, who attempted, unsuccessfully, to revive ben Saʾid. A military investigation that followed suggested that the infected waters of the *mikvah* were to blame for Saʾid's collapse. Writing about this episode some years later, medical ethnographer Joseph Julien Huguet (who was then working on behalf of the Ministry of Public Health) described the *mikvah* as stagnant and septic, claiming that it was cleaned once every six months, only after "two hundred women immersed themselves in its waters each month."[1]

Huguet's remarks do not ring entirely true, for maintaining still water in a *mikvah* is, strictly speaking, in violation of Jewish law. Nevertheless, the story he tells hints at untold intimacies between Muslims and Jews in the Mzab, including the possibility that the Jewish district of Ghardaïa, like those of other North African towns, was socially porous by nature.[2] This possibility is obscured in most colonial sources on southern Algeria. Despite the fact that colonial law equated southern Algerian Jews and Algerian Muslims

(at least for a time), military representatives, colonial officials, reformist-minded observers, and European travel writers and ethnographers all preferred to emphasize disjunctures between these populations. Indeed, military representatives in the Mzab actively agitated to disaggregate southern Algerian Jews and Muslims spatially, economically, and typologically—despite the fact that such policies circumvented, if not altogether undermined, colonial law.

Military and colonial officials maintained a kaleidoscopic view of southern Algerian Jews in the decades after France's conquest of the Sahara. As they shaped law and policy, these officials borrowed freely from centuries-old tropes about Jews that were European in inspiration, among them concerns about the dangerous relationship between Jews, sickness, and communal water sources (and, as we shall see shortly, Jews' usurious nature). They recycled military, colonial, and ethnographic writing about northern Algerian Jewry that had been penned decades earlier, in the aftermath of the French conquest of the Tell. Finally, they pieced together an impressionistic sense of facts on the ground—occasionally eliding issues about which they had little knowledge, such as the workings of Jewish law or the nuances of Muslim-Jewish relations in the region. When it came to the shaping of colonial policy in French North Africa, improvisational borrowing of this kind was not uncommon.[3] In this particular instance, however, the dynamic had a specific catalyst. French officials resisted applying to southern Algerian Jews the *mission civilisatrice* [civilizing mission] that defined colonial policy toward Jews in Algeria's north in order to advance their own strategic agenda. To explain and justify this choice, they drew from a hodgepodge of cultural and economic typologies that provided conceptual validation for their policies.

As the last chapter demonstrated, the legal superstructure for France's treatment of southern Algerian Jewry was put in place in the immediate aftermath of the military's annexation of the Mzab. However, because of the improvisational nature of military policy in southern Algeria, the crafting of legal maxims did not forestall the resurgence of certain fundamental questions: How were the Jews of the Algerian Sahara different from Jews in the Tell? How should the boundaries between Jews and Muslims in the Mzab be identified, maintained, or elided? In the pages that follow, we consider the contradictory ways in which French officials resolved these questions, and the myriad means by which southern Algerian Jews exerted their own will on these matters. In so doing, we carry our story chronologically forward, from the imposition of the Mosaic civil status in southern Algeria to the era of the First World War.

Indigenous Foreigners

Travelogues and ethnographies by French military administrators, legal theorists, and a small collection of social scientists (including some writers who served in more than one of these capacities) that introduced French-language readers to the Jewish community of the Algerian Sahara shared much with Orientalist literature that focused on Algeria's northern cities—and, for that matter, with literature that depicted, fetishistically, the Jewish districts of North Africa more generally.[4] This literature laid emphasis upon the dark and dirty streets of Ghardaïa's Jewish neighborhood (which the French tended to label the *mellah*), the ill health of Mzabi Jewish children, the languorous pace of adults, backward educational standards, the persistence of superstition, the abuse of women through polygamy, and the sensual attributes of pubescent girls and boys.[5] For this, a crucial point emanated from the resulting literature: Jews of the Mzab were unlike Jews in northern Algeria and different from their non-Jewish neighbors in the south. As the legal theorist Edgard Rouard de Card explained in 1897, "the Jews of the Mzab, from the point of view of moral and intellectual culture, differ noticeably from other indigenous Jews in Algeria."[6]

How, in the minds of French officials and social scientists, could southern Algerian Jews' difference be explained? Early writing on the Mzabi Jews tended to trace this difference not to blood but to mobility.[7] This was ironic, given that the earliest French historical, anthropological, and legal literature on the Jews of the Mzab proceeded from the assumption that Mzabi Jews were indigenous, just as Jews in the north of Algeria were once understood to have been by French authorities. Yet the first chroniclers of Mzabi Jewry tended not to emphasize Jews' rootedness in the region or address their many ties (commercial, culinary, spatial, sartorial, etc.) to their non-Jewish neighbors. Instead, early legal, military, and social scientific literature stressed the diverse immigrant roots of the region's Jewish population.

Just where Mzabi Jews originated differed by account: the number of purported homelands was, in and of itself, dizzying. Mzabi Jews were said to hail from Cairo, Jerba, Tripoli, the Barbary Coast, Fez, Figuig, l'Oued-Righ, Tamentit, even Spain.[8] Notwitstanding these Jews' indigenous status, official correspondence spoke of the Jews of the Mzab as foreigners who were at fault for forgetting that their sojourn in the region depended upon the goodwill of their Ibadite "hosts."[9] "Indigenous" and "foreign"

are, on the face of it, contradictory designations. From the perspective of French administrators, however, the terms could be used interchangeably, for both justified southern Algerian Jews' exclusion from legal rights. In the south of Algeria, as in the Tell, military strategy justified cultural and racial typologies and these, in turn, were used to influence the direction of colonial policy.[10]

In their struggle to label and manage the southern Algerian Jewish population, military officials recycled a reservoir of tropes that had been deployed in reference to the Jews of northern Algeria prior to the passage of the Crémieux decree. In 1886, for example, a French military commander based in Médéa argued to his superiors: "The Jews of the Mzab are in no way citizens of France. They should be considered foreigners. In the event of difficulties, I would not hesitate to expel them from Algerian territories."[11] Generals Thomas-Robert Bugeaud and Pierre Boyer had spoken uncannily similar words in regards to Algeria's northern Jewish community in the 1840s. And yet colonial reformers successfully circumvented such arguments, in part because the military realized it could benefit from the commercial contacts and resources of a northern Algerian Jewish mercantile elite.[12] When it came to the Jews of southern Algeria, there was no powerful Jewish mercantile class to flex its muscle; additionally, no influential colonial reformers took up the cause of Mzabi Jewry as had Adolphe Crémieux (and others) in the case of Algeria's northern Jews. In the absence of these circumstances, southern Jewish indigeneity remained coded as negative to the French leadership. Ironically, while colonial officials had (in the 1830s–1860s) labeled Algeria's disparate northern Jews as indigenous so that they could be made French, military officials in the south read Algeria's Saharan Jews as foreign so that they could be maintained as *indigènes*.

The label *indigènes* aligned Mzabi Jews with Algerian Muslims in the eyes of the law. However, colonial typologies created a cultural hierarchy within the Mzab itself, and this scheme ill-disposed the military administration from seeing the region's Jews as comparable to their Muslim neighbors. None other than Minister of Justice Devès punctuated his determinative legal analysis of the Mzab with the qualitative position that the region's Jews were "in a situation of marked inferiority to the indigenous population, and . . . not prepared for naturalization 'en bloc.'"[13] Alas, Mzabi Jews proved difficult for European observors to detect with certainty. While carrying out his public health mission in the Mzab on behalf of the French military in 1897 and 1898, Huguet chided the legal theorist Ernest Zeys—president of Algier's court of appeals and author of an influential article on Mozabite law published nine years earlier—for

illustrating his description of the elderly, male Mozabite "type" with a photograph of a Mzabi Jew. Elderly Jews, Huguet conceded, "present various analogies with the Semitic type," but could always be distinguished by their forelocks, which lend them "a silhouette of special character."[14] Southern Algerian Jews were distinct, but easily mistaken for Muslims: they were indigenous, but nonetheless immigrants. These contradictory suppositions coexisted because the Mosaic civil status was itself fungible: an imprecise legal metric designed, above all, to justify exclusion from basic rights that had been extended to *colons* [European settler colonialists] and Jews in Algeria's north.

Evidently, this logic found parallel in the regime's legal and typological treatment of Algeria's Muslim population. And, indeed, one need not work terribly hard to find unfavorable images of the Mzab's non-Ibadite Muslim or Ibadite residents in military archives or social scientific literature of the period; this population was clearly not perceived with any more nuance by French military officials than were the region's Jews.[15] In much the same way that literary works, travelogues, and historical writing could utilize the terms "Kabyle" and "Berber" interchangeably in reference to populations in Algeria's north, official documentation about the peoples of the Mzab was inconsistent in its use of terminology, tending to call Arabophone Muslims "Arabs" or "Malikites" and Berberophone Ibadites "Mozabites," but often confusing even these imprecise and ahistorical terms.[16] The struggle to understand and regulate subtle differentiations between the human "types" of the Sahara was at once a hallmark of French military policy in the region and simultaneously the source of endless confusion.

If, as I have suggested, certain foundational myths governing the military's treatment of Mzabi Jewry were erected in the years following the valley's conquest, they had a keystone: an 1884 report by Governor-general Tirman, written after Tirman visited Ghardaïa and sought conference with various Jewish communal leaders. The governor-general was not impressed by his findings. Perhaps misinterpreting the point of the official's visit (or having not been informed of it), representatives of the Jewish community used the occasion to solicit funds to rebuild their synagogue, which had been desecrated in an attack some years earlier. The governor-general found this an act of "pathetic timidity," disparagingly referring to the synagogue as a "repugnant cesspit." "I did not observe, in any of these degraded beings, the least intellectual or moral desire, the glimmer of a political thought," wrote the governor-general. "They were, [despite] their relatively well-off situation, covered in dirty rags, resistant to the most elementary rules of cleanliness and hygiene."[17] These disgraceful

figures the governor contrasted with members of the Ibadite population, whom he described as extraordinarily "intelligent and enlightened" and a "civilized and educated people," whose cultural level not only exceeded that of the "Arabs" (that is, the non-Ibadite, Arabophone Muslim population of the Mzab) but of "European peasantry," too.[18] While the Jewish leadership struck the governor-general as pathetic, the Ibadite leadership impressed him as having great "finesse."[19] On the basis of this visit, the governor-general concluded that the Jews of Ghardaïa deserved little more than the freedom of religion that French colonial rule theoretically granted them, and he noted (as had others before him) that, in any case, extending these Jews political rights brokered no advantage for the state. In issuing his 1884 report on Ghardaïa's Jewish community, the governor-general set in motion a series of assumptions that would dictate French policy for decades to come (see figures 8 and 9).[20]

That the governor-general issued his lacerating report after visiting the Jewish neighborhood is significant, for the spatial delineation of Mzabi Jewry became an important aspect of the military's attempts to identify and nurture Jewish difference in the Southern Territories. The following episode illustrates this point well. In 1886, Chemouil [Chenouil] ben Brahum submitted a petition to the offices of the General Government of Algeria requesting authorization to live outside Ghardaïa's Jewish neighborhood, in the Ibadite neighborhood of town.[21] The authorities reacted with alarm and suspicion. They were aware that the Ibadite leadership in Ghardaïa had limited the number of Jewish residencies in town to ninety, and that with the continued demographic expansion of the Jewish community, there was an acute need for additional living space.[22] Despite this, the official who vetted ben Brahum's request, General (and future Minister of War) Julien Léon Loizillon, resolved that ben Brahum's "claim to move into the Mozabite [Ibadite] quarters does not rest on any real need," but was, instead, a "new manifestation of the bad spirit among the Jewish population of the Mzab." Loizillon mused that the authorities might consider building a new quarter to accommodate Ghardaïa's burgeoning Jewish population—but did not advocate that this tactic be pursued. Instead, he concluded that ben Brahum's petition reflected bald opportunism and might even be read as a provocation. The Jews of the Mzab, Loizillon fumed to the governor-general's office, "never miss an occasion to try and strain relations with the Muslim population, forgetting that [Muslims] are [the Jews'] hosts."[23] The governor-general concurred: preventing Jews from residing outside the Jewish neighborhood was for their own protection and in the interest of "civil order." The burden of facilitating good relations between Jews and Muslims in

Fig. 8 Jewish boys in the synagogue of Ghardaïa. Stereoscopic photograph, c. 1900. With its arched roof, pyramidal tower (through which light shines, center), tinted limestone walls, and hanging oil lamps, the synagogue of Ghardaïa emulated local Ibadite mosques. It nonetheless exhibited architectural features typical of synagogues, including a women's gallery, *bema* (raised table for reading the Torah, center), and arc for holding the Torah scrolls (on left edge of image at right). This collection of boys may have been posed, or they may have gathered to study or pray. Courtesy of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa.

Fig. 9 Jewish boys in the synagogue of Ghardaïa. Stereoscopic photograph, c. 1900. In this image one may see the open windows of the women's gallery, the colorfully tiled floor, extraordinary columns, and wooden door, all of which still exist today, though in a state of decay. Courtesy of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa.

Ghardaïa ought not fall to the French authorities in Loizillon's view; what was called for, instead, was for the Jews to demonstrate to their Ibadite neighbors "who welcomed and protected them" that they "could live together peacefully."[24]

French officials had taken note of no incidents of Jewish-Ibadite tension since the institution of colonial rule in the Mzab had commenced four years earlier. Nevertheless, after reviewing ben Brahum's request, they concluded that the spatial division of these populations served the communities in question, the military's own strategic interests, and the interests of France's closest allies in the region, Ghardaïa's Ibadite leadership. Thus even as contemporaneous military, ethnographic, and travelogue scholarship bemoaned the deplorable conditions of the Jewish neighborhood of Ghardaïa, colonial authorities strained to fortify its boundaries.

What was particularly ironic about this approach was that French military officials—like so many European writers who turned their attention to the Mzab—made much of the deplorable restrictions that had been placed on Mzabi Jews in the centuries prior to the French conquest. These sources argued that under Ottoman rule, Mzabi Jews had been marginalized by their non-Jewish neighbors, who limited their access to water, imposed sumptuary laws upon them, restricted their movement within Ghardaïa and outside the city, taxed them excessively, and maintained a generally scornful attitude toward Jews.[25] "They live today as veritable pariahs," wrote the governor-general to the French minister of war shortly after the conquest of the Mzab.[26] Such accounts did not acknowledge that French authorities, through the Ibadite leadership, themselves imposed a tax on Ghardaïa's Jews (the so-called *lezma*) despite Jewish objections that they were not entitled to the same services as their Ibadite neighbors (the *lezma* remained in place until 1958).[27] So too did the military's vision of Muslim-Jewish relations in the Mzab lack a sense of history. Prior to the colonial period, Jews in the Mzab Valley were tightly intertwined with multiple systems of cross-cultural commercial, intellectual, and quotidian exchange that wove through the Sahara and well beyond it, and which were conducive to the functional, entangled existence of multiple, mutually dependent religious, linguistic, and cultural groups.[28] In ways direct and indirect, this balance was upset by the encroachment of colonial power, which favored a highly regimented, vertical system of rule.

This point returns us to the vignette with which this chapter began. When French medical ethnographer Huguet reported on the collapse of ben Saʾid in Ghardaïa's Jewish neighborhood, he was far more engaged

with the circumstances surrounding this man's death than with his actions while he was alive. That ben Sa'id was conducting ritual abludtions in the *mikvah* of Ghardaïa did not interest Huguet. Far more arresting was the thought that ben Sa'id's proximity to his Jewish neighbors—and, even more tellingly, to the ostensibly fetid waters of the *mikvah*—might have killed him.[29] So much was overlooked in Huguet's account. Was the Jewish neighborhood of Ghardaïa a site of regular contact between Jews and Muslims, despite the military's attempts to police its boundaries? Could a Muslim man view the *mikvah*'s waters as holy? The answers to such questions remain murky precisely because they concerned neither Huguet nor those who wrote the most on the Mzab in the late nineteenth century—European observors and French officials who brought their own presuppositions to the Algerian Sahara.[30] As for the case of ben Sa'id's death, here the archival trail grows cold. It does not appear that the case came before the Bureaux arabes of Ghardaïa, or that the military sought to hold the Jewish community accountable for this Muslim man's death. In this instance, the military may have deemed a show of concern of greater symbolical value than the pursuit of prosecution.

The military did not shy away from holding Jews accountable for crimes against their Muslim neighbors when circumstances dictated otherwise. We turn now to one such instance, in which French officials intervened to halt what they perceived as usurious activities on the part of Mzabi Jewish lenders. As we shall see, just as French officials in the Mzab sought to disaggregate Muslims and Jews spatially, so too did they seek to disrupt Muslim-Jewish commercial interactions that confounded their own typological presuppositions. This was particularly true during the fin de siècle, when the Dreyfus affair reverberated unexpectedly in Algeria's Southern Territories.

Dreyfus in the Sahara: Affairs Local and Metropolitan

Anti-Semitic sentiment reached an apogee in France and Algeria in the last years of the nineteenth century. This wave of hostility was inspired by the arrest of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a military officer of Alsatian Jewish descent who was accused of passing state documents to the German embassy in Paris. With evidence of his innocence suppressed by the military authorities, Dreyfus was convicted of treason in 1894 and sent to the French penal colony on Devil's Island. His arrest served as a pretext for stoking the flames of anti-Semitism in France and Algeria: between the years 1896 and 1899, violence was directed against Jews in Oran, Algiers,

Constantine, and other Algerian (as well as numerous French) metropolitan centers. Dreyfus himself was exonerated and reinstated in the military in 1906, though the anti-Semitic energy and political authority unleashed by the Dreyfus affair lingered on.[31]

In Algeria's north, the settler colonial population was principally responsible for this spate of aggression against Jews. This internally diverse population had various motives, with the violence they wrought synthesizing a range of resentments. In southern Algeria, the Dreyfus affair interacted with local politics quite differently, "spilling over directly into the Sahara," as Benjamin Brower has put it relative to another context.[32] Even without an anti-Dreyfusard *colon* presence rallying against an imagined Jewish fifth column in the Mzab, the military in Ghardaïa (as in other regions of France and Algeria) manifested the intense anti-Semitism of 1896–1899.

The spark to this conflagration was a report submitted by the commanding general of the Mzab to his superior, apparently on the general's own volition. The report suggested that there was an acute need to prevent Jews in Ghardaïa from extending loans with punishing rates of interest to Muslims in the region. Its author warned that prosecution would be difficult because the "usurers" had taken precautions to conceal their actions, falsifying their receipts such that they registered "merchandise" rather than "interest" received. And he advised that the only effective way to stop usury was to deny Jews access to the Circle of Touggourt, where the effrontery was said to have taken place.[33]

A formal inquiry ensued, with the Service des Affaires indigènes of Constantine generating a detailed account. The Jews of Ghardaïa, this office claimed, had been traveling among the five cities of the Mzab in order to lend money to Muslim residents at 30–40 percent compound interest, resisting collection of the original sum in order to accrue ever-greater fees. The investigator in charge of the matter was so outraged by these findings that he took it upon himself to urge the Muslim leadership of Touggourt to inform the city's residents to cease borrowing from Jews, who, he argued, had no other legitimate commercial business in the region. The residents of Touggourt were cautious, but the official pressed his audience, urging them to provide information about their debts and the Jewish usurers who had extended them. Overcoming the Touggourt residents' initial hesitations, the officer ("finally," in his words) succeeded. The residents of Touggourt identified a list of 242 borrowers: collectively, they claimed to owe 68,796 francs to Jewish lenders, only a small portion of which, it was claimed, reflected their original debt. Thirty-three Jewish lenders, all residents of Ghardaïa, were named. On the basis of these

accusations, the Service des Affaires indigènes forbade the thirty-three from returning to Touggourt for a period of up to six months. It also promised to fine them an unidentified amount.[34]

This judgment was not exceptionally punishing, for it came at a time when most pastoralists were beginning the seasonal movement of their sheep and goats northward, signaling a temporary slackening of southern commerce. (Indeed, the period of punishment aimed at the lenders from Ghardaïa seemed timed to lapse when the herders were due to return to Touggourt.) The symbolic value of the episode was nonetheless high. Even as the case against the thirty-three Jewish lenders was being formulated, the Service des Affaires indigènes was anticipating its outcome. A frantic, coded telegram from this office to the governor-general in Algiers suggested that the military authorities both presumed the results of the investigation and commenced action against the accused before it was complete. The encoded telegram read:

GY 12 [Jews] from the Mzab came to Touggourt to **JN 35** [lend money] to the needy indigenous population[.] this exploitation [has prompted] widespread poverty undermining the intentions of the government which has generously come to the aid of the population[.] [The exploitation] threatening to ruin the country[,] I ask for your authorization to send these **GY 12** [Jews] to the Mzab[,] whatever the claims produced[.] I will see to security up to Guerrera[.][35]

In this reading, French military rule was poised to rescue the indigenous Muslim population of southern Algeria from destitution while (presumably non-autochthonous) Jews stood poised to spoil their efforts, thereby bringing ruin to Algeria. Though *indigènes* in the eyes of the law, Mzabi Jews had become "usurers" in the eyes of French officials because they were Jews and because, amidst the climate of the Dreyfus affair, it became possible to assume that Algerian Jews (be they northern or southern) shared the same economic instincts and practices with which European Jewry had so long been associated.

In this context, it must be remembered that the anti-Semitic instincts that undergirded the Dreyfus affair had deep roots. In the Touggourt affair one can detect the reverberation of accusations launched against the Jews of Alsace nearly a century earlier, when anti-Semitic pamphlets denounced Alsatian Jews' "immoral" lending practices. These accusations sparked the passage of Napoleon Bonaparte's "Infamous Decree" of 1808, which limited the economic mobility of Jewish lenders across France (among other things), and sparked the activism of prominent Jewish integrationists, Adolphe Crémieux among them.[36] Through the Touggourt

affair, members of the French military transmitted a range of sentiments and experiences from the continent to southern Algeria. In so doing, they mirrored the anti-Semitism of the *colons* of northern Algeria in a region where there was no substantial settler colonial population.

Even as it provided an outlet for anti-Semitic sentiment unleashed by the Dreyfus affair, the Touggourt affair provided military authorities with a pretext to intervene into local commercial relations in a manner that served their own interests. As others have explored before me, manipulating trans-Saharan trade to France's advantage was a clear aspiration of colonial authorities, and a policy that created vast instability for trans-Saharan traders (despite their commercial elasticity). This dynamic began to unfold even before the French conquest of the Sahara, as, for example, when an 1843 ordinance prohibited the importation of goods from the Sahara (as well as from Morocco and Tunisia) into northern Algeria.[37] The abrogation of laws dating to the Ottoman period that extended advantageous treatment to certain protected merchants, and the imposition of taxes, tolls, and registration sites such as at Laghouat, further discouraged trans-Saharan traders from utilizing French-controlled routes, while the introduction of political boundaries provoked intra-regional disputes, rendering trans-Saharan travel dangerous and difficult. In the decades after the French conquest of northern Algeria, northbound commerce from the Sahara to the Tell (but for the exchange of certain staples) flagged as traders turned to western sites of export such as those in Libya, southeastern Morocco, or western Nigeria.[38]

As much as it echoed events in northern Algeria and metropolitan France, then, the Touggourt affair of 1898 also bore the mark of French zeal and misapprehension vis-à-vis trans-Saharan trade. In branding the Jewish traders from Ghardaïa "usurers," military officials betrayed a lack of understanding of the quotidian function of regional commerce, misjudging the credit-based arrangements that were so ubiquitous to trans-Saharan trade. A fundamental feature of trans-Saharan commerce was, after all, reliance on credit; it was typical for a caravan financier to receive merchandise as interest on a loan. The value of this merchandise was often a sizable proportion of the money advanced, due to the amount of time it took for the loan to be repaid (a duration equal to the time it took a caravan to reach its destination and return with new merchandise) and because of the considerable risk involved. Labeling such financing "usury" transplanted European anti-Semitic stereotypes to a regional context to which they bore little relationship.[39] Strikingly, military representatives were not alone in their prejudice: similarly guilty of this tendency were certain representatives of the White Fathers (or "Pères

Blancs," a Catholic missionary organization that established a presence in Algeria in 1876 and in Ghardaïa in 1892), one of whose representatives described the Jews of Ghardaïa as "rapacious for profit."[40]

If accusations of "usury" betrayed a fundamental misunderstanding of trans-Saharan commerce, so too did accusations of "Jewish usury" miss the mark. Trans-Saharan trade depended upon the economic entanglement and mutual reliance of myriad groups (Ghadamasi, Swiri, Sanusiya, Tuareg, and Jewish, among others), and Jews involved in regional and extra-regional commerce never acted on their own.[41] In the Mzab and Ouargla, for example, Ibadite and Jewish investors collaborated in acquiring land and water rights from other local landowners—causing friction the French had little means of exploiting for their own ends.[42] What's more, French officials were keenly aware that the accused Mzabi Jewish lenders were not operating independently in Touggourt in 1898. One Jewish lender from Ghardaïa, a man by the name of Necim [Nissim] ben Chemouil, had his loans drawn up and witnessed by Talabas [young students of the Qurʾan, exegesis, and jurisprudence] and certified by qadis in Touggourt.[43] The prosecutor general in Algiers was aware of these facts, but they did not arise in the case against the thirty-three Jewish lenders from Ghardaïa. In the eyes of this official, each of the parties in Touggourt—Jews, qadis, Talabas—had facilitated usury. However, each of these parties should, in his view, be assigned distinct levels of guilt contingent upon their level of involvement. While ben Chemouil was clearly guilty of a "real act" of usury (albeit one sanctioned by various qadis), the Talabas were primarily guilty of usurping the role of notary public, for which they were not authorized. To the prosecutor general, the qadis involved should be held to a higher standard, for they were expected to understand and obey the French injunction against usury, which, in this instance, they helped ben Chemouil violate; the qadis also had no legal authority to legitimate the commercial activities of a "foreign" Jew. Disciplinary punishment against both ben Chemouil and the qadis was warranted, in the view of the prosecutor general, and such were the findings he directed to the governor-general's office.[44] The governor-general offered immediate acknowledgement that the dossier on the collusion of the qadis in Touggourt had been received, but there is no evidence that his office pursued punishment against these parties.[45] Eight months later, paperwork pertaining to the ben Chemouil affair was still winding its way through the governor-general's office, suggesting that legal action against the Talabas and qadis was proceeding far more tentatively than it did relative to the thirty-three Jewish lenders from Ghardaïa.[46]

There is little reason to doubt that individual Mzabi Jews operated as financiers in Touggourt. What does strain credulity is the notion that 242 of them were operating in concert. Social scientific, military, and ethnographic sources of the period describe the Jews of the Mzab as working overwhelmingly as petty artisans—especially jewelers, metal workers, tanners, weapon repairers, wool carders, and cobblers. Some Jewish men, it was said, owned small shops: others sold their wares in Ghardaïa's weekly market.[47] Jewish women and girls assumed responsibility for the carding of wool, but seem not to have entered the formal workforce until sometime after the turn of the century.[48] When a girls' school was opened in Ghardaïa in or around 1939, housecleaning and cooking were among the only practical pursuits in which pupils were trained.[49] Certainly some Mzabi Jews were imbricated in trans-Saharan commerce in some fashion or another, for Jews' participation in regional and extra-regional trade in the Sahara was ubiquitous and indeed responsible for Jewish migration patterns to and within the region since the medieval period. One source, an 1893 travelogue on the Mzab by Jules Liorel, confirms—typically, with no reference to evidence—that some Mzabi Jews did engage in financiering and banking.[50] This being said, it is statistically unlikely—given the military authorities' own findings, as well as that of contemporary ethnographers—that financiers represented as significant a percentage of the adult male population of the valley as indicated by the claims of 1898. Ten years after the Touggourt affair, this figure would have represented roughly 20 percent of the total Jewish population of the Mzab, and an astronomically high percentage of working-age, male adults (see figure 10).[51]

If the authorities were aware that qadis and Talabas participated in the lending practices they so abhorred, if their own evidence undermined the theory that the Jewish community of Mzab benefited greatly from loan sharking, why did punishment focus on the thirty-three Jews of Ghardaïa? Why did a military representative pressure Muslims in Touggourt to accuse these Jews in the first place? Stoking a "Touggourt affair" had three interrelated advantages for the military leadership in Algeria's Southern Territories. By vilifying Mzabi Jews as the "foreign" enemy of local Muslim populations (an entity so dangerous it was, in the words of the official cited above, "threatening to ruin the country") military authorities corroborated the theory that Mzabi Jews, though technically *indigènes*, were outsiders whose physical and economic interactions with their non-Jewish neighbors should be delineated and limited. That "Jewish usury" per se had no precedent in the Mzab proved irrelevant to French officials,

Fig. 10 Jewish boys work with a mirror maker in the Jewish neighborhood of Ghardaïa, c. 1949. The majority of Jewish men in the Mzab were petty artisans, working as metal workers, tanners, weapon repairers, wool carders, and cobblers. Photograph by Lillian Tonnaire-Taylor. Courtesy of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives, New York.

for this practice did have precedent in Europe: Mzabi Jews, "foreign" as they were, seemingly contracted the practice through their Jewishness, leading them to infect the Circles of Ghardaïa and Touggourt. Within this conceptual framework, the arrest of the thirty-three Jews from Ghardaïa symbolically affirmed the contradictory typologies that colonial and military authorities asserted upon the Jews of the Mzab.

Anti-Semitism was not consistently an engine of military policy in southern Algeria. As we saw in the previous chapter, administrative stasis

and self-interest tended to be more significant trademarks of military officials. Thus not every accusation of Jewish usury resulted in aggressive action against the lenders in question. In 1907, for example, the governor-general dismissed a charge of loan sharking that had been leveled against the tiny Jewish population of Metlili, a town forty-five kilometers southwest of Ghardaïa that was closely linked to the Mzab economically. The legal grounds summoned in this case varied dramatically from those summoned in the Touggourt case; in this instance, the administration determined that southern Jews' "foreignness" actually provided them a measure of legal protection.[52] While military authorities in Metlili ought to reprimand the Jews in question for their economic practices, the governor-general concluded, the military did not have the authority to prevent Jews from extending abusive loans. This position was explained by the uncertain logic that the Jews in question were "foreign," and therefore not under the military's legal purview. The most that military representaties could do to curb usury in Metlili, wrote the governor-general, was to encourage local Muslim authorities to supervise—and, if they judged it worthy, censor—Jews' commercial activities.[53]

Juxtaposed against one another, the accusations of Jewish usury in Touggourt and Metlili highlight that neither consistency nor anti-Semitism was a hallmark of the French military administration's treatment of southern Algerian Jews' economic lives. Southern Algerian Jews' "foreignness" could be summoned as justification for administrative inaction, as it was in Metlili in 1907; but it could also be used to justify the military's interference in Muslim-Jewish commercial relations, as in the Touggourt affair of 1898. The converse of this was also true: Jewish indigeneity was a fungible concept, existing on a spectrum of official attitudes and practices.

Here we have considered the uneasy existence of legal reality alongside military and colonial officials' own, kaleidoscopic view of Mzabi Jewry. French law proceeded from the assumption that this community consisted of *indigènes* who should be treated, legally speaking, like their Muslim peers; in shaping quotidian policy, however, military officials often assumed otherwise—treating southern Algerian Jews as foreigners who should be disaggregated (spatially, economically, and typologically) not only from Jews in Algeria's north, but from their Muslim neighbors.

There is no doubt that French administrative confusion about Saharan Jewry (which one can detect through all ranks of the military and colonial apparatus) reflected the limits of individual representatives' knowledge. Time and time again, military correspondence referred back to the legal

precedents pertaining to Mzabi Jewry that were established in 1882—not so much to exhibit what they *did* know, as to remind themselves of what they *ought* to know. And yet, there is more to this confusion than naïveté. The cacophonous typecasting of southern Algerian Jewry served the shifting strategic interests of the French military and (equally as important) allowed for the upholding of the status quo, which seems almost always to have been the preference of the individual officers involved. Anti-Semitism could not be said to drive military policies in the Southern Territories of Algeria, even if these policies could further an anti-Semitic agenda, as they did in 1898 and 1899. The self-interest of the French military prevailed in influencing how military authorities in the Algerian Sahara would approach the region's Jews.

The military's ever-shifting treatment of southern Algerian Jewry existed as a self-correction for policies that had been implemented relative to Jews in Algeria's north but which had become discredited in the eyes of *colons* and a growing right wing in France. It allowed for the recycling of familiar tropes, such as those concerning Jews' usurous nature or the spread of diseases through Jewish-contaminated waters. It left space for the expression of anti-Dreyfusard sentiment when it arose within the ranks of the military. It allowed officials to claim that they were privileging the needs of their Ibadite allies over their Jewish subjects. It aligned with a colonial vision that privileged vertical power over horizontal alliances and commercial relations, including those between Jews and Muslims. Finally, infinitely flexible legal categories were instrumental in rationalizing inequality, of Jews and Muslims alike.

FOUR

Contested Access: Conscription, Public Health, and Education from the Fin de Siècle through the Interwar Period

In 1917, eighteen-year-old Nouchi ben Youcef, a Jewish young man from the Mzab, sought to conscript himself, voluntarily, into the French army. The French military had initatied selective conscription in Algeria roughly a decade earlier, intensifying its conscription efforts during the First World War, when France deployed roughly five hundred thousand colonial subjects on the battlefields of Europe. Those born in the Mzab (unless they had residence in the Tell) were initially excluded from French conscription efforts, which were seen to violate the terms of the 1853 protectorate agreement negotiated by colonial authorities and the Ibadite leadership of the Mzab. Thus when ben Youcef expressed his interest in serving France militarily, his appeal provoked an intricate exchange among various colonial and military authorities, including the Ministry of War and the governor-general of Algeria.[1] The questions raised in the course of this conversation were many: Should the prohibition on Mzabi Jewish service in the army be reversed? In which regiment might ben Youcef—or any Mzabi

Jew—serve? Should he be integrated into the French army as a Frenchman, as would be a Jew from Algeria's north? Ought he be placed in the Foreign Legion? Or was it more appropriate that ben Youcef serve in an indigenous regiment, alongside Algerian Muslims?

For the officials involved, each option proved vexatious. If the military conscripted Mzabi Jews into the French army, it might signal that southern Algerian Jews could be perceived as French, setting a dangerous legal precent; what's more, the Ministry of War had little patience for the notion of granting a Mzabi Jew the same financial rewards that a member of the French army would receive. On the other hand, if this population of southern Algerian Jews was conscripted into the Foreign Legion, it would undermine the legal assumption that they were indigenous. Yet Governor-General Charles Lutaud felt that some choice had to be made, for, in his (unsubstantiated) view, "The incorporation of the Jews of the Mzab in their current status [into indigenous military units] will potentially cause huge problems. The profound antipathy of the Muslims toward the Jews will only lead to violent conflicts."[2]

In the early decades of the twentieth century and, especially, in the years immediately following the First World War, Jews and Muslims in Algeria's Southern Territories assumed ever more strident, and, increasingly, divergent public postures in the face of French military rule. For Mzabi Ibadites, the interwar period was marked by staunch opposition to French conscription efforts, and by intense debates between Ibadi conservatives and reformists (that is, proponents of the Islahi movement), especially over the question of how, and by whom, Ibadi youth should be educated. Under the influence of Islah, growing numbers of Ibadi families in the Mzab chose to educate their sons in Tunisia, and this, in turn, strengthened a younger generation's sympathies for anticolonial, pan-Maghribi, and Algerian nationalist currents.[3] Southern Algerian Jews experienced a communal schism of sorts at this moment. But, as we shall see, the breakaway faction did not advance a clear political agenda or advocate for pedagogical or religious reform within the community.

In the absence of an Islah-like movement, southern Algerian Jews of the interwar period sought to patronize colonial institutions amidst a climate of tremendous constraint. This quotidian social action took three highly visible forms. In numbers disproportionate to the size of their community, Mzabi Jewish children attended public school, while Mzabi Jewish women, men, and children exploited public health offerings. At the same time, ever-growing numbers of men like ben Youcef sought to conscript themselves into the French army. In all of these regards, southern Algerian Jews were maneuvering strategically in an extremely regu-

lated environment. But explicitly and implicitly, their actions were also mindful signals: demonstrations that southern Algerian Jews were eager to reap the benefits of French citizenship and prepared to assume the responsibilities that attended naturalization. There were detractors within the community—individuals Mzabi Jews who felt the community should continue to adhere to Mosaic personal status, eschewing citizenship in favor of greater individual and communal autonomy. These voices, however, would grow fainter with time.

The Politics of Conscription

Between 1914 and 1918, France deployed roughly half a million colonial subjects in *troupes indigènes* on the battlefields of Europe. Approximately 172,000 Algerians were among them.[4] In deference to the protectorate agreement of 1853, residents of the Mzab were initially excluded from the conscription decree, though the draft was extended to Mozabite men who had lived and worked in the civil territories for at least a year.[5] Military officials noted with concern that the start of the First World War had stimulated "a brusque exodus of young Mozabite men" from northern Algeria, ruminating that the event "had not generated the emotional reaction among the Mozabite population that the French expected it would."[6] These officials also registered with alarm that residents of the region exhibited hostility to the French and sympathy with Turkey during the war itself, and that, in time, they would welcome an armistice not because they supported an allied victory but because it promised to "liberate [Mozabites dwelling in the north] from the obligation of conscription."[7]

When it came to Jewish recruits or would-be recruits from southern Algeria, Mosaic law was initially seen by French authorities as an unstoppable bulwark to service—just as French officials and reformers "viewed Islam as an insurmountable obstacle to [the] naturalization" of Muslim recruits.[8] The idea that a French soldier might be legally beholden to Mosaic civil status sat uneasily with French administrators (even those liberal reformers who advocated for the naturalization of the *troupes indigènes*) for precisely the same reasons as did the thought of a French soldier being legally beholden to Muslim civil status. In both instances, the conscript could be a polygamist and capable of forms of divorce not sanctioned within France, which meant that whatever the recruit's service to the republic he was guaranteed to lack the "'moral and civil education' that allowed him to exercise the rights and fulfill the duties of

citizens."[9] In this sense, anxiety about ersatz tensions between Jewish and Muslim members of the *troupes indigènes* (such as undergirded the governor-general's rejection of Nouchi ben Youcef's appeal) was minor relative to the larger threat of how France would reconcile service to the state—a crucial prerequisite for citizenship—with Jewish recruits' adherence to civil status laws.

Moral and legal ambiguities notwithstanding, the French extended conscription to the Southern Territories in the aftermath of the First World War, setting an initial goal of 238 Mzabi recruits for 1919. At the same time, a small number of Mzabi Jews were permitted to join an indigenous Jewish contingent of the Foreign Legion.[10] Jews and Muslims in the Mzab reacted to this new policy in strikingly divergent forms. On the one hand, the introduction of conscription in the Mzab stoked outrage among Ibadite and other Muslim residents of the region. These groups actively thwarted conscription efforts, engaging in both passive and active resistance: calling organizational meetings in defiance of military law, issuing a boycott against the conscription lottery, and penning countless petitions directed at all levels of the French administration. If military sources are to be believed, Mzabi modes of resistance also extended to the assassination of Qadi Si Daoud, whom French officials referred to as one of their "most faithful agents" in the region.[11] The conscription policy was also fiercely denounced by the *djemaa* [city council] of the seven towns of the Mzab, whose representatives penned a collective petition on behalf of their communities. The governor-general dismissed this petition as insubordination, threatening to arrest any conscripts who evaded the call to service.[12] Perhaps the most poignant of the myriad reactions to the imposition of conscription in the Mzab was noted by an officer stationed in Ghardaïa. The day of the conscription lottery, he wrote, was considered a day of mourning, on which Muslim women abstained from grinding wheat in their homes.[13]

Nor were Mozabite opposition efforts confined to the Mzab Valley. In 1922, the minister of war formally rejected a request by the Mozabite community to dispense with conscription in the valley; in the ensuing years, two delegations of Mozabites traveled to Paris to argue the case before the Counsel of State, the Ministry of War, and the Ministry of the Interior. Among the delegates was the reformist Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim, president of the newly created Fédération des élus mozabites auprès des pouvoirs publics français pour la défense de leurs intérêts and a lifelong activist on behalf of Mozabite cultural integrity and political independence.[14] (He will reappear in our story as a delegate who defended the territorial autonomy of the Mzab to the Algerian Assembly in the

1940s.) Ben Aïssa ben Brahim and his colleagues argued that geographic mobility had always been crucial to the economic vitality of the Mzab, and that the forcible conscription of young Mzabi men dwelling in Algeria's north—as in the Mzab proper—would have a deleterious effect upon them as individuals, "inevitably leading to their slow abandonment of the Mzab and its traditions" and threatening to bring about the "disappearance and death of their land."[15] Additionally, they maintained that conscription, in so far as it would facilitate the acculturation of young Mozabite men, would violate the administrative orders associated with the creation of a protectorate in the Mzab (in 1853) and the annexation of this land some three decades later (in 1882)—for the terms of these arrangements had articulated France's commitment to the preservation of local institutions and mores.[16] Though evidently displeased with the delegates from the Mzab, the authorities did reduce the number of required Mozabite recruits from 238 in 1919 to 150 in 1922, 100 in 1923, and 30 in 1926, until the conscription policy was altogether abandoned in 1946.[17]

Relative to their Muslim neighbors, the Mzabi Jewish community responded to the imposition of conscription in starkly different fashion. There is evidence, it is true, of certain, presumably wealthier, Mzabi Jews paying other, presumably poorer, Jews to take their place in the conscription lottery—suggesting that not all were enthusiastic to see themselves, their sons, or their husbands enlisted in the French military.[18] (The Mzab was the only region of Algeria in which individuals were permitted to buy themselves out of the conscription lottery.) On the other hand, the public posture of the Jewish community was wholeheartedly in favor of the extension of conscription to the Mzab in general, and to southern Algerian Jewry, more particularly. Not only did the Jewish *djemaa* accept the order of conscription, which it called an act of "generosity," it did so in florid form. In a letter to the governor-general's office, this body celebrated: "We can only rejoice at the call of the government of the Republic and we feel the great honor to respond with all our hearts "PRESENT" to the call of our dear and immortal France." The letter states further that the obligation "permits them to hope for the impending naturalization of the indigenous Jewish population of the Mzab.[19] The Jewish *djemaa* even promised to generate a list of twenty-year-old men from the community, sparing the authorities the trouble of concocting their own.[20] (One cannot help but wonder if representatives to the Jewish *djemaa* were wealthy enough to be assured that they and their sons could be bought out of the conscription lottery—a knowledge that would surely bolster their optimism.) These efforts at ingratiation seemed to have little effect. Military officials preserved the *djemaa*'s letter with a military synopsis

of the Crémieux decree, a copy of the 1882 legislation concerning the governance of Jews in the Mzab, and a note emphasizing in no uncertain terms that "the indigenous Jew is French: however, he will continue to be governed under his civil status."[21] Three days after the *djemaa*'s enthusiastic missive was sent, the governor-general, concluding that the number of Jewish conscripts had been "crudely set," lowered the quota from nine to eight, counting Nouchi ben Youcef (the voluntary conscript whose petition to the authorities sparked so much discussion about Mzabi Jews and military service) among the first Jewish conscripts from the Mzab.[22] While the fate of ben Youcef and his fellow recruits is unknown, it is striking that military officials referred to them in less than enthusiastic terms. An early report on the conscription process in the Mzab bemoaned the fact that of seven would-be Jewish conscripts evaluated, five proved physically unfit to serve.[23]

The governor-general's office had diluted Mzabi Jewish conscription almost to the point of irrelevance. Still, the government's policy toward recruitment among this population had profound symbolic reverberations for Jews in Ghardaïa. These effects were forcefully outlined in a petition submitted to Lieutenant Colonel Henri Martin, military commander of the territory of Ghardaïa, in 1919.[24] Signed by Ghardaïa's chief rabbi, Brahim Attia, seven members of the Jewish *djemma*, and eighty-eight men categorized as members of the "general" Jewish population of the town, the petition demanded the naturalization, en bloc, of the Jews of the Mzab. Undoubtedly the most vociferous expression of Jewish desire for citizenship that the French military had yet received, the document pointed to Jewish participation in the war effort as powerful evidence that the General Government had misunderstood Mzabi Jews' character and emotional relationship to France. During the war, the petitioners claimed, nearly all Jewish men in Ghardaïa wanted to fight for their "adopted country" but were denied the opportunity to join any regiment except the Foreign Legion. Despite this (the document continued), some members of the community joined European or indigenous regiments in the Tell illegally. These affairs demonstrated to the individuals involved just how ambiguous was their legal status and just how much they wanted to be considered "children of France." Perhaps cognizant of the prejudicial view that some members of the military administration harbored relative to the Jewish community, the petition concluded by drawing attention to the fact that many Jewish children were being educated in French schools, which, they claimed, placed them on an intellectual par with "other" French citizens.[25]

Lieutenant Colonel Martin was unimpressed. Unmoved by the petitioners' tale, he argued that their appeal was no different from any submitted to the governor-general heretofore, and he voiced annoyance that the matter must be "aired time and again." Military service in the First World War should not count as a point in favor of a given applicant, Martin stressed, for those Jews who had been admitted into the military had been admitted as *indigènes*: they were no more deserving of citizenship than so many others [e.g., Algerian Muslims] in this category. Regardless, concluded Martin, the Jews of the Mzab were not of a high enough "state of civilization" to warrant their collective naturalization.[26] Evidently, the military administration was not yet inclined to bend its policies relative to the Jews of the Mzab; nearly a half century after the conquest of the Sahara, the naturalization of Mzabi Jewry was still thought to broker "no advantage."[27]

Martin's determination hinged on his perception that southern Algerian Jews and Muslims were alike in the eyes of French law. Nevertheless, certain administrative reforms implemented in the aftermath of the First World War were pushing in the opposite direction: isolating southern Algerian Jewry, leaglly speaking, from their Muslim peers. Beginning in 1925, the French administration began a decades-long process to regularize the legal identities of residents of the military zone of southern Algeria, a process intended to grant the state more complete control over this subject population. This legislation took effect in the Mzab in November 1927, when Mzabi Muslims were required to adopt a surname and acquire an identity card.[28] Specifying Muslims as it did, this legislation excluded Jews.[29] If the Jews of the Mzab had been put in a discrete legal category relative to Jews elsewhere in Algeria in 1870, the transformation of the civil status of Muslims in the Southern Territories in 1925 left Mzabi Jews in a distinct legal category relative to their non-Jewish neighbors. In the words of one French representative, the 1925 legislation ensured that Mzabi Jews continued to exist in a legal category all their own, considered de facto "ressortissants" [foreign nationals] of the Southern Territory. As a consequence of various "juridical and territorial loopholes," the Jews of the Mzab were now legally differentiated both from their Ibadite and non-Ibadite Muslim neighbors in the south and their co-religionists in the north—subject, instead, to an idiosyncratic "régime judaique" [Judaic regime].[30] How exactly this ought to effect conscription policies was not clear: as late as 1943, military officials were still debating whether Mozabite Jews were meant to be subject to the same conscription policies that governed "the Mozabite tribes of Ghardaïa."[31]

Conscription was but one contentious stage on which the drama of military rule—and the particular place of Jews therein—played out in the Southern Territories in the interwar period. For Jews and non-Jews alike, the question of how and whether to utilize public and pedagogic services extended by the French also became animated. As with the choice to sanction or protest conscription, the choice to frequent—or to send one's child to—a military hospital, indigenous clinic, or public primary school was fraught, raising questions about one's relationship to colonial authority and about the particular legal and administrative category one (and/or one's child) was assigned. For this reason, the lenses of health care and education provide a vivid glimpse into the quotidian experience of military occupation for Jews in southern Algeria.

"Like Chantrelles after a Rain": Jews and Public Health in the Mzab

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Jews of the Mzab were found to have high rates of infant mortality; premature mortality among women, largely due to high rates of tuberculosis; dramatic rates of syphilis, conjunctivitis, bronchitis, and tuberculosis; and to be prone to certain diseases that did not afflict non-Jews in equal numbers, including ringworm and genital crabs. Such were the findings of Dr. J. Huguet, who, as previously mentioned, was a French doctor charged by the minister of public health with carrying out a "medical mission" in the Mzab in the last years of the nineteenth century. Huguet's investigations were aided by the military administration of the Southern Territories, on whose behalf he occasionally served as a consultant and with whose help he acquired access to the region's patient population.[32]

According to Huguet, in 1897 two hospitals operated in the Mzab. A military hospital had been created in 1884 to treat civilians and military personnel. Further, an indigenous hospital, Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, was opened in 1897. The Sainte-Marie-Madeleine was staffed by military doctors and relied on the assistance of the White Sisters. (Sister organization to the White Fathers, this Catholic missionary organization, also known as Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa, began conducting work in Algeria in 1869.)[33] According to a representative of the White Sisters, even when construction of this hospital was yet under way, members of Ghardaïa's Jewish community came to observe the site and express their enthusiasm for the nascent institution.[34] Once completed, the indigenous hospital would have eight rooms: five, with twenty-four beds

between them, were dedicated to Muslim men; one, with six beds, was earmarked for Jewish men; and two, capable of holding four beds, were reserved for women of any religious orientation.[35]

By all accounts, Ghardaïa's Ibadite population proved highly wary of these public health options. Noted one medical observer of this community: "They seek European medicine only when a family member is in danger of dying."[36] An annual report of the office of the General Government spoke similarly of certain Muslim *indigènes* in Ghardaïa who displayed an "almost unshakable repugnance at being hospitalized."[37] Jews and non-Ibadite Muslims, on the other hand, were said to patronize the military hospital with frequency.[38] For example, in 1908, more Jewish adults received voluntary vaccinations than any other indigenous group in Ghardaïa—185 Jewish adults compared to 143 "indigenous" adults, and an additional 182 schoolchildren of mixed background, including Jews. (This had the effect of protecting Jews, at least relative to non-Jews, during the eruption of a typhoid epidemic in 1910.)[39] As one observer wrote in the journal of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: "Jews have always relished our medical care."[40] The diaries of the White Sisters were even more colorful in their assessment. One 1908 entry speaks of Jews sprouting in the courtyard of the new hospital "like chantrelles after a rain."[41]

Despite southern Algerian Jews' overwhelming patronage of public health services, their health outcomes were fragile, hampered both by poverty and the particular, unpredictable restrictions of military law. In 1921, the director of the Algiers office of the Alliance israélite universelle penned a poignant (if unflattering) description of Jewish life in the Southern Territories of Algeria: "There has been an economic crisis and several years of drought that have devastated southern Algeria and left the Jews in that region in great distress. . . . The famine chased [the poor] from their homes and they hang about the countryside, endangering the security of the *colons*, compromising public health with germs and infectious diseases like typhoid."[42] This assessment may reveal as much about the AIU's unease with a southern Algerian Jewish population that fell outside its philanthropic reach as about this population's state of health, per se. In his memoiristic study of the Jewish community of the Mzab, Eliahou Sebban has noted that the majority of Jewish homes in Ghardaïa had running water, showers, and toilets by the 1930s—three decades earlier than many apartments in Paris, where communal facilities remained common at midcentury (see figure 11).[43] Sebban's implicit point is that outsiders were quick to judge the state of hygiene in the Mzab by exterior metrics, overlooking local innovation, including the valley's ancient, ingenious irrigation system.

Fig. 11 A Jewish woman and her children stand on the outdoor terrace of a multistory home, Ghardaïa. Stereoscopic photograph, c. 1900. The buildings of Ghardaïa, like this home, were traditionally built of stone set in mortar, supported by beams of palm, and covered with a coat of plaster. Courtesy of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa.

Despite Sebban's corrective, there is evidence that the health outcomes of southern Algerian Jews, though initially buoyed by French public health initiatives, did deteriorate over the course of the interwar period. Significant to this deterioration was a shift in military policy. At some point in the 1920s, the director of health services for the Southern Territories began to enforce a preexisting but previously circumvented law according to which military doctors were not to treat "indigenous" patients. According to this template, southern Algerian Jews and Muslims could patronize indigenous infirmaries or private clinics, but could neither visit the military hospital nor be treated by military doctors in their homes.[44] Strenuous enforcement of this law was sure to have a particularly profound effect on Jews, given that they sought care from military doctors in disproportionate numbers.

The response of the Jewish community was immediate, with fifty-three Jewish men from Ghardaïa submitting a petition to the governor-general's office demanding that the authorities widen their access to health care. Since the establishment of military rule in the Mzab, the petitioners explained, Jews had consulted military doctors in times of sickness. However, since a civilian doctor had opened a practice in Ghardaïa, the military doctor had ceased visiting the Jewish neighborhood, reserving treatment for the "notoriously poor." The Jewish men of Ghardaïa refused to visit Dr. Dupic, the civilian doctor, the petition outlined, for they objected to being treated by a woman; the Jewish women of the community, meanwhile, were accustomed to visiting the military doctor and were not inclined to change their ways. The civilian doctor, for her part, refused to visit the Jewish neighborhood on the pretext that it was "dirty and full of flies"; she also demurred paying house calls in the evening, and (according to the petition) at least one Jewish woman died as a result. The petitioners noted, finally, that the civilian doctor charged exorbitant fees, both for visits to her office and for prescriptions filled at the pharmacy she had opened in town. To resolve these problems, the fifty-three petitioners pleaded that the governor-general allow them to consult military physicians, carrying on a tradition that had existed since the inception of colonial rule. Should the request be refused, the petitioners swore they would be obliged to "treat their ill themselves, and in grave cases, simply let them die."[45]

This petition yielded a variety of self-interested answers. Dr. Dupic responded that upon her arrival in the Mzab some months earlier, she had informed the head military physician of the Circle, Dr. Tronyo, that she was unwilling to treat men with venereal disease, and that afflicted

patients should consult military physicians in her stead. Some months later, when the number of clients who visited her proved quite small, Dr. Dupic asked Dr. Tronyo to cease seeing any indigenous clients in deference to the law, thereby funneling more patients to her office.[46] The director of health services for the Southern Territories obliged, drawing anxious attention to an order he had circulated some weeks earlier which clarified that military doctors were formally prohibited from treating civilian patients in any region of Algeria and ordering them to cease doing so in the future. (A legitimate exception had been made, noted the director, when two military doctors came to the aid of "Europeans" who had been injured in a car accident as the doctors were "passing by.") As for Jews, wrote the director, they should seek treatment from the "indigenous infirmary" like other *indigènes* of the Mzab.[47] Captain Pinon, head of the annex of Ghardaïa, was also concerned about the bad light the Jewish petitioners might shed on his office. He argued that this group had exaggerated their claims. No Jewish woman had died in Ghardaïa while awaiting health care, he insisted: and, in any case, the petition itself was motivated by self-interest.[48] Both the military commander in Ghardaïa and the director of health services found Pinon's points convincing, agreeing that the Jews in question had financial motives—while the military doctors treated patients for free, they stressed, Dr. Dupic had demanded payment for services. These authorities agreed: the Jews' petition was self-serving and without pretext.[49]

As with so many instances in which Mzabi Jews battled with the military authorities, this contest over health care operated on multiple levels. On the one hand, the petition submitted by the fifty-three Jews of Ghardaïa attested to the needs of an under-provisioned community; on the other hand, it was an expression of symbolic discontent. On the level of material need, there is substantial evidence that the petitioners' complaints were sound. The opening of a civilian clinic was surely meant to fill a health care lacuna in Ghardaïa, but it is likely that the cost of a visit placed it out of reach of most of the town's Jewish community. In addition, with Dr. Dupic loath to enter the Jewish quarter or treat diseases she deemed immoral, and with Jewish women refusing to seek her counsel, the single civilian clinic in town proved all but inaccessible to the Jewish community. The indigenous infirmary, meanwhile, had ceased to provide effective health care. A 1934 article published by the Pasteur Institute of Algeria, though for the most part praising the indigenous infirmary of Ghardaïa, stressed that there was a pressing need for running water and electricity at the site. The hospital was already operating at or overcapac-

ity, with only one doctor on staff though two were required. This article included architectural designs for a new infirmary whose financing was not yet secured.[50] For the sick in the Mzab, few other options existed. While the White Sisters were instrumental in treating female patients at the indigenous infirmary in Ghardaïa, they did not operate an independent pharmacy or infirmary in town, as they did in other southern towns such as Laghouat and El Goléa.[51] Nor was there a Jewish doctor based in Algeria's Southern Territories in the 1930s, or even in the 1940s, when a number of Jews from northern Algeria—all of whom were attempting to evade the strict quotas imposed on Jewish medical professionals by the Vichy regime—sought unsuccessfully to fill this niche.[52] (We shall return to this theme in the following chapter.)

These circumstances would still not be redressed by the 1950s, when Ghardaïa's indigenous infirmary was labeled "one of the worse equipped in all the Southern Territories" and described as dramatically underfunded. At this time, while the indigenous infirmary in nearby Laghouat (within the Department of Constantine) contained fifty beds, the number of beds in Ghardaïa's clinic had been reduced to fifteen. And while the budget of Laghouat's public infirmary exceeded 4 million francs in 1949—a number that included the provisioning of radiology equipment—in 1950 the military leadership in Ghardaïa earmarked only 50,000 francs for that city's public clinic.[53]

It is evident, in sum, that the Jewish petitioners of 1935 had significant material motivations in seeking access to military doctors in Ghardaïa. At the same time, their appeal operated on a symbolic register, for health care was yet another stage—like military service—on which Jews could challenge the legal and typological roles into which they had been cast by military and colonial authorities. For the formal medical-care options that existed in the Mzab mirrored extant legal categories and, especially, the bifurcation of "European" and "*indigène*," insofar as they aligned southern Jews with Muslims, and placed them at a material disadvantage relative to Europeans and northern Algerian Jews. Behind the petitioners' appeal to the military authorities, then, was a more fundamental demand: Jews ought to be perceived and treated—literally as well as figuratively—as Europeans. This was a proposal the administration would not brook. Even if military officials might, in other instances, see it in their interest to view Mzabi Jews as "foreign," or, even, to align them with European Jews, in this case it was expedient for the administration to stress their indigeneity. As always, the legal classification of Saharan Jewry was usefully fungible.

The Making of "Ancient" Knowledge

By limiting Jews' access to certain health resources (especially military hospitals) and directing them to others (especially indigenous clinics), French military officials in the Southern Territories managed both to micromanage quotidian Jewish life and to reassert the "indigeneity" of Mzabi Jewry. Despite this, Jewish women and men were aggressive in pursuing the best health care available. They did so not because they embraced republican rhetoric or the French civilizing mission—which did not, for the most part, circulate in the Southern Territories—but out of material need and in order to express their political will. Through the resulting give and take, health care emerged as a crucial and contested resource that the authorities sought to control as aggressively as individual Jews sought to acquire it. Just as Jews in the Mzab pursued public health care with zeal, so too did they seek to exploit public educational offerings to the fullest extent possible, sending their children in disproportionate numbers to the local public school designed for *indigènes*. In so doing (as in their patronage of public health resources and their embrace of French conscription efforts), southern Algerian Jews actualized a radically different response to military rule from their Muslim neighbors.

Indeed, perhaps even more than the pursuit of health services, school choice was immensely politicized for Jews and Muslims in Algeria's Southern Territories in the interwar period. In this era, Jewish and non-Ibadite Muslim youth converged in public and missionary schools while also attending parochial schools. The Ibadite community favored schools supervised by the Islahi movement, which championed the importance of a modern education that could nonetheless safeguard students' Muslim identities. With this ambition in mind, leading Islah reformers introduced local prepatory schools for young children in the Mzab, encouraging older students to attend preapproved schools in Tunisia, where there existed an established Mzabi community. These schools did more than instill a modern education in their students: within their classrooms, a "generation of Algerians was radicalized."[54]

To understand the pedagogic choices that lay before southern Algerian Jewish families, one must first keep in mind two options that were *not* available. First, southern Algerian Jews could not attend state-sponsored, consistorial schools such as were attended by Jewish youth in northern Algeria. Such institutions exposed northern Algerian Jewish children to the French *mission civilisatrice*, offering them instruction in the French

language and the same curriculum employed in consistorial schools in France. If southern Algerian Jews fell outside the "civilizing" mission that the French colonial administration applied to northern Jewry, they also fell outside the pedagogic and conceptual vision of the international Jewish philanthropy most invested in the education of Middle Eastern and Maghribi Jewish girls and boys: the Alliance israélite universelle. Since its creation in 1860, the AIU had introduced hundreds of French-language schools for Jewish boys and girls across the Middle East and North Africa; these schools, which were established at the initiative of local communities, introduced a European and secular Jewish curriculum to Jewish boys and girls, offering instruction entirely in French. While AIU schools in the Maghrib dated to 1862 (the first was created in Tétouan, Morocco), the organization did not extend its purview to Algeria until the twentieth century, operating under the assumption that Algeria was a part of France, and that, as a result, all its Jewish residents had access to the French educational system. This was not true in the Southern Territories, of course; nonetheless, no AIU school was ever created in this administrative region. Instead, the AIU seems to have satisfied itself (until the late 1940s) with doling out modest financial support to southern Algerian Jewish communities.[55]

What educational options were available to southern Algerian Jewish families in the period in question? For girls, the options were few. Diary entries maintained by representatives of the White Sisters in Ghardaïa claim that the order was teaching sewing to twenty-three Jewish girls in Ghardaïa in 1895. These numbers seem inflated, though colonial records confirm that by the end of the century, small numbers of girls in Ghardaïa were indeed applying themselves to "domestic science" with the White Sisters.[56] By 1896, the White Sisters wrote of having been approached by Jewish families seeking further educational options for their daughters, though they had none to provide.[57] Meanwhile, by the early years of the twentieth century, some Jewish girls managed to attend a primary school designed for boys: fifteen were said to do so in 1908. Until 1938 or 1939, however, no formal educational options for girls existed in Ghardaïa. In 1923, the military administration reported that the Jewish community of this city was working toward the creation of a vocational school for girls.[58] A decade later, no such school had been opened despite its having been formally proposed to the authorities.[59] When a girls' school was at last opened in Ghardaïa, Jewish girls patronized it in great numbers: in 1939 this school enrolled 2 European, 24 "naturalized" French (a number that may have included Jews who had taken advantage

Fig. 12 Jewish girls, Ghardaïa. Postcard c. 1905. Though this postcard, like many Orientalist images, features a "colonial type," it offers an unusually uneroticized depiction of girlhood in the Mzab. Photograph by Jean Geiser. Courtesy of Stephanie Comfort, www.jewishpostcardcollection.com.

of the 1865 provision), 17 Muslim, and 102 Jewish girls. The number of Jewish girls in attendance increased with time, ultimately reaching 150 (see figures 12 and 13).[60]

More and earlier options were available to Jewish boys. As early as 1884, small numbers of Ghardaïa's Jewish boys studied in schools run by the White Fathers and White Sisters—both sites of missionizing and pedagogy.[61] Larger numbers of Jewish and Muslim boys studied alongside one another in public primary schools created at the turn of the century. As would be true of Jewish girls half a century later, Jewish boys attended Ghardaïa's public school in overwhelming numbers. In 1906, for example, 109 Jewish boys attended this institution with 64 Muslim boys and two boys who were listed on official documents as "French."[62] Military authorities would later report that Jews and "Arabs" (presumably Arabophone Muslims) were among the most determined advocates of public education in the region.[63] Indeed, Jews' patronage of the public school system appears to have been a point of pride for members of the community. A 1919 petition to the military administration boasted that Jews' immersion in the French educational system rendered them better poised for naturalization than their non-Jewish peers.[64] What these petitioners apparently did not appreciate was that Ibadites (and, surely,

some non-Ibadite Muslims) in the Mzab would have viewed public education with suspicion. Lacking a model of political assimilation such as some Mzabi Jews identified in northern Algerian Jewry, Mzabi Muslims may well have considered public education as little more than a vehicle for indoctrination—an institution differently coercive, one might say, than the schools of the White Fathers or White Sisters.[65] Regardless, educational options in the Mzab were always under-provided, with the creation of more schools an oft-articulated but for the most part unrealized goal of the military administration.[66] As noted in an early report by French officials on the progress of public education in Ghardaïa: students "weren't learning much."[67]

In addition to attending public primary school, all Jewish boys in Ghardaïa received a Jewish education in the single midrash [Jewish religious school], at the hands of the rabbi, just as Ibadite and non-Ibadite Muslim boys in the valley attended madrassas [Qur'anic religious schools] within their own communities. In 1906, 142 boys studied in the midrash of Ghardaïa; by 1920, the number of pupils had dropped to 130 and, in

Fig. 13 Jewish girls in a carpet-weaving class, Ghardaïa, c. 1950s. Formal educational options for girls were few in the Mzab prior to the 1930s. Taught by Mrs. Gauzer, a visitor from Alsace, this class may have been sponsored by the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa [White Sisters]. All but five of the girls pictured are Jewish. Courtesy of Site Internet du Judaisme d'Alsace et de Lorraine, http://judaisme.sdv.fr/

the same year, four non-Ibadite Muslim and five Ibadite *madrassas* were in operation, enrolling a total of 169 and 45 pupils, respectively.[68] The education in the midrash of the Mzab would have differed dramatically from that offered a Jewish pupil in a northern Algerian midrash. The state had waged a battle against midrashim in the Tell in the earliest decades of colonial rule, seeking to eradicate institutions that reformers and colonial officials viewed as backward and uncivilized. In keeping with this goal, northern Algerian Jewish religious education was consolidated under the consistorial system after 1845, at which point the state could indirectly oversee religious instructors and curricular offerings.[69] In Ghardaïa, by contrast, the midrash and its teacher appear to have operated without strict state oversight.

There came a time when the Jewish knowledge of Mzabi Jewry would be romanticized by outsiders who saw the community as constituting a calcified "lost tribe" with no parallel in the world. One observer, writing in the wake of Algerian independence, ruminated that the Jews of Ghardaïa possessed a greater theological mastery than did the Jews of any North African community.[70] In fact, the educational training Jewish boys received in Ghardaïa was probably no richer or poorer than that which pupils would have received in any North African midrash whose curriculum and instructor was not overseen by the state. Education in Ghardaïa's midrash likely emphasized the acquisition of just enough Hebrew fluency to allow for the reading of prayers and the rote memorization of a modest textual canon. It is revealing, in this regard, to study the signatures that conclude petitions Jews submitted to the military authorities over eight decades of colonial rule. Some featured signatures in French, others in Hebrew, yet others mere thumbprints, and some a mixture of all three. Those with Hebrew-language signatures display a range of dexterity with the language, from crude block letters to graceful script. (Conversely, as late as the late 1950s, visitors to Ghardaïa noted that a linguistic divide demarcated the Jewish generations. Men and women were still primarily speakers of Algerian Arabic, with only a crude knowledge of French; girls and boys, while also fluent in Arabic, displayed a mastery of French gained from school.)[71]

It was the rudimentary nature of Ghardaïa's midrash that commanded the attention of André Chouraqui when he visited the city in 1939 as a delegate of the AIU. Chouraqui wrote,

> When I was in the [Mzab] for first time, it was with great wonder that I observed these ancient Jews, my co-religionists and brothers. I couched on my heels on the ground with Rabbi Moshe Sellem, a rabbi with an entourage of 17 or 18 children studying

with him, who lived as a patriarch, surrounded by students, and I studied with him . . . a page of Torah. I saw Rabbi Moshe Sellem meet with his disciples every day for three and a half or four hours. An older man would tour the houses [to summon the pupils] and all the children would come by foot to the rabbi, who taught them the canon of the synagogue (*les sciences traditionnelles de la Synagogue*).[72]

Lacking books, chairs, desks, even a physical space of its own, led by an elderly rabbi, situated in walking distance from most pupils' homes: in all this, Ghardaïa's midrash preserved a model of Jewish pedagogy that was normative throughout North Africa and the Middle East before the advent of philanthropic and state intervention into Jewish educational affairs—and which had been abandoned only gradually and, in some instances, with great resistance elsewhere.

As was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, there did exist a breakaway movement of sorts within the Mzabi Jewish community in the interwar period. Notably, this episode did not result in the shaping of innovative pedagogy for Jewish youths that could be compared to that cultivated by Islah reformers, but rather reflected class divisions within the community. In brief, the schism took the following form. In 1914, Sellam Brahim ben Makha Balouka, claiming to represent the "consistory of the Jewish community of Ghardaïa," announced his intentions to create a new, private synagogue in Ghardaïa that would bear the Balouka family name. His proposal prompted outrage among certain patriarchs of the community, who pleaded with military authorities to deny Balouka's request, arguing that the existence of a second synagogue in the community would "create intrigue and disorder within our small nation."[73] In the face of such objections, Balouka's request was granted, no doubt because the family's wealth—which, according to tax records, amounted to one million francs in 1893—curried them favor among the military administration.

Given that there is no evidence that Balouka's synagogue attempted to redirect the education of Jewish youths, the rift in the Jewish community of the Mzab could not be said to mirror the rifts prompted by the rise of Islah. And yet there was distinct political content to the Baloukas' breakaway activities. But a few months before the Balouka schism, certain senior members of the Mzabi Jewish community had publicly voiced opposition to a proposal that they be naturalized en bloc.[74] One wonders if it was not in response to this show of fidelity to Mosaic civil status that the Baloukas orchestrated their schism. In a direct challenge to Ghardaïa's Jewish elders, the Baloukas announced that their synagogue would exercise greater control over the hiring of rabbis, and that its finances would

be more closely, and more publicly, monitored than those of the synagogue. In these respects, the Balouka synagogue would emulate those overseen by the French consistories, even though their private synagogue operated independently of the consistorial system; did not extend its mandate to the education of Jewish youth; and, even, harkened back to an older model of synagogue patronage that had been aggressively eradicated by colonial authorities in northern Algeria decades earlier.[75] No matter: when Sellam Brahim ben Makha Balouka named himself head of the "the consistory of the Jewish community of Ghardaïa," it was a titular display that situated Balouka and his allies as elite French citizens in form, even though they did not function as such in the eyes of the law.

Through the duration of the interwar period, there were older members of the Jewish community in Ghardaïa who continued to resist naturalization in favor of those forms of autonomy that Mosaic civil status granted individual Jews, their families, and the Mzabi Jewish community. Nevertheless, a younger generation of Jewish youth, most of whom had been educated in French schools, were increasingly unanimous in their support for southern Algerian Jews' naturalization by France.[76] Within this environment, Sellam Brahim ben Makha Balouka and his allies proved ascendant. The Balouka family would preside over their private synagogue and self-proclaimed "consistory" for two decades, at which point the two factions of the community fused and Balouka was declared president of the "new consistory of Ghardaïa."[77]

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Jewish and Muslim residents of the Mzab negotiated military rule, and the fact of being *indigènes*, through their everyday actions: as they sent their children to school, sought medical care, and, in the wake of the First World War, as they (or as their sons or brothers) reached the age of military service. Military rule had created a legal parity between southern Algerian Jews and Algerian Muslims, at least for a time. But in the interwar period, Jews, Ibadites, and non-Ibadite Muslims in the Southern Territories reacted to their legal status, and to the military regime, variously. As the Islahi movement pushed many Mzabis toward anticolonial politics, within the southern Algerian Jewish community support for the idea of naturalization—and, with it, the elimination of the legal difference between Algerian Jews northern and southern—gained gradual ascendancy.

FIVE

Saharan Battlegrounds: From the Vichy Regime to a Postwar World

The Algerian Sahara served as a brutal theater of the Second World War—a zone of violence that has, for the most part, been neglected by histories that circumscribe the war with the borders of continental Europe. In order to implement its anti-Semitic laws, and to hold thousands of political prisoners (including some four thousand Jews), the French leadership that collaborated with the Axis powers from July 1940 to August 1944—the so-called Vichy regime—created over thirty concentration and labor camps in North Africa. Most of these were based in southeastern Morocco and southern Algeria, including (in Algeria) Aïn Sefra, Djenien bou Rezg, Figuig, Colomb-Béchar, El Abadia, Taghit, Igli, Beni-Abbès, and Adrar. To the camp of Colomb-Béchar alone, the Vichy authorities sent over seven thousand political prisoners, roughly two thousand Jews among them.[1] Many of these prisoners served in forced labor battalions dedicated to the completion of the Trans-Saharan Railway. Vichy officials dreamed that this fourteen-hundred-mile route, an aborted project of the late nineteenth century, would one day connect the Niger River and Colomb-Béchar (on a west-east axis), and Colomb-Béchar and Oran (on a south-north axis), ultimately facilitating the export of commodities, minerals, and natural resources from west Africa and the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast, whence they could be shipped to France.[2]

For Jews in Algeria, more so than for Jews elsewhere in North Africa, the Vichy era was marked by a profound deprivation of political rights and quotidian freedoms. Under the Vichy regime, Algerian Jews found themselves vulnerable to anti-Semitic laws that were arguably more stringent than those applied to Jews in continental France. All such laws were extended in full to Algeria's Southern Territories. However, for reasons we will shortly explore, most Jews in this administrative region were oddly sidestepped by the regime's racist restrictions. There is no evidence, for example, of a single southern Algerian Jew being sent to a labor camp, and when Jews in this region were found to violate the Vichy regime's "Aryanization" decrees, punishment was light relative to those applied to Jews in Algeria's north. It was only after the war that the majority of Jews in Algeria's south could be said to have experienced the kind of existential horror that northern Algerian Jews experienced during the Vichy years. For when the Fourth Republic re-extended citizenship to once-naturalized Jews in Algeria in 1943, it emphasized that Jews in the Southern Territories would remain beholden to civil status laws.[3] This positioned was reaffirmed by the state in 1947, in both instances provoking great outcry among southern Algerian Jews.

These asymmetric policies must be situated within the broader climate of the postwar period, a time of dramatic transformation for Algeria in general and for Algeria's Southern Territories, in particular. In the immediate postwar years, France initiated a series of administrative and electoral reforms imagined (at least by French legislators) to democratize the rule of law in Algeria. As part of this flawed process, the departments of northern Algeria and the Southern Territories were declared components of an administrative whole, each with their own "civic personality." This body was to be presided over by an Algerian Assembly, to which French Algerian subjects, Mzabi Muslims and Jews among them, could elect representatives.

In the Mzab, these developments sparked heated reactions across a broad political spectrum; here, as elsewhere in Algeria, politics were radicalizing, setting the stage for the diverse sentiments that would find expression in the Algerian war of independence. The region's Ibadite leadership, for its part, was struggling to forge a discrete intellectual, religious, and political community while remaining integrated into Algerian national, pan-Maghribi, and pan-Islamicist frames.[4] Southern Algerian Jews, on the other hand, who evinced no evident support for Mzabi exceptionalism, Algerian nationalism, or communism, occupied an uneasy place in the region's evolving political landscape. Partly as a result, Jewish

emigration from the Mzab escalated and this community began to find its way onto the radar of numerous global Jewish philanthropies.

Beginning with the varied experiences of Mzabi Jewry under the rule of the Vichy regime, the pages that follow pursue the history of southern Algerian Jewry through the era of the Second World War and into the contentious postwar years. They demonstrate that, when it came to the question of their legal status (and so much else), southern Algerian Jews experienced the 1940s in a manner that was distinct from both northern Algerian Jews and their southern Algerian Muslim neighbors.

Vichy's Reach into Algeria's Southern Territories

In the summer and early fall of 1941, forty-year-old Maurice/Möise Guedj penned a series of heartfelt appeals to the governor-general of Algeria, seeking permission to open a pharmacy in Ghardaïa. Born in Batna, in the Department of Constantine, in 1900, Guedj had been named a doctor of pharmacy by the University of Marseille in 1931. Five years later, he married a Catholic woman from Brussels; the pair subsequently relocated to this city, where Guedj opened a pharmacy. In 1939, in fulfillment of a conscription order, Guedj enlisted in the French army, serving as chief pharmacist for various battalions and in a French military hospital, earning the title of officer. As the war progressed, Guedj lost contact with his wife and relocated to Algiers; at the time of his writing, he hoped to secure permanent employment in his native land. Guedj's personal appeal to the governor-general explained that one of his brothers had been killed as a decorated soldier while serving France in the First World War, while another had been crippled. His father, seventy-eight years old, was in need of care: "Allow me to remind you again, Mr. Governor," Guedj concluded, "I established myself in Belgium before the war and on account of this war I have nothing left [*il ne me reste plus rien*]."[5]

At the time at which Guedj contacted the governor-general, laws restricting the number of Jews who could serve in French medical establishments had been in place for roughly a year. In October 1940, the Vichy authorities had imposed the notorious Statut des Juifs [Jewish Statute] upon France, inclusive of its North African holdings. The Jewish Statute defined Jews as a racial group and excluded them from public function, including service in the armed forces and civil administration, and forbade them from working as doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Four days after the passage of these laws, the regime revoked the Crémieux decree,

denying the majority of Algerian Jews the naturalization they had been granted by France some seventy years earlier. At the very moment that Guedj put his appeals to paper—in the early summer of 1941—the scope of the Jewish Statute was widening further still, as the Vichy regime initiated a relentless campaign to "Aryanize" the Algerian economy. Jews were now barred from engaging in myriad financial occupations and faced quotas in the legal and medical professionals (among others). They were also forbidden from owning commercial property.[6]

It was not immediately clear if the laws of the Vichy regime would apply to Jews of the Southern Territories of Algeria, given the liminal legal status of this population. However, by the summer of 1942, the General Government of Algeria was issuing clear directives to this end: virtually all legislation restricting the rights of Jews under Vichy control would extend to southern Algeria, as to all colonies and protectorates under French control.[7] And yet because of the curious history of its Jewry, the impact of these restrictions was dulled in the Mzab.[8] Because they did not possess French citizenship prior to the war, southern Algerian Jews could not be denaturalized as were Algerian Jews from the north. Because so few Mzabi Jewish men had served in the French military, few were vulnerable to the loss in status that befell northern Algerian Jews who had served in this capacity. What's more, the paucity of educational and philanthropic offerings in the Mzab, coupled with historic restrictions on Jews' geographic mobility, meant that few Jews had worked their way into the professions—and thus were unlikely to be squeezed out of them when Aryanization decrees were put in place. With Jewish involvement in the Mzabi economy remaining small-scale, "Aryanization" efforts could not proceed with much muscle.[9] Finally, Jews of the Southern Territories were not sent to detention or labor camps; both because the Vichy regime did not have an interest in the intensive development of public infrastructure in the Southern Territories—an end to which Jewish forced labor in Morocco and Tunisia was put—and because the Mzabi Jewish community did not contain (actual or perceived) political dissidents, as did Jewish communities in northern Algeria. In sum, while the Vichy years constituted a period of chaos for northern Algerian Jewry, the grip of state law remained light, but for a few exceptions, for Jews in the Mzab.

Ironically, as conditions worsened for Jews in North Africa, dozens of desperate northern Algerian Jews, Guedj among them, looked to the Mzab as a potential site of wartime refuge. Most of these individuals were medical professionals—dentists, pharmacists, doctors, homeopaths—who realized that in the south of Algeria (in stark contrast to Algeria's north), Jews had not filled, let alone exceeded, the *numerus clausus* (or

racial quotas) that the Vichy regime had imposed upon the professions.[10] Squeezed out of their occupations (and so much else) at home, these petitioners hoped to find a niche in the Mzab.

With the number of such requests mounting, military authorities in the Southern Territories began to collect data on just how many Jewish doctors and midwives were operating in the region. They identified only two: Maxime Darmon of Djelfa and Roger Chouraqui of Laghouat. Each of these doctors represented the sole medical professional in their respective locations, which meant that their practices violated the *numerus clausus*.[11] In March 1942, the offices of the governor-general ordered Darmon and Chouraqui to cease practice within two months.[12] In a personal appeal, Darmon protested that he was a war orphan and son of a fallen French soldier, but his appeals came to naught.[13] Similarly unsuccessful were the petitions of Maurice Guedj. After vetting his requests, the governor-general sought to ascertain whether Guedj was Jewish. If he was, this office warned, his application would be denied.[14] Similarly denied were countless other Jewish medical professionals who sought professional solace in the Mzab: dentists, homeopaths, pediatricians, pharmacists—service providers who would indeed have filled a lacuna in the south.

While the offices of the governor-general of Algeria strained to keep certain northern Algerian Jews out of southern Algeria, others were sent to the south under duress, to a detention or labor camp, or to be placed under house arrest. When it came to these Jews, French officials expressed anxiety (and no small measure of paranoia) that potentially dangerous alliances between northern and southern Jews might be the unwitting result. Such was the case with a pair of Jewish brothers who were deported from their home, Algiers, in the late winter of 1941.

In December 1941, military authorities arrested Elie and Lucien Douieb, owners of Algiers' fashionable Hotel Aletti, and with them thirteen other Jewish men from Oran, Algiers, and Constantine. All fifteen were accused of violating the Vichy Aryanization decree. Over the course of the ensuing months, the men were placed under house arrest in various sites in Algeria's south. Elie and Lucien Douieb were both initially ordered to In Salah (Tidikelt) and both, it seems, passed through Ouargla on their way to the south.[15] Some months later, the General Government's offices accused Elie Douieb of marrying a young Jewish girl from Ghardaïa in a wedding conducted according to Jewish rites. Given that Douieb had a wife in Algiers, this would have meant he was engaging in polygamy and adultery, both illegal for northern Algerian Jews (as for other naturalized French citizens).[16] Douieb vociferously denied these charges.[17] And indeed, on the face of it, the accusation did appear ludicrous: Douieb

stopped in Ouargla, not Ghardaïa, on his way to In Salah—for a brief period, and as a prisoner. Douieb stressed he was innocent of the charges against him, and a doctor certified that in the course of his roughly year-long detention, he had fallen into poor health.[18] At the same time, Mrs. Pierre Djien, the woman with whom Douieb was lodged during his detention in In Salah, took it upon herself to write the authorities testifying to his good behavior. (This testimony was regarded as "worthless" by the officials who received it.)[19] Still the authorities persisted: none other than Governor-General Yves Chatel argued that if Douieb could not be found guilty, the rabbinical leadership of Ghardaïa ought to be held accountable for the ostensible act of adultery and polygamy.[20] A French official was dispatched to interview Douieb, only to echo his claims of innocence; soon after, Douieb managed to escape detention, fleeing northward. Apprehended by the authorities, he was again sentenced to internment in a labor camp in El Goléa. Simultaneously, the governor-general's office initiated an inquiry into whether any French representative in the south had aided him.[21]

Why did Douieb's case rankle such well-placed officials in the Algerian administration? Though archival documents do not speak to the point directly, it is possible that Vichy authorities harbored a certain anxiety about the potential implications of having northern Algerian Jews, southern Algerian Jews, and French administrators in proximity for the first time. (Individual Mzabi Jews had earlier migrated to northern Algeria, but even by the 1940s there were no significant institutional or communal ties linking southern and northern Algerian Jewry.) Behind the accusations against Douieb, we may speculate, lay three intersecting concerns. With the establishment of detention camps in the south, northern Algerian Jews could literally as well as figuratively penetrate Ghardaïa's community, exploiting their (ostensible) Jewish fraternity in order to achieve an unspecified political advantage. Conversely, southern Jews—like Douieb's fictional newlywed—could capitalize on the presence of northern Algerian Jews in the Southern Territories, using them for their own social or economic betterment. Finally, military officials stationed in southern Algeria, like the captain who interviewed Douieb at the governor-general's behest (or, for that matter, the woman who housed Douieb while he was under house arrest), might be tempted to forge alliances with northern Jews sentenced to do time in Algeria's south because these officers served the state in an area all but devoid of a European, settler colonial population. These are speculative conclusions, to be sure. But Douieb's unusual case suggests the possibility that the mixing

of northern Algerian Jews, southern Algerian Jews, and representatives of French authority threatened to unsettle a spectrum of legal and social delineations.

What is evident is that the accusations against Douieb touched a raw nerve for the French administration in Algeria, up to its highest ranks. The flurry of official correspondence that attended Doueib's case, which winds through various administrative and archival files and collections, manifests this point. So too does the heightened confusion that surrounded the Doueib affair. Some military representatives claimed the Jew from Algiers had married a young woman in Ghardaïa according to Ibadite Muslim rites: others insisted it was a Jewish wedding that had taken place. Some officials accused him of marrying two times, others: three. Another speculated that perhaps Doueib had fraternized to an undue degree with a sergeant-in-training stationed in Tidikelt by the name of Carles. One observer reflected on the possibility of Douieb having developed intimate relations with the woman with whom he was lodged while under house arrest, Mrs. Pierre Djien; yet another considered that he may have had an adulterous relationship previously, with an unmarried woman who had served as nanny to his children. Taken together, these cacophonous sources speak to the tremendous uncertainty with which military officials in Algeria witnessed the temporary forced lodging of northern Algerian Jews in the Southern Territories. These were communities the military had strained to keep separate for so long: what their intersection would herald none could know.

It is worth noting that administrative anxiety about the mixing of northern and southern Jews in the Southern Territories was likely misplaced. Research has yielded few examples of fraternizing between southern Jews and Jews imprisoned in the south of Algeria. One of these takes the form of a group of northern and southern Jews (a number of Jews from Ghardaïa among them) who were briefly placed under house arrest in Ouargla: alas, details of the associated circumstances are few. Another example is yielded by a Yiddish-language memoir penned by Benjamin Lubelski, who was sent to southern Algeria after being arrested for serving the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. Lubelski speaks of a chance encounter with members of the southern Algerian Jewish community that lived proximate to the camp in which he was imprisoned—an encounter motivated by the need to find a final resting place for a deceased fellow-Jewish prisoner. But Lubelski acknowledges that such contact was possible only because the inmate had died in the months after D-Day (6 June 1944), when the camp remained intact but

oversight had become lax.[22] Administrative nervousness about the mixing of southern and northern Algerian Jews—and French military and civil administrators with them—was paranoid rather than practical.

As we conclude our discussion of the Vichy years, we might do well to turn back to the year 1941; for this year, more than any other, highlights what was distinct about southern Algerian Jews' experience of the Vichy regime. In the fall of that year, Maurice/Möise Guedj pleaded with the governor-general for permission to open a pharmacy in Ghardaïa, where his practice was unlikely to violate the Vichy regime's *numerus clausus*. But a few months later, the brothers Douieb, owners of a chic hotel in Algiers, were arrested for violating the regime's Aryanization decree. Sent to Algeria's south to be imprisoned under house arrest, the fate of one of these brothers would triangulate strangely with that of Ghardaïan Jewry—or, as I have argued here, with the *idea* of a Jewish population that had been largely sidestepped by the Vichy regime's anti-Semitic and racist decrees. As we have seen, one can certainly identify southern Algerian Jews caught in the regime's dragnet, and there were indeed prohibitions (upon, for example, Jews' right to bear arms) that affected Jewish residents of the Southern Territories. In spite of this, the wartime trauma experienced by so many northern Algerian Jews in 1941 did not find precise echo in the south. As we shall now see, far more than 1941, the year 1943—a triumphant year for northern Algerian Jewry—brought no reward to Jews in Algeria's south. Neither war nor peace, it seems, were configured identically for Jews in Algeria's departmentalized and military zones.

Into the Postwar World: Redefinitions of French Citizenship, the Contentious Status of the Mzab, and Jewish Emigration

On 4 March 1945, a representative of the White Fathers noted in the organization's diary that the Jews of Ghardaïa "heard on the radio a reference to the proposed armistice with Germany and concluded it was a done deal. They spent the night celebrating in their quarter, drinking *boukha* [a spirit made from figs]."[23] Despite the enthusiasm of southern Algerian Jews for the (as yet theoretical) fall of the Axis powers, the end of the Second World War instigated a politically fraught era for Jews of Algeria's Southern Territories.

In the wake of the Allied occupation of North Africa, the denaturalization of Algerian Jewry was revoked in October 1943.[24] The legal status of Jews born in the Southern Territories, however, remained essentially

unchanged. Possessing as they did no prior naturalization, none could be restored to the Jews of southern Algeria by the state, no matter the arguments yielded by individual petitioners.[25] On the contrary, as the Fourth Republic shaped (in the words of Todd Shepard) new attitudes toward "nonwhite subjects that the French Republic ruled around the world," the conceptual coupling of Mozabite Jews and Algerian Muslims was reiterated rather than torn asunder. The Fourth Republic's policies entailed the adoption of new legal distinctions between Algerian and "European" French territory, on the one hand, and between "Muslim French from Algeria" and French citizens, on the other, while the constitution of the Fourth Republic and the Law of 7 May 1946 affirmed Algerians with local civil status as French citizens. These legislative shifts granted neither Algerian Muslims nor Mzabi Jews common civil status, such as was possessed by non-Muslim French citizens.[26]

Denied common civil status though they were, Algerian Muslims and southern Algerian Jews were granted a modicum of electoral rights. A law of 20 September 1947 declared the departments of (northern) Algeria and the Southern Territories components of an administrative whole, each with its own "civic personality." This body was to be presided over by an Algerian Assembly, to which French Algerian subjects, Mzabi Jews among them, could elect representatives. The right to vote was not commensurate with political equality, however, nor was it ever clarified what it meant for Algerians (be they Muslims or Jews beholden to the Mosaic civil status) to become French citizens while maintaining local civil status.[27] According to the 1947 decree, Algerians were divided into two electoral colleges designed to protect the dominance of citizens with common civil status. The first was reserved for Europeans and a token number of Muslims, the second for the majority of Muslims. Though these groups each elected the same number of deputies to the Algerian Assembly, the population ratio was radically disparate for the two. Jews from the north of Algeria, renewed holders of French citizenship, were included in the first college: Jews from the south of Algeria—now citizens, but still classified as "indigenous" and more "Muslim" than "Jewish" in the eyes of the state—were placed with Algerian Muslims in the second.

Within the Mzab, the ruling of 1947 stoked discontent among various parties, helping to radicalize some residents of the region in their support of Mzabi exceptionalism. As we have seen, antagonism toward French conscription efforts had galvanized Mzabi resistance in this regard in the interwar period. While this issue remained highly politicized in the 1940s and the first years of the 1950s, the question of departmentalization and electoral rights now became of paramount import. During these years,

French military reports on events in the Mzab displayed ever-growing anxiety about the breakdown of order, with monthly and annual reports on the region constantly referring to the dwindling of French prestige and growth of "indigenous unrest."

Among the most vocal critics of the administrative reorganization of the Southern Territories were Hadjoute Brahim ben El Hadj and Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim, elected delegates to the Algerian Assembly from the Mzab.[28] Ben Aïssa ben Brahim (whom we have already encountered in his capacities as a critic of French conscription policies) and Brahim ben El Hadj, both lawyers from the Mzab, penned a series of briefs objecting to the 1947 legislation. Versions of these were submitted to the president of France and the minister of the interior, and were presented formally before the Algerian Assembly in 1950, when assembly delegates were considering a proposal that would join the Mzab to the Department of Algiers as part of the further administrative remapping of the Southern Territories.[29] Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim also helped create, in 1951, the Parti de l'union populaire de l'Oued-Mzab, a political party whose goals echoed their own.[30]

Brahim ben El Hadj's and ben Aïssa ben Brahim's well-researched (if occasionally rambling) briefs sought to demonstrate that the fusing of Algeria's Southern Territories and northern departments violated the terms of the protectorate ironed out between France and the Mzab's Ibadite leadership in 1853, which recognized the internal autonomy of the Mozabites. This act of recognition, Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim argued, had not been rendered obsolete by the annexation of 1882; on the contrary, it had been reasserted by Governor-General Louis Tirman in 1884, was validated by a group of French legal specialists in 1914, and was confirmed once more in an official declaration by Governor-General Georges-Albert-Julien Catroux in 1944. Contrasting the annexation of the Mzab with that of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Tunisia, the authors reasoned that the "legal territorial unification" of the Mzab and French Algeria had not followed on the heels of annexation. The Mzab, they clarified, was a "simple protectorate" that remained prone to the terms of the agreement ironed out in 1853. Based on these objections, Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim opposed the merging of the Southern Territories and Algeria's northern departments, arguing that the Mzab should remain an "arrondissement" of the Sahara with a measure of internal autonomy.[31]

Whether these goals would be undermined by Mzabi residents' participation in elections to the Algerian Assembly was a point of some contention—indeed, this theme catalyzed a debate that highlighted just how

much was at stake in the potential administrative reorganization of the south. For support on this matter, Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim solicited the opinion of historian (and future spokesman for the Front de libération nationale [National Liberation Front, or FLN] in Baghdad and Cairo, as well as minister of culture and religious affairs in the first Algerian provisional government) Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani. Al-Madani explained that there existed two approaches to this dilemma. The Mozabites could abstain from participating in elections to the Algerian Assembly, forcing France to negotiate with their existing leadership. On the other hand, Mozabites could renounce the rights guaranteed them by the 1853 protectorate, "accept[ing] a new political status that would regrettably be steeped in colonial principles," and participate in the elections; this would have the advantage, al-Madani reflected, that elected delegates would defend Mozabite interests before the Assembly. By accepting the validity of the Algerian Assembly, al-Madani warned, voters and delegates risked jeopardizing "long-standing Mozabite independence and particularism."[32] Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim, it would seem, attempted to mediate between these positions: representing the Mzab to the Algerian Assembly while arguing against the departmentalization of Algeria's Southern Territories.

Shaykh Ibrahim Bayyud, another elected representative of the Southern Territories to the Algerian Assembly, assumed an oppositional stance.[33] Shaykh Bayyud was one of a group of delegates who brought the 1950 proposal before the Algerian Assembly, advocating for an administrative reorganization of the Southern Territories that would include the unification of the Mzab with the Department of Algiers. In his appeal to the Assembly, Bayyud announced that he spoke on behalf of those inhabitants of the Southern Territories who wished "to join civilized society" in support of the 1947 administrative reorganization of Algeria. Bayyud conceded that the Mzab had local customs and leadership structures whose integrity needed to be respected. However, without resorting to specifics, he argued that the Mzab could be integrated into Algeria's departmental structure without its particularism being compromised.[34] It has been suggested that the debate between Bayyud (whom French officials called a reformist) and Brahim ben El Hadj, ben Aïssa ben Brahim (whom French officials labeled conservatives) testify to an ongoing negotiation—dating to the 1930s, but heating up in the years after 1947—by Ibadites and Mozabites to build a discrete political and intellectual community while simultaneously participating in the larger Algerian national, pan-Maghribi, and pan-Islamicist frame.[35] One finds a parallel to this phenomenon in the Jewish realm.

Like their Ibadite neighbors, certain Jews expressed dissatisfaction with the 1947 ruling, but their opposition was of a very different nature. Far from siding with Brahim ben El Hadj, ben Aïssa ben Brahim, or the Parti de l'union populaire de l'Oued-Mzab in support of the administrative independence of the Mzab, Jews defended the further erosion of southern (and Mzabi) distinctiveness, at least in so far as Jews' legal status was concerned. Mzabi Jews' preoccupation remained the acquisition of French citizenship with common civil status and the legal equation of northern and southern Algerian Jewry. It is a preoccupation that can be traced through appeals, petitions, and political action.

For example, a year after the French state reasserted the legal coupling of southern Jews and Algerian Muslims, 125 Jewish men from Ghardaïa submitted an outraged petition on behalf of their families to the office of the General Government. Their demand was twofold: to be labeled French citizens with common civil status like their co-religionists in the north, and to be assimilated into the first college.[36] The offices of the governor-general demurred, emphasizing that as *indigènes*, the petitioners were forbidden from entering the first college. Without legal redress of their status by the French state, the reply elaborated, Mzabi Jews could not acquire the common civil status they demanded.[37] This was an exercise in legal tautology, with no seeming resolution to the Mzabi Jews' demands in sight.

French denials did not prevent Mzabi Jews from continuing to agitate for what they viewed as the "normalization" of their legal status—petitioning France to cease categorizing them as "indigenous," to place them, legally speaking, in the first college, and to extend them French nationality with common civil status.[38] In 1951 (the same year Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim created their Parti de l'union populaire de l'Oued-Mzab), Sebban Balouka and Amrane Rebbi, president of the self-proclaimed "Jewish Consistory of Ghardaïa" and a self-appointed local representative of the AIU, led a campaign to encourage Jews to boycott elections to the Algerian Assembly. This was not in deference to al-Madani—who had imagined boycotts by Mozabites as a potentially effective means of challenging colonial rule—but to manifest the Jews' desire to acquire common civil status and become members of the first college.[39] French military investigations into the activities of Balouka and Rebbi conceded that most Jews in Ghardaïa did support the "naturalization [of Mzabi Jews] as a group, by decree." They also noted with some suspicion that Balouka and Rebbi had received Zionist brochures and journals from the AIU.[40] This particular proposition was unlikely given the political orientation of the AIU, which did not campaign actively in favor of Zion-

ism. Still, it was noteworthy that Balouka and Rebbi were seeking outside, institutional support for the naturalization of Mzabi Jewry—though, in fact, it is not clear if the "Jewish Consistory of Ghardaïa" was ever more than an aspirational body. This was a novel and entrepreneurial strategy, and a sign that some members of this community were increasingly inclined to look outward for allies and models as they advocated for legal reform.

In response to Balouka and Rebbi's petition, and in order to assess how committed Ghardaïa's Jewish community was to the idea of naturalization, a member of the French military administration invited "representative Jewish families" to survey the community in the summer of 1951. The results were reported on by Jacques Lazarus, representative of the World Jewish Congress in North Africa, who had traveled to Ghardaïa on behalf of the WJC that same year.[41] Though Lazarus maintained that the entire community was unanimous in its support of naturalization, he did not return from Ghardaïa ready to defend the cause of Mzabi Jewry.[42] In a summary of his visit, Lazarus noted that while the naturalization of the Mzabi Jews had its supporters—some well placed within the French administration—there was nonetheless a fear, articulated both by Jewish advocates in Algeria and members of the French military administration, that such legislation would be a daring provocation of Ibadites in the Mzab, if not Muslims in Algeria more generally. (As was true decades earlier, when French military representatives claimed that naturalizing southern Algerian Jews might stoke Ibadite anger, no support was offered for these claims.) Aware of the (theoretically) inflammatory nature of the question at hand, Lazarus cautioned that it might be best to postpone "public pursuit" of Mzabi Jews' naturalization. For Lazarus and the WJC, as for the French military regime, resolving the legal quandary of the Mzabi Jewish community as yet posed no strategic advantage and brought with it considerable risk. Philanthropy was put on hold to allow the play of politics.

In the midst of these changes, many southern Algerian Jews voted with their feet, their migration enabled by a law of 1947 that restored to Algerians a measure of freedom of movement that the Vichy regime had taken away.[43] Anti-Jewish violence in Guerrera in 1948 prompted the emigration of forty-eight of the town's fifty Jews, with most relocating to Ghardaïa: the killing of a rabbi in Touggourt in 1949 prompted a similarly panicked reaction among the town's Jews.[44] The French military was keeping close watch for similar outbreaks of violence in Ghardaïa, but its representatives on the ground noted that "the attitude of [local] Muslims towards Jews has not changed," and that signs of tension (including

insults, rude gestures, and anti-Jewish graffiti) was being generated by children alone.[45] Still, anxiety about the rise of anti-Semitism in Algeria, combined with the devastating blow of the 1947 legislation and chronic underemployment, had its effects. In the years between the end of the Second World War and the Algerian war of independence, southern Algerian Jews began to migrate in growing numbers to new intra-regional homes, including Aflou, Djelfa, Ouargla, and Touggourt; to the north of Algeria; and abroad.[46] Though some who might have had the means to emigrate chose to remain in their homes, many who did stay in southern Algeria did so simply because they were too poor to leave: in 1953, only a small percentage of Jewish families in Ghardaïa were able to pay their annual tax of 500 francs.[47]

Those Jews who left the Mzab but remained within Algeria caused the military authorities some measure of concern. This was the case, for example, when French officials discovered that a group of Ghardaïan-born Jewish men living in Touggourt had been mistaken for Jews from Touggourt (and, thus, for French citizens with common civil status), had been drafted into the French military, and were performing service in Constantine. Finding no precedent for the management of such a population, military officials determined the young men should be sent home to await a settlement.[48] Similarly slippery was the case of Benjamin Balouka, a Jew born in Ghardaïa who sought residence in the Tell in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Military officials debated whether Balouka's name should be removed from the census of his place of origin in order to be officially linked to his place of residence. In the absence of legal precedent, it was decided that after dwelling in the north for a year, Balouka (like a Muslim male born in the Mzab) could be registered as a resident of the north and a French subject—but not as a citizen with common civil status.[49]

The Balouka case, like others that came before military authorities in this period, were vexatious to French officials insofar as it tested the military's ability to regulate and control the movement of bodies in and from the Southern Territories and, concomitantly, to draw rigid distinctions between citizens with common civil status and those without. It was not only Jews who exercised the authorities in this way: Muslims traveling to and through the Southern Territories, too, were subject to ever-more involved bureaucratic monitoring, despite the fact that the state had ostensibly granted freedom of movement to Algerian citizens in 1947.[50] With the migration of Mzabi Jews becoming increasingly commonplace in the post–World War II period, administrators were forced to acknowledge that Jews like Balouka could evade and confound census keepers.

This was an unsavory possibility given that French colonial law had not anticipated (nor yet accommodated) a time at which Mzabi Jews did not dwell in the place of their birth. For this reason, military officials were uncertain of how to handle the cases of four young Jewish men (Attia Yahia, Madjeled Ali, Zenou Simon, and Sebban ben Brahim) who were born in the Mzab but whose names had been added to the civil registry in Aflou. Two of these men had lived in Aflou since childhood; two had migrated there relatively recently, likely in search of employment. As the four men came of age, French officials puzzled over a series of questions: Into which city's conscription lottery should the men's names be entered? Should their names be removed from Ghardaïa's registry or from that of the city of Aflou? These questions, in turn, pointed to an even more challenging conceptual dilemma: could a resident of the south ever cease to be southern and, if so, under what circumstances?[51] With answers to these queries less than certain, the specter of an incomplete southern Algerian Jewish civil registry would haunt officials for years to come.

While growing numbers of Jews were leaving the Mzab for cities in Algeria in the late 1940s with the help of the World Jewish Congress (operating through its office in Algiers), yet more Jews were leaving for Palestine and, after 1948, Israel. The first to do so were a group of approximately sixty, a number of newlyweds among them, who left the Mzab together, by bus, in December 1943.[52] Over the ensuing thirteen years, 344 more Jews from the Mzab would follow; a portion of these individuals would subsequently wend their way to France to settle permanently.[53] In 1949 alone, seventy Mzabi Jews moved to Israel and many more reportedly wished to follow them: by the time Algeria became a sovereign nation, roughly a third of Mzabi Jewry had done so. Of this population, French officials reported, "the first news sent back to the Mzab by the Jews who arrived in Palestine depicted a hard life in 'the promised land.' Subsequent news was rather somber and led one to think that life in Palestine was rather difficult."[54] Representatives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, too, worried that logistical challenges surrounded the relocation of Jews from the Mzab to Israel; particularly difficult, noted one internal report of the organization, was the transference of small amounts of capital, the processes of establishing the émigrés in trades, supplying them with the requisite tools and machinery, and tending to their extensive medical needs.[55] This organization did not seem to register another obstacle that Mzabi Jews might encounter in their new home—intra-Jewish racism. In the words of one southern Algerian Jewish émigré: "They're all racialists in Israel. I'm too dark-skinned for them."[56]

Rumors of difficulties in Israel (and, in time, concern among Mzabi

Jews about the Suez Crisis) did not deter would-be émigrés in the Mzab.[57] Among them was Balouka Sebban ben Daoud, a Jewish entrepreneur from Ghardaïa who had family members in Israel and visited the country previously. (We shall meet Sebban ben Daoud again at the outset of the subsequent chapter, when we learn more about his entrepreneurial activities.) In 1950, French military observers noted that Sebban was preparing to divide his significant commercial holdings (in Oued Ghir, in Ouargla, and in Ghardaïa) in order to make a final, permanent move to Israel.[58] As Sebban ben Daoud's case suggests, movement between the Mzab and Israel was not necessarily final or unidirectional at this time: not only did individual Jews like Sebban ben Daoud view emigration as a gradual process, others left and returned home—perhaps in preparation for emigration—in order to visit family members, or because preliminary visits deterred them from leaving altogether.[59] The family of Richard Sellam is another case in point. Having left the Mzab for Israel in 1957, the Sellams found conditions in Israel difficult and unemployment a constant vexation. Six months later, the family returned to their erstwhile home and reopened their store. In the ensuing years they prospered, until, in 1962, they undertook a final emigration, this time to France.[60]

That so many Jews from the Mzab sought new homes in Palestine and Israel, rather than France, itself reveals volumes about the unusual relationship between France and Algeria's southern Jews. Because the majority of (northern) Algerian Jews had French citizenship with common civil status, the vast majority who would leave relocated to France, most in 1961–1962.[61] Lacking the paperwork that would facilitate their emigration to this country, Mzabi Jews were more likely to emigrate to Palestine or Israel (relative to France) in the years leading up to the Algerian war of independence. Indeed, it was only with the final redress of southern Algerian Jews' legal status that the majority set their sights on France as a destination. Prior to this (in the 1940s and 1950s), the timing and geographic trajectory of Mzabi Jewish emigration diverged dramatically from that of Algerian Jewry as a whole.

The International "Discovery" of a Cause Célèbre and the Marriage Law of 1959

With citizenship with common civil status restored to northern Algerian Jewry in 1943, and with the legal particularity of Ghardaïa's Jews reconfirmed four years later, Mzabi Jews were finding their way onto the radar of nearly every major international Jewish philanthropic organization.

In 1953, the *American Jewish Year Book* declared the legal status of Mzabi Jewry the "only unsolved political problem" concerning Jews in North Africa.[62] The Alliance israélite universelle and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, like the World Jewish Congress, had begun to assess the needs of the community by the late 1940s: each organization also sent delegates to Ghardaïa—the AIU as early as 1949, the WJC and JDC in the early 1950s.[63] These organizations offered varying degrees of support to the Jewish community of the Mzab. The JDC, for example, assumed responsibility for supporting the Talmud Torah of Ghardaïa, in which forty-eight children were enrolled in 1959, and for providing financial assistance for over one hundred impoverished Jewish families in the city.[64] Not all such attention was positive. One unidentified "Middle Eastern" rabbi (who was also a French national, and thus possibly from Algeria's north) who visited the Mzabi Jewish community in 1950 proved so "strongly disappointed to see them so little evolved, [that] he declared before leaving that it was out of the question to welcome to Palestine [Israel] people so backwards as to be qualified 'synagogue bugs' " (see figure 14).[65]

By midcentury, other northern Algerian Jews had gained an interest in the cause of Mzabi Jewry. The Fédération des communautés israélites d'Algérie, an entity formed in 1947 out of the remnants of the old consistorial system, discussed the dilemma of Mzabi Jews' legal status in a meeting of its advisory board—though there is no evidence that action resulted.[66] Five years later, prompted by the Algerian Assembly's consideration of the departmentalization of southern Algeria, the Comité juif algérien d'études sociales [Algerian Jewish Committee of Social Studies] published an article on the Jews of the Mzab. Founded by Jewish intellectuals and notables of the Algerian middle class, this organization did not, it must be said, represent a demographic that had expressed much interest with the fate of Mzabi Jewry heretofore.[67] In fact, in 1921, as a severe drought afflicted the Sahara, a representative of the Alliance israélite universelle disparaged the bald disinterest that northern Algerian Jewry displayed for the Jews of Algeria's Southern Territories, reflecting that "the spirit of solidarity that is so well developed among the community of Algiers, and [that] is the sign of an advanced civilization, stops at the gates of the city. A thick wall separates it from the rest of the country . . . the Community of Algiers does not take much notice of what happens far away." This writer went on to note that "the recently created Algerian [Jewish] Committee of Social Studies is charged . . . with partially filling this gap."[68] It would take some two decades for the organization to realize this potential. In 1951 the organization strenuously advocated for the

Fig. 14 A representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee teaches Mzabi Jewish youths Hebrew in a Jewish school sponsored by the organization, Ghardaïa, c. 1958. In the late 1940s and 1950s, the Jewish community of southern Algeria became a cause célèbre for nearly every major international Jewish philanthropic organization. The students' raised tablets read: "father." Courtesy of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives, New York.

extension of French citizenship with common civil status to the Mzabi Jewish population. It also decried the possibility that the Mzab might remain—as others advocated it should—under military rule.[69]

Possibly because of growing international interest in the legal status of southern Algerian Jewry, the early 1950s found the French government, too, strategizing redress of the legal stalemate into which the Mzabi Jews had been placed. From 1952 to 1961, even as the Algerian war for independence erupted and raged, the offices of the Secretary of State, Foreign Ministry, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Justice, and, eventually, the Ministry of Repatriation discussed, debated, and attempted to reconstruct the history and unique legal status of Mozabite Jewry with an eye to granting them French citizenship with common civil status. (In 1954, a proposal to this effect by Jean Scelles was even put before the National Assembly.) Though these debates resulted, in 1961, in the naturalization of Algerian Jews who had retained their Mosaic civil status (that is, of Jewish residents of the Southern Territories), in the late 1950s this outcome was far from inevitable.

This is seen no more vividly than in the realm of family law. In 1947, as we have seen, the Fourth Republic evinced little interest in altering the esoteric legal status of southern Algerian Jewry. The justification provided by members of the French administration (a justification officials echoed as late as 1956) was that Mzabi Jews were not willing to relinquish their local civil status in favor of citizenship with common civil status, favoring as they did—or such was the claim—the absence of "any oversight or administrative or judicial sanctions" of their civil status.[70] One source from 1951 argued that fully 25 percent of Mozabite Jews professed a disinterest in obtaining French citizenship with common civil status because they remained attached to the particular privileges provided them by "Mosaic civil status," in particular, the right to practice polygamy, divorce, and unilateral repudiation.[71]

"Mosaic civil status" was, as we have seen, a product of colonial rule in the Southern Territories. And yet, exogenous creation of colonialism though it was, the practices enabled by "Mosaic civil status" (in particular, polygamy, unilateral repudiation, and divorce) came, by the 1950s, to be characterized and caricatured by members of the French administration and social scientists as uniquely indigenous to Mzabi Jewry. The aforementioned parties tracked with determination astronomic rates of divorce within this community. They lamented, for example, that between 1916 and 1925, 51 percent of Jewish men and women who were married in Ghardaïa had been married at least once before, and that 52 percent of their unions had lasted less than three years.[72] One story, in particular, surfaced again and again in the resulting accounts, that of a Mzabi Jewish woman who was divorced and remarried no less than eighteen times. As André Chouraqui demanded of this case: "In a small village such as this, is this not an official form of prostitution cloaked by a legal apparition?"[73] Whether or not this eighteen-time divorcée actually existed, through the writing of Chouraqui and others, she became a mythic type: the southern Algerian Jewish woman prostituted by her community as a result of colonial law. Through the 1950s, the "debased status"—and purportedly dubious and decadent sexual and marital practices—of Mzabi Jews became a public metaphor for the legal quandary in which the community as a whole was said to reside.[74]

The conceptual role French law and discourse assigned Algerian "Qurʾanic" marriage, divorce, and sex was, of course, strikingly similar, and this similarity suggests that southern Algerian Jews and Algerian Muslims continued to be conceptually yoked in the eyes of the law as late as the 1950s. The sustained authority of Muslim civil status laws (and the persistence of polygamy and the practice of repudiation) had also

Fig. 15 Makhlouf Partouche (standing, second from left), the last chief rabbi of Ghardaïa, and family, c. 1959. In the year this photograph was likely taken, France passed a marriage law that sought to regulate and control the familial and sexual practices of Algerian Muslims and southern Algerian Jews. The varied sartorial choices of the Partouche generations reflect the embourgeoisement that some southern Algerian Jews experienced in the 1950s. Author's collection, courtesy of Eleanor Briggs.

become a central mechanism for justifying the perpetuation of colonial rule in Algeria, with policy makers and theoreticians of the Fourth and Fifth Republics claiming that Algerian Muslims clung to barbaric family practices (including unilateral repudiation, divorce, and polygamy) that rendered them ill equipped to become French citizens with common civil status. At the same time, the regime began to promise to "protect" family law from colonial incursion—partly in an attempt to marginalize the FLN as its power grew (see figure 15).[75]

Amidst this contradictory rhetoric, the Fifth Republic passed a 1959 civil status (or marriage) law that allowed both men and women in Algeria to divorce their spouses, mandating that such acts had to be registered with a *qadi* or judge.[76] As this law was being formulated, the offices of the secretary of state successfully advocated extending its reach to include, explicitly, the Jewish population of the Mzab. The hope was that Jewish practices of divorce be curbed alongside Muslim ones, and, in so doing, "that the rules governing the civil status of French Jews [*sic*] in the Mzab evolve in a modern and liberal direction."[77] As officials quickly realized, this proved an imperfect arrangement from a variety of perspectives. The

1959 law artificially likened rabbis in the Mzab to *qadis*, though in fact rabbis lacked official investiture. As a result, the legal complexity of Mosaic civil status was further ensnarled, and the state had less rather than more oversight of southern Algerian Jewish affairs.[78] But if it did not simplify French rule over southern Algerian Jewry, the 1959 marriage law did clarify the state's legal and conceptual view of this community. The Jews of southern Algeria had not yet been cleanly syphoned off by colonial authorities, legally or conceptually speaking, for special treatment relative to the majority of Muslim Algerians—even though international pressure on behalf of this community was mounting and support for the amelioration of the legal difference between northern and southern Algerian Jewries had allies within the French administration.[79]

Most histories of North African Jewries demarcate the Vichy era as a discrete, disturbing chapter in the lives of individuals and their communities, and as an episode that cast a long shadow across the subsequent decades of the twentieth century. Southern Algerian Jewish history requires its own time line and conceptual narrative. It was not that individual Mzabi Jewish lives were not disrupted by Vichy-era legislation, for some were. But viewed collectively, and through their legal relationship to the state, southern Algerian Jews could not be said to have experienced the Vichy era as acutely traumatic or, indeed, dramatically distinctive. Southern Algeria was a military zone before the war, and it would remain a military zone; where citizenship did not initially exist, it could not be stripped away. If one were to identify a midcentury moment of trauma for the Mzabi Jewish community, it would be after the war, in 1947, for at this instant—when southern Algerian Jews were denied common civil status and placed in Algeria's second electoral college—the state rearticulated a commitment to colonial typologies and codifications that were prejudicial toward the vast majority of Algerians, southern Algerian Jews among them. This renewed commitment on the part of the state helped stoked the fire of anticolonial struggle, which would shortly flare into a full-fledged war.

SIX

Oil, the Algerian War of Independence, and Competing Stories of Departure

In 1954, Balouka Sebban ben Daoud stood at the helm of a transportation company that boasted eleven buses capable of shuttling riders between Ghardaïa, Ouargla, Touggourt, Médéa, Constantine, and Tozeur (in southwest Tunisia).[1] A native of Ghardaïa, this Jewish entrepreneur was taking advantage of a new web of roads that crosscut the Sahara and dramatically reduced travel time in the region. Eliahou Sebban, writing recently in his advanced years, recalls that his father (who must have been born in the late nineteenth century) was accustomed to traveling for two weeks by camel to reach Touggourt, which was approximately two hundred kilometers away. When Sebban himself took this journey in the late 1940s it took twenty-four hours—though he and the other passengers were required to sit atop freight in the back of a bus, where they were violently jostled for the duration of the journey.[2] With the creation of new highways in the Sahara during the 1950s, a route of comparable distance could be traversed in an hour and a half.[3] No wonder that Sebban ben Daoud was able to amass a small fortune at the helm of a vibrant busing business.

Sebban ben Daoud was not the only Mzabi Jew to capitalize on an oil and natural gas boom in the Algerian Sahara that attended the 1950s. Sebban Balouka, a food wholesaler,

Fig. 16 Hotel Transatlantique, Ghardaïa. Postcard c. 1950. In the 1950s, some Mzabi Jews capitalized on the oil and natural gas boom in the Algerian Sahara, including David Cohana, owner of the fashionable Hotel Transatlantique. Five of Ghardaïa's nine hotels were Jewish-owned in the 1950s. Courtesy of Morial: Mémoire et traditions des Juifs d'Algérie-des Phéniciens à nos jours, http://www.morial.fr/.

financier, local representative of the Banque de l'Algérie, and patriarch of a wealthy mercantile family, was said by one French observer to "hold almost the totality of the market" of the district of Ghardaïa in this period.[4] Sebban Rebbi Amrane owned three shops in Ghardaïa and Melika, thirteen properties in the region, and twenty-six trucks that serviced the hotel industry.[5] No less than five of Ghardaïa's nine hotels operating in this decade were Jewish-owned: the fanciest, David Cohana's Transatlantique, was the hotel most favored by foreign visitors to Ghardaïa, Lloyd Cabot Briggs among them.[6] One hand-tinted photographic postcard from 1960 (not depicted here) depicts the Transatlantique's lavish pool with a cluster of Europeans seated in the shade nearby. While a guest luxuriates in the water, four white-jacketed hotel employees (their ethnicity impossible to identify) hover within reach (see figure 16).[7]

The accomplishments of Ghardaïa's mercantile elite had nothing to do with their Jewishness, per se. Sebban ben Daoud's transportation company thrived because it ferried workers (foreign and local) to the nascent oil wells outside Hassi Messaoud, a town 175 miles southeast of Ghardaïa; Cohana's hotel became the favored gathering place of European technocrats and French military men stationed in and near Ghardaïa, whose numbers skyrocketed in tandem with oil yields. Together, Sebban ben

Daoud and Cohana, along with other Jews of Ghardaïa's rising middle and mercantile class, were benefiting from a dramatic transformation in the economic and strategic value of the Sahara in the eyes of the French. As this waning colonial power grasped for a foothold in what would prove a losing game of postwar realpolitik, some southern Algerian Jews managed to thrive economically—at least for a time.

Since 1956, when French scientists identified large quantities of gas in the Berga anticline (south of In Salah) and oil in the sandstones of Edjelé (on the Libyan border) and Hassi Messaoud, the symbolic, economic, and political fate of the Algerian Sahara had shifted dramatically for France and French representatives of the oil and natural gas industries with which the government allied. Even as the Algerian war of independence raged, these bodies were channeling vast sums of money into the exploration, extraction, and transport of fossil fuel from Algeria's south. While it may be true—as some have argued—that France had little to gain materially by retaining its hold on Algeria, by the late 1950s the Algerian Sahara was undoubtedly viewed by certain members of the French administration and the commercial sector as the goose that laid the golden egg.[8] As Jacques Soustelle, French minister of Saharan and atomic affairs (and, from 1955 to 1956, governor-general of Algeria), predicted: "We may forsee [*sic*] that in years to come not only France but also a great part of Europe will find in the Sahara the cheap power it so much needs for rapid industrial growth."[9]

This industrial fantasy—and the astonishing monetary rewards the oil boom was soon yielding—would change the course of the Algerian war of independence. Negotiations between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and France faltered at Évian in the summer of 1961 over the question of whether France could retain rights to oil and natural gas in the Sahara (France's ability to use the region as a nuclear test site was also a factor). These negotiations were settled on 18 March 1962 only after the various parties at Évian granted French oil companies concessions relative to their previous investments and six years' preferential treatment in matters of oil prospecting and production. Algeria would not take majority ownership of the petroleum industry until 1971.[10]

In their ability to profit from these developments, Cohana and Sebban ben Daoud were exceptional members of the Mzabi Jewish community. But though most southern Algerian Jews remained poor and legally hamstrung in this era, Mzabi Jews as a whole did experience the industrialization of the Sahara—and the Algerian war of independence, of which the oil and natural gas boom was a part—in radical fashion. These inter-

twined events had two crucial repercussions for southern Algerian Jews. First, unpredictably, the struggle to control the Sahara's natural resources helped move the French National Assembly to naturalize southern Algerian Jews as citizens with common civil status. With the realization of Law 61–805 in July 1961, any Algerian Jew who had retained Mosaic Status (e.g, any Jewish resident of the Southern Territories) could be reclassified as a French citizen with common civil status, so long as he or she renounced civil status and accepted a fixed first name and patronymic.

Second, the Algerian war of independence provoked many southern Algerian Jews to emigrate to new homes elsewhere in Algeria and to Israel, prolonging a trickle that had begun in the late 1940s. Emigration to France was still barred for this community. Indeed, when the end of the Algerian war was within sight—in late 1961 and 1962—it was still not clear whether southern Algerian Jews would (or could) join the frantic flood of *pieds-noirs*, *harkis*, and Algerian Jews fleeing a soon-to-besoveriegn Algeria for France. Law 61–805 had promised southern Algerian Jews French citizenship with common civil status a year earlier, but the enactment of this legislation depended upon documenting who had been born a Jew in Algeria's south and who, thereby, was entitled to enter France as a full citizen. However, in keeping with the particular legal superstructure that governed Mosaic Personal Law in the Southern Territories for nearly eighty years, French authorities had no purview over the registration of Jewish births, marriages, or deaths in the Sahara. As a result, the state lacked the documentation to verify who was a southern Algerian Jew—and, hence, a would-be repatriate.

Thus this chapter returns us to the two episodes with which this book began: the fabrication of a historical Mzabi Jewish register by Jean Moriaz and Hayim Partouche, and the departure of nearly the entirety of the extant Jewish community of Ghardaïa in the summer of 1962. This exodus, as we shall see, has been described differently by various parties, including our recurring narrators, Briggs and Guède; French officials; Israeli representatives; Jewish philanthropic agencies; and southern Algerian Jews themselves. The resulting competing narratives are not easily reconciled. These are not puzzle pieces that, when properly aligned, create a composite portrait. On the contrary, when viewed side by side, they serve as a reminder that southern Algeria's "indigenous Jews" existed at the intersection of various global perspectives. This was true when Algeria's southern Jewish population became indigenous in the eyes of colonial law, and it would also be true when, in the era of decolonization, they were reinvented as French citizens and *pieds-noirs*.

The Petro-Politics of Southern Jewish Naturalization

The Algerian war of independence has been examined through many lenses: the lens of violence and terror, quotidian resistance, international diplomacy, and gender, to name but a few among many. When one turns to the south of Algeria, so-called Wilaya [District] 6 of the FLN's six military zones in Algeria, the war is inseparable from a different historical theme—the attempt, on the part of the French government and the few powerful corporations with which it allied, to identify and capitalize upon sources of crude oil and natural gas in the Sahara.[11] These efforts preceded the outbreak of the Algerian war in 1954, but the stakes were dramatically raised in 1956, when as yet untapped sources of oil and natural gas were discovered in Algeria. In the years that followed, certain champions of the Fifth Republic came to perceive the Sahara as a vital and unmatched economic asset.

The Fourth Republic had lent official sponsorship and considerable state finances to petroleum geologists entrusted with the task of unearthing oil, gas, or condensate in the Sahara since the 1930s. Indeed, well before oil was discovered in the region, when the industry was devoted to exploration rather than extraction, French public investment in Algeria's oil industry dwarfed that invested by other states in comparable endeavors elsewhere; at 2 billion francs, it exceeded the amount the state invested contemporaneously in the oil industries of France (1.74 billion francs) or French-controlled sub-Saharan Africa (936 million francs).[12] Combined, public and private investment in Algeria's petroleum industry were estimated at 69 billion francs for 1957, 63 billion for 1958, 122 billion for 1959, and 130 billion for 1960.[13] The tremendous scale of these investments ensured that by 1962, one million square kilometers of the country had been prospected for oil.[14]

Public and private investment in the Saharan oil industry soared after 1956, when scientists identified large quantities of gas in the Berga anticline (south of In Salah) and oil in the sandstones of Edjelé (on the Libyan border) as well as in Hassi Messaoud, a town 175 miles southeast of Ghardaïa.[15] Initial reports of the riches at Hassi Messaoud were glowing. Conservative estimates placed the would-be yield at one billion barrels, while optimistic governmental accounts spoke of figures twice that size: an early source generated by the General Government of Algeria spoke of the field as "mammoth."[16] By 1959 the young French Republic was nearing completion of a 514-mile long, 24-inch pipeline that would ferry oil from Hassi Messaoud over the Atlas mountains to the Mediter-

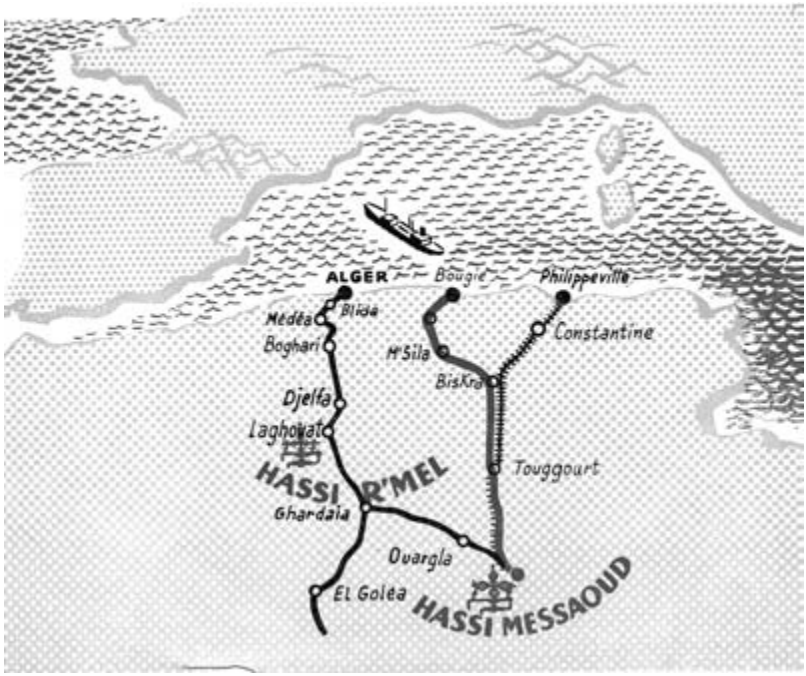


Fig. 17 Map of existing and planned oil pipelines from the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast, c. 1958. After oil was discovered in southern Algeria in 1956, France invested heavily in the petroleum industry and infrastructure of the Sahara, raising the strategic value of the region. This map was published in promotional literature of the Société nationale de recherche et d'exploitation de pétrole en Algérie [S. N. REPAL, the National Company for the Exploration and Utilization of Oil in Algeria], to which the French government granted a substantial share of oil concessions in southern Algeria. Yves Jean Antoine Noel Godard Papers, Box 9, "Reports on the Operations of the Compagnie de Recherches et d'Exploration de Petrole au Sahara, prepared for the inspection trip of General de Gaulle, December 5, 1958," Hoover Institution Archive.

ranean coast, with associated loading docks in the harbor of Bougie [Béjaïa]; initially, this pipeline had the capacity to convey four million tons of oil each year.[17] By 1964, the deposit at Hassi Messaoud was said to be capable of producing 7.5 million tons of crude oil annually—far more than industrial insiders initially dreamed (see figure 17).[18]

Gabrielle Hecht has argued that industrial policies came to be one of the top priorities of the Fifth Republic, and especially of its leader, Charles de Gaulle, who gave immense symbolic weight to France's nuclear and technological achievements.[19] Under the oversight of Jacques Soustelle (one of de Gaulle's most trusted lieutenants during the Second World War), the Algerian Sahara came to appear not only a source of untold

economic possibility but itself, to borrow loosely from Hecht, a "transcendental spectacle" on a par with the atomic bomb France exploded over the region in February 1960.[20] De Gaulle toured the facilities of Hassi Messaoud in 1957, and, the following year, declared in a speech in Constantine that the delivery and distribution of oil and gas and the creation of metalurgical and chemical complexes in the Sahara were components of a multimillion franc, five-year plan to remake Algeria economically and socially.[21] René Cassin, then vice president of the Council of State and president of the Alliance israélite universelle, made his own trip to the Sahara in 1958, where he, too, dedicated the bulk of his time to touring the oil fields of Hassi Messaoud and Edjelé. While Cassin spent the night in Ghardaïa and possessed contact information for Makhlouf Partouche, head of Ghardaïa's Jewish community, Cassin's itinerary suggests the two did not meet.[22] Even for a prominent representative of the AIU, it would seem, the needs of Algeria's southern Jews were overshadowed by the promise of oil wells looming nearby.

With its airport, military base, and administrative headquarters, Ghardaïa (as well as neighboring Ouargla, Guerrera, and Touggourt) became a crucial hub of supply for French and foreign civilians associated with the petroleum industry. Many workers for the Hassi Messaoud oil field were lodged in these towns, and purveyors of food, transport, and lodging arose to meet their needs. A new hospital was built in Ghardaïa, along with a building that housed a cinema that could seat four hundred, sports facilities, and a hall for social events; the new highways traversed by Sebban ben Daoud were now laid.[23] Public works such as this were driven by self-interest, with French macromanagement of the Saharan landscape designed to foster industrial export capitalism directed toward France.[24]

Intense economic development in the Mzab was eased by the fact that the Ibadite leadership harbored relatively strong support for the French throughout the war. "The Mozabites are certainly, of all the communities of Algeria and of the Sahara, the only one to not furnish a *single* combatant to the ALNA [ALN]," read a 1960 report of the Joint Sahara Command [Commandant interarmées au Sahara].[25] The report went on to clarify that Mozabites were not idle spectators of the war. They were in active contact with the FLN, their region was the site of politically motivated killings and sabotage, and they "paid" for their tranquility by supplying the FLN and by allowing Ghardaïa to serve as a clandestine base, rebel refuge, and transshipment point. All told, the author of this report argued, the Mozabites would support the French so long as a "Paix Française" could be maintained in Algeria and the Sahara—and, even more important, so

long as France did not impose ill-conceived reforms that would violate their traditions.[26] Ibadite support for the French proved complex for the community; during the Algerian war, the Ibadite mercantile diaspora "lived with the specter of fear" of a politically motivated economic boycott of Mozabite businesses in Algeria's north.[27] To the present day, this wartime history conditions the way Algerians elsewhere perceive the Mzab and its Ibadite inhabitants.

While France poured money, technology, and expertise into the Algerian Sahara, colonial power in the region intensified, assuming new forms. This was true in the industrial realm, militarily, and conceptually as well. Charles Kleinknecht, who served as district commissioner in Ghardaïa from 1955 to 1962, has described the close of 1956 as a crucial moment of transformation for French officers stationed in the Mzab. Until that year, he wrote, French civil administrators had primarily dedicated themselves to maintaining good relations between the region's residents, to facilitating cooperation between reformists and traditionalists within the Ibadite community, to protecting the "Arab" [i.e., Arabophone Muslim] and Jewish minorities in the Mzab from the "hegemony" of the "Mozabites" [i.e., Ibadites] and attempting to thwart the arrival of "terrorism from the north which was beginning to manifest itself."[28] With the discovery of oil at Hassi Messaoud, Kleinknecht wrote, everything changed. The oil boom was accompanied by a massive surge in French military and police presence in the Sahara, including representatives of the General Intelligence Service [Renseignements généraux] and the Directorate for the Surveillance of the Territory [Direction de la surveillance du territoire, or DST]. These forces, stationed in Ghardaïa, Berriane, and Guerrera, may have assisted in the protection of France's newfound industrial sites in the Sahara, but they were also intended to thwart FLN activities, including the traffic of arms from Morocco and Libya across the Sahara to northern Algeria, and the targeting of oil pipelines for sabotage.[29]

The intensification of a French military, civil-service, and corporate presence in the Algerian Sahara was accompanied by a strategic remapping of the administrative structure of Algeria's south by the French state. When oil was discovered in Hassi Messaoud, the Southern Territories—an administrative entity that had existed since 1902—was still under military rather than civilian rule, which meant that France did not possess the legal right to grant concessions to agencies and corporations prepared to fund oil extraction in the region. In order to circumvent this fact, the Fourth Republic created the Common Organization of the Saharan Regions [Organisation commune des régions sahariennes, or OCRS] in January 1957. An administrative entity accountable to a new office holder,

the minster of Saharan affairs, the OCRS had an ostensibly broad mandate—to ensure economic expansion and development in those parts of the Sahara that belonged to "the French community" and to negotiate agreements with other Saharan countries, including Chad, Niger, Sudan, and Mauritania.[30] Despite this broad mandate, the OCRS came to fulfill a very particular function. Under the direction of this organization, "the Southern Territories" were integrated into Algeria's departmental structure. The two administrative units that emerged from this process, the Departments of the Oasis and Sahara were (like the departments of Algeria's north) subject to Algerian laws concerning mineral extraction—laws that granted France the right to award oil concessions therein.[31]

The mandate of the OCRS signals how precipitously the strategic and material value of the Sahara had grown in the eyes of the Fifth Republic and its corporate allies. As the Algerian war unfolded, a novel political philosophy was being shaped to justify French and corporate designs on the Sahara. This philosophy reverberated through the triumphalist literature of S. N. REPAL, the OCRS, and the ranks of the French colonial and metropolitan leadership, where it was emphatically promoted by, among others, de Gaulle and his representatives at the Évian negotiations, where the myth reached an apogee of sorts in the spring of 1961.[32] French delegate Louis Joxe, de Gaulle's chief negotiator at Évian, came to these negotiations armed with the argument that "the Algerian Sahara is a juridical and nationalist fiction devoid of any historical foundation." The region, he argued, had been mapped by French explorers, its boundaries delineated according to the needs of French military and colonial officials: it had always maintained a special status and its ties to the north were, in any case, tenuous. Argued Joxe, France ought to divide Algeria, awarding the north to Algerians, and leaving the Sahara to be developed by France, in tandem with bordering states, through the OCRS.[33] The Algerian delegates to the Évian negotiations (among them Saad Dahlab, himself a native of the Sahara) retorted that the Sahara was undeniably Algerian and that it was impossible to imagine the "amputation" of 80 percent of Algerian territory. With the former party unwilling to relinquish its would-be cash cow and the latter unmoved by Joxe's logic, the disagreement over the Sahara resulted in a temporary breakdown of negotiations between the parties in Évian, resulting in more months of bloodshed and war.[34] The Sahara would remain a barrier to final settlement until, on 5 September 1961, de Gaulle at last conceeded sovereignty over the region.

Shortly after the negotiations at Évian faltered, the French National Assembly approved Law 61–805, transforming "French citizens of Algerian

departments and the Departments of the Oasis and of the Sahara who have kept their Israélite civil status" into French citizens with common civil status—members of the first college.[35] In so doing, France granted the first group naturalization in North Africa since the passage of the Crémieux decree in 1870. The passage of Law 61–805 was hardly spontaneous. Southern Algerian Jews had themselves lobbied for such legislation for nearly a century, with the last group appeal lodged by members of Ghardaïa's Jewish community only months before Law 61–805 was approved.[36] Nor, as we have seen, was the cause of southern Algerian Jewry merely of local concern. Various international philanthropies had supported this effort since the 1940s, while members of the French government had been discussing the nuances of this legal possibility for nine years. Indeed, in April 1956, the French National Assembly had discussed a bill quite similar to that which would be approved five years hence.[37]

Why was Law 61–805 approved when it was? Todd Shepard has argued convincingly that symbolism was a potent factor in France's recalibration of the legal status of Algeria's southern Jewish population. "Mozabite Jews were assimilated in 1961 because it clarified who was whom in Algeria," he has written: "It consolidated the emerging divide between Algerians who were 'European' (a category that now encompassed Jewish Algerians) and those who were not (and who were thus wholly Algerian)."[38] This divide would be further broadened a year later, in June 1962, when de Gaulle—in tacit violation of the terms of the Évian Accords—signed an ordinance specifying that Muslims from Algeria with common civil status were obliged to file an application for French citizenship that required approval by a French judge. By contrast, non-Muslim Algerians with common civil status were allowed to keep their French nationality. One could, in any case, take Shepard's point further: as the binary dividing European and non-European Algerians hardened, so too did the boundary that divided Algerian Jews from Algerian Muslims. When it came to Algeria's north, the legal distinction between Jews and Muslims had long been rigid, with the roots of the binary dating to the 1870 Crémieux decree. When it came to southern Algeria, by contrast, this legal boundary remained soft: this was apparent as late as 1959, when the marriage law in certain respects equated southern Algerian Jews with Algerian Muslims.

But a more complex material reality can also be understood to undergird the passage of Law 61–805. Even if a kind of symbolic victory was claimed—by French politicians and activists who had long lobbied for the cause of southern Algerian Jewry—in the wake of the law's passage, symbolism was not its only engine. Germane, too, were recent shifts in

France's relationship to the Sahara, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Sahara's relationship to Algeria, both of which arose in the course of the oil boom. So long as southern Algerian Jews lived under military rule and within the Southern Territories, their particular treatment by the state could be administratively and conceptually justified—or, perhaps ignored. With the dissolution of the bureaucratic entity known as the "Southern Territories," however, the creation, in December 1960, of the Departments of the Oasis and Sahara, and, finally, with the concomitant integration of these departments into Algeria's departmental structure, perpetuating the legally anomalous status of southern Algerian Jewry was no longer tenable for the state. During the conquest of the Sahara, French military and colonial officials had codified southern Algerian Jewry as a legal and cultural type, shaping policy toward this population accordingly. In the first years of the 1960s, it was the oil boom that nullified the distinction between Jews northern and southern, dictating a revision of legal and typological categories nearly a century old. As in the early days of colonial rule in the Mzab, in the dénouement of the colonial era, southern Algerian Jews became accidental subjects of French law.

Naturalization, Emigration, and Independence: Sovereignty and the Enigma of Departure

Regardless of the causes of Law 61–805, what is striking is how difficult the realization of this legislation proved. As per the terms of this law, any Jewish man or woman born in the Mzab who wished to claim French citizenship was obliged to assume a fixed patronymic and first name and to provide proof of his or her birth in the Mzab. And yet record-keeping in southern Algeria had always been an unpredictable affair, especially among the Jewish community. While in the north, the recording of Jewish births, deaths, marriages, and successions had, for nearly a century, been assigned to officers of the state, in the south they were the sole responsibility of the *chef de la nation juive*. This unusual circumstance was bemoaned by one of the most vocal defenders of the naturalization of southern Algerian Jewry, André Chouraqui, AIU representative and future historian of North African Jewry. During a visit to Ghardaïa Circle in the late 1940s, Chouraqui observed the town's rabbi in the course of the record-keeping that was concomitant with his post. "When a Jew is born in the Mzab," Chouraqui subsequently attested before the leadership of the AIU, "his father takes him to the secretary of the Rabbi, who has a crude notebook in which he writes that 'Feloni ben Feloni' was

born, but this inscription in a tattered notebook has, understand, no legal merit."[39]

In Chouraqui's rendering, Jewish children born in the Mzab were marked as illicit from the moment of their birth, inheriting as they did a "felonious" branding from their father in lieu of a state-sanctioned surname. What was criminal about this arrangement, in Chouraqui's view, was not only that the state had sanctioned the traditional Jewish practice of naming children with a simple patronymic derived from the father's name—something that France (along with other European states) had forbidden a century earlier, obliging Jews to hew to "modern" European naming practices. Worse still, Chouraqui hinted, was that the practice denied Mzabi Jews access to that crucial mechanism of organization, surveillance, and control of the modern state, the official ledger, and concomitantly, denied them access to rights and privileges the state extended to its citizens. In short, their registration in a tattered notebook at the hands of the *chef de la nation juive* set Mzabi Jewish infants on a life course destined to run apart from modernity itself. In Chouraqui's words, the Jews of the Mzab were subject to a political farce, situated in "no-man's land of sand and rock. . . . a juridical no man's land."[40]

Though his prose was purple, Chouraqui grasped something essential: in the eyes of the law, the manufacture of official records was crucial to making Mzabi Jewry like other Algerian Jews. Indeed, even before Law 61–805 was passed, as discussion of the legislation was under way, the French authorities demanded a new, complete civil register [*état civil*] of the Jews of southern Algeria: one that would document the births and deaths of all Jews from Ghardaïa Circle, whether they remained in the city, had moved elsewhere in Algeria, or had emigrated to Israel or France. In response, as we have already learned, Charles Kleinknecht proposed to his superiors that Jean Moriaz be named Ghardaïa's "commissaire de l'Etat-civil."[41] Finding his Muslim colleague viewed the project with "hostility," Jean Moriaz sought assistance from Hayim Partouche, a well-regarded member of the local Jewish community.[42] With Partouche's help, Moriaz conferred with the male heads of Ghardaïa's extant Jewish households and consulted rabbinical registries dating to 1898. According to Eliahou Sebban, Moriaz labored exhaustively, receiving the community patraiarchs in his home in the middle of the night to avoid "inciting in the Arab milieu."[43] From these sessions and his consultation of original sources, Moriaz produced a list of Jews born in the Mzab, including roughly one thousand Jews who remained in the Mzab, an additional one thousand who had emigrated to Israel, and one thousand more who lived elsewhere in Algeria or in France. The list, completed

a week after the signing of the Évian Accords signaled the formal end of the Algerian war of independence, recorded 2,437 names.[44] Based on Moriaz's and Partouche's findings, the French authorities in Laghouat began filling out retroactive birth certificates for Jews born in the Southern Territories.[45]

As Moriaz himself conceded, the list he constructed with Partouche's aid was faulty.[46] Particular difficulties were associated with the assignation of patronymics.[47] Though the rabbinical registers Moriaz and Partouche consulted were rich with Hebrew names, the pair found that many Jews wished to Gallicize their names on the new civil register, abandoning names that "sounded Arab" (really they "sounded" Arabo-Berber) such as Youssef, Aïcha, Brahim, and Guemra. This option held particular appeal for young women. Partouche's own daughter, Attia Ghezala, requested that she be registered as Attia Rosalie, daughter of Hubert [né Haim] and Noemie [née Aïcha].[48] Others had different strategic goals in mind: one young woman sought to take on the patronymic of a respected rabbinical family of the region (Sellam) and Moriaz found he had no authority to deny her. Still other Jews seeking to register with Partouche and Moriaz forgot the patronymic that had been assigned to them at birth: thus, ironically, a "genuine" member of the Sellam family came to be registered under the patronymic Siland.[49] Though Moriaz and Partouche would subsequently claim that their record-keeping had been thorough, it was soon evident there were countless discrepancies between their civil register and the rabbinical ledgers; Moriaz himself later regretted that he was compelled to leave Algeria before it was possible to fix the registry's various flaws. Imbued with the authority to re-create the civil register in Ghardaïa Circle, Moriaz and Partouche ended up creating a fantastical historical document: meant to preserve the past, their *matrice registre* instead became an artificial template.

The moment at which Moriaz and Partouche began their registry was a tense and uncertain time in the Mzab (as in Algeria more generally), the culmination of months of violence and frayed relations between Algerian Muslims and Jews. Due to the relatively modest population of European settlers in southern Algeria, the intense violence of the Secret Army Organization [Organisation armée secrète, or OAS, the terrorist group organized by a splinter of French military men that galvanized wide support among "Europeans" in Algeria] was not manifest in the Sahara; nor, as mentioned earlier, was Algeria's south targeted by the FLN as a primary zone of military offense. Nonetheless, according to a variety of sources, Jews in southern Algeria were experiencing a growing number of daily slights. A Jewish barber recalls how, in the months before Algerian inde-

pendence, Muslims refused to allow him to cut their hair, while others remember Muslims refusing to join a soccer team with Jewish members.[50] An economic boycott against the valley's Jews may also have taken effect in the last months of the war.[51] Some Jews who left found that they were unable to sell their property before departure. Shmuel Sellam, owner of a capacious textile shop in Ghardaïa, was rumored to have simply left the keys on the counter before walking away.[52] For those who remained, physical violence was in evidence. In Ghardaïa, Jewish women and youths were harassed in the street, and a grenade was thrown into a popular Jewish bar. The steady trickle of southern Algerian Jews to Israel, begun in the 1940s, continued.[53] Briggs and Guède recorded that the first real sign of distress among the Jews was prompted by the departure to France of the community's beloved last *chef*, Makhlouf Partouche, in January 1962: "The people of the *mellah* [Jewish district] saw his great house and his shop standing empty with their shutters closed, [and felt] the first stirrings of the headlong panic that was soon to come [begin] to spread through the community." In this uncertain climate, Ghardaïa's wealthier Jewish families began preparing for emigration, while (in Briggs and Guède's view) middle- and lower-class families found themselves "numbed" by a situation that seemed ever more desperate by the day.[54]

Partouche and Moriaz finished their register less than a month after the signing of the Évian Accords signaled a cease-fire and the formal end of the Algerian war of independence. According to the terms of Law 61–805, the *Journal officiel* printed a modest list of a selection of the (newly fixed) names and date and place of birth of heads of families of southern Algerian Jews who had relinquished their civil status in return for French citizenship with common civil status.[55] This list was introduced with the explanation that the complete Mzabi Jewish civil register was being deposited with the municipality of Ghardaïa, to whom any Jew of southern Algerian origin could turn in the event their names had been omitted. Now a last Jewish wedding was held in town, and, on 22 May 1962, a contingent of Jewish men and boys, accompanied by Jean Moriaz, created a *geniza* [literally, "storage"] on a hill above Ghardaïa's Jewish cemetery. Utilized since the medieval period, *genizot* were intended to house papers containing Hebrew letters and thus the language of God: in actual practice, these repositories were used to store myriad documents (commercial as well as religious) in various languages, including Judeo-Arabic written in Hebrew letters. *Genizot* were not infrequently created by North African Jewish communities prior to en masse departure.[56] In the case of Ghardaïa, a pit was dug in the sandstone hill above the Jewish cemetery, roughly four feet in depth and wide enough to allow a dozen participants

Fig. 18 Burial of a *geniza*, Ghardaïa, 22 May 1962. Utilized since the medieval period, a *geniza* [literally, "storage"] was intended to house papers containing the name of God. The *geniza* of Ghardaïa was buried on a hill above the Jewish cemetery in the dénouement of the Algerian war of independence (1954–1962), as many Jews in the community anticipated emigration. Figure 14A, from Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède, *No More For Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 55, no. 1 Reproduced courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

to stand inside. One photograph of the event, taken by Briggs, shows a crowd of men and boys in and around the hollow. They are holding books to be buried, reading them, peering at them in pairs—or perhaps merely performing for the benefit of the man behind the lens. The photograph seems to lack any sense of religious gravity: some of the boys present even have their heads uncovered (see figure 18).[57] A second photograph of the same moment, its photographer unknown, reveals that Jean Moriaz was on hand to help with the manuscripts' burial. Moriaz even aided the as-

sembled in their digging, with the burial of manuscripts, and by throwing money in the pit in accordance with local Jewish tradition.[58]

The legal pathway for southern Algerian Jews' "repatriation" to France had been established by Law 61–805 and Moriaz's and Partouche's notarial labors. But precisely how the remaining Jews of southern Algeria came to join the stream of *pieds-noirs*, *harkis*, and northern Algerian Jews leaving soon-to-be independent Algeria for France is shrouded in some mystery. It is an enigma that richly illustrates the contentious nature of historical memory—and the particular complexities that surround the history of Algerian Jews' relationship to decolonization and the Algerian war of independence. At least three versions of this story can be reconstructed, although each in incomplete fashion. One version of events emphasizes the role of the state of Israel and the Jewish Agency for Israel [HaSochnut HaYehudit L'Eretz Yisra el, or Sochnut] in "rescuing" the remaining population of Mzabi Jewry, while the other emphasizes the triumphalist role of France and French officials in this process. A third account, offered by one of the Jewish émigrés leaving the Mzab in the summer of 1962, situates a Mzabi Jew as the lynchpin of this drama.

Historian Michael M. Laskier has presented the most thorough history in the first vein.[59] In June 1962, explains Laskier, the Jewish Agency, fearing that the Mzabi Jewish population was poised to be the victim of anti-Jewish violence, urged one of its emissaries in Algiers, Ben-Tsiyon Cohen, to fly to Ghardaïa and warn the community of the looming danger.[60] Representatives of the Israeli government contacted French authorities in the south of Algeria to prepare them for Cohen's arrival, while, in Ghardaïa, Cohen met with Jacob Blocca [likely Jacob Balouka], "Ghardaia's community president." Blocca in turn called upon Jewish community leaders, who granted Cohen permission to facilitate the community's emigration. Cohen began to register families at the local Talmud Torah: 2,700 agreed to leave, and a transit camp in Marseille was prepared for their arrival. At this point, writes Laskier, "the Algerian rebels found out about the operation and were determined to prevent the departures." Aborting his plans, Cohen called upon the French governor-general for emissary military protection; within a few weeks (by Cohen's account), "French planes chartered by the Jewish Agency reached Ghardaia's military airport."[61]

While there is evidence that Mossad [Mossad le-modi in ve-takfidim meyuhadim, or Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations, the Israeli intelligence agency] agents were active in Algeria during the war of independence (as was the Mossad's institutional predecessor, the Mossad le-aliyah bet [Institute for Immigration]), neither the available French

archives, nor the published and unpublished accounts of French civil and military officials who were on the ground in Ghardaïa in the summer of 1962, nor the writing of Lloyd Cabot Briggs—also witness to the Mzabi Jews' departure—substantiates Ben-Tsiyon Cohen's versions of events.[62] Only one voice echoes Balouka's: that of Eliahou Sebban, who, in his own recent recounting of the departure of Ghardaïa's extant Jewish community in the summer of 1962, attributes the arrival of planes to Ghardaïa's Noumerate Airport to the Jewish Agency—though, as we shall see momentarily, the success of the departure he attributes otherwise.[63] Aside from Sebban's account, other sources do not bear witness to the involvement of the Jewish Agency or the Israeli state in this dramatic episode. Shedding further mystery on Cohen's account is his peculiar inflation of the number of Jews who were in Ghardaïa in the summer of 1962. Cohen speaks of twenty-seven hundred Jews of Ghardaïa registering with the Jewish Agency, and of three thousand others who had already left the region; all other sources suggest that by 1962, the Jewish community of Ghardaïa numbered no more than one thousand, and that its numbers did not exceed three thousand even at its demographic peak.[64]

The full story of the Jewish Agency's, the Israeli state's, or the Mossad's involvement in the emigration of Jews from the Mzab remains to be told, for many documents pertaining to the Mossad's covert and clandestine operations are inaccessible to researchers due to their perceived political sensitivity.[65] Perhaps, in these sources, one could read the dramatic final emigration of Ghardaïa's Jews to France (like the emigration of the vast majority of Algerian Jews to that country) as a failure for Israel. Indeed, despite Israel's extension of visas and financial subsidies to would-be Jewish émigrés from Algeria, only 10 percent of Algerian Jewry had migrated to Israel by 1969.[66] (Those Mzabi Jews who had earlier emigrated to Palestine and Israel were the exception to this rule.) Even as the Algerian war of independence was unfolding, this dynamic provoked great concern and consternation among Zionist representatives in Algeria, as well as for officials within Israel. In diplomatic correspondence with France, Israeli foreign minister Golda Meir expressed astonishment that the French authorities were not more sympathetic with Israeli ambitions vis-à-vis would-be Algerian Jewish émigrés.[67] And within certain circles in Israel, the emigration of the bulk of Algerian Jewry to France would come to be seen as a betrayal of the Zionist project, with a mock trial held in Tel Aviv in 1963 ruling Algerian Jewry guilty of this crime.[68]

An alternative—though no less stable—account of the departure of Jews from southern Algeria is offered by Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède. According to the authors, by the summer of 1962 the re-

maining one thousand Jews of Ghardaïa had been anticipating their departure for months, despite the lack of a clear mechanism for exit. Travel by road was deemed unsafe; travel by air from the Sahara was highly restricted, with departing planes destined only for Algiers's airport, which was crowded with Algerians of European origin awaiting their own departure and, according to Briggs and Guède, policed by the OAS. Out of nowhere, word arrived that the French government had chartered two planes for Ghardaïa's Jews, who were to leave the Mzab in a plane scheduled to arrive carrying Muslim pilgrims returning from hajj. According to Briggs and Guède, rumor now spread that "bands of Moslem bully-boys were going to assemble at the airfield and prevent the Jews from leaving," and the military authorities in the Mzab announced themselves prepared to "cover the exodus in force." In the end, only one of the two planes landed in Ghardaïa's Noumerate Airport—it was large enough to hold roughly one hundred travelers. That day, the airport was surrounded by Muslim boys and men prepared to welcome home the returning pilgrims, and the building itself guarded by French officers and their aides (including some fifty men drawn from the Foreign Legion, State Police, and native infantry regiment) wielding machine guns and supported by two tanks. As Briggs and Guède wrote: "The scene was set for a pitched battle, and so nothing happened after all."[69] The Jews on board were safely carried to France, and in subsequent days Moriaz "succeeded in badgering the French Government into chartering enough planes to airlift the remaining Jews [from Ghardaïa] to France."[70] As Laskier notes, by the time the emigration of Ghardaïa's Jews had been affected, Algeria was a sovereign nation.

As mentioned, the Jewish Agency is conspicuously absent from Briggs and Guède's account, as it is from the published and unpublished accounts of French military and civilian officers—including those by Jean Moriaz and Charles Kleinknecht, who were then based in the Mzab. This absence might signal that the agency was less influential in Mzabi Jewish emigration than Cohen and Laskier have claimed; alternatively, it might reflect French annoyance with Israeli attempts to "rescue" Mzabi Jewry, which could have been perceived as a competitive intrusion on French affairs. Without making direct reference to the situation in the Mzab, other sources speak to these diplomatic tensions: in December 1960, the American Jewish Committee noted: "The Jewish Agency has always had its *shlichim* [emissaries] in Algeria. In recent weeks, however, the French government, while not asking them directly to leave, have placed obstacles in their way and have otherwise implied that if they left it would not be looked on unfavorably."[71] In the French version of events, and, as we

Fig. 19 Jean Moriaz, assistant district commissioner of Ghardaïa, with the Jewish cemetery in the middle distance and Ghardaïa in the background, c. 1958. By multiple accounts, Moriaz was instrumental in facilitating the emigration of the extant Jewish community of Ghardaïa to France in the summer of 1962. From Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède, *No More For Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 55, no. 1 Reproduced courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

have seen, in that of Briggs and Guède, responsibility for the emigration of Mzabi Jewry is loosely associated with French authority and implicitly ascribed to one civil servant in particular: Moriaz, supervisor of the repatriation of Europeans from southern Algeria, future head of "Repatriation Services" in the sub-prefecture of Toulon, the official in charge of the (ex post facto) constitution of Ghardaïa's Jewish civil register, and the man to whom Briggs and Guède dedicated *No More for Ever* (see figure 19).

Briggs and Guède were not alone in lionizing Moriaz for his influential role in orchestrating the emigration of Mzabi Jewry in the sum-

mer of 1962. Like *No More for Ever*, Eliahou Sebban's 2001 memoiristic study of Ghardaïan Jewry, *Va-yikah Amram*, begins with a dedication to Moriaz, whom Sebban calls "a great friend of the community," and concludes with a dramatic rendering of the events in Noumerate Airport of June 1962. In the lead-up to this moment, writes Sebban, the Jews of Ghardaïa had no obvious means of exit: all the planes and boats leaving Algeria were overrun by those who wished to flee Algeria before that country's sovereignty was realized. Learning of the community's plight, the Jewish Agency issued planes to Ghardaïa, and the Jews prepared to board. However, as their embarkation began, the assembled "Christian and Arab" witnesses attempted to "force their way on to the plane."[72] "It was then, in a single instant," recalls Sebban, that "THE HOLY ONE SENT US HIS AID [capitalization in original]." Moriaz stepped forward, announcing to the assembled that "these airplanes were not sent by the French state, but by the Jews, for their people." With these words, the disquieted onlookers dispersed, and the assembled Jews boarded the airplanes. Sebban concludes,

> This was the miraculous demonstration of immediate help that THE HOLY NAME—MAY HE BE FOREVER BLESSED—brought to his people. The name of this Righteous Among the Nations, which remains deeply etched in the hearts of each of these Jews and is the object of their praise, is Jean Moriaz. Blessed be his name![73]

So heightened is Sebban's regard for Moriaz and what he accomplished in Ghardaïa in the summer of 1962 that he applies to the officer a Talmudically inspired title ("Righteous Among the Nations," [*Haside umot ha-olam*]); the same honorific that the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority [Yad va-shem] designates for those who risked their lives rescuing Jews in the course of the Holocaust. Sebban is not the first to draw a parallel between those Jews who left and/or were forced out of homes in the Middle East during periods of heightened nationalism and anti-Semitism in the mid- to late twentieth century. But one struggles to conjure another instance in which a representative of a fading colonial power is configured as the Jews' savior—glorified, indeed, as a near deity in his own right.[74]

Did Moriaz and his colleagues indeed arrange for the spectacular, final emigration of Mzabi Jewry to France, or was the Jewish Agency and the state of Israel behind this process, as they were involved in the orchestration of Jewish emigration from other sites in the Middle East?[75] With certain sources conspicuously silent on the mechanism of Jewish flight from the Mzab and others carefully guarded, a definitive answer is

unavailable. The enigma that surrounds this episode, however, speaks volumes about the political nature of historical memory, and, more specifically, about the politically contested relationship between Jews, decolonization, and the Algerian past. As the Algerian war of independence drew to an end, both France and Israel believed themselves to have reason to "claim" Mzabi Jewry as their own, and each wished to benefit from the symbolic capital that was to be accrued by the "repatriation" (in French nomenclature) or "exodus and *aliyah*" (in Israeli nomenclature) of this population. That both Israel and France would subsequently be criticized for the calculated ill treatment of immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East provides an ironic twist to this story, but does not undermine its salience.[76]

The competing accounts of the events of June 1962 that I have thus far described share one significant quality: none (including, strikingly, Sebban's) ascribes any credit to Mzabi Jews for orchestrating their own emigration. All highlight, instead, the omnipotent force of the state and the essentially diplomatic conditions of 1962. And yet there is evidence that individual Mzabi Jews assumed a crucial role in this process—and, indeed, that the events of 1962 unfolded on a human rather than a macropolitical scale. We have already encountered Hayim Partouche, who offered Jean Moriaz essential aid in building a Jewish civil register for the Mzab. Also instrumental, it seems, was a man by the name of Eliyahu Balouka (seemingly no relation to the Jacob Blocca/Balouka of Ben-Tsiyon's account).[77] During the summer of 1962, Eliyahu Balouka served the French administration in some unspecified capacity, and worked as Air France's representative in the Mzab. According to an undated interview with Balouka, it was he who arranged for the flights that would ferry the extant community of Jews from Ghardaïa, not only in June 1962 but over the course of the preceding two months. What's more, Eliyahu Balouka points to the crucial role of another Jewish resident of the valley, Pérés Balouka, who, Balouka reports, helped to charter planes, oversaw the creation of lists of would-be travelers, and, finally, who arranged to finance the passage of Jews of lesser means. Balouka recalls that available communal funds had been depleted by this time; Pérés Balouka singlehandedly raised or provided the money required to support the emigration of every Jew who wished to leave the Mzab.[78]

The remaining Mzabi Jews were not the only people to leave southern Algeria as independence neared. Briggs and Guède left, as did the French military and civilian officials stationed in Ghardaïa Circle. Jean Moriaz departed on 18 June, leaving copies of his civil register behind with Ghardaïa's municipality and the offices of the minister of the Sahara:

with him, he carried a rough draft ("un registre brouillon," in his words) of the results.[79] One might assume that Moriaz's tangles with Ghardaïa's Jewish civil registry would end here, but this was not to be the case. The many flaws in the document he created with Partouche's help in 1962; the chaos associated with migration, war, and regime change; and the inevitable bureaucratic complexities associated with the Mzabi Jews' arrival in France all ensured that the confusion associated with the legal status of this population would not end with emigration. This confusion would haunt the émigré Jews and French officials for years to come.

Conclusion: Colonial Shadows

In November 1964, Miriem Sellam approached Paris's court of appeals seeking to overturn the decision of a lower court that denied her demands for child support, alimony, and reimbursement of a 5,000-franc dowry from her husband, Jacob Sellam. Sellam explained that she and her husband had married not once but twice, and that the pair had never divorced. The first marriage, she recounted, took place in 1938 in Aflou, Algeria, according to Jewish religious custom, "just as was done by many Jews in southern Algeria." According to legal standards then in place, this marriage did not generate a *ketubah* [Jewish marriage contract], nor (as dictated by Mosaic civil status laws) was it registered with the secular authorities. It was, however, validated by the 1954 testimony of Rabbi Abraham Elbaz (then Ghardaïa's chief rabbi), and the rabbi's testimony had, in turn, received the approval of the Jewish Cultural Association of Aflou. Miriem Sellam testified further that she and her husband were married a second time, before a rabbi in Paris in 1957. This marriage, too, had no civil component, but it did generate a *ketubah*.

Jacob Sellam acknowledged that he and Miriem had married in Aflou in 1938. However, he claimed that the pair had since become estranged, and that Miriem's second child (a girl, Nedjma) was illegitimate. A year before Miriem approached the court of appeals, the superior court sided with Jacob Sellam, dismissing Miriem's demands for alimony,

child support, and the repayment of her dowry. The court of appeals upheld this decision. It concluded that the Sellams' first marriage was legal, for it was carried out in deference to laws valid at the time and place in question—that is to say, the Mosaic civil status laws of Algeria's Southern Territories. As for the 1957 marriage, the court deemed it irregular, as France required a civil marriage to render any union legal and, furthermore, because the *ketubah* generated by this wedding was in "irregular form." In order to procure the financial support of her husband, Miriem Sellam would be required to demonstrate not only that her 1938 marriage was originally valid, but also that it had never been dissolved.[1]

Once the Sellams' case had been adjudicated, the terse notes of a court stenographer were shared with the offices charged with overseeing the repatriation of Jews from Algeria's south, where it was filed under the heading "Sur la validité d'un mariage célébré au Mzab, *More Judaico*" [On the validity of a marriage consecrated in the Mzab according to the Mosaic Rite]. As a careful (unidentified) bureaucrat noted in the margins, this terminology—and that applied by the court to the Sellams' case—was counterfactual. Though a Saharan community by certain historical, cultural, and topographic measures, Aflou had never been a part of the Southern Territories but was situated, instead, in the Department of Oran. As a result, the town's permanent Jewish residents (estimated at 420 in 1921) were French citizens, which in turn meant that the state required the marriages of its permanent Jewish residents to be conducted and registered by French civil authorities.[2]

Were the Sellams among the small number of Jews living in Aflou (estimated at 93 in 1962) who were born in the Mzab and who had carried their civil status with them in the course of migration?[3] Or were they permanent residents of Aflou (aka French citizens) who deemed it expedient or desirable to be married in the Mzab and/or according to Mosaic civil status laws in violation of state law? Lacking a synagogue or a rabbi of its own, Aflou was equidistant from Ghardaïa and Oran; for the Sellams, traveling southward to be married at the hands of Ghardaïa's chief rabbi might well have been easier (or, indeed, appeared more culturally appropriate) than seeking sanction from civil or religious authorities in the north. This could have been equally true in 1938, the year the Sellams were married, and in 1954, when Miriem Sellam went to the chief rabbi of Ghardaïa, Abraham Elbaz, to acquire the testimony that would attest to her marriage.

These issues did not concern Paris's court of appeals, which apparently took Miriem Sellam at her word when she announced that she had been

married according to Mosaic custom "just as was done by many Jews of southern Algeria." What the court did not register was that "southern Algeria" could be defined variously—either as a cultural zone, as per Sellam's usage, or as a bureaucratic zone, as per military policy and state law. As we have learned, over the course of roughly eighty years' colonial rule in the Algerian Sahara, "southern Algerian Jew" had proven an amorphous and thorny legal appellation. For French officials, as for the Jews whose legal identities and everyday actions hung in the balance, the geographic and contextual contours of this category were never easy to fix. As the Sellams' story reminds us, there were many instances in which everyday practice could run counter to official French norms, with Jews caught in the legal interstices.

Had the Paris court of appeals recognized the legal ambiguity in the Sellams' marital history, validating their status as Jewish residents of the Southern Territories—that is, as Mzabi Jews living in Aflou who had retained their Mosaic civil status—would not have been easy. The *Journal officiel* did include the name "Sellam" in its list of Jewish families who had relinquished their Mosaic civil status and changed their names in favor of French citizenship in 1962, but Jacob's name was nowhere listed as family patriarch. The notebooks of the chief rabbi of Ghardaïa, which might have contained affirmation of their marriage or (theoretical) divorce, continued to elude French bureaucrats. And the more complete Mzabi Jewish civil register constructed by Hayim Partouche and Jean Moriaz over the winter of 1961–1962 had been left behind in Algeria, affording French officials no authoritative alternative source. Were the Sellams the only Jews of southern Algerian origin who struggled to reconcile their erstwhile colonial Mosaic civil status with their postcolonial status as French citizens, the problems raised by the court of appeals' 1964 judgment (and the erroneously named file, "Sur la validité d'un mariage célébré au Mzab, *More Judaico*") could easily have been ignored by the authorities. But enough Jews of southern Algerian origin were forced (and in turn forced the state) to reckon with anomalous legal ambiguities born during the transition from colonialism to independence to require comprehensive consideration.

Among those Jews from southern Algeria who found they lacked the paperwork demanded of them in France was Rabbi Abraham Elbaz—the same rabbi to whom Miriem Sellam traveled in 1954 to request written validation of her marriage. In the course of seeking a rabbinical appointment in France, Rabbi Elbaz was asked for proof of his citizenship, and apparently either had none or provided proof that did not satisfy his would-be employers. Sympathizing with the rabbi's plight, the president

of the Jewish Consistory in Bas-Rhin sought the assistance of Minister of Algerian Affairs Louis Dauge. The minister replied that as per the terms of Law 61–805, Rabbi Elbaz was eligible for the appointment he sought. Apparently unaware that Elbaz could document his legal status with reference to the *Journal officiel*'s list of naturalized southern Algerian Jews on which his name appeared, Dauge mistakenly advised Elbaz that the most expedient path to a demonstration of his French citizenship was petitioning for a certificate of Algerian denaturalization.[4] Dauge's advice, though not technically wrong, was needlessly complex. So unusual was the mechanism employed in the naturalization of southern Algerian Jews, it seems, that even the minister of Algerian affairs lacked a sense of effective protocol.

Other, related concerns came before the office of Minister Dauge and his colleagues in the Ministries of Repatriation and Foreign Affairs. For years, these and other offices would field letters from southern (and some northern) Algerian Jews who had earlier emigrated to Israel and wondered whether they might claim French citizenship despite their previous acquisition of Israeli citizenship. By 1967, a circular was distributed urging French officials to grant such requests.[5] But a general law could not accommodate the complexity of all familial lineages. Consider the case of the Benhayoun [ben Ayoun] family, whose members had moved to Israel from the Moroccan-Algerian border town of Colomb-Béchar. The family included a father, David Benhayoun, a Moroccan national; a mother from Algeria's Southern Territories who lacked any form of civil documentation (her birth and marriage having followed the strictures of Mosaic civil status laws) but who was nonetheless deemed French by Law 61–805; six children born in Colomb-Béchar who were registered as illegitimate by French authorities (perhaps because their parents performed only a religious and not a civil marriage, or perhaps because their father was a foreign national); and a seventh child born in Israel. With her husband recently deceased, Mrs. Benhayoun now wished to be informed how succession might be determined. Could she or her children inherit her husband's estate under the terms of French law? Who had the authority to define the children's national identities and what paperwork would be required to facilitate such processes?[6] Mr. and Mrs. Partouche-Elbaz, natives of Ghardaïa who had immigrated to France from Israel (where they had lived for three years) could not claim such a gnarled family tree, but their request—though seemingly simple—also posed a bureaucratic challenge. Appealing to French officials from Israel, the Partouch-Elbazs wondered if their 1954 marriage, conducted in Ghardaïa according to Mosaic rite (with no civil component), would be recognized

by the state, and if it would earn them a family passbook (the so-called *livret de famille*) in France. Were the pair obliged to remarry before civil authorities? Could documentation from the French consulate in Tel Aviv demonstrating that the state of Israel had accepted their marriage and children as legitimate and legal be used to fill the void of documentation in France?[7]

Abraham Partouche, too, struggled to acquire requisite paperwork validating that he had become a French citizen with common civil status. Over the spring of 1965, he penned a persistent series of appeals to a variety of ministries and offices inquiring whether there was a means for him to retroactively fix his and his wife's name in accordance with Law 61–805.[8] Partouche's appeal, which circulated through a large number of ministries and offices, shed light on an unresolved bureaucratic quandary. No one seemed certain as to who had the authority to weigh legal quandaries pertaining to Jews from Algeria's Southern Territories—nor what to do about the absence of legal documentation endemic to these cases. Ought these matters be evaluated by the Ministry of Repatriation, Foreign Affairs, Algerian Affairs, or Justice, or by local Jewish consistories? There were, it seemed, no clear marching orders.

It was not just that a bureaucratic framework for "managing" the Jews of southern Algerian origin was not in place in France. This population fell between crucial symbolic categories that were being shaped even as the process of decolonization unfolded. As others have noted before me, French nomenclature came to carefully differentiate Jewish and Muslim immigrants from Algeria (and North Africa more generally) as *rapatriés* and, eventually, *pieds-noirs*, in the Jewish instance, and as refugees, foreigners, or immigrants, in the Muslim instance—notwithstanding the fact that most were also French citizens.[9] One mark of this difference is the variable treatment of Algerian Jewish and Muslim veterans who had served the French armed forces. In the wake of Algerian independence, Jews of Algerian background who had represented France, including those of Mzabi origin, were granted the same benefits as other French citizens: Muslims who had done the same were allocated between three and 30 percent of the pensions of their fellow veterans.[10]

In keeping with the broad binary that came to delineate Algerian Jewish and Muslim *rapatriés*/refugees, the distinction between southern Algerian Jews and northern Algerian Jews (and, for that matter, the differences between Jews from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria) would disappear in the French and Franco-Jewish imagination over time, even if Jews of southern Algerian origin continued to maintain distinct practices, historical memories, or a sense of community.[11] And yet in the immediate

aftermath of the migrations of 1961–1962, the legal concerns French officials confronted relative to southern Algerian Jews' arrival in the metropole tended to be far more evocative of those raised by Muslim Algerians who had recently immigrated to France than those raised by the demographic majority of Algerian Jews who had done the same. In this important sense, the administrative uncertainties that accompanied the arrival of Jews of southern Algerian origin in France, and the resulting bureaucratic headache this provoked for French officials, must be understood as a cross section of the conceptual, legal, and economic challenges endemic to post-colonial France as the republic confronted the arrival of vast numbers of Muslim immigrants from former colonies and protectorates.[12]

Many of the bureaucratic headaches to which I refer were triggered by the struggle to identify a legal means of reconciling immigrants' erstwhile adherence to Qurʾanic and Mosaic civil status laws with regnant, republican notions of *laïcité*, the French version of secularism. When it came to the succession case of one Jewish family of Mzabi origin, the Ministry of Justice sought legal precedent in a case involving a Muslim family from French Somaliland. In both instances, the ministry noted, the civil status laws concerned (be they Qurʾanic or Mosaic) ran counter to French common law, which meant that a legal determination would hinge on the timing and geographic context of the deaths, property, and inheritors in question.[13] The question of how, legally speaking, to accommodate polygamous families who had wed in Algeria according to Qurʾanic or Mosaic civil status laws proved another persistent thorn in the side of French bureaucrats. The associated vexations were many. Could all members of a family with multiple wives be included in a single family passbook (the *livret de famille*) that would ensure their access to legal documentation and public services? Would all resulting children be considered legitimate? How, in such instances, would the government resolve disputes over succession?[14] Confounding the authorities further was the fact that when it came to French citizens from Algeria, there appeared to be no practical way for the state to modulate policy on the basis of whether the individuals in question were originally subjected to so-called Malikite, Berber, Ibadite, or Mosaic civil status laws.[15] Colonial law had laid the foundation for the postcolonial categorizing of Muslims as an undifferentiated group, as well as for the temporary conflation (sustained from the colonial era) of southern Algerian Jews and Muslims.

One might expect the relevance of the legal difference between southern and northern Algerian Jews to have disappeared once the "Southern Territories" and the "Mosaic civil status" were officially dissolved as they were in 1957 and (for all intents and purposes) 1961, respectively.

However, when it came to the Jews from southern Algeria who had resettled in France, the legal legacy of colonialism cast a persistent shadow in the era of decolonization. To be sure, the manifestations of this persistence were far less violent, exclusionary, racist, or debilitating for Jews of southern Algerian origin than for the *harkis* and their descendants who migrated to France (let alone for the *harkis* whose entry to France was barred).[16] But for Jews once governed by Mosaic civil status laws in Algeria, "repatriation" to France nonetheless raised persistent challenges that unmasked "the long-term contradictions that had been at the heart of the French republican project" in Algeria.[17] Algeria was no longer French; a Jewish community was no longer situated in the Algerian Sahara; the political boundary between Algeria's north and south had been twice erased (once by French colonial authorities, once through the creation of a sovereign Algeria); and southern Algerian Jews had become French citizens. Nonetheless, decolonization seemed to open up many of the same legal questions that had first put southern Algerian Jews and French colonial and military officials into tense dialogue, even as the terms of French rule in the Mzab were being ironed out in 1882: How was one to distinguish between a northern and a southern Algerian Jew? In what respects were Jews in Algeria's south different from Jews in Algeria's northern departments? To what extent were they like their (erstwhile) Muslim neighbors? Were they immigrants? Were they foreigners? Were they citizens? Were they French? The 1960s even saw the reemergence of certain highly specific questions that had vexed French officials in the 1880s, such as: should Jews from the Moroccan-Algerian border town of Colomb-Béchar be granted their petition to be placed within the category "southern Algerian Jews" (now redefined as French citizens with common civil status by Law 61–805), even though some were Moroccan in origin and/or "became" Algerians only due to the movement of boundaries around them?[18]

These questions were diffuse in part because the southern Algerian Jewish diaspora had itself become diffuse over time. Roughly a third of the community had moved to Israel, or to France by way of northern Algeria or Israel, or had already lived in France for some time before the remnants of the community arrived in 1962. Largely, it seems, due to the involvement of Charles Kleinknecht, himself a native of Strasbourg, the last group of Jews to leave the Mzab were among 6,669 *rapatriés* settled in Bas-Rhin by the Ministry of Repatriation.[19] Of these, most were established in Strasbourg, though other Jews of southern Algerian origin were placed in, had earlier found, or would subsequently find their way to other French urban centers, especially Paris. Not all southern Algerian

Jewish émigrés resided in or alongside preestablished Jewish communities: when Miriem Sellam approached Paris's court of appeals, she was living on rue de Laghouat, in the so-called Goutte d'or, a neighborhood of Paris known for its dense concentration of Muslims of Algerian origin. But regardless of where they settled, for those Jews who left southern Algeria for France, "repatriation" was often far from a seamless process, perhaps more evocative of an "exile" than a "return."[20] In 1963, several Mzabi Jewish families living in Marseille were said to be considering a return to their erstwhile home, while others struggled with a transition they experienced as radical or traumatic.[21]

Small numbers of southern Algerian Jews remained in the region after national sovereignty was achieved, including one of two in the Mzab.[22] The numbers of Jews who remained in the south of Algeria in the wake of independence are elusive, but no doubt they constituted but a tiny portion of the estimated six thousand Jews who were said to live in Algeria in 1964.[23] Of two we can trace a lugubrious fate. Makha Partouche, a sixty-year-old rabbi and moneylender, and his thirty-two-year-old nephew, Alexandre Sellam, a jeweler, were the last Jews living in Touggourt in 1963, sharing a home in an old neighborhood otherwise occupied by the police and army. Hoping to pay a visit to the pair one April day, a friend—a Jewish merchant from Ouargla by the name of Balouka—found Partouche and Sellam dead from strangulation in their home. The house was locked: the key had been slipped under the door. Learning of the event from an informant, the commander in chief of the French armed forces in Algeria (the last regiment of which left the country in 1968) reported to his superiors that there existed three competing explanations for the crime. According to the official version of events, the victims were killed in the course of a robbery; in another account, they had been summoned to the offices of the police or army under investigation of usury and were shot as they attempted escape; in a third rendition (reputedly the most popular theory circulating in Touggourt), representatives of the police or army had sought to extort a large sum from the deceased and, meeting with failure, the extortionists killed the men and staged a crime, thereby substantiating the first version of events. Without definitive proof of the crime's motive and mechanics, the French commander in Algeria noted that Algerian officials displayed "visible embarrassment" in connection with the case.

Military officials in Paris would prove less coy. Papers associated with the Partouche-Sellam murder are today filed under the heading "Exactions commises par ALN ou FLN contre civils musulmans ou musulmans ayant servi dans les FAFA" [Atrocities by the ALN or FLN against Muslim

civilians or Muslims who served the French state].[24] To French officials, the killing of Sellam and Partouche appeared a retributive political crime on a par with the murder of upwards of one hundred thousand *harkis* who remained in Algeria in the wake of the war of independence. The difference, of course, was that France denied many *harkis* both "repatriation" to France and the label "refugee," while availing both to Algerian Jews.[25]

In France, as a variety of ministries and governmental offices sought to resolve the legal quandaries emanating from Law 61–805 and the subsequent repatriation of Jews from southern Algeria to France, Moriaz's missing civil register came to loom as a kind of bureaucratic panacea. Such was the conclusion of an interministerial meeting conducted "concerning the situation of the civil status of the Jews of the Mzab" convened by the Ministry of Justice in May 1965.[26] Both Jean Moriaz and Charles Kleinknecht were present, and each presented a kind of expert testimony on the Jewish communities of Algeria's Southern Territories. Hayim Partouche, who was living in France at the time, was apparently not invited to attend. Moriaz enumerated his attempts to reconstruct Ghardaïa's Jewish civil registry in 1961 and 1962, and both he and Kleinknecht leaned on the research of Briggs and Guède in formulating their presentations. How astonishing—and also how inevitable—that the last civil and military officials to have served in Algeria's south before that country's sovereignty was realized should participate at a French interministerial gathering designed to untangle the legal quagmire that surrounded Jews of southern Algerian origin. In practical as well as symbolic terms, the legacy of colonial and military rule was continuing to influence the legal experience of Algerian Jewry, even in the postcolonial era.

Moriaz was the first to acknowledge that the civil register he created with Partouche in 1961 and 1962 was incomplete. And yet the interministerial meeting of 1965 concluded, optimistically, that Moriaz's register promised to resolve myriad legal quandaries. Without a civil register, Mzabi Jews would be bound by the same legal obscurities that surrounded Muslim immigrants; with a civil register, this population's erstwhile adherence to Mosaic civil status laws could all but be imagined away.[27] For a third time, Moriaz was asked to ready a Mzabi Jewish register, this time relying on notes he had taken years earlier. With Moriaz's (remembered) copy of a (reconstructed) copy of an (imperfect) original Jewish register, it was hoped, persistent legal questions pertaining to Ghardaïa's Jewish émigrés could at last be resolved.

Reality was rather less conclusive. Consulting Moriaz's notes, the minister of justice determined that the documents "lack[ed] authenticity."[28]

It was Moriaz's "original" registry that was needed: the document deposited with the municipality of Ghardaïa just before French officials abandoned their posts in southern Algeria—a source that apparently had come to have even more authenticity than the notebooks of the rabbis of the Mzab. And yet, despite repeated demands by the French, the municipality of Ghardaïa refused to relinquish either Moriaz's records or microfilmed copies of them. By 1963 comparable records had been obtained from Ouargla and Touggourt, with Ghardaïa the significant holdout.[29] In the context of a newly independent Algeria, the retention of archival material by Ghardaïa's municipality could be read as a gesture of independence or as an expression of outrage that southern Algerian Jews had been awarded the legal status Algerian Muslims had so long been denied. It is also possible that the final, organized emigration of Jews from the Mzab had been perceived by the Ibadite leadership as theft or even betrayal, particularly since this community's historic support for the French was (in the context of Muslim Algeria writ large) so very uncommon.[30] According to this reading, the hoarding of paperwork could be read both as jealous historic preservation and a quiet means of vengeance.

As this suggests, French officials' desire to possess and micromanage a southern Algerian Jewish civil register concerned more than the Jewish past. It was constitutive of a larger struggle that can be understood as a last, essential strand of the Algerian war of independence and the process of decolonization more generally. Who would control the documents of Algeria's past? Even before Algerian sovereignty was assured, the French were preparing to seize and "repatriate" Algerian archives, asserting control—or trying to, anyhow—over the question of how Algerian history and the history of French colonialism could, in the future, be written, and by whom.[31] When it came to the southern Algerian Jewish past, French designs on documentation could also be read as an attempt to undo particular aspects of the colonial past that were coming to seem disquieting in the postcolonial era. The idea that a population of Algerian Jews might once have been *indigène*; that they had been compelled to live according to the strictures of Mosaic Personal Law, with France legislatively enabling Jewish polygamy, repudiation, and divorce; and that this population's future affiliation with France was at any moment less than inevitable existed uncomfortably, after all, alongside the hurried naturalization and "repatriation" of southern Algerian Jews. This form of forgetting paralleled another, crucial form of amnesia that was—in Todd Shepard's rendition—essential to the remaking of France in the wake of 1962: in particular, the idea that "modern colonialism was a republican project."[32]

When it came to the "undoing" of southern Algerian Jewish history, the stakes were nowhere as high as they were in other instances of the "fashioning of colonial archives." The French were not looking, in this instance, to whitewash a history of excessive violence, as, for example, the British have done and continue to do with reference to the history of colonial Kenya. [33] Not motivated by a desire to conceal a past tainted by violent excess, the search for an untainted southern Algerian Jewish civil register was nonetheless driven by the ambition of rewriting select chapters of a larger history of inequality, and by the attempt to do away with a typological and legal distinction that seemed impossible, if not shameful in the era of decolonization.[34] Moriaz's notes, the notebooks of the rabbis of Ghardaïa: because they could not be seized, these unlikely sources had become, to so many French officials, material annoyances and symbolic threats. The papers' whereabouts known but access to them denied, bureaucrats in France would continue, for years, to field queries by Jews of southern Algerian origin struggling to reconcile conflicted norms of colonial and postcolonial law. These demands could only be resolved (or not) in piecemeal fashion. Indeed, to this day, questions about individual southern Algerian Jewish family histories continue to be directed to the municipality of Ghardaïa which is—despite the good intentions of those involved—ill equipped to address them.[35]

Many have touted—or simply failed to question—the ostensible success of the French repatriation of Algeria's archives since 1962.[36] A large proportion of French and Anglophone scholars seem to evince a faith in the thoroughness of this endeavor, combined, no doubt, with a fear of Algeria that has been variously practical and paranoid. This has meant that many important studies on Algeria (and on Algerian Jewry) have been written exclusively through the French and Franco-Jewish archives. In researching this book, I wondered whether Moriaz's ghostly civil registry and the missing notebooks of the rabbis of Ghardaïa—along with other crucial sources on the southern Algerian Jewish past—might still exist in the municipality of Ghardaïa. It is with this scholarly question (which also became a scholarly quest), and a meditation on the extant traces of the Jewish past in southern Algeria, that we conclude.

Epilogue: Dark Matter

With the help of UNESCO money and the largesse generated (for some, anyway) by the rivers of oil and gas pipelines that link the giant oil and gas fields of Hassi Massaoud and Hassi R'mel to Algeria's north and sites of export in Morocco and Tunia, the Mzab has fostered a degree of historical preservation unusual within Algeria.[1] Tours of the ancient centers of the Mzab's five *ksours* require the company of a guide employed and trained by the Algerian Ministry of Culture's Office for the Protection and Promotion of the Mzab Valley [OPVM], which has also overseen the construction of two new suburbs on the outskirts of Ghardaïa, built in the spirit of the region's historic architecture.[2] OPVM tour guides openly acknowledge the historical diversity of the majority-Ibadite valley. They emphasize (indeed, rather too copiously) that egalitarianism, tolerance, and diversity were and remain leitmotifs of Ibadite society, allowing various peoples to live side by side, distinctly but amicably. That a Jewish community lived in Ghardaïa is openly acknowledged: the circumstances surrounding their departure are left somewhat more cloudy. The jewelry bourse continues to be called "the Jewish market" by some, for jewelry making and selling were trades overwhelming practiced by Jews in the region.

Within Ghardaïa, the synagogue is in shambles. During my first visit in 2009, I was told that the synagogue was inhabited by an orphaned, mentally imbalanced youth and a vast collection of feral cats. The building's wooden door was locked with a twisted piece of wire, which my guide unwound. Inside, the main sanctuary and stairs to the

women's gallery were piled with garbage, newspapers, and decomposing food. Beneath the detritus, one could see the remnants of a fanciful tile floor and the faded, once-brilliant hues of blue, yellow, and ochre that adorned the walls. The wall that held the community's distinctive Torah scrolls still bore, in duplicate, the Hebrew phrase "Magen David" [Shield of David, an excerpt from one of the blessings that follows the weekly reading of the haftorah portion]. Overhead, the building's distinctive pyramidal minaret (a structure that mimicked that of the town's central mosque) still stood, though it, like the rest of the building, was desperately in need of repair. Gone was the elevated wooden bema that once stood in the middle of the sanctuary; gone were wooden arks that once held Torah scrolls; gone were the glass oil lamps that had once hung from the ceiling; gone was ornamentation that might once have decorated the space. When I returned in 2012, the door's wire fastener had been replaced with two padlocks, and entry was barred. A peek through a hole in the door suggested the interior remained as it was. I have been told there is talk of a restoration project, but it appears as yet notional (see figures 20 and 21).[3]

Fig. 20 Interior of the synagogue in Ghardaïa, featuring remains of the *bema* [the raised, wooden platform from which the Torah would have been read], c. 2009. Though the Mzab Valley has fostered a degree of historical preservation unusual within Algeria, today the synagogue of Ghardaïa is in shambles. Author's collection.

Fig. 21 Remains of the pyramidal tower of the synagogue of Ghardaïa, c. 2009. Certain architectural features of the synagogue, including this minaret, mimic those of the Ibadite mosques of the Mzab. Author's collection.

On the other hand, the Jewish cemetery of Ghardaïa is in no better or worse condition than the local Ibadite burying ground. Located at the base of several hills, close to the town's central market, a low chain-link fence demarcates the site. Its main gate, though locked, would hardly bar access to anyone determined to enter. Its keeper, a Muslim man who lives adjacent to the site, is able to identify the graves of the community's last notables. Beyond that, his knowledge is thin. Loquacious, he expressed surprise—what I took to be a combined expression of good will,

intentional naïveté, and kind provocation—as to why the community's Jews have not returned to pay homage to the dead. Inside, the graves that have not collapsed (most roughly a foot in height, rectangular, and made of clay) are variously ornamented. Many have shards of pottery pressed into their face in imitation of local Ibadite practice—a few are covered with engraved marble slabs. Some have epitaphs in Hebrew, French, or a mixture of the two. The tombs of the last community leaders to pass away are closest to the entrance, slightly elevated by bricks. Strikingly, the cemetery has neither graffiti nor trash such as one can find in certain Jewish and Muslim cemeteries elsewhere in the region.

Muslims in the Mzab, of course, foster their own memories of the Jewish past. It is well beyond the scope of this project to attempt to reconstruct these in detail—as has Aomar Boum so beautifully relative to the context of southern Morocco—and, in any case, for me language obstacles inhibit such a venture.[4] My explorations of this topic were also intentionally cursory, as, for the moment, an overly public inquiry into Algeria's Jewish past remains ill advised. Although my requests for research access to the director of Algeria's National Archives made no secret of my topic, during my visits to the Mzab I was more circumspect, and I did encounter some pointed resistance when attempting to broker personal interviews. Politics plays the key role in this drama: Algeria and Israel have no diplomatic relations, and in Algeria, as elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East, there is a widespread tendency to conflate the Israeli present with the Jewish past. Across Algeria, there are also anxious rumors of Jews wishing to reclaim lost property.[5] These factors might begin to explain the existence of an Arabic-language pamphlet produced in tandem with a Tumzabt-language radio show on the history of Ghardaïa both of which include coverage of Ghardaïa's erstwhile Jewish community. These works, produced by Hadj Abderrahmane Houache, a Tumzabt-language advocate and amateur local historian from Ghardaïa, are laced with anti-Semitic caricature, some of which is drawn—without circumspection—from the same French colonial sources cited in this study.[6]

I returned to the Mzab in June 2012, fifty years virtually to the week since the day in which most of the remaining Jews of Ghardaïa left for France. Among my first stops was the Municiple Archives of Ghardaïa, a branch of the National Archives of Algeria. It was here, I suspected, that Moriaz's civil registry and the rabbinical registers of generations of Ghardaïa chief rabbis had been deposited in 1962. The archive's collection has been carefully maintained, if scarcely plumbed by scholars. It is surprisingly extensive. In its holdings, I encountered a number of folders

explicitly labeled as "Jewish" (for example, "Culte israélite") and countless others on general topics (for example, "1961, 1962, 1963") that contained sources directly or indirectly related to the Mzabi Jewish past. But I could locate neither Moriaz's civil register nor the rabbinical registers. To me, they felt like the archive's dark matter: they could not be seen, but evidence of their existence was everywhere. I found copious retroactively created southern Algerian Jewish birth certificates, most of which were dated 6 March 1962, and correspondence (between French civil and military officials stationed in the Mzab and their superiors in northern Algeria and France) that pertained to the need to generate a civil register for those Algerian Jews who continued to adhere to Mosaic civil status laws. Most astonishingly, I located what I deduced to be the product of Jean Moriaz and Hayim Partouche's efforts, in 1961 and 1962, to reconstruct a complete list of Jews born in the Mzab.[7] The results were shockingly meticulous, even elegant: hundreds of horizontally branching family trees, penned in neat calligraphy, bound together in a thick, undated book. When fully unfolded, some of these genealogical trees were four feet in length, encompassing five generations. This volume was not a rabbi's notebook, but it nonetheless contained the information craved, in the wake of 1962, by the French state and by generations of Mzabi Jewish émigrés in France, Israel, and beyond (see figure 22).

Brahim Krizou, head archivist of the Municipal Archives of Ghardaïa, despite initial caution, increasingly seemed facinated by my investigations. When I had finished with the genealogical volume, he poured over it with astonishment. Just weeks ago, he reported, he had received yet another set of inquiries from the descendants of a Ghardaïan Jewish family seeking documentary proof of their grandparents' birth, death, and registration in the civil registry. Neither he nor anyone else in the archive knew where to locate this information, nor why a Jew in France might seek it.

The genealogical book I discovered in the Mzab, in tandem with additional archival documents from the Municipal Archives of Ghardaïa and an astonishing array of rare stereographic photographs from the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne (a library and archive maintained by the White Fathers in Ghardaïa) have enriched my knowledge of southern Algerian Jewish history—and the current book—in countless ways. Yet I view it as apt that a single source continues to elude me. To explain this point, it is worth quickly rehearsing the central findings of this study.

In the preceding pages, I have argued that over the course of eighty years of colonial rule in the Algerian south, French law manufactured a

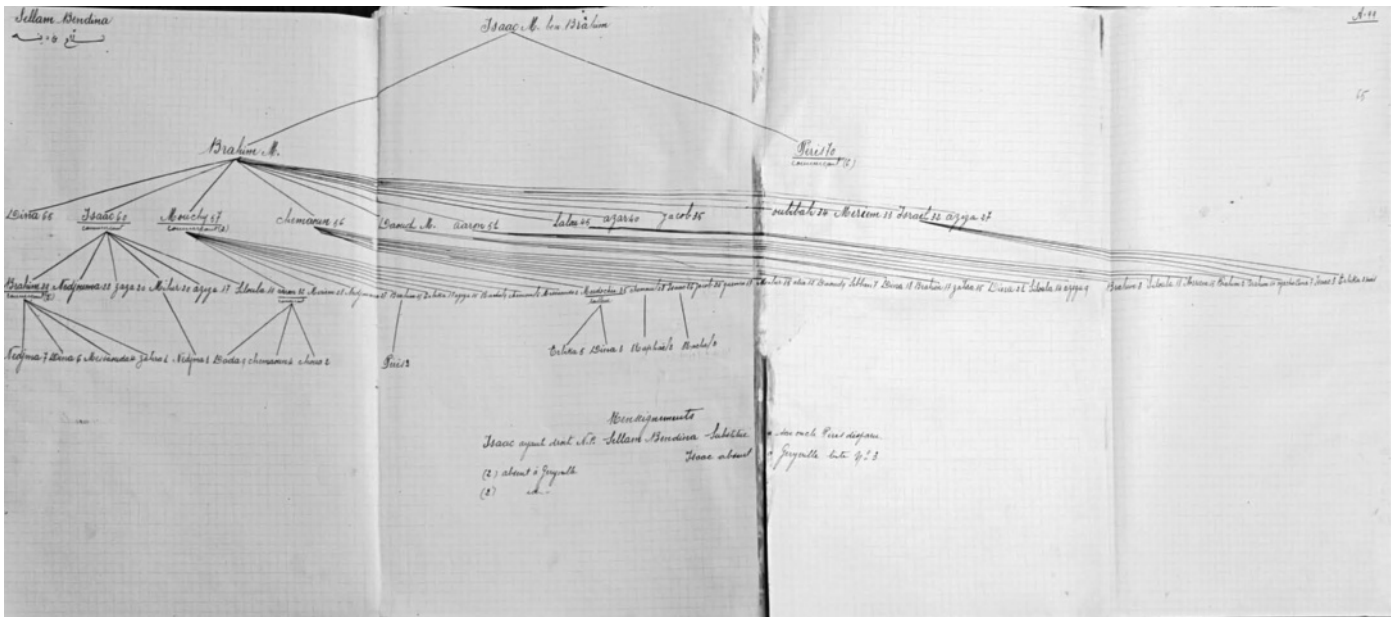


Fig. 22 Isaac M. ben Brahim's family tree, c. 1961. In North Africa, as elsewhere, Jews were known by their first name and the name of their father until state law required otherwise. In 1961, France directed southern Algerian Jews who wished to acquire French nationality to assume a patronymic and fix the spelling of their name. By constructing hand-drawn family trees such as this, the authorities attempted to document who had been born a Jew in the Mzab. This tree reads, at bottom, "Isaac is entitled to the N.P. [*nom patronymique*, or surname] Sellam Bendina in place of his deceased Uncle Pérés. Isaac is away in Géryville list No. 3." Carton 343, "Généalogie des Juifs du Mzab avant 1962," Archives nationales d'Algerie, Wilaya de Ghardaïa, Ghardaïa.

community of indigenous Jews in the Sahara. Actual Jews did, of course, live in the Algerian Sahara, and, as we have seen time and again, they were creative and proactive in dealing with those laws and policies that French military rule imposed upon them. But it was French colonial law that declared this community *indigènes* and, in accordance with this legal appellation, military policy regarded and treated Jews in the Algerian Sahara differently from the way it regarded and treated Jews in northern Algeria; after 1925, it treated them differently from the way it treated their southern Algerian Muslim neighbors. The choice to delineate southern Algerian Jews in this manner—initially catalyzed by pushback to the emancipation of northern Algerian Jewry and the military's strategic concerns associated with the 1882 conquest of the Mzab, and subsequently replicated due to administrative stasis as much as anything else—had a powerful impact on Jewish lives. It influenced how southern Algerian Jewish children would be educated and where their families would seek health care, legal arbitration, and political representation. It reverberated in southern Algerian Jews' marital and sexual practices, allowing for the continued practice of polygamy and unfettered divorce among this community into the 1960s. It circumscribed Jews' physical mobility and (until 1961) determined the paths of emigration they could follow. It meant that the Jews of the Algerian Sahara experienced major global events (such as the anti-Semitic and racist policies of the Vichy regime) in unique fashion, and sometimes at different moments from other Algerian or North African Jews.

Generations of anthropologists, Briggs and Guède among them, misinterpreted these dynamics—and, particularly, southern Algerian Jews' sexual and marital practices—as innate proclivities. In fact, colonial jurisprudence and military policy were at the root of much of what came to differentiate southern Algerian Jews in the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. Military rule in the Algerian Sahara, combined with the state's sanction of rabbinical authority and a constrainted culture of legal pluralism, ensured that Jews in this region would experience a colonialism that was unlike that which would be experienced by other North African Jews, by the Jews of northern Algeria, and (after 1925), by their Muslim neighbors. Southern Algerian Jewish histories thereby confirm what other case studies suggest: that French colonial rule was a complex bricolage, intricately variegated in relation to region and subject population.

In the wake of Algerian independence, French civil and military officials concluded that if they could find Moriaz's register, they would posess the information required to drive southern Algerian Jewry onto

the same legal track as their northern Algerian co-religionists, thereby righting elements of a colonial record that had come to seem unsavory in the nascent postcolonial era. In the absence of a civil register for the Southern Territories, the retroactive civil registry constructed by Jean Moriaz (even more than the records maintained by generations of chief rabbis in Ghardaïa, on which Moriaz's list was partly based) seemed the only document that could definitively clarify who was a Jew born in the Mzab and, per Law 61–805, who was entitled to French citizenship with common civil status after 1961. As I have shown, Partouche and Moriaz's register thus became far more than a documentary source: French officials also viewed it as a panacea—a tool for the selective undoing of (newly perceived) past wrongs. One could imagine that locating the rabbis' notebooks could, still today, allow for a measure of historical precision. Certainly such documents could reopen that vexatious question of who was, legally speaking, an indigenous southern Algerian Jew, exposing Partouche and Moriaz's (or previous military or colonial officials') findings to fastidious fact-checking. But this might well deflect us from a more central point. The beauty of *not* finding the rabbis' notebooks lies in the revelation that this categorization, indigenous Jew, was essentially legal rather than biological, genealogical, or cultural—a product of the present moment of its creation rather than the record of a past it purported to represent—and, from its inception, inherently colonial in constitution. For the purposes of this story, the most telling historical source may be an absent one.

Because Jews in southern Algeria always played a crucial role in the shaping, reshaping, testing, and challenging of colonial, legal, and military typologies, it is fitting that today, in the absence of the rabbis' notebooks and Partouche and Moriaz's civil register, the best genealogy of this community does not take the form of a state register. Instead, it may be found in an online genealogical website devoted to the history of the most populous Jewish families from the Mzab that is created and maintained by Marc Balouka.[8] At the present moment, the site represents 14,627 descendants of the Mzabi Jewish community, broadly defined. The resulting family trees span continents and reflect convoluted patterns of dispersion, intermarriage, and cultural mixing. This data suggests that southern Algerian Jewish history is, to this day, a live, personal, and global affair—outside state control, produced by its subjects rather than their would-be administrators or philanthropic saviors, a delicately southern Algerian Jewish history.

Acknowledgments

In preparing this book I have consulted a wide number of libraries, archives, and private collections, and my first debt is to those who oversee them. From various branches of the French National Archives to the municipal archive of Ghardaïa; from central and local missionary archives (in Rome and the Mzab, respectively) to the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem; from the collections of various global Jewish philanthropies based in Paris, London, Jerusalem, and New York to those of French and American universities; this book could not have been produced without the stewardship and kindness of many institutions, archivists, and librarians.

A complete list of the archives and libraries I have consulted may be found in the bibliography and I do not want to reproduce a litany of thanks here. Because certain of these collections have not been utilized as much as they might, and because a few individuals were particularly generous with their time, expertise, and holdings, a few more specific words of thanks are due. My great appreciation, then, is due to the directors of the National Archives of Algeria who authorized my use of these collections in 2009 and 2012, and to Brahim Krizou and the staff of the Wilaya Archive in Ghardaïa, who efficiently curate a vast treasure trove of materials. My time in this collection (with the generous aid of Todd Shepard) was particularly moving and rewarding. Additional thanks must be shared with Patrick de Bouissieu of the Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa, for his kindness in helping me to locate and scan rare stereoscopic photographs from that collection, and to

Father Krzysztof Stolarsky, director of this organization, for permitting me to reproduce a selection of those images here. The staff of the general archives of the Suore Missionarie di Nostra Signora d'Africa (White Sisters) and Missionarie d'Africa (White Fathers) in Rome were most hospitable during my visit to their collections. I have also benefited from the generosity of Patricia Kervick, Associate Archivist of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnography Archive at Harvard University; Rose Levyne and Jean-Claude Kuperminc of the archives of the Alliance israélite universelle, Paris; and the unstoppable David Hirsch, Jewish and Middle Eastern Studies Bibliographer at UCLA.

A related but distinct word of appreciation goes to those who shared private papers and miscellanea with me. Eleanor Briggs shared with me a box of photographs belonging to her father, Lloyd Cabot Briggs, taken during his days in southern Algeria, which she recovered from her barn in New Hampshire. Serge Lalou kindly shared a copy of the unpublished 1988 thesis on the Jews of Laghouat written by his mother, Claire Lalou. Freddy Raphael spoke to me of his extensive experience interviewing Jews of Mzabi origin in France in the 1960s, while Stephanie Comfort generously granted me the right to reproduce an image from her trove of historic postcards, jewishpostcardcollection.com. Finally, David Douglas Duncan granted me permission to reproduce a photograph of his taken when he was creating a photographic essay for *Life* magazine on the Tuareg of the Algerian Sahara.

It has been a thrill sharing portions of the travel and archival adventures that undergirded this book with Lia Brozgal, Benjamin Brower, Laryssa Chomiak, Robert Parks, Rachel Schley, Joshua Schreier, and Todd Shepard. Thanks to them, researching this book never felt lonely, and, indeed, was accompanied by a levity one scarcely associates with the historical process. Additional thanks to Robert Parks in his capacity as director of the Centre d'études maghrébines en Algérie [CEMA] and to Associate Director Karim Ouaras for helping to orchestrate my visits to Algeria in 2009 and 2012, and to CEMA for its professional sponsorship of these trips.

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While writing this book, I co-organized a workshop with Susan Slymovics, with the support of UCLA's Center for Near Eastern Studies, Center for Jewish Studies, and Maurice Amado Program in Sephardic Studies, on New Approaches to Algerian Jewish Studies and, with Susan, co-edited a special issue of *The Journal of North African Studies* on this theme. These projects enriched my thinking tremendously, and I thank Susan for her engagement, conversation, and lightning-quick pace as a collaborator, as well as for her perspicacious comments on this manuscript.

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I finished this book at a difficult time for my extended family due to the tragic loss of Hans Anthony Zimmerman (1984–2012). Had he been born with a healthy body, Hans would, I think, have enjoyed the idea of visiting the Algerian Sahara—or, for that matter, Malawi, where his sister Brigitte Zimmerman is at this writing. With his patient way, essential sweetness, and expansive heart, Hans is and will remain much missed. I dedicate this book to him. I want to extend my appreciation to Frederick Sr. and Joanell Zimmerman for always evincing interest in my goings-on, no matter the gravity of the situation in which they found themselves; to Christina Ristau and Carita Zimmerman and their families for their warmth; and to Brigitte Zimmerman for her indefatigable spirit.

I am blessed to come from a family quite addicted to books, and, more important, that fosters good conversation, hard questions, abiding loyalty, and passion in all things. My parents, Richard and Carole Stein, left my childhood home of Eugene, Oregon, to join my family in their own childhood home, Los Angeles, shortly before this book was finished. I relish the thought of sharing joyful, multigenerational chapters of life together, and, as ever, am inspired by their model. I owe a particular debt of thanks to my father for his careful editing of my manuscript just before it was due to press—I am grateful not only for his thorough comments, but for being the source of my own writerly fastidiousness. Along with my parents, Joan Abrevaya cheerfully stepped in to help at home when I journeyed to archives afar. Last but never least, my sister Rebecca Stein and brother-in-law Andrew Janiak (with whom I am delighted to share in the family business), and their children Isaac and Saul Janiak Stein, keep the bar of intellect, friendship, and overall joie de vivre high.

Frederick Zimmerman, always my best editor, greatest champion, most loved companion, and secret weapon, is absurdly adept at keeping the home ship steady when work forces me away. Our children, Ira and Julius, kindly tolerate my many digressions into lesser-known chapters

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Abbreviations of Archival and Library Collections

ADdBR	Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg
AIU BIB	Bibliothèque de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris
AIU	Archives de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris
AJC NY	American Jewish Committee, New York
ANdA, A	Archives nationales d'Algérie, Centre des Archives nationales, Algiers
ANdA, WdG	Archives nationales d'Algérie, Wilaya de Ghardaïa
ANOM	Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
ANP	Archives nationales, Paris
BDIC	Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine, Nanterre
BIB ANOM	Bibliothèque des Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
BNdF François Mitterrand	Bibliothèque nationale de France, François Mitterrand
BNdF Richelieu	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Richelieu
CAC	Archives nationales, Centre des Archives contemporaines, Fontainebleau

CADN	Le Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes
CCDS	Centre culturel et de documentation saharienne, Ghardaïa
CZA	Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem
GRI SC	The Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles
HIA	The Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University
JDC (Jerusalem)	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Jerusalem
JDC (New York)	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, New York
LC MD	Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MdA, PB	Archivio generale, Missionarie d'Africa (Pères Blancs), Rome
NAA	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute, Suitland, MD
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
PMA	Peabody Museum Archive, Harvard University
SHAT	Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes
SMNdA SB	Archivio generale, Suore Missionarie di Nostra Signora d'Africa (Sœurs Blanches), Rome
TL	Tozzer Library, Harvard University
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew
YL	YIVO Library and Archive, Center for Jewish History, New York

Notes

PROLOGUE

1. Initially, it was Charles Kleinknecht, district commissioner in Ghardaïa from 1955 to 1962, who thought to charge Moriaz with this task. Archives nationales d'Algérie, Wilaya de Ghardaïa [hereafter, ANdA, WdG], 80 "1960, 1961, 1962," Letter by Charles Kleinknecht to Administrateur chargé des fonctions de sous préfet de l'arrondissement Ghardaïa, 10 August 1961; and 361 "Juifs israélites," Unsigned letter [by Charles Kleinknecht] to M. le Préfet du Département des Oasis, 18 October 1961.
2. On the history of Muslim civil status laws in colonial Algeria: Louis-Augustin Barrière, *Le statut personnel des musulmans d'Algérie de 1834 à 1962*, Publications du Centre Georges Chevrier pour l'histoire du droit; 12 (Dijon: Centre Georges Chevrier pour l'histoire du droit, 1993); Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). On the fraught history and shifting authority of the Muslim court over roughly the same period: Allan Christelow, *Muslim Law Courts and the French Colonial State in Algeria* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985). For a wonderful excavation of the term *indigène*, which has linguistic roots in the Latin *indegena* [originally from the country], but which is first found in colonial application in reference to Native Americans, see: Benjamin Claude Brower, *A Desert Named Peace: The Violence of France's Empire in the Algerian Sahara, 1844–1902* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 19–20.
3. Primary sources pertaining to the delineation of the status of the Jewish *indigène* in Algeria's Southern Territories include:

Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes [hereafter, SHAT] 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," Gouverneur général de l'Algérie [hereafter, GGA] Tirman, Service des Affaires indigènes, "Instructions du gouvernement général de l'Algérie pour l'organisation du Cercle de Ghardaïa," 1 November 1882. On the legal status of the Mzab as decreed by the 1853 negotiations, see the various legal analyses in: Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence [hereafter, ANOM], 81F/1295.

4. Much literature pertains to the theme of legal pluralism, including (as well as those sources cited above): Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); John Comaroff, "Colonialism, Culture, and the Law: A Foreword," *Law and Social Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2001); Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Will Hanley, "Foreignness and Citizenship in Alexandria, 1880–1914" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007); Nasser Hussain, ed., *The Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule Of Law* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003); Elizabeth Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference: Criminal Procedure in British India," *Law and History Review* 23, no. 3 (2005); Sally Engle Merry, "Law and Colonialism," *Law and Society Review* 25, no. 4 (1991); Sally Engle Merry, "Legal Pluralism," *Law and Society Review* 22, no. 5 (1988); Laura Tabili, "Outsiders in the Land of Their Birth: Exogamy, Citizenship, and Identity in War and Peace," *Journal of British History* 44 (October 2005).
5. Pierre Boyer, "Les archives rapatriées," *Itinéraires* 264 (1982); Todd Shepard, "'Of Sovereignty': Disputed Archives and the Post-Decolonization French and Algerian Republics, 1962–2012," (forthcoming).

INTRODUCTION

1. Elizabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise: The North African Response to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1997); Tadeusz Lewicki, "Survivances chez les berbères médiévaux de cultes ancients et de croyances paiennes," *Folia Orientalia* 8 (1967): 5–37; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Le monde berbère vu par les écrivains arabes du Moyen Age," in *Actes du ler Congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère* (Algiers: SNED, 1973): 31–42; Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa." *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (1971): 51–130. On the perception of Jews among this community: Mabrouk Mansouri, "The Image of the Jews among Ibai Imazighen in North Africa before the Tenth Century," in *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, ed. Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011): 45–58.

2. The Ibadite community of the Mzab speaks a particular dialect of Berber known as Tumzabt. On Ibadism, including its medieval roots, see, in addition to those sources cited above: Cedric Barnes, "Ibadis," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encylopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri and Jere L. Bacharach (Oxford: Routledge, 2005); Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa"; Amr Khalifah Ennami, "Studies in Ibadism" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1971). On the many, ongoing connections that sutured the Ibadi diaspora at the turn of the twentieth century: Amal N. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (1880s–1930s)* (London: Routledge, 2010).
3. According to the Organization of World Heritage Cities, the following qualities earned Ghardaïa recognition by the organization:

> (I) "The settlement of the Mzab Valley has exerted a considerable influence on the architects and city planners of the 20th century, from Le Corbusier to Pouillon." (II) "The ksour with their summer 'citadels' bear witness, in a most exceptional manner, to the Ibadi culture at its height." (III) These same elements "serve to illustrate an example of a traditional human settlement which . . . is representative of a culture which has continued into the 20th century." (V)

"Organization of World Heritage Cities/Ghardaïa, Algeria," accessed 25 March 2013, http://www.ovpm.org/en/algeria/Ghardaïa. This website quotes the original proposal presented to UNESCO by the Office de protection et de promotion de la Vallée du Mzab [OPVM].

On Ghardaïa's distinctive architecture: Manuelle Roche, *Le Mzab: Architecture ibadite en Algérie* (Paris: Arthaud, 1970); André Ravéreau and Manuelle Roche, *Le M'zab, une leçon d'architecture* (Paris: Sinbad, 1981); Henriette Didillon, *Habiter le désert: Les maisons mozabites: recherches sur un type d'architecture traditionelle pré-saharienne* (Brussels: P. Mardaga, 1977).
4. The role of Mzabi merchants in facilitating commerce within the Sahara and between the Mzab and Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, and sub-Saharan Africa has been ably explored by Donald C. Holsinger in a number of publications: Donald Holsinger, "Trade Routes of the Algerian Sahara in the Nineteenth-Century," *Revue de l'occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 30 (1980); David Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce and Community: The Mizabis in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Algeria," *Journal of African History* 21, no. 1 (1980); Donald Holsinger, "Muslim Responses to French Imperialism: An Algerian Saharan Case Study," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (1986). Trade between the Mzab and the Tell was long linked to the migration of nomadic populations, who exchanged wheat, barley, raw wool, hardware, and luxury items from the north for dates, woven goods, and other products produced in the south.
5. For a more detailed accounting of cross-regional trade in and through the Mzab in the pre- and early colonial period: Donald Holsinger, "Migration,

Commerce, and Community: The Mizabis in Nineteenth-Century Algeria" (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 1979); Carette, "Recherches sur la géographie et le commerce de l'Algérie méridionale," in *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844). For a more general view: Ghislaine Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails: Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Western Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6. The linguistic makeup of medieval Saharan Jewry is difficult to hazard. Though no original sources refer to this community as Berberophone, one could conjecture that it became bilingual over time. On Saharan Jewries generally: Michael Abitbol, "Juifs maghrébins et commerce transsaharien du VIII^{e} au XV^{e} siècles," in *Le sol, la parole et l'écrit: Mélanges en hommage à Raymond Mauny* (Paris: Société française d'histoire d'Outre-Mer, 1981); Michel Abitbol, "Juifs maghrébins et commerce transsaharien au Moyen-Âge," in *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi et l'Université hébraïque de Jérusalem, 1982); Michel Abitbol, ed, *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb* (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1982); Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Aomar Boum, "Saharan Jewry: History, Memory and Imagined Identities," *Journal of North African Studies* 16, no. 2 (2011); Aomar Boum, "Southern Moroccan Jewry between the Colonial Manufacture of Knowledge and the Postcolonial Historiographical Silence," in *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa.*, ed. Emily Gottreich and Daniel Schroeter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); I. D. Haidara, *Les Juifs à Tombouctou: Receuil des sources écrits relatives au commerce juif à Tombouctou au XIX^{e} siècle* (Bamako: Éditions Donniya, 1999); Joseph Julien Huguet, "Recherches sur les habitants du Mzab," *Revue d'École d'anthropologie de Paris* (January 1906); J. Hunwick, "Al-Maghili and the Jews of Tuwat: The Demise of a Community," *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985); Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Le Touat au Moyen Âge* (Paris: CNRS, 1994); Jacob Oliel, *De Jérusalem à Tombouctou: L'odyssée saharienne du rabbin Mardochée* (Paris: Éditions Olbia, 1998); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara, 1939–1945* (Montréal, Québec, Canada: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Une présence millénaire* (Succursale Côte-St-Luc [Québec]: Éditions Élysée, 2007). On Berber Jews and the shifting way in which this group has been understood by social scientists: H. Z. Hirschberg, "The Problem of the Judaized Berbers," *Journal of African History* 4, no. 3 (1963); Daniel Schroeter, "On the Origins and Identity of North African Jews," in *North African Mosaic: A Cultural Reappraisal of Ethnic and Religious Minorities*, ed. Nabil Boudraa and Joseph Krause (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007); Daniel Schroeter, "The Shifting Boundaries of Moroccan Jewish Identity," *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 1 (2008). Saharan Jewish histories also filter through these excellent works: Stephen Baier, *An Eco-*

nomic History of Central Niger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community"; Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails*. Specific references to scholarship on Jews of the Algerian Sahara will follow.

7. The scholarship on trans-Saharan trade is voluminous. Especially important to my research has been: Stephen Baier, "Trans-Saharan Trade and the Sahel: Damergu, 1870–1930," *Journal of African History* 18, no. 1 (1977); Baier, *An Economic History of Central Niger*; A. Adu Boahen, "The Caravan Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 3, no. 2 (1961); Dennis D. Cordell, "Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanusiya: A Tariqa and a Trade Route," *Journal of African History* 18, no. 1 (1977); Ahmed Said Fituri, "Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Bilad as-Sudan Trade Relations during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1982); Ulrich Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich: Life and Trade in Ghadames (Libya) in the Nineteenth Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 38, no. 1 (1998); Marion Johnson, "Calico Caravans: The Tripoli-Kano Trade after 1880," *Journal of African History* 17, no. 1 (1976); 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); Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails*; Jean-Louis Miège, "Le commerce trans-saharien au XIX^{e} siècle: Essai de quantification," *Revue de l'occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 32 (1981–1982); C. W. Newbury, "North African and Western Sudan Trade in the Nineteenth Century: A Re-Evaluation," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 2 (1966); Paul Pascon, *La maison d'Iligh et l'histoire sociale du Tazerwalt* (Rabat: Smer, 1984); Daniel Schroeter, "The Jews of Essaouira (Mogador) and the Trade of Southern Morocco," in *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jérusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1982); Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844–1886* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). My own work on this subject includes: Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost History of Global Commerce* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

8. It is likely that these commodities reached the Mzab on an east-to-west caravan route emanating from the Yemeni port of Aden. Bibliothèque de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris [hereafter, AIU BIB], Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab: Contribution à l'étude d'une communauté saharienne dispersée par le vent de l'histoire en juin 1962," 132; ANOM 22H/12, "Exposée sommaire des faites," 3 June 1880; ANOM 22H/16, Letter from General Pédoya, Commandant de la Division d'Alger to the GGA [Tirman], 27 April 1899.

9. Inspired by the alternative model offered by Julia Clancy-Smith in a recent, masterful book that "recreates a borderland society—or societies—forged by migrants and mobilities in the central Mediterranean corridor," I choose, here, to employ phrases such as "the Algerian Sahara" or "southern Algerian Jews" while nonetheless problematizing their stability. The dexterous

resistance to colonial vocabularies that Clancy-Smith maintains in her discussion of the precolonial period is, I find, much more cumbersome in a discussion rooted in the colonial era. Julia Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California, 2011). 4. My own approach, here, echoes that of Aomar Boum's, who has written of "the Saharan Jewry as a term fraught with epistemological ambiguities." Boum, "Saharan Jewry."

10. For a discussion of these divergent origin stories: Pessah Shinar, "Réflections de la symbiose judéo-ibadite en Afrique du Nord," in *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 1982).
11. H. Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Hunwick, "Al-Maghili and the Jews of Tuwat"; Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Le Touat au Moyen Âge*; Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Une présence millénaire*; Abraham L. Udovitch and Lucette Valensi, *The Last Arab Jews: The Communities of Jerba Tunisia* (Chur: Harwood, 1984).
12. One annual report issued by the French authorities in Ghardaïa noted that Jews engaged in "precious metal work," proving a problem for the local police as they were so often robbed. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899. On their work in this and other professions, see also: Abel Andre Cöyne, "Le Mzab," *Revue africaine* 23 (1879): 186–87. Archives de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris [hereafter, AIU] (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921; AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 44–35. ANOM Oasis 87—Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1907, 995–96, in which it was reported that in Ghardaïa Circle, "jewelry-making, gold- and silver-smithing are in the hands of the Jews." Jules Liorel suggests, further, that Jews had subspecialties within the jewelry trade, including the making of ornate bracelets. The Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, [hereafter, GRI SC], Jules Liorel, "Dans le Mzab," in *Algérie artistique et pittoresque*, ed. Eugène Larade (Alger: J. Gervais-Courtellemont, 1893), 12–13. Writing five years after Liorel published his article, a French official mused that though the Jews of Ghardaïa had historically dominated jewelry making in town, local (non-Jewish) consumers had come to prefer jewelry imported from artisans in the north. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1898. On sales of silver and gold jewelry (presumably by Jews) in Ghardaïa's weekly market: Adolphe Calassanti Motylinski, "Notes historiques sur le M'zab: Guerara depuis sa fondation," *Revue africaine* 28 (1884): 427. An interesting range of Mzabi Jewish mercantile practices is encapsulated on the 1915 board of the Association culturelle des Israélites de Ghardaïa, which references eight jewelers, five merchants, three water porters, one hotel keeper, one tinsmith, and one "*cordonier*," which might refer to the synagogue beadle. ANdA, WdG 361, "Association culturelle des Israélites de Ghardaïa et correspondance échangé à ces sujets." But one source, the diaries of the

White Fathers stationed in Ghardaïa, speaks of Jews selling absinthe to soldiers—but this is not corroborated by any other account. Archivio generale, Missionarie d'Africa (Pères Blancs), Rome [hereafter, MdA, PB] "Ghardaïa I. 1884–1892," White Fathers' diary entries of 6 April 1884; 31 May 1884.

13. Boum, "Saharan Jewry," 17.
14. AIU (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921.
15. The Saharan Jewish population of Algeria, which likely peaked at about three thousand, was tiny relative to the overall population of Algerian Jewry, estimated at thirty-three thousand in 1881, just over fifty-seven thousand in 1901, and seventy-four thousand in 1921. Kamel Kateb, *Européens, "indigènes" et Juifs en Algérie (1830–1962): Représentations et réalités des populations* (Paris: Institut national d'études démographiques, 2001), 120.
16. Joshua Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith: The Civilizing Mission in Colonial Algeria* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 3.
17. In the spirit of recent work by Joshua Schreier and Benjamin Stora, as well as earlier foundational work by Joëlle Bahloul—and, outside the Algerian context, Joel Beinin, Emily Gottreich, Kamel Kateb, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Daniel Schroeter—I intervene, here, into a historiographic tradition that has privileged communitarian or intra-Jewish histories over what I have referred to as "entangled" histories. Works in this vein that have guided my study include: Joëlle Bahloul, *The Architecture of Memory: A Jewish-Muslim Household in Colonial Algeria, 1937–1962* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*; Emily Benichou Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Kateb, *Européens, "indigènes" et Juifs en Algérie;* Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*; Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*; Daniel Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002); Benjamin Stora, *Les trois exils: Juifs d'Algérie* (Paris: Stock, 2006). Theoretical approaches to this theme include: Emily Benichou Gottreich, "Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the Maghrib," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 4 (Fall 2008); Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Jews and Modern European Imperialism," in *Cambridge History of Judaism, 1815–2000*, ed. Tony Michels and Mitchell B. Hart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
18. An evocative comparison could be made with the Berber *dahir*, a law promulgated in 1930 by the French administration in Morocco that mandated that Berber tribes be governed by their own laws. The subtly nuanced treatment of subjects of French protection in Tunisia provides another useful point of reference to our case, as does the favoritism showed Algerian "Kabyles" and Tuareg by colonial administrators and European ethnographers alike. I build, in the latter vein, on the work of Patricia Lorcin, Benjamin

Brower, and Mary Dewhurst Lewis: Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*; Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995); Mary Dewhurst Lewis, *Divided Rule: Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming). The Berber *dahir* has received a great deal of scholarly attention, including: C. R. Ageron, "La politique berbère du protectorat marocain de 1913 à 1934," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 18, no. 1 (1971); Kenneth Brown, "The Impact of the Dahir Berbere in Sale," in *Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa*, ed. E. Gellner and C. Micaud (London: Duckworth, 1973); David M. Hart, "The Berber Dahir of 1930 in Colonial Morocco: Then and Now (1930–1966)," *Journal of North African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2007); J. Wyrtzen, "Colonial State-Building and the Negotiation of Arab and Berber Identity in Protectorate Morocco," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 2 (2011); A. Mackie Guerin, "'Beneath the Muslim Peel': Racial Science, French Native Policy, and the Question of Nationalism in Colonial Morocco, 1900–1939" (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2009). For a recent, elegant synopsis: Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 125–29.

19. Ann Laura Stoler, "On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty," *Public Culture* 18, no. 1 (2006): 128. For an exploration of how "different degrees of sovereignty" were shaped in protectorate Tunisia, see: Lewis, *Divided Rule*.
20. I am enormously indebted to an anonymous reader of my manuscript for his/her insights along these lines.
21. Scholarship in this vein includes: Michel Abitbol, "The Encounter between French Jewry and the Jews of North Africa: Analysis of a Discourse," in *The Jews in Modern France*, ed. Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1985); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Juifs d'Algérie: Mémoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Pierre Birnbaum, "'Regeneration' of Algerian Jewry," in *Jews and the State: Dangerous Alliances and the Perils of Pirvilege*, ed. Ezra Mendelssohn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Elizabeth D. Friedman, *Colonialism and After: An Algerian Jewish Community* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, 1988); Paula Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Simon Schwarzfuchs, "Colonialisme français et colonialisme juif," in *Judaïsme d'Afrique du Nord aux XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles: Histoire, société et culture*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1980); Simon Schwarzfuchs, *Les Juifs d'Algérie et la France, 1830–1855* (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1981); Michael Shurkin, "French Liberal Governance and the Emancipation of Algeria's Jews," *French Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (2010); Michael Shurkin, "French Nation Building, Liberalism, and the Jews of Alsace and Algeria, 1815–1970" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2000). More general surveys also stress the intimacy between the French state and Algerian Jewry: Hirschberg, *A*

History of the Jews in North Africa, vol. 1; Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003); Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer, eds., *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Recent work emphasizes discordancy within Algeria's Jewish community without fundamentally overturning the inherited model: Nathan Godley, "'Almost Finished Frenchmen': The Jews of Algeria and the Question of French National Identity, 1830–1902" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2006); Sophie Beth Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism in French Colonial Algeria" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011); Rochdi Younsi, "Caught in a Colonial Triangle: Competing Loyalties within the Jewish Community of Algeria, 1842–1943" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2003). I discuss more thoroughly the historiographic tendency associated with the notion of a "soft colonialism" elsewhere: Stein, "Jews and Modern European Imperialism." I am indebted, here, to the arguments of Joshua Schreier: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*, 7.

22. Modern Jewish historians have, until recently, tended to envisage imperialism as irrelevant to European Jews and as a monochromatically positive influence on Jews in colonial contexts, to whom colonialism brought (or so it was argued or implied) enlightened pedagogy, philanthropy, and state policy. It is only recently that the field has begun to take seriously Jews' mottled experiences of colonialism, which were intricately dependent upon local, communal, regional, statist, and global contexts. Far less has been written of Jews' experience of decolonization, a theme that scholars of Jewish Studies have tended to circumvent entirely. The reasons for this are complex, but they certainly reflect the long shadow of Zionist scholarship, which has tended to frame the transformation from colonial rule to national sovereignty (especially in North Africa and the Middle East) as a precondition for Jewish marginality and/or exit. I explore these themes in more detail elsewhere; Stein, "Jews and Modern European Imperialism"; Stein, "Of Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves: Decolonization and the Multi-Sited Archives of Algerian Jewish History," (forthcoming). Import exceptions to the latter trend include: Orit Bashkin, *New Babylonians: A History of Jews in Modern Iraq* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012); Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry;* Sung Choi, "From Colonial Citizen to Postcolonial Repatriate: The Politics of National Belonging and the Integration of the French from Algeria after Decolonization" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007); Yehouda Shenhav, *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
23. Lia Brozgal, "Albert Memmi," in *The Literary Encyclopedia*. First published 13 June 2008, accessed 31 May 2013, http://www.litencyc.com/php

/speople.php?rec=true&UID=11860. In implicit dialogue with Franz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Léopold Sédar Senghor (and the idea of négritude), Memmi's essays, semiautobiographical novel *The Pillar of Salt*, his pivotal study *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, and his meditations on "judéité" all illustrated the agonizing ethical, personal, and linguistic choices that colonialism imposed upon its subjects. Albert Memmi, *Portrait d'un Juif*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1962); Albert Memmi, *La statue de sel, roman*, Le Chemin de la vie (Paris: Corrêa, 1953); Albert Memmi, *Juifs et Arabes*, Collection Idées 320: Sciences humaines (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); Albert Memmi, "Présentation de l'enquête," *Revue française de sociologie* 6, no. 1 (1974); Albert Memmi, *Portrait du colonisé, précédé du portrait du colonisateur*, Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 212 (Paris: Payot, 1973).

24. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
25. On which see, among other sources: Boum, *Memories of Absence*; Gottreich, "Historicizing the Concept of the Arab Jew in the Maghrib"; Daniel Schroeter, "Views from the Edge: Jews in Moroccan Rural Society (Ighil N'Ogho, 1917–1998)," in *Hikrei Maʿarav u-Mizrah, Studies in Language, Literature and History Presented to Joseph Chetrit*, ed. Yosef Tobi and Dennis Kurzon (Jerusalem: Carmel Publishing, 2011); Paul Sebag, *Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie: Des origins à nos jours* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991); Udovitch and Valensi, *The Last Arab Jews*. My thanks to Daniel Schroeter for pushing my thinking in this regard.
26. Much literature pertains to this topic. Works helpful to my own understanding of these themes include: Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*; Camaroff, "Colonialism, Culture, and the Law"; Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*; Julia Clancy-Smith, "Women, Gender, and Migration along a Mediterranean Frontier: Pre-colonial Tunisia, c. 1815–1870," *Gender and History* 17, no. 1 (2005); Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*; Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*; Hanley, "Foreignness and Citizenship in Alexandria"; Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency*; Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference"; Mary Dewhurst Lewis, "Geographies of Power: The Tunisian Civic Order, Jurisdictional Politics, and Imperial Rivalry in the Mediterranean, 1881–1935," *Journal of Modern History* 80 (December 2008); Jessica Marglin, "In the Courts of the Nations: Jews, Muslims, and Legal Pluralism in Nineteenth-Century Morocco," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012); Merry, "Law and Colonialism"; Merry, "Legal Pluralism"; Tabili, "Outsiders in the Land of Their Birth."
27. The notion of "forum shopping" refers to the practice of individuals moving strategically within a legally pluralistic environment. See, for example: Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*, 137 and 243; Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*, 211–213. For a superb exploration of Jews' engagement with a legally pluralistic environment in Morocco: Marglin, "In the Courts of the Nations." Also relevant is Daniel Schroeter's discussion of the ways in which Jews in the southern Morocco community of Ighil N'Ogho continued to

have access to the Muslim legal system even after the establishment of the protectorate in Morocco. Schroeter, "Views from the Edge."

28. Christelow, *Muslim Law Courts*.
29. Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède, *No More for Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, v. 55, no. 1 (Cambridge, MA: The Museum, 1964), 3, 11.
30. Madeleine L'Engle, *A Wrinkle in Time* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1962).
31. James McDougall, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 72.
32. Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*.
33. André Chevrillon, *Les puritains du désert (sud-algérien)* (Paris: Plon, 1927). Cited in Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 181.
34. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*; James McDougall, "Myth and Counter-Myth: 'The Berber' as National Signifier in Algerian Historiographies," *Radical History Review*, no. 86 (Spring 2003); McDougall, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*, see especially chapter 5.
35. On the annexation of the Mzab, see, among other collections: ANOM 22H/12 "Rapport sur l'annexion du Mzab et sur la création d'une annexe à Ghardaïa, 1880" and "Project d'organisation d'une annexe au Mzab, 10 April 1880; SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883"; and, for a legalistic summary, ANOM 81F/1295, Les Délégués du Mzab, Hadjoute Brahim b. El Hadj, Hadj M'Hamed Omar ben Aïssa b. Brahim, undated (~1945), "Mémoire" and ANOM 81F/1295. Additional historiographic discussions include those by Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 181–84; Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community," especially chapters 5 and 6.
36. The Sahara, formally classified as the Southern Territories in 1902, would not be departmentalized until 1957. At this point two departments were created, the Département des Oasis, of which the Mzab was a part, and the Département de Saoura, which contained the western half of the Algerian Sahara. Each of these departments had various administrative subdivisions.
37. A useful mapping of these structures of authority appears in an unpublished inventory to the National Archives of Algeria's collection on the Southern Territories: Malek Djohra, "Répertoire numérique simple du fonds: Territoire du sud 1870–1962 Partie I," (Algiers: République algérienne démocratique et populaire, Archives nationales d'Algérie, 2006), 3.
38. As early as 1894, Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim brought such grievances before the French Chamber of Deputies, on which: Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim, *Pétition adressée à la Chambre des Députés, par Aïssa ben Mohamed ben Aomar, . . . tant en son nom personnel, en sa qualité de M'zabite, qu'au nom des 13 membres de la Djemaâ (assemblée municipale) de la ville de Beni-Isghen (M'zab) . . . Elle a pour objet d'obtenir du Gouvernement le rétablissement dans*

cette ville des kanouns, lois, usages et coutumes du rite musulman hadite . . . (Paris: Grande imprimerie, 1894). Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim and others would renew their challenge in response to the initiation of conscription in the Mzab in 1918, as well as thereafter. For more on the legal nuances of the 1853 Protectorate agreement, one can consult various legal proofs filed as ANOM 81F/1295. These were written in the wake of the issuing of the 1947 Statut de l'Algérie, which incorporated the Southern Territories of Algeria (and the Mzab along with it) into Algeria as a whole. The legality of this move, which was perceived to undermine the internal autonomy of the Mozabites guaranteed by the treaty of 1853 (and, according to some interpretations, confirmed in 1884), was challenged before the Algerian Assembly in 1950.

39. In reading the histories of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco as entangled, I am inspired by the work of Mary Dewhurt Lewis and Julia Clancy Smith: Clancy-Smith, "Women, Gender, and Migration"; Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*; Lewis, "Geographies of Power."
40. Much literature pertains to the theme of legal pluralism, including (as well as those sources cited above): Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures*; Camaroff, "Colonialism, Culture, and the Law"; Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*; Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*; Hanley, "Foreignness and Citizenship in Alexandria"; Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency*; Kolsky, "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference"; Merry, "Law and Colonialism"; Merry, "Legal Pluralism"; Tabili, "Outsiders in the Land of Their Birth."
41. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter, it should be added that the international Jewish philanthropies that so influenced the fate of Jews elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East did not extend their purview to southern Algeria until the late 1940s. The Alliance israélite universelle, American Jewish Distribution Committee, and World Jewish Congress all began to assess the needs of the community by the late 1940s, when each organization sent delegates to Ghardaïa—the AIU as early as 1949, the WJC and JDC in the early 1950s. Representing the AIU in the Mzab was André Chouraqui, then secretary general of the organization: André Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," *Cahiers de l'Alliance israélite universelle* 91 (1955): 17. For the activities of the JDC and WJC, see: Archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee [hereafter, JDC] (New York), 45/54 #23, Letter by Hélène Cazes-Bénatar, World Jewish Congress representative in North Africa, to JDC (Paris), 1 February, 1949; JDC (Jerusalem) Geneva I 50A/56.200; JDC (Jerusalem), which references the funding of the Talmud Torah; Geneva II-405b/43, which references the reimbursement of Henry Levy for his return fare from Ghardaïa; and JDC (Jerusalem) Paris VII, Ghardaïa 1958–1960, especially photographs of Ghardaïa's Talmud Torah, correspondence pertaining to the funding of the Talmud Torah, and the undated "Liste des familles nécessiteux de la communauté israélite de Ghardaïa"; and Central Zionist Archive [hereafter, CZA] (Jerusalem),

C3/1408, including "Les Juifs algériens du Mzab, voyage de M. Lazarus à Ghardaïa."

42. This list has been generated with reference to archival documents of the Alliance israélite universelle, which, in 1918, attempted to track the status of "southern Algerian" communities for the purposes of philanthropic work. From the perspective of the AIU, "southern" was a cultural and geographic category, not a legal designation. It should be noted that Laghouat was absorbed into the Southern Territories in 1905 and thus effectively de-departmentalized. AIU IB4, 1918–1927, Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president of the AIU, 14 June 1921. Additional information about these Jewish communities, including demographic data, is scattered throughout the archives of the ANOM. This data is not easy to locate, as it tends not to appear in inventories. On the Jews of Laghouat: Claire Lalou, "Histoire et mémoire des Juifs de Laghouat: 110 ans de vie juive a Laghouat, 1852–1962," (Master's thesis, 1988, courtesy of Serge Lalou); Todd Shepard, "Laghouat," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 2010). On Touat: Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Le Touat au Moyen Age*; Hunwick, "Al-Maghili and the Jews of Tuwat." For a rather more general account: Oliel, *Les Juifs au Sahara: Une présence millénaire*. There also existed a medieval community Tamantit: J. Hunwick, *Jews of a Saharan Oasis: Elimination of the Tamantit Community* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006).
43. Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*. For a comparative perspective: Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
44. The same could be said of French policies toward the Tuareg, though (as Benjamin Brower has argued) in this case Tuareg "traditionalism" was understood to be a positive phenomenon, thanks in large part to the myth making of Henri Duveyrier. Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 230–37.
45. On the role of polygamy in the "civilizing" of Algerian Jews in in the north, in the decades after the French conquest, see: Joshua Schreier, "Napoleon's Long Shadow: Morality, Civilization, and Jews in France and Algeria, 1808–1870," *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 1 (2007); Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*; Judith Surkis, "Presumptions of Poygamy: Civil Law and Public Order in French Algeria, 1830–1870," in *Scandalous Subjects: Intimacy and Indecency in France and French Algeria, 1830–1930* (forthcoming). In Yemen, which did not come under European colonial rule, Jewish practices of polygamy also persisted into the twentieth century.
46. Jean Scelles's proposal was presented at the 259th session of the French National Assembly, 24 June 1952; the associated legislation was reviewed on 6 April 1956, as Legislation 713 6 A3. See also: Archives nationales, Centre des Archives contemporaines, Fontainebleau [hereafter, CAC], 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction de l'Algérie et des Départements

d'Outre-Mer) with the proposition by Jean Scelles concerning the état civil "des indigènes israëlites du territoire algérien qui ont conservé leur statut personnel local," 28 July 1952. The 1961 law was presented to the French National Assembly first on 12 May 1961 by M. Pigeot as no. 1180, Legislation 61–805 on 28 July 1961. A draft version also appeared before the Assembly on 4 August 1960. A published version of the law appears as: "Loi no. 61–805 du 28 juillet 1961 relative à la constitution de l'état civil des français des départements algériens et des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura," *Journal officiel*, 29 July 1961. For a useful summary of the 1961 legislation: Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 242–47.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 84–85.
2. I loosely borrow the notion of the "watermark" from Ann Laura Stoler, who employs the notion to refer to colonial sources embedded with "a history that neither can be scraped off nor removed without destroying the paper." Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 9.
3. In these and other respects, the history of *No More For Ever* echoes that of another work of ethnography on North African Jewry penned in the 1950s by a scholar with ties to the colonial administration: Pierre Flamand, *Les communautés israélites du sud marocain: Essai de description et d'analyse de la vie juive en milieu berbère* (Casablanca: Imprimeries reunites, 1959).
4. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD [hereafter, NARA], Record Group [hereafter, RG] 226 "Records of the Office of Strategic Services 1940–1946," Box 11, Folder 67, Entry 160A, "Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Application for Employment, 1 April 1942."
5. Briggs's mother was descended from one of Boston's Brahmins, the Cabot family, for whom her son was strategically named; his father, Lloyd Vernon Briggs, wrote a two-volume genealogical study about them. Lloyd Vernon Briggs was a prominent Boston psychiatrist, author, and activist, in relation to whom one of the most significant pieces of American legislation concerning the rights of the mentally ill (the so-called Briggs' Law) was identified. According to Briggs's OSS personnel file, he was "an American of English colonial stock." NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Undated biography (~March 1947) of Lloyd Cabot Briggs. At the time Briggs joined the OSS, he and Eleanor had a daughter three years in age. On the Cabots: Lloyd Vernon Briggs, *History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family, 1475–1927*, vol. 2 (Boston: C. E. Goodspeed, 1927). On Lloyd Vernon Briggs:Winfred Overholser, "In Memoriam: Lloyd Vernon Briggs," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 98 (1941). Biographical information on Briggs may also be gleaned from: Tozzer Library, Harvard University [hereafter, TL], "Lloyd Cabot

Briggs Professional Library, June 1975," entries for "Lloyd Cabot Briggs" in *Harvard Nineteen Thirty-One Class Album*; *The Decennial Report, Harvard Class of 1931*; *25th Anniversary Report, Harvard Class of 1931*; *30th Anniversary Report, Harvard College—Class of 1931*; *35th Anniversary Report, Harvard College—Class of 1931*.

6. "Remarks by the Executive Director of the Central Intelligence Agency A. B. Krongard at the Conference on the 60th Anniversary of OSS, 7 June 2002," accessed 25 March 2013, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches testimony/2002/ossconference_06022002.html.
7. One of his army extension instructors cautioned Briggs's future handlers that "Lloyd is quite impatient with our attitude toward his attainment, and assures us that he understands the system even though he continues to make mistakes and finds it necessary to ask many questions in enciphering and deciphering messages. . . . Under these conditions, it becomes next to impossible to try to teach him more, and perhaps our best bet is to try to let him go into the field as he is." NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Letter by I. D. Shapiro, 21 September 1942.
8. NARA RG 226, Box 79, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," Office of Strategic Services Interoffice Memo written by Weston Howland to R. H. I. Goddard, 11 October 1943.
9. David H. Price, *Anthropological Intelligence: The Deployment and Neglect of American Anthropology in the Second World War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
10. The "Resolution against Warfare" was proposed at the AAA's annual meeting of November 1966 by David F. Aberle and Kathleen G. Aberle. It prompted a fiery exchange in this organization's *Fellow Newsletter* that lasted for some months, until the journal's editors called its halt. Most members of the organization who penned responses in the publication issued vociferous objections to the proposal. For the original proposal: "Resolution against Warfare," *American Anthopological Association Fellow Newsletter* 7, no. 10 (1966). For Briggs's three replies: Lloyd Cabot Briggs, "Correspondence," *American Anthopological Association Fellow Newsletter* 8, nos. 4 and 6 (1967).
11. In 1928, Coon completed his own doctoral studies with Earnest A. Hooton, the same mentor with whom Briggs would work some two decades later. Briggs's personal papers include lecture notes taken under Coon's tutelage while in pursuit of his master's degree: Peabody Museum Archive, Harvard University [hereafter, PMA] Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 1, Folder 1.8.
12. Carleton S. Coon, *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent, 1941–1943* (Ipswich, MA: Gambit, 1980). See also: Carleton S. Coon, *Adventures and Discoveries: The Autobiography of Carleton S. Coon* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981). Susan Slymovics has described Coon as "Middle East anthropology's early ethnographer": Susan Slymovics, "State

of the State of the Art Studies: An Introduction To the Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa," in *Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: Into the Millenium*, ed. Sherine Hafez and Susan Slymovics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 8. See also: Lisa Bernasek and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Artistry of the Everyday: Beauty and Craftsmanship in Berber Art* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, Harvard University, 2008), especially "Harvard in the Rif," 31–41. Though Briggs spoke of writing a fourteen-thousand-word account of his time with the OSS, the document itself was neither published nor preserved in any of the files concerning his tenure with the Department of War. NARA RG 226, E 92A, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Lloyd Cabot Briggs to "Rud," [Rudyard Boulton], 9 May 1947.

13. These tasks, Boulton wrote, Briggs executed with "untiring energy and scrupulous attention to detail," due to "his outstanding zeal, conscientiousness and good judgment in the carrying out of these duties." NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Rudyard Boulton, "Recommendation for the Award of Medal of Freedom," 31 March 1947.
14. Few in Algeria were aware of his affiliation with the OSS, Briggs explained, and "by now" he could easily pass as French, allowing him "to watch and report *in time* from below. . . . [on] popular sentiment and developments affecting American interests in North Africa." NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Letters by Lloyd Cabot Briggs to "Arch" of 24 and 27 November 1944.
15. His old employer in the Africa Division of the OSS, Rudyard Boulton, loyal to Briggs to the end, eventually resolved this financial and administrative situation by taking him back under his administrative wing in April 1945, at which point Briggs was owed $1,180.61 in salary and living expenses by the OSS, and in turn owed the OSS 90,000 Algerian francs. On the adoption of code names: NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Letter by "179" to "Arch," 17 December 1944; on Briggs's failure to secure payment from the government during this period, see, for example: NARA, RG 226, Box 79, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," Letter by R. G. White to Captain John J. Murphy, 22 March 1945 and 23 April 1945; and "Expense Account" of 25 April 1945, signed by Briggs.
16. NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Letter by "G. M. L." to "Mr. '178,'" 18 October 1946.
17. TL, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs Professional Library, June 1975," entry for "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," *25th Anniversary Report, Harvard Class of 1931*, 138.
18. NARA, RG 226, Box 79, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," Report [VA-293] by Lloyd Cabot Briggs of 30 July 1946, included as an addendum to letter by Harold Finley, American consul, Algiers, to American Consulate General, 31 July 1946.
19. Ibid. The final quotation is drawn from this source.

20. Briggs's superiors instructed Finley that "it is expected of our representatives that before submitting a report they check its veracity to the best of their ability"; for this he would be recalled by the Department of State from North Africa in February 1947, destined for a "permanent change of station" (this shift coincided with health reasons, which may have been a crucial impetus); for this he would also be criticized by reviewers of *No More for Ever* a decade or so later. None of the accusations lodged against him were significant enough to bar him from receiving the Medal of Freedom for his work with the OSS, but all shed a curious light on Briggs's early years in Algiers. NARA, RG 226, Box 79, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," Memorandum from Rudyard Boulton to "Control," 5 November 1946; Memorandum from Robert P. Joyce, "Control," to Jack D. Neal, Chief, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, 31 January 1947. Soon after his return to the States, Briggs had surgery for thyroid adenoma and hemorrhoids: whether this played a role in hastening his departure from Algeria is uncertain. NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Lloyd Cabot Briggs to Rudyard Boulton, 9 May and 3 June 1947.
21. Consider a second letter of grievance that appears in Briggs's personnel file: this one accusing Briggs of continuing to use his OSS credentials to secure advantages from representatives of the United States Army in Algeria—including free gasoline, oil, office space, and rations—even after the disbandment of the OSS had been announced. NARA, RG 226, Box 79, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs," Memorandum from Colonel C. J. Blake to General A. Horkan, 22 August 1946. It should be noted that Blake's letter speaks of Briggs as "a courteous and tactful man," with whom his office maintained excellent relations. Blake objected not to Briggs's actions in and of themselves, then, but to the idea that "with so many Americans left in almost every big city of the world [in the postwar period], it would be quite easy to use genuine War Department and other Government letterheads and write one's own ticket."
22. From his earlier stint in Algeria, Briggs could claim a "fair to good" knowledge of Algerian Arabic: his academic work in the country, however, would have been conducted in French. NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Application for Chief of [OSS] Field Station, Algiers, 10 May 1946.
23. To his loyal friend Rudyard Boulton (who by now addressed him by the nickname "Beaver," an appellation Briggs used with "Rud" and others), he added that "I think that [Maurice] Reygasse [director of the Bardo Museum of Algiers] is very anxious for me to take a trip with him around certain sections of the Sahara, and I might be able to fit this in too." NARA RG 226, Folder 40, Entry 92A, Letter by Lloyd Cabot Briggs to "Rud" [Rudyard Boulton], 31 May 1947.
24. GRI SC, David Douglas Duncan, *Life* (1953).

25. TL, "Lloyd Cabot Briggs Professional Library, June 1975," entry for "Lloyd Cabot Briggs" in *25th Anniversary Report, Harvard Class of 1931*, 139.
26. Wrote Briggs in the preface to *No More for Ever*: "During the years prior to 1961 my wife had been of the greatest possible help to me, but she had found it increasingly difficult to help me with my field work and also run our household in Algiers and our farm nearby." Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, ix.
27. PMA, American School of Prehistoric Research (ASPR) Records, 1919–1947.
28. On which: Bernasek and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Artistry of the Everyday*, especially "Collecting Tuareg Art," 43–55.
29. Lloyd Cabot Briggs, *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museuem, 1958), 3.
30. While completing a doctoral dissertation on the prehistory of northwestern Africa, Briggs had carried out osteological research using the collections of the Bardo Museum's Laboratory of Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archeology, and he subsequently built a considerable private collection of Berber art—now housed by the Peabody Museum—with Reygasse's assistance, purchasing some items directly from Reygasse. Bernasek and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Artistry of the Everyday*, 47, 51.
31. Briggs, *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert*, vii.
32. Personal correspondence with author, 8 July 2010.
33. Literature Research Center, "Guede, Norina (Maria Esterina) Lami," in *Contemporary Authors Online* (Detroit: Gale Research Group, 2011).
34. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, ix, 80.
35. Ibid., ix.
36. Ibid., 14.
37. The full comment appears in a postscript to his colleague, mentor, and friend Carleton Coon: "You will be glad to hear that the Jewish ladies here shave their snatches, as part of an elaborate and very interesting monthly purification ritual. There's nothing like having a good female assistant handy!" Subsequent correspondence by both men expanded upon the theme, to the merriment of both. Cultural relativist Briggs was not: one letter addressed to him by E. W. Bovill begins admiringly, "Your story about the niggers and the bastards gave us much pleasure." National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute [hereafter, NAA], Carleton Stevens Coon Papers, 1925–1980, Box 10, "Coon General Correspondence," Folder, "Carleton S. Coon, General Correspondence [A-F] 1961," Letter by "Beaver" [Lloyd Cabot Briggs] to Carleton Coon, 24 November 1961; Coon's reply of 15 December 1961 and Briggs's ensuing letter, of 21 December 1961, carry the theme forward. For Briggs's correspondence with Bovill: PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 4, Folder 1, Letter by E. W. Bovill to "Beaver" (Lloyd Cabot Briggs), 21 February 1962.
38. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 23.

39. Ibid., 15.
40. Mead's own interest in southern Algerian Jewry dates to 1959, when she heard a presentation on Algerian Jewry at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique by the Tunisian-born, French-trained ethnographer Jeanne Favret. Favret's study took as its exception the Jews of Ghardaïa, whom she perceived as constituting "the most archaic" Jewish community in Algeria. Mead subsequently contemplated including the Algerian case in her collection of "National Character Studies." A copy of Favret's presentation to the CNRS of September 1959, along with Mead's enthusiastic correspondence with the author, may be found in: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC [hereafter, LC MD], Margaret Mead Collection, Box M27 Folder 10, "Institute for Intercultural Studies: National Character Studies, Algeria, 1958–1966."
41. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Introduction," in *Life Is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl*, ed. Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog (New York: Schocken Press, 1995).
42. Steven J. Zipperstein, "Underground Man: The Curious Case of Mark Zbrowski and the Writing of a Modern Jewish Classic," *Jewish Review of Books* 2 (2010).
43. The quotation from *Life Is with People* that Briggs borrowed was this: "The word of God resounded through every act of daily life." Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 33, footnote 2.
44. *No More for Ever* reproduced two vantages of each such individual: ibid., figures 15 and 16. Briggs's personal papers, however, include photographs of these and other Jews from Ghardaïa as viewed from three angles, taken in February and March 1955 (likely while Briggs was conducting research for *The Living Races of the Sahara*): PMA, Archival Photographic Collections, Lloyd Cabot Briggs, #55–37–50/13139; Lloyd Cabot Briggs miscellaneous photographs, Courtesy of Eleanor Briggs.
45. Andrew Apter, "On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialects of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 3 (2002): 566. Of the rich and broad literature on colonial photography, these sources have also been informative: James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994). On the role of ethnographic photographs in Algeria, more specifically: Susan Slymovics, "Visual Ethnography, Stereotypes, and Photographing Algeria," in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land, and Voyage*, ed. Ian Netton (London: Routledge, 2012).
46. Briggs, *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert*, 65.
47. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, appendix A, 89–90.

48. Briggs, "Correspondence."
49. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 89.
50. Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), part 1, "Anthropology."
51. Ibid., 102.
52. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 11.
53. Ibid., appendix A, "Physical Anthropology," 89.
54. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7, Folder 1, "No More for Ever Reviews, etc," Letters by Isadore Twersky and H. Z. Hirschberg to Briggs, 14 December 1964 and 24 July 1964.
55. According to J. C. Brew, the director of the Peabody Museum who oversaw the publication of *No More for Ever*, though the book's authors had met with the approval of "various Hebrew [*sic*] scholars" and had approached "a considerable number of good commercial and university presses," "all of these presses turned the book down." This might, Brew ruminated, have reflected "a desire to avoid a controversial subject." PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7, Folder 1, "No More for Ever Reviews, etc," Letter by J. C. Brew to Mario Bick, 25 September 1967.
56. Mario J. A. Bick, "*No More for Ever*: *A Saharan Jewish Town* by Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guede," *Jewish Social Studies* 29, no. 3 (1967).
57. Reading between the lines of Bick's letters, one gathers that Briggs must have sent his interlocutor a spicy reply to his review, for Bick responded both by stating his esteem for *No More for Ever* and by clarifying that he had not intended to accuse its author of being an anti-Semite. Bick did not, however, back away from the crucial position that the idea of "a Jewish look" was unfounded. "I am saying that if there is a 'Jewish look' it is a local phenomena [*sic*], at least for the most part, in the modern world, it is a cultural phenomena [*sic*], and because of this it should not have been used as you used it. Let me add, that if you had said that there was a Ghardaia Jewish look, I would not have taken acception [*sic*]. In other words, identification as a Jew is based largely on context, experience with Jews and cultural peculiarities of specific Jewish populations." PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7, Folder 1, "No More for Ever Reviews, etc," Letters by Mario Bick to Lloyd Cabot Briggs, 29 March 1968 and 17 May 1968.
58. Milton Jacobs, "The Isolation of a 1,000 Year Old Saharan Trading Town," *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967). For Kasdan's original review: Leonard Kasdan, "*No More for Ever*: A Saharan Jewish Town by Lloyd Cabot Briggs, Norina Lami Guede," *American Anthropologist* 68, no. 1 (February 1966).
59. Harvey E. Goldberg, "Tripolitanian Jewish Communities: Cultural Boundaries and Hypothesis-Testing." *American Ethnologist* 1, no. 4 (November 1974): 620.
60. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 3.

61. Ibid., 76.
62. Ibid., 80.
63. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Letter by Charles Kleinknecht to Lloyd Cabot Briggs, 8 March 1964. On Kleinknecht's time in the Mzab, see also: Charles Kleinknecht, *Administrateur civil au Sahara: Une vie au service de l'Algérie et des territoires du sud, 1942–1962* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000).
64. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab." A copy of the speech Kleinknecht delivered to the CHEAM is held within Lloyd Cabot Briggs's papers. The speech and manuscript, though holding the same title, differ in various respects, with the manuscript being a more complete source. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, "Les Juifs du Mzab."
65. Moriaz also draws upon an anthropological corpus on southern Algerian Jewry that predates Briggs. See, for example: Jean Moriaz, "La vie économique du Mzab," *Bulletin de liaison saharienne* 11, no. 39 (September 1960); Marcel Moriaz, *Les Kanouns du Mzab* (Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1903).

CHAPTER TWO

1. Bent Lalou's petition is in the French script of a bureaucrat despite the signature below. ANOM 22H/16, Letter from General Servière to the GGA [Réviol], 26 March 1902. Meriem bent Lalou's request prompted correspondence between the offices of the GGA, commanders in Algiers, and the Ministère des Affaires étrangères over the course of March and April 1902.
2. ANOM 22H/16, GGA to Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 28 March 1902.
3. This is evocative of what Patrick Weil has called *nationalité denaturé* [denatured nationality]—that is, the legal but nonetheless empty citizenship that France granted Algerian Muslims in 1862. Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*, trans. Catherine Porter (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 6.
4. On the legal intricacies of the 1853 treaty, see: ANOM 81F/1295 and Edgard Rouard de Card, "L'annexion du M'zab," *Revue de droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger* 8 (July–December 1897).
5. SHAT 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organization du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883"; ANOM 22H/12, undated two page (~1882) report on "the disorder that has reigned since this time in the cities of the confederation." On the legal status of the Mzab as decreed by the 1853 negotiations, see the various legal essays on the subject in: ANOM 81F/1295 and Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community," especially chapters 5 and 6. For a brief history: Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 181–84.
6. Historian and Alliance israélite universelle representative André Chouraqui argued that extending the Crémieux decree to the Jews of the Mzab

would have been the "simplest thing." Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," 16. The idea that the French administration failed, in 1882, to enact a legislative reform that was justified and logical was echoed by Charles Kleinknecht, district commissioner of the Sahara. In an unpublished essay entitled "Les Juifs du Mzab," Kleinknecht wrote that after the annexation of 1882, "it would have been logical to extend to the Jews of the Mzab (and of the Sahara) the decree of 24 October, 1870, the so-called Crémieux decree, naturalizing en bloc 'Jews in the Algerian Departments.'" PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 31.

7. ANOM 22H/12, General Loysel to the GGA [Tirman], 14 October 1882. Similar sympathies appear to have been expressed by the prefect of Oran, on which: ANOM 22H/12, Note from the Chef de 1e Bureau to the Service des Affaires indigènes, 19 March 1883.
8. ANOM 22H/12, General Loysel to the GGA [Tirman], 17 May 1882. Strikingly similar vocabulary was subsequently utilized by the governor-general: SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," Letter by GGA to Ministre de Guerre [Billot], 17 October 1882.
9. ANOM 22H/12, Letters from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie), 7 November 1882 and 15 November 1882. The minister's position is also quoted at length in: de Card, "L'annexion du M'zab," 436–37. See also: Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," 16.
10. For similar reasons, the Crémieux decree would also not be inclusive of the Jews in Tunisia or Morocco who lived under French protectorate status. For an exploration of the complexities of jurisdiction in the Tunisian case, see: Lewis, "Geographies of Power"; Salomon Tibi, *Le statut personnel des Israélites et spécialement des Israélites tunisiens*, 4 vols. (Tunis: Guenard and Franchi, 1921). The most reliable estimates of the fluctuating Jewish population of Ghardaïa may be found in: Salah Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites dans le département d'Algers entre les deux-guerres" (PhD diss., Universite de Paris VIII, Vincennes Saint-Denis, 2000), 102–3; Régine Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," in *Communautés juives des marges de Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1982).
11. On the wave of negative reactions to the Crémieux Decree: Hélène Cazes-Bénatar, "North Africa," *American Jewish Year Book* 54 (1953): 370; Geneviève Dermenjian, *La crise anti-juive oranaise (1895–1905)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986); Godley, "'Almost Finished Frenchmen'"; Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism"; Schreier, "Napoleon's Long Shadow"; Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 244.
12. SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," Letter by General Saussier to GGA 7 October 1882.
13. See, for example: ANOM 22H12, Letter from General de Savigne, Com-

mandant de la subdivision to General Swiney, Commandant de la Division d'Alger, 4 October 1882; SHAT 1H1012, Letter by GGA to Minister of War [Billot], 17 October 1882, "Instructions du gouvernement général de l'Algérie pour l'organisation du Cercle du Ghardaïa," "Israélites"; and related correspondence in ANOM 22H/15, "Pénétrations militaires et pénétration saharienne (1842–1960)." Some eight decades later, after the sovereignty of Algeria was declared, this motive was still being cited as the pivotal reason that southern Algerian Jewry had come to occupy the indigenous legal status that French law assigned them. One retired French military official, writing in the 1960s, described in his unpublished history of Mzabi Jewry that "the French authorities of the epoch were not willing to collide with the "Mozabites" [e.g., Ibadites] and "Malikites," who considered the Jews an inferior race and would not have permitted them to be assimilated [into the French national body] and in equality [with French citizens], with greater civil rights than they [themselves possessed]." The author concluded, sympathetically, that "one would not want to compromise the moral success of our installation" by offending the Mzabi leaders in question. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 33.

14. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 34.
15. ANOM 22H/12, undated two page (~1882) report on "the disorder that has reigned since this time in the cities of the confederation." This document also references the assassination of Hammam ben Ismaïl d. El Atef and Yahia ben Saïd, "notables" said to serve the French cause—but does not specify if they were Jews or (if so) whether their murders were generally anticolonial in nature or more specifically targeted at Jews who served the French cause. On other anti-Jewish episodes in the era of the protectorate: Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 128.
16. Richard Ayoun, "Le décret Crémieux et l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 35 (January–March1988). My thanks to an anonymous reviewer of this manuscript for this important point of comparison.
17. ANOM 22H/12, undated two page (~1882) report on "the disorder that has reigned since this time in the cities of the confederation."
18. Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 180–96.
19. For example, the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie) presented the intertwined problem to the governor-general J. Cambon in 1882, writing: "Since military authority is limited, it is up to the provisions of the administrative and judicial organization as well as to the statutes [to resolve] those questions raised by the presence of slaves and non-naturalized Jews in the cities of the Mzab." ANOM 22H/12, Letter from the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie) to the GGA [Tirman], 28 October 1882. See also the interweaving of discussions of the status of

Jews and slaves in: SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," Letter by GGA to Minister of War [Billot], 17 October 1882.

20. ANOM 22H/12, Letters from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie), 7 November 1882; ANOM 81f/1295. On the continued existence of forced labor in the region: Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 180–96.
21. On the annexation of the Mzab, see, among other collections: ANOM 22H/12 "Rapport sur l'annexion du Mzab et sur la création d'une annexe à Ghardaïa, 1880" and "Project d'organisation d'une annexe au Mzab," 10 April 1880; SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883"; and, for a legalistic summary, ANOM 81F/1295, "Les Délégués du Mzab, Hadjoute Brahim b. El Hadj, Hadj M'Hamed Omar ben Aïssa b. Brahim," undated (~1945), "Mémoire" and ANOM 81F/1295. Additional historiographic discussions include those by Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, especially chapter 8; Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community," especially chapters 5 and 6.
22. Non-Ibadite Berbers in Algeria were adjudicated by Maliki *shari a*, in limited form, as well as by so-called Kabyle customary law, which could be applied simultaneously. On the history of Muslim civil status laws in colonial Algeria: Barrière, *Le statut personnel des musulmans d'Algérie*. On the fraught history and shifting authority of the Muslim court over roughly the same period: Christelow, *Muslim Law Courts*. On the French treatment of the so-called Kabyles in Algeria: Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*.
23. ANOM 1H/85, "Electorate israélite"; CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie), 26 January 1954. In the early years of French rule in Algeria, Muslim courts were granted parallel authority by the state; the reach of Koranic and Berber customary law was circumscribed after but a decade, and the latitude of Muslim courts restricted over time. The juridical autonomy of northern Algerian Jewry for all matters except those concerning civil status was legally abolished in 1934. Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*; Barrière, *Le statut personnel des musulmans d'Algérie*; Christelow, *Muslim Law Courts*.
24. On the effects of this century-long process of reform (known collectively as the Tanzimat) on Ottoman Jewry, and on the question of just how much legal autonomy the *millets* [religious communities] had prior to the Tanzimat reforms, see the many relevant contributions to the following volume, especially those by Benjamin Braude and I. Metin Kunt: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982). Also relevant is: Aron Rodrigue, "From *Millet* to Minority: Turkish Jewry," in *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*, ed. Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

25. Relatively few sources exist on Algerian Jewry prior to the period of conquest, and the historical record is imprecise when it comes to the question of whether or not there existed a *bet din* [rabbinical court] in the Mzab Valley before the onset of colonial rule. If a *bet din* predated the incursion of French authority, likely it would have been eradicated by the authorities thereafter, in keeping with policies implemented in the north of Algeria. Definitive conclusions in this regard, however, await further research. There is a certain conceptual similarity with the subsequent invention of the notion of "Hebrew law" by legal scholars and Zionist theoreticians in Mandatory Palestine, on which: Assaf Likhovski, "The Invention of Hebrew Law in Mandatory Palestine," *American Journal of Comparative Law* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1998).
26. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from the Constantine Division of the Bureau des Affaires indigènes to the GGA [Tirman], 14 August 1886; Letter from the GGA [Tirman] to the Commandant general de Constantine, 6 September 1886.
27. ANOM Oasis 67, "Étrangers, 1946," GGA [Chataigneau] to Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 25 January 1946. The GGA's response to Sellam specified that if Simon Partouche wished to travel across North Africa, he would need to seek permission from the French consulate in Palestine.
28. As it happened, Attia refused to return home, though he promised to send a monthly payment of twenty francs to his mother, and also to return to Ghardaïa in a few months' time in order to divorce his wife. ANOM 22H/16, Letter from Chef de Bataillon Cotte of the Cercle de Ghardaïa to the Commandant militaire du territoire, 7 August 1909.
29. On the bloody conquest of Laghouat: Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 85–89. On the town's Jewish community: Shepard, "Laghouat."
30. ANOM 22H/12, Undated, unsigned "Note—Protectorat de Mzab," likely of 1882.
31. A. Cöyne, "Le Mzab," *Revue africaine* 23 (1879): 186.
32. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 52 and appendix 9 and 10, especially: Letter by GGA [Carde] to Chef de l'Annexe Ghardaïa, 3 March 1930.
33. On the 1927 law: Weil, *How to Be French*, especially 202–4.
34. ANOM 1H/85, GGA [Cambon] to unnamed general, 6 June 1896. On the "strategic migration" of Moroccan Jews to Algeria: Jean Miège, *Maroc et l'Europe* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France), 2:674–77; Jessica Marglin, "The Two Lives of Mas ud Amoyal: Pseudo-Algerians in Morocco, 1830–1912," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 4 (2012).
35. CAC 19950236, C3614, 6a3b, "Statut civil de droit commun—Israélites du Maroc."
36. This comparison was made explicit in official correspondence of the military administration: ANOM 22-H12, Letter and report from Gen. Loysel to the GGA [Tirman], 18 February 1883.

37. Charles-Robert Ageron and Kamel Kateb have quantified this variously, with Ageron finding that between 1865 and 1915, the GGA vetted 2,215 requests for naturalization by Muslims, and Kateb arguing that there were 36,869 individual naturalizations on the basis of the *sénatus* between 1865 and 1914. Charles Robert Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France, 1871–1919* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968), 2:1118, 1120; Kateb, *Européens, "indigènes" et Juifs en Algérie*, 188, 194. On Jews' response to the *sénatus*: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*; Schreier, "Napoleon's Long Shadow." Another useful exploration is provided by: Michael Brett, "Legislating for Inequality in Algeria: The Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 51, no. 3 (1988).
38. Archival references to the would-be application of the 1865 decree in the Mzab are few. One concerns an instance in which the military authorities suggested it be applied to three Jews from Bou-Saada who—in violation of law—were found to have successfully volunteered and served in the French military. The three men in question, it should be noted, do not appear to have formally requested application of the 1865 law to their respective cases. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from the GGA [Tirman] to "Div," 2 May 1883; Letter from Gen. Loysel to the GGA, 9 April 1883. A second concerns the 1933 appeal for naturalization by a Mzabi Jew residing in Laghouat: while the request itself was denied, the applicant was advised he could alter his legal status by way of recourse to the 1865 decree. ANOM 22H/19, Letter from the Chef du Service des Affaires indigènes to the directeur des territoires du sud, 20 October 1933.
39. A sense of the individuals who were included in this category may be gleaned from the records of the short-lived organization Association culturelle des Israélites de Ghardaïa. Created in 1915, the association's bylaws required all members of its board to be holders of French citizenship. ANdA, WdG 361, "Association culturelle des Israélites de Ghardaïa et correspondance echange à ce sujets."
40. Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine, Nanterre [hereafter, BDIC] F delta res 798 (97), "Rapport relatif à la naturalisation des Juifs du Mzab," 26 May 1926.
41. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General Swiney, Commandant de la Division d'Alger to the GGA [Tirman], 31 March 1882. Documents pertaining to this case may also be found in: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 11.
42. ANOM 22H/12, GGA [Tirman] to General Swiney, 30 April 1882.
43. Cited in Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 133, see especially footnote 47. The case of the twenty-some applicants is also discussed in the archival documents noted below, as well as in: PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 34.

44. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General de Savigne, Commandant de la subdivision, to General Swiney, Commandant de la Division d'Alger, 4 October 1882.
45. Ibid.
46. Patrick Weil has argued that the 1889 "liberalization" of nationality law was motivated by the military's desire to conscript the majority of second-generation foreign residents in Algeria (that is, the bulk of European men). The Jews of southern Algeria were demographically insignificant relative to this population. Weil, *How to Be French*, 207–85, and 214 in particular.
47. Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 131–34.
48. SHAT 1H1026 "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," GGA Tirman, Service des Affaires indigènes, see, especially: "Habitants du Mzab" and "Instructions du gouvernement général de l'Algérie pour l'organisation du Cercle de Ghardaïa," 1 November 1882. Early discussion of the state of Ghardaïa's electoral register may also be found in: ANOM 1H/85, "Electorate israélite." See also: Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, 31. One source, written in 1879, suggests that for some years, a rabbinical envoy of the Consistoire of Algiers had been overseeing Ghardaïa's Jewish community. Cöyne, "Le Mzab," 188.
49. When the Jewish *djemaa* was reorganized in 1915, it was concluded that, aside from the *chef* himself, its eight members would be elected by "factions" of the Jewish community that were to be organized around prominent community notables. The head of the various factions included patriarchs of the Partouche, Selam, Attia, Sebban, Cherroun, Lanyani, and Zenou families: an additional faction was represented, collaboratively, by individuals carrying the name El Baz, Karralou, and M'Sellati. Each of these factions was responsible for a given population of Jewish men in town that numbered between 39 and 272. It is not clear how the military administration chose these leaders or subdivided Ghardaïa's Jewish community, but official correspondence notes that the reorganization was justified in order to diffuse the "nepotism" of individual factions and faction leaders. ANOM 22H/17, Letter from the Commandant militaire des territoires du sud to the GGA [Lutaud], 8 March 1915; Letter from the Direction des territoires du sud to the Chef du Service des Affaires indigènes et du personnel militaire, 25 March 1915. Documents pertaining to the first election to the Jewish *djemaa* can also be found in: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 16, 17.
50. ANdA, WdG 361, "Association culturelle des Israélites de Ghardaïa et correspondance échangé à ces sujets."
51. Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab." See also: PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, 32. Elsewhere, Kleinknecht has noted that Jews had no representation on Ghardaïa's *djemaa* prior to the 1923 decree: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 58, appendix 19.

52. ANOM 22H/20, GGA [Léonard] to Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 31 December 1954.
53. On the precolonial administration in this region: Shinar, "Réflections su la symbiose judéo-ibadite." For more on the Jewish *muqaddam*: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*. Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bension have mistakenly conflated the position of the *muqaddam* such as existed under Ottoman rule with that of *chef de la nation juive* such as existed under French colonial rule. Allouche-Benayoun and Bensimon, *Juifs d'Algérie*, 23.
54. The first *chef de la nation juive* approved by the colonial regime was Jacob Bacri, who was appointed in November 1830; Bacri was succeeded by Aaron Moatti. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, 2:50.
55. The evils of the *muqaddam* and *bet din* were singled out in the influential report of Joseph Cohen and Jacques-Isaac Altaras, French-Jewish reformers charged by the French Ministry of War with the task of studying and proposing reforms for the Jewish community of Algeria in the 1840s. Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*, 51; Phyllis Albert Cohen, *The Modernization of French Jewry: Consistory and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 1977). Franco-Jewish reformers' own discomfort with the notion of Jewish civil autonomy in Algeria harkens back to an earlier history of the evolution of representations of Jews in France which has been ably explored by Ronald Schechter: Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). On the assimilation of Jews into the French body politic, and its dialogue with the French civilizing mission in Algeria see, among other sources: Birnbaum, "'Regeneration' of Algerian Jewry"; Jay R. Berkovitz, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-century France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Shurkin, "French Nation Building"; Schreier, "Napoleon's Long Shadow."
56. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa*, 2:50.
57. On the establishment of the consistorial system in Algeria: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*; Zosa Szajkowski, "The Establishment of the Consistorial System in Algeria," *Jewish Social Studies* 18, no. 1 (1956). On the French system: Albert, *The Modernization of French Jewry*. On the consistories' policing of Jewish family practices, education, and space, see especially: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*.
58. ANOM 22H/19, Résumé of facts pertaining to the Mouchy Lahyani case "seen and transmitted" to the GGA [Carde], 17 June 1932, from the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa.
59. ANOM 22H/16, Letter from General Pédoya, Commandant de la Division d'Alger to the GGA [Lafferière], 27 April 1899.
60. On the Bureaux arabes: Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010); Jacques Frémeaux, *Les bureaux arabes dans l'Algérie de la conquête* (Paris: Denoël, 1993); Kenneth J. Perkins, *Qaids, Captains, and*

Colons: French Military Administration in the Colonial Maghrib, 1844–1934 (New York: Africana, 1981). See also: Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 79–85. In the Sahara, this institution would be renamed the Service des Affaires indigène.

61. These trials can only be unearthed by combing through the extensive records of the Algerian Bureaux arabes. Most cases involving Jews notated them as "Israélites indigènes," or, simply, "II." See, for example: ANOM GGA/107/7613–7617, "Bureaux arabes, Ghardaïa."

CHAPTER THREE

1. The case was heard on 3 September 1888. Joseph Julien Huguet, "Les Juifs de Mzab," *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 5, no. 3 (15 May 1902): 564–65.
2. Jewish districts existed in most major cities of North Africa with a significant Jewish population. In Morocco, these were called *mellahs*, in Algeria, the *harat al-yahud*, *harrah*, *sharah*, or *mellah* (depending upon location). In both the precolonial and colonial periods, the boundaries of these intra-urban zones were porous, with much human and commercial movement across and between primarily Jewish and primarily Muslim quarters. (There were also many Mahgribi locals in which Jews did not inhabit a well-defined quarter.) There is a rich body of literature on the Moroccan *mellah* as a site of material and metaphoric encounters. See especially: Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh*; Susan Gilson Miller, "The Beni Ider Quarter of Tangier in 1900: Hybridity as a Social Practice," in *Architecture and Memory in the Minority Quarter of the Muslim Mediterranean City*, ed. Susan Gilson Miller and Mauro Bertagnin (Cambridge: AKP/HUP, 2010); Susan Gilson Miller, "The Mellah of Fez: Reflections on the Spatial Turn in Moroccan Jewish History," in *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place*, ed. Alexandra Nocke, Julia Brauch, and Anna Lipphardt (London: Ashgate, 2008); Daniel Schroeter, "The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City," in *New Horizons in Sephardic Studies*, ed. Y. Stillman and G. Zucker (New York: SUNY Press, 1993); Harvey Goldberg, "The Mellahs of Southern Morocco," *Maghreb Review* 8 (1983); H. Z. Hirschberg, "The Jewish Quarter in Muslim and Berber Areas," *Judaism* 17 (1969). For a foundational work on the topic: Shlomo Deshen, *The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989).
3. Consider, by way of comparison, Mary Dewhurst Lewis's discussion of how French policies in Tunisia were shaped in dialogue with French colonial and international affairs; and Jennifer Sessions's fascinating point that "the roots of French Algeria lay in contests over political legitimacy sparked by the Atlantic revolutions of the eighteenth century" in so far as France's turn to "aggressive warfare and overseas expansion" was catalyzed by France's failures in Haiti. Lewis, *Divided Rule*; Jennifer Elson Sessions, *By*

Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 3.

4. On which see, among other sources: Goldberg, "The Mellahs of Southern Morocco"; Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh*; Hirschberg, "The Problem of the Judaized Berbers"; Hirschberg, "The Jewish Quarter in Muslim and Berber Areas"; Miller, "The Mellah of Fez"; Miller, "The Beni Ider Quarter of Tangier in 1900"; Schroeter, "The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City." For a more general discussion of the creation of racial typologies in colonial Algeria: Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*; McDougall, "Myth and Counter-Myth." Cognate discussions occur in: George R. Trumbull, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
5. Two such examples are: Liorel, "Dans le Mzab"; Huguet, "Les Juifs de Mzab," 561–62.
6. de Card, "L'annexion du M'zab," 436. Strikingly, de Card based his conclusions on the writing of Colonel Nil-Joseph Robin, who published extensively on the peoples of the Mzab. See, for example: Nil-Joseph Robin, *Le Mzab et les Mozabites: Quelques mots sur la pénétration du Sahara* (Nîmes: Imprimerie générale, 1900); Nil-Joseph Robin, *Le Mzab et son annexion a la France* (Alger: Adolphe Jourdan, 1884).
7. The exception is colonial administrator Eugène Daumas, who, in his influential book *Le Sahara algérien*, puzzled over the whiteness of some Mzabi Jews and Muslims, referring to the former group as a "race." Eugène Daumas, *Le Sahara algérien: Études géographiques, statistiques et historiques sur la région au sud des établissements français en Algérie* (Paris: Fortin, Masson et Cie, 1845), 146. For more on Daumas's influence and political career: Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 68–74.
8. Liorel, "Dans le Mzab"; Huguet, "Les Juifs de Mzab," 560; Marcel Morand, "Les kanoun de Mzab," *Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence* 19 (1903): 14–15; Motylinski, "Notes historiques sur le M'zab"; Robin, *Le Mzab*, 35. See also: PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab"; Nil-Joseph Robin, a military commander who participated in the conquest of the Sahara, described the Jews of Ghardaïa as being among the oldest inhabitants of Ghardaïa. In his telling, the Jews settled the Mzab from Jerba, guided by "a certain Ammi Said." Cognate discussions circulated around the dating of Ghardaïa's synagogue: Eugéne Daumas offered the earliest dating, ~1800. Other foundational texts of the early colonial period reference the Jews of Ghardaïa without discussing their origins, for example: Cöyne, "Le Mzab," 186–88; Charles Amat, *Le M'zab et les m'zabites* (Paris: Challamel, 1888), microform, 163–64. Reference to the Mzabi Jews' roots in Tamentit come from archival documents of the Alliance israélite universelle: AIU IB4, 1918–1927, Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president of the AIU, 14 June 1921.

9. This is vividly represented in: ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General Loizillon to the GGA [Tirman], 24 August 1886.
10. My analysis here draws upon that of Patricia Lorcin and Benjamin Brower, both of whom have astutely explored these themes as they pertain to various populations in colonial Algeria: Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*; Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*. Also useful is: Guerin, "'Beneath the Muslim Peel.'" I also wish to thank Benjamin Brower for the following, influential reference: Aimé Dupuy, "Remarques sur le sens et l'évolution du mot: 'indigène,'" *Informations historiques* 3 (1963).
11. "*Instruction governmental* of March 1, 1882," Cited in Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, 33. Military commander Nil-Joseph Robin also spoke of the Mzabi Jews as hewing to the same administrative regime as foreigners of European origin, with the military commander of Ghardaïa Circle serving a role comparable in relation to the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice. This overlooked the fact that Jews in Ghardaïa Circle had no present or future claim to European citizenship papers. Robin, *Le Mzab*, 43; Robin, *Le Mzab et les Mozabites*, 43.
12. Joshua Schreier, "From Mediterranean Merchant to French Civilizer: Jacob Lasry and the Economy of Conquest in Early Colonial Algeria," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 4 (2012); Joshua Schreier, "L'élite commerçante juive et les débuts de la conquête française en Algérie: L'exemple de Jacob Lasry," *Archives juives* 45, no. 2 (2012).
13. ANOM 22H/12, Letters from the Garde des sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes (Service de l'Algérie), 7 November 1882 and 15 November 1882. The minister's position is also quoted at length in: de Card, "L'annexion du M'zab," 436–37.
14. Huguet, "Recherches sur les habitants du Mzab." The article he refers to is: M. E. Zeys, "Legislation Mozabite: Le Nil du mariage et de sa dissolution," *Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence* 3 (1887).
15. Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, see especially chapter 10.
16. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 5.
17. ANOM 22H/12, Report by GGA [Tirman] to the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, 1 June 1884. Reference to the earlier destruction of Ghardaïa's synagogue appears not in this report, but in additional official correspondence, as cited above. It is possible that the governor-general's visit was prompted by the death of the chief rabbi of Ghardaïa several months earlier: this event was noted in the diaries of the White Fathers: MdA, PB, "Ghardaïa I. 1884–1892," White Fathers' diary entry of 26 February 1884.
18. This description was dreamily evocative of the way in which the Berber "paysan" was imagined by the French, on which: Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, see, for example, Lorcin's discussion of the writing of Emile Masqueray, 189.
19. ANOM 22H/12, Report by GGA [Tirman] to the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, 1 June 1884.

20. See, for example, the parroting of the governor-general's report in: ANOM 81f/1212, "Le Mzab," Documents Algériens (Service d'information du cabinet du gouverneur général de l'Algérie), Serie Monographies no. 16, 30 August 1955.
21. On the "Chemouil Affair," see: ANOM 22H/12, Letter from GGA [Tirman] to an unidentified party, 18 July (?) 1886. Reference to this case is also made in: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 56–57.
22. The reference to the limited numbers of Jewish homes in Ghardaïa appears in an earlier document: ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General Loysel to the GGA [Tirman], 17 May 1882.
23. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General Loizillon to the GGA [Tirman], 24 August 1886.
24. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from the GGA [Tirman] to unidentified party, 18 July (?) 1886.
25. See, for example: Cöyne, "Le Mzab"; Liorel, "Dans le Mzab"; Huguet, "Les Juifs de Mzab." Two vivid representations of this view of Ibadite-Jewish relations may be found in: ANOM 22H/12, Letter from General de Savigne, Commandant de la subdivision, to General Swiney, General Commandant de la Division d'Alger, 4 October 1882; Undated, partial report on the Mozabite population. Archival sources also speak of a special tax that the Ibadite population placed upon the Jewish population of Ghardaïa, in compensation for the fact that the Jews "refuse to get themselves dirty" by participating in manual labor and repairs in town. ANOM 22H/12, Letter from Chef de Bataillon Didier (Cercle de Ghardaïa) to the Chef de Bataillon (Cercle de Laghouat), 11 March 1883. In 1906, the Jewish community refused to pay the tax, in an act of civil disobedience that the military authorities suspected was stoked by Jews from the Tell. ANOM 23H-94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1906, 960.
26. SHAT, 1H1026, "Sahara, occupation et organisation du Mzab et création du Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1882–1883," Letter by GGA to Ministre de Guerre [Billot], 17 October 1882.
27. On the *lezma* and Jewish complaints thereof: ANdA, WdG, 361 "Juifs israélites," Letter from Chef de Bataillon Marignac, Commandant Supérieur (Cercle de Ghardaïa) to the Commandant militaire du territore de Ghardaïa, 18 September, 1906; AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 64 and letter by Chef de la fraction israélite de Ghardaïa to the GGA, 6 July 1934, appendix 20, p. 28.
28. Boum, "Saharan Jewry"; Abitbol, "Juifs maghrébins"; Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails*, especially 182–86; Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*; Shinar, "Réflections su la symbiose judéo-ibadite"; Stein, *Plumes*, especially chapter 3.
29. The unhygienic state of the well within the *mellah* of Ghardaïa was also a subject of some concern for military representatives. See, for example: ANOM 22H12, Letter from General de Savigne, Commandant de la subdivi-

sion to General Swiney, Commandant de la Division d'Alger, 4 October 1882. For more on the *mikvah* of Ghardaïa: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 28; Marcel Mercier, "Les Juifs du Mzab et Israel," *Revue de l'institut des recherches sahariennes*, no. 19 (1960).

30. In this regard, we suffer from the virtual lack of *responsum* literature that might have linked rabbinical authorities in the Mzab with those elsewhere. Far earlier exceptions include the writings of R. Solomon b. Simon Duran (1400–1467), as cited in: H. Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa: From the Ottoman Conquests to the Present Time*, 2nd rev ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 1:10, especially footnote 15.
31. David Ralph Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870–1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 204. On the various ways in which the Dreyfus affair played out in Algeria: James P. Doughton, "A Colonial Affair? Dreyfus and the French Empire," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 31, no. 3 (2005); Dermenjian, *La crise anti-juive oranaise*; Friedman, *Colonialism and After*; Pierre Hebey, *Alger 1898: La grande vague antijuive* (Paris: NiL Éditions, 1996); Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism"; Steven Uran, "La réception de l'Affaire en Algérie," in *L'Affaire Dreyfus de A à Z*, ed. Michel Drouin (Paris: Flammarion, 1994). On contemporaneous anti-Semitic sentiment in France, which generated fifty-five distinct anti-Jewish riots, see especially: Michael Marrus, *The Politics of Assimilation: The French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Stephen Wilson, "The Antisemitic Riots of 1898 in France," *Historical Journal* 16, no. 4 (1973).
32. Brower refers, here, to the peculiar 1897 charge by the marquis de Morès that the Tuaregs were "actors in a vast Judeo-Anglo-Saxon conspiracy." Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 243.
33. ANOM 22H/16, Undated [ca 1898] report from the General Commandant de la Division to an unnamed "General."
34. ANOM 22H/16, Letter from the Service des Affaires indigènes, Constantine to the GGA [Lépine], 15 March 1898. This case is also discussed in Charles Kleinknecht's unpublished study on the Jews of the Mzab, in which he includes a number of original military sources on the theme: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 36, appendix 4–7.
35. ANOM 22H/16, Telegram from the Division of Constantine's Service des Affaires indigènes to the GGA [Lépine] regarding, 2 March 1898. This document features handwritten decoding of the original coded text.
36. The resulting controversy pivoted around the question of whether Jews should be obliged to take the *more judaïco*, the medieval oath that Jews in France were obliged to take in the course of lawsuits with non-Jews. The *more judaïco* was formally abolished in 1846, after Adolphe Crémieux, then a relatively unknown lawyer, defended the right of Jews to be sworn in courts of law in the same manner as all other Frenchmen. Crémieux's victory in court is seen as resulting in the nullification of the last legal distinction

between Jews and non-Jews in France. My thanks to Aron Rodrigue for drawing my attention to the evocative interplay of the 1808 events in Alsace, Crémieux's lawsuit, and the Touggourt affair. On the incident in Alsace and so-called Infamous Decree: Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France*, 37–52; Lisa Leff, "The Impact of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin on French Colonial Policy in Algeria," *CCAR Journal* (Winter 2007): 40–80. On the *more judaïco*: Phyllis Albert Cohen, *The Jewish Oath in Nineteenth-Century France*, Spiegel Lectures in European Jewish History (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1982).

37. Holsinger notes that the expansion of French rule did also reanimate the trade of certain staples between the Tell and the Mzab. Holsinger, "Muslim Responses to French Imperialism," 62. See also: Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community," especially chapters 2 and 3.
38. Also drawing merchants westward was the slave trade, which was more (but not entirely) regulated in areas under French control. Brower, *A Desert Named Peace*, 139–97. This synopsis is based upon the wide range of sources on trans-Saharan commerce, including: Baier, "Trans-Saharan Trade and the Sahel"; Baier, *An Economic History of Central Niger*; Boahen, "The Caravan Trade"; Cordell, "Eastern Libya, Wadai and the Sanusiya"; Fituri, "Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Bilad As-Sudan Trade Relations"; Haarmann, "The Dead Ostrich"; Johnson, "Calico Caravans"; Lovejoy, "Commercial Sectors in the Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Central Sudan"; Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails*; Miège, "Le commerce trans-saharien"; Newbury, "North African and Western Sudan Trade"; Pascon, *La maison d'Iligh*; Schroeter, "The Jews of Essaouira"; Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*. My own work on this subject includes: Stein, *Plumes*.
39. These stereotypes may well have played off of local sentiment—there is evidence, for example, that non-Jewish merchants in the Mzab benefited from the suspicion of trading partners who distrusted Jewish agents and chose to sell their products to Mzabi (Ibadite) merchants in their stead. Holsinger, "Muslim Responses to French Imperialism," 132–33, 136.
40. Archivio generale, Suore Missionarie di Nostra Signora d'Africa (Sœurs Blanches), Rome [hereafter, SMNdA SB] A 5026/5, "Débuts de Ghardaïa (Textes copiés par S. André du Sacré-Cour in 'Chronique des missions d'Afrique [4 November 1892, 17 March 1893; July–September 1893],'" 7. On the history of the White Fathers' station in Ghardaïa: MdA, PB, "Historique par Denis Pilet 09.1997," "Quelques souvenirs sur le poste de Ghardaïa (par une Sœur Blanche)."
41. The literature on this point is extensive. For a theoretical approach to the question: B. Marie Perinbaum, "Social Relations in the Trans-Saharan and Western Sudanese Trade: An Overview," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 4 (1973). Empirical accounts may be found in the sources cited above on trans-Saharan commerce.
42. My thanks to Benjamin Brower for his assistance with this argument.

43. Given that Chemouil/Chemouiel was a common name within Ghardaïa's Jewish community, there is no reason to think this is the same Chemouil who requested the right to dwell outside the Jewish quarter of town some years earlier. On the Talabas [or Tolbas, as they are referred to in French sources]: Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity*, 51; Judith Scheele, "Coming to Terms with Tradition: Manuscript Conservation in Contemporary Algeria," in *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, ed. Graziano Krätli and Ghislaine Lydon (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 296. It is surprising that the involvement of the Talabas in this affair did not spark more official outrage, as military representatives had come to imagine the Talabas as "a powerful religious corporation" that was "hostile" to French domination. ANOM 22H/12, Letter and report from provisional commander Service des Affaires indigènes to acting GGA [Grévy], 9 February 1880. See also: ANOM 22H/17, "The Tolbas of the Mzab—Origins," 10 July 1912.
44. ANOM 22H/16, Report from the prosecutor general of Algiers to the GGA [Lafferrièr], 7 September 1898. Ben Chemouil was said to operate under the name Brahim ben Himan: Letter from the GGA [Lafferrièr] to the Chef du Service des Affaires indigènes and military personnel in Algeria, 23 September 1898.
45. ANOM 22H/16, Letter from the GGA [Lafferrièr] to the Chef du Service des Affaires indigènes and military personnel in Algeria, 23 September 1898.
46. ANOM 22H/16, Telegram from 31 May 1899, from the GGA [Lafferrièr] to the Service des Affaires indigènes (Constantine); Response from the Service des Affaires indigènes (Constantine) detailing that eighty-three items were sent in response to the GGA's request. Whether these eighty-three documents were preserved is unclear: attempts to locate them have come to naught.
47. One annual report issued by the French authorities in Ghardaïa noted that Jews engaged in "precious metal work," proving a problem for the local police as they were so often robbed. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899. On their work in this and other professions, see also: Cöyne, "Le Mzab," 186–87. AIU (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921; AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 44–35. ANOM Oasis 87—Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1907, 995–996, in which it was reported that in Ghardaïa Circle, "Jewelry-making, gold- and silver-smithing are in the hands of the Jews." Jules Liorel suggests, further, that Jews had subspecialties within the jewelry trade, including the making of ornate bracelets. GRI SC, Liorel, "Dans le Mzab," 12–13. Writing five years after Liorel published his article, a French official mused that though the Jews of Ghardaïa had historically dominated jewelry making in town, local (non-Jewish) consumers had come to prefer jewelry imported from artisans in the north. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1898. On sales of silver and gold

jewelry (presumably by Jews) in Ghardaïa's weekly market: Motylinski, "Notes historiques sur le M'zab," 427.

48. Eliahou Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram: Traditions des israélites du Mzab, Eliahou fils de Rebbi Amrane Sebban de Ghardaïa, oasis dans le désert d'Algérie* (Netanya: Eliahou Sebban, 2001). 22; Briggs, *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert*, 67.
49. On women's labor in the Mzab more generally: S. Pauline-Marie, "Le tissage dans la vie féminine au Mzab," *Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie* 55, no. 8 (1949–1951); A. M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab: Étude de sociologie musulmane* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927–1931). By the 1950s, Jewish girls and women also participated in the wool industry, particularly as carders.
50. Liorel, "Dans le Mzab," 12.
51. Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 118.
52. Metlili served as a crucial meeting point and administrative hub for the Chaamba (Sha anba) confederacy, a traditionally nomadic group that historically served as transporters, associates, and agents for the Ibadites of the Mzab: Holsinger, "Migration, Commerce, and Community," 140–44; Motylinski, "Notes historiques sur le M'zab," 124–25.
53. GGA [Jonnart] to Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 28 September 1907, reproduced in: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. This conversation was initiated by the Ministry of War. A copy of a 16 April 1917 query by the ministry about the status of the Jews of the Mzab is enclosed as an addendum to: ANOM 22H/17, Letter from the GGA [Lutaud] to the General Commandant en chef des troupes françaises de l'Afrique du Nord, 24 April 1917.
2. ANOM 22H/17, Letter from the GGA [Lutaud] to the Ministre de Guerre, 24 March 1917.
3. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Augustin Jomier, "Islah ibadite et intégration nationale: Vers une communauté mozabite? (1925–1964)," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* (forthcoming).
4. Richard S. Fogarty, "Between Subjects and Citizens: Algerians, Islam, and French National Identity during the Great War," in *Race and Nation: Ethnic Systems in the Modern World*, ed. Paul Spickard (New York: Routledge, 2005); Richard S. Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
5. On the commercial network of Mozabite traders in and beyond the Tell: Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites," especially chapter 4.
6. ANOM 23H/94, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1914, 2.
7. Ibid. and ANOM 23H/94, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1918, 2.
8. Fogarty, "Between Subjects and Citizens," 188.

9. Ibid., 181. Fogarty's quotation is drawn from a 1914 statement by Minister of War Millerand.
10. On which, see the contents of ANOM 22H/18, 22H/21, and 22H/23. On conscription in the Mzab generally: 22H/23, "La conscription au Mzab." On Mzabi Jews in particular: 22H/18, see, for example, Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, residing in Laghouat to the GGA [Abel], 2 October 1919; Letter from the GGA [Abel] to the General Commandant de la division—Affaires indigènes, 18 September 1919; Letter from the Commandant Supérieur du Cercle de Ghardaïa to the Commandant militaire du territoire, 15 September 1919. On the history of conscription in the Mzab, see also: Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites," 264–70.
11. Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim and Fédération des élus mozabites auprès des pouvoirs publics français pour la défense de leurs intérêts, *Question mozabite: Le Service militaire obligatoire. Conséquences de son application au Mzab. Mémoire présenté par Omar Ben Aïssa Ben Brahim, président de la Fédération, à l'occasion de la commémoration du Centenaire de l'Algérie* (Alger: Impr. la Typographie d'art, 1930). Among relevant archival documents, see, for example, ANOM 23H/94, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1919, 2 and 1922, 1–2. These annual reports refer to a mood of calm lasting from 1922 to 1930, but also to the ongoing resistance to conscription in the Mzab, and especially on the part of its Ibadite residents.
12. ANOM 22H/21, Petition (in French and Arabic) from residents of the Mzab protesting their conscription into the French army, 2 October 1919. The administration's response, in the same folder, features a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa to the GGA [Abel] and the Général des troupes françaises en Afrique du Nord, 2 October 1919.
13. ANOM 22H/23 "Rapport sur l'ensemble des opérations de la Commission de Tirage au sort au Mzab en 1926" by Col. Clavey, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 19 May 1926.
14. Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim emerged as an advocate for Mozabite cultural rights as early as the 1890s, when he delivered to the French Chamber of Deputies a petition advocating for the maintenance of Ibadites mores and rights, on which: Ben Aïssa ben Brahim and Fédération des élus mozabites auprès des pouvoirs publics français pour la défense de leurs intérêts, *Question mozabite*. One can also track Omar ben Aïssa's political activity in various archival folders, including ANOM 22H/22 and 3CAB/65, which includes documents generated in the course of military surveillance. In the subsequent chapter, further sources pertaining to his political career will be cited. On the Mozabite struggle against conscription: Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites," 264–70. On the evolution of a culture of nationalism in Algeria this period (and thereafter): McDougall, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*. For more on how Mzabi reformism

would, over time, intersect with the various strands of Algerian nationalisms: Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Jomier, "Islah ibadite et intégration nationale."

15. Ben Aïssa ben Brahim rehearses these arguments in: Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim and Fédération des élus mozabites auprès des pouvoirs publics français pour la défense de leurs intérêts, *Question mozabite*. For a journalistic account of these events: ANOM 22H/23, "Le Recrutement obligatoire au Mzab: Trois délégués viennent de se rendre à Paris," *Dépêche Algérienne*, 19 November 1924. French authorities' discussion of these events may be found in the same folder.
16. Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim had defended these rights before the French Chamber of Deputies decades earlier: Ben Aïssa ben Brahim, *Pétition adressée à la Chambre des Députés*.
17. Preliminary figures are included in a chart that accounts for recruitments from the Mzab, ANOM 22H/23, GGA, "Recensement H. Mzab Instructions," 21 November 1924. For a more thorough accounting: Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites," 236–37.
18. Reference to the buying out of lottery spots occurs in a number of archival sources. See, for example: ANOM, Letter from Commandant Ajaccio, Commandant du bureau de recrutement indigène d'Alger, to GGA [Chataigneau], 28 May 1946. Other correspondence notes that the young Jews of Ghardaïa did not have the funds to buy themselves out of the conscription lottery so took their chances with the drawing of lots. ANOM 22H/23, Chef de Bataillon Belandou, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, "Sur l'ensemble des opérations de la revision au Mzab (classe 1928)," 22 May 1928.
19. ANOM 22H/21, Letter from the *djemaa israélite* of Ghardaïa to the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 15 September 1919; Letter from the Commandant Supérieur du Cercle de Ghardaïa to the Commandant militaire du territoire, 15 September 1919. Such performative declarations echoed those being articulated by Jews in Algeria's north, as in France proper. In both contexts (as elsewhere in Europe) Jews' service in national militaries at wartime was being declared, by Jews, as a barometer of their patriotism. On northern Algerian Jews' response to wartime service: Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism," especially chapter 3. On the role of military service for Jews in France, I am informed by Derek Penslar's as yet unpublished scholarship on cognate themes.
20. ANOM 22H/21, Letter from the Commandant Supérieur du Cercle de Ghardaïa to the Commandant militaire du territoire, 15 September 1919.
21. ANOM 22H/21, Undated "Note pour Monsieur le Colonel, Chef du Service."
22. ANOM 22H/19, Letter from the GGA [Abel] to the Division d'Affaires indigènes in Algiers, 18 September 1919.
23. ANOM 22H/23, GGA Report, "Exécution des prescriptions des instructions génerale du 1e février, 1914," 1928.

24. ANOM 22H/18. A copy of the 28 September 1919 petition appears within a report from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa to the GGA [Abel] 14 October 1919.
25. Ibid. The notion that Mzabi Jews served in the French army in the course of the First World War, whether true or false, is echoed in: AIU (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921.
26. Ibid.
27. ANOM 22H/19, Letter from the Chef du Service des Affaires indigènes to the directeur des territoires du sud, 20 October 1933.
28. CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, "Statut israélite," 3, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," "Situation des Israélites du Mzab," Letter from Jean Moriaz to the Délégué régional de Lyon, 29 March 1963. On the initiation of the *état civil* in the Mzab: ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1927, 1; 22H/23, Chef de Bataillon Belandou, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, "Sur l'ensemble des opérations de la revision au Mzab (classe 1928)," 22 May 1928. On the fixing of names in Algeria, see also: Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 245, n. 53; Slymovics, "Visual Ethnography." On the metropolitan history of the *état-civil*: Weil, *How to Be French*; Gérard Noiriel, "The Identification of the Citizen: The Birth of Republican Civil Status in France," in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practice in the Modern World*, ed. Jane Caplan and John C. Torpey (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
29. On the contestation over the assignation of names among the Muslim population of the Mzab: ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1927.
30. CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, "Avant projet de loi," 29 August 1955.
31. See, for example: ANOM 22H/23, Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Brot, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, to Général de corps d'armée Commandant de la 19e région territoriale in Alger, 18 February 1943.
32. For his most detailed medical analysis, to which the preceding paragraph refers: Joseph Julien Huguet, "Les conditions générales de la vie au Mzab: La médecine et les pratiques médicales indigène," *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 5, no. 4 (1903). Huguet also charted indigenous medical practices, including those practiced uniquely by Jews. See also: Huguet, "Les Juifs de Mzab"; Huguet, "Recherches sur les habitants du Mzab." Some years later, J. M. Pascal would add trachoma to the list of ailments that Jews contracted in disproportionate numbers. J. M. Pascal, "Essai médical sur le M'zab," *Arch. Institut Pasteur d'Algérie* 12, no. 1 (March 1934): 128.
33. On the history of the White Fathers' and White Sisters' station in Ghardaïa: MdA, PB "Historique par Denis Pilet 09.1997," Quelques souvenirs sur le poste de Ghardaïa (par une Sœur Blanche)."

34. SMNdA SB, "A5026/5 Diaries 1902–1922," entry of 29 July 1897.
35. ANOM Oasis 87, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1911–1937.
36. Huguet, "Les conditions générales de la vie au Mzab," 250. J. M. Pascal noted that this was particularly true of women: Pascal, "Essai médical sur le M'zab," 123. See also: Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 127, footnotes 27 and 28.
37. ANOM Oasis 87, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1911–1937, 1923: "Troisième partie, 'Assistance et hygiène publique.' "
38. Huguet makes clear that civilians were treated at the military hospital: Huguet, "Les conditions générales de la vie au Mzab," 251. On the patronage of this institution by Jews and Arabophone Muslims, see, for example: ANOM Oasis 87, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1911–1937, 1923: "Troisième partie, 'Assistance et hygiène publique.' " Relying on different archival sources, Régine Goutalier confirms that Jews relied heavily on the indigenous infirmary, in contrast with the town's Ibadite population. Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 127, footnotes 27 and 28.
39. Cited in Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 126–27. On the larger phenomenon of TB and TB vaccinations in Algeria: Clifford Rosenberg, "The International Politics of Vaccine Testing in Interwar Algiers," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 3 (2012).
40. Pascal, "Essai médical sur le M'zab," 123.
41. SMNdA SB, "A5026/5 Diaries 1902–1922," entry of 20 August 1908.
42. AIU (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921.
43. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*.
44. ANOM 22H/19, Undated letter from the Direction-générale des territoires du sud to the Directeur du Service de Santé des territoires du sud; see also: Letter from Capitaine Pinon to the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 4 February 1936.
45. ANOM 22H/19, Petition from fifty-three Jews of Ghardaïa to the GGA [le Beau], 8 December 1935.
46. ANOM 22H/19, Letter from Capitaine Pinon to the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa [le Beau], 4 February 1936.
47. ANOM 22H/19, Undated letter from the Direction-générale des territoires du sud to the Directeur du Service de Santé des territoires du sud; see also: Letter from Capitaine Pinon to the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 4 February 1936.
48. Letter from Capitaine Pinon, head of the annex, 12 December 1935.
49. Letter from Colonel Bertschi, Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa to the GGA, 10 February 1936; Opinion of the Directeur du Service de Santé des territoires du sud, 17 February 1936.
50. Pascal, "Essai médical sur le M'zab," 118–20.
51. A pharmacy operated by the White Sisters was introduced in El Goléa and Laghouat in 1937; ANOM 3 CAB 91, "Listes des réalisations effectuées dans

le poste d'El Goléa," 12 January 1938; "État des grandes réalisations techniques accomplies jusqu'à ce jour dans l'Annexe de Laghouat," 27 December 1937. On the role of the White Sisters in assisting female patients in Ghardaïa's indigenous infirmary, see: Pascal, "Essai médical sur le M'zab," 122, as well as: MdA, PB, "Historique par Denis Pilet 09.1997," Quelques souvenirs sur le poste de Ghardaïa (par une Sœur Blanche)."

52. ANOM 24H/256, "État numérique des médicins juifs et non juifs du territoire [du Sud]" by Lieutenant Colonel Brot, Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 9 March 1942.
53. ANOM Oasis 103, especially the exchange between the offices of the GGA [Naegelen] and the Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa of October and November of 1950. The quotation itself is drawn from a letter by the GGA to the Commandant militaire, 18 November 1950.
54. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*, 15. Ghazal builds, here, upon James McDougall's study of the self-imposed exilic Algerian community in Tunisia, which was, in his rendering, crucial to the shaping of Algerian nationalist discourse. McDougall, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*. For a broad discussion of educational options available in colonial Algeria: Antoine Léon, *Colonisation, enseignement et éducation: Étude historique et comparative* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991).
55. For a monitoring of these philanthropic efforts, see the contents of: AIU B4, 1918–1927. That the AIU was seemingly satisfied with these efforts is seen in the self-congratulatory note of the director of the Algiers office, who declared in 1921: "Faithful to its mission, the Alliance has made a point of bringing aid to Jews in southern Algeria as soon as it hears of their distress. The realization of this gesture greatly exceeds a simple and banal distribution of goods. Thanks to the Alliance, far off communities, disseminated across the Saharan oases, no longer feel so isolated. Contact has been established, a moral tie unites them with the Jews of Algeria as well as with their brethren in Europe, and it's a great comfort for them to know that across the desert, on the other side of the sea, a powerful society they had no idea existed is interested in their fate and has given them a helping hand." AIU B4, 1918–1927, Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the AIU president, 14 June 1921.
56. See, respectively, SMNdA SB A 5026/5, "Diaire imprimé," 30 September 1895; ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899. The latter source does not specify the pupils' religion.
57. SMNdA SB A 5026/5, "Diaire imprimé," 22 November 1894.
58. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1923, "Cinquième partie." On the absence of girls' educational facilities at this time: ANOM Oasis 87, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1911–1937, 1920, "Écoles coraniques ou hebraïques." Information on the fifteen Jewish girls who managed to attend Ghardaïa's boys school: Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 124.

59. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1933, "Cinquième partie."
60. Cited in: Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 124.
61. MdA, PB "Ghardaïa I. 1884–1892," White Fathers' diary entries of 23 January 1884; 20 January 1885. An 1899 report of the Annexe de Ghardaïa mentions that "a few Mozabite and Jewish children" attended the school of the White Fathers in 1899. Somewhat improbably, an 1894 entry in the diary of the White Sisters, meanwhile, speaks of attracting forty Jewish youths to the school—though whether or not this (likely inflated) number combines the total number of pupils in the White Fathers' and White Sisters' facilities is unclear. These figures are represented in the following sources, respectively; ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899; SMNdA SB, "A5026/5 Diaries 1902–1922," diary entry of 28 November 1894. The conversionary impulse of the White Fathers and White Sisters courses through the diaries of each organization. One rather gleeful entry of the White Fathers' diary of 5 April 1885, for example, reports on the successful delivery of the "Halleluja" in a Jewish home, at which representatives of the military and the White Fathers were in attendance.
62. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1906, "Instruction publique." In an attempt to evaluate the level of schooling attained by Jewish and Muslim boys in Ghardaïa, Régine Goutalier has (based on incomplete data) tallied the total number of youths who attended either religious or public school over a forty-year period, from 1907 to 1950. The results affirm that Jews pursued the educational options in Ghardaïa in greater numbers than did Muslims, but they do not reveal the rates at which these populations attended religious or state-sponsored schools. Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa."
63. ANOM Oasis 87, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1911–1937, 1920, "Écoles coraniques ou hébraïques."
64. ANOM 22H/18. This expression of pride in the state of Jews' education appears in a petition submitted by a group of Jews in search of naturalization; the petition, dated 28 September 1919, appears within a report from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa to the GGA [Abel] 14 October 1919.
65. For a broad discussion of educational options available in colonial Algeria: Léon, *Colonisation, enseignement et éducation*.
66. See, for example, the comments of: ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1945, 51.
67. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899.
68. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1906, "Écoles des zaouoias ou mosquées." The existence of a Jewish school is referenced in such annual reports as early as 1899, but without an accounting of student enrollment. ANOM 63I, Cercle de Ghardaïa, Rapports annuels, 1899.
69. Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*, see especially chapter 4.

70. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 17.
71. ANOM 81F/1212, *Documents Algériens: Le Mzab* (Service d'information du cabinet du gouverneur général de l'Algérie) no. 16, 30 August 1955. See also: Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*.
72. Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," 15.
73. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 26 and related, original documents in appendix 1–7; ANdA, WdG 361, "Association culturelle israélites de Ghardaïa."
74. Reference to the sentiments expressed in 1913 may be found in a petition for French naturalization submitted to the GGA in September 1919 (ANOM 22H/18) that was included in a report from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa on behalf of the GGA [Abel], 14 October 1919.
75. On the assault on the private synagogues of northern Algeria by colonial authorities and Jewish reformers in France: Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith*, 91–94.
76. BDIC F delta res 798 (97), "Rapport relatif à la naturalization des Juifs du Mzab," 26 May 1926.
77. According to Charles Kleinknecht, the merging of the warring factions in Ghardaïa was negotiated by Rabbi Abraham Fingerhut, a representative of the AIU and future director of the École Rabbinique de France. The reunion itself is documented in an extraordinary affidavit signed by 149 members of the community, dated 31 August 1936. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. On the camps of North Africa, and the larger story of Vichy control in the region: Michael Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du centre, 1950); Norbert Belange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais, 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); André Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1972); Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy*; Robert B. Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Maurice Vanino-Wanikoff, "Le régime des camps en Afrique du Nord," in *Le combattant volontaire juif, 1939–45* (Paris: Abexpress, 1971). The numbers cited above are taken from Satloff, 58–59.
2. On the history of the railway: Ralph Austen, *Trans-Saharan Africa in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 124; Ruth Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
3. This theme courses through the writings of a variety of authors of Algerian

and Tunisian background, including Albert Memmi and Jacques Derrida. See, for example: Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other, or, the Prosthesis of Origin* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Memmi, *La statue de sel*; Memmi, *Portrait du colonisé*. Also relevant is: Stora, *Les trois exils*. For a rather more synoptic look at the period: Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*; Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie*; Jacques Cantier, *L'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2002); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Marrus, *The Politics of Assimilation*; Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism," especially chapter 7.

4. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Jomier, "Islah ibadite et intégration nationale."
5. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Sante , autorisations d'exercer la médecine," see especially letters by Maurice [Möise] Guedj to the GGA, the first dated 19 June 1941, the second with date obscured, and the third dated 18 October 1941. Contained within this folder are other documents pertaining to Guedj's appeal, including his birth certificate and the birth certificates of his parents.
6. On the Vichy period see especially: Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*.
7. Correspondence insisting on this fact may be found, for example, in ANdA, WdG 446, "Statuts des Juifs 1943–1882 [*sic*]," including GGA to the Commandant militaire du territoire du sud, 28 July 1942; 2 March 1943. See also: ANdA, WdG 48, "Loi du 3/10/40 Statut des Juifs," Letter from GGA to Service des Affaires indigènes, El Goléa, 21 July 1941. Perhaps the most difficult of the anti-Jewish restrictions for the regime to square with realities on the ground in Algeria's south was the prohibition on Jews' right to bear arms. Even the governor-general was forced to admit that in a region in which Jews, like Muslims, kept arms for the purpose of hunting (rather than self-protection), it was prudent to exercise caution and flexibility in the execution of the law. ANdA, WdG 446, "Statuts des Juifs 1943–1882 [*sic*]," Letter by GGA Chatel to M. le Préfet du Département d'Alger, 27 December 1941.
8. ANdA, WdG, 48 "Loi du 3/10/1940, Statut des Juifs" and 446, "Statuts des Juifs 1943–1882 [*sic*]."
9. Further research is required on the fate of the grand Hotel Transatlantique—the one conspicuously bourgeois structure in Ghardaïa. This hotel, replete with lavish pool, was built and owned by a local Jew.
10. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Santé, autorisations d'exercer la médecine."
11. A paper trail pertaining to this process winds through archives in France and southern Algeria, both. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Santé, autorisations d'exercer la médecine," "État numérique des médecins juifs et non

juifs du territoire," 9 March 1942. Sources pertaining to the Vichy hunt for Jewish professionals, including doctors and midwives, in Algeria's Southern Territories also appear in the municipal archives of Ghardaïa: ANdA, WdG "48 Loi du 3/10/1940, Statut des Juifs" and "446 Statuts des Juifs 1943–1882 [*sic*]."

12. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Santé, autorisations d'exercer la médecine," Letter from GGA to Préfet d'Algers, 20 March 1942.
13. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Santé, autorisations d'exercer la médecine," Letter from Maxime [Möise] Darmon to the Commandant du territoire de Ghardaïa, 6 March 1942. Darmon's father was Abraham Darmon.
14. ANOM 24H/256, "Service de Santé, autorisations d'exercer la médecine," "Avis du directeur du Service de Santé des territoires du sud," 25 June 1941.
15. The circuitous fate of the members of this group is documented in: ANOM 9H/124, "Juifs astreints à résider dans différentes localités des territoires du sud"; ANOM Oasis 37, "Commissions d'armistices, Étrangers et Israélites—correspondance 1941–1942." See also: Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy*, 55–56.
16. Material on Elie Douieb's relocation, marriage, and deportation to northern Algeria, including official correspondence between the aforementioned parties, may be found in: ANOM Oasis 37, "Étrangers et Israélites, 1941–1942," and in ANOM 9H/124, "Juifs astreints à résider dans différentes localités des territoires du Sud."
17. ANOM 9H/124, "Juifs astreints à résider dans différentes localités des territoires du sud," Letter from the GGA [Chatel] to the Chef de Bataillon, Commandant militaire du territoire OA [Oasis], 21 November 1941.
18. ANOM 9H/124, "Juifs astreints à résider dans différentes localités des territoires du sud," Letter from E. Douieb to Préfet du Département d'Alger, 3 July 1941.
19. ANOM 9H/124, "Juifs astreints à résider dans différentes localités des territoires du sud," Letter from GGA to Commandant militaire du territoire des Oasis à Ouargla, 16 July 1942.
20. ANOM 81F/1211, Yves Chatel to Procureur Général près la Cour d'appel, 24 October 1941; "Objet: Mariage Juif Douieb," 22 November 1941.
21. ANOM Oasis 37, "Étrangers et Israélites, 1941–1942," Telegram to Commandant militaire du territoire des Oasis à Ouargla, 15 December 1941.
22. Lubelski's memoir describes in rich detail his internment in Djelfa—a camp that held many prominent French communists. Lubelski's encounters with the Jews of Djelfa followed on the heels of the death of a Jewish internee, whom his camp-mates sought (successfully) to bury in Djelfa's Jewish cemetery. YIVO Library and Archive, Center for Jewish History [hereafter, YL], New York: Benjamin Lubelski, *Oyf Gots barot* (Tel Aviv: H. Leyvik-farlag, 1996), 31–39.
23. MdA, PB**,** **"**Diaires, Algérie, Ghardaïa-Metlili D.OR 40–41," "Cahier VI, 1945–1947," 5 March 1945.

24. On the events and debates that attended the re-abrogation of the Crémieux decree in the wake of the war, and the outcry that led to its reinstitution: Roberts, "Jews, Citizenship, and Antisemitism," 361–82.
25. For example, along with his wife, Sellam Kazouka Aziza bent Mouehy, Makhlouf Partouche (the man who, later in life, would come to serve as the last chief rabbi of Ghardaïa and help Jean Moriaz assemble a civil register for the Jews of his community) submitted their demands for naturalization in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. The petitioners' request was denied. ANdA, WdG 454, "Divers."
26. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 39–43, the quotation is from 40. Also informing my sense of the post-1944 period are: Charles Robert Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964); Claude Collot, *Les institutions de l'Algérie durant la période coloniale (1830–1962)* (Paris: CNRS, 1987). For a broader discussion of how the policies of the Fourth Republic were constitutive of a rather more global, post–World War II context: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
27. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 40.
28. I have also encountered, in the archives of the White Fathers (Rome), clippings of a French-language communist bulletin, *Le Mzab de demain*, published in the Mzab in 1944: how long this was published, by whom, and what influence it could claim are unclear. The clipping appears, out of chronological order, in: MdA, PB**, "**Diaires, Algérie, Ghardaïa-Metlili D.OR 40–41," "Cahier VI, 1945–1947." The issue is dated December 1944.
29. ANOM 81F/1295. See, for example: Newspaper clipping: Minutes of the Algerian Assembly, session of 8 February 1950, 99–106; "Les Délégués du Mzab Hadjoute Brahim ben El Hadj, Hadj M'Hamed Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim," Undated "Mémoire" and "Requête à Monsieur Ministre de l'Intérieur," 10 May 1951; Letter from the Comité d'action pour la défense du Mzab to M. le Président de la République française, 20 December 1951.
30. Bibliothèque nationale de France François Mitterrand [hereafter, BNdF François Mitterrand], "Les statuts du 'Parti de l'union populaire de l'Oued-Mzab,'" 14 February 1951.
31. A copy of the legal findings from 1914 are filed as: ANOM 81F/1295, "Consultation et conclusion des juristes sur la convention de 1853 entre le Mzab et la France, M. Henri Robert, Batonnier de l'Ordre des Avocats, M. Monard, Avocat au Conseil d'État et près la Cour de Cassation, M. Pillet, Professeur de la Faculté de Droit de Paris." Appended to this brief is a second penned by Suzanne Bastid, Professeur de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Lyon, in consultation with the delegates from the Mzab, Hadjoute Brahim ben el Hadj, Hadj M'hamed Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim, and Cheik Mohamed ben el Hadj Sala Ettaminy, dated 25 March, 1948.

32. ANOM 81F/1295, Letter by Ahmed-Touffik El Madani [Ahmad Tawfiq Al-Madani] to Brahim ben El Hadj and ben Aïssa ben Brahim, 10 December 1947.
33. Shaykh Bayyud had been involved in advocating for Mzabi rights for some time. At least as early as 1939 French military officers were tracking his actions, calling him "a notorious and active xenophobe" and viewing him as an agitator for the rights of Mozabites and as a possible affiliate of the Algerian Communist Party [PCA]. His name reappears frequently in annual reports of the military in Ghardaïa Circle, including (with those of 1939 and 1941 offering particular detail): ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1939, 3–9; 1941, 3–8; 1946, 1–2; 1949, 1–5. (The above quotation is taken from the report of 1946.) By Bayyud's own account, in 1944 he participated in a commission of "Islamic reformers" that argued to the governor-general's office for the autonomous rights of the Mzab. ANOM 81F/1295, Newspaper clipping: Minutes of the Algerian Assembly, session of 8 February 1950, 99–106. For a more general description of Shaykh Bayyud's life and work: Bendrissou, "Implantation des Mozabites," see especially 8.1. On the reformist movement of which he was a part: Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Jomier, "Islah ibadite et intégration nationale."
34. ANOM 81F/1295, Newspaper clipping: Minutes of the Assemblée algérienne, session of 8 February 1950, 104–6.
35. Ghazal, *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism*; Jomier, "Islah ibadite et intégration nationale."
36. ANOM 10H/47, "Statut des Israélites du Mzab, 1952." The petition is dated 26 March 1948.
37. ANOM 10H/47, "Statut des Israélites du Mzab, 1952," Letter from GGA [Naegelen] to Rabbi Jacob Meyer Partouche, 2 April 1948.
38. On the petitions of Saharan Jews for French citizenship at this time; CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction de l'Algérie et des Départements d'Outre-Mer) with the proposition by Jean Scelles concerning the *état civil* "des indigènes israëlites du territoire algérien qui ont conservé leur statut personnel local," 28 July 1952, 3; CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from Ministre de l'État (Sahara) to Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, 7 March 1960.
39. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1951, 6–7.
40. Ibid.
41. A member of the French resistance during the Second World War, Lazarus was first brought to Algeria in the employ of the ORT (Organization of Rehabilitation through Training). Lazarus was also the founder of the Zionist monthly *L'information juive*, the leading Jewish French-language newspaper in the postwar period. Simon, Laskier, and Reguer, *The Jews of the Middle*

East and North Africa in Modern Times, 466. Mention of his visit is also made in: BNdF François Mitterrand, "Les Juifs algériens du Mzab," *L'information juive*, 4.

42. CZA C3/1408, Jacques Lazarus, "*Les Juifs algériens du Mzab: Voyage de M. Lazarus à Ghardaïa*," 29 October 1951, 2; Jacques Lazarus, "Juifs algériens du Mzab," 23 November 1951.
43. Neil MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France, 1900–62* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). 19, chapters 10 and 11.
44. French official correspondence about the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in Guerrera, and concerning the emigration of forty-eight of this town's fifty Jews to Ghardaïa, can be found in: ANOM Oasis 76, see especially: Letter from Chef de Ghardaïa Annex to Chef de Bataillon, 4 September 1948; undated [though likely from the late summer or early fall of 1948], unsigned memoradum marked "Secret"; Chef de Bataillon, Ghardaïa, to Lieutenant Colonel, Ghardaïa, 5 June 1948. On the violence in Touggourt: JDC (New York) 45/45 #23, "Africa, Algeria, General, 1945–1952," Letter from Helene Cazes-Benatar [the World Jewish Congress's representative in North Africa] to Joseph Schwartz [JDC office, Paris], 1 February 1949.
45. ANOM Oasis 76, Administrator, Laghouat, to Commandant militaire de Ghardaïa, 11 June 1948; Chef de Bataillon, Ghardaïa to Lieutenant Colonel, Ghardaïa, 5 June 1948.
46. Eliahou Sebban has written of small communities of Mzabi Jews living in Aflou, Znina, and "Kfar Massad" (likely Hassi Messaoud). Sebban, *Va-yikah 'Amram*, 30–32. Charles Kleinknecht noted that in May 1962, when military authorities were reconstructing a civil register of Ghardaïa's Jewry, they were able to document the existence of 93 Jews born in the Mzab dwelling in Aflou, 63 in Djelfa, 57 in Ouargla, and 48 in Touggourt. This informal census taking also identified 164 Mzabi Jews dwelling in France, of whom 54 were living in Paris. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, 4.4, 'Ghardaïa Jews, Kleinecht,' Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 24. Military correspondence also refers to small numbers of Jews born in Ghardaïa who were found to have registered with the French military in Touggourt in violation of the law: ANOM 22H/23, Letter from the Général [Carayol] de corps d'armée Commandant de la 19e to the Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 15 April 1943 and associated correspondence.
47. ANdA, WdG 434, "Liste des Israelites non indigents." This undated list was compiled in response to an order of 8 January 1953.
48. ANOM 22H/23, "Note de Service No. 431," Général de corps d'armée de Boisboissel, Commandant de la 19e région territoriale, 25 February 1943 and "Note de Service No. 990," by the same party, 21 April 1943; Letter from the Général [Carayol] de corps d'armée Commandant de la 19e région territoriale to the Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 15 April 1943.

49. ANOM 22H/23, Letter from Captain Gautier, Chef de l'Annexe de Ghardaïa, territoire militaire de l'Algérie, Annexe de Ghardaïa, to Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, Laghouat, 27 February 1943. Additional correspondence pertaining to Balouka can be found in the same folder.
50. See, for example, the myriad appeals for travel visas and passports contained within: ANOM Oasis 67, "Étrangers, 1946."
51. ANOM letter from Commandant Ajaccio, Commandant du Bureau de recrutement indigène d'Alger, to GGA [Chataigneau], 28 May 1946.
52. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 14.
53. The number 344 comes from: Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 135. Charles Kleinknecht reports lower numbers in one account, and higher numbers in another: for the former, AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 24–26; for the latter, PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, 4.4, "Ghardaïa Jews, Kleinecht," Keinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab, 37. Mzabi Jews' emigration to Palestine was being carefully tracked by the French government: see, for example ANOM 23H-94 109, Annual Reports of the Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1949, 8, which reports that approximately seventy Jews left the Mzab for Israel in the year after the founding of the state, and; ANOM Oasis 76, and; SHAT 1H1451 D2 bis, GGA, territoires du sud, "Bulletins de renseignements, Ghardaïa," whose monthly dispatches narrate Jewish rates of emigration to Israel from the city, and French concerns over this process. On the Mzabi Jews' acclimation process in France: Freddy Raphael, "Les Juifs du M'zab dans l'Est de la France: Problématique et premières étapes d'une recherche," in *Les relations entre Juifs et Musulmans en Afrique du Nord, XIX^{e}–XX^{e} siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980); Freddy Raphael, "Un exil sans royaume: Les jeunes Juifs du M'zab en Alsace (1962–1982)," in *Les relations intercommunautaires juives en méditerranée occidentale, XIII^{e}–XX^{e} siècle*, ed. J. L. Miège (Paris: CNRS, 1982); Freddy Raphael, "La mémoire blessée des Juifs du M'zab," in *Communautés juives des marges de Maghreb*, ed. Michel Abitbol (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1982). On Algerian Jewish migration to France more generally: Sarah Beth Sussman, "Changing Lands, Changing Identities: The Migration of Algerian Jewry to France, 1954–1967" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2002).
54. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1949, 8. This version of events is echoed by Lloyd Cabot Briggs: Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 85. Citing Briggs as an authority on the subject, the *New York Times* reported in 1961 that about two hundred of Ghardaïa's remaining community of roughly twelve hundred had emigrated to Israel "in the last few years." "Jews in Sahara Leave for Israel," *New York Times*, 3 December 1961.
55. JDC (New York), 45/54 #25, "Africa, Algeria, Education, 1948–1954," Memo of 8 April 1954. On the desire of other southern Algerian Jews to follow

in these émigrés footsteps: JDC (New York) 45/45 #23, "Africa, Algeria, General, 1945–1952," Letter from Helene Cazes-Benatar [the World Jewish Congress's representative in North Africa] to Joseph Schwartz [JDC office, Paris], 1 February 1949.

56. Edouard Roditi, "From All Their Habitations: Voices from the Sephardic Diaspora," *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1967): 218.
57. The French military was particularly invested, it seems, in the fact that Mzabi Jews were monitoring events in Egypt: how the French understood this engagement, however, remains opaque, as do the political responses of the Mzabi Jews in question. SHAT 1H1451 D2 bis, GGA, territoires du sud, "Bulletins de renseignements, Ghardaïa," see for example, the entries of April and November 1956, pp. 8 and 12 (respectively).
58. ANOM 23H/94 109, Annexe de Ghardaïa, Rapport annuel, 1950, 6–7.
59. Among those who sought official sanction for a return voyage from Palestine to Israel was Sultana Sellam bent Daoud ben Isaac, who appealed to the authorities for the official papers required by her son, Simon Partouche, who wished to visit his ailing mother. ANOM Oasis 67, "Étrangers, 1946," GGA [Chataigneau] to Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa, 25 January 1946.
60. "Interview: Une page d'histoire en trois actes: 1886, 1948, 1962," http://judaisme.sdv.fr/histoire/villes/strasbrg/rambam/sef/3actes.htm.
61. Stora, *Les trois exils*; Sussman, "Changing Lands, Changing Identities."
62. Cazes-Bénatar, "North Africa," 304.
63. Evidence of early JDC, WJC, and AIU interest in the fate of the Jewish community of the Mzab appears in a number of archival sources. Representing the AIU in the Mzab was André Chouraqui, then secretary general of the organization: Chouraqui, "La Condition des Juifs du M'zab," 17. For the activities of the JDC and WJC, see: JDC (New York) 45/54 #23, "Africa, Algeria, Disasters, 1954, 1955, 1964," Letter by Hélène Cazes-Bénatar, World Jewish Congress representative in North Africa, to JDC (Paris), 1 February, 1949; JDC (Jerusalem) Geneva I 50A/56.200, which describes the funding of the Talmud Torah; JDC (Jerusalem) Geneva II-405b/43, which references the reimbursement of Henry Levy for his return fare from Ghardaïa, and; JDC (Jerusalem) Paris VII, Ghardaïa 1958–1960, especially photographs of Ghardaïa's Talmud Torah, correspondence pertaining to the funding of the Talmud Torah, and the undated "Liste des familles nécessiteux de la communauté israélite de Ghardaïa"; and CZA (Jerusalem), C3/1408, including "Les Juifs algériens du Mzab: Voyage de M. Lazarus à Ghardaïa." The French authorities were also monitoring philanthropic interventions in the Mzab. See, for example: ANOM 23H-94 109, Annual Reports of the Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1949, 8 and; CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction de l'Algérie et des Départements d'Outre-Mer) with the proposi-

tion by Jean Scelles concerning the *état civil* of "des indigènes israëlites du territoire algérien qui ont conservé leur statut personnel local," 28 July 1952, 4.

64. JDC (Jerusalem) Geneva I 50A/56.200.
65. French officials attributed this statement to Rabbi Zerbib Birehss [*sic*]. ANOM 23H-94 109, Annual Reports of the Cercle de Ghardaïa, 1950, 6.
66. On the Fédération des communautés israélites d'Algérie: Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century*, 13. On its attention to the case of Mzabi Jewry: BNdF François Mitterrand, "Les Juifs algériens du Mzab," *L'information juive: Organe du comité juif algérien d'études sociales*, December 1951/28, 1, 4.
67. On the Algerian Committee of Social Studies: Simon, Laskier, and Reguer, *The Jews of the Middle East*, 463.
68. AIU (IB4, 1918–1927), Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president, 14 June 1921.
69. BNdF François Mitterrand, "Les Juifs algériens du Mzab," 1, 4.
70. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], "Statut israélite," 3, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," and Jean Moriaz, "Situation des Israélites de Mzab" (Lyon 29 March 1963). This legislation is also discussed in: Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 244.
71. According to the Maliki school of law, repudiation takes three forms, the most extreme of which (unilateral repudiation) appears to have been adopted by Jewish men in the Mzab. Unilateral repudiation gives the husband full authority to dissolve a marriage merely by the act of stating that he repudiates his wife. Legally, the man is not required to detail his reasons, only to state that they existed; he can complete the act at home, without the intervention of legal or religious overseers; and, finally, it can be an instantaneous measure. In instances of repudiation, the woman has no legal recourse except, in certain instances, to request a portion of her dowry back, and/or to request child support—which, in any case, there was no mechanism to pursue in the Mzab. Mounira Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 35–37. See also: Mounira M. Charrad, "Repudiation versus Divorce: Responses to State Policy in Tunisia," in *Women, the Family and Policy: A Global Perspective*, ed. Esther N. Chow and Catherine W. Berheide (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Dalenda Largueche, "Confined, Battered, and Repudiated Women in Tunis since the Eighteenth Century," in *Women, the Family and Policy: A Global Perspective*, ed. Esther N. Chow and Catherine W. Berheide (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). An informative (though sometimes errant) investigation of the history of Muslim patrimony, marriage, divorce, and succession in Algeria was also conducted by French authorities in 1968: CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713.5G, 9, Droits de la famille en Algérie, Letter

from l'Ambassadeur, haut représentant de la Republique française en Algérie to Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 7 June 1968, especially 12–15. Reference to the sentiments expressed in 1913 may be found in a petition for French naturalization submitted to the GGA in September 1919 (ANOM 22H/18) that was included in a report from Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa on behalf of the GGA [Abel], 14 October 1919. Information about Jewish expressions of loyalty to their Mosaic civil status in 1951 is incomplete. The figure of 25 percent is drawn from: ANOM 81F/1212, 5 April 1951, from the Administrateur des services civils, Chef d'Annexe de Ghardaïa, to the Lieutenant Colonel Commandant militaire du territoire de Ghardaïa concerning the subject of an *état civil* for the Mozabite Jews. Conflicting information may be found in a second, contemporaneous source, which claimed that Mzabi Jews were overwhelmingly prepared to renounce their civil status in return for citizenship: "Les Juifs algériens du M'zab," *L'information juive*, no. 28 (December 1951).

72. These statistics seem to have first been gathered by Jean Moriaz; they subsequently appear in the writings of Kleinknecht and Lloyd Cabot Briggs, both of whom were close to Moriaz. Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, Box 7.1, 29; Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 64. Statistics allowing the systematic comparison of Jewish and Muslim acts of repudiation in the Mzab are not ample enough to allow for determinative findings, but one can contrast accounts of rates of repudiation among Jews in the area with general rates of repudiation among the larger population of Algerian Muslims, which declined fairly steadily over the course of the twentieth century: Philippe Fargues, "Demographic Explosion or Social Upheaval?," in *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim world*, ed. Ghassan Salamé (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 170, see especially figure 6.9.
73. Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," 16.
74. The phrase "debased status" I borrow from Lloyd Cabot Briggs: Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 66.
75. Neil MacMaster, *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the "Emancipation" of Muslim Women, 1954–62* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Neil MacMaster, "The Colonial "Emancipation" of Algerian Women: The Marriage Law of 1959 and the Failure of Legislation on Women's Rights in the Post-Independence Era," *Stichproben* 12, no. 7 (2007). See also: Ryme Seferdjeli, "French 'Reforms' and Muslim Women's Emacipation during the Algerian War," *Journal of North African Studies* 9, no. 4 (2004); Diane Sambron, "L'évolution du statut juridique de la femme musulmane à l'époque coloniale," in *La justice en Algérie, 1830–1962*. (Paris: La Documentation française, 2005).
76. Charrad, *States and Women's Rights*, 137–39.
77. CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Secrétaire d'État to Secrétaire Général (Affaires algériennes), 2 October 1959.

78. CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, M. Pigeot's speech before the French National Assembly, No. 1180, 12 May 1961, 3.
79. I depart, here, from Todd Shepard, who views the roots of the 1961 legislation which granted naturalization with common civil status to southern Algerian Jews as emerging earlier, in 1956. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 245.

CHAPTER SIX

1. The road in question was that which linked Ghardaïa and Hassi Messaoud via Ouargla. In the interest of arresting arms trafficking, the French authorities monitored carefully which residents of the Mzab owned cars, buses, trucks, or Jeeps in the lead up to, and during, the Algerian war of independence. ANOM Oasis 72, "Territoire de Ghardaïa-Monographie économique," "Mobilisation économique, Annexe Ghardaïa 1954"; ANdA, WdG 337, "Transporteurs israélites, Ghardaïa, Melika."
2. Sebban notes that the passengers included Jews and Muslims, and that when the driver of the bus stopped to allow his passengers to relieve themselves, Jews did so on one side of the bus and Muslims on the other. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 16, 21.
3. Kleinknecht, *Administrateur civil au Sahara*, 266. Since 1902, oversight of transportation networks in the Southern Territories had fallen to the French, who, until the era of the oil boom, invested little in such infrastructure. On the building of new roads in the Sahara: ANOM 9X/77, "Coupures de presse et brochures diverses, Sahara, 1952–, 1930–1955," "Across the Sahara on Wheels," *Dependable Diesel: A Magazine for Power Users* 8, no. 2, 9–10.

   ANOM 81F/1295, "Les délégués du Mzab Hadjoute Brahim ben El Hadj, Hadj M'Hamed Omar ben Aïssa ben Brahim," 13, 16.
4. Aimé Baldacci, *Souvenirs d'un français d'Algérie* (Paris: Éditions Fernand Lanore, 1987), 214 and 254, 103, 92.
5. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 133.
6. Other Jewish-owned hotels included the Mzab, Paix, Napht, and Rocher. AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 33–35; ANOM Oasis 103, Territoire de Ghardaïa, Courrier confidentiel 1948–1952, see 1951 dossier on David Cohana. Blueprints of the Hotel Transtlantique may be found in the munciple archive of Ghardaïa: ANdA, WdG 403, "Hotel Tranatlantique." Lloyd Cabot Briggs penned correspondence on stationery of the hotel in November 1961. NAA, Carleton Stevens Coon Papers, 1925–1980, Box 10, "Coon General Correspondence," Folder, "Carleton S. Coon, General correspondence [A-F] 1961," Letter by "Beaver" [Lloyd Cabot Briggs] to Carleton Coon, 24 November 1961.
7. JDC (Jerusalem), Paris VII Ghardaïa 1958–1960.
8. For a discussion of the perceived economic stake France had in colonial Algeria during the era of the Algerian war and in scholarship of the

immediate aftermath of decolonization: Tony Smith, "The French Economic Stake in Colonial Algeria," *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1184–189 (1975).

9. Jacques Soustelle, "The Wealth of the Sahara," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 4 (July 1959): 636. For statements such as these, Soustelle has been called a "colonial extremist"; Smith, "The French Economic Stake," 188.
10. In this year, Algerian ownership hovered at 51 percent; much as was true in Nigeria, in Algeria, the state quickly became dependent upon oil as a source of export earnings and foreign exchange. For the comparative context: Andrew Apter, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
11. By design the FLN did not concentrate its military offensives in the Sahara, but its operatives were suspected of trafficking arms from Morocco and Tunisia through the region; on the other side, French forces (ever on the increase in the south) assassinated Colonel El Haouès ben Abdelkader, the FLN-designated commander of Wilaya 6, in March 1959, and targeted many local, presumed FLN sympathizers for elimination as well. One need but survey the archives of the French police in Ghardaïa, which documents a horrific number of assassinations in 1958 alone, for bloody proof of this point: ANOM Oasis 53 Gendarmerie, Ghardaïa. For a wider discussion of the politics of oil in the region and Middle East more generally: Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso, 2011).
12. Christian Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1964), 72–86, especially figures 8 and 9.
13. At least thirteen French agencies involved in oil exploration or extraction were 50–100 percent publicly financed, at least eight more were born of public-private partnership, and many more were based in metropolitan France but maintained an active interest in the Sahara. Among these competing parastatal entities, several became ascendant in the Algerian Sahara, including the Bureau de recherches de pétrole [BRP], an agency created in 1945 and fully state owned; the Société nationale de recherche et d'exploitation de pétrole en Algérie [or S. N. REPAL], an ostensibly independent agency created in 1946 and backed equally by the BRP and the General Government of Algeria; and, finally, the Compagnie française des pétroles [CFP], whose Algerian division [CFPA] was created in 1953. Significant investment in the industry was also made by French corporations, some of whom entered into partnerships with state-sponsored agencies, and foreign corporations, including, notably, Royal Dutch Shell. Private investment was greater still; in 1954, Royal Dutch Shell was responsible for some 62 percent of capital investments in oil explorations in the Sahara. (With the discovery of oil in the region, the state obliged the corporation's investment to shrink, such that by 1961, Shell was responsible for less than 10 percent of Saharan oil ventures.)

14. Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*, 125, 212. See also: The Hoover Institution Archives [hereafter, HIA], Godard (Yves Jean Antoine Noel) Papers 1929–1974, Box 12, "S. N. Repal: Le pétrole de Hassi Messaoud." For a comparative context: Douglas Andrew Yates, *The Rentier State in Africa: Oil Rent Dependency and Neocolonialism in the Republic of Gabon* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1996).
15. Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*, 71, 78, and 79, especially figures 6 and 7.
16. Gouvernement général de l'Algérie/service d'information et du documentation, *Sahara* (Paris: Impr. G. Lang, 1957); Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*. See also Maurice Kamen-Kaye, "Petroleum Development in Algeria," *Geographical Review* 48, no. 4 (1958); Soustelle, "The Wealth of the Sahara."
17. Soustelle, "The Wealth of the Sahara," 631.
18. Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*, 212; Gérard Destanne de Bernis, "Les problèmes pétroliers algériens," *Études internationales* 2, no. 4 (1971).
19. Gabrielle Hecht, *The Radiance of France: Nuclear Power and National Identity after World War II* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), see especially chapter 3.
20. Ibid., 209.
21. On de Gaulle's visit to the Sahara: Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle* (New York: Norton, 1990–1992), 2:414.

    On de Gaulle's speech in Constantine: *Rapport général, Plan de Constantine, 1959–1963* (Délégation générale du gouvernement en Algérie, Direction du plan et des études économiques, 1960); Daniel Lefeuvre, "Les réactions patronales au Plan de Constantine," *Revue historique* 276, no. 1 (1986).
22. AIU, AM Présidence 024d (Boite XVII). See especially "Programme du voyage du Conseil d'État au Sahara."
23. Kleinknecht, *Administrateur civil au Sahara*, 268–70, 73–78.
24. In this, the manipulation of the Saharan landscape differed dramatically from the manipulation of Algeria's forests in the nineteenth century. In the latter case, the motivation was "to create an environment that would be suitable and sustainable for settler colonialism"; in the Saharan case, industrial development was the crucial engine. Caroline Ford, "Reforestation, Landscape Conservation, and the Anxieties of Empire in French Colonial Algeria," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 2 (2008).
25. SHAT, 1H3251 D1, "Étude du problème politico-militaire année 1960, Mzab, Hoggar, Souf, très secret," 5.
26. Ibid., 14.
27. Ibid., 13.
28. Kleinknecht, *Administrateur civil au Sahara*, 243.
29. On the role of the FLN in the Mzab: SHAT, 1H3251 D1, "Étude sur l'évolution de la situation au Sahara en 1959," and "Étude du problème politico-militaire année 1960, Mzab, Hoggar, Souf, très secret." Discussion of the arms trade also makes repeated appearance in monthly reports of military

representatives stationed in the Sahara, for example: SHAT, 1H1451 D2 bis, "Bulletins de renseignements, Ghardaïa." See also: Charles R. Shrader, *The First Helicopter War: Logistics and Mobility in Algeria, 1954–1962* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 217–18. On the targeting of pipelines by the FLN see, in addition to the aforementioned: Soustelle, "The Wealth of the Sahara," 635.

30. Primary sources (published as well as archival) on the creation and mandate of the OCRS are extensive, and I cannot claim to have exhausted them. Particularly helpful has been: HIA Jacques Leprette Papers (Collection 2003C17), Box 64, Folder 10, "Study on the Sahara, 1960–1961," and Jean Loyrette, *Le code pétrolier saharien* (Paris: Librairie ge ne rale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1961). 245; Soustelle, "The Wealth of the Sahara," 633–34. The quote is from Soustelle, 626.
31. In the immediate aftermath of the creation of the OCRS, most such oil concessions were awarded to Royal Dutch Shell and the Société nationale de recherche et d'exploitation de pétrole en Algérie [or S. N. REPAL Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*, 72–86.
32. Among the many publications produced by S. N. REPAL and/or the GGA in this vein, see, for example, HIA, Godard (Yves Jean Antoine Noel) Papers 1929–1974, Box 12, "S. N. Repal: Le pétrole de Hassi Messaoud"; Gouvernement général de l'Algérie/service d'information et du documentation, *Sahara*; and Verlaque, *Le Sahara pétrolier*.
33. Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954–1962* (New York: New York Review of Books, 1977), 461–74; Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 240–48. The quote is from Horne, 472.
34. Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, especially 234–48.
35. The 1961 law was presented to the French National Assembly first on 12 May 1961 by M. Pigeot as no. 1180, Legislation 61–805 and was approved on 28 July 1961. On which see the contents of CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], including: Senateur Abel-Durand, "Rapport . . . relative à la constitution de l'état civil des français des départements algériens . . . qui ont conservé leur statut personnel israélite, et à leur accession au statut civil de droit commun: Annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 19 juillet 1961." A published version of the law appears as: "Loi no. 61–805 du 28 juillet 1961 relative à la constitution de l'état civil des français des départements algériens et des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura," *Journal officiel*, 29 juillet 1961.
36. In his unpublished history of Mzabi Jewry, Charles Kleinknecht, former civil administrator in the Sahara, includes an appendix with various primary sources he apparently copied from ministerial archives. Among these is a letter of appeal to the minister of the Sahara, dated 30 March 1960. The signatories' names are left off the document: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," appendix 24, pp. 3–5.

37. As has been mentioned earlier, a similar proposal by Jean Scelles was presented at the 259th session of the French National Assembly, 24 June 1952; the associated legislation was reviewed on 6 April 1956, as Legislation 713 6 A3. See also: CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction de l'Algérie et des Départements d'Outre-Mer) with the proposition by Jean Scelles concerning the *état civil* "des indigènes israëlites du territoire algérien qui ont conservé leur statut personnel local," 28 July 1952.
38. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 245.
39. Chouraqui, "La condition des Juifs du M'zab," 16.
40. Ibid.
41. ANdA, WdG, 80 "1960, 1961, 1962," Letter by Charles Kleinknecht to Administrateur chargé des fonctions de sous préfet de l'arrondissement Ghardaïa," 10 August 1961; and 361 "Juifs israélites," Unsigned letter [by Charles Kleinknecht] to M. le Préfet du Département des Oasis, 18 October 1961.
42. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], "Statut israélite," 3, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," and "Situation des Israélites du Mzab," Letter from Jean Moriaz to the Délégué régional de Lyon, 29 March 1963.
43. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 32.
44. After the passage of anti-Jewish statutes by the Vichy regime in 1942, the Jewish community of the Mzab temporarily ceased to maintain a formal ledger. CAC, 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A 3C, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," Letter from Serge Roux (Consul Général de France à Ouargla) to the Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 11 October 1965. On the finalization of Moriaz's list: CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], "Statut israélite," 3, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," and "Situation des Israélites du Mzab," Letter from Jean Moriaz to the Délégué régional de Lyon, 29 March 1963.
45. ANdA, WdG 361 "État Civil, juif," see collection of "Extrait, 'Parte in qua' du Registre des Actes de naissances de la Commune de Laghouat."
46. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], "Statut israélite," 3, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," and "Situation des Israélites du Mzab," Letter from Jean Moriaz to the Délégué régional de Lyon, 29 March 1963.
47. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3a, Letter from the Ministre d'État (Sahara) to M. le Garde des Sceaux Ministre de la Justice, 9 August 1961.
48. Ibid. This process of fixing names in Algeria is also described in Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 246; Slymovics, "Visual Ethnography."
49. "Réunion interministérielle du 28 mai 1965 relative à la situation des Israélites du Mzab en matière de l'état-civil."

50. The former anecdote is offered by Eliahou Sebban; the latter Sebban attributes to Jean Moriaz, whom he apparently visited in France in the wake of Algerian sovereignty. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 28.
51. Kleinknecht, *Administrateur civil au Sahara*, especially 326–27. Earlier in the Algerian war, the FLN leadership had thwarted attempts to organize an economic boycott of Jews and Mozabites in the Mzab, and boasted of the success of this endeavor in the platform generated by the 1956 Soummam Congress: Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, 537–38.
52. "Interview: Une page d'histoire en trois actes: 1886, 1948, 1962."
53. "Jews in Sahara Leave for Israel"; Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, especially chapter 7. Charles Kleinknecht, in his unpublished manuscript on the Jews of the Mzab, documented the departure of 155 Jews for Israel between the years 1955 and 1957, and the departure of an additional 51 Jews in unspecified months thereafter: AIU BIB, Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab," 78–80 and appendix 25 and 26.
54. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 77.
55. "Avis relative à la constitution dans les communes de Ghardaïa, Laghouat, Ouargla et Touggourt de l'état civil des français qui ont conservé leur statut personnel israélite," *Journal officiel,* 6 and 20 June 1962.
56. Mark R. Cohen and Yedida K. Stillman, "The Cairo Geniza and the Custom of Geniza among Oriental Jewry: An Historical and Ethnographic Study" (in Hebrew), *Peʿamim* 24 (1985): 3–35.
57. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, figure 14A.
58. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 32.
59. Laskier details this story in three venues: Michael M. Laskier, "M'zab," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2007); Michael Laskier, *Yisraʿel veha-ʿaliyah mi-Tsefon Afrikah: 1948–1970* (Sedeh Boker: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006), 326–273; Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century*. The interview with Cohen upon which Laskier relies is: Baruch Meiri, "A Ticket to Freedom," *Maʿariv (Weekend Supplement)*, July 1984.
60. A decade and a half earlier, Cohen had been involved in overseeing, for the Jewish Agency, the contentious mass migration of the Yemeni Jewish community to Israel. Tudor Parfitt, *Jews of the Yemen, 1900–1950* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 221.
61. The quotations are from: Laskier, "M'zab."
62. The Mossad le-aliyah bet, working together with the Jewish Agency, began actively recruiting in Algeria in 1947. The Mossad le-modi in ve-takfidim meyuhadim assumed these duties after the Mossad's reorganization in 1951, after which it was involved in chartering airplane "rescues" of Jews from elsewhere in the Middle East. The tension between the accounts discussed above is surprising given that French officials were determinedly tracking Zionist activity in Algeria, particularly during the course of the Algerian war. See, for example: "Le problème de l'émigration juive de l'est

algérien," Le Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes [hereafter, CADN] 21PO/A/77, Ministére des Affaires étrangères, Alger Ambassade, "Affaires israélites. Correspondance et fiches sur les communautés israélites en Algérie," 2–9. On the role of the Mossad in Algeria during the war of independence: Sung Choi, "Complex Compatriots: Jews in Post-Vichy French Algeria," *Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 5 (2012); Tom Segev, *1949: The First Israelis* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), see especially chapter 6, "Nameless People."

63. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 33.
64. The most precise enumeration is Régine Goutalier's, who numbers the population at 978 in May 1962. Goutalier, "La 'nation juive' de Ghardaïa," 135.
65. The absence of archival documentation is always difficult to interpret. In some cases, Israeli archives I suspected might hold papers relevant to this story appeared to have none (or at least had none that were available)—this proved true, for example, of the Central Zionist Agency and the Israel State Archives. Other collections held seemingly relevant material that proved unobtainable, as, for example, were two relevant files held by the JDC, Jerusalem: "Paris VII—Ghardaïa 1958–1960" and "Paris VII—Ghardaïa 1963." I ruminate further on these dynamics in a forthcoming article: Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Of Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves."
66. Choi, "Complex Compatriots." According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, 3,810 individuals came to Israel from Algeria (or lived in Algeria before moving to Israel) between 1948 and 195; 3,433 between 1952 and 1960; and 12,857 between 1961 and 1971. These numbers may well be inflated, as many North African Jews departed the region for Israel from Algeria, espeially during the war. Central Bureau of Statistics, "Immigrants, by Period of Immigration, Country of Birth and Last Country of Residence," in *Statistical Abstract of Israel* (2011), table 4.4.
67. Choi, "Complex Compatriots." French attitudes toward Zionist and Israeli-sponsored activity in Algeria during this period may also be traced through: CADN 21PO/A/77, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Alger Ambassade, "Affaires israélites: Correspondance et fiches sur les communautés israélites en Algérie." I am tremendously thankful to Sung Choi for leading me to these sources.
68. Georges Friedmann, *The End of the Jewish People?*, trans. Eric Mosbacher (London: Hutchinson, 1967), 150.
69. Briggs and Guède, *No More for Ever*, 82.
70. Ibid.
71. AJC NY, "Eight-Page Report on the Current Situation in Algeria, 1960" (Letter from the American Jewish Committee, Paris, to the Foreign Affairs Department), 20 December 1920. This source went on to state that

> the Israelis hope to persuade the French to permit them to move in some cultural or other mission which would, in effect, be a cover for a

> larger migration organization, but one which would work with the utmost discretion, and with absolutely no publicity or propaganda of any kind. It is the present estimate of the Israelis that as part of a larger exit movement perhaps 12,000–15,000 Jews will want to go to Israel. They realize that most Algerian Jews who can move will probably want to go to France; and they are cognizant that nothing should be done which might seem to reflect on the attachment of Algerian Jews to France. At the same time they believe—and there are grounds for such belief—that the French, eventually faced with the transplantation of tens, if not hundreds of thousands, from Algeria to France, with all the welfare and other programs this will involve, will not look on askance if part of this mass flows elsewhere.

72. Strikingly, Sebban's analysis of this moment suggests that the "Christians and Arabs" assembled at the airport wished to attempt to board the planes themselves—not, as per Kleinknecht, that they wished to prevent the Jews' departure.
73. The original reads: "Ce fut là l'Expression Miraculeuse de l'Aide Instantanée que Fit Parvenir à Son Peuple LE SAINT NOM, QU'IL SOIT BENI A JAMAIS. Le nom de ce Juste des Nations qui demeure profondement gravé dans le Cœur de chacun de ces Juifs et fait l'objet de leurs louanges est Jean Moriaz. Que son nom soit béni!" Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 33. Thanks to Lia Brozgal for her help with this translation.
74. The equation between the dispossession of European Jewry and the dispossession of Middle Eastern Jewry has provoked a great deal of writing, much of it polemical. The most judicious treatment of this question is by Michael Fischbach: Michael R. Fischbach, *Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).
75. The literature on this topic is fissured by theoretical orientation, with one body of scholarship emerging as critical of the Israeli national account, and another reiterative of it. Reflecting the former approach: Reuben Ahroni, *The Jews of the British Crown Colony of Aden: History, Culture, and Ethnic Relations* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Reuben Ahroni, *Jewish Emigration from the Yemen, 1951–98* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2001); Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*; Nissim Rejwan, *The Last Jews in Baghdad: Remembering a Lost Homeland* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Shenhav, *The Arab Jews*. Reflecting the latter approach, and inclusive of a fine bibliography on the theme: Laskier, *Yisraʿel veha-ʿaliyah mi-Tsefon Afrikah*. Joel Beinin has astutely analyzed competing approaches to the question of Jewish exit from North Africa and the Middle East: Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry*. Also informing my approach to these questions is the writing of Benjamin Stora, especially: Stora, *Les trois exils*.
76. I elaborate upon this line of analysis elsewhere: Stein, "Of Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves."

77. For an astonishingly thorough geneology of the Balouka family: "Le site de la famille Balouka," accessed 25 March 2013, www.balouka.net/.
78. "Interview: Une page d'histoire en trois actes: 1886, 1948, 1962."
79. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], "Situation des Israélites du Mzab," Letter from Jean Moriaz to the Délégué régional de Lyon, 29 March 1963. That the civil register had been entrusted to the Ghardaïa city hall was earlier confirmed in the *Journal officiel*; "Avis relative à la constitution dans les communes de Ghardaïa, Laghouat, Ouargla et Touggourt de l'état civil des français qui ont conservé leur statut personnel israélite," *Journal officiel*, 6 and 20 June 1962.

CONCLUSION

1. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3c, Document from the Cour d'appel de Paris, 10 November 1964, "Sur la validité d'un mariage célébré au Mzab, More Judaico."
2. AIU IB4, 1918–1927, Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president of the AIU, 14 June 1921, 12.
3. Eliyahou Sebban recalls that most of the two hundred Jewish families living in Aflou by the mid-twentieth century were of Mzabi origin. Sebban, *Va-yikah ʿAmram*, 30. Just a few years prior to the Sellams' marriage, the AIU, too, had documented the existence of small numbers of Mzabi Jews living in Aflou. AIU IB4, 1918–1927, Letter from the director of the Algiers section to the president of the AIU, 14 June 1921, 12. In 1962, Charles Kleinknecht put the number of Jews in this category at ninety-three. PMA, Lloyd Cabot Briggs Papers, 1930–1975, 4.4, 'Ghardaïa Jews, Kleinecht,' Kleinknecht, "Les Juifs du Mzab, 24.
4. CAC 950236/9 [C3614], 713–6A, 3c, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," Letter from Ministre des Affaires algériennes Louis Dauge to the Président du Consistoire israélite du Bas-Rhin in Strasbourg, 22 April 1963.
5. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 246–47.
6. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a4, Letter from the Ministre des Affaires étrangères to the Ministre des Affaires des Sceaux, 21 April 1966. A subsequent letter from the minister of justice determined that a transcription of the Benhayoun's marriage certificate, completed by French officials in Colomb-Béchar (presumably in ~1961) would suffice to validate the marriage, allowing the Benhayouns' children to be declared legitimate and inheritors of their father's estate. Ibid., Letter from the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre des Affaires étrangères direction des conventions administratives et des affaires consulaires, 25 May 1966.

7. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3a, Letter from the Mairie de Montreuil to [unspecified], 1 August 1964; Letter from the Secrétaire d'État des Affaires algériennes to the justice minister, 6 July 1964; Letter from the Secrétaire d'État des Affaires algériennes to the justice minister, 24 June 1963; Letter from Louis Dauge Ministre des Affaires algériennes to the Président du Consistoire israélite du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg, 22 April 1963; Letter from the Secrétaire d'État des Affaires algériennes to the justice minister, 6 March 1964.
8. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3a, documents pertaining to Abraham Partouche. Similar appeals, filed within the same folder, were penned by Elie Cohana/Kouhana.
9. Choi, "From Colonial Citizen to Postcolonial Repatriate," especially chapter 3; Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, especially chapter 9; Sussman, "Changing Lands, Changing Identities." For a broader meditation on the labeling of Algerian repatriates and Algerian history more generally: Jean-Robert Henry, "Rapatriés, réfugiés, repliés . . . le poids des mots," in *Marseille et le choc des décolonisations* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1996). On the earlier generations of Muslim Algerians who had migrated to France: MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism*.
10. Susan Slymovics, "French Restitution, German Compensation: Algerian Jews and Vichy's Financial Legacy," *Journal of North African Studies* 17, no. 4 (2012).
11. Sarah Sussman has discussed the gradual transformation of Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian Jews into "Sephardim" in the French and Franco-Jewish imagination: Sussman, "Changing Lands, Changing Identities." In a different vein, the sociologist Freddy Raphael has tracked the evolution (and preservation) of Mzabi Jewish identity in France (and Alsace, more specifically), basing his studies on interviews with members of the community: Raphael, "Les Juifs du M'zab dans l'Est de la France"; Raphael, "La mémoire blessée"; Raphael, "Un exil sans royaume." One could also look intra-communally for evidence of the perpetuation of a distinct Mzabi Jewish identity, as with the extraordinary website: "Le site de la famille Balouka," accessed 25 March 2013, www.balouka.net/.
12. Vincent Crapanzano, *The Harkis: The Wound That Never Heals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Thomas Deltombe, *L'Islam imaginaire: La construction médiatique de l'islamophobie en France, 1975–2005* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005); MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism*; Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*. For a comparative approach: Adrien Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Jordanna Bailkin, *The Afterlife of Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). For an evocative exploration of contemporary French attempts to reconcile these issues: Joan Wal-

lach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

13. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 6a3c, Letter from the Ministry of Justice to M. le Préfet de la Seine, Secrétariat Général aux Affaires Sociales et Hospitalières, Service départemental des Rapatriés, 5 July 1965.
14. Primary documentation pertaining to these themes is extensive. My own exploration of the topic has relied on: CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], especially 5a, 5b, and 5f.
15. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 5F, Letter from the Ministry of Justice to the Vice-Président du Conseil d'État, 17 August 1964.
16. Crapanzano, *The Harkis*; Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 230–42; MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism*, see especially chapter 11 and the conclusion; Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 270.
17. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 279.
18. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 6a3b, "Statut civil de droit commun—Israélites du Maroc."
19. Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg [ADdBR], 647 D 31, "647 D 31 Accueil, reclassement des rapatriés d'Algérie 1962–1969," Préfecture du Bas-Rhin, "Note: L'apport de la population rapatriée à la économie Bas-Rhinoise," 26 October 1962. On Kleinknecht's role in directing the Mzabi Jews to Bas-Rhin: "Interview: Une page d'histoire en trois actes: 1886, 1948, 1962."; Renée-Rina Neher-Bernheim, "Il y a 40 ans: Alger, Ghardaïa, Strasbourg." Neher-Bernheim's essay is also useful in reconstructing some of the labyrinthian paths Mzabi Jewish émigrés took after their arrival in France.
20. Stora, *Les trois exils*.
21. On those considering a return to Algeria: SHAT 1H3251 D5, "Assassinats, Exactions commises par ALN ou FLN contre civils musulmans ou musulmans ayant servi dans les FAFA," "Exaction israélite," "Fiche de Renseignements: Ob. Assassinat de deux israélites et retour possible d'Israélites à Ghardaïa," 19 April 1963. On the particular trauma that could associate emigration for Jews of Mzabi origin: JDC J, Geneva I 50A/56.200 "Algeria, General 1958–1963," "French Jewry Studies Problem of North African Migration," 1; Neher-Bernheim, "Il y a 40 ans." In the late summer of 1962, the Alliance israélite universelle generated an anxious and wide-ranging report about the obstacles to southern Algerian Jews' assimilability, which extended, in the view of its author, from the psychological problems of the community's children to the lack of vocational flexibility on the part of its adults. AIU, AM Présidence 028 [Fonds René Cassin], "Professor André Neher, Université de Strasbourg, 'Les problèmes de pédagogie et d'orientation posés par la population repliée des départements du Sud-Algérien,' 22 August 1962." My warm thanks to Jessica Hammerman for sharing this source with me.
22. "Interview: Une page d'histoire en trois actes: 1886, 1948, 1962."

23. This number, cited by US State Department sources, can be traced to Charles Hababou, a lawyer in Algeria's court of appeals who served, in 1964, as president of the extant (but diminished) Federation of Jewish Communities in Algeria. Hababou estimated that twenty-five hundred of these Jews were in Algiers, fifteen hundred in Oran, one hundred in Constantine, seventy in Colomb-Béchar (a number that may have included Jews who held Moroccan citizenship), fifty in Tlemcen, "and about a dozen members each in urban areas throughout the country including the south." NARA, General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, Box 1879, POL 13 Algeria, Political and Defense, Subject-numeric files, Airgram from the American Embassy in Algiers to the Department of State, 17 November 1964. My warm thanks to Darcie Fontaine for sharing this reference with me. Many of the Jews who remained in Algeria woud leave in or after 1967.
24. SHAD 1H3251 D5, "Assassinats, Exactions commises par ALN ou FLN contre civils musulmans ou musulmans ayant servi dans les FAFA," "Exaction israélite," Commandent Supérieur des forces armées françaises en Algérie, "Bulletin de renseignements," 20 April 1963.
25. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 229–42.
26. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israéites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3c, "Réunion interministérielle du 28 mai 1965 relative à la situation des Israélites du Mzab en matière de l'état-civil."
27. The conclusion of the interministerial meeting upheld this point by suggesting that "La situation des Israélites du Mzab ne diffère pas fondamentalement de celle de tous les autres rapatriés d'Algérie si ce n'est quant au prévue de leur état civil antérieurement à la constitution du registre matriciel des naissances les concernant." This comparison surely likened the Mzabi Jews to Muslim Algerians. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3c, "Réunion interministérielle du 28 mai 1965 relative à la situation des Israélites du Mzab en matière de l'état-civil."
28. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3c, Letter from the Ministère des Affaires étrangères to the Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, 5 November 1964.
29. CAC 950236/9 [C/3614], 713, "Statut des Israélites rapatriés des Départements des Oasis et de la Saoura (mariage-succession)," 6a3a, Letter from the Secrétaire d'État aupres du Premier Ministre des Affaires algériennes to Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, 8 August 1963; Letter from the Préfet du Département des Oasis to the Consul Général de France at Ouargla, 3 April 1963; Letter from the Ministre de la Justice to the Ministre des Rapatriés, 24 June 1963; Letter from Serge Roux (Consul Général de France à Ouargla) to the Ministre des Affaires etrangères, 11 October 1965.

30. My thanks to Todd Shepard for his suggestion in this vein.
31. Shepard, "'Of Sovereignty.'" Thanks to Todd Shepard for many conversations and insights on this topic.
32. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 271.
33. I refer, here, to British attempts to suppress documents pertaining to systematic, state-sponsored violence against veterans of Kenya's Mau Mau revolt. The quote is drawn from a recent popular article by Caroline Elkins: Caroline Elkins, "The Colonial Papers: FCO Transparency Is a Carefully Cultivated Myth," *Guardian*, 17 April 2012. For the broader contest: Caroline Elkins, "Looking Beyond Mau Mau: Archiving Violence in an Era of Decolonization," (forthcoming); Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt/Jonathan Cape, 2005).
34. Elsewhere, I have elaborated upon these issues as they pertain to the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Jewish past: my writing in this vein has benefited greatly from ongoing conversations with and the scholarly work of Jordanna Bailkin, and from the various contributing essays to a forthcoming scholarly roundtable (on the theme of "The Archives of Decolonization") I co-organized with her. Jordanna Bailkin, "Where Did the Empire Go? Archives and Decolonization in Britain," (forthcoming); Stein, "Of Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves."
35. During my own archival visit to the municipal archive of Ghardaïa in June 2012, head archivist Brahim Krizou shared with me a recent letter from a family in Paris searching for birth certificates of four grandparents born in the Mzab in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1890s. Together, Mr. Krizou and I examined relevant documentation previously unknown to him, drawn from the shelves of the archive he oversees. I explore the complex political dynamics behind these archival experiences in a forthcoming article: Stein, "Of Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves."
36. For a fuller exploration of these issues: Shepard, "'Of Sovereignty.'"

EPILOGUE

1. For a cartographic depiction provided by the Republic of Algeria's Ministry of Energy and Mining: "Field Location and Pipeline Network Map," accessed 25 March 2013, http://www.mem-algeria.org/fr/hydrocarbures/pipe&gis.pdf.
2. I am appreciative to the many OPVM tour guides who led me through the valley's centers during my own visits to the region, and to all those associated with the OPVM office for providing further conversation and hospitality. On the work of the OPVM: "Office de protection et de promotion de la vallée du M'zab," accessed 25 March 2013, http://www.opvm.dz/fr/accueil.html.
3. Father Krzysztof Stolarsky, e-mail message to author, 20 March 2014.

4. Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013). Similarly creative in exploring such themes is: Bahloul, *The Architecture of Memory*.
5. Fischbach, *Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries*.
6. Hadj Abderrahmane Houache, "Ilsnanagh Lisanuna," and accompanying DVD of Tumzabt-langauge radio show (Algeria: Self-published, 2010), see especially 62, 67–70. My warm thanks to Yacine Addoub for identifying and procuring this extraordinary source for me, and for attempting to broker an introduction with its author. Thanks, too, to Hadj Abderrahmane Houache for sharing a copy with me, via Yacine Addoub.
7. ANdA, WdG, 343 "Généalogie des Juifs du Mzab avant 1962."
8. "Le site de la famille Balouka," accessed 25 March 2013, www.balouka.net.

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Index