

THE BRITANNICA GUIDE TO AFRICA

THE HISTORY OF
NORTHERN AFRICA

EDITED BY AMY MCKENNA


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HISTORY**



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On the cover: A Berber man stands in southeastern Morocco, surrounded by the windrippled sands of the Sahara desert. The largest desert in the world, the Sahara fills nearly all of Northern Africa.
Herman du Plessis/Gallo Images/Getty Images

On pages 1, 21, 38, 58, 63, 83, 100, 109, 126, 156, 166: Pictured here in 1961, these Berber women of Aït Ben Haddou, Morocco, wear traditional dress for a marriage market, where they may choose a husband.
Ingebore Lehmann/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

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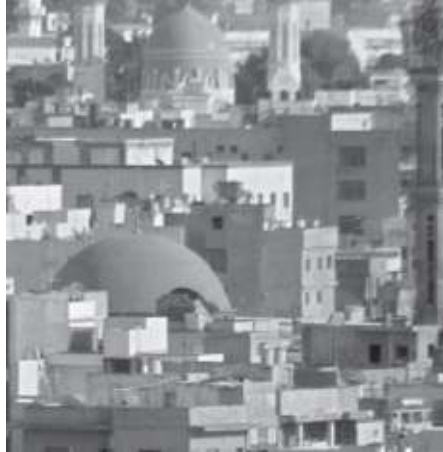
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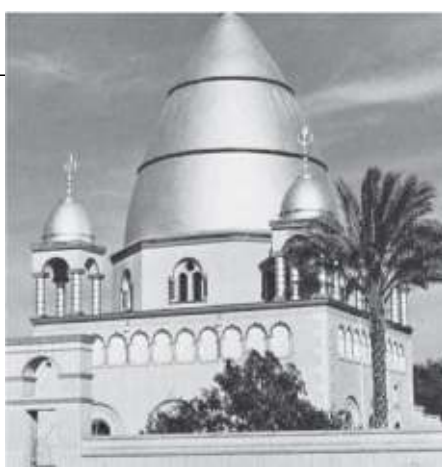
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INTRODUCTION



The Medersa Slimania in Tunisia, shown here around 1895, was at that time a Qur'ānic school for girls. The stucco and tile building was built in the mid-1700s. LL/Roger Viollet/Getty Images

Serving as an interface between African, European, and Arab cultures, northern Africa has been a crucible of both conflict and exchange. The region, which encompasses the Maghrib countries of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria as well as Libya, Egypt, and Sudan, has in many ways been insulated from the crises that have plagued much of the African continent. However, as the histories recounted in this volume will attest, these countries have been subject to their own share of turbulence over the centuries. Still, amidst the volatility, northern Africans have displayed their remarkable adaptability and enduring import to Africa, the Middle East, and the world.

Prehistoric evidence of Paleolithic and Neolithic cultures suggests that the early societies of the Maghrib and Libya supported themselves initially by hunting and gathering and later by rearing animals and cultivating food production techniques. The region began to thrive after the arrival of the Phoenicians from the area that is now present-day Lebanon.

By establishing numerous communities around the Mediterranean in the 1st millennium BCE, Phoenician traders instituted an enduring link between northern Africa and Europe. After successful

staving off hostile Greek forces that threatened their Sicilian settlements in 580 BCE, the Phoenicians secured their footing in parts of Sardinia, Corsica, and southern Spain as well. With large stores of wealth accumulated via the extensive trading networks it had instituted, the city of Carthage, located in present-day Tunisia, proved to be the most powerful Phoenician settlement and became the centre of western Phoenician power.

By the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, Carthaginian success foundered as Carthage and Rome were involved in territorial disputes in Sicily and Spain that led to the three Punic Wars. The destruction of Carthage marked the end of the Third Punic War in 146 BCE, and propelled the ascendancy of Roman influence in northern Africa. After Carthage was reconstituted as a Roman colony, the region witnessed an influx of migrants from Italy who influenced the administration, infrastructure, and culture of the land.

Even as native settlements retained much of their autonomy under Roman authority, Roman culture pervaded Tunisia as well as parts of Algeria and Morocco, many areas of which were highly urbanized. The Romanization of the Maghrib was accompanied by the proliferation of Christianity, which attracted a substantial following among both the wealthy and poor. Following a schism over doctrine and social issues, the Christian community of northern Africa was divided between orthodox Christians, who typically were wealthier than the general population, and Donatists, who tended to be among the poor. While the Donatist movement was largely suppressed beginning in 411 CE, the controversy generated by this schism weakened Roman administration.

Still, the Roman grip on northern Africa outlasted the rest of the Roman Empire. However, nearly two decades after the Visigoths captured Rome in 410 CE and opened the floodgates to other Germanic invaders, the Maghrib fell to the Vandals as well. Eventually the Vandals were defeated by the Byzantine emperor Justinian's forces in 533–34, and they were supplanted, in turn, by the Arabs in the 7th century.

The Arab conquests marked a new phase in the history of the Maghrib. As the locus of power shifted to Damascus—the seat of the Umayyad caliphate—and Islam began to spread throughout the region, the hegemony once enjoyed by the Christians there dissolved. The early stages of Arab power were characterized by constant struggles with the native Berbers (now known by their preferred name Imazighen), who despite their conversion to Islam, were classified as inferior to their Arab conquerors. After the Abbāsids assumed caliphal authority, the Berbers allied with other Muslims who opposed caliphal rule. As a result, four Muslim states were created, each ruled from the 8th until 11th centuries by Muslim dynasties with either weak ties to the caliphate or none at all. In the 11th century, the Maghrib was finally unified under Berber Muslims by the Almoravids.

In the centuries that followed, the Maghrib was variously divided by its different rulers, experiencing a series of internal and international conflicts. Tensions between the Muslims of the region and Iberian Christians led to the establishment of Spanish and Portuguese strongholds on the Maghribi coast. In the early 16th century, the clash between the Muslims and Christians drew the attention of the Ottoman Turks, who had recently occupied Egypt. As the Ottomans proceeded to capture much of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, Muslims retained primacy in the region, and European threats receded until 1830.

After ousting the Ottoman ruler of Algeria in 1830—and ending three centuries of Ottoman authority there—the French would go on to sustain more than a century of colonial rule in the Maghrib. As such, they were critical in shaping the region as it stands today. The French went on to colonize Tunisia, while Libya became a province of the Ottoman Empire and Morocco was able to retain its independence in the 19th century. By 1939, however, the French and Italians had settled

Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. Only after World War II did nationalist movements in each of the four countries become strong enough to finally shake foreign rule.

When the Algerian city of Algiers succumbed to French advances in 1830, the rulers of northern Africa effectively lost the hope of regaining their power in the Maghrib. Massive miscommunication between the French and the Algerians they ruled as well as excessive violence cost many Algerians their livelihoods, if not their lives. With resources and infrastructure disproportionately available to the wealthier European settlers, native Algerians residing in rural areas, who were largely Muslim, often remained unemployed.

In 1947 Algerians were finally granted French citizenship with the right to maintain their personal status under Islamic law as well as the opportunity to work in France. Dissatisfied with the enforcement of these rights and vying for full independence from the French, the National Liberation Front waged the Algerian War of Independence in 1954. The war ended in 1962 when an agreement was reached to hold a referendum on independence for Algeria that would allow French aid to continue and would provide European residents with the option to remain, either with foreigner status or by requesting Algerian citizenship, or leave Algeria; the referendum was overwhelmingly approved.

A stable government, however, did not necessarily accompany independence. Although unstable leadership was eventually followed by a move towards democracy, a civil war launched in 1992 between Islamists and the army renewed violence in the country. Algeria's often contentious foreign policies have also strained its relations with the international community. By partnering with the European Union, the United Nations, and other international organizations in recent years, however, Algeria continues to move forward by seeking peaceful and mutually beneficial solutions to its problems.

The history of Egypt has followed a different trajectory than the countries of the Maghrib. Despite the differences, however, it too was variously held by the Romans, Byzantines, and Ottomans, and was later subject to European imperialism. Resistance to British occupation, which began in 1882, culminated in independence in 1922. The British retained certain powers with respect to Egypt's foreign relations, however, which created tension between the British and the Egyptian monarchs who assumed power after independence. Egyptian independence consequently remained tenuous for the next few decades.

Following World War II, Egypt began assuming a greater role in the Arab world. With its support of Arab opposition to the creation of the Jewish state of Israel in Palestine, Egypt gained new international commitments that would become central to the leaders of the next half century and beyond. After the monarchy was toppled in a 1952 coup by military forces, Egypt came under the leadership of three powerful men: Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar el-Sādāt, and Hosnī Mubārak. Despite the turbulence of their regimes and the various economic, political, and international issues that wracked Egypt in the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century, Egypt has become a powerful player in the Middle East and on the world stage.

Although it borders Algeria and Tunisia and has much in common with its neighbours, Libya, like Egypt, is not considered part of the Maghrib. Italy invaded Libya in 1911, unseating the Ottomans who had ruled there since the 16th century. With an influx of Italian settlers into Libya, the Italian government developed the region's infrastructure to accommodate them. However, much of the newly developed towns, roads, and agricultural communities were destroyed during World War II and the country was left divided and impoverished.

Libya obtained independence in 1951, and through 1969 Libya retained close ties to the West.

However, with the discovery of its oil reserves in 1959 and its subsequent decreasing reliance on international aid, Libya began to pursue large-scale development without much Western influence, and a coup led by Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi in 1969 officially severed Libya's relations with the United States and Britain and transformed Libya from a monarchy to a republic. Under Qaddafi, Libya has alienated a number of Arab and Western countries, but in an effort to become more integrated into the international community, it has begun taking measures to increase business opportunity and tourism.

Unlike the other countries of the Maghrib, Morocco was able to resist colonial authority and survived through the 19th century as an independent Islamic monarchy. However, in the early 20th century, it too came within the grasp of the French. Although the French and Spanish had already established a presence at Moroccan ports, Morocco's status as a French protectorate resulted less from aggressive French designs on the region and rather as a consequence of the sultan Abd al-Aziz's need for French protection. France granted Spain protectorate status over areas of Morocco as well. Both countries largely controlled their respective territories and Moroccans held only nominal sway over the administration and governance.

As with other colonies, Morocco birthed nationalist movements that demanded liberation from European rule. In 1956 France finally agreed to restore power to the sultan, and an agreement was reached with the Spanish authorities as well. In the years following independence, Morocco has often differed from the Arab world with respect to its foreign relations. Rejecting alliances with volatile states and encouraging peace talks and compromise in the Middle East, Morocco positioned itself closer to the United States and the West than have most other Arab states. The country has, however, been subject to criticism regarding its stance on the adjacent territory known as the Western Sahara. Although Morocco claims this territory, its claim is not internationally recognized. The inhabitants of Western Sahara, known as Saharawis, have advocated and fought for their independence, but the situation remained unresolved into the 21st century.

The centrality of Islam to the recent centuries of Sudan's history as well as its close ties to Egypt dating back to before the Common Era has bound Sudan to the other countries of northern Africa. Eventually subject to Ottoman rule by way of its Egyptian neighbour, Sudan, like Egypt, also eventually became subject to British rule. In the case of Sudan, however, the British ruled alongside the Egyptians, even as they often dominated the Egyptians in decision-making and administration. Colonial rule here, as elsewhere, eventually ended, producing a state that would be fractured along ethnic and religious lines and be embroiled in lengthy civil war.

Today, the population of northern Sudan is predominantly Arab and Muslim, while southern Sudan's population is predominantly African peoples who adhere to either animist or Christian beliefs. The country continues to struggle to achieve stability after decades of civil war, as well as deal with the devastating conflict of the Darfur region that was launched in 2003.

The history of the final Maghrib country, Tunisia, in ways parallels that of Algeria. Both were French colonial subjects, although Tunisia was designated a protectorate by treaty after years of French aggression rather than by outright French capture. Following its independence from French rule in 1956, Tunisia established a republic, whose relative stability and commitment to reform distinguished it from its neighbours. While reform has been stymied considerably under Pres. Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, the country continues to align itself more closely with the West than some other Arab states on a number of international matters.

Northern Africa is a region that has constantly been forced to confront adversity and adjust accordingly. Although it has its own long history with slavery, it has been spared the legacy of the Atlantic slave trade, which came to devastate numerous regions and communities throughout the

African continent. Still, it is bound in other ways to its sub-Saharan African neighbours. Likewise, although it remains physically separated from the countries of the Middle East, it has experienced many of the same challenges that have faced those countries. While dogged by conflict for centuries, the countries of northern Africa have proven also that coexistence does not require absolute uniformity.

CHAPTER 1

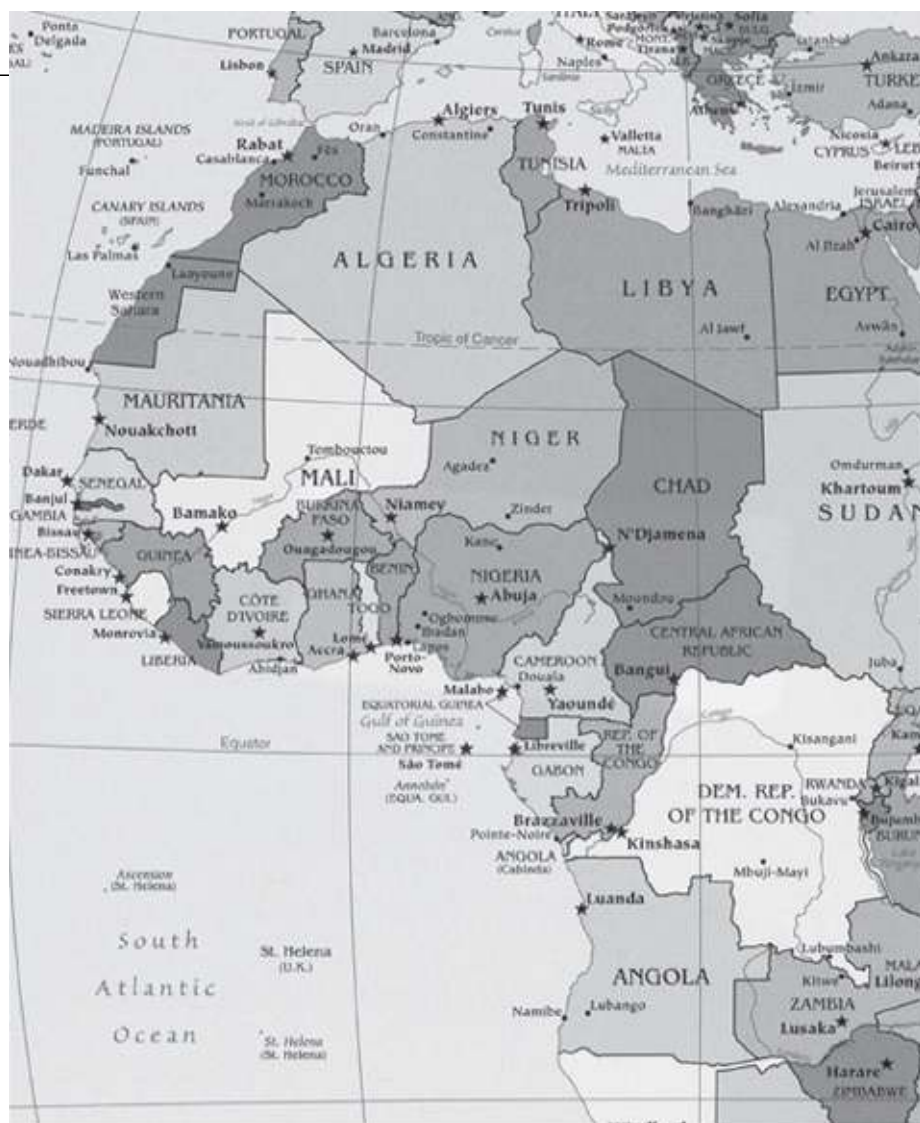
EARLY HISTORY



The northern region of the African continent is subject to various methods of definition. It has been regarded by some as stretching from the Atlantic shores near Morocco in the west to the Suez Canal and the Red Sea in the east. This region is commonly referred to as northern Africa and comprises the modern countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Sudan, as well as the territory of Western Sahara—all of which are included in this book.

The designation North Africa is also associated with this region of the continent. It refers to a smaller geographical area than that embraced by the term northern Africa—namely the countries of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, a region known by the French during colonial times as *Afrique du Nord* and by the Arabs as the *Maghrib* (“West”). The most commonly accepted definition of North Africa, and one that is also used in this book, includes the three above-mentioned countries as well as Libya. The regions here designated North Africa, however, have also been called Northwest Africa.

The ancient Greeks used the word *Libya* (derived from the name of a tribe on the Gulf of Sidra) to describe the land north of the Sahara, the territory whose native peoples were subjects of Carthage, and also as a name for the whole continent. The Romans applied the name *Africa* (of Phoenician origin) to their first province in the northern part of Tunisia, as well as to the entire area north of the Sahara and also to the entire continent. The Arabs used the derived term *Ifrīqiyyah* in a similar fashion, though it originally referred to a region encompassing modern Tunisia and eastern Algeria.



2008 map produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, highlighting the northern region of Africa. Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin

In all likelihood, the Arabs also borrowed the word Barbar (Berber) from the Latin *barbari* to describe the non-Latin-speaking peoples of the region at the time of the Arab conquest, and it has been used in modern times to describe the non-Arabic-speaking population called *Berbères* by the French and known generally as the Berbers (although their term for themselves, *Amazigh* [plural: *Imazighen*] is now preferred). As a result, Europeans have often called North Africa the Barbary States or simply Barbary. (A frequent usage refers to the non-Phoenician and non-Roman inhabitants of classical times and their language, as Berber. It should be stressed, however, that the theory of a continuity of language between ancient inhabitants and the modern *Imazighen* has not been proved; consequently, the word *Libyan* is used here to describe these people in ancient times.)

The countries of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia have also been known as the Atlas Lands, for the Atlas Mountains that dominate their northern landscapes, although each country, especially Algeria, incorporates sizable sections of the Sahara. Farther east in Libya, only the northwestern and northeastern parts of the country, called Tripolitania and Cyrenaica respectively, are outside the desert.

Although geographically proximate to the other countries of northern Africa, Egypt's ancient civilization and long historical continuity—one marked by the ebb and flow of major religions, cultural trends, and foreign powers—is traditionally treated as a separate entity, one ultimately close

in distance and culture to the countries of the Middle East than to the countries to its west. Its role in this region of Africa, however, is undeniable. Sudan too is a place traditionally treated as atypical within its immediate geographic context, with its northern regions, today dominated by Islam and the Arabic language, closer to the Mediterranean world than its southern parts, where African languages and cultures hold the greatest sway. Sudan and Egypt are places where multifarious cultures have met, mixed, and clashed; they are the crossroads of the cultures and regions surrounding them. The histories of the two countries are also tightly bound. They may be *in* northern Africa, but they are not comfortably *of* that region. Their presence in this book, however, helps to underscore their often overlooked connections to the African countries nearby to them.

EARLY HUMANS AND STONE AGE SOCIETY

Although there is uncertainty about some factors, Aïn el-Hanech (in Algeria) is the site of one of the earliest traces of hominin occupation in the Maghrib. Somewhat later but better-attested are sites at Ternifine (near Tighenif, Alg.) and at Sidi Abd el-Rahmane, Mor. Hand axes associated with the hominin *Homo erectus* have been found at Ternifine, and Sidi Abd el-Rahmane has produced evidence of the same hominin dating to at least 200,000 years ago.

ARAB

Before the spread of Islam and, with it, the Arabic language, Arab referred to any of the largely nomadic Semitic inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula. In modern usage, it embraces any of the Arabic-speaking peoples living in the vast region from Mauritania, on the Atlantic coast of Africa, to southwestern Iran, including the entire Maghrib of North Africa, Egypt and Sudan, the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria and Iraq.

This diverse assortment of peoples defies physical stereotyping, because there is considerable regional variation. The early Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula were predominantly nomadic pastoralists who herded their sheep, goats, and camels through the harsh desert environment. Settled Arabs practiced date and cereal agriculture in the oases, which also served as trade centres for the caravans transporting the spices, ivory, and gold of southern Arabia and the Horn of Africa to the civilizations farther north. The distinction between the desert nomads, on the one hand, and town dwellers and agriculturists, on the other, still pervades much of the Arab world.

Islam, which developed in the west-central Arabian Peninsula in the early 7th century CE, was the religious force that united the desert subsistence nomads—the Bedouins—with the town dwellers of the oases. Within a century, Islam spread throughout most of the present-day Arabic-speaking world, and beyond, from Central Asia to the Iberian Peninsula. Arabic, the language of the Islamic sacred scripture (the Qur'an), was adopted throughout much of the Middle East and North Africa as a result of the rapidly established supremacy of Islam in those regions. Other elements of Arab culture, including the veneration of the desert nomad's life, were integrated with many local traditions. Arabs of today, however, are not exclusively Muslim; some of the native speakers of Arabic worldwide are Christians, Druzes, Jews, or animists.

Traditional Arab values were modified in the 20th century by the pressures of urbanization,

industrialization, detribalization, and Western influence. This is particularly evident with Arabs who live in cities and towns, where family and tribal ties tend to break down, and where women, as well as men, have greater educational and employment opportunity. It is not as evident with Arabs who continue to live in small, isolated farming villages, where traditional values and occupations prevail, including the subservience and home seclusion of women.

Succeeding these early hand ax remains are the Levalloisian and Mousterian industries similar to those found in the Levant. It is claimed that nowhere did the Middle Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) evolution of flake tool techniques reach a higher state of development than in North Africa. Its high point in variety, specialization, and standard of workmanship is named Aterian for the type site Bi'r al-'Atir in Tunisia; assemblages of Aterian material occur throughout the Maghrib and the Sahara. Radiocarbon testing from Morocco indicates a date of about 30,000 years ago for early Aterian industry. Its diffusion over the region appears to have taken place during one of the periods of desiccation, and the carriers of the tradition were clearly adept desert hunters. The few associated human remains are Neanderthal, with substantial differences between those found in the west and those in Cyrenaica. In the latter area a date of about 45,000 years ago for the Levalloisian and Mousterian industries has been obtained (at Haua Fteah, Libya). The tools and a fragmentary human fossil of Neanderthal type are almost identical to those of Palestine.

The earliest blade industry of the Maghrib, associated as in Europe with the final supersession of Neanderthals by modern *Homo sapiens*, is named Ibero-Maurusian or Oranian (type site La Mouilla, near Oran in western Algeria). Of obscure origin, this industry seems to have spread along all the coastal areas of the Maghrib and Cyrenaica between about 15,000 and 10,000 BCE. Following the Ibero-Maurusian was the Capsian, the origin of which is also obscure. Its most characteristic sites are in the area of the great salt lakes of southern Tunisia, the type site being Jabal al-Maqta' (El-Mekta), near Gafsa (Capsa, or Qafṣah). The climate during both Ibero-Maurusian and Capsian times appears to have been relatively dry and the fauna one of open country, ideal for hunting. Between about 9000 and 5000 BCE upper Capsian industry spread northward to influence the Ibero-Maurusian and also eastward to the Gulf of Sidra. Since there is much evidence that the Neolithic culture of the Maghrib was introduced not by invasion but through the acceptance of new ideas and technologies by the Capsian peoples, it is probable that they were the ancestors of the Libyans known in historic times.

The spread of early Neolithic culture in Libya and the Maghrib occurred during the 6th and 5th millennia BCE and is characterized by the domestication of animals and the shift from hunting and gathering to self-supporting food production (often still including hunting). The pastoral economy, with cattle the chief animal, remained dominant in North Africa until the classical period. Although the new type of economy may have originated in Egypt or the Sudan, the character of the flint-working tradition of the Maghribian Neolithic argues in favour of the survival of much of the earlier culture, which has been called Neolithic-of-Capsian tradition. Accordingly, the technology of the transition, if not of independent local origin, is best explained by the gradual diffusion of new techniques rather than by the immigration of new peoples.

The Neolithic-of-Capsian tradition in the Maghrib persisted at least into the 1st millennium BCE with relatively little change and development; there was no great flourishing of late Neolithic culture and little that can be described as a Bronze Age. North Africa was wholly lacking in metallic ores other than iron, hence most tools and weapons continued to be made of stone until the introduction of ironworking techniques.

Prehistoric rock carvings have been found in the southern foothills of the Atlas Mountains south of

Oran and in the Ahaggar and Tibesti ranges. While some are relatively recent, the great majority appear to be of the Neolithic-of-Capsian tradition. Some show animals now locally or even totally extinct, such as the giant buffalo, elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, in areas now covered by desert. While Egyptian-like patterns may be discerned, the character of the rock art is so different from that of Egypt that it can hardly be said to derive from it. On the other hand, it is very much later than the rock paintings of Paleolithic times in southwestern Europe, and an independent development is probable. The art is primarily that of a culture that continued to depend largely—though not exclusively—on hunting and that survived on the Saharan fringes until historical times.

There are many thousands of large, stone-built surface tombs in North Africa that appear to have no connection with earlier megalithic structures found in northern Europe, and it is unlikely that any of them is earlier than the 1st millennium BCE. Large structures in Algeria such as the tumulus at Mzora (177 feet [54 metres] in diameter) and the mausoleum known as the Medracen (131 feet [40 metres] in diameter) are probably from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE and show Phoenician influence, though there is much that appears to be purely Libyan.

THE CARTHAGINIAN PERIOD

North Africa (with the exception of Cyrenaica) entered the mainstream of Mediterranean history with the arrival in the 1st millennium BCE of Phoenician traders, mainly from Tyre and Sidon in modern Lebanon. The Phoenicians were looking not for land to settle but for anchorages and staging points on the trade route from Phoenicia to Spain, a source of silver and tin. Points on an alternative route by way of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands also were occupied. The Phoenicians lacked the manpower and the need to found large colonies as the Greeks did, and few of their settlements grew to any size. The sites chosen were generally offshore islands or easily defensible promontories with sheltered beaches on which ships could be drawn up. Carthage (its name derived from the Phoenician *Kart-Hadasht*, “New City”), destined to be the largest Phoenician colony and in the end an imperial power, conformed to the pattern.

THE PHOENICIAN SETTLEMENTS

Tradition dates the foundation of Gades (modern Cádiz; the earliest known Phoenician trading post in Spain) to 1110 BCE, Utica (Utique) to 1101 BCE, and Carthage to 814 BCE. The dates appear legendary and no Phoenician object earlier than the 8th century BCE has yet been found in the west. At Carthage some Greek objects have been found, datable to about 750 or slightly later, which comes within two generations of the traditional date. Little can be learned from the romantic legends about the arrival of the Phoenicians at Carthage transmitted by Greco-Roman sources. Though individual voyages doubtless took place earlier, the establishment of permanent posts is unlikely to have taken place before 800 BCE, antedating the parallel movement of Greeks to Sicily and southern Italy.

Material evidence of Phoenician occupation in the 8th century BCE comes from Utica and in the 7th or 6th century BCE from Hadrumetum (Sousse, Sūsah in Tunisia), Tipasa (east of Cherchell, Alg.), Siga (Rachgoun, Alg.), Lixus, and Mogador (Essaouira, Mor.), the last being the most distant Phoenician settlement so far known. Finds of similar age have been made at Motya (Mozia) in Sicily, Nora (Nurri), Sulcis, and Tharros (San Giovanni di Sinis) in Sardinia, and Cádiz and Almuñécar in Spain. Unlike the Greek settlements, however, those of the Phoenicians long depended politically on their homeland, and only a few were situated where the hinterland had the potential for development. The emergence of Carthage as an independent power, leading to the creation of an empire based on the

secure possession of the North African coast, resulted less from the weakening of Tyre (the chief city of Phoenicia) by the Babylonians than from growing pressure from the Greeks in the western—Mediterranean; in 580 BCE some Greek cities in Sicily attempted to drive the Phoenicians from Motya and Panormus (Palermo) in the west of the island. The Carthaginians feared that, if the Greeks won the whole of Sicily, they would move on to Sardinia and beyond, isolating the Phoenicians in North Africa. Their successful defense of Sicily was followed by attempts to strengthen limited footholds in Sardinia; a fortress at Monte Sirai is the oldest Phoenician military building in the west. The threat from the Greeks receded when Carthage, in alliance with Etruscan cities, checked the Phocaeans off Corsica about 540 BCE and succeeded in excluding the Greeks from contact with southern Spain.

CARTHAGINIAN SUPREMACY

By the 5th century BCE active military participation in the west by Tyre had doubtlessly ceased; from the latter half of the 6th century Tyre had been under Persian rule. Carthage thus became the leader of the western Phoenicians and in the 5th century formed an empire of its own, centred on North Africa, which included existing Phoenician settlements, new ones founded by Carthage itself, and a large part of modern Tunisia. Nothing is known of resistance from the indigenous North African populations, but it was probably limited because of the scattered nature of local societies and the lack of state formation. The actual stages of the growth of Carthaginian power are not known, but the process was largely completed by the beginning of the 4th century. The whole of the Sharīk (Cap Bon) Peninsula was occupied early, ensuring Carthage a fertile and secure hinterland. Subsequently it extended its control southwestward as far as a line running roughly from Sicca Veneria (El-Kef) to the coast at Thaenae (Thyna, or Thīnah; now in ruins). Penetration occurred south of this line later, Theveste (Tbessa, Tébessa) being occupied in the 3rd century BCE. In the Sharīk Peninsula, where the Carthaginians developed a prosperous agriculture, the native population may have been enslaved, while elsewhere they were obliged to pay tribute and furnish troops.

Carthage maintained an iron grip on the entire coast, from the Gulf of Sidra to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, establishing many new settlements to protect its monopoly of trade. These were mostly small, probably having only a few hundred inhabitants. The Greeks called them emporia, markets where native tribes brought articles to trade, which could also serve as anchorages and watering places. Permanent settlements in modern Libya were few and date to after the attempt by the Greek Dorieus to plant a colony there. Though in time fishing and agriculture played a part in their wealth, Leptis Magna with its neighbours Sabratha and Oea (Tripoli) became wealthy through trans-Saharan trade; Leptis Magna was the terminus of the shortest route across the Sahara linking the Mediterranean with the Niger River. A Carthaginian named Mago is said to have crossed the desert several times, but doubtless much of the trade (in precious stones and other exotics) came through intermediate tribes. Other stations on the Gulf of Gabes included Zouchis, known for its salted fish and purple dye, Gigthis (Boughrara, or Bū Ghirārah), and Tacape (Gabès, or Qābis). North of Thaenae were Acholla, traditionally an offshoot of the Phoenician settlement on Malta, Thapsus (near ṭabulba Tun.), Leptis Minor, and Hadrumetum, the largest city on the east coast of Tunisia. From Neapolis (Nābul, or Nabeul) a road ran direct to Carthage across the base of the Sharīk Peninsula.

West of Carthage there have been changes in the course of the Majardah River; as a result, Utica, port in Carthaginian and Roman times, is now some 7 miles (11 km) from the sea. Utica was second only to Carthage in importance among the Phoenician settlements and always maintained at least a nominal independence. Beyond Cape Sidi Ali el-Mekki (Farina) as far as the Strait of Gibraltar, the

coast offered a number of anchorages, but few of the stations reached anything like the prosperity of those on the Gulf of Gabes and the east coast of Tunisia. One of the more important was Hippo-Diarrhytus (Bizerte, Banzart), whose natural advantages as a port were utilized at an early date; another Hippo, later called Hippo Regius (Bône; modern Annaba, Alg.), was also probably of Carthaginian origin. Along the same stretch of coast were Rusicade (Skikda, or Philippeville) and Collo. Still farther west a number of place-names known from the Roman period show an earlier Phoenician interest, through the incorporation of a Phoenician linguistic element, *rus*, meaning “cape”—e.g., Rusuccuru (Dellys) and Rusguniae (Borj el-Bahri). Tingis (Tingi, or Tangier, Mor.) was already settled in the 5th century BCE.

TRADE

Ancient sources agree that Carthage had become perhaps the richest city in the world through its trade, yet few traces of its wealth have been discovered by archaeologists. This is because most of it was in perishables—textiles, unworked metal, foodstuffs, and slaves; its trade in manufactured goods was only a part of the whole. There can be no doubt that the most profitable trade was that inherited from the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean, in which tin, silver, gold, and iron were obtained in exchange for manufactures and consumer goods of small value. Carthage ruthlessly maintained its monopoly of this trade from the late 6th to the end of the 3rd century BCE by sinking the vessels of intruders and exacting recognition of its position from other states. Its wealth is attested by the vast mercenary armies it was able to maintain with a mintage of gold coins in the 4th century far in excess of that known for other advanced states.

It was apparently in connection with this trade that during the 5th century there occurred two voyages of exploration and trade, evidently of particular importance since reports of them were known to later generations of Greeks and Romans. One was along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, the other northward along the Atlantic coast of Spain. They were led by Hanno and Himilco, respectively, both members of a leading family in Carthage.

Hanno's voyage is generally associated with Herodotus's account, written about 430 BCE, of Carthaginian trade on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Herodotus describes a system of dumb barter with the coastal peoples, by which the Carthaginians exchanged manufactured goods for gold. It is not known where the exchanges took place; the Río de Oro is a possibility, and it is probable that Hanno's expedition went beyond Cape Verde. Nevertheless, the “gold route” did not survive the fall of Carthage and was not exploited by the Romans. This has led some scholars to argue that the Carthaginians' interest in the Atlantic coast of Morocco was stimulated by the more prosaic attraction of abundant fish stocks there.

Himilco's voyage also was known to the Greeks and Romans. He sailed north along the Atlantic coast of Spain, Portugal, and France and reached the territory of the Oestrymnides, a tribe living in Brittany. The purpose of this voyage was apparently to consolidate control of the trade in tin along the Atlantic coast of Europe. It followed the route used by the Tartessians, a people of southern Spain (in the area where Cádiz had been founded) who knew of Ireland and Britain. This trade was no doubt the latest phase of contact between the various areas of the Atlantic seaboard that went back to late Neolithic times. There is no evidence that Himilco reached Britain, nor indeed has any Phoenician object ever been found on the island, but probably Cornish tin was obtained through the tribes of Brittany. Tin was also obtained from northwestern Spain. It is notable that the Carthaginian tombs at Cádiz, found at intervals since 1900, have produced nothing earlier than the 5th century BCE, which would indicate that it was not until that date that Cádiz became a large and permanent base for the exploitation of trading opportunities in the west.

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