

The brotherhood expansion and the turco-African relations from XVIIIth to the XIXth centuries.

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To treat the relationship between Turkey and Africa is not an easy thing when one has the ambition to call in all questions. The Moslem Turkish power was viewed as an invading one, to treat the Turkish rule as the General P. J André said it : “ the Turkish occupation does not succeed there any more. One needed the French occupation to renovate, under the impulse of the always alive Mediterranean thought, the demographic power, the agricultural, economic development of North Africa, to give it its geographical borders, or even to inspire in it undoubtedly, the alarm clock of its personality. Indeed, there are several readings of the history of the relationship between Turkey and the countries of Africa. Initially, the Algerian and Moroccan reading and finally the French colonial one tried to draw aside any contribution of the Turkish presence. The historical studies of the colonial period ignored the roles of the Turkish presence and tried to make the junction between Roman or Byzantine history and the time of French colonization. Always in this colonial literature, the history of the Turco-African relationship was limited to the panarabism and the headings of the Turkish intrigues like that classified in the reports of the “Services of French Moslem affairs” that viewed the Moslem world as divided between panarabism at the political level, Maghrebian Islam with brotherhood Predominance and African Islam mixed with animism. One sees very well that France has always tried to create borders to be defended between the Islam of the East and the Islam of the forest in West Africa. The things are likely to become more complicated when one treats the alliance and opposition between brotherhoods and Turkish power. The aim of this work will be focused on the Maghreb in a direct and indirect way and West Africa. The case of the brotherhoods treated in this study is : the Qadiriyya, the Tijaniyya and the Sanussiyya. It is realized according to a chronological order of a Qadiriyya brotherhood close to the Turkish power, another (the Tijaniyya) opposed to this same power and a third brotherhood (Sanussiyya) which adopted changing attitudes. The chronological framework coincides with the arrival of the Turikish, Saadien and Alaouite at the XV-XVI-XVII th centuries

in the Maghreb. The common point between these power it is their support for warlike rule which they founded (federator) within an empire or a State. These capacities also tried to occupy the regions in the south of the Sahara : the Moroccan conquest of the Songhay empire (1591) and the Turkish expansion in the south at XVIIth century. At the time of Moulay Ismail two innovation were operated in Morocco as among Turks in the remainder of the Maghreb: The construction of the fortresses and the support on for army of slaves, mercenaries and Warlike tribes. It was the beginning of functional divisions and alienations of the modern State.

The brotherhoods and the Turkish rule: between history and territory

Rare are historians who know the history of the brotherhood Qâdiriyya in her relationship with the Turkish power, Moroccan and Saharian. The marking fact of this period is that of the led by the revolt of Mohammed El Gourari whom the Moroccan traveller El 'Ayyâshî at the beginning spoke at the XVIIth century. Mohammed El Gourari revolted against the Moroccan power on instigation of the Turkish agents according to this same traveller. The common point between them marked El Gourari's life. First tensions between the Moroccan power and certain religious agents pertaining to the brotherhood Qâdiriyya marked historical relations between Morocco and Turkey. At that time, already the capacity and the social base of this brotherhood started to grow blurred in Morocco by opposition to Algeria where it will be established. It is especially in XVIth century that the brotherhood started to move towards the south in particular to the whole and current Mauritania with the tribe of Kunta. Moroccan historiography always regarded the qâdirîs of the east or the south as agents in the service of Turkey.

In western Algeria, where two tariqas, the Shadiliyya and the Qadiriyya, existed in the sixteenth century with one another for influence, the former opposed the Turks, apparently because of its leaders' close ties with the Saadien Sharif in Morocco. The Qadiriyya supported the Turks. But this brotherhood, which represents the oldest brotherhood in the Maghreb with Shadiliyya, began her descent towards the Sahara with Touat with the arrival of the Turks in the Maghreb at the XVIth century. Its expansion, which was far from any

Turkish influence, flowed the great natural way of the communication and at the same time the following commercial route : Via high plateaus Djebel Touat and Sudan. However, the qadiris groups of the tribe kunta in current Mauritania especially had good intentions towards the Turkish capacity in its wars against Russians.

In 1826, the qadiris betrayed Tijanis in their confrontation with the Turks near Mascara. Mohamed Al-Kabir, the son of the founder of Tijaniyya, will be carried out by the Turks in 1827. At the time of the French conquest in 1830, qadiriyya was the only one to provide the support of its organization to fight the French.

The extent of the hostility which the Tijanis had towards the Turks is reflected in their belief that the conquest of Algeria by the French in 1830 was a fulfilment of Ahmed al- Tijani's prayer for the collapse of Turkish rule in Algeria. In Morocco when Ahmed al- Tijani left Algeria in 1789 for fear of Turkish persecution and settled in Fez, Mawlay Suleiman received him well and gave him a house to live in. Turkish power is partly responsible for the great success of the Tijaniyya brotherhood in the Sahara and in West Africa. It should be said that the grids of readings opposing malicious brotherhood Sanusiyya to nice Tijaniyya do not go, just as the grids of analysis treating Tijaniyya as a brotherhood anti-Turkish do not function. The role of Kouloughlis and in particular the role of the zawiyya Tijaniyya of Tlemcen in the re- creation of strong bonds with Constantinople constitute a forgotten memory. One always minimized or forgot the role of the beys in the consolidation of Tijaniyya in the Algerian south and especially in Tunisia. They are these south Algerian zawiyyas which were influential in the Sahara. It is enough to say that the creation of Hamawiyya, a branch of Tijaniyya in West Africa, partly prepared in Constantinople. Bonds between Family Al- Abdellawi of Touggourt, installed in Tlemcen and in a final way in Fez, and the Turkish power shows the true face of Tijanis anti-French which sought a coalition with the Turks.

Today the sanusiyya is a forgotten brotherhood and a hardly remembered political structure. In 1949, the work of the british anthropologist Evans- Pritchard broke the silence around this brotherhood by pointing out its social role as arbiter in the segmentary order of the Cyrenaica Bedouins. This conference sheds another light on the Sanusiyya by providing an over view of the history of the tariqa

of Ahmed b. Ali al-Sanussi (d.1859) since its conception and establishment in Cyrenaica in 1842. It puts a special focus on the strategies of this order in sub-Saharan Africa where it had to face up in its southward march the political and military manoeuvres of the ottomans, then the French and the Italians in the region. In this context, the transformation of the Sanusiyya accepted ottoman rule grudgingly. The founder of the order considered the Turks to be usurpers of the caliphate, but as the sanussis fought French influence in the Sahara and were hostile to the French occupation of Algeria, their leaders were compelled to recognize the advantages of the Turkish presence as a check to further French occupation. The Turks understood the sanussi's sentiments, were realistic enough to overlook their attitude on the caliphate, and took steps to cultivate goodwill. To conclude, one could say that if Sanusiyya had chosen by prudence the Turkish alliance, Tijâniyya was not often the brotherhood pro-French and anti-Turkish. Qâdiriyya also changed attitude towards the Turkish rule through the centuries. It should be said that a history of the relationship between Tijâniyya and Sanusiyya remains to write and that the role of Touaregs in the delimitation of the Turkish and sanussi influence remains to be defined. A general second reading of the brotherhoods in their relationship to the Turkish rule remains to be made. The multiple Arabic, Turkish and European sources give way to constitute a new look to the relationship between brotherhoods and Turkish power. Indeed, the ideological matrix was often provided by the brotherhood myth. But from the creation of the brotherhoods to the foundation of the empires there is sometimes only one step. The Qâdiriyya established a state after the treaty of Tafna in 1837, Sanusiyya ended up passing from the monk to the kingdom whereas Tijâniyya was made famous after the foundation of the Peul empire of al-Hâjj 'Umar in west Africa.