

# **Nomads of Mauritania**

**Brigitte HIMPAN**

and

**Diane HIMPAN-SABATIER**

Series in Anthropology



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Despite the care brought to the completion of this book, we would be grateful for your feedback and suggestions to be sent to the above email address.

*Photograph on the front cover:* A Mauritanian woman crushing millet (© Brigitte Himpan, Mauritania, 1981).

*Photograph on the back cover:* A date palm (© Diane Himpan-Sabatier, 1993).

“ *Nomads of Mauritania* is a special collaborative work between an artist and a researcher that describes the lives of nomadic people in Mauritania. The authors explore the intersection of culture, nomadic life, art, and climate in the lives of these nomads. Their exploration illuminates the complexity of these factors and how they shape the everyday life and ephemeral artistic activities of the nomads. The authors’ insights have broader implications for climate change and identity well beyond this nomadic group in extinction. ”

**Prof. Dr. Thomas D. Hall,**  
Emeritus Professor, Department of Sociology & Anthropology,  
DePauw University, USA.

“ An outline and overview of Mauritania, its environment, history, and ways of living, as well as the visual and material culture of its nomadic peoples. It can serve as an introduction for students and others wishing to explore these topics in critically focused, in-depth studies. ”

**Prof. Dr. Henry John Drewal,**  
Evjue-Bascom Professor of Art History and Afro-American Studies,  
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA.

“ *Nomads of Mauritania* re-conceptualizes the idea of the Mauritanian nomads’ geographical environment, characterized by its desertification. It addresses the Mauritanians’s way of life (nomadism), their culture and customs. Moreover, not only it reflects the current situation of the large majority of Mauritanians today, but also it captures the experience in writing of a fast growing number of individuals belonging to migrant communities in other parts of the Maghreb. One of the main objectives of *Nomads of Mauritania* is to develop the new theoretical concept of *strategic nomadism*. In other words, it invites the reader to re-think the stereotypes of the “nomad” and “nomadism” in the present day and age. It approaches the phenomenon of nomadism from the theoretical perspective of intercultural and postcolonial studies. Therefore, *Nomads of Mauritania* will give its readers a new viewpoint of the different methodological schools and theories undertaken by the major scholars in the field of migration, as well as validating modern research orientations to the intercultural relationships between Maghrebian countries and beyond.”

**Prof. Dr. Cristián H. Ricci,**  
Professor of Iberian and North African Literatures,  
University of California, Merced, USA ;  
Director of the Education Abroad Program Chile-Argentina of California University.

*“ Nomads of Mauritania* deals with the cultural identity as well as the future of the Mauritanian nomads. It highlights their history considering climate change, the importance and cultural ramifications of what the authors describe as their “geometrical-abstract art” in everyday life, and their future. This interdisciplinary study is at the same time erudite, extremely instructive, well-documented, comprehensive, and easy-to-read. It should be applauded for its clarity, carefully drawn maps and beautiful illustrations. This fascinating essay will appeal to a wide range of people: generalists and specialists as well as students interested in the nomads of Mauritania.”

**Dr. Thérèse De Raedt,**

Associate Professor of French, Department of World Languages and Cultures,  
University of Utah, USA.

“ Adopting an interdisciplinary approach that combines art history, cultural studies, geography, ethnography and history, *Nomads of Mauritania* offers a rare window through which to see the complex world of the heterogeneous nomads inhabiting the southern edge of the Sahara Desert that is today’s Mauritania. The author Brigitte Himpan and editor Diane Himpan-Sabatier have weaved a multilayered scholarship that illuminates the identity, lifestyle, moral and spiritual values, creative arts, cultural and environmental constraints and prospects that define the nomads of Mauritania.

By exploring the peoples and an area often at the margins of academic studies on West Africa, this book breaks new ground by threading a path frequently bypassed.”

**Dr. Tamba E. M’bayo,**

Associate Professor of History, Department of History,  
West Virginia University, USA.

“ *Nomads of Mauritania* is a thoroughly researched, comprehensive treatment of a complex sociocultural milieu. It acquaints readers with an extraordinary range of observations and reflections on dwellers in a unique part of our ecumene. While not for the casual reader, it provides an extraordinary panoramic view of a dynamic region and its innovative inhabitants. *Nomads of Mauritania* will alter misperceptions about the Sahel, acquainting its readers with its kaleidoscopic vibrancy.”

**Dr. David Henry Anthony III,**

Associate Professor of History, History Department, Division of Humanities,  
University of California Santa Cruz, USA.

# Acknowledgments

To the memory of our late father and grandfather, Professor Doctor Joseph Mansuet HIMPAN (1909-1990), University Professor, Doctor in Sciences, Engineer Graduate, Scientist in Physics, Thermodynamics and Chemistry, Author of numerous scientific research, articles, theories and formulas, who remains a model and a source of inspiration, knowledge, thoughts, reflections, wisdom, philosophy and who always supported us in the most difficult times of life;

To Professor Doctor Mohamed Mahmoud OULD MAH, University Professor, Doctor in Economy, first elected Mayor of Nouakchott, Founding Chairman of the Mauritanian political party UPSD, and Misses Annie OULD MAH, graduated with a Master's degree in German language, for their inestimable information, analyses and contacts and their warm welcomes in Mauritania;

To Professor Doctor Franck POPPER, Historian in Art and Technology, Emeritus Professor of the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Paris VIII;

To Professor Doctor Olivier REVault D'ALLONNES (1923-2009), University Professor, Doctor in Arts and Philosopher, to have guided me as regards the philosophical aspect of the art in the completion of the post-graduate pre-PhD thesis, which is part of this book;

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To Misses Zahra MINT MAH, holder of a Bachelor in Sciences and a Master in Business Administration, especially for her assistance and sensitivity; as well as to Mister Prakash BHAT M.G. for his support;

To Mister Patrick RYCKAERT, Coordinator and Manager of the Management Unit of the European Union Programme for the civil Society and Culture (PESCC), and Misses Émilie DROIN for their invaluable information on the Mauritanian crafts;

To Mister Mohamed Salem BOUKREISS, Coordinator of the Project "Prevention of Conflicts and Intercultural Dialogue" for his efforts and availability in searching information about the Mauritanian nomads of the 21<sup>st</sup> century;

To all Mauritanian parents and friends, who gave us useful information and necessary rectifications, particularly: Mister Mohamed OULD KHNAFER, Misses Baba MINT HAMZA, Mister Moctar OULD Mohamed ABDALLAHI.

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# Maps of Africa and Mauritania



Map 1: Mauritania within the African continent in 2014  
© Diane Himpan-Sabatier, 2013



Map 2: Mauritania and its administrative regions  
 (© Diane Himpan-Sabatier, 2013)

# Fore Words

“ *Nomads of Mauritania* is remarkable for its depth, breadth, and penetration into the inner world of nomadic society. The authors, Brigitte Himpan and Diane Himpan-Sabatier, provide the reader with detailed geographical and historical context—essentially the stage on which the social drama unfolds. Natural resources are described, their social relevance discussed, and the consequences of environmental change explored.

The authors’ historical analysis of Mauritania is equally ambitious—extending from the Paleolithic, through documented arrivals, external relationships, and political history to the present in a continuum of cause and effect.

The reader is then led into the lives of Mauritanian nomads, with a level of detail that is both welcome and overwhelming. The structure and complexity of society are examined, including consideration of caste and hierarchy; folkways and mores are explored; diet and material culture are described; and the composition and management of herds is discussed, as well as the role of Mauritanian nomads in the trans-Saharan trade.

The treatment of nomadic arts and crafts includes practical considerations, social meaning, and spiritual significance. The lives of Mauritanian nomads are then projected into the future.

The authors have arguably produced the most comprehensive, substantive, and accessible treatment of Mauritanian nomads ever to grace the literature.”

**Prof. Dr. Jeffrey A. Gritzner,**  
Emeritus Professor, Department of Geography,  
University of Montana, USA ;  
Director, The Earth Restoration Project.

*“Mauritania is a country situated at the top of West Africa and a gateway into North Africa; it sprawls the Sahara Desert and flanks the Atlantic Ocean. Rather than dismiss this part of the world as a dormant desert devoid of life, the authors detail amazing histories, arts, cultures, quotidian life, and environmental issues. After accompanying her mother Brigitte Himpan during research, daughter Diane Himpan-Sabatier then began her own Mauritanian research projects. Thus, two generations of scholarship have produced a French edition and this English edition.*

Writings about Mauritania are not easily accessible or available for an English reading audience. There lie not one, but two language barriers: both French and Arabic, as well as indigenous languages.

The authors do not treat Mauritania as an isolated nation-state, nor do they broadly generalize it as monolithically Islamic. With delicate nuance, they critically contextualize Mauritania within the continent of Africa, delineate ties to Europe including ancient Greece, and trace religious and migratory relationships with the Middle East and India. We understand by the end of the book that Mauritania’s multi-regional and intercontinental ties contribute to and impact important arts and histories of the Roman Empire, Persian Empire, Ghana Empire, Mali Empire, Moorish eras, and a multi-faceted Islamicization.

Throughout these histories, the book traces how ancient nomadic life began and why contemporary nomadism is in decline. Before nomadic life commenced and prior to desertification, a variety of wild animals existed and many examples of petroglyphs were painted. As climate issues have grown, major droughts in the second half of the twentieth century led to urbanization and a decrease in nomadic life.

The arts relate to so many surrounding areas in Africa. Women weave wool for the tents, create henna body adornment, and perform hairdressing. Leatherwork and calabash design are important. Pre-Islamic practices revolve around the evil eye and djenoun spirits. Artistic motifs or patterns such as the representation of the “eye of the source” are examples of a graphic communication system gathered by the authors. While the complexity of Mauritanian nomadic identity is carefully detailed, the interdisciplinary project remains specific in time and across regions of Mauritania.”

**Dr. Andrea E. Frohne,**  
Associate Professor of African Art History,  
Ohio University, USA.

“ When I met Brigitte Himpan, Artist Painter, at the beginning of the 1980s, the author of *Nomads of Mauritania* often repeated to me that she was "a citizen of the world". An expression, about which I have thought for a long time. I was travelling for the first time outside my country and still saturated by the notions of homeland as well as cultural and geographical borders notably and unable to grasp its scope.

Afterward, I understood what the author meant, the one who has never recognized the geographical boundaries and partitions between the cultures and civilizations.

For her, to be "citizen of the world" is the expression of a will to go beyond these obstacles and borders to meet other men and women, to communicate, interact and enter into a dialogue with them in view of discovering what all share in common.

"Citizen of the world" was neither a simple play on words, nor a fashionable expression at that time; moreover, the "globalization" did not gain ground yet. To be citizen of the world is rather a lifestyle, a cultural and human attitude intended to go beyond all that can divide the human beings to discover all that can unite them; to shed prejudices, stereotypes and biases, which limit the human interaction and communication; to realize that all men and women belong to humanity, independently of their religion, culture, faiths and orientations.

With this in mind, Brigitte Himpan and Diane Himpan-Sabatier undertook their study dedicated to the nomads of Mauritania with a demeanour, which has differed in more than one way from that of many other anthropologists. In fact, in this research, the nomads are not treated as an "object of study" or "anthropological material" picked up from a museum to undergo the analyses of specialists. Quite the opposite, the authors, thanks to their humanist and universal vision, have considered these nomads as "actors" capable of being at the origin of a culture, managing and regulating their environment, creating their production tools and applying their artistic action on it.

Hence, the authors rather chose to lead an investigative work on the spot, to live among nomads over recurrent periods from 1981 until 1992, to become imbued with their society and to share their everyday life, which helped them to define well the themes of their research and the methods of data processing and analysis. They interviewed leaders and wise men, as well as craftsmen, domestic people and fishermen, who explained each their role in the Bedouin stratified society and showed how the values, beliefs, art and crafts coexist in harmony there.

They managed to make the nomads of Mauritania the contributors to the formation of the vision, which brings this book; therefore, their success to offer us a relevant and comprehensive definition of the culture of the Mauritanian nomads as a lifestyle and a set of faiths, practices, customs, values and artistic expression.

In addition, during all the stages of the research, as well as in its methodology and protocol, the authors have showed their profound respect for the nomads of Mauritania and their lifestyle. Even more significantly, they present the specific art and way of life of this community without any haughty look and any comparison susceptible to reduce its value.

They offer a model of much better universalism than the one, which the "globalization" offers us today. As far as they put the values of their scientific and intellectual speech into practice, contrary to the current globalization, which distinguishes itself by the conflict between its speech and the policies and measures, adopted on its behalf.

I witnessed the gestation of this work since it was just in its research stage for the completion of the Master's degree in Fine Arts and the post-graduate pre-PhD thesis in Philosophy of Art and Culture of Brigitte Himpan. I am very happy to see them gathered in *Nomads of Mauritania*, which I consider that surely, it will enrich the vision of those who will read it. "

**Dr. Abdel Aleem Mohamed,**

Advisor and Researcher in Al-Ahram Centre

of Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt;

Political Expert and Analyst in Palestinian and Israeli Affairs

and Editorial writer to the daily newspaper Al-Ahram.

# Introduction

Just a few decades ago, the great majority of Mauritanians were still nomads, living and moving in the Saharan desert. Studying their culture (environment, history, way of life, social system, crafts and arts) has represented a huge enterprise, out of which we selected the main essential aspects, taken from two academic dissertations by the author, Brigitte HIMPAN:

- *La Vie quotidienne des nomades mauritaniens à travers leurs objets usuels* (translation: The everyday Life of the Mauritanian Nomads through their usual Objects), Master's thesis in Fine Arts, University of Paris VIII, France, 1983;
- *L'Identité culturelle des nomades mauritaniens* (translation: The Cultural Identity of the Mauritanian Nomads), post-graduate pre-PhD thesis in Philosophy of Art and Culture, University of Panthéon-Sorbonne Paris 1, France, 1986.

The information contained in these two dissertations has been updated, deepened and in some way completed by new unpublished points of view about the culture of the Mauritanian nomads; thus, giving rise to the present book, *Nomads of Mauritania*.

This book, *Nomads of Mauritania*, is intended for everybody, having a passion for the nomads' way of life in the Saharan desert or particularly interested in knowing the culture of the Mauritanian nomads. The students and researchers in art or history of West Africa will also find judicious analyses and points of view, regarding the understanding of not only the history and desertification of Mauritania, but also the Mauritanian nomads' materially expressed art, which we have called and defined as the « *ephemeral usual art* » and « *ephemeral living art* ».

The culture as a whole can be defined as the sum of all material and ideological phenomena, which characterize an ethnic group, a nation, a civilization. Man fits in within a space (geography) and a time (history). The material phenomena are essentially based on geographical factors: the knowledge about the environment, the adaptation to it and the availability of the resources present in nature; while the ideological parameters are mainly founded on history.

The experience, relations with the others, influences of the others or on the others and consequently the religion, spiritual values and social organization arise from the history. At first sight, the environment shapes the way of life, housing, diet, clothing and objects for instance, whereas the history influences the beliefs and values in particular. In fact, these two material and immaterial phenomena interact between each other and together; they affect the human community, here the Mauritanian nomads; these inseparable phenomena refine their beliefs and ways of life, thinking and acting, thus defining their culture, which has become specific and unique.

Therefore, we have deepened our study into the following aspects of the Mauritanian nomads' culture, which are linked to their everyday life:

- their way of life - nomadism - and housing;
- their social traditions: hierarchical organization into castes;
- their food habits in the desert;
- their crafts made of leather, wood, terracotta, metal or textile;
- their language: Hassaniya;
- their religious beliefs: the different Muslim currents and ancestral beliefs;
- their moral and spiritual values;
- and their art, expressed on the usual objects and called « *ephemeral usual art* », or directly expressed on the body and named « *ephemeral living art* ».

These cultural aspects are strongly linked to the study of the geography and history of the Mauritanian nomads; therefore, we feel necessary to present you first of all their geographical environment, characterized by its desertification and an original and unpublished history of their country, Mauritania.

The presentation of the Mauritanian nomads' environment and the explanations about the advent of the climatic phenomenon of desertification allow for a realization of their way of life over time and within their space, their nutritional preoccupations and crafts.

The history of Mauritania since Prehistory up to nowadays is necessary to understand:

- the progressive stages of populating the country;
- the origins and present cohabitation of different ethnic communities, their cultural and religious influences and contributions;

- the predominance of an Arabic dialect: Hassaniya;
- the Mauritanian nomads' values.

However, true to oral tradition, the Mauritanian nomads used to live in tribes and within emirates from ancient times, thus explaining the absence of a commune history of the country clearly recorded.

Therefore, the history of Mauritania, hereafter proposed, is an original presentation, based on the studies of different empires, kingdoms and ethnic groups, directly or indirectly in link with Mauritania, from documents and research of historians and explorers. These historical and social data were put into relation with studies, carried out by scientists and concerning the evolution of the global climate at certain times, which had acted upon the history of the inhabitants of Mauritania and the different ethnic groups who settled down in this country.

The geographical space and history of the Mauritanian nomads enlighten us about their social organization into castes, still rooted in the Mauritanian society nowadays.

As for their *ephemeral usual art*, and by the same, their *ephemeral living art*, integral parts of their cultural identity, the different chapters of this book bring some elements of answers to questions, which may be asked about their art:

- nomadism: why are the usual objects the support of art?
- the material preoccupations and crafts: on what type of objects is the art revealed?
- the geography of the country, nomadism and nutritional preoccupations: through what materials is the art expressed?
- the social hierarchical organization: by whom is the art created and who is the ordering customer?
- the history: how is the *ephemeral usual art* expressed?

Once these outlines about the *ephemeral usual art* are broadly understood, the analysis of its aesthetic manifestation, in relation with the entirety of the Mauritanian nomads' culture, leads us to define the characteristics of the Mauritanian nomadic art more precisely:

- its artistic tendency;
- the perspective;
- the dimension;
- the suggested ideas and values;
- the meanings of some patterns and whole designs.

The characteristics of the *ephemeral usual art*, which we explain in detail, aim at enlightening you on the Mauritanian nomads' art firstly, and secondly at making you understand to which extent, this art reveals their deep cultural identity, and even their collective unconscious.

Further, what is the future prospect of the *ephemeral usual art* today in Mauritania? Insofar as the Mauritanian nomads' art was born in the heart of their way of life, nomadism.

Moreover, facing the global climatic change and the economic and cultural globalization of societies, what has become of the nomads of Mauritania today, and particularly the chiefs of camps and their tribes? Do they have the same social composition as before the independence of the country? In addition, what is their (demographic, cultural and political) weight within the Mauritanian society?

The study of the Mauritanian nomads' culture was possible through not only the bibliographic documents and references cited hereinafter, but also necessary investigations, which were conducted on the spot in Mauritania in 1981 and until 1992, directly within the traditional framework of the nomadic camp's life. The dialogues and contacts with warriors-chiefs, marabouts, griots, artisans, fishermen and *harratins* allowed us to discern their values and roles, which each holds within the Mauritanian nomadic community, and to study the way of life, crafts and art of the Mauritanian nomads through their stories, testimonies and activities.

This book is divided into chapters, each of which contains its references numbered and detailed at the bottom of pages. The bibliography contains all references of the text as well as additional documents for further reading. The words in italics in the main text are defined in the "Lexicology" part, except some Latin and Greek words and words in italics present in the references; while the expressions in both quotation marks (« ») and italics are appropriate to the authors. Besides, the years, without any specification or carrying the sign "+", are understood A.D.; whereas years carrying the sign "-" are heard B.C.

Finally, we hope that the curiosity to know more about the life of the Mauritanian nomads in the Saharan desert will also give you another sight over the Western sedentary life and our current relationship with the environment.

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## About the Authors



**Brigitte Sigburg HIMPAN**, bearing the artist's name **HYMPAN**, is a professional Artist Painter, quoted on the market of Art. She received numerous awards and honours, as well as the Laureate of the Golden Book of Human Values in 1974 and the title of Academician Chevalier in Art section from the International Academy Greci-Marino (Italy) in 2005.

Due to her artistic sensibility, she has always been fascinated by discovering and appreciating various cultures: Eastern, Arabic, Indian, and Asian. Therefore, right from the beginning of the 1960s, the author did not hesitate to visit on her own Iran, Turkey, Jordan, then Egypt, Mauritania, Nepal, Sri Lanka and finally India, the country where she chose to live in. Her desire of understanding and her fascination, among other things, for the desert led her to deepen one country in particular during her university studies: Mauritania.

Brigitte HIMPAN got a diploma of General Academic Studies in the section of Fine Arts and two Bachelor's degrees in Fine Arts and in Sciences of Education at the University of Paris VIII (France). In 1983, she obtained a Master's degree in Fine Arts with First Class Honours at the University of Paris VIII with the thesis entitled: *La Vie quotidienne des nomades mauritaniens à travers leurs objets usuels* (translation: The everyday Life of the Mauritanian Nomads through their usual Objects). This Master's thesis is referenced in the library of *Institut du Monde Arabe* (IMA) in Paris.

Then, in 1986, she got the First Class Honours for a post-graduate pre-PhD thesis (DEA) in Philosophy of Art and Culture at the University of Panthéon-Sorbonne Paris 1 (France) with the subject: *L'Identité culturelle des nomades mauritaniens* (translation: The Cultural Identity of the Mauritanian Nomads).

Thus, in view of making available and sharing with you the updated content of these two dissertations of studies, Brigitte HIMPAN presents you this book named *Nomads of Mauritania*. The author also brings complementary information about the nomads of Mauritania and new and unpublished points of view over the Mauritanian nomadic art, reflection of their cultural identity.



**Diane HIMPAN-SABATIER**, a graduate of the Higher Institute of Management (ISG, Paris) in 1994 and the Higher School of Cinema Studies (ESEC, Paris) in 1996, is also the author of a post-graduate pre-PhD thesis at the School of International High Studies (EHEI, Paris) in 1996. Furthermore, she spent nine months of her life in Mauritania through several stays from 1981 to 1992, during which she got acquainted

with and was interested in the Mauritanian culture. Therefore, through some research work, she participated in the completion of this book by elaborating and providing relevant and unpublished points of view over the following subjects, of which she is the author:

- the desertification of the Sahara and Mauritania;
- the history of Mauritania before colonization;
- nomadism, the Mauritanian nomads' way of life;
- the nomads and the current Mauritanian society;
- the Mauritanian crafts of today;
- the motifs of water, the well or « eye of the source »;
- and what has become of the Mauritanian nomads?

She also contributed to the update of data and the layout of this book. Furthermore, she created the maps and an original cover of the book, as well as the representation of the motifs and drawings. Finally, she translated the original French version of this book into English.

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