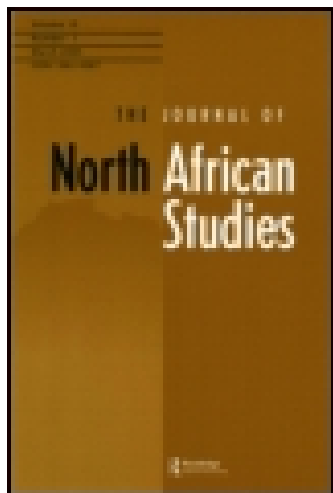


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## Precolonial Rifian Communities Outside the Moroccan Rif: Battiwa and Tangier

The twin factors of energy and motion as being important ones in Moroccan history have been commented upon at the macro-level by Geertz (1977) as well as by ourselves, in a context both larger than and quite different from that to be examined here (Hart 1993). But they can be made to apply equally well at the micro-level, for Moroccans, and North Africans generally, have never been strangers to movement, even in the form of travel, as the massive and ever-increasing labour migration of Maghribine workers to the countries of the EU and Western Europe has come today to bear eloquent witness. In this article our inquiry is restricted entirely to the micro-level, that of Rifian and hence originally Berber-speaking individuals or groups who established colonies outside their homeland of the Rif mountain region of north-eastern Morocco in the precolonial period, insofar as known, with the subsequent relations of these communities with the homeland in question. We will use our own work on the ethnography of one of the most representative Rifian tribal groups, the Aith Waryaghar (or Bni Waryaghal: cf. Hart 1976) and of the six other tribes that border them (cf. Hart, in preparation), as a sociocultural yardstick, even though in this article our orientation is largely sociohistorical, in the sense that as it focuses predominantly on the immediate precolonial period, considerably more use is made of earlier source materials than of near contemporary ones.

Thus the material to be presented here from Battiwa and Arziw in the Algerian Oranie on the one hand (Biarnay 1910–11; Janier 1945) and on Tangier and its environs, known as the *fahs*, on the other (Salmon 1904, Michaux-Bellaire 1921) should not serve as a mere replication of our earlier article on the Rifian community in Tangier (Hart 1957), with respect to which, in any case, some of our views have changed considerably in the interim. This is so even though no attempt will be made here to discuss post-independence developments (i.e. after 1956 for Morocco and after 1962 for Algeria). In any case, from a purely personal standpoint it seems most appropriate that we are now, in 1993, able to terminate our long ongoing Moroccan researches in Tangier, precisely where we began them over 40 years ago, in 1952. As a start, a certain distinction should be made between labour migrants, among which, as understood here, expectant rural/tribal workers move either to the cities of their own country or to those of other countries in order to look for work, but whose aim is or was always to return home eventually, and rural/tribal fugitives who fly from home simply either because of the pressure of poverty or who were, more likely, and in the past,

forced into exile for other specific reasons relating to tribal politics, such as the feud or the vendetta.

In the Berber-speaking areas of the Maghrib generally, the first category has over the last century come to subsume the great majority of migrants. Most of these were Rifians to the French Algerian Oranie, working first on the farms of French settler-colons, from about 1850 to 1962 (when the Algerian frontier was closed with independence), and then moving to Western Europe and the EU from the latter date onward; or Algerian Kabyles, in a totally different labour wave, to France from about 1880 onward; or Moroccan Swasa or Ishilhayan Berbers from the Anti-Atlas to the cities of the northern Moroccan plain and littoral to pursue the trades both of wholesale and retail grocery, from mid-protectorate times, as of about 1936 onward (Montagne *et al.* 1948; Adam 1973; Waterbury 1972, 1973); or even the *izarzayen* porters' guild in Fez from the Middle Atlas village of the same name in the Ait Warayin tribe (Le Tourneau 1949 pp.194–7). Note that in Kabylia, in the Rif and in the Anti-Atlas, the Malthusian law has long prevailed: the land in all three cases is palpably too poor (especially in the Rif) to support its excess population, for which migration and the feud have always been two major avenues for trying to get out of the 'vicious circle'.

The second category is in fact only a smaller but more specific segment of the first, that of the establishment of precolonial Berber communities outside their original homelands. It is significant that, particularly in the Rif, and insofar as known, such communities were almost always established by tribesmen (or their descendants) who had had to flee from home whether because of having committed murder there, because of exile by the tribal council for the same reason or because of getting the worst of it in a feud (for details, cf. Hart 1976 pp.313–38, and Hart, in preparation).

For it was certainly within the narrower context that most of the precolonial Rifian colonies outside the Rif appear to have been formed. Our count of these should by no means be considered exhaustive, as we may well have missed a few. But in western Algeria we have, according to Coon (1931 p.105), both a community of the Aith Waryaghar, which was not confirmed by our own informants, as well as a whole quarter in the city of Oran (Ar. *Wahran*, possibly from Rif. *uhar* (pl. *uharan*, 'foxes?')) known as Gal'aya, and commemorating the name of that confederacy in the Eastern Rif, in addition to that of a third community, Battiwa (or Aith Sa'id) in Arziw (Arzeu), which is examined more closely below.

In Morocco, there are several further Rifian communities outside the homeland. The first is one which was established by the Axt Tuzin (or Bni Tuzin) tribe in one or two villages outlying Mawlay Idris Zarhun (*ibid.* p.105), where the founder of Morocco's first Muslim dynasty, the Idrisids,

is buried, even though Ben Talha in his study of Mawlay Idris fails to mention or to identify this particular community (Ben Talha 1965). The second is what has become a minor concentration of the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya) tribe on the Lamta agricultural region just west of the city of Fez. As Coon demonstrated, this particular Rifian community grew into being as the result of exiles from feuds at home, later increased by their descendants who did not return there (1932 pp.108–31; 1962 p.316). He also went on to mention several further communities, in his fieldwork dating from the late 1920s, that we were unable to corroborate in our own later fieldwork dating from the 1950s (1931 p.105). Finally, and importantly, however, there is the major Rifian community, which he also mentions (*ibid.*) in and on the outskirts of Tangier, which we also ran into quite independently (Hart 1957; 1976 pp.350–53). But both the Tangier community and its *raison d'être* were quite different from and more complex than the others, as we shall see shortly. Battiwa is closer to the norm, as is evident from the work of Biarnay (1910–11) and Janier (1945), and hence we consider it first.

There seems to be no question but that the origins of the Battiwa of Arziw and of what was in colonial times Saint-Leu are from the tribe of the Aith (Bni) Sa'id in the eastern Moroccan Rif, as Biarnay makes clear (1910 p.101). This important point of identification, however, is glossed over completely by Janier, who instead gives us a lengthy and not entirely relevant excerpt from ibn Khaldun (as translated by de Slane) to show that, like the Algerian Kabyles, they were sedentary Sinhaja who inhabited the Rif until the fourteenth century when they were defeated while in the service of the Marinids at Maz'una, after which some of them went back to the Rif and the rest moved on to Mustaghanim, where they stayed until 1784. In that year they moved to a site close to the Roman ruins of Portus Magnus close to the coast, a site which after 1848, and hence in the colonial period, became the European village of Saint-Leu, at a time when French Catholic saints' names were being handed out by the colonial administration to the settlers of new villages (Janier 1945 pp.238–45).

The etymology of the lineage or tribal name *Battiwa* however (an Arabic version of the Rifian original *Ibittuyen/Ibattiwen*) is, like so many other Berber anthroponyms and toponyms, not known. But in 1943 its Muslim and Rifian-descended population numbered 1400, and its European population 600 (*ibid.* pp.247–51). Nonetheless, the village square, in Janier's time, which corresponded to the site of the old Roman forum, was also bisected by the line of division between the two hostile *saff*-s or leagues of the village, the Bni Tmayit (Rif. Aith Tmashth) and the Zigzawa (Rif. Izigzawen), which corresponded exactly, if on a smaller scale, with an earlier or at least contemporary pair of hostile factions within the considerably larger parent tribe of the Aith Sa'id, at home in the Rif, among

whom these same factions, somewhat expanded, were known as *liff-s* (ibid. p.242).

Precisely why the new community was referred to as *Battiwa* is uncertain, but the name may well derive from the Berber root *bdhu* ('to divide, to share'), despite Biarnay's misgivings on this point (Biarnay 1910 p.114). It is, however, to be found in its Rifian cognate form *Ibattiwen* or *Ibittuyen* as a lineage or a local community name in a number of different Rifian tribes, including the *Aith Sa'id*. Nonetheless, as Biarnay informs us, the area of the *Wad Kart/Aghzar n-Kart*, in or near *Aith Sa'id* territory, was the point of origin of this particular group of *Battiwa*, and he makes it clear that after a battle between two sections of the home tribe of the *Aith Sa'id*, the survivors of the vanquished section had to leave the country and seek exile in the east, in the *Oranie*. Our own view is that we are dealing here less with two sections of the *Aith Sa'id* than with two *saff-s* or *liff-s*, or mutually hostile leagues of alliance, which had members throughout all the original sections of the tribe and which therefore often cross-cut its quasi-segmentary and territorial organisation. As Biarnay observes, this would also explain the fact that at *Vieil Arzew/Arziw l-Qdim* or 'Old *Arziw*' (which is to say, *Arziw Amslim* or 'Muslim *Arziw*', to differentiate it from the French village of *Saint-Leu*) there are lineages claiming affiliation with at least half, and probably more, of the present sections of the *Aith Sa'id* (Biarnay 1910 p.105, as well as further corroborating evidence from unpublished papers of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, dated 1943, on the internal division and alliances of the same tribe).

The *saff* alliance arrangements of the *Battiwa*, which even preserved the old names in use (with slight rearrangement) among the Rifians of the *Aith Sa'id*, were still remembered as of the time of *Janier's* fieldwork, even though they were no longer active. But *Janier* also notes their much more irreconcilable hostility toward their Arab neighbours the *Hamyans*, who sneered at them as Berber bumpkins and who were located only two kilometres away from *Saint-Leu* across a ravine which, ordinarily dry, fills up with water during the winter rains. It is proof of the fact that propinquity by no means automatically engenders good relations. It seems that once two *Hamyans* were walking along the ravine when a *Battiwa* woman passed by quite inoffensively. But they spat on the ground as she went by and began to curse the *Battiwa* generally. The woman, of forthright Rifian stock, quite naturally got angry and went up to the nearest one, grabbed him by the shoulders and flung him into the ravine. She then did the same to his astounded partner before he could flee. The fall did not seem to humble either of them, however, and so, as they continued to hurl insults at her from down below, she loosened a large load of stones in an avalanche which then rolled down and killed them both (*Janier* 1945 p.259). What a lady!

Janier now informs us that as of 1943 social pressure among the Battiwa was still very strong, for there was still no intermarriage between them and the Hamyan (ibid. p.260). Biarnay sheds further historical light on this mutual hostility by saying that in the immediate precolonial period, because the Battiwa were persecuted by the Hamyan and other neighbouring Arabs, they became auxiliaries of the Turks, when the Bey of Oran, Muhammad al-Kabir, offered them land if they helped to pacify the salt marshes of Arziw from the depredations of the Hamyan, whose activities as bandits they now began to hinder. After the French invasion of 1830, their friendliness to the invaders rendered them suspect to 'Abd al-Qadir, who dispersed them, sending some to Perregaux (today Muhammadiya) and others to Bni Shugran and l-Burj. Still others, fleeing both 'Abd al-Qadir and the French, returned to the Rif, although most of them helped the French in the defence of Mazaghran in 1839-40. After 'Abd al-Qadir surrendered to the French and was finally removed from the Algerian scene, the local colons found the Battiwa to be excellent workers, in true Rifian style, much better than the local Arabs (Biarnay 1910 pp.106-8). We have no idea to what extent they later became Algerian nationalists.

Social pressure on the Battiwa, Janier tells us, is also manifest within the 'tribe' (referred to by the universal designation, in Algerian Arabic, of *'arsh* as opposed to the Moroccan one of *qbila* or its Rifian cognate *dhaqbitsh*) in a way which has become classic in Berber regions. This is through its division into two *saff*-s or leagues which, as noted, bear different names: the Zigzawa, who live in the western part of the village, and the Bni Tmayit, who live in the eastern one. As also noted, these two *saff*-s existed previously (and continued to exist) as *liff*-s among the Aith Sa'id of the Rif. The spatial dividing line between them in Battiwa was the public square, where the tribal sheep and goats were assembled every morning and evening under the guard of a shepherd.

The division of the Battiwa into eleven sections as recorded by Biarnay (1910 pp.109-12) had ceased to exist by the time Janier came along, and in any case they were very unequal in size; the Zigzawa (Rif. Iziyawen) had 500 members, while three others, the Hatriya (Rif. Ihatriyen), Mjjat (Rif. Imjjat) and Rahmuna (Rif. Irahmunen), had 50 members apiece, while the seven remaining ones only had ten members each. Given the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Zigzawa, they were easily able to impose their will on the remainder, which even after uniting could not even produce half the number of the latter. This situation had obviously become rectified by the early 1940s, by which time the remaining non-Zigzawa sections had been incorporated into the Bni Tmayit *saff*. As of 1943 the only two groups which still existed were the Zigzawa (Rif. *yinin waddai*, 'those below') and the Bni Tmayit (Rif. *yinin innij*, 'those above'), each with about 600

members. They were able to send this number (or presumably half this number, as women would have been excluded) to participate in the tribal council or *jma'a*. As the total population in 1943 was estimated at 1,400, there were thus some 200 souls left over. These had a tendency to build their houses at the two extremities of the village, as they feared cohabiting either with the Zigzawa or the Bni Tmayit. This remainder originated from the various Rifian tribes surrounding the Aith Sa'id, which is to say, the Aith Bu Yihyi, the Thimsaman, the Aith Wurishik and the Iqar'ayen. In the village *jma'a* they had their own representatives just as the purely Battiwa *saff*-s had: in 1943 political fractionation was much less apparent than it had been in 1908, even though the two *saff*-s were still not quite equal in size, that of the Zigzawa retaining its slight edge (Janier 1945 pp.260–61).

Janier informs us, furthermore, that as of 1943 the vitality of the *saff*-s was still manifested in the three following ways: (1) marriages were invariably contracted between men and women of the same *saff*, never between men and women of opposing *saff*-s; (2) there was always a recrudescence of *saff* rivalries on the occasion of important events in the political life of the village, and there were no municipal elections in which shots were not exchanged between men of the two *saff*-s (which may be compared and contrasted to the complete *Pax Hispanica* which reigned in the Rif after the defeat of bin 'Abd al-Krim in 1926 and the resultant confiscation of all Rifian arms by the Spanish authorities); and (3) murders between men of the two *saff*-s were evidently frequent in the past and automatically invoked the application of the *lex talionis*. In connection with this last, Janier does not even mention *diya* or bloodmoney payments, which were always regarded by Rifians to be incidental in any case to the main business of prosecution of the feud or the vendetta, as the case may have been; and he goes on to cite two short case histories (*ibid.* pp.262–4; cf. also Hart 1976 pp.283–338).

As for the economy of Battiwa village, Janier noted that as of 1943 almost all its inhabitants were sedentary agriculturalists, just like their cousins in the Rif. Only 68 men out of the total population of 1,400 had other occupations: these included 24 grocers, ten gardeners, five teahouse keepers, five barbers, four masons, four bakers, three butchers, three egg merchants, two tailors, two coffin-makers, two bicycle repairers, two healers, one cobbler and one potter (Janier 1945 pp.254–6). The produce of the average Battiwi farmer's land netted him a total of 30,000 francs per year in 1943, all of which was more than swallowed up by expenses: food (60 francs per day, hence 22,000 francs per year), taxes (3,000 francs per year) and restocking of tools and livestock (5,000 francs per year). The bleak result was that he was thus forced to turn to black marketing or worse, as he was quite unable to save any money (*ibid.* pp.258–9). Again, we have



no information with respect to what extent the Battiwa villagers may have become involved in labour migration to France since Algerian independence.

Battiwa village in Janier's time boasted two local saints, Sidi Ahmad bin 'Ali and Sidi 'Amar bin Ahmad, both of whom lived in the early twentieth century, both of whom are buried in the village or near it, and both of whom had the *baraka* as manifested in an ability to work miracles. The latter, for example, remained calm and tranquil in the face of a violent storm which tore the roof off the local mosque, while on another occasion his prayers becalmed the sea when another storm arose, threatening to shipwreck a boatload of aspiring pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Four *turuq* or religious orders (sing. *tariqa*) were represented: of these the Sanusiya had the largest number of followers with their centre at Bu Girat, 30 kilometres from Mustaghanim, while the Bu 'Abdalliya had their own centre right in Battiwa itself (ibid. pp.268-71).

Under colonial rule Battiwa was what was known in French Algeria as a *commune de pleine exercice*. Its mayor was assisted by a municipal council consisting of 12 Europeans and six Battiwi-s, while the *qa'id* of the tribe was accountable to the mayor. His role was largely that of a police officer, while that of the *jma'a* which assisted him was confined to inflicting fines on locals either for wounding one another, for theft or for infractions of public order. Its own role had obviously been much greater in the precolonial past, and the memory of an *'urf* or customary law was retained in 1943 as having been different from the Shari'a, although whether it had ever been written down was not known. One significant piece of customary law which was still retained, however, was that women turned their share of the inheritance over to their brothers, exactly as they do in the Rif, but they did so only if the share in question had no great monetary value. Janier notes, correctly, that inheritance by women is considered to be dishonourable among Berbers generally, but that today the notion of interest has largely replaced that of honour (ibid. p.271). He observes that even so the retention of this archaic custom is striking.

However, it seems that even under Turkish domination customary law in Battiwa was in the process of giving way to the Shari'a. The *makhzan* or central government was even then solidly entrenched among the Battiwa and there was no question of any resistance to it. The *duwwar* of Battiwa was placed under the same jural mantle as the seven neighbouring *duwwar*s of the nearby and hostile Arabs of the Bni Hamyan, and all of them were subject to a *qadi* resident at Arziw. In the 1940s the Shari'a adjudicated all conflicts among the Battiwa and was applied by religious personnel or holy men. Exactly like their Rifian cousins at home, the Battiwa were hot-headed and often got into fights. The victim went to the local doctor to obtain a

medical certificate, bought his medicine and registered a complaint with the gendarmerie. But then the next day he generally realised that an arrangement made with the local holy man would be quicker and less costly. So both the plaintiff and the defendant went to Shaykh Bu 'Abdalli, who listened to the facts, placed the blame on the guilty party and reconciled the contestants with words of peace. After this they only had to return to the gendarmerie to have the medical certificate and the official complaint torn up. Janier concludes that it was precisely along these lines that over the last two centuries jural power in Battiwa passed from the *jma'a* to the representative of the *makhzan* and finally to the religious leader (ibid. pp.271-3).

The Rifian settlement of Tangier and its environs of the Fahs preceded that of Battiwa in the Algerian Oranie by exactly a century. It went back to February 1684 when, after the English evacuation of the town, Mawlay Isma'il, one of the earliest and strongest Moroccan sultans of the present 'Alawid dynasty (ruled 1672-1727), restocked it with an army of Rifian troops. This army, known as the *gish ar-rifi*, had been instrumental not only in driving the English out, but also, since 1678, in besieging Christian occupants and evicting them from other north-western Moroccan ports, such as the Spanish from Mahdiya three years before the Tangier evacuation, in 1681. The Rifian army blockade of Tangier had lasted six years, while the army itself, made up of men from the Thimsaman, Aith Waryaghar, Ibuqquyen and Iqar'ayen tribes, and probably from others as well, was first placed under the command of a war leader named, curiously enough, 'Amar bin Haddu al-Battiwi. The origins of this individual, however, were from the Thimsaman tribe and not from that of the Aith Sa'id, and Mawlay Isma'il had appointed him as governor of al-Qsar al-Kbir. His parallel cousin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah al-Rifi was given the pashaship of Tangier, where the besiegers built a *qasba* or fortress to house the *mujahidin* troops, the fighters for the faith. But 'Amar bin Haddu was killed at the siege of Mahdiya, after which the command of his troops passed to 'Ali bin 'Abdallah at-Timsamani, who assumed the office of pasha amid rejoicing over the Moroccan victory over the English, whose evacuation he supervised (Michaux-Bellaire 1921 pp.82-4). A résumé of the history of the Tangier *gish* is now in order; and certainly in its formative years it was emphatically not made up of escapees from feuds at home, a fact which differentiates it from the normal Rifian community away from the Rif.

'Ali bin 'Abdallah remained pasha of Tangier from 1684 until his death in 1713; and one of the first things that happened after the English departure was that the territory of the Fahs on the outskirts of the city was awarded to the victorious Rifian army which had taken it. The *mujahidin* were installed in it and were organised into a *gish* (from Classical Arabic *jaysh*, 'army'),

by virtue of which they were compelled to do military service in exchange for the land they now possessed. 'Ali bin 'Abdallah and his cousin, 'Ali bin Haddu, led them to the conquest of al-'Ara'ish (Larache) in 1690, then to that of 'Azayla/Asila the following year, then to the siege of Badis and finally to that of Sibta (Ceuta), which was not lifted until 1727, the year of Mawlay Isma'il's death. In 'Ali bin 'Abdallah's time, his command included not only the Fahs environs of Tangier but also the territory around 'Azayla and the whole area between Tetuan and Badis, although Tangier remained the seat of his command (*ibid.* pp.85-7).

His son, Ahmad bin 'Ali, was pasha from 1713 to 1743, during a period of ups and downs. After the new sultan Mawlay 'Abdallah (1728-57) assassinated a delegation that Ahmad bin 'Ali sent to him, the pasha became anti-dynastic and backed a pretender named Mawlay al-Mustadhi whom he proclaimed as sultan in Tangier. As Ahmad bin 'Ali was also not recognised by the pasha of Tetuan, 'Amar al-Waqqash, he marched against him and took the city, killing 800 people and building a palace as a monument to the establishment of his authority. But he and Mawlay al-Mustadhi were to suffer a reversal in battle against sultanic forces in the Gharb, beside the Wad Sbu, in February 1743, where they lost 900 men. In July of the same year he was killed in another battle near al-Qsar al-Kbir and Mawlay 'Abdallah placed his head on a pike at the Bab al-Mahruq gate in Fez (*ibid.* pp.87-92).

He was succeeded by his brother 'Abd al-Krim bin 'Ali (1743-48), who went against the pretender al-Mustadhi; but after he was captured and blinded by the latter, he was in turn succeeded by his brother's son 'Abd as-Sadaq bin Ahmad bin 'Ali, whose pashaship from 1748 to 1766 was relatively calm. During or just after his tenure (and the pasha-providing lineage thereafter became known as the Ulad 'Abd as-Sadaq) the original *gish ar-rifi* was reconstituted and reinforced, and was made up almost exclusively of Rifians. Numbering 3,600 men, it consisted of 2,400 infantry and cavalry, 500 artillery and 700 sailors. We have noted elsewhere that the infantry and cavalry, at least, were divided into 21 *miya*-s all told, each with its own *qa'id al-miya*. Several *miya*-s (number unspecified) constituted a *raha*, under a *qa'id ar-raha*, while the artillery was under a *qa'id at-tubjiya* and the sailors under a *ra'is al-bhar*; and three *miya*-s acted as a *mkhazniya* guard for the governor (Hart 1957 p.153). Interestingly, in 1788 under the sultan Sidi Muhammad bin 'Abdallah (1757-90), an attempt was made to increase the fleet with 600 Ait 'Atta Berber tribesmen and 400 'abid or blacks from the Tafilalt, but as these men had never before seen salt water, the experiment was doomed to failure. In any case, by the twentieth century all the sailors had become simple fishermen and most of the soldiers, Fahsi farmers in villages on the outskirts of town. By 1902 *harka* or military force formation was down to three men levied per village, and the whole force did

not exceed 200 men. Exemption from *harka* service could also be obtained by payment to the pasha of 20 duros hasani per village (Salmon 1904 p.185).

All soldiers received a salary of one *mithqal* (five francs) per month, which turned out to be insufficient, and the sultan had to give them an advance. It should be made clear that the pasha of the *gish* and the governor of the city were one and the same individual, and he distributed plots of land by delegation from the sultan. There was also a register, the *kunnash al-gish*, in which the plots and the names of their beneficiaries were inscribed. Although this organisation became increasingly lax after the death of Sidi Muhammad bin 'Abdallah, and the *gish* no longer received a salary, it continued to exist right up to, and indeed past, the establishment of the protectorate in 1912. During this whole period both the *gish* command and the city pashaship remained in the hands of the Ulad 'Abd as-Sadaq lineage from the Thimsaman (ibid. pp.93–112); there seems little point in enumerating all its incumbents here.

It might, however, be noted that during the sultanate of Mawlay al-Hasan I (1873–94), the Tangier command still consisted of considerably more territory than it did at the time of the protectorate. It comprised no less than nine tribes, in addition to the Fahs, from the neighbouring north-western Jbala: the Gharbiya, 'Amr, Mzura, Bdawa, Anjra, Wadras, Bni Msawwar, Jbil Hbib and Bni Yidir. The Anjra, however, often showed a tendency to reject the weakening authority of the pasha, a fact which Michaux-Bellaire linked to their affiliation with the Darqawa order. This separatist tendency was evidently manifested openly in 1876 with the nomination of 'Abd as-Sadaq bin Ahmad as governor. He was replaced in 1891 by his weak son Hajj Muhammad, who was then in turn replaced by a cousin, 'Abd ar-Rahman bin 'Abd as-Sadaq, because as of 1875 the pashaship was, by sultanic decree, statutorily awarded to the Ulad 'Abd as-Sadaq.

But after Hajj 'Abd as-Slam bin 'Abd as-Sadaq became pasha in 1902, his principal antagonist, from within the Fahs itself, was the famous (and very non-Rifian) Jbalan *sharif* turned bandit Mawlay Ahmad al-Raysuni, who after 1904 administered the Fahs without leaving his nearby birthplace of Zinat. He remained the *de facto* master of the Fahs and of Tangier until 1907–8, when Sultan Mawlay 'Abd al-Hafiz confirmed him in Fez as the Qa'id of the Jbala. Raysuni's star was in the ascendant: in 1904 he had also demanded and obtained the partnership from Hajj 'Abd as-Slam bin 'Abd as-Sadaq and, after his capture of the Greek–American Ion Perdicaris that same year, he then captured the English instructor of the sultan's army Qa'id Sir Harry MacLean in 1907. We have described elsewhere Raysuni's on-again, off-again relationship with the Spanish protectorate authorities (1911–24) and his eventual defeat, capture and death in the Rif in 1924–25 at the hands of the Rifian leader bin 'Abd al-Krim (Hart 1976 pp.390–93;

1987 pp.19–24). As they do not impinge upon the subject at hand, there is no need to discuss them further here.

Note, nonetheless, that as of 1907–8 the government of Tangier was reformed to include only the Fahs plus four villages of the Anjra, as the rest of Anjra territory was to be included in the new Spanish Zone of Morocco through the Franco–Spanish protectorate treaty of 1912, which had already been secretly worked out in its essentials in the Act of Algeciras in 1906. Even the southern-most slice of the original Fahs now went into the new Spanish Zone (Michaux-Bellaire 1921 p.112), and the International Zone which Tangier became from 1912 to 1956 retained the same shape as the northern Moroccan province which it became after independence. But there were no more Rifian pashas, the last one having been replaced during the international (and colonial) period by a *mindub* from a Fasi family, Si Ahmad Tazi, and, after independence, by a Moroccan provincial governor.

At independence the Moroccan Muslim population of Tangier numbered about 100,000, and of this figure we estimated originally that about 70,000, or 70 per cent, were either Rifian or of Rifian descent, mostly the latter (Hart 1957 p.154), a figure which has probably become somewhat reduced in the interim. To this we may add Michaux-Bellaire's higher estimate, from 1921, of the population of the Tangier Fahs, in which the Rifian element is even more apparent, of 85 per cent Rifian, 9 per cent Arabo–Berber from the neighbouring Jbala, and only 6 per cent Arab, properly speaking (Michaux-Bellaire 1921 p.361; Hart 1957 pp.154–5). This last estimate may err somewhat on the high side, but probably not very much. As early as 1904, in a detailed and perceptive ethnographic survey of the Fahsiya, Salmon stressed the highly composite nature of the latter as a Moroccan 'tribe', saying perspicaciously that if a working definition of a tribe or *qabila* may be that of a group of kinsmen, real or putative, descended from a common ancestor, its northern Moroccan counterpart, since the lengthy wars of the *mujahidin* to expel the Christian settlements on the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts, has come a long way from the Arabian original: for the 'Alawid sultans, wanting to divide territory among such groups, drew boundary lines and nominated *qa'id*-s, more or less arbitrarily but at the same time officially. The tribe, Salmon notes, has thus become an administrative subdivision placed within stable limits and under the authority of a functionary of the *makhzan* or government. Some tribes still retain the genealogically based names that they bore formerly, but very few have remained intact, and certain sections, detached from their main branches, have equally become settled on the territory of other tribes. The more heterogeneous ones show a complete absence of any common ancestry and the names they are given are purely geographical terms referring to the area they occupy. Among these, for example, are the Fahs,

Hawuz, Sahil and Gharbiya, all of which are far removed from the original *qabila*-concept of Arabia (Salmon 1904 pp.149–51).

Although Fahs territory only covers about 200 square kilometres around the city limits of Tangier, from the Bay of Tangier to the Strait of Gibraltar to Cape Spartel on the west, and from there to the Wad Tahaddart on the south, with its centre in the Jbil l-Kbir, they are very much aware of their Rifian origins, or at least they certainly were in Salmon's time and even in the 1950s. (The Jbil l-Kbir, although only some 600 metres high, became known to Europeans in Tangier as the 'Old Mountain' on its north slope and as the 'New Mountain' on its south slope, while it levels off down to the Atlantic beach between Cape Spartel and the Caves of Hercules in a way that suggests, physically, a kind of *bilad al-makhzan/bilad al-siba* dichotomy in miniature, even though the *siba* concept was totally inapplicable in the context of Tangier.) Although they admitted the administrative term *dshar* (pl. *dshur*) or 'village' for their settlements, which with their once thatched and today corrugated iron roofed *nwala* houses close together look much like those of the neighbouring Jbalan tribes, they still referred to these settlements at the beginning of the century as *qbila* or 'tribe', simply because these village communities were a microcosm of the tribes which they or their ancestors came from in the Rif. Salmon adds, significantly, that it is clear that this tribal and ethnic fractionation was the cause of intense rivalries between villages, and especially between Rifians and Jbala, of whom the Rifians have always been scornful (Salmon 1904 p.168).

Michaux-Bellaire, who estimated the total Fahsiya population at about 14,000 in 1921 (as opposed to a figure of 22,000 given for them in the Moroccan census of 1960), gives a detailed listing of all the Fahsiya villages as well as the ethno-tribal composition of each, within the context of the entirely territorially based 'quarters' or *rba* (sing. *rba'*) to which they were assigned administratively, as of 1921 (Michaux-Bellaire 1921 pp.379–400; cf. also Salmon 1904 pp.190–92); but for our purposes here just a few representative examples will suffice: Dshar Bni Waryaghal, for example, was inhabited originally exclusively by members of the Aith Waryaghar tribe, while the present quarter (and onetime village) of l-Msalla was inhabited by those of the Thimsaman. Dshar Bni Tuzin was inhabited by members of the Axt Tuzin, Dshar Rifiyin (without tribal specification) by members of the Aith Yittuft and al-Farihiyin by members of the Bni Bu Frah, both these last located in the western Rif. 'Azib d-Abaqqiw was originally inhabited by the Ibuqquyen, as its name indicates, the quarters and onetime villages of Marstarkhush (said to have been a Rifianisation of a once resident Englishman named 'Mr Hodge') and Swani by the Aith 'Ammarth, and l-Gzinnaya, which after independence became a whole rural

commune in its own right, by the Igzinnayen as well as by some Iqar'ayen. A few *dshur*, such as I-Hajariyin, were inhabited both by Rifians and Jbala, with, it seems, fairly frequent intermarriages between them, while others, along the lines of the percentages suggested above by Michaux-Bellaire, were Jbala. Examples of the latter were Shwiqrash, inhabited by *shufa*' of the Ulad al-Baqqal lineage of the al-Ghzawa, and Dshar bin Diban, occupied by a segment of the Anjra (Salmon 1904 pp.188–92).

In our earlier work on the subject we made a distinction between Old Rifians, which is to say, the original Rifian garrison of Tangier and their descendants, as well as the pasha-providing lineage of the Ulad 'Abd as-Sadaq, on the one hand, and New Rifians, those that have come to the city since the beginning of the present century, since the Rifian War against Spain and France of 1921–26, and particularly since the terrible drought of 1945, the 'year of hunger'; and we noted further that the Old Rifians have long been Arabised whereas the New ones still retain Berber speech and Rifian culture patterns even after having learned Arabic (Hart 1957 pp.154–5). This now seems to us overly schematic and dichotomised, for the fact of the matter is that from 1684 to the present there has been a virtually uninterrupted influx of Rifians both into Tangier and into the Fahs, as well as into Tetuan. This influx has of course been heavier at some periods than at others, but it has always remained at a fairly steady trickle in which erosion or loss of both the Rifian dialect and of tribal identity has probably been faster in the urban population of the city than in its still rural Fahsi outskirts.

Salmon noted that even as early as 1904, although most of the Fahsiya of Rifian origin still spoke *dharifith*, Arabic was already gaining heavy inroads, and recently arrived Rifians had to be able to understand it in order to maintain relations with the city. Indeed, at that time Arabic was already spoken by the majority of the southern and eastern Fahsiya, precisely where the Jbala- and Arab-descended villages are located, except for the inhabitants of I-Msalla and Swani, who had only come from the Rif in the 1870s (Salmon 1904 pp.170–71). By the 1950s, Rifian speech was generally maintained only by first-generation arrivals, whose children and grandchildren then largely ignored it to speak only Arabic, even at home. Furthermore, during the period when Tangier was under international control, many even learned Spanish, French and English (Hart 1957 pp.153–4).

Language, however, was by no means the only Rifian cultural diagnostic among the Tangier Fahsiya at the turn of the century; there were several others. Salmon tells us that in his day, quite apart from the flintlock guns that they used in powder plays on foot at weddings or religious feasts, they were, just like the Rifians at home, quite well armed with more or less modern European rifles. Each village had its target site, target practice was supervised every Friday after mosque attendance by a *shaykh ar-rma*' or

chief sharpshooter, and even though he was not paid, he fined those marksmen who missed the target. Such target practice too stood the Fahsiya in good stead in the event of attempted raids or pillaging expeditions by bandits from the neighbouring Jbalan tribes of the Anjra and the Bni Msawwar (ibid. p.204). Such raids were very common at and before the turn of the century; and the Fahsiya response to them was a very Rifian one, to fight back hard. For banditry and theft were widespread among the Jbala, and indeed Salmon ends his account with a look at Raysuni, their most famous exponent (ibid. pp.260–61), while they were much less so among the Fahsiya, who had inherited the rough honesty and willingness to do hard work of the Rifians as well as the predilection of the latter toward the bloodfeud and the vendetta (and both for this and for wider cultural comparisons with the Jbala, cf. Vignet-Zunz 1992).

Salmon makes it clear that in the event of murder the Fahsiya did not admit the institution of bloodwealth or blood compensation (Salmon 1904 p.202). If and when they did so, it was only a slight amount and of secondary importance, because they preferred to prosecute the feud, in which the murderer at once became the prey of his victim's agnates. Salmon does not distinguish between feud and vendetta, nor does he tell us anything about the occurrence of the latter among the Fahsiya; but as in the Rif itself it was normally restricted to hostility between close agnates, the bloodmoney factor was almost never invoked in any case (Hart 1976 pp.313–38; Munson 1989; Hart 1989). But he does say that reciprocal murders gave rise to interminable feuds between lineage groups which sought to avenge the deaths of their members. Significantly, the pasha refrained from interfering in these feuds, the existence of which was responsible for the maintenance of a generalised hostility over most of the tribal territory at all times (Salmon 1904 p.202).

This was indeed a mirror image, on a smaller scale, of the normal situation among the parent tribes of the Fahs, at home in the Rif, in precolonial times. Even so there was, among the Fahsiya, nothing corresponding to the Rifian *qanun* documents of customary law, to the *liff* or alliance network (unlike the case in Battiwa), to the *haqq* fine for murder if committed in the market – for there was only one market, the bi-weekly one in Tangier itself, held on Sundays and Thursdays – or to the *aitharbi'in* or tribal council beyond the rudimentary level of the village assembly or *jma'a* headed by the *mqaddim d-dshar* (Hart 1976 pp.283–325). For in the Fahsiya, given its multiple and heterogeneous origins, there was no need for a tribal council, and the appointment of the *mqaddim* was ratified by the pasha.

In the Fahsiya case all of the above institutions were truncated in any case, if not short-circuited entirely, simply because the responsibility of this administrative tribal unit, as a *gish*, was directly to the pasha. Salmon notes



with some perspicacity that as there was no central authority other than that of the provincial governor, *makhzan*-tribe relations in general were reduced to pasha-*dshar* relations (Salmon 1904 p.183). These relations, as noted, revolved mainly around the levying of *harka*-s by the pasha from the Fahsiya and the payment by them to him of the *hadiya*, the non-legal tax from which nobody was exempt (although the Fahsiya were indeed exempt because of their *gish* status from the Qur'anic taxes of the *zakah* and the '*ashur*') and which the pasha was required to hand over to the sultan on the occasion of the three major Muslim religious feasts (ibid. p.184). In return, the cultivated lands of the Fahsiya were decreed inalienable by virtue of having been conceded to the original *gish* by right of conquest and are no doubt therefore still today regarded as *mulk* or private property (ibid. p.228).

It is not our intention here to pursue Salmon's 'thick ethnographic description' of the Fahsiya of Tangier of nearly a century ago beyond the point, now achieved, of showing what they did or did not retain from their Rifian ancestors. Hence we leave aside some of the more complex aspects of their land tenure and socioeconomic organisation, for example, which do not derive directly from this fact. All of these are masterfully handled by Salmon, and we see no reason to dispute his findings. Indeed, the only possible point of minor difference that we can cite is with respect to what Salmon has to say about the shrine of Sidi Qasim wuld Mawlay Idris, supposedly the son of Mawlay Idris himself and the most famous saint in the Fahs, whose annual *musim* at the time of the summer solstice he fails, curiously, to mention. But Salmon does note that in his day the shrine had no cupola or *qubba*, simply because it had evidently caved in every time one was built, thus indicating, no doubt, that the saint in question preferred the open air (ibid. pp.248-9). We may add parenthetically, however, that by 1962, when we ourselves first saw and photographed the shrine, a *qubba* was firmly in place atop it.

In sum, enough has been said to show, through two examples given in some detail, that the number of those Rifian communities established in the precolonial period beyond the borders of the Moroccan Rif from whence their founders originated had and have vivid collective recollections of their Rifian origins. We would venture to say that this is still as much the case today as it was half a century ago, even though such memories may be dimming somewhat or becoming distorted with the passage of time. Let us only hope that the galloping, unbridled and cumulative pace of socioeconomic change over the last three decades does not obliterate them completely.

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