Hespéris-Tamuda LX (2) (2025): 371-432

Rural-Urban Relations in Pre-Protectorate Morocco: The View from the City

Norman Cigar
U.S. Marine Corps University (Retired)

Abstract: This study examines the urban perceptions of the countryside in Pre-Protectorate Morocco using the concept of Othering as an analytical approach, where markers distinguish the self from others, who are seen as different, inferior, and threatening. The hypothesis of the study is that the concept of Othering reflected the urban view of the rural sector in Morocco and that that perspective entailed both psychological and tangible consequences. A corollary hypothesis, however, is that the urban Othering in Morocco did not necessarily reflect a power balance translating automatically into a subordination of the countryside to the city. The study identifies and analyzes the then-prevailing binary urban-rural conception of society, the cultural and material aspects of Othering, the effect of Othering on power relationships, the rural-urban transitional and integrative mechanisms, and concludes with an evaluation of the concept of Othering as an analytical approach.

Keywords: Morocco, Urban, Rural, City, Countryside, Othering

Introduction

Societies throughout history have often seen themselves as divided between urban and rural components, although the boundaries, metrics, and significance of this factor have varied over time and place. One can distinguish both tangible and intangible factors in such perceptions, and both can be said to have had some impact in very real terms for societies and for the individual.

This study will address one aspect of this relationship in pre-Protectorate Morocco, specifically the socio-cultural perspective from the point-of-view of the urbanites. Such intangible psychological cultural markers often draw less attention than the political and economic aspects, but this is not simply a superstructure resulting from economic and political relations with the countryside, but an independent dimension integrated with other more tangible aspects of that relationship, and it can itself shape the more material dealings.

An approach that can be useful to understand the urban-rural relationship may be that of "Othering," a working definition of which may be to see this concept as:

> "a process where an individual or a group is perceived by an individual or group (the "Self"), as being different (the "Other") in some fundamental way and, thus, not belonging to the same socio-cultural entity (category). The "Self' acts as being the norm and evaluates those who do not meet that norm as the "Other." Perceived as lacking the

essential characteristics of the "Self," the "Other" is seen and treated as inferior and potentially as a threat."[1]

Characteristics such as race, ethnicity, religion, gender, language, lifestyle, profession, or age, among many others, have served as the basis for Othering in various societies throughout history.

A key fault-line in society that attracted Othering has been that between cities and the countryside, even if not one determined in nature, and that seems to have existed in Morocco – and elsewhere – beyond recorded history, and was simply assumed to be part of the natural order. Admittedly, it is unclear whether it is Othering that determines how one treats those who are different or whether Othering is itself developed as a rationale and justification for the desired active or intended treatment of individuals and groups, and perhaps the two processes arise concurrently and develop interactively. Although one might view perceptions as being in the realm of ethereal and unquantifiable mindsets, nevertheless such views are often translated into demonstrable representations and patterns of behavior with tangible repercussions in areas as diverse as political power, law, education, employment, marriage, medical care, or identity itself.

This study will concentrate on the ʿAlawī period up to the establishment of the Protectorate (ca. 1664-1912). Although of course many of the salient concepts and behaviors may have already been long established, I selected this period because by then the urban demographics had largely stabilized with the integration of the relatively large-scale Andalusian immigration after the latter's phased expulsions from Spain. Moreover, it was the most proximate era to the present and may be the most relevant one to address, as its influence can be said to continue to this day in some ways. However, the timeframe is flexible, and reference may also be made to earlier (and later) periods when such information will provide additional perspectives for the main focus, especially given the long-term character of relevant social perceptions and attitudes.[2]

The working hypothesis of this study is that the concept of "Othering" reflected the urban view of the rural sector in Morocco and that that perspective entailed both psychological and tangible consequences. A corollary hypothesis, however, is that the urban "Othering" in Morocco did

---

[1]. Ioannis Manos and Georgia Sarikoudi, "'Othering,' Translating Socio-Cultural Anthropology into Education," in eds. Jelena Tošić and Christa Markom, *Einführung in die Bildungsanthropologie: Ein Lehrbuch* (Vienna: New Academic Press, 2022), 278. (hereafter Manos and Sarikoudi, "'Othering'").

[2]. For a masterful study about Fes and its countryside during the preceding Saʿdī period, with a focus on political and economic issues, see Muḥammad Mazzīn, *Fās wa-bawādīhā: musāhama fī tārīkh Al-Maghrib al-saʿdī, 1549-1637*, 2 vols. (Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1986).

not necessarily reflect a power balance translating automatically into a subordination of the countryside to the city.

Setting the Terms of Reference

How one defines such basic elements relevant to this study as to what constitutes the urban and rural sectors, or a city or the countryside, has often depended on the metrics and criteria used. While perspectives have varied over time, such elements as geography, population density, occupational categories, social and legal structures, and a sector's functions, among others, have all been used to differentiate urban areas from rural ones for analytical purposes.[3] Analytical conclusions have often been further complicated by arbitrary official definitions, which may vary by country and period.[4] In the modern social sciences, earlier approaches based on stark urban-rural polarities long ago were challenged and gave way to what is now the prevailing view of the rural-urban sectors as a continuum, with one such observer arguing against the "overstatement … of the importance of the rural-urban distinction and the assertion that urbanism constitutes a separate moral order."[5] Others have also stressed the interdependence of the two sectors, concluding that "the concept of urban-rural relationships has emerged as a way of challenging this longstanding and persistent dichotomy and promoting an integrated conception of cities and countryside based on both their spatial and functional interdependencies."[6] Nevertheless, some have argued that one could still identify distinct rural spaces in some countries.[7] To be sure, how these two sectors interact will vary over time and place, but the recognition of rural-urban interaction need not exclude also the existence of discontinuities in constituent components of the relationship even within the same society, such as in the socio-cultural realm in the case to be studied here.

The incisive medieval polymath ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (732/1332-808/1406) posited a basic binary division, consisting of two

---

3. For overviews see R. Rojas-Caldelas, C. Pena-Salmon, A. Ranfla-González, R. Venegas-Cardoso, O. Leyva-Camacho, and J. Ley-Garcia, "Approaches to Analyzing the Rural-Urban Interface: Comprehensive Development Views from Town and Countryside," in eds. C.A. Brebbia, S. Hernández, and E. Tiezzi, *The Sustainable City VI*, vol. 129 (Southampton, UK: WIT Press, 2010), 359-70; and Hélène Mainet, *Ville-campagne, urbain-rural: mots, lieux et liens. Approches croisées France-Afrique subsaharienne* (Toulouse: Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, 2017).

4. Cecilia Tacoli, "Rural-Urban Interactions: A Guide to the Literature," *Environment and Urbanization*, vol. 10, no. 1 (April 1998): 147-49, 160.

5. Francisco Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 6, no. 1 (October 1963): 1-23.

6. Simin Davoudi and Dominic Stead, "Urban-Rural Relationships: An Introduction and Brief History," *Built Environment*, vol. 28, no. 4 (2002): 274.

7. Ferdinand Ngueyap, "Espaces urbains et ruraux, injustice des lieux et régimes démographiques: la construction d'une nouvelle discontinuité spatiale de la mortalité en Afrique?" in *Régimes démographiques et territotire: les frontières en question, Actes du colloque de La Rochelle,septembre 1998* (Paris: Association internationale des démographes de langue française, 2000), 522-23.

categories – urban and rural – contraposing cities (*al-mudun* or *al-amṣār*) and the countryside (*al-bādiya*) and the inhabitants as urbanites and rurals (*ḥaḍarī* and *badawī*).[8] To differentiate the two environments, he relied on multiple metrics, such as the type of livelihood (industry, commerce, or agriculture/animal husbandry), types of housing, physical plant (cities are characterized by walls and fortifications, baths, crafts and level of culture), or type of governance and laws.[9] Ibn Khaldūn did not invent the urban-rural duality or even the vocabulary that embodied it, which had been in use in the Islamic world even before his time, but he developed a systematic scholarly model to study and understand the phenomenon. His primary interest was to determine the implications of such binary interactions for the development of political power and as an explanation for history, but this study will deal primarily with identifying and analyzing the social character of these interactions from the urban perspective.

Moroccans of all periods viewed society in much the same way as Ibn Khaldūn (and his predecesors) did, and the urban-rural divide appears constantly in Moroccan discourse in the period under study here. The vocabulary to express that relationship may vary, but that is simply the case of synonymous words for the same concept of the binary urban-rural sectors. Although Moroccan writers remained well-acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn and while his ideas continued to be influential, the fact that Moroccans exhibited a parallel conceptualization of the relationship between cities and the countryside was not necessarily because they were influenced directly by the ideas he had expounded on this issue in his writings. Rather, a shared reality as they saw it, social tradition, and everyday experiences were probably more significant factors in shaping their views of urban-rural relations, even if these ideas were similar to those of Ibn Khaldūn. And, while Ibn Khaldūn sought to provide an overarching analytical explanatory framework as a contribution to knowledge, most Moroccans simply lived this situation without seeking to draw broader scholarly conclusions.

To be sure, Morocco, in particular, traditionally represented a more nuanced reality on the ground even more so than did most other Middle East countries, with gray conceptual areas for an urban-rural dyad. While there would be a ready consensus that entities such as Fes or Meknes qualified as cities, categorizing the identity of smaller entities might have been more ambiguous.[10] Settlements such as the *ksar* (*qaṣr*) or the *qaṣba*-s, which one

---

8. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (732/1332-806/1406), *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn: Al-Muqaddima* (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1413/1992), vol. 1, 129-30 and passim, (hereafter Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*).

9. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, 129-31, 134, 136, 160, 162, 381, 401-02, 420, 422, 438.

10. This ambiguity has been true in Morocco even in modern times, with some residents of Beni Mellal, for example, seeing it as a city and others as a big village. Noureddine Harrami, "Les formes sociales de classification de l'espace au Maroc; La perception du 'rural' et de 'l'urbain' dans un milieu urbain,"

scholar has described as a "fortified village" and "the fundamental political unit" characteristic of south-east Morocco, presented a complication to easy classification.[11] In effect, a *qaṣba* such as that of Ouarzazate, which was said to have a population of 3000-4000 in the early 20th century, could be the center of agricultural, commercial, and political activity.[12] And, there were the well-known *zāwiya*-s, religious centers often rooted in rural areas and relying on rural populations but displaying attributes commonly associated with a city, with their educational and research facilities, commercial activity, and administrative, religious, and legal functions. Indeed, the Dilā'ī *zāwiya* had developed into a de facto state in the 11th/17th century, with political, economic, and military power extending into urban areas, as well as engaging in relations with foreign states.[13] In fact, a scholar from the small city of Chefchaouen, Sulaymān Al-Ḥawwāt (1160/1747-1231/1816), had charactarized in a letter his own agglomeration, as well as the former Dilā'ī *zāwiya* complex, as being somewhat "between a city and the countryside" (*bayn al-ḥāḍira wa-l-bādiya*).[14]

Any model involves a degree of artificiality, but the utility of an approach such Max Weber's "ideal type" methodology or analytical model provides questions to consider and, by simplifying the terms of reference sharpens the focus, circumventing nuances or complexities, thus putting into greater relief those elements considered key to an analysis that can lead to understanding an issue so that one can develop broader conclusions.[15] Ibn Khaldūn was aware of real-world nuances, as he noted that small cities could approach the level and character of a rural village (*idh hiya min qabīl al-qurā*), suggesting an embryonic type of a continuum, but he refined the focus on the "ideal" elements for analytical purposes.[16] And, at the same time, Ibn

in *Dynamiques urbaines et développement rural* (Rabat: CERED, 1999), 260-63, (hereafter Harrami, "Les formes sociales"). For a discussion on how to categorize Moroccan cities today, see Abdelaziz El Ghazali, "L'approche du concept de 'l'urbain': le cas du Maroc," in *L'évolution des rapports villes-campagnes au Maghreb, Université Mohammed V, Colloques et séminaires no. 10* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1988), 13-40.

11. Larbi Mezzine, *Le Tafilalt: Contribution à l'Histoire du Maroc aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1987), 268.

12. Gustave Babin, "Burgs et donjons au Maroc," *L'Illustration* (Paris), 9 March 1907, 163.

13. Muḥammad Ḥijjī, *Al-Zāwiya al-dilā'iyya wa-dawruhā al-dīnī wa-l-ʿilmī wa-l-siyāsī* (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Waṭaniyya, 1384/1964); and *Al-Zawāyā fī A-Maghrib*, 2 vols. (n.p.: Wizārat Al-Thaqāfa, 2009).

14. As noted in a letter dated 1158/1745 by Muḥammad Al-Bakrī Al-Dilā'ī, a scholar of the *zāwiya* family of that name. Letter reproduced in Muḥammad Al-Ḍuʿayyif (1165/1171-after 1238/1822), *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif Al-Ribāṭī*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Būzīdī Al-Shaykhī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1408/1988), vol. 1, 266-67, (hereafter Al-Ḍuʿayyif, *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif*).

15. See Yufan Sun, "Recontextualizing Max Weber's Ideal Type: Lessons from Idealization in the Philosophy of Natural Science and Economics," *Innovation in the Social Sciences*, no. 2 (2024):194-234.

16. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, 385.

Khaldūn recognized the urban-rural world as an interactive ecosystem, with mutual economic needs.[17]

In particular, a valid input in developing a working analytical framework is also how the local actors, who live the issue, themselves see the situation and what practical conclusions they draw even if that might reflect criteria that are not always consistent. Rather than relying on rigid objective benchmarks for an agglomeration to qualify as a city, the concepts that were developed could at times be applied in a subjective manner. Thus, Leo Africanus (Al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Al-Wazzān), the famous 10th/16th c. Andalusian writer with extensive experience in Morocco, who wrote an overview of the Maghreb published in Europe after having been taken prisoner, noted that in his day agglomerations with 1000 hearths – or houses – could still be considered by some to only be villages.[18] On the other hand, when an anonymous observer reported the plague of 1159/1746-47 in the anti-Atlas region, he categorized Al-Ghayām and Tadmant – places that were probably quite small – as cities (*madīna*).[19] At times, Moroccans posited a more nuanced categorization of agglomerations, as did one scholar of rural origins who identified cities (*al-mudun*), villages (*al-qurā*), and hamlets (*al-madāshir*), and another cited cities (*ḥawāḍir*), villages (*qurā*), hamlets (*madāshir*), and tent encampments (*khiyām*) without, providing specific criteria.[20] However, such additions did not change the urban-rural duality but only provided nuanced differences in types of living spaces in the rural sector.

Jurists, it is true, did have an interest in defining the urban-rural geo-human environment for the legal implications of what qualified an agglomeration for Friday prayers. A noted Moroccan jurist, Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Al-Sijilmāsī (817/1414-903/1498), synthesized opinions by his predecessors, reflecting a consensus that the prayers could be held not only in cities but also in a "big village" (*al-qariya al-kabīra*) or in "a village that resembles [a city] in terms of the structure (*ṣūra*) and function (*ʿamal*) of the latter," although what that meant constituted an additional undefined subjective consideration. While some specified a requirement of a designated mosque and markets, others did not, and the prevailing view, as summarized by Ibn Hilāl Al-

---

17. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, 162.

18. Johannes Leo Africanus (Al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Al-Wazzān) (ca. 1485-ca. 1554), *La descrizione dell'Africa di Giovan Lioni Africano*, in ed. Marica Milanesi, *Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Navigazioni e viaggi* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), vol. 1, 107, (hereafter Leo Africanus, *La descrizione dell'Africa*).

19. Anonymous marginal note in *Baʿḍ ajwibat al-faqīh Sīdī Aḥmad b. Maḥammad Al-ʿAbbāsī* (d. 1168/1754), author's own manuscript, fol. 136.

20. Respectively Aḥmad b. Al-Mubārak Al-Sijilmāsī (d. 1156/1743-44), *Al-Ibrīz min kalām Sīdī ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Al-Dabbāgh* (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1418/1998), 15; Muḥammad Al-Ṭayyib Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Version of Muhammad Al-Qadiri's Nashr Al-Mathani*, ed. Norman Cigar (Rabat: Academic Institute for Scientific Research, 1978), 93, (hereafter Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Nashr Al-Mathani*).

Sijilmāsī, appeared to be the requirement of having a contiguous built-up area with at least 30 houses, which would provide the sufficient number of men for a congregation.[21]

However, we would not have been dealing with social scientists and for even educated Moroccans of the past the approach on what constituted a city would probably have been a subjective one, in many ways simply assuming they would know one when they saw one. For practical purposes, most Moroccan urbanites routinely expressed their worldview in simple exclusive binary terms, as evidenced in contemporary ʿ texts, classifying the human and physical environment as either urban or rural, using the dyad *al-ḥawāḍir wa-l-bawādī* and related linguistic variants for cities and the countryside.[22] In Morocco's case, the rural sector was essentially tribal, which was sometimes reflected in the perception of the dyad in terms of tribes and cities (*al-qabā'il wa-l-mudun* or *qabā'il wa-amṣār*).[23] Indeed, writers would use the binary terminology as an equivalent for the entire country or for everybody. For example, one chronicler used the expression "neither in cities nor in the countryside" (*lā ... fī ḥāḍira wa-lā fī bādiya*) to indicate that a Sultan's rule did not extend anywhere in the totality of Morocco's domains during the Saʿdī period.[24] And, when the *ʿabīd* slave army and the Fasis agreed in 1140/1728 to recognize ʿAbd Al-Malik as Sultan and "the *bayʿa* given to him was sent to [all of] Morocco's cities and rural areas" (*kutiba bi-bayʿatihi li-ḥawāḍir Al-Maghrib wa-bawādīhi*).[25] Or, according to a 13th/19th c. government official, "a severe plague struck all of the countryside and the cities," (*ḥadatha al-ṭāʿūnu al-kathīru fa-ʿamma al-bawādī wa-l-amṣār*).[26]

---

[21]. Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Al-Sijilmāsī, *Hādhihi ajwibat al-imām Ibn Hilāl*, ed. Al-Mahdī Al-Wāzzānī (Fes: lithographed, Al-ʿArabī Al-Azraq, 1310/1893), 47-49, (hereafter Al-Sijilmāsī, *Hādhihi ajwibat al-imām Ibn Hilāl*).

[22]. For one example of many, see Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833), *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib ʿan duwal Al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib; Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, ed. and trans. Octave V. Houdas (Paris: 1886; reprinted Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969), 32, 33, 36 Arabic text, (hereafter Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*).

[23]. Respectively, Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 40 Arabic text; and Muḥammad Akansūs (1211/1796-97-1294/1877), *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram fī dawlat awlād Mūlānā ʿAlī Al-Sijilmāsī*, ed. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Al-Kansūsī (Marrakesh: Al-Waṭaniyya, n.d.), vol. 1, 272, (hereafter Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*).

[24]. *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne*, ed. Georges Colin (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Jadīda, 1934), 104.

[25]. Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833), *Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawlat Mūlāy Al-Sharīf*, ed. Rashīd Al-Zāwiya (Al-Rīmānī: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1992), vol. 1, 227, (hereafter Al-Zayānī, *Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*).

[26]. Idrīs Al-Jaʿīdī (d. after 1276/1859), *Kitāb Al-Ibtisām ʿan dawlat Mūlāy ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Hishām*, Ms. K1204, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 7. The same dyad had long been used to express the totality of Morocco, as in the chronicle by ʿAlī Ibn Abī Zarʿ Al-Fāsī (d. 726/1326), who noted a situation "in all the regions of Morocco, its cities and the countryside" (*wa-sā'ir aʿmāl Al-Maghrib mudunihi wa-bawādīhi*). ʿAlī Ibn Abī Zarʿ Al-Fāsī, *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk Al-Maghrib wa-tārīkh madīnat Fās* (Rabat: Dār Al-Manṣūr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Wirāqa, 1973), 108, (hereafter Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib*).

For urbanites, the point of reference, the measuring rod, was their own city, as "the normal" and as how things ought to be. Anything rural was "the Other," implicitly, and often explicitly. For urbanites, the rural "Other" represented not only a location or physical structures, but also a human aspect, that is the people who lived there and who embodied a certain culture. Thus, the Ūdāyā (and other tribes) cantoned during certain periods physically in the wider urban site of Fes, whether in New Fes or in the *qaṣba*-s adjoining the city, retained their rural social structures, loyalties, and behaviors and were not viewed by the Fasis as current or even potential fellow-urbanites, despite being their immediate neighbors.[27] Tellingly, for a Fasi chronicler, when a wall collapsed in New Fes in 1133/1721, his categorization of the victims consisted of inhabitants of New Fes (*Ahl Fās Al-Jadīd*), inhabitants of Old Fes (*Ahl Fās Al-Qadīm*), Jews, and unspecified rural folk (*Ahl al-bawādī*).[28] Today, too, to self-identify as a Fasi one may not necessarily physically reside in Fes, and especially not in the Old Fes medina, where most of the inhabitants nowadays are recent transplants from the countryside.[29]

To a great extent, in the period studied here, scholars, policymakers, and ordinary urbanites – and rurals too – in Morocco would have taken the urban-rural divide as a "given," a perceived natural order of things that did not necessitate definition or analysis. Even for educated urban Moroccans, the outlook on the countryside ordinarily simply took the form of established preconceptions or paradigms. As political scientist Richard K. Betts observed, such approaches are natural when coming to terms with an outside environment: "Preconceptions cannot be abolished; it is in one sense just another word for 'model' or 'paradigm' – a construct used to simplify reality, which any thinker needs in order to cope with complexity."[30] Although Betts focused his study on the role of such paradigms for decisionmakers, his conceptualization can also apply to a social group as a whole, in this case urbanites. Notwithstanding potential gradations and definitional refinements with individual exceptions depending on time, place, and situation, one can nevertheless distinguish some common threads forming enduring recognizable paradigmatic patterns in urban-rural relations in Morocco as seen from the city.

---

[27]. As two observers noted, "For a Fasi … New Fes is not really Fes… [it is] a separate world," which was viewed as a different, alien society. Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *Fez ou les Bourgeois de l'Islam* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930), 18.

[28]. Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Version*, 29.

[29]. M'hammed Idrissi Janati, "Les images identitaires à Fès: divisions de la société, divisions de la ville" in ed. Christian Topalov, Les divisions de la ville (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002), https://books.openedition.org/editionsmsh/1252, (hereafter Janati, "Les images identitaires à Fès").

[30]. Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War, and Decisions: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," *World Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1 (October 1978): 83-84.

Although the ʿAlawī dynasty itself did not emerge with a tribal identity or as a rural movement, it developed many structural relationships with the tribes and served as a link between the city and the countryside. On the one hand, the Sultans were normally based in an urban zone -although not necessarily part of that city's society– and interacted continually with the urban population. However, at the same time, the ʿAlawīs relied to a significantly greater degree than did rulers in most of the rest of the Middle East, such as in Syria or Egypt, on the rural – that is, tribal– sector for their power, especially with the dilution of the *ʿabīd* slave army military structure after the demise of Mūlāy Ismāʿīl (r. 1083/1672-1139/1727).[31] In Morocco, not only did the Sultans depend on certain tribes to provide permanent military service, as the *guīsh*, but frequently also on additional tribes for specific campaigns or situations. Moreover, during the ʿAlawī period, the sultans and their family rivals for power, when in danger frequently fled to seek refuge and support among the tribes, often relying on family ties through their mothers, who may have been from a tribe.[32]

This study will address the Moroccan case by identifying and analyzing the moral and political dimensions of Othering, the cultural and material aspects of Othering, the effect of Othering on power relationships, the rural-urban transitional and integrative mechanisms, and conclude with an evaluation of the concept of Othering as an analytical approach. We do not have extensive economic or demographic data for most of this period and, of course, we cannot conduct a field study on attitudes such as the very informative one that was done in Beni Mellal some years ago.[33] Morever, there was no systematic treatment of this issue in the traditional Moroccan accounts, and one must collect incidental anecdotal references from a variety of sources, such as chronicles, hagiographies, legal texts, and travel accounts. As one might expect, the perspective of the urbanites is more readily available thanks to the more abundant extant source material produced in cities that addresses this issue, even if often only tangentially. Although rural entities such as the *zāwiya*-s also produced a substantial amount of scholarly and legal writing, its authors were less likely to deal with views about the city than the other way around.

---

[31]. Ira Marvin Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1-44.

[32]. For example, in the cases of Mūlāy Aḥmad who fled to the Āyt ʿAtāb in 1140/1728, or another fallen ruler, ʿAlī, in 1148/1736 to the Aḥlāf tribe, or ʿAbd Allāh to the Banī Mṭīr in 1154/1741. Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Nashr Al-Mathani*, 31, 39, and 66. Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833) records additional occurrences, including ʿAbd Allāh's refuge among the Maghāfira (his mother's tribe) in 1147/1734-35, Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 40 Arabic text, 74 French text.

[33]. Harrami, "Les formes sociales," 247-85.

Assessing Human and Material Development of the Other: Different, Inferior, and Dangerous?

With respect to "Othering," some have emphasized the polar duality inherent in differentiation, noting that "The condition and quality of being the 'Other' is the state of being different than and opposite of the individual and/or collective 'Self.'"[34] At the same time, the scholarly emphasis has also been on the implications, where the "'Other' is seen and treated as inferior and potentially as a threat."[35] Moroccan urbanites, in effect, did see rural society as different in basic ways with respect to their own, interpreting those differences as evidence that the countryside was not only less developed in a material sense, but also intellectually, as well as being a morally flawed human terrain in need of redemption.

An Un-Romantic View of the Countryside

In some societies, such as classical China and India, urban perceptions of rural values and inhabitants were often quite positive.[36] In pre-modern Europe, residing in the countryside at times could even become a status symbol, and successful urbanites would buy and live on rural estates.[37] Notably, in America, Thomas Jefferson and others also idealized agrarian life, seeing virtuous small farmers as the bedrock of a new republic.[38] Moreover, later there arose the positive myth of the cowboy in the wide open rural spaces of the American West, as embodied in popular literature and film.[39] Indeed, especially as a reaction to the harsher aspects of the Industrial Revolution, there arose in the West an idealization of life in the countryside on the part of

---

[34]. Manos and Sarikoudi, "'Othering'," 278.
[35]. Manos and Sarikoudi, "'Othering'," 278.
[36]. According to one scholar, speaking of China and India, "urbanites and urban values rarely looked down on rural areas or their inhabitants as backward, or even as dimmer reflections of urban virtues. Wisdom and truth as well as beauty were indeed to be found more in the country than in the city, as were the virtues of honest toil and its fruits." Rhoads Murphey, "City and Countryside as Ideological Issues: India and China," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 14, no. 3 (June 1972): 253. Likewise, another scholar noted that "Throughout their history the Chinese maintained a fundamental commitment to the values of rural life far more operational and more binding, in the daily events of everyone's lives, than were the rather vague and sentimental idealizations of the rural that sometimes appeared in the West." F. W. Mote, *A Millenium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow*, Rice Institute Pamphlet, Rice University Studies, vol. 59, no. 4 (1973): 27.
[37]. Andrzej Janeczek, "Town and Country in the Polish Commonwealth, 1350-1650," 175; and Martin Körner, "Town and Country in Switzerland, 1450-1750," 234, in ed. S.R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), (hereafter Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe*).
[38]. A. Whitney Griswold, "The Agrarian Democracy of Thomas Jefferson," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 40, no. 4 (August 1946): 657-81; and Richard Hofstadter, "The Myth of the Happy Yeoman," *American Heritage*, vol. 7, no. 3 (April 1956): 43-53.
[39]. Marshall W. Fishwick, "The Cowboy: America's Contribution to the World's Mythology," *Western Folklore*, vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1952): 77-92.

urbanites.[40] This romanticized outlook has often persisted into the modern era in various ways. For example, the village is said to still be an ideal in England.[41] Or, such nostalgic attitudes about the countryside have been magnified and exploited in some countries, as in the U.S., for political purposes.[42]

On the contrary, in Morocco, during the period under study here, there was no equivalent outlook about rural life among urbanites. It was not a question of the physical environment so much as the socio-cultural one. While the residents of Fes and Salé, for example, enjoyed "nature" in the form of spending time in their gardens just outside the city walls, whether for special family occasions or just individually, this area was considered part of the urban environment, that is private property owned and controlled by the urbanites, and not seen as part of the world inhabited by rurals.[43] Quite the contrary, in Morocco references to rurality could be used to insult or demean someone, as when Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh in 1142/1729 did when he threatened to destroy Fes if it did not comply with his demands, calling it disparagingly "that village" (*tilka al-qariya*).[44] And, he could be surprisingly tone-deaf, as when in 1156/1743, when courting Berber tribes to support him against his brother Al-Mustaḍī' backed by the pasha Aḥmad Al-Rīfī, he disparaged the latter by portraying him as just a mountain man (*al-jabalī*), although that also applied to those he was addressing and whose help he was seeking.[45] True, in the 19th century, a wealthy Fasi merchant who was said to love horses would go to tribal weddings just so he could engage in the powder play on

---

40. Philip Lowe, J. Murdoch, and G. Cox, "A Civilised Retreat? Anti-urbanism, Rurality and the Making of an Anglo-Centric Culture," in eds. P. Healey, S. Cameron, S. Davoudi, S. Graham, and A. Madani-Pour, *Managing Cities, The New Urban Context* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1995), 63-89; and Mark Shucksmith, "Re-imagining the Rural: From Rural Idyll to Good Countryside," *Journal of Rural Studies*, no. 59 (April 2018): 163-72. To be sure, such sentiments were not necessarily universal in the West; after all, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels spoke of "the idiocy of rural life," *The Communist Manifesto*, 3rd ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1998), 13.

41. Jeremey Paxman, *The English: A Portrait of a People* (London: Penguin, 1999), 149, 158-75.

42. Matt K. Lewis, "Why Conservatives See Rural America as the 'Real' America," *The Week* (New York), 15 January 2015, https://theweek.com/articles/447585/why-conservatives-rural-america-real-america; and Alex Marshall, "The GOP's Deceptive Campaign Against Urban America," *Governing* (Folsom, CA), 4 September 2020, https://www.governing.com/community/the-gops-deceptive-campaign-against-urban-america.html.

43. When the Ūdāyā tribe cantoned in New Fes attacked Fasis who had gone to their country gardens to celebrate the ʿAnṣara holiday in 1149/1736, a local observer called it "a scandalous act indeed!" (*mā a'ẓmahā mafsada*), Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Dukkālī (d. 1184/1770), *The Historical Chronicle of Abū ʿAbdallāh Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī; Fes in the Mid-18th Century (1149/1736-1179/1766)*, ed. Norman Cigar (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 90 Arabic/91 English (hereafter Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*); and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Al-Dukkālī (1285/1868-1364/1945), *Al-Itḥāf al-wajīz*, ed. Muṣṭafā Bū Shaʿrā', 2nd ed. (Salé: Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1996), 58, (hereafter Al-Dukkālī, *Al-Itḥāf al-wajīz*).

44. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 36 Arabic.

45. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, vol. 1, 309.

horseback.[46] But that is not the same as seeking to live among the rurals in the countryside.

Setting Markers: Identifying and Interpreting Differences

Differences, whether in clothes, food, language, or lifestyles served as discernible cultural markers for urbanites to set rurals apart. Markers of material culture are human constructs typical of the Othering process. Their meaning in communicating characteristics is not something natural and pre-ordained; rather, the meaning is imposed arbitrarily on the Other, what some have called an "ethical" dimension.[47] Differences in and of themselves need not automatically generate dissonance, and instead could be celebrated as benign folkloric diversity. But, they became significant because they were charged with stereotypical negative interpretation by urbanites and seen as an expression of materially and morally different development levels.

For example, a prominent rural religious authority, the director of the Dilā'ī *zāwiya*, recognized cultural differences, but simply accepted that rurals and urbanites might prefer different foods and sought to accommodate such differences rather than stigmatize urbanites. When a Fasi scholar went to that *zāwiya* to study, he found that the director designated different types of food for those attending, offering as his rationale that "people are diverse (*fa-inna al-nās aṣnāf*) … If I fed delicate food to a rural person (*al-badawī*) who is accustomed to rough roasted food and the like he would not be full and would still be hungry. On the other hand, if I fed an urbanite (*al-ḥaḍarī*) who is accustomed to delicate food something else, he would not welcome that and he would not eat it easily, so that he too would remain hungry. Now, if either of them remained hungry and I did not give him the food he liked I would be offending him."[48]

On the contrary, urbanites might view rural food not only as different, but also as crude and as potentially dangerous, and as reflecting two different worlds. A rural scholar, Muḥammad Al-Baʿqīlī Al-Sūsī (d. 1076/1665), related that when an urban scholar visited a rural holy man in the Sous, he was presented with a meal of couscous made from barley. The urbanite hesitated whether to eat it, thinking to himself "Should I eat the barley or not,

---

46. ʿAbd Al-Kabīr b. Hāshim Al-Kattānī (1263/1847-1350/1932), *Zahr al-ās fī buyūtāt ahl Fās*, ed. ʿAlī b. Al-Muntaṣir Al-Kattānī (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najāḥ Al-Jadīda, 1422/2002), vol. 1, 179, (hereafter Al-Kattānī, *Zahr al-ās*).

47. "The notion of the other cannot lie only in difference; if so, there is really no difference in acknowledging the otherness of a rose plant or a zebra and that of a person… I place the thematisation of the other in an ethical domain," Sundar Sarukkai, "The 'Other' in Anthropology and Philosophy," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 24 (14-20 June 1997): 1406.

48. Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Fāsī (1033/1624-1092/1698*), Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ fī Al-Jazūlī wa-l-Tabbāʿ wa-mā lahumā min al-atbāʿ*, eds. ʿAbd Al-Ḥayy Al-ʿAmrawī and ʿAbd Al-Karīm Murād (Fes: Maṭbaʿat Muḥammad Al-Khāmis, 1989), 149.

since I have never eaten it in my life, either in Fes nor elsewhere? Very few urbanites who have eaten it have survived." However, since he had come to visit a holy man, he nevertheless did eat that food, saying he was willing to die in such a holy presence, and went to sleep facing Mecca with the expectation that his stomach would swell and that he would not survive the night, and he was stunned the following morning that he had not died as a result of that meal, attributing it only to the supernatural grace (*baraka*) of his host. Whatever the authenticity of the anecdote, it illustrates what would have been accepted thinking in urban circles.[49] Food – like other markers – was imbued with the symbolism of a social environment and expressed a tangible reality, as this was not only a matter of taste for the urbanite in this case but he truly believed in the destructive power of what may have been life-giving for the rural "Other." Such difference, even with food, did not have to be automatically interpreted as was the case here, but urbanites would tend to impose judgmental views based on a broader framework of urban assumptions of an inferior and threatening rural environment.

In fact, urbanites likely specifically looked for and exaggerated distinctions from a dominant position as a way to differentiate, evaluate, and distance the out-group, an Othering approach which, at the same time, also defined and reinforced their own in-group identity and sense of belonging.[50] Such markers triggered a catalog of embedded expectations for urbanites, and served as shorthand guides – often subconsciously – for attitudes and actions. Urbanites usually assumed they were superior in terms of not only education and sophistication, but also of native intelligence, easily generalizing and glossing over any dissonant information such as the presence of rural centers of learning or the rurals' positive traits, much less the differences among individuals.

The Countryside Viewed as a Lower Stage of Development

For most urbanites, the countryside and the individuals who lived there were not only different but, even if not always stated explicitly, at a lower level of development than the cities and their inhabitants. For example, in a book he wrote in 1313/1896, a scholar and government official from Salé provided his succint evaluation of the rural sector, to a significant extent as the opposite of the urban one. In his view, the rural sector was characterized by a subsistence livelihood based on agriculture and animal husbandry. In

---

[49]. Muḥammad Al-Baʿqīlī Al-Sūsī (d. 1076/1665), *Manāqib Al-Baʿqīlī*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Mukhtār Al-Sūsī (Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Sāḥil, 1408/1987), 30.

[50]. According to Jean-François Staszak, "The in-group constructs one or more others, setting itself apart and giving itself an identity. Otherness and identity are two inseparable sides of the same coin. The Other only exists relative to the Self, and vice versa," "Other/Otherness" in eds. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 44, (hereafter Staszak, "Other/Otherness").

contrast, the urban sector was at a higher level (*ṭawr*), with sophisticated industry, crafts, and learning, resulting in wealth and comfort, and more abundant and more refined food, more and more elegant clothes, and bigger houses than in the countryside.[51] Indeed, that same observer, taking for granted an enduring urban-centered bias of his fellow-citizens, noted that when people had emigrated from Salé to escape local oppression over the centuries "they had not been satisfied to move … to somewhere inferior to [their city], but only to somewhere better, and so had resettled in Fes and nearby, such as in Meknes."[52]

Although the countryside represented an element of the unknown and foreignness for most urbanites, there was also a degree of personal familiarity, since the presence of rurals in cities, either as migrants, laborers, or visitors delivering or buying goods provided frequent opportunities for visual or physical contact. In everyday interactions, an element of class also played a role in Othering, as the rurals with whom urbanites often had contact might be economically disadvantaged, and such interface might actually reinforce existing stereotypes.

Objectively one might suspect a degree of blurring between urban and rural livelihoods, with the intensive agriculture carried on within urban areas, and suppose a narrowing of cultural distancing. However, a social and organizational distinction likely precluded that. In the gardens and orchards around Fes, for example, while even prominent and well-to-do citizens were involved in agriculture, it was as gentlemen farmers, while it was mostly rurals who performed the actual manual labor.[53]

The hagiographer of the head of a prominent *zāwiya* in Fes, Aḥmad Maʿn (1042/1632-33-1120/1708), noted that "the only ones who do the hoeing in the gardens in this city [i.e. Fes] are poor outsiders (*al-ghurabā' al-ḍuʿafā'*) who come from their home areas expressly for that purpose so they can earn the money they need." And, Maʿn was lauded for treating the laborers who worked in his gardens (*jinān*) well "due to their being outsiders and destitute" (*li-ghurbatihim wa-maskanatihim*). The fact that this holy man would himself at times join in that agricultural labor was portrayed as a unique mark of his humility and pious self-mortification.[54] Slaves also did the same agricultural work around Fes as the rural laborers, with the city's residents

---

[51]. Al-Dukkālī, *Al-Itḥāf al-wajīz*, 48.
[52]. Al-Dukkālī, *Al-Itḥāf al-wajīz*, 45.
[53]. There are clear examples of wealthy landowners of the suburban farm areas, Muḥammad b. Al-Ṭayyib Al-Qādirī (1124/1712-1187/1773), *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa-l-thānī*, eds. Aḥmad Ḥajjī and Aḥmad Tawfīq (Rabat: Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, 1407/1986), vol. 4, 231, 261, (hereafter Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*).
[54]. ʿAbd Al-Salām Al-Qādirī (1058/1648-1110/1698), *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī al-taʿrīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad* (Fes: lithographed, 1351/1932), p. 110. (hereafter Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*)

probably equating the two groups socially at the same level as a result.[55] Likewise, rurals monopolized other heavy and dirty work in cities, such as work on the oil presses as, again, we are told that Maʿn early in his life had worked on an oil press specifically in order to prove his humility to his mentor by working at such a job, "even though this is work that the residents of this city [i.e. Fes] do not esteem, much less ever do themselves, and which is done by outsiders who are looked down on."[56] Similarly, according to a mid-19th century report, rural Rifians were "employed to cultivate orchards and gardens round Tangier and Tetuan."[57] In Fes, rurals continued to do most of the agricultual work into the early 20th century, as well as other less desirable jobs.[58] In fact, a British dispatch from the early 20th century estimated "perhaps 3000 or 4000 of hill tribesmen ordinarily inhabiting Fez or its environs - employed as gardeners or porters, etc."[59]

Differences in clothes, too, served as a visual marker, not only confirming one's own and revealing someone else's identity but no doubt also activated a person's existing stock of assumptions about others. Leo Africanus reports that rural folk (savages he calls them) would marvel when seeing an urbanite's clothes.[60] According to a 19th century British journalist with in-country experience, the Berbers who moved to town would adopt the dress of the poorer urban classes out of necessity, since they would not be able to find Berber clothing locally.[61] When a jurist who was originally from a village in what is today southern Egypt, but who had traveled and studied widely, came to Fes in 1079/1668, he was described as being "dressed in a rural style," suggesting that this visual marker was something worth noting by his contemporaries and by subsequent commentators in Morocco who repeated

---

55. For example, we learn that a slave girl was rented out as a day laborer hoeing and harvesting turnips, doing "the usual peasants' work" (*ʿalā ʿādat khadam al-arīsiyyīn*),ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī (1007/1599-1091/1680), *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā* (Fes: lithographed, 1319/1901), 57, (hereafter Al-Fāsī, *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā*). A saint originally from Touat (d. 1104/1692) also did that work in Fes, Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, (1407/1986) vol. 3, 60.

56. Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*, 51. Outsiders denoted as tawny (*asmar*) – perhaps the Ḥarāṭīn from the pre-Sahara – were said to be working as harvesters for Fes at least as early as the 5th/11th century, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā Al-Tādilī (d. 627 or 628/1229-31), *Al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf wa-akhbār Abī Al-ʿAbbās Al-Sabtī*, ed. Aḥmad Tawfīq (Rabat: Kulliyyat Al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm Al-Insāniyya,, 1404/1984), 103.

57. John Drummond Hay (1816-1893), *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay: Sometime Minister at the Court of Morocco* (London: John Murray, 1896), 159.

58. Ed. Michaux-Bellaire, 'Description de la ville de Fès,' *Archives marocaines* (Paris), vol. 11 (1907): 292; and Ch. René-Leclerc, *Le commerce et l'industrie à Fez* (Paris: Comité du Maroc, 1905), 175.

59. James MacIver Macleod, British Consul in Fes, to Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, Foreign Office, 6 August 1912, The National Archives (London), FO-174-272.

60. Leo Africanus, *La descrizione dell'Africa*, vol. 1, 102.

61. Walter Harris, *Tafilet* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895), 65.

it, even though in his case he was fêted during his stay thanks to his learning, *sharīf* origins, and saintliness.[62]

In legal terms, too, the operative assumption was that the countryside had a lower standard of living than the city. Thus, a divorced woman could expect differences in alimony depending on her residence and the associated customary consumption patterns (as well as social class) and, according to an urbanized jurist of rural origins, urban women, such as those living in Fes, would be entitled to such delicacies as honey and fruit, whereas "rural folk have little fuel, soap, oil, and other necessities."[63] Even an urbanized 12th/18th century jurist of rural origin, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Gīgī (d. 1185/1779), acknowledged societal differences and imbalances as understandable, when he reaffirmed a judicial precedent in cases involving two women who had complained of pain in their hands from milling grain. An earlier *qāḍī* had ordered the urban woman's husband to buy her a slave to do that work, whereas when a rural woman appealed to him about having to mill, fetch water, and chop wood, the *qāḍī* had told her to continue doing so for her husband, since "rural women were intended to do that" (*li-ann nisā' al-bādiya ʿalā dhālik dakhalna*). Al-Gīgī presented that case precedent without comment, apparently accepting such disparities as naturally ordained.[64]

Another jurist of rural origin but who became urbanized and *qāḍī* in Fes, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Al-Salām Al-Tasūlī (d. 1258/1842), discussed the situation that if a wife complained of having to live in the boonies (*al-waḥsha*), the husband would be obliged to take her to a "civilized location" (*mawḍiʿ ma'nūs*), unless she had known that would happen beforehand and had still gone there, in which case he would be under no obligation to move her.[65] While a man could move his wife from the city to the countryside, he could do so only if that was not done against her will (*lā yukhrijuhā al-zawj qahran ʿalayhā*).[66] In fact, a 10th/16th century formulary for legal documents included a marriage contract form with a possible stipulation that a prospective husband "will not change her [i.e. the prospective wife's] residence from blank-and-blank city except with her agreement and approval. If he forces her

---

62. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar Al-Kattānī (1274/1858-1345/1927), *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās* (Fes: lithographed, 1316/1898-1899), vol. 2, 334-35, (hereafter Al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*).

63. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Al-Salām Al-Tasūlī (d. 1258/1842), *Al-Bahja fī sharḥ al-tuḥfa* (Beirut: Dār Al-Fikr, 1412/1991), vol. 1, 738, (hereafter Al-Tasūlī, *Al-Bahja*).

64. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Gīgī, *Mawāhib dhī al-jalāl fi nawāzil al-bilād al-sā'iba wa-l-jibāl*, ed. Aḥmad Al-Tawfīq (Beirut: Dār Al-Gharb Al-Islāmī, 1997), 82-83. Al-Gīgī was born in a tribe, but moved to Marrakesh and eventually settled in Demnate, (hereafter Al-Gīgī, *Mawāhib dhī al-jalāl*).

65. Al-Tasūlī, *Al-Bahja*, vol. 1, 563.

66. Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī (1266/1850-1342/1923), *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd al-jāmiʿ al-muʿrib ʿan fatāwī al-muta'akhkhirīn min ʿulamā' Al-Maghrib*, ed. ʿUmar Bin ʿAbbād (Rabat: Wizārat Al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn Al-Islāmiyya, 1418/1997), vol. 4, 181, (hereafter Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd*).

to do so, that gives her the right to obtain a divorce."[67] To my knowledge, there were no equivalent forms with guarantees for a woman's residence in the countryside.

Difference as Ignorance

Urbanites also dismissed rurals routinely as being ignorant and uncultured, and assumed this was an inherent characteristic. A proverb is revealing in its pithy way of the stereotype of dumb and uncouth rural folk, as it claimed that "An urbanite [will understand] in the twinkling of an eye, while one from the mountains [will only understand] with a fist." (*al-mdīnī bi-l-ghamza wa-l-jablī bi-l-dabza*).[68] Al-Tasūlī noted that one of the work-arounds in fictitious sales in Fes involved pretending to be ignorant, as if the buyer were a rural or a nomad (*ka-kawnihi badawiyyan aw ʿarabiyyan*), implying it was understood by everyone that such people were ingenuous and ignorant.[69] Indeed, a colloquial poet from the 8th/14th century had taxed one section of the rural population, the nomads (*al-ʿurbān*) of the Sahara, as "more ignorant than their brown camels."[70] Tellingly, after a heated argument with the Merinid Sultan Abū Al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān (697/1297-752/1351), a jurist was able to prudently excuse himself by informing the Sultan's entourage: "Please accept my apologies, for I am an ignorant country bumpkin (*badawī jāhil*)," apparently supposing that everyone would understand, and that such a self-deprecatory characterization would resonate with urbanites.[71] Illustrative of the urban perception of rurals, a Ribati author readily repeated what must certainly have been a spurious anecdote of a Zaʿīr tribesman who, as part of the loot that his tribe had plundered from the Pilgrimage Caravan in 1197/1783, received a bag of gems and, thinking they were couscous, gave them to his wife to cook.[72] Indicative of how the assumed connection between rural folk and ignorance had developed an almost proverbial quality, this was evident even at high levels of power. Thus, when in 1186/1772-73 Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh felt that the Dutch had tried to shortchange him with their tribute in gold and gems, he conjectured of how they must have thought of the Moroccans: "Those are just rural

67. Abū Al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn ʿArḍūn (d. 992/1584), *Al-Kitāb al-lā'iq li-muʿallim al-wathā'iq* (Tetuan: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Mahdiyya, 1936), vol. 1, 149.
68. Bouchta El Attar, *Les proverbes marocains*, 2nd ed. (Casablanca: al-Najah El Jadida, 1999), 269.
69. Al-Tasūlī, *Al-Bahja*, vol. 2, 168.
70. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Kafīf Al-Zarhūnī (fl. 8th/14th century), *Malʿabat Al-Kafīf Al-Zarhūnī*, ed. Muḥammad Bin Sharīf (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1407/1987), 83.
71. Muḥammad Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsānī (710/1310-781/1379), *Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma'āthir wa-maḥāsin Abī Al-Ḥasan*, ed. María J. Viguera (Algiers: Al-Sharika Al-Waṭaniyya Al-Jazā'iriyya, 1401/1981), 161.
72. Al-Ḍuʿayyif, *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif*, vol. 1, 350.

Berbers who do not know the value of and have no experience with the price of gems, so let us trick them."[73]

Urban sources also viewed rurals as especially susceptible to religious fraudsters because they were seen as unsophisticated and ignorant. For example, the government official and historian Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833) concluded that during the reign of Mūlāy Al-Yazīd (r. 1203/1790-1206/1792) a pair of false *mahdī* brothers were able to succeed only thanks to "the Berbers' ignorance" (*jahālat Al-Barbar*).[74] And, a Moroccan chronicler, Muḥammad Akansūs (1211/1796-97-1294/1877), did not seem surprised that when a religious charlatan arose in Marrakesh in 1181/1767-68, performing bogus miracles, it was "the ignorant idle from the countryside" who became his followers in great numbers and who then rampaged through the city.[75]

Language has frequently served as a marker of ignorance and inferiority from an urban point of view vis-à-vis the countryside in many societies.[76] In Morocco, urbanites had long seen the Berber language as alien and inferior, and as tied to the countryside. To be sure, Berber was the language in some cities as well, but urbanites blithely tended to overlook that fact.[77] Significantly, the Fasi scholar ʿAlī Ibn Abī Zarʿ Al-Fāsī (d. 726/1326), while praising an earlier Arabic-speaking *khaṭīb*, or preacher, in Fes, noted that the new Almohad dynasty had then put as *imām*-s and *khaṭīb*-s in all the cities only Berber speakers, including one whom he noted owned many sheep and cattle in his home area, as if to underline his rural character.[78] The fact that nearby Berbers pronounced a saint's name differently from the Fasi usage was attributed to their "deviant language" (*bi-l-lugha al-munḥarifa*).[79] Likewise, the Meknes-born chronicler Muḥammad Ibn Ghāzī Al-ʿUthmānī

---

[73]. Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833), *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʿmūr barran wa-baḥran*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Karīm Al-Fīlālī, (Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1387/1967), 157-58, (hereafter Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā*).

[74]. Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī, *Tuḥfat al-nubahā' fī al-tafriqa bayn al-fuqahā' wa-l-sufahā'*, Ms. K241, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 174.

[75]. Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 1, 229.

[76]. Philippe Blanchet, "Les relations urbain-rural d'un point de vue sociolinguistique et ce que révèle la question des langues minoritaires," in eds. A. Mabrour et al, *La Ville et l'urbain: visions nouvelles et regards croisés* (El Jadida: La Faculté LSH de l'université d'El Jadida, 2020), 317-26.

[77]. Thus, according to the Marrakesh-born historian and biographer Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr Al-Ifrānī (1080/1670-c. 1156/1743), a jurist (d. 1001/1592-93) who came from Tlemcen to Tarudant to act as *qāḍī* had to abandon the post after six months because "he did not know Berber, which is the language of its residents" (*allātī hiya lisān ahlihā*), *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥā' al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar* (Fes: lithographed, 1316/1898-99), 93, (hereafter Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*).

[78]. Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 71-72.

[79]. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Al-ʿArbī Al-Fāsī (988/1580-1052/1642), *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-shaykh Abī Al-Maḥāsin* (Fes: lithographed, 1323/1905), 199, (hereafter Al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*) True, even much later, practicality overcame any such reluctance, as Sīdī Muḥammad (1171/1757-1204/1790) was able to speak to the Berbers in their own language, Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā*, 477.

(841/1437-919/1513) noted unkindly that even some distinguished urbanized scholars from that city's region still spoke with "very marked coarse Berber accents" (*bi-raṭānat Al-Barbar al-mufriṭa fī al-ʿajama*).[80] And, even later, Fasis looked down on a talented female singer because she was of rural origin, had tattoos on her face, and spoke a rural dialect.[81] According to an early 20th century Italian journalist, the Fasis were said to deride in private the language that the government officials of rural origin spoke.[82] How persistent urban stereotypes of rurals might be can be seen from the memoirs of a rural lad from the Oujda area who came to Fes to study in the Qarawiyyīn in the 1930s. He noted that Fasi students made fun of his rural origins and of his speech.[83]

Rurals were seen as fair game to be bamboozled when they came to urban markets, no doubt confirming and reinforcing prejudices on both sides. According to a 19th century European visitor, the urbanites reportedly "look scornfully upon" (*toisent*) the Berbers when the latter would come into town, and "cheat them whenever possible."[84] Significantly, when the judicial practice (*al-ʿamal*) encompassing long-established customary law in Fes was documented in terse mnemonic verse in the 11th/17th century, one of the injunctions was for the city's merchants to abandon the practice of *al-ṣūna*, labeled as condemnable (*malʿūna*) and, instead, to always only have a just price.[85] Apparently so ubiquitous was the practice as to be well understood by all concerned even with just an allusion. In subsequent commentaries, legists explained more fully what was meant, thereby also confirming that this had remained as an enduring factor despite legal admonitions. Thus, a late 19th century commentator portrayed *al-ṣūna* as still existing and categorized it as fraud (*al-ghishsh*), while reproducing a legal opinion by an earlier legist, Abū Al-Qāsim b. Abī Al-Naʿīm Al-Ghassānī Al-Fāsī (952/1545-1032/1622), who had explained the practice thus:

> "A merchant would agree with an individual [i.e. another Fasi] to accompany someone from the countryside who came to shop, and to bring that rural to the merchant with whom that [Fasi] individual had made a deal. That same individual might also give [the rural shopper] advice and make a show of friendliness toward him and pretend that he

---

80. Muḥammad Ibn Ghāzī Al-ʿUthmānī, *Al-Rawḍ al-haṭūn fī akhbār Miknāsat Al-Zaytūn*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb Bin Manṣūr (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 2nd ed., 1408/1988), 16.
81. Eugène Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1904), 346.
82. Luigi Barzini, *Sotto la Tenda; Impressioni d'un Giornalista al Marocco* (Milan: L.F. Cogliati, 1907), 229.
83. Qaddūr Al-Warṭāsī (1912-1994), *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa fī Fās* (Casablanca: Dār Al-Ṭibāʿa Al-Ḥadītha, n.d.), 37, (hereafter Al-Warṭāsī, *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa*).
84. Jules Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne* (Paris: Challamel Ainé, 1885), 10.
85. Abū Zayd ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī (1040/1630-1096/1685*), Naẓm Al-ʿAmal Al-Fāsī*, ed. Jamāl b. Masʿūd Jārūsh (Algiers: Al-Khizāna Al-Jazā'iriyya li-l-Turāth, 1440/2018), 129.

himself had also shopped there and that he would seek to get [the rural shopper] a discount."[86]

The built-in urban assumption for such dealings, of course, was that rurals were naïve and ignorant. Tellingly, on one occasion in the 11th/17th century when a "Berber from the mountains" wandered about dazed and bewildered in a market in Fes, he was soon surrounded and relieved of his money pouch, and it required the charitable action of a local holy man – portrayed as a notable and unconventional deed – who procured medicine for him and reimbursed his losses, to make amends.[87]

Urban and Rural Women – As Seen by Urban Men

Urban men also included rural women in their evaluations, characterizing them as particularly ignorant and unsophisticated. Jurists often held rural women in low regard and, typically, an anonymous jurist believed that rural women could not make an informed decision in a sale, arguing that "What distinguishes women, by and large – and especially rural women – is ignorance and their vulnerability to being defrauded… The only knowledge that women from the region of the Sous, extending from Mássa to Sijilmāsa and beyond to Wādī Nūr, have is about rearing children, chopping wood, doing household chores, and tending to animals."[88] Another *fatwā* observed that "women are known to be vulnerable to being deceived," and had a marginal insert by the same hand (perhaps as an afterthought) adding "and especially so rural women" (*siyyamā nisā' al-bawādī*).[89]

Ordinarily, according to a 19th century European traveler in Morocco, urbanites would feel degraded if they married a rural woman.[90] However, there could be special mitigating circumstances. When a holy man in Fes needed someone to care for him due to his chronic poor health, another holy man, Aḥmad Maʿn, suggested he get married and recommended the daughter of yet another holy man from the countryside, not only because the family was known for its piety but also because "rurals (*ahl al-bādiya*) who do not

---

86. Al-Mahdī Al-Wazzānī Al-Fāsī (1266/1850-1342/1924), *Tuḥfat akyās al-nās bi-sharḥ ʿamaliyyāt Fās*, ed. Hāshim Al-ʿAlawī Al-Qāsimī (Rabat: Wizārat Al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn Al-Islāmiyya, 1422/2001), 221, (hereafter Al-Fāsī, *Tuḥfat akyās al-nās*).

87. Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*, 97.

88. Commentary included in Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. Saʿīd Al-ʿAbbāsī Al-Samlālī (d. 1152/1740), *Ajwiba*, author's own manuscript, fol. 76a. The rest of the manuscript was completed in 1202/1788.

89. The *fatwā* by Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Al-Ubarkī is in a script different from that in the rest of the manuscript, and is found in Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. Saʿīd Al-ʿAbbāsī Al-Samlālī (d. 1152/1740), *Ajwiba*, author's own manuscript, fol. 76a. A jurist identified as the *qāḍī* of the mountain areas of the Hashtūka tribe, that is south of Agadir, agreed with those sentiments, as he noted that "Women in general are ignorant and vulnerable to being deceived, and rural women especially so," Al-Samlālī, *Ajwiba*.

90. José María de Murga y Mugartegui (1827-1876), *Recuerdos Marroquíes del moro vizcaíno* (Bilbao: Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, 1994), 195.

know the customs and traditions of this city, and by that I mean Fes, will not be haughty or become soft (*lā yataraffaʿūn wa-lā yataraffahūn*)."[91] That evaluation is a sort of backhanded compliment, based on the implicit expectation that a rural wife might be less sophisticated and feel somewhat intimidated by urban society and thus be less demanding and easier to deal with than an urban one, given the burdens of home care that would be required for the sickly Fasi.

Significantly, when Aḥmad Maʿn's biographer related that the latter's paternal grandmother "had not been an urbanite, but an Arab of rural stock," he apparently felt the need to compensate for such a situation by going overboard in describing her high social status, piety, beauty, intelligence, and sweet personality, and by stressing that her father had been a leader among his people.[92] However, urbanites may have had a more tolerant view of urban men marrying rural women than the other way around. Thus, during the famine that struck Fes in 1284/1867-68, when people in the city were reduced to eating even dogs, to underline how the order of things had deteriorated from the perspective of urbanites, one author was particularly outraged by "the Berbers from the mountains [who] come to Fes to trade." Specifically, he lamented how "a beautiful *sharīfa* woman would connect with one of these Berbers, who would prop her up on the back of his pack animal and take her away without even any dowry."[93]

The Countryside: Den of Immorality

Moreover, urbanites had long had a skeptical view of the rurals' religious orthodoxy and were prepared to believe the worst. Urban clerics readily condemned and often simply assumed the generalized presence of heterodox beliefs and practices in the countryside. True, rural jurists and those who had spent long periods in a city could often be expected to share the criticism by their urban colleagues of what they saw as moral deviations in the countryside, such as the mixing of genders in rural wedding parties.[94] But even so, that probably only served to confirm prevailing urban attitudes about the countryside.

Leo Africanus, for example, noted of those he called mountain dwellers that "Most of them are neither Muslims nor Jews, nor believe in Christ, but have no faith and not only do not have a religion, but do not have even the shadow of any religion, so that they neither pray nor have churches,

---

91. Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*, 120.
92. Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*, 17.
93. Al-ʿArabī b. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Mashrafī (d. 1313/1895), *Nuzhat al-abṣār li-dhawī al-maʿrifa wa-l-istibṣār*, Ms. K579, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 517.
94. Aḥmad Ibn ʿAjība (1160 or 1161/1747 or 1748-1224/1809-10), *Al-Fahrasa*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo: Dār Al-Ghad Al-ʿArabī, 1410/1990), 127, (hereafter Ibn ʿAjība, *Al-Fahrasa*).

but live like beasts."[95] Well into the 20th century many urban clerics accused rurals of being indifferent to religion and of practicing superstitious rituals, with one claiming that "those to whom God wants to do good He places in a city, while those He wants to harm He places in the countryside."[96] At the very least, for their urban and urbanized counterparts, Morocco's countryfolk became a metric for religious ignorance. A 17th century Moroccan scholar and traveler, although himself of rural origin, was somewhat demeaning of his rural compatriots even in complimenting them. That is, to show how abysmally ignorant about the basics of Islam he found the tribesmen of the Hijaz to be, he opined that by comparison even "the common Arabs and Berbers in our Morocco are experts in jurisprudence (*fuqahā'*)."[97] In fact, a 19th century chronicler complained that "the majority of common people, especially those in the countryside and distant villages, do not know even the basics of their religion."[98] Even rural officials were assumed to be deficient in their knowledge of religion. A 19th century Moroccan government official noted with respect to the treatise on Islamic duties that Sultan ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān (r. 1238/1822-1276/1859) had sent out to the rural officials that the latter "know little about such matters."[99]

In concrete terms, urban jurists had long rued that tribal areas imposed financial punishments for wrongdoings rather than the Qur'anic-based physical ones of the *sharīʿa*, with some arguing from their perspective that not only was the tribal justice system invalid and clearly impermissible but that it was also ineffective as a deterrent against crimes such as banditry.[100] And, the tribes were rebuked for being lax in their application of the *sharīʿa* even when they recognized a Sultan's rule.[101] The scholar ʿAlī b. Maḥammad Al-Samlālī Al-Sūsī (d. 1311/1893), who settled in Fes, dismissed the Berbers cavalierly as not following the *sharīʿa* and claimed that the tribes in general

---

95. Leo Africanus, *La descrizione dell'Africa*, vol. 1, 64.

96. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Mu'aqqit, *Al-Riḥla al-murrākishiyya* ([Marrakesh?]: Dār Al-Rashād Al-Ḥadītha, 1351/1932), part 2, 158, 160-61, 168. (hereafter Al-Mu'aqqit, *Al-Riḥla al-murrākishiyya*)

97. Abū Sālim Al-ʿAyyāshī (1037/1628-1090/1679), *Al-Riḥla al-ʿayyāshiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥijjī (Rabat: reprint of lithographed version, Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, 1397/1977), vol. 1, 312.

98. Abū Al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Khālid Al-Nāṣirī (1250/1834-1315/1897), *Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal Al-Maghrib Al-Aqṣā*, eds. Jaʿfar Al-Nāṣirī and Muḥammad Al-Nāṣirī (Casablanca: Dār Al-Kitāb, 1956), vol. 9, 105, (hereafter Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā*).

99. Abū Al-ʿAlā' Idrīs Al-Jaʿīdī (d. after 1276/1859), *Al-Ibtisām ʿan dawlat Mūlānā ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Hishām aw dīwān al-ʿibar fī akhbār al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar*, Ms. Manus 593, Mu'assasat Al-Malik ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, Casablanca, 212.

100. For example, Al-ʿArabī Al-Fāsī (d. 1052/1642) responsa, reproduced in Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī (1266/1850-1342/1923), *Al-Nawāzil al-jadīda al-kubrā,* ed. ʿUmar Bin ʿAbbād (Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1420/1999), vol. 10, 263; (hereafter Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-jadīda al-kubrā*) Also Al-Fāsī, *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā*, 187-88.

101. Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-jadīda al-kubrā*, vol. 10, 269.

had no Islam, faith, or good works.[102] While in the countryside there were areas where customary tribal law held sway, with its flexible financial punishments, it may have been convenient for urbanites to overlook the rural centers of learning that also existed where orthodox rural jurists promoted the *sharīʿa* and who were themselves critical of tribal law, which competed with their own expertise and influence. For example, asked about rurals who rejected the *sharīʿa* and who relied instead on customary law and on financial punishments instead of Qur'anic ones, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir Al-Darʿī (1011/1602-1085/1674), the theologian and founder of the Tamgrūt *zāwiya*, had condemned such people as disobedient to God (*ʿuṣāt*). And, he had addressed the case of the Āyt Yatsūn tribe that allegedly had rejected the *sharīʿa* outright, as he noted "I was informed that they gathered with their preacher (*nādī*), dug a hole resembling a grave and filled it with dirt, and their preacher said to them 'O people of this tribe (*ahl al-qabīla*) we have buried the *sharīʿa* here, and let no one in our land ask for it, and anyone who asks to be judged by it has no one to blame but himself.'" In this instance Al-Darʿī proclaimed them as guilty of disbelief (*kufr*).[103] Whether just as a pointed reminder of rural perfidy or whether he recognized the persisting unwelcome reality of customary law in the countryside, another jurist much later again raised this incident and implicitly disparaged the milieu it reflected.[104] Urban jurists were also critical of other rural practices, such as the custom (*ʿāda*) of rural women not demanding their rightful inheritance or their share of the product of the land, observing that in law rural and urban should be treated equally, although perhaps this may have been an opportunity to confirm the rural areas' malfeasance more so than a case of simply expressing a concern for equality.[105]

Such negative urban views also extended to personnel in the religious establishment in the countryside. For example, urban jurists often viewed legal documents enacted in the countryside as having less weight than their corresponding urban ones. In one such case, when a woman had had two marriage contracts drawn up, one in the city and a second one in the country, an urban jurist, Muḥammad Al-Tazghadrī Al-Fāsī (d. 833/1429-30),

---

[102]. ʿAlī b. Maḥammad Al-Samlālī Al-Sūsī, *Maṭāliʿ al-ḥusn wa-ittibāʿ al-sanan bi-ṭulūʿ rāyat Mūlānā Al-Ḥasan*, Ms. 81, Al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya, Rabat, 79, 89.

[103]. Muḥammad b. Nāṣir Al-Darʿī, *Al-Ajwiba al-nāṣiriya fī baʿḍ masā'il al-bādiya*, eds. Abū Al-Faḍl Al-Dumyāṭī and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1433/2012), 137. Likewise, Abū Zayd ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Tamanārtī (974/1545-1060/1650), *Al-Fawā'id al-jamma fī isnād ʿulūm al-umma*, ed. Al-Yazīd Al-Rāḍī, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1428/2007), 462-63. Al-Tamanārtī operated both in his original rural center of learning as well as in the city of Tarudant.

[104]. Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī (1266/1850-1342/1923), *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā* (Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1413/1993), vol. 3, 430-31, (hereafter Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā*).

[105]. Muḥammad b. Al-Qāsim Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī (d. 1214/1800), *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*, author's own manuscript, fols. 85a-86, (hereafter Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī, *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*).

determined that the rural one was weaker, since "it is well known that rural notaries (*musaddidīn*) are deficient in knowledge, are weak in religion, and have other faults, which prevents one from relying on them."[106] In fact, in another case, that same legist claimed that "today, most or even all of the rural *qāḍī*-s are not honest, and it is common knowledge they take bribes in exchange for certifying and endorsing contracts."[107] And, another urban jurist likewise disparaged rural legal personnel as alcohol drinkers and as being too credulous in accepting evidence.[108] A *faqīh* of tribal origin (d. 1160s/1740s-50s) who had studied in Meknes and later settled in Fes would continue to go to rural markets to provide his *fatwā*-s, which however were deemed by his urban counterparts to be inaccurate, but which would nevertheless be used by rural *qāḍī*-s because the latter "are ignorant and believed [those *fatwā*-s] to be true."[109] As it was, Sultan Muḥammad IV (r. 1276/1859-1290/1873) regretted that rural areas, including large villages, often had few, if any, trained religious personnel.[110]

In a related aspect, urbanites seemed shocked by, and maybe a little envious of, the lax sexual mores they attributed to the countryside, with Leo Africanus, for example, reporting possibly with some exaggeration that in the mountains "It is legal for all the young people before marrying to have lovers and to enjoy the fruits of love; fathers themselves welcome their daughter's lover... so that none of them brings her virginity to her husband."[111] Urban jurists often viewed what was reported as happening in the countryside with a jaundiced eye and frequently condemned such social practices, or at least made their practitioners look morally inferior. One case involved supposedly having multiple wives share a single bed because of poverty or as a way to prevent adultery by any of the wives if they were not in the husband's immediate presence. A jurist reluctantly deemed this practice allowable, but only based on the principle that "necessity makes what is forbidden permissible."[112] Other cases also addressed questionable accusations, such as one where a jurist noted that "It has come to my attention that some Berbers in Morocco make their wives available to guests as a sign of respect, oblivious to the fact that this is forbidden… and they merit a severe punishment."[113] Rural weddings were a frequent target. Aḥmad Ibn ʿArḍūn (d. 992/1584), a jurist of rural origins who eventually became *qāḍī* in Chefchaouen, criticized

106. Cited in Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd*, vol. 3, 409.
107. Muḥammad Al-Tazghadrī Al-Fāsī cited in Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd*, vol. 3, 409.
108. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā*, 101, 227.
109. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī* (1407/1986), vol. 4, 249-50.
110. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaydān (1295/1878-1365/1946), *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 2nd ed. (Casablanca: Idéal, 1410/1990), vol. 3, 216, (hereafter Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*).
111. Leo Africanus, *La descrizione dell'Africa*, vol. 1, 64.
112. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā*, 334, 346.
113. Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd*, vol. 3, 329.

at length tribal banquets at which men and women participated together, with dancing and women's singing and voicing you-yous, which he assured "leads to fornication and shameful behavior" (*al-mughrī ʿalā al-zinā wa-l-faḥsh*).[114] Although weddings could get out of hand also in cities, with reports of alcohol, mixed company, and loose women, there seemed to be rare commentary by urban jurists on that situation, and certainly no blanket denunciations of an entire society as was the case when they dealt with the countryside.[115] In one case, asked to rule on "Berbers who have the vile custom, which is almost unbelief (*kufr*) or actually blatant unbelief, namely that when they congregate for weddings they leave the grooms's house carrying a flagon of wine … and they pray to the Prophet," a noted jurist respondend by roundly condemning the practice.[116] Such doubts also extended to practical concerns. For example, asked his opinion of buying grape syrup (*ṣāmit*) from the "mountain Berbers" because of the latter's widespread wine drinking and the use of various containers which might also be used to transport, and thus ritually pollute, the grape syrup, ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī (1007/1599-1091/1680) suggested that it would be better instead to buy from the public city markets in order to be safe.[117]

The countryside could also be a source of moral dangers, with some rural usages seen as presenting temptations to urbanites. For example, a jurist from Sijilmasa was asked whether it was permitted to travel with "the Arabs" (*Al-ʿArab*) who did not veil their women. He opined that it was permissible to do so only if one did not cast any illegal glances at such women and if the travel was absolutely necessary, but that if one could not avoid looking at those unveiled women and if the travel was not necessary then it would not be allowed.[118] Likewise, Ibn ʿArḍūn recorded a poem by his grandfather in which the latter had rued that the "legally proscribed, sinister, and damnable" you-you's (*al-walāwil*) voiced by women among the rural Berbers and Arabs during weddings and banquets had spread even to cities.[119]

---

114. Aḥmad Ibn ʿArḍūn, *Muqniʿ al-muḥtāj fī ādāb al-azwāj*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Salām Al-Zayyānī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1430/2010), vol. 1, 440, (hereafter Ibn ʿArḍūn, *Muqniʿ al-muḥtāj*). Born in countryside of a scholarly family, Ibn ʿArḍūn went to study in Fes at an early age, and eventually became *qāḍī* in the city of Chefchaouen. Many other similar legal cases are recorded: Al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*, 15; Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Fāsī (1033/1624-1109/1698), *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ fī Al-Jazūlī wa-l-Tabbāʿ wa-mā lahumā min al-atbāʿ*, eds. ʿAbd Al-Ḥayy Al-ʿAmrawī and ʿAbd Al-Karīm Murād (Fes: Maṭbaʿat Muḥammad Al-Khāmis, 1989), 89; and Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī, *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*, fol. 25.

115. One rare commentary on such Fasi weddings is by Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī, *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*, fol. 25.

116. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī (1007/1599-1091/1680), *Al-Ajwiba al-ṣughrā*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010), 246-49.

117. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Ajwiba al-ṣughrā*, 211-13.

118. Al-Sijilmāsī, *Hādhihi ajwibat al-imām Ibn Hilāl*, 233-34.

119. Ibn ʿArḍūn, *Muqniʿ al-muḥtāj*, vol. 1, 482.

Religion in the Countryside: The ʿAkākiza Episode

Although various religious and social ideas and practices had long been present in Morocco – often interpreted through the prism of urban perceptions about the countryside – such factors intersected especially visibly with concrete policy concerns during the early years of the ʿAlawī dynasty in the form of the *ʿAkākiza* (or *ʿUkkāz* or *ʿAkkāzīn*). This socio-religious movement, which had earlier gone by various names, was a phenomenon within the tradition of sufi-inspired brotherhoods, in this instance with mahdist overtones.[120] The *ʿAkākiza* stood out for their large following and for the ire they raised within the urban-based orthodox religious establishment due to the theological, social, and sexual deviance their followers allegedly espoused and for the threat the movement was said to pose to the spiritual and temporal well-being of society. The contemporary sources portrayed the *ʿAkākiza* as essentially a rural phenomenon, with their greatest concentration in the area between Marrakesh and Fes, and their preachers (*duʿāt*) active among the tribes.[121]

All our information about the *ʿAkākiza* comes from polemics by mainstream clerics, and many of the detailed allegations by their critics were very likely exaggerations or outright inventions and often reflected the negative expectations and tropes that were routinely leveled against populations in the countryside. Even when not accurate, such writings provide insights into what jurists could expect to be credible among urban audiences about their rural neighbors. In particular, two tracts addressed the issue in detail. In the first, Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan Al-Majjāṣī (d. 1103/1692), a well-known legist and *qāḍī* of Fes, provided a lengthy legal response in his *Al-Nawāzil*. The eminent scholar Al-Ḥasan Al-Yūsī (c. 1040/1630-31-1102/1691) also composed a strongly-worded treatise.[122] Quite apart from Al-Yūsī's disapproval of the *ʿAkākiza*'s ideas, he may also have been anxious to prove his loyalty to the new ʿAlawī dynasty by contributing a justification of royal policy due to his earlier prominent position in the Dilā'ī *zāwiya* targeted by the ʿAlawīs. The rising ʿAlawīs, seeing the *zāwiya* as a political rival, had accused the Dilā'īs themselves of harboring sympathies for the *ʿAkākiza* and,

---

120. The best study that explores the development and complexity of this aspect of Islam in Morocco over the centuries and of the *ʿAkākiza* movement specifically is that by ʿAbd Allāh Najmī, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa-l-bidʿa bi-l-Maghrib: ṭā'ifat Al-ʿAkākiza* (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najāḥ Al-Jadīda, 1421/2000). For discussions of the *ʿAkākiza*'s doctrines, see Najmī, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa-l-bidʿa bi-l-Maghrib*, 325-67; and Mohammed Hijji, *L'Activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saʿdide* (Muḥammadiyya: Imprimerie Fédala, 1976), vol. 1, 280-84.

121. Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan Al-Majjāṣī (d. 1103/1692), *Al-Nawāzil* (Fes: lithographed, n.d.), 89, 92, 124, (hereafter Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*). A follower of the *ʿAkākiza* who was arrested in Meknes, the royal capital, and brought before Mūlāy Ismāʿīl, appears to just have arrived in the city, Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 91.

122. Al-Ḥasan Al-Yūsī, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*, Ms. K1224, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, (hereafter Al-Yūsī, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*).

when Mūlāy Al-Rashīd had destroyed the *zāwiya* in 1078/1668, Al-Yūsī had been obliged to move to Fes in a sort of supervised resettlement, as it was probably easier for governments to control potentially problematic individuals by forcing them to live in the more confining cities rather than in the more open countryside.[123]

Rather than having a cohesive and complete theological framework and unitary organization, the *ʿAkākiza* most likely represented a heterogeneous amalgam of religious ideas and loose structures adapted to traditional social customs and beliefs common in the countryside. At base, Al-Majjāṣī accused the *ʿAkākiza* of reversing the established religious order by permitting what is forbidden (*al-muḥarramāt*) and forbidding what Islam requires.[124] Al-Majjāṣī gives a broad verdict that the ʿAkākiza were "involved in breaches of tradition" (*mubtadiʿa*) and were apostates (*murtaddīn*).[125] And, he accused the *ʿAkākiza* of viewing as unbelievers (*kuffār*) anyone who did not believe as they did "in the *mahdī* who they claim has arrived, that is Muḥammad Ibn Tumert," the reformist leader who had claimed to be the *mahdī* and who had founded the Almohad dynasty.[126] And, the *ʿAkākiza* were reported to consider as divine their past spiritual leader and, conversely, to disparage Muḥammad.[127] There were also accusations of sexual promiscuity, with men and women alleged to participate in joint worship ceremonies, tantamount to "public adultery (*zinā*)" in Al-Majjāṣī's view.[128] According to Al-Yūsī, the *ʿAkākiza* were even said to favor sharing their womenfolk, with a saying attributed to them to the effect that "women are like a prayer rug: pray [on it] and then pass it on to your brother to pray on it."[129] Other accusations included that they rejected animals slaughtered by mainstream Muslims, that they prayed without first performing the ritual ablutions or performed the latter with urine, and ate at sunrise during Ramadan.[130] The eating of pork is also attributed to at least some of the *ʿAkākiza*, specifically those in the Āyt Zammūr tribe, as well as preferring to eat carrion, "like the

---

123. Maḥammad b. Al-Sharīf, Al-Rashīd's and Ismāʿīl's older brother, early on had leveled charges against the Dilā'ī *zāwiya* about its alleged tolerance of and sympathy for the *ʿAkākiza*, Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā*, vol. 7, 18. Indeed, an earlier head of the Dilā'ī *zāwiya*, Abū Bakr b. Saʿīd Al-Dilā'ī (943/1536-37-1011/1602-03), had been willing to feed hungry *ʿAkākiza*, as rural neighbors, during a famine, Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 47.

124. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 89, 115, 124.

125. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 90-91, 124.

126. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 111. A marginal note in a manuscript of Al-Majjāṣī's work stresses that the *ʿAkākiza* "prefer their *mahdī* to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, whereas the Muslims' consensus (*ijmāʿ*) is that the best people apart from our prophet are Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, and they have contravened that consensus, and he who does so is a *kāfir* who is to be asked to repent, and if he does not do so is to be killed," Al-Majjāṣī, *Ajwiba*, Ms. 3310, Al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya, Rabat, fol. 33.

127. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 112.

128. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 111-112.

129. Al-Yūsī, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*, 173.

130. Al-Yūsī, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*, 171, 174, 177, 178.

European Christians," while not being willing to slaughter animals for Muslims.[131] The *ʿAkākiza*, moreover, were said to rebuff the mainstream Muslims' accusations that they were unbelievers (*kuffār*) and, instead, insisted that it was they who were the true Muslims (*ahl al-qibla*).[132]

Such views and assumptions did have tangible results, as analysis was translated into policy in this case. Indeed, Al-Majjāṣī insisted the *ʿAkākiza* had to be eliminated and depicted them to the authorities as an imminent threat, warning the latter that if they did not suppress the *ʿAkākiza* they would have to answer for that neglect in the afterlife.[133] Al-Majjāṣī demanded that their preachers be imprisoned and their followers be forced to repent or be killed, noting that if the rulers ignored them the *ʿAkākiza* would spread even further.[134] In the end, Mūlāy Ismāʿīl did implement a crackdown on the *ʿAkākiza* in 1102-03/1691-92 although we have few details and only know that it involved numerous executions, probably at least of the movement's prominent members.[135] Even so, some of the traditional beliefs and practices attributed to the *ʿAkākiza* – as well as the perceptions of them from an urban perspective – seem to have persisted in the countryside well into the modern period.[136]

A "Lawless" Countryside

Urban jurists also viewed as a basic fracture line whether an area was subordinated to the central government, with attendant legal, political, and moral implications. In fact, urbanites had long deemed broad swathes of the countryside *sība* (also *al-bilād al-sā'iba*), or lands of anarchy where the central government and the religious authority of the *sharīʿa* did not hold sway. Such areas were seen by urban jurists as automatically being lands of injustice and lawlessness (*fī al-balad al-sāyiba wa-l-ẓulm wa-l-taʿaddī*) with this status viewed in apposition to "areas known for their obedience" (*balad maʿlūm bi-l-ṭāʿa*).[137] As one migh expect, such perspectives were enduring, and an urbanized 12th/18th century jurist of rural origin, as well as many others, reiterated the division noted by earlier jurists between areas where "obedience" (*al-ṭāʿa*) was in force and *al-bilād al-sā'iba*.[138] By definition, an area was seen as unavoidably lawless unless it was subordinated to and effective central government, and one urbanized jurist noted of a rural

131. Al-Yūsī, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*, 172.
132. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 90, 111.
133. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 49.
134. Al-Majjāṣī, *Al-Nawāzil*, 105-07, 109, 125.
135. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī* (1407/1986), vol. 3, 53.
136 Najmī, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa-l-bidʿa*, 350-67.
137. Abū ʿUmrān Al-Fāsī (356/975-76-430/1039), *Masā'il Al-Mudawwana*, Ms. D1839, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 43, 63.
138. Al-Gīgī, *Mawāhib dhī al-jalāl*, 54-56.

territory that "The area was as if *sā'iba*, infested by bandits and the like, due to the Sultan's neglect in enforcing the law."[139]

This terminology implying a morally repellent situation was imposed by urban (and urbanized) jurists, and was not how those in the countryside described themselves or their condition. The term in and of itself demonstrated a facet of self-perceived superiority, using a naming power that shaped perceptions and presupposed an urban value system. The *sība* terminology was very seldom used with reference to a city, and always only as a temporary condition, while it was applied almost routinely to rural areas.[140] In fact, the assumption from the urban perspective was that for most rural areas this was the default condition and, if it was not so at present, those areas would revert to that condition were it not for control from the center. Paradoxically, some prominent Moroccan figures who were originally from the countryside but who had become urbanized contributed to validating and reinforcing negative urban stereotypes of rural attitudes and mores and of the rural people themselves. For example, writing to an Egyptian scholar, ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Al-Fishtālī (956/1549-1031/1621), minister and court poet for the Saʿdī ruler Aḥmad Al-Manṣūr, described a rebellious mountain population as "well-known for their extreme barbarity and inordinate ignorance, who are irrational beasts and dumb animals."[141] Similarly, the historian Muḥammad Akansūs, who was born in a tribe in the Sous but who studied in Fes and went into royal service, and finally settled in Marrakesh, warned that "As for the Arabs (*Al-Aʿrāb*), the inhabitants of the countryside today, if they did not fear the sovereign's power and his laws, they would not differentiate between what is lawful and unlawful, and they would follow the true religion only outwardly," that is they would be lawless and irreligious.[142] Urbanites might think that rurals deserved to be treated with condescension for their insubordination and, as a later traditional chronicler opined in criticizing Morocco's Berber tribes, "history has documented their rebelliousness and

---

[139]. Aḥmad Al-Wallālī (d. 1128/1717), *Mabāḥith al-anwār fī akhbār baʿḍ al-akhyār*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Būʿaṣṣāb (Rabat: Kulliyyat Al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm Al-Insāniyya, 1999), 167, (hereafter Al-Wallālī, *Mabāḥith al-anwār*). Aḥmad Al-Wallālī was of rural origin and had initially been based at the Dilā'ī *zāwiya*, but when the ʿAlawīs destroyed the latter, he settled in Fes and Meknes.

[140]. One instance of the rare usage of this term for a city was in a government official's conclusion that in Fes the urban militia (*al-rumāt*) would become influential only during times of revolt (*al-sība*), Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 1, 318-19. Again, in a letter to the palace minister Mūsā b. Aḥmad Al-Būkharī, the *amīn* in Fez Muḥammad Binnīs rebukes his fellow-Fasis for having revolted against his fiscal administration and speaks of the "leaders of the *sība*," 9 Rajab 1291/22 August 1874, *Al-Wathā'iq*, vol. 3 (1976): 335.

[141]. Letter from ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Al-Fishtālī, in ed. ʿAbd Allāh Gannūn, *Rasā'il saʿdiyya* (Tetuan: Maʿhad Mūlāy Al-Ḥasan, [1954]), 55.

[142]. Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 2, 34.

refusal to follow royal orders and their unwillingness to be obedient so that others, and especially urbanites, look down on them with contempt."[143]

Simply alluding to the term *sība* and the symbolism it implied may have been sufficient to communicate to urban audiences negative images and judgments about the countryside. What was likely key in such considerations was not a rural area's political rebellion against the central authorities per se – after all, cities in Morocco themselves were often in revolt – but the religious, legal, and moral differences and their consequences. In fact, for urbanites, the countryside served as an automatic metric for comparison to highlight how much worse conditions might be in terms of insecurity and lawlessness. Typically, in describing the banditry in Fes, the city's *qāḍī* asked rhetorically "if something like this is happening in the city of Fes … what it is then like in the countryside and among today's tribes?"[144] Indeed, an urbanized 12th/18th century jurist, speaking of the difficulties women faced in obtaining their rightful inheritance even in cities, would combine legal and social criticism of the countryside, concluding "If something like that goes on in cities then how much more so in the countryside (*al-bawādī*), given that there are no laws and given their [i.e. rural women's] ignorance about losing out on their right to a [fair] share."[145]

Al-Kattānī's Rural Interlude: Outlier or Consistent to Form?

In some ways, the Fasi religious scholar and political activist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Al-Kabīr Al-Kattānī (1290/1873-1327/1909), stands apart for reaching out to the tribes in the countryside in the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Protectorate. Claiming there was poor knowledge of and compliance with Islam in the countryside, he organized missionary outreach in several tribes, including with women preachers among the womenfolk, and a biographer claimed that he had raised the religious level prodigiously among "the Berbers who the day before had known Islam only in name" and that he had brought peace and security to what had been lawless tribal areas.[146] However, his activity may have been at least in part transactional, as he may have intended to establish a rural power base and to mobilize tribal forces for his religious and political movement.[147]

---

143. Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, vol. 1, 138.
144. Al-Tasūlī, *Al-Bahja*, vol. 2, 659.
145. Al-Gīgī, *Mawāhib dhī al-jalāl*, 97-98.
146. Muḥammad Al-Bāqir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Al-Kabīr Al-Kattānī (1319/1901-1384/1964), *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī al-shahīd*, ed. Nūr Al-Hudā ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Kattānī (Casablanca: Markaz Al-Turāth Al-Thaqāfī Al-Maghribī, 1426/2005), 88, 189, (hereafter Al-Kattānī, *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī*).
147. Al-Kattānī, *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī*, 414-16; and Jacob Niddam, *Un correspondant de révolution. Journal d'un Israélite de Fès [Jacob Niddam], 1908-1909-1910*, eds. Maitrot de la Motte Capron and Dr Trenga (Algiers: Imprimérie Baconnier frères, 1937), 51, 70, 79, (hereafter Niddam, *Un correspondant de révolution*). Niddam was a Jewish resident of New Fes with

If Al-Kattānī did actually intend to seek to become Sultan, as some of his detractors in Fes or the French, in particular, contended, he would have founded de facto a new dynasty, and that would have meant the radiation of power out from the city to the rural sector, a reversal of the most common previous pattern of how dynasties had been established in Morocco over the centuries.[148]

When his political position in Fes deteriorated in early 1327/1909, Al-Kattānī and his entourage sought refuge with the Berber tribes that he had been courting, and a later favorable quasi-hagiography by a family member presented two views of Al-Kattānī's departure from Fes for the countryside. According to one view, which the biographer attributes to the foreign press, Al-Kattānī intended to foment a rebellion, a position that he casts into doubt. The other view, quietly suggested as the genuine one by that author, was that Al-Kattānī, having despaired of the political situation, simply sought rural refuge to get "far away from the atmosphere of the cities" and to go into seclusion in the countryside, where he could worship God.[149] However, the tribe where he had gone handed him over to the Sultan.[150] Whatever the unique aspects of the Al-Kattānī case, there still seemed to be an underlying traditional urban condescending sense of superiority in moral and religious terms, as well as an underestimation of the tribes' agency and political sophistication as, with their own power calculus and interpreting their own interests differently from Al-Kattānī, they had declined to fight for him in the end.

Highlighting the enduring nature of urbanites' negative views of rural folk, as a cleric from Marrakesh put it in the 1930s, the latter were immoral, untrustworthy, irreligious, and ignorant, as well as disrespectful of religious scholars. He attributed their negative traits to their "living for so long with their cattle and spending so much time turning the soil, hoeing, plowing, and being covered in grime, and not dealing with sophisticated people, mixing instead with uncouth people, as if they were created of the same matter as their animals."[151]

---

good sources of information and served as a local reporter for the foreign press, while his journal was published posthumously.

148. ʿAbd Al-Ḥafīẓ Al-Fāsī (1296/1878-1383/1963), *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish* (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Waṭaniyya, 1351/1932), 47, (hereafter Al-Fāsī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish*); "Les événements de Fez," *Le Temps* (Paris), (31 January 1908): 1; and Ch. René-Leclerc, "La révolte hafidiste dans le Nord," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française* (Paris), no. 2 (February 1908): 68.

149. Al-Kattānī, *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī*, 419-20.

150. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish*, 48; and Al-Kattānī, *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī*, 430.

151. Al-Mu'aqqit, *Al-Riḥla al-murrākishiyya*, part 2, 156-57.

The "So What" of Othering: Did It Matter?

Even if Othering was a central aspect of how urbanites viewed their rural counterparts, did this matter significantly? As is often the case, ideas have consequences and a key concern would be whether urban views translated into power over the countryside and its inhabitants. Othering, as presented by virtually all those who have studied it, presumes as a foundational axiom a resulting unequal power relationship. As one observer put it, "The asymmetry in power relationships is central to the construction of otherness."[152] The assumed relationship is inherently one between a superior and a subordinate. As two scholars put it: "'Othering' is a term that not only encompasses the many expressions of prejudice on the basis of group identities, but we argue that it provides a clarifying frame that reveals a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality."[153] Some scholars have compared the situation to a virtual zero-sum game, with an in-group in effect magnifying the self by diminishing others, or as one social scientist has put it: "Power is implicated here [i.e. in Othering], and because groups do not have equal powers to define both *self* and the *other*, the consequences reflect these power differentials."[154] However, the Moroccan case may call into question such automatic and undiversified conclusions about Othering and power.

Power, to be sure, can be difficult to define, although as one scholar expressed it, power can be viewed "very roughly, as an actor's capacity to cause other actors to act (or not to act) in ways in which they would not have acted (or would have acted) otherwise."[155] However, power may also take a variety of forms. Some observers have focused on the physical aspect of power, where actual force can be detected visibly: "This is the power that intentionally and physically affects a person contrary to his will, one oriented not towards influencing, changing, or altering his choice, his will, but to directly opposing it physically."[156]

---

152. Staszak, "Other/Otherness," 44.

153. John A. Powell and Stephen Menendian, "The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging," *Othering and Belonging*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 17, (heraefter Powell and Menendian, "The Problem of Othering"). Similarly, another scholar argued that "Othering is the simultaneous construction of the self or in-group and the other or out-group in mutual and unequal opposition through identification of some desirable characteristic that the self/in-group has and the other/out-group lacks and/or some undesirable characteristic that the other/out-group has and the self/in-group lacks. Othering thus sets up a superior self/in-group in contrast to an inferior other/out-group." Lajos Brons, "Othering, an Analysis," *Transcience*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2015): 70.

154. Andrew C. Okolie, "Introduction to the Special Issue – Identity: Now You Don't See It; Now You Do," *Identity*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2003): 2.

155. Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 44.

156. R.J. Rummel, *Understanding Conflict and War: Vol. 2: The Conflict Helix* (Beverly Hills, CA: Halsted Press, 1976), 173.

In the case of Morocco, we find that it was almost always the rural sector that was more powerful than the cities from that perspective and, in that sense, differed from the prevailing pattern in many other societies throughout history. In contrast, in the late Roman period, for example, cities had dominated the countryside.[157] In fact, by the early medieval period, European cities repeatedly sought to control the countryside politically, economically, and legally, and often did so successfully.[158] In much of the Middle East, too, overall there was a concentration of power in the cities.[159] Unlike in Europe, cities in Morocco never developed the power to tax the countryside. While the central authorities could impose a *maks*, or levy on commerce with the countryside, the proceeds were not kept by the city, and the tax acted as a tariff, with urban producers and consumers ultimately bearing the cost. In fact, it was the reimposition of the *maks* that sparked a major urban uprising, the so-called Tanners' Revolt, in Fes in 1873.[160] One might be tempted to think that the city of Tangier held sway over the countryside, since the local warlord ʿAbd Allāh Al-Rīfī, based in the city, was able to order the tribes in the surrounding region to prevent a tribe from coming from the Fes area in search of pasturage during the drought of 1150/1737-38.[161] However, at the time, one could still consider the inhabitants of Tangier as also rurals, since it was tribals from the surrounding Rif area who had been used recently to repopulate that city after the English had abandoned it in 1095/1683, and Al-Rīfī's combat forces were themselves tribal.[162] Indeed, the rural sector itself might generate political entities, as in the case of the Dila'i *zāwiya*, which established a de-facto state, with political, military, and economic power, and intellectual and religious influence, and

---

157. Mireille Corbier, "City, Territory and Taxation," in eds. John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 1992), 234-35; and Micaela Langellotti and Dominic Rathbone, "The Rise and Fall of the Village from Roman to Arab Egypt," The British Academy, 23 August 2021, https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-village-from-roman-to-arab-egypt.

158. Giuliano Pinto, "I nuovi equilibri tra città e campagna in Italia fra XI e XII secolo," in *Città e Campagna nei secoli altomedievali: Atti delle Settimane LVI. (Spoleto, 27 marzo-1 aprile 2008)* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2009), 1058-59; Peter C. M. Hoppenbrouwers, "Town and Country in Holland, 1300-1550," 73-76; and Tom Scott, "Town and Country in Germany, 1350–1600," 215-19 in ed. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe*. However, even in Europe this was not universal and in some cases, such as in Flanders, towns failed to do so, David M. Nicholas, "Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth Century Flanders," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (July 1968): 471.

159. Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Economic Relations between Damascus and the Dependent Countryside, 1743-71," in ed. A.L. Udovitch, *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Economic and Social History* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981), 664, 666-67, 674-75; and ʿAbd Al-Raḥīm ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Al-Raḥīm, *Al-Rīf al-miṣrī fī al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1986), 53-124.

160. Abdelahad Sebti, "Chroniques de la contestation citadine: Fès et la révolte des tanneurs (1873-1874)," *Hespéris-Tamuda*, vol 29, no. 2 (1991): 283-312.

161. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī* (1407/1986), vol. 4, 203.

162. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 20 Arabic/38 French.

itself controlled cities such as Fes for a time without the ruling family itself becoming urbanized, unlike a dynasty of tribal origins such as the Merinids.

The Visible Aspect of Active Power

To a significant extent, the social structure of the rural sector in Morocco, which was largely on a tribal basis, permitted the use of the population's overall numerical advantage by facilitating the building and activation of large and powerful human security groupings with innate solidarity (*ʿaṣabiyya*) as a force multiplier, as opposed to the individual villages common in, say, medieval Italy, and thereby prevented cities from dealing with the countryside piecemeal against atomized weak opponents. Rurals in Morocco had a reputation on an individual level, too, of being tougher than urbanites. Reporting on the scornful rural view of urbanites, a British diplomat stationed in Fes before the Protectorate noted that the Fasis were "a byword amongst the tribes for pusillanimity."[163] And, a rural student in Fes in the 1930s remembered that the boys from his native Oujda region were tougher than their Fasi counterparts, which he noticed in some dealings with local youths.[164] These were not the unarmed peasants found in some other societies, but individuals at least as well-armed as the urbanites. The tribes were well-provisioned with firearms already by the 9th/16th c., whether thanks to European or domestic sellers.[165] Sultans complained into the modern period that the tribes had continued access to firearms thanks to smugglers.[166] Rurals were also able to buy some of their armaments from the cities themselves.[167] In fact, rural tribes were an enduring security player at the national level, and the government had to make repeated attempts to counter that capability by confiscating their arms and horses, indicating that such steps could only be a temporary control measure.[168]

With their ability to generate formidable military force, the tribes were often able to threaten the cities, and the contemporary chronicles record many

---

163. G.H. Selous, *Appointment to Fez* (London: Richards Press, 1956), 145.
164. Al-Warṭāsī, *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa*, 32.
165. In a letter that Sultan Aḥmad Al-Manṣūr (r. 986/1578-1012/1603) wrote to his son in 1011/1602, he rued the fact that a rebellious tribe was already well provided with firearms, which had only become widespread in Morocco in his generation. Letter reproduced in Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr Al-Ifrānī (1080/1669-70-d. after 1153/1740), *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī*, ed. O. Houdas (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888, reprinted, Rabat: Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, n.d.), 177, (hereafter Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*).
166. Letter from Mūlāy ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz to Minister Muḥammad Bargāsh, 4 Ṣafar 1320/13 May 1902, ed. M. Nehlil, *Lettres chérifiennes, Textes* (Paris: E. Guilmoto, [1917]), document 97.
167. In one case, during Mūlāy Yazīd's reign, the rural Arabs bought up all of Casablanca's powder and shot, and then attacked the city. William Lemprière (d. 1834), *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, and Tarudant; And Thence over Mount Atlas to Morocco* (London: The Author, 1791), 443-44. (hereafter Lemprière, *A Tour from Gibraltar*)
168. The chronicler Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī records many such attempts, Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 18 Arabic/35 French, 20 Arabic/38 French, 21 Arabic/39 French, 22 Arabic/41 French, 30 Arabic/56 French, 37 Arabic/69 French.

armed clashes between tribes and urbanites. Ordinarily rurals could not overwhelm a city, thanks to the latter's walls, artillery, and at times a royal garrison, but they could besiege it, disrupt travel and commerce, cut off access to the surrounding agricultural lands, and prevent the arrival of food and raw materials. In the dynastic power struggles following the death of Mūlāy Ismāʿīl, the rural tribes frequently were able to harass and raid even large cities such as Fes and Meknes.[169] In 1151/1738-39, a year of famine, the Banī Ḥasan tribe besieged and raided Meknes.[170] In 1173/1759, the Fasis had stopped going to their orchards outside the city walls for three months out of fear of the Berber tribes until a peace could be concluded.[171] At times, rural forces could even take control of cities at least temporarily, as was the case with the Raḥāmna tribe's efforts to control the city of Marrakesh during Mūlāy ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān's reign.[172] In 1181/1767-68, rurals led by a *mahdī* attacked and occupied Marrakesh, and had to be dislodged by government forces.[173]

Accommodating to the Latent Power of the Countryside

Scholars of power have also identified as a second dimension of power the awareness of latent power in others and the need to accommodate that and to take precautions, a situation that some have termed "anticipated reactions."[174] Urbanites in Morocco were well aware of the power imbalance even when that was only implicit, and had to accommodate their policy preemptively, given their perception of hostility from the rural tribal sector. Significantly, because of rural insecurity, Fasis normally only held lands within a limited radius of the city, where they could exert direct control and supervision.[175] It was unusual to farm further out, something that could only be attempted by someone like the saintly Aḥmad Maʿn, who planted beans far outside the city, and did not even provide for a guard, and who was unfazed when hungry rurals simply took the produce for themselves.[176] Likewise, in the 10th/16th century, the inhabitants of Marrakesh did not farm outside the city for fear of the Arabs.[177] Not surprisingly, according to an English

169. ʿAbd Al-Karīm Al-Rīfī (12th/18th c.), *Zahr Al-Akam*, ed. Āsiya Binʿaddāda (Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1992), 246, 251, 257.
170. Al-Rīfī (12th/18th c.), *Zahr Al-Akam*, 251.
171. Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 282 Arabic/283 English.
172. Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 2, 42.
173. Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā*, vol. 8, 33.
174. Jack H. Nagel "Some Questions About the Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science*, vol. 13, no. 2 (March 1968), 130-32; and Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 56, no. 4 (December 1962): 949, 952.
175. Even the lands in the immediate area of Fes could become unsafe, as in 1150/1737-38, when the Fasis suspended farming corn due to the rampant insecurity, Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Nashr Al-Mathani*, 51.
176. Al-Qādirī, *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad*, 111.
177. Leo Africanus, *La descrizione dell'Africa*, vol. 1, 95.

physician who visited Morocco late in the 18th century, rurals ("Arabs" in his words) were allowed in Casablanca only if they relinquished their weapons at the city gates.[178] And, the French press reported that during the turmoil in 1908 the Fasis above all feared that the tribes would rampage in the city.[179] In order to confirm them in their loyalty to the Sultan during that same period, the city's pasha reminded the Fasis that the rural tribesmen were stronger than urbanites, apparently expecting that his argument would resonate in the city.[180]

City dwellers also recognized the tribes had the latent power to disrupt a city's commerce and even attack the Pilgrimage Caravan along the land routes and, conversely, that the tribes had the ability to provide security on their own lands.[181] The mechanism designed to manage such latent power was known as the *zeṭāṭa* which one legal source explained was payment "to those who protect people in insecure areas… and protect travelers and safeguard caravans from bandits," in essence an urban transit tax paid to the tribes in exchange for protecting urban caravans crossing their territory.[182] This procedure had long-established modalities, even though there were differing opinions as to whether the fee should be based on the number of animals being escorted or on the value of the goods carried.[183]

At the same time, however great the perceived dangers from the countryside might be, urban actors also could take advantage of the benefits that the tribes could provide, again implicitly recognizing the power of the rural sector. Realpolitik overcame any repulsion urbanites might feel, as cities routinely sought help from or formed alliances with tribes to maximize their own security, whether in conflicts against a Sultan, the *ʿabīd* slave army, warlords, or other tribes. Bridging such cultural cleavages was made easier by the fragmented nature of the rural sector, as tribal alliances were often fluid. In the event, Fes was allied with some tribes against Mūlāy Al-Rashīd in 1075/1664-65.[184] Or, when Mūlāy Ismāʿīl besieged Fes, the latter called for help from the Faḥṣ, a rural area around Tangier.[185] In 1236/1820, when fighting broke out between the Ūdāyā tribe in New Fes and Fes, the latter

178. Lemprière, *A Tour from Gibraltar*, 448.
179. "En pleine révolte; L'effervescence à Fez," *Le Matin* (Paris), (31 January 1908): 1.
180. Niddam, *Un correspondant de révolution*, 111.
181. In 1160/1747, since the Berbers refused to escort the pilgrims on their way home, despite requests from Fes to do so, the pilgrims had to risk returning individually and in small groups while leaving behind their goods in Taza for the moment, Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 202 Arabic/203 English.
182. Al-Fāsī, *Tuḥfat akyās al-nās*, 351.
183. Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī, *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*, fols. 12a-13.
184. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 8 Arabic/15 French.
185. Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr Al-Ifrānī (1080/1669-70-after 1153/1740), *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi-mafākhir Mūlānā Ismāʿīl b. Al-Sharīf*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb Binmanṣūr (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1415/1995), 66.

reached out to the Berbers for help.[186] Or, even a faction engaged in intra-urban conflict might seek help from the tribes, as occurred in Fes, also in 1159/1746.[187] Frequently, Fes negotiated formal mutual support agreements with tribes, dealing with the tribes as equal actors.[188] In 1159/1746, the Fasis hosted the Berbers for three days to cement an alliance.[189] In 1160/1747, Berber and Arab tribes were allied with Fes against the Sultan ʿAbd Allāh.[190] During Mūlāy Slīmān's reign (1204/1790-1238/1822), various *sharīf* families in Fes reportedly sought rural allies against the Sultan, as "they went out to the countryside and incited the rurals (*al-aʿrāb*) … to also revolt."[191] In 1236-37/1820-21, the Fasis again hosted Berber tribesmen in their outlying gardens and homes as they collaborated in supporting the same candidate to be the new Sultan.[192]

The Third Dimension of Power

Conversely, one can argue that urbanites in a way also could dominate rurals, at least once the rurals were in the urban space, by controlling the rules of the game within the city to the detriment of rurals. In one sense, Augustin Berque may be right when he argues that it is the urbanites who impose even the urban-rural classification itself.[193] And, urban jurists routinely addressed issues affecting the rural sector even when they could not enforce their rulings, while rural jurists apparently did not ordinarily address issues applicable to cities. Significantly, political scientist Steven Lukes argued for what he called the "third dimension" of power, which he explained as the power one can exercise "by influencing, shaping or determining his [i.e. another's] very wants."[194] That is, by means of a sort of ideological and social power others could be dominated because they would see the situation as natural, whether they genuinely believed that to be the case or were resigned to that situation with no alternative. Indeed, Lukes asks about framing and controlling the rules of conduct: "is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have – that is, to

---

186. ʿAbd Al-Kabīr b. Al-Majdhūb Al-Fāsī (1221/1806-1296/1878), *Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn fī wāfiyyāt al-aʿyān wa-ḥawādith al-sinīn*, Ms. K270, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 351.
187. Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 194 Arabic/195 English.
188. Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Nashr Al-Mathani*, 58.
189. Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 190 Arabic/191 English.
190. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*, vol. 1, 323.
191. Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī (1147/1734-35-1249/1833), *Al-Tāj wa-l-iklīl fī maʾāthir al-sulṭān Mūlānā Slīmān*, Ms. K241, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 255.
192. Idrīs Al-Jaʿīdī (d. after 1276/1859), *Al-Ibtisām ʿan dawlat Mūlānā ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Hishām aw Dīwān al-ʿibar fī akhbār al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar*, Ms. K1204, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, 66.
193. Augustin Berque, "Le rural, le sauvage, l'urbain," *Études rurales*, no. 187 (January-June 2011): 51.
194. Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 27, (hereafter Lukes, *Power*).

secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?"[195] According to Lukes, the result could be "to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things."[196] As seen, a number of urbanized rural clerics were among the most active critics of rural ways, and especially on religious matters. In one case, a rural shaykh who eventually ended up in Meknes and Fes even praised his father for having developed a "loathing for the rural condition of indifference to religion and righteousness," and for having cut his ties with the countryside, taking his family to a more God-fearing nearby town.[197]

Ibn Khaldūn had posited the superiority of urban life, and he noted that "urbanization is the goal of the rural dweller" (*al-tamaddun ghāya li-l-badawī*), whereas "a city dweller does not look forward to the lifestyle of the countryside unless forced to do so by necessity" (*wa-l-madanī lā yatashawwaf ilā aḥwāl al-bādiya illā li-ḍarūra tadʿūhu ilayhā*).[198] Cities were attractive for a number of reasons and, in that sense, one could say that for many Moroccans, urbanization became a goal, even an ideal, as suggested by the frequent migrations to the city, whether for work, study, or permanent residence. This process constituted an implicit admission on the part of the transplanted rurals of a choice (under whatever circumstances) for the city, and very likely reinforced urbanites' view of the superiority of their own world over that of the countryside. As will be addressed in the following section, even if such movement was not always an individual's preferred option, invariably it would still lead newcomers to an accommodation to and adoption of the urban lifestyle, values, and identity, even if only through a gradual process.

The need and intent to integrate by adopting urban ways and values equated to an implicit admission of at least rural psychological subordination to the city. In fact, that Morocco's rulers, themselves originally from the countryside, adopted urban ways after coming to power would have reinforced the urbanites' sense of superiority and psychological power. For example, according to a writer based in Egypt who relied on Moroccan informants, the early Merinid rulers and army, who had roots in the countryside before coming to power in 668/1269, "carried swords in the rural manner," and it was said that they "were partial to tents (*buyūt al-shaʿr*), reflective of their original lifestyle in the countryside," although many of the

---

195. Lukes, *Power*, 27. Some underline that this situation represents an expression of domination even if done unconsciously, Keith Dowding, "Three-Dimensional Power: A Discussion of Steven Lukes' *Power: A Radical View*," *Political Studies Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2006): 136-45.
196. Lukes, *Power*, 11.
197. Al-Wallālī, *Mabāḥith al-anwār*, 232.
198. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddima*, vol. 1, 131.

senior commanders were said to already be building more substantial structures in the city.[199] And, when the new Saʿdī rulers and their followers first entered Fes in 961/1553, they were said to have exuded "a rural appearance, but then committed themselves to learning the ways of the city and to adopting urban mores."[200]

In some ways, urban-originated legal rules suggested that rurals were lesser human beings. For example, while urban legists might differ on the details of the admissibility and modalities of rural witnesses in cases involving urbanites, the overall tone was one of skepticism and disparagement of rurals. Typically, a prominent Fasi jurist noted in a legal commentary as an established reality that "urbanites avoid witnesses from the countryside."[201] Even later, citing an earlier jurist, a late 19th century Fasi scholar confirmed that "urbanites normally do not seek the testimony of a rural man against that of an urbanite."[202] And, while some held that rural individuals could not bear witness against an urban litigant, others allowed them to do so but only in the countryside and not in the city. One urban jurist, citing earlier precedents, argued that "If someone is from far away, that is an outsider such as a rural person, he cannot testify in the city," and that "the testimony of a rural person is not valid in the city … except in cases of wounding and killing."[203] In the city, the testimony of rural folk was often given less weight than that of city dwellers in any case. According to a Chefchaouen jurist, citing his father, "as practice has established, reinforced by custom, urbanites (*ahl al-ḥāḍira*) are inclined to accept the testimony of urbanites (*al-ḥaḍarī*), but not of rural folk (*al-badawī*)" in commercial and divorce matters.[204] In fact, another jurist dismissed even rurals testifying on behalf of urbanites at all, arguing that it was highly unlikely that urbanites would pay attention to the testimony of "an accommodating rural" (*al-badawī al-ṭāwī*) over that of urbanites, implying the unreliability and lesser value of rurals.[205]

---

199. Ibn Faḍl Allāh Al-ʿUmarī, (700/1301-749/1349), *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Ḥamza Aḥmad ʿAbbās (Abu Dhabi: Al-Mujamaʿ Al-Thaqāfī, 1423/2002), vol. 4, 211, 216.
200. Al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, 29.
201. Maḥammad Mayyāra (999/1591-1072/1662), *Sharḥ Mayyāra al-fāsī ʿalā tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nukat al-ʿuqūd wa-l-aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1420/2000), vol. 1, 133.
202. Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā*, vol. 3, 140.
203. *Fatāwā tataḥaddā al-ihmāl fī Shafshāwun wa-mā ḥawlahā min al-jibāl*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Habṭī Al-Mawāhibī (Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1419/1998), vol. 2, 587.
204. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī Al-Ḥasanī Al-ʿAlamī (12th c./18th c.), *Al-Nawāzil* (Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1403/1983), vol. 1, 24.
205. Response by the Iligh-based Maḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan Al-Lakūsī (d. 1048/1638-39) in ʿAbd Allāh Al-Timmalī (12th/18th c.?), *Kitāb al-as'ila wa-l-ajwiba min al-fuqahā' al-muta'akhkhirīn*, author's own manuscript, fol. 55a.

Some newcomers who adopted the urban ethos would do so completely, appearing to become more urban than the urbanites, perhaps a reflection of the third dimension of power. This phenomenon was striking in the case of the prominent writer and government official Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Zayānī who, although a second-generation urbanite, was of Berber origin but frequently railed against the Berbers. Al-Zayānī believed the only way to control the Berbers was by force, and claimed only Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's confiscation of the tribes' weapons and horses had enabled the state to be spared from "the Berbers' ravages (*ʿayth*)" for 50 years. He regretted that under subsequent weak Sultans "the Berbers' ravages erupted again," and praised Sīdī Muḥammad's policy of using punishing military force, killing tribal leaders, and plundering as the only way to pacify the Berbers.[206] This adaptation was also noticeable in the harsh evaluation of rural practices by recently-urbanized jurists, many of whom had studied in a city. In effect, the urban educational facilities drew many rural students, with some staying on and integrating into that city's religious establishment or, at the very least, imbuing many students with an admiration for the city where they had studied. There was a prestige associated with urban learning, and anyone who came to Fes to study would become known as "Fasi" throughout Morocco.[207] Rurals who had studied in a city might themselves develop a smug attitude toward rurals who did not, especially if the latter spoke Berber. Thus, a rural graduate of Fes and Meknes schools who ventured into the Sous was struck by the fact that saints and scholars there did not know Arabic unless they had spent time in cities such as Fes and Marrakesh, and that if an Arabic-speaker asked them even for just some water or bread he would have to do so through an interpreter.[208]

Rurals often sensed social exclusion by the urbanites and, for example, reportedly few rural students had much to do with their Fasi classmates in the 1930s, although the author of a memoir notes that he did make an effort to try to blend in Fes with his speech and attire.[209] Even later, although aware of and irritated by displays of inequality while visiting a city, some rurals might have seemed resigned to that condition. For example, a British visitor to Morocco in the early 1950s reported the rurals' resigned attitude toward the Fasi merchants, as he quoted the rurals saying "These men of the cities, they cheat. When they buy your skins, they give a low price. But when you buy slippers,

---

206. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā*, 71. He disparaged the Berbers often, ibid., 74-75, passim.
207. Yūsuf Ibn ʿĀbid b. Muḥammad Al-Fāsī (965/1557-58-1048/1638-39), *Riḥlat Ibn ʿĀbid Al-Fāsī min Al-Maghrib ilā Ḥaḍramawt*, ed. Ibrāhīm Al-Sāmarrā'ī and ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad Al-Ḥabashī (Beirut: Dār Al-Gharb Al-Islāmī, 1993), 34, (hereafter Al-Fāsī, *Riḥlat Ibn ʿĀbid Al-Fāsī*).
208. Al-Fāsī, *Riḥlat Ibn ʿĀbid Al-Fāsī*, 69-70.
209. Al-Warṭāsī, *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa*, 66.

they tell you that leather is dear... They are cleverer than we are, with words."[210]

The implicit positive evaluation that rural elites provided of a city in terms of security, markets, and urban comforts through their own taking advantage of such opportunities very likely reinforced urbanites' self-view of superiority. For example, the rurals would often store grain in cities such as Fes and Meknes, because it may have been more secure there but also to have it available where there was a market demand for it.[211] Tribal elites often kept houses in the cities, not only to be near the palace, but probably also to enjoy the convenience and amenities of living in an urban environment. Thus, one of the conditions Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh demanded for peace with the rebellious Fasis in 1159/1746 was that their Arab allies' houses in the city be demolished and the wheat they had stored there be handed over to him, but on that occasion the Fasis refused.[212] However, when Mūlāy Slīmān ordered all houses owned by Berbers in Fes to be demolished in 1235/1820, the Fasis reportedly did so with glee.[213] And, we find elites from such tribes as the Garwān with houses in Fes or from the Raḥāmina in Marrakesh during the early 19th century as well.[214] Tribes that were on good terms with a city might even take refuge in a city, as was the case when the *ʿabīd* attacked some Arab tribes in 1155/1742, and the tribesmen fled for safety inside the walls of Fes.[215]

While many rurals might have had to acquiesce to urban perspectives due to circumstances, others rurals challenged such negative views defensively, for example by portraying cities as the less moral environment. For example, verses attributed to the rural poet from the Sous, Ḥammū b. ʿAbd Allāh (fl. 10th/16th c.), gushed not only about the agricultural produce and horses in the countryside, but also about the noble traits of character (*makārim al-akhlāq*), commitment to one's word, and affection to be found there, while pillorying Marrakesh, alleging that "All the world's injustice is concentrated in you!."[216] And, a rural holy man chose to live in a small village

---

210. Bernard Newman, *Morocco Today* (London: Robert Hale, 1954), 175-76.
211. Mūlāy Ismāʿīl had ordered that the grain stored in Fes by the rurals be seized, indicating that the city could also act as a secure material storage site for rurals. Aḥmad Ibn Al-Ḥājj Al-Sulamī Al-Mirdāsī (d. 1316/1899), *Al-Durr al-muntakhab al-mustaḥsan fī baʿḍ maʾāthir amīr al-muʾminīn Mūlānā Al-Ḥasan*., Ms. 1875, Al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya, Rabat, vol. 8, 216. Again, in 1159/1746, Mūlāy ʿAbd Allāh demanded that Fes turn over the grain that the Arabs had stored in the city, Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 196 Arabic/197 English.
212. Al-Dukkālī, *The Historical Chronicle*, 196 Arabic/197 English.
213. Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 1, 307.
214. Al-Ḍuʿayyif, *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif*, vol. 2, 441, 521.
215. Muḥammad b. Al-Ṭayyib Al-Qādirī (1124/1712-1187/1773), *Iltiqāṭ al-durar*, ed. Hāshim Al-ʿAlawī Al-Qāsimī (Beirut: Dār Al-Āfāq Al-Jadīda, 1403/1983), 392.
216. Ḥammū b. ʿAbd Allāh, *Al-Shiʿr al-amāzīghī al-mansūb ilā Sīdī Ḥammū Al-Ṭālib*, ed. ʿUmar Amarīr (Casablanca: Maktabat Burūgānis, 1407/1987), 100-02.

far from any city specifically in order to be "distant from the plethora of wordly pleasures."[217] Other rurals retaliated with harsh counter-perceptions about the urbanites. Thomas Barclay (1728-1793), the American diplomat who negotiated the first U.S. treaty with Morocco, reported from Morocco on 13 September 1786 that "The Arabs, who dwell in Tents, despise the Inhabitants of the Cities."[218] Rurals would even insult Fasis as those "defecating in their water," since the city's river water also flowed through the toilets.[219] Today, too, some rurals have derogatory views about the Fasis, calling the latter weak and spoiled, while seeing themselves as strong, clever, and practical.[220] Urbanites were aware and resented how rurals thought of them without, however, bothering to consider whether that might be a response to how urbanites themselves viewed and treated rurals. For example, a traditional Moroccan scholar taxed the Berber tribes as historically lacking in respect for others, "especially for city dwellers (*ahl al-ḥawāḍir*), on whom they looked down as beneath them and with contempt."[221]

Becoming Urban: Voting with Their Feet and Integrating into the New Society

Migration as a One-Way Street

Being rural, of course, was not akin to the caste system, with no possibility of change. Instead, population movements, whether temporarily or on a permanent basis, between the countryside and the city were common in Morocco. Such migrations were normally a one-way street, from the countryside to the city, although very exceptionally urbanites might seek temporary refuge in the countryside in desperation. For example, during the Portuguese incursion that culminated in the Battle of Wādī Al-Makhāzin in 1578, some Fasis fled to safety in the countryside, while in 1018/1610 some clerics fled from Fes to the countryside to avoid having to concur to a *fatwā* permitting the cession of Larache to Spain.[222] Likewise, a prominent Fasi shaykh did so in 1022/1613-14 when disorders in his city became a threat.[223] And, during the severe famine of 1150/1737-38, some Fasis sought relief from their hunger not only in other cities but even "in the mountains," that is among the tribes.[224] Such departures from a city were almost always temporary, as

---

[217]. Al-Wallālī, *Mabāḥith al-anwār*, 270.
[218]. *Emerging Nation: A Documentary History of the Foreign Relations of the United States Under the Articles of Confederation, 1780-1789*, eds. Mary A. Giunta and J. Dane Hartgrove (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1996), vol. 3, 311.
[219]. Auguste Mouliéras, *Fez* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1902), 109.
[220]. Janati, "Les images identitaires à Fès."
[221]. Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, vol. 1, 138.
[222]. Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā* (1955), vol. 6, 22, 27.
[223]. Al-Fāsī, *Mirʾāt al-maḥāsin*, p. 167.
[224]. Al-Qādirī, *The Bodleian Nashr Al-Mathani*, 52.

was the case of a scholar from Wazzān who, in the wake of the disorders following Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's death in 1139/1727, had gone to live and work in the Saṭṭa tribal area nearby, apparently seeking security, but was soon disappointed because, "reflecting on what the *ʿabīd* had done to the rural folk, [he] decided to go live [again] in the city rather than in the countryside."[225] A reputed saint, for his part, went from Fes to the countryside to teach children among the Ghumāra tribes, but eventually he too returned home to Fes, where he died in 1203/1788-89.[226]

More permanent mobility from the city to countryside was rare. In one case, although not really moving into rural society per se or intending to do so, someone who had joined the Nāṣiriyya brotherhood in Meknes moved to the brotherhood's main *zāwiya* at Tamgrūt in order to be with his spiritual guide, and died there in 1325/1907-08.[227] It was even rarer for group de-urbanization to occur, as when the inhabitants of the small city of Taygīsās, near Tetuan, seeking safety from repressive measures by the Merinids, were said to have abandoned their city and moved to nearby tribal areas in 800/1397-98.[228]

Instead, migrations to the city, spurred by famines, epidemics, insecurity, or a quest for work, were far more extensive and common.[229] Indeed, on the issue of whether an urban *qāḍī* could prevent rural folk from coming to the city during a famine, even when they would compete with the city's own indigent, the Fasi jurist Muḥammad Al-Mahdī Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī (1266/1850-1342/1923) reiterated the pronouncement of an earlier prominent Tunisian legal scholar, Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438), who had opined that one could not bar access by rural indigents, since all Muslims are equal.[230] If nothing else, it seems there were urbanites who raised such questions with the intention of controlling rural migrations, and whether the legal theory countered that sentiment effectively is open to question. Others rurals arrived as a last resort, as occurred in 1184/1770-71, after Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad had attacked the Garwān tribe, whereupon many of the latter

---

225. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī* (1407/1986), vol. 4, 259. Another Fasi scholar, ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Al-Mashshāṭ, who moved to Tetuan during the famine of 1150/1737-38, then went to the Ghumāra tribes to teach children and be an *imām*, but he too eventually returned to Fes, where he went mad, Al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, vol. 2, 229-30.

226. Al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, vol. 2, 229.

227. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish*, 103.

228. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Al-ʿArbī Al-Fāsī (988/1580-1052/1642), *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-shaykh Abī Al-Maḥāsin* (Fes: lithographeded, 1323/1905), 165.

229. Although this was a phenomenon that had been happening for centuries, for a particularly good analysis of such migrations in the 19th century, see Amal Cavender, *Migrants and Fassi Merchants: Urban Changes in Morocco, 1830-1912*, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, PhD Dissertation, 2017, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1958939814.

230. Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā* (1412/1992), vol. 1, 337-38.

were then reduced to begging in Fes.[231] At times, rurals could move into a city as a group, as when the Rifis populated the coastal cities retaken from the Europeans during Mūlāy Ismāʿīl's reign.[232] Urbanization was not always voluntary, as in the case where Mūlāy Al-Rashīd forced the sons of a prominent sufi saint to move from their mountain home to Fes, no doubt to better control their influence.[233]

The Urbanization Process

Despite the sharp divide between cities and the countryside in Morocco from an urban perspective, there were also transition options, at least on the personal level, as individuals might migrate to a city and eventually change identities and loyalties and become urbanized. Ibn Khaldūn had viewed this type of social mobility as a dynamic process of integration of rurals into the city, whereby the characteristics of their rural origins would fade over time as they became urbanized.[234] In effect, along with physical migration came symbolical change in attire, language, and behavior and, more deeply, the adoption of urban values and identity. After all, members of one of the three Sections of the city of Fes, that of the Lamṭiyyīn, traced their roots back to the tribes originally. In at least one case, one of the quarters (*ḥawma*) in Fes had been named after the village from which its inhabitants had originated.[235] And, an awareness of rural/tribal origins might remain as a historical fact even if it no longer had any material impact, and a compilation by a Fasi scholar of his city's leading families included the mention of their Berber or Arab tribal origin despite being centuries removed.[236]

Of course, there was no fixed period or formal process for integrating rurals into urban society, and factors such as length of residence, class, piety, learning, or utility to the urbanites could be determining factors. Although it was fairly easy to enter a city, it would have been harder for migrants to enter into that city's society, for there can be a difference, as some have noted, between those regarded only as residents (*urbanité*) and those integrated as full members in urban political and social life (*citadinité*).[237] A fascinating article studies the situation that rural newcomers might encounter even today in a city such as Fes, highlighting perspectives that are reflected in the

---

231. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib*, 79 Arabic/144 French.
232. Al-Zayānī, *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā*, 177.
233. According to Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, p. 135.
234. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (732/1332-806/1406), *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn: Al-Muqaddima* (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1413/1992), vol. 1, 144, 179.
235. Al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, vol. 2, 18.
236. ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī (1041/1631-1097/1685), *Dhikr baʿḍ mashāhīr ahl Fās fī al-qadīm* (Fes: lithographeded, n.d.).
237. Isabelle Berry-Chikhaoui, "Les notions de citadinité et d'urbanité dans l'analyse des villes du Monde arabe, Essai de clarification," *Les Cahiers d'EMAM*, no. 18 (2009), pp. 9-20, https://journals.openedition.org/emam/175.

terminology used to express attitudes. Reportedly, with respect to many those they call *'roubi*, that is an outsider from the countryside, many Fasis still think that "A *'roubi* remains a *'roubi* even if he lives in Fes for a hundred years."[238]

The integration process could be gradual, uneven, and long. Recent migrants might retain ties with their rural relatives, as was the case when someone asked ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Ḥā'ik (1150/1737-1237/1821), the *qāḍī* of Tetuan, whether it was permissible to give one's *zakāt* to poor relations in the countryside. The ruling was that one could do so, provided they were at a distance of less than the *masāfat al-qaṣr*, that is the distance of travel sufficient to shorten one's prayers, which some interpret as a two days' camel ride.[239] To that extent, legal rulings might act to slow down the integration of rurals into the urban milieu. Some might still continue to nurture their rural roots for their utility, as was the case of the first-generation Tetuani mystic ʿAbd Al-Salām Raysūn (1215/1801-1299/1882), who maintained ties to his family's village, and was able to seek refuge there during the Spanish occupation of Tetuan in 1860-62.[240]

Recent permanent migrants living in the city, especially among the lower classes, likely retained their rural ways, setting them apart from their urban neighbors. For example, a legal case spoke of a woman living in Fes who carried her baby on her back "as is the practice of rural women" (*ka-mā hiya ʿādat nisā' al-bādiya*), while her family would get up early in the morning, when everyone else was still asleep, in order to milk their cows, "as they do in the countryside, even though they were living in the city now" (*ʿalā ʿādat al-bādiya wa-in sakanū al-ḥāḍira al-ān*).[241] Typically, the families of some members of the Awlād Jāmiʿ tribe who had settled in Fes had become urbanized (*ḥaṣal lahā al-tamaddun*) "over a span of generations" (*jīl baʿd jīl*).[242] Rurals working in Fes temporarily, however, were not likely to integrate and retained their original group cohesion and organization and might be expected by the urbanites to bear collective responsibility, as was the case of the *zarzāy*, or porters of rural origin.[243]

The ability to integrate into urban society rapidly might be influenced by class factors. A chronicler from the 10th/16th century relates that when a

238. Janati, "Les images identitaires à Fès."
239. Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā* (1412/1992), vol. 1, 249.
240. Muḥammad Dā'ūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān* (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1411/1990), vol. 7, 119, (hereafter Dā'ūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*).
241. Muḥammad Al-Tāwudī Bin Sūda (d. 1209/1795), *As'ila wa-ajwiba*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Tuhāmī Gannūn (Fes: lithographeded, Al-ʿArabī Al-Azraq, 1301/1884), 49-50.
242. Al-Kattānī, *Zahr al-ās*, vol. 1, 265.
243. In the early 20th century, a British dispatch noted that "The town porters … are tribesmen from remote districts. They … are responsible for each other's honesty and good behaviour," James MacIver Macleod, British Consul in Fes, to Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, Foreign Office, 29 January 1909, The National Archives, FO.174/268.

rural scholar moved to Fes and asked to marry a woman from an urban family noted for its wealth and learning, the latter turned him down because "he was not suitable for them, [lacking] their *sharīf* status and prominent standing."[244] On the other hand, wealth might facilitate integration into a city. Thus, when a well-to-do Banī Yazghra tribesman whose father had accumulated money from agriculture settled in Fes, his donation that enabled the building of a luxurious washroom for the Qarawiyyīn mosque was gladly accepted and applauded.[245] Personal distinction might also help someone integrate into his immediate urban neighborhood. When Mūlāy Slīmān ordered the Fasis to destroy the Berbers' houses in their city, they apparently also wanted to sack the house of Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Al-Zayānī, who was of Berber origin but who had been born in, had studied in, and had settled in Fes. However, the residents of the quarter where his house was located protected it, suggesting they may have considered him as having integrated into their milieu after many years of residence.[246] Rural individuals in Fes might also be appreciated as useful in the city's internecine fights, as was the case of the two tribal wheat sellers (*ḥannāṭīn*) living in the Andalus section of Fes who were killed fighting on behalf of that part of the city in a confrontation with the Idrisid *shurafā'* in 1168/1754-55.[247]

Although it might be a precarious route, participation in the royal government could act as an accelerator for rurals to play a role in the urban system, even if perhaps still not integrated fully into local society. In one case, Al-Khayyāṭ Al-Zarhūnī who had been born in a village in the Jabal Zarhūn area moved to Fes, studied the Qur'an and became proficient at mathematical calculations and skilled in dealing with those in power (*siyāsat al-mulūk*). He was soon keeping the accounts for one of the city quarters and became close to the city's unpopular royal governor (also a man of recent rural origin, and from the same area as Al-Khayyāṭ), who appointed him to oversee the accounts and collect the taxes in all the quarters of a Section of the city. However, for an unexplained reason (perhaps embezzlement?), Mūlāy Ismāʿīl soon arrested and executed Al-Khayyāṭ, and the latter's son then contended himself with a job as a weaver.[248] Someone like Al-Khayyāṭ, despite his rapid rise, would not have really entered into Fasi society and his son's subsequent modest status would have been more in line with the usual pattern of integration.

---

[244]. Aḥmad Ibn Al-Qāḍī Al-Miknāsī (960/1552-53-1025/1616), *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥall min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās* (Rabat: Dār Al-Manṣūr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Wirāqa, 1973), vol. 1, 323.
[245]. We are told this occurred in the days of the cleric Yiskar b. Mūsā Al-Jawrā'ī (d. 598/1201-02), Al-Miknāsī (960/1552-53-1025/1616), *Jadhwat al-iqtibās,* vol. 1, 70.
[246]. Akansūs, *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram*, vol. 1, 307.
[247]. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 4, 102.
[248]. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 4, 230-31. Al-Qādirī places the arrest in 1125/1713-14 or 1127/1715.

Rurals might also enter the urban power structures independently of government patronage during times of political and societal upheaval, even though they might still not have established deep social roots. For example, Bū Jīda Al-ʿAmmārī, whose grandfather had moved to Fes from a tribe in the Jabal Zarhūn area, had seen his family's fortunes rise gradually. His grandfather had kept cows and sold milk, while his father then sold buttermilk and bought the family's first house. Bū Jīda had followed in that trade, but had also played a role in the *rumāt*, the city's militia, which apparently enabled him to establish his power over one of the city's quarters. When a famine struck in 1150/1737-38, he was thus in a position to control by force grain purchases from the countryside, likely facilitated by the flight of many of the city's elite in search of food that resulted in at least a temporary leadership vacuum.[249] When Al-ʿAmmārī and an Idrisid *sharīf* fell into a heated argument over who had the right to buy the incoming grain, Al-ʿAmmārī simply took a pistol and shot the *sharīf* dead. Thereupon the Idrisid *shurafā'*, a well-established component of the city's power structure and society, mobilized and clashed with Al-ʿAmmārī's followers and took their revenge by killing him, putting an end to the upstart Al-ʿAmmārī family, who seems not to have had time to be integrated in Fasi society and to establish broad alliances.[250]

On the other hand, retaining tribal ties could help selected powerful individuals to at least to play a role in a city, if not integrate in the city's society. Thus, a tribal notable, Qaddūr b. Amīr Al-Jāmiʿī, that is from the tribe just outside the city walls of Fes, was sufficiently influential to be included in the deliberations by the leaders of Fes on whether to depose Mūlāy Slīmān in 1235/1820. However, despite his power, and although he lived in Fes, we are told that he was not really one of the "Ahl Fās," that is the real urban Fasis, and his influence was likely as a representative of his tribe rather than as a citizen of Fes.[251]

Religion as a Facilitator of Integration

Shared religious beliefs, ceremonies, and institutions could soften the rural-urban divide and could also help bridge the transition from rural to urban for individuals. For example, tribesmen would come on pilgrimage to the shrine of Mūlāy Idrīs in Fes.[252] For their part, urbanites would visit saints' shrines in the countryside, as in the case of people from Rabat-Salé who would go to the rural mausoleum of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn, the 5th/11th c.

[249]. Norman Cigar, "Urban Banditry in Pre-Protectorate Morocco: The Case of Muḥammad al-Ghālī in Fes," *The Maghreb Review*, vol. 49, no. 4 (2024): 372-74.
[250]. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*), vol. 4, 224.
[251]. Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā*, vol. 8, 149.
[252]. Niddam, *Un correspondant de révolution*, 96.

theologian and the founder of the Almoravid movement.[253] Likewise, the mystic scholar ʿAbd Al-Salām Raysūn and his followers paid their respects to a rural saint's tomb on their way from Tetuan to Fes.[254] And, it was said that the supernatural graces of a holy man in the rural Nāṣiriyya *zāwiya* were evidenced by both urban and rural dwellers (*ẓaharat barakātuhu li-l-ḥāḍir wa-l-bādī*).[255] The urban *zāwiya*-s often attracted rural, as well as urban, followers, as was the case with the Al-Fāsī family *zāwiya*.[256] And, pilgrims seeking to obtain blessings from the head of the Wazzānī *zāwiya*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yamlaḥī (d. 1120/1708), were said to have come from both city and countryside (*min al-bādiya wa-l-ḥāḍira*).[257] Likewise, when a holy man from a rural *zāwiya* died in 1189/1776, both urban and rural folk attended his funeral.[258] A quasi-religious conduit may also have been used to ennoble exceptional rurals by attributing a *sharīf* origin to them. Thus, a biographer posited that a prominent scholar of tribal origin who asserted a questionable *sharīf* family name for himself perhaps could well have had *sharīf* ancestors who "joined [the tribe], becoming members and assuming its kinship, as occurs in many tribes."[259]

For rural men of religion, cities offered not only the company of peers, but also religious and secular attractions and amenities not found elsewhere, and opportunities for career advancement.

Rural saints who settled in cities might be held in esteem by all. For example, Al-Ḥasan Bin Mubārak (d. 1175/1761-62), a pious Berber-speaking former cupper (*ḥajjām*) from the Sous, settled in Meknes, where he was consulted and revered by both urbanites and country folk (*min al-ḥawāḍir wal-bawādī*).[260] Some rural-based *zāwiya*-s might even open branches in a city although, as one scholar has pointed out, it was harder for those *zāwiya*-s of rural origin to establish themselves in cities than for those of urban origin to expand into the countryside.[261] One holy man from the countryside who

---

253. Al-Ḍuʿayyif, *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif*, vol. 2, 708, 727.
254. Dā'ūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*), vol. 7, 131; also see Roger Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat: Etude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident Musulman* (Casablanca: Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, 1949), 604; and Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, *Fès et sainteté, de la fondation à l'avènement du Protectorat (808-1912)* (Rabat: Centre Jacques-Berque, 2014), https://books.openedition.org/cjb/538.
255. Maḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Khalīfatī (d. after 1203/1788-89) *Al-Durra al-jalīla fī manāqib al-khalīfa*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAmālik (Rabat: Dār Abī Ragrāg li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1435/2014), vol. 2, 512.
256. Al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*, 40, 76, 81.
257. Al-Qādirī (1124/1712-1187/1773), *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 3, 192
258. Sulaymān Al-Ḥawwāt (1160/1747-1231/1816), *Al-Rawḍa al maqṣūda wa-l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī ma'āthir Banī Sūda*, ed. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Tīlānī (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najaḥ Al-Jadīda, 1415/1994), vol. 2, 534.
259. Al-Fāsī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish*, 55.
260. Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, vol. 3, 10-11.
261. Najib Mouhtadi, *Pouvoir et religion au Maroc: Essai d'histoire politique de la zaouia* (Casablanca: EDDIF, 1999), 71.

settled in Fes in the 12th/18th century opened a *zāwiya*, as we are told that "He chose to live in the city rather in the countryside because he was an ambitious individual (*rajul ghayyūr*)," thereby no doubt further reinforcing the urbanites' existing paradigm of superiority.[262] And, a saint from a rural-based *zāwiya* in the Tadla area, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Drāwī, must also have done so, since we learn that Mūlāy Ismāʿīl confiscated his house in Fes after his death in 1091/1680.[263]

Nevertheless, despite the effectiveness of religion as a unifier, even here urban-rural loyalties and prejudices could still play a negative role. When Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāq Al-Waryāghlī (d. 683/1284-85), a noted scholar who had moved to Fes from the Rif, became embroiled in a dispute over an academic issue, all the Berber scholars or students (*ṭalaba*) then in the city sided with their fellow-Berber Al-Waryāghlī, leading to accusations by his urban rivals that those rurals were plotting to betray the Sultan.[264] A rural student from the Angad region (despite his Fasi name) who came to study in Fes in the 10th/16th century gravitated to a professor who he says was also of tribal rural origin, as if that was to be expected.[265] And, despite his undisputed academic standing, Al-Yūsī still faced hostility from his urban scholarly counterparts when he was forced to move to Fes, perhaps due to his original ties to the Dilā'ī *zāwiya*.[266] Indeed, when Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Al-Tijānī (1150/1735-1230/1815), the founder of a sufi order, came from Touat in the Sahara and sought to establish a *zāwiya* in Fes in the early 19th century, he met with hostility and derision from the city's population, managing to overcome that opposition only thanks to the Sultan's support.[267] As it was, when Al-Tijānī designated a fellow-Sahraoui to lead the prayer in his *zāwiya*, most of the Fasi attendees reportedly muttered "How dare this individual, who is a rural, lead the prayer for us?" (*kayf yataqaddam li-l-ṣalāt binā hādhā al-rajul wa-huwa badawī?*).[268]

Mixed Feelings and the Generation Gap of Integration

Despite the possibility of integrating into urban society, rurals often still displayed a mix of attitudes about urbanites even after moving to a city and might still retain a rural consciousness and a critical view of the urban

---

262. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 4, 261.
263. Al-Qādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, vol. 2, 292.
264. ʿAbd Al-Ḥaqq b. Ismāʿīl Al-Bādisī (650/1252-722/1322), *Al-Maqṣad al-sharīf wa-l-manzaʿ al-laṭīf fī al-taʿrīf bi-ṣulaḥā' Al-Rīf*, ed. Saʿīd Aḥmad Aʿrāb (Rabat: Al-Maktaba Al-Malakiyya, 1402/1982), 111.
265. Al-Fāsī, *Riḥlat Ibn ʿĀbid Al-Fāsī*, 36.
266. Aḥmad b. Khālid Al-Nāṣirī (1250/1834-1315/1897), *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fī al-nasab al-jaʿfarī* (Fes: lithographed, 1323/1905; reproduced in facsimile, Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Sīrār, 1407/1987), vol. 1, 260.
267 Aḥmad Skīraj (1295/1877-1363/1944), *Kashf al-ḥijāb ʿamman talāqā bi-l-Shaykh Al-Tijānī min al-aṣḥāb* (Beirut: Al-Maktaba Al-Shaʿbiyya, 1422/2002), 536, (hereafter Skīraj, *Kashf al-ḥijāb*).
268. Skīraj, *Kashf al-ḥijāb*, 542.

environment. For example, two scholars of rural origin who had moved to the city warned that cities had high taxes and were too hectic, and not appropriate for holy men, and one urbanized disciple of a holy man found himself torn between city and countryside, as his children were born in the city – and apparently thoroughly urbanized – and he was reluctant to take them to the countryside, and only did so eventually when an epidemic struck the city.[269] Some of those who migrated to the cities from the countryside at times might reminisce fondly about their original homes even when they remained in the city. For example, a 10th/16th c. woman saint originally from the Banī Hilāl tribe in the Dukkāla region who had settled in Fes desired to have a tent made of sapphires in heaven "because of her great fondness for the countryside."[270] For his part, a saint originally from an Arab tribe moved to Fes, then back to countryside, although even he eventually returned to Fes, where he died in 984/1576.[271]

However, once acculturated to the city, even men of religion often found it difficult to return to the countryside. A jurist originally from the Ragrāga tribal region whom Mūlāy Al-Ḥasan (r. 1290/1873-1311/1894) had appointed *qāḍī* in Marrakesh returned to his native tribal area temporarily to help quell disturbances there, but once he came back to Essaouira he resisted the royal order transferring him permanently back to the countryside. Asking a colleague to intercede, he found all sorts of excuses, such as the obligation to care for his ailing uncle, or the need to manage the rural *aḥbās* from the city, as well as assuming that it was common knowledge that "you know very well what it is like for an urbanite (*al-ḥaḍarī*) when he goes to live in the countryside, and especially during these difficult times when no one is secure."[272] However, the reply, noting that one had to comply with a royal order, also tried to convince the reluctant appointee that the intended tribal area was not all that bad, and in fact that it was "almost as if you were in the city" as a selling point.[273] Similarly, ʿĪsā Al-Sagtānī (d. 1062/1651-52), the *qāḍī* in the city of Tarudant, writing to a rural rebel, noted that he saw that his own family, who had taken refuge in his rural area of origin, was "feeling forlorn in the countryside" and explained that they "had become accustomed

269. As related by a rural scholar who worked in Tetuan and Fes, Ibn ʿAjība, *Al-Fahrasa*, 56.
270. According to Al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 167. Nowadays, too, recent migrants in Beni Mellal reminisced about the calm, quiet rural environment they had left behind, Harrami, "Les formes sociales," 251-52.
271. Al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, vol. 3, 44.
272. Letter from Būjumʿa Al-Tilāwī to ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Al-Qarmūdī Al-Ragrāgī, 22 Jumādā I 1299/11 April 1882, in ʿAbd Allāh Al-Ragrāgī Al-Saʿīdī (1312/1895-1383/1964), *Al-Sayf al-maslūl fī-man ankar ʿalā al-ragrāgiyyīn ṣuḥbat al-rasūl*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Ragrāgī Al-Saʿīdī (Essaouira: Maʿhad Al-Shaʿbī Al-Islāmī, 1407/1987), 294-95.
273. Al-Ragrāgī Al-Saʿīdī (1312/1895-1383/1964), *Al-Sayf al-maslūl*, 295.

to the society of city-folk, and had been become imbued with their ways, and preferred that."[274]

Sometimes, rurals displayed a defensive inferiority complex or accommodation after moving to a city. For example, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Al-Tijānī, who had settled in Fes, was convinced that his sons should not marry urban wives because, as he put it, it was proper that his sons should go back to live in the Sahara, while "for an [urban] girl only a city is suitable."[275] However, apparently so attractive had city life become for his sons that when he died in 1230/1815, contrary to his wishes, they "did not want to leave the city of Fes" and go back to the Sahara, and only did so when ordered by the Sultan.[276] Rural folk had their own preconceptions of urbanites, but these might also be modified in a positive sense after moving to a city. Thus, a rural student on his way to Fes in the 1930s had been warned by folks back home that he would find the Fasis slippery like wet fish, and that it would be difficult to know when they were being truthful or feigning, and that they were egotistical. However, he found that the Fasis were flexible and not rigid in their thinking. As he concluded, "That is what age-old urbanism is all about."[277]

Conclusions

Based on the preceding analysis, one can confirm that the urban relationship to the countryside in Morocco during the pre-Protectorate period conformed to the concept of Othering. Although, as one might expect in a country as diverse as Morocco, there could be variations depending on the specific local situation, overall the urban view of the countryside was one of an inherently different and inferior society on multiple levels. This relationship, of course, did not preclude political alliances of convenience, or intensive trans-sectoral economic activity, with food, animals, and raw materials from the countryside coming to the city, while cities provided manufactured goods and specialized services, such as clerical, educational, or repair work to the rural sector. And, friendships may well have developed on an individual level between urbanites and rurals, especially at elite levels, although these are very difficult to track and document.

Nevertheless, urban perceptions did shape tangible relationships, often to the detriment of rurals. Although not a measurable factor, one should not underestimate the subtle psychological effect of Othering on the individual, as the awareness of condescension could generate a sense of humiliation or a degree of resigned acceptance by some of the image and

---

274. Letter reproduced in Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-istiqṣā* (1955), vol. 6, 61.
275. Skīraj, *Kashf al-ḥijāb*, 18.
276. Skīraj, *Kashf al-ḥijāb*, 407-08.
277. Al-Warṭāsī, *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa*, 139-40.

values imposed by urbanites. And, on the human level, Othering could have very real tangible effects, predisposing urbanites to rely on what some have called "mental shortcuts" in determining how they dealt with rurals from a position of superiority – whether immigrants, workers, customers, or potential spouses.[278] Modern studies of Othering often have had the purpose of understanding the phenomenon in order to find ways to support inclusiveness more effectively. In pre-modern Morocco, even though one can recognize the presence of Othering, people simply lived the experience. There was no consciousness of or interest in changing the terms of the relationship as it existed, certainly not in the sense of erasing boundaries or attaining a more equitable balance between the urban and rural sectors.

At the same time, as seen above, scholarly characterizations of Othering attribute an inherent link between the latter and an imbalance and misuse of power. However, this study suggests that the assumption of an automatic association between Othering and power is more complicated and that a more nuanced framework may better reflect reality. Rather than treating the concept of power as an undifferentiated whole, it is preferable to disaggregate it into its various dimensions in order to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the relationship between Othering and power. At the very least, additional analysis is required to determine how Othering affects groups and individuals at various levels and in specific environments and situations. As it was manifested in Morocco, Othering did not inextricably equate to visible or latent physical power to the benefit of the urban Othering party, as the rural sector was ordinarily more powerful than the cities and was not subjugated by the latter despite the urban's self-image of superiority. Conversely, the effect of Othering on what Steve Lukes called the third dimension of power is often neglected and, as was the case in Morocco, that can be where that assumed Othering-power relationship can, indeed, be operative.

What is striking is the continuity of the urban perceptions of the countryside in Morocco, spanning centuries. Othering is part of a learning process, becoming internalized and serving as paradigms that are used to evaluate others and to shape one's conduct. An entire genome of attitudes was transmitted, and reinforced, across generations – whether explicitly or implicitly – orally, in written form, and by observed practice. While it is not possible to trace their origins, it is clear that such urban views were deeply entrenched as normal in the local culture. As some have noted, "Once established, group-based identities may seem so fundamental that we

278. "These [mental] shortcuts are used to evaluate groups, events, and anything encountered in the world, but they also underpin and inform judgments about groups and people that are members of those groups. Perception of individuals as members of a group is then filtered through these shared social meanings." Powell and Menendian, "The Problem of Othering," 27.

ordinarily perceive them as 'natural.'"[279] Influencers, such as religious personnel could play a role in shaping urbanites' perceptions about the countryside, whether through writings, legal decisions, or sermons. Contributing to the continuity of urban views, in their ajudications, jurists often relied on earlier precedents, which they repeated, indicating their continued validity. For example, in disapproving of the fact that in his view rural women were too afraid to claim their rightful inheritance, a Fasi jurist cited another legal source from centuries earlier who had dealt with the same issue.[280] Direct interaction with the "Other" likely reinforced the image of one's own community and of the membership of one's self in such a community and solidified the paradigm rather than weakening it. Urbanites with direct contact with the countryside, whether merchants, travelers, or even members of the Fasi urban militia (*rumāt*) on their campaigns not only approached the countryside according to received assumptions but also further reinforced such assumptions by their activity there. In fact, it was in such functional interactions that cultural markers and dividing lines would come to the fore and be most prominent. There was also an element of utility, as the paradigm of the urban superiority over the countryside was self-flattering for urbanites and could provide urbanites with a rationalization and justification for how they wanted to behave toward rurals.

What is more, the Sultans often contributed to the continuation of urban views of the rurals by encouraging and exploiting urban-rural tensions, whether by design or intuitively, to facilitate royal control over the cities. For example, the Sultans often used the rural element in the form of the tribes by cantoning them adjacent to cities, establishing a standing threat to ensure the urbanites' obedience to the palace, but thereby also ensuring a frequent source of urban-rural friction. Placing rurals in direct control over urbanites may have been especially irritating for the latter. When an unspecified Sultan appointed as governor of Fes a slave who originated from the countryside (*ʿabd min ʿibād al-bādiya*) he may have assumed not only that he would thus control the governor but also that the latter's rural background as well as his slave status would send the city a message that it was completely subservient to royal power. However, as things turned out, the governor soon went to extremes in violating the city's norms, attacking urban notables and violating the sanctuary of the Al-Fāsī family *zāwiya*, prompting an alarmed Sultan to order his arrest, whereupon someone felt free to shoot the governor as he sought to flee.[281] Likewise, when the Sultan decided to garrison the two forts

---

279. Powell and Menendian, "The Problem of Othering," 24.

280. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Al-Ḥaqq Al-Zarwīlī (d. 719/1319) cited in Al-Wazzānī, *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā* (1413/1993), vol. 3, 521.

281. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Fāsī (1040/1630-1096/1685), *Tuḥfat al-akābir bi-manāqib al-shaykh sīdī ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī* (1007/1599-1091/1680), Ms. K2330, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), Rabat, unnumbered pages.

overlooking Fes with 500 men in 1902, he used "mostly mountaineers living in Fez," perhaps seeing such rurals as somewhat resentful of the urban population and, therefore, reliable in controlling the city.[282] Urbanites could also rely on using rurals against their own fellow-urbanites, as in the case when Fasi merchants hired the rural porters working in Fes as security guards during the urban unrest in 1907-08.[283]

Many of the earlier urban attitudes toward rurals have continued, as revealed in an opinion survey in Beni Mellal.[284] And, enduring urban views about rurals can also translate into policy concerns even today, with a typical media report reflecting a readiness to blame rural migrants for crime, unemployment, and poverty in Fes.[285] To be sure, change with respect to deeply-embedded paradigms is always difficult. Robert Jervis in his seminal work on decisionmaking frameworks, drawing from psychology, notes that "once a person has conceived of a problem in a given way, it is very hard to break out of his pattern of thought. New information, rather than calling the established subgoal into question, will be interpreted within the old framework."[286] As Jervis suggests, changing perceptions incrementally can be the most effective approach and transformations in the surrounding environment can be particularly helpful in promoting such revisions in paradigms.[287] Moroccan society now, as before, is a dynamic one, and the issue of urban-rural relations remains relevant, with integration into urban society requiring goodwill on all sides.[288] Ultimately, an understanding of the past and open discussions, buttressed by a changing environment thanks to economic development, increased political participation, broadened education, and the on-going communications revolution can provide the path for such change.

---

[282]. British Minister at Tangiers Arthur Nicolson dispatch, 28 December 1902, The National Archives, FO. 174/262, Fez 94.

[283]. Charles René-Leclerc, "Renseignements Coloniaux," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française*, (9 January 1908): 30.

[284]. Harrami, "Les formes sociales," 249-50, 263-66, 285.

[285] "Al-Hijra al-qarawiyya tughriq Fās fī al-biṭāla wa-l-jarīma wa-l-faqr," Al-Ḥaqīqa24 (Fes), 14 March 2019, https://alhakika24.com/?p=1525.

[286]. Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 412.

[287]. Jervis, *Perception and Misperception,* 288-315.

[288]. For a thoughtful discussion on integration into modern Moroccan urban society, see Mohamed Naciri, "Regards sur l'évolution de la citadinité au Maroc," in *L'évolution des rapports villes-campagnes au Maghreb, Université Mohammed V, Colloques et séminaires no. 10* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1988), 61-80.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Al-ʿAbbāsī, Aḥmad b. Maḥammad. *Baʿḍ ajwibat al-faqīh Sīdī Aḥmad b. Maḥammad Al-ʿAbbāsī*, author's own manuscript.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Kabīr b. Al-Majdhūb. *Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn fī wāfiyyāt al-aʿyān wa-ḥawādith al-sinīn*, Ms. K270, General Library, Rabat.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. *Tuḥfat al-akābir bi-manāqib al-shaykh sīdī ʿAbd Al-Qādir Al-Fāsī*, Ms. K2330, General Library, Rabat.

Al-Fāsī, Abū ʿUmrān. *Masā'il Al-Mudawwana*, Ms. D1839, Rabat General Library.

Al-Jaʿīdī, Idrīs. *Kitāb Al-Ibtisām ʿan dawlat Mūlāy ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Hishām*, Ms. K1204, General Library, Rabat.

Al-Jaʿīdī, Abū Al-ʿAlā' Idrīs. *Al-Ibtisām ʿan dawlat Mūlānā ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Hishām aw dīwān al-ʿibar fī akhbār al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar*, Ms. Manus 593, Mu'assasat Al-Malik ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, Casablanca.

Macleod, James MacIver, to Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, Foreign Office, 6 August 1912, The National Archives (London), FO-174-272.

Al-Mashrafī, Al-ʿArabī b. ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *Nuzhat al-abṣār li-dhawī al-maʿrifa wa-l-istibṣār*, Ms. K579, General Library, Rabat.

Nicolson, Arthur dispatch, 28 December 1902, The National Archives, FO-174-262, Fez 94.

Al-Samlālī, Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. Saʿīd Al-ʿAbbāsī. *Ajwiba*, author's own manuscript.

Al-Samlālī Al-Sūsī, ʿAlī b. Maḥammad. *Maṭāliʿ al-ḥusn wa-ittibāʿ al-sanan bi-ṭulūʿ rāyat Mūlānā Al-Ḥasan*, Ms. 81, Royal Palace Library, Rabat.

Al-Sulamī Al-Mirdāsī, Aḥmad Ibn Al-Ḥājj. *Al-Durr al-muntakhab al-mustaḥsan fī baʿḍ ma'āthir amīr al-mu'minīn Mūlānā Al-Ḥasan*., Ms. 1875, Royal Palace Library, Rabat.

Al-Sijilmāsī Al-Ribāṭī, Muḥammad b. Al-Qāsim. *Sharḥ ʿalā naẓm Al-ʿAmal*,
author's own manuscript.

Al-Timmalī, ʿAbd Allāh. *Kitāb al-as'ila wa-l-ajwiba min al-fuqahā' al-muta'akhkhirīn*, author's own manuscript.

Al-Yūsī, Al-Ḥasan, *Ta'līf fī-l-ʿAkākiza*, Ms. K1224, General Library, Rabat.

Al-Zayānī, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad, *Al-Tāj wa-l-iklīl fī ma'āthir al-sulṭān Mūlānā Slīmān*, Ms. K241, General Library, Rabat.

Al-Zayānī, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad. *Tuḥfat al-nubahā' fī al-tafriqa bayn al-fuqahā' wa-l-sufahā'*, Ms. K241, General Library, Rabat.

Published Primary Sources

Akansūs, Muḥammad. *Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram fī dawlat awlād Mūlānā ʿAlī Al-Sijilmāsī*, ed. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Al-Kansūsī. Marrakesh: Al-Waṭaniyya, n.d.

Al-ʿAlamī, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī Al-Ḥasanī. *Al-Nawāzil*. Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1403/1983.

Anon., *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne*, ed. Georges Colin. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Jadīda, 1934.

El Attar, Bouchta. *Les proverbes marocains*, 2nd ed. Casablanca: Najah El Jadida, 1999.

Aubin, Eugène. *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1904.

Al-ʿAyyāshī, Abū Sālim, *Al-Riḥla al-ʿayyāshiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥijjī. Rabat: reprint of lithographed version, Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, 1397/1977.

Babin, Gustave. "Burgs et donjons au Maroc." *L'Illustration* (Paris), 9 March 1907: 163.

Al-Bādisī, ʿAbd Al-Ḥaqq b. Ismāʿīl. *Al-Maqṣad al-sharīf wa-l-manzaʿ al-laṭīf fī al-taʿrīf bi-ṣulaḥā' Al-Rīf*, ed. Saʿīd Aḥmad Aʿrāb. Rabat: Al-Maktaba Al-Malakiyya. 1402/1982.

Al-Baʿqīlī Al-Sūsī, Muḥammad. *Manāqib Al-Baʿqīlī*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Mukhtār Al-Sūsī. Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Sāḥil, 1408/1987.

Barzini, Luigi. *Sotto la Tenda; Impressioni d'un Giornalista al Marocco*. Milan: L.F. Cogliati, 1907.

Bin Sūda, Muḥammad Al-Tāwudī. *As'ila wa-ajwiba*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Tuhāmī Gannūn. Fes: lithographed, Al-ʿArabī Al-Azraq, 1301/1884.

Al-Dārʿī, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir. *Al-Ajwiba al-nāṣiriya fī baʿḍ masā'il al-bādiya*, eds. Abū Al-Faḍl Al-Dumyāṭī and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1433/2012.

Dā'ūd, Muḥammad. *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1411/1990.

Drummond Hay, John. *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay: Sometime Minister at the Court of Morocco*. London: John Murray, 1896.

Al-Ḍuʿayyif, Muḥammad. *Tārīkh Al-Ḍuʿayyif Al-Ribāṭī*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Būzīdī Al-Shaykhī. Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1408/1988.

Al-Dukkālī, Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm. *The Historical Chronicle of Abū 'Abdallāh Maḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī; Fes in the Mid-18th Century (1149/1736-1179/1766)*, ed. Norman Cigar. Leiden: Brill, 2023.

Al-Dukkālī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. *Al-Itḥāf al-wajīz*, ed. Muṣṭafā Bū Shaʿrā', 2nd ed. Salé: Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1996.

Erckmann, Jules. *Le Maroc moderne*. Paris: Challamel Ainé, 1885.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Ḥafīẓ. *Al-Riyāḍ al-mudhish*. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Waṭaniyya, 1351/1932.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā*. Fes: lithographed, 1319/1901.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *Dhikr baʿḍ mashāhīr ahl Fās fī al-qadīm*. Fes: lithographeded, n.d.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *Al-Ajwiba al-ṣughrā*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Al-Mazīdī. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010.

Al-Fāsī, Abū Zayd ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *Naẓm Al-ʿAmal Al-Fāsī*, ed. Jamāl b. Masʿūd Jārūsh. Algiers: Al-Khizāna Al-Jazā'iriyya li-l-Turāth, 1440/2018.

Al-Fāsī, Muḥammad Al-Mahdī. *Mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ fī Al-Jazūlī wa-l-Tabbāʿ wa-mā lahumā min al-atbāʿ*, eds. ʿAbd Al-Ḥayy Al-ʿAmrawī and ʿAbd Al-Karīm Murād. Fes: Maṭbaʿat Muḥammad Al-Khāmis, 1989.

Al-Fāsī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Al-ʿArbī. *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-shaykh Abī Al-Maḥāsin*. Fes: lithographed, 1323/1905.

Al-Fāsī, Yūsuf Ibn ʿĀbid b. Muḥammad. *Riḥlat Ibn ʿĀbid Al-Fāsī min Al-Maghrib ilā Ḥaḍramawt*, eds. Ibrāhīm Al-Sāmarrā'ī and ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Al-Ḥabashī. Beirut: Dār Al-Gharb Al-Islāmī, 1993.

Gannūn, ʿAbd Allāh, ed. *Rasā'il saʿdiyya*. Tetuan: Maʿhad Mūlāy Al-Ḥasan, [1954].

Al-Gīgī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Mawāhib dhī al-jalāl fi nawāzil al-bilād al-sā'iba wa-l-jibāl,* ed. Aḥmad Al-Tawfīq. Beirut: Dār Al-Gharb Al-Islāmī, 1997.

Giunta, Mary A. and J. Dane Hartgrove, eds. *Emerging Nation: A Documentary History of the Foreign Relations of the United States Under the Articles of Confederation, 1780-1789*, Vol. 3. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1996.

Ḥammū b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Al-Shiʿr al-amāzīghī al-mansūb ilā Sīdī Ḥammū Al-Ṭālib*, ed. ʿUmar Amarīr. Casablanca: Maktabat Burūgānis, 1407/1987.

Al-Habṭī Al-Mawāhibī, Muḥammad, ed. *Fatāwā tataḥaddā al-ihmāl fī Shafshāwun wa-mā ḥawlahā min al-jibāl*. Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1419/1998

Harris, Walter. *Tafilet*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1895.

Al-Ḥawwāt, Sulaymān. *Al-Rawḍa al maqṣūda wa-l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī ma'āthir Banī Sūda*, ed. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Tīlānī. Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najaḥ Al-Jadīda, 1415/1994.

Ibn Abī Zarʿ Al-Fāsī, ʿAlī. *Al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk Al-Maghrib wa-tārīkh madīnat Fās*. Rabat: Dār Al-Manṣūr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Wirāqa, 1973.

Ibn ʿAjība, Aḥmad. *Al-Fahrasa*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān. Cairo: Dār Al-Ghad Al-ʿArabī, 1410/1990.

Ibn ʿArḍūn, Aḥmad. *Al-Kitāb al-lā'iq li-muʿallim al-wathā'iq*. Tetuan: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Mahdiyya, 1936.

Ibn ʿArḍūn, Aḥmad. *Muqniʿ al-muḥtāj fī ādāb al-azwāj*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Salām Al-Zayyānī. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1430/2010.

Ibn Ghāzī Al-ʿUthmānī, Muḥammad. *Al-Rawḍ al-haṭūn fī akhbār Miknāsat Al-Zaytūn*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb Bin Manṣūr. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 2nd ed., 1408/1988.

Ibn Khaldūn, ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn: Al-Muqaddima*, Vol. 1. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1413/1992.

Ibn Marzūq Al-Tilimsānī, Muḥammad. *Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma'āthir wa-maḥāsin Abī Al-Ḥasan*, ed. María J. Viguera. Algiers: Al-Sharika Al-Waṭaniyya Al-Jazā'iriyya, 1401/1981.

Ibn Zaydān, ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 2nd ed. Casablanca: Idéal, 1410/1990.

Al-Mu'aqqit, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Al-Riḥla al-murrākishiyya*. [Marrakesh?]: Dār Al-Rashād Al-Ḥadītha, 1351/1932.

de Murga y Mugartegui, José María. *Recuerdos Marroquíes del moro vizcaíno*. Bilbao: Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa, 1994.

Al-Ifrānī, Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr. *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī*, ed. O. Houdas. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888, reprinted, Rabat: Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, n.d.

Al-Ifrānī, Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr. *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi-mafākhir Mūlānā Ismāʿīl b. Al-Sharīf*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Wahhāb Binmanṣūr. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1415/1995.

Al-Ifrānī, Muḥammad Al-Ṣaghīr. *Ṣafwat man intashar min akhbār ṣulaḥā' al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar. Fes: lithographed, 1316/1898-99.*

Al-Kattānī, ʿAbd Al-Kabīr b. Hāshim. *Zahr al-ās fī buyūtāt ahl Fās*, ed. ʿAlī b. Al-Muntaṣir Al-Kattānī. Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najāḥ Al-Jadīda, 1422/2002.

Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar. *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās*. Fes: lithographed, 1316/1898-1899.

Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad Al-Bāqir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Al-Kabīr. *Tarjamat al-shaykh Muḥammad Al-Kattānī al-shahīd, ed.* Nūr Al-Hudā ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Al-Kattānī. Casablanca: Markaz Al-Turāth Al-Thaqāfī Al-Maghribī, 1426/2005.

Al-Khalīfatī, Maḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. *Al-Durra al-jalīla fī manāqib al-khalīfa*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAmālik. Rabat: Dār Abī Ragrāg li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Nashr, 1435/2014.

Lemprière, William. *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, and Tarudant; And Thence over Mount Atlas to Morocco*. London: The Author, 1791.

Leo Africanus, Johannes (Al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Al-Wazzān). *La descrizione dell'Africa di Giovan Lioni Africano*, in ed. Marica Milanesi, *Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Navigazioni e viaggi*. Vol. 1, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978, 3-460.

Macleod, James MacIver, to Foreign Secretary Edward Grey, Foreign Office, 29 January 1909. The National Archives, FO-174-268.

Al-Majjāṣī, Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan. *Al-Nawāzil*. Fes: lithographed, n.d.

Mayyāra, Maḥammad. *Sharḥ Mayyāra al-fāsī ʿalā tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nukat al-ʿuqūd wa-l-aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1420/2000.

Michaux-Bellaire, Ed., "Description de la ville de Fès." *Archives marocaines* (Paris), Vol. 11 (1907): 252-380.

Al-Miknāsī , Aḥmad Ibn Al-Qāḍī. *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥall min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*. Rabat: Dār Al-Manṣūr li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Wirāqa, 1973.

Al-Nāṣirī, Abū Al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Khālid. *Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal Al-Maghrib Al-Aqṣā*, eds. Jaʿfar Al-Nāṣirī and Muḥammad Al-Nāṣirī. Casablanca: Dār Al-Kitāb, 1956.

Al-Nāṣirī, Aḥmad b. Khālid. *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fī al-nasab al-jaʿfarī*. Fes: lithographed, 1323/1905; reproduced in facsimile, Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Sīrār, 1407/1987.

Nehlil, M., ed. *Lettres chérifiennes, Textes*. Paris: E. Guilmoto, [1917].

Newman, Bernard. *Morocco Today* London: Robert Hale, 1954.

Niddam, Jacob. *Un correspondant de révolution. Journal d'un Israélite de Fès [Jacob Niddam], 1908-1909-1910*, eds. Maitrot de la Motte Capron and Dr Trenga. Algiers: Imprimérie Baconnier frères, 1937.

Al-Qādirī, ʿAbd Al-Salām. *Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī al-taʿrīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad*. Fes: lithographed, 1351/1932.

Al-Qādirī, Muḥammad Al-Ṭayyib. *The Bodleian Version of Muhammad Al-Qadiri's Nashr Al-Mathani*, ed. Norman Cigar. Rabat: Academic Institute for Scientific Research, 1978.

Al-Qādirī, Muḥammad b. Al-Ṭayyib. *Iltiqāṭ al-durar*, ed. Hāshim Al-ʿAlawī Al-Qāsimī. Beirut: Dār Al-Āfāq Al-Jadīda, 1403/1983.

Al-Qādirī, Muḥammad b. Al-Ṭayyib. *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa-l-thānī*, eds. Aḥmad Ḥajjī and Aḥmad Tawfīq. Rabat: Maktabat Al-Ṭālib, 1407/1986.

Al-Ragrāgī Al-Saʿīdī, ʿAbd Allāh. *Al-Sayf al-maslūl fī-man ankar ʿalā al-ragrāgiyyīn ṣuḥbat al-rasūl*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Ragrāgī Al-Saʿīdī. Essaouira: Maʿhad Al-Shaʿbī Al-Islāmī, 1407/1987.

René-Leclerc, Ch., *Le commerce et l'industrie à Fez*. Paris: Comité du Maroc, 1905.

René-Leclerc, Ch., "La révolte hafidiste dans le Nord." *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française* (Paris), No. 2 (February 1908): 68.

Al-Rīfī, ʿAbd Al-Karīm. *Zahr Al-Akam*, ed. Āsiya Binʿaddāda. Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1992.

Selous, G.H., *Appointment to Fez*. London: Richards Press, 1956.

Al-Sijilmāsī, Aḥmad b. Al-Mubārak. *Al-Ibrīz min kalām Sīdī ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz Al-Dabbāgh*. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1418/1998.

Al-Sijilmāsī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl. *Hādhihi ajwibat al-imām Ibn Hilāl*, ed. Al-Mahdī Al-Wāzzānī. Fes: lithographed, Al-ʿArabī Al-Azraq, 1310/1893.

Skīraj, Aḥmad. *Kashf al-ḥijāb ʿamman talāqā bi-l-Shaykh Al-Tijānī min al-aṣḥāb*. Beirut: Al-Maktaba Al-Shaʿbiyya, 1422/2002.

Al-Tādilī, Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā. *Al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf wa-akhbār Abī Al-ʿAbbās Al-Sabtī*, ed. Aḥmad Tawfīq. Rabat: Kulliyyat Al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm Al-Insāniyya, 1404/1984.

Al-Tamanārtī, Abū Zayd ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. *Al-Fawā'id al-jamma fī isnād ʿulūm al-umma*, ed. Al-Yazīd Al-Rāḍī, 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyya, 1428/2007.

Al-Tasūlī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Al-Salām. *Al-Bahja fī sharḥ al-tuḥfa*. Beirut: Dār Al-Fikr, 1412/1991.

Tharaud, Jérôme and Jean. *Fez ou les Bourgeois de l'Islam*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1930.

Al-ʿUmarī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh. *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Ḥamza Aḥmad ʿAbbās. Abu Dhabi: Al-Majmaʿ Al-Thaqāfī, 1423/2002.

Al-Wallālī, Aḥmad. *Mabāḥith al-anwār fī akhbār baʿḍ al-akhyār*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Būʿaṣṣāb. Rabat: Kulliyyat Al-Ādāb wa-l-ʿUlūm Al-Insāniyya, 1999.

Al-Warṭāsī, Qaddūr. *Dhikrayāt al-dirāsa fī Fās*. Casablanca: Dār Al-Ṭibāʿa Al-Ḥadītha, n.d.

Al-Wazzānī Al-Fāsī, Al-Mahdī. *Tuḥfat akyās al-nās bi-sharḥ ʿamaliyyāt Fās*, ed. Hāshim Al-ʿAlawī Al-Qāsimī. Rabat: Wizārat Al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn Al-Islāmiyya, 1422/2001.

Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī, Muḥammad Al-Mahdī. *Al-Miʿyār al-jadīd al-jāmiʿ al-muʿrib ʿan fatāwī al-muta'akhkhirīn min ʿulamā' Al-Maghrib*, ed. ʿUmar Bin ʿAbbād. Rabat: Wizārat Al-Awqāf wa-l-Shu'ūn Al-Islāmiyya, 1418/1997.

Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī, Muḥammad Al-Mahdī. *Al-Nawāzil al-jadīda al-kubrā,* ed. ʿUmar Bin ʿAbbād. Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla*, 1420/1999.*

Al-Wazzānī Al-ʿUmrānī, Muḥammad Al-Mahdī. *Al-Nawāzil al-ṣughrā*. Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla*, 1413/1993*.

Al-Zarhūnī, ʿAbd Allāh Al-Kafīf. *Malʿabat Al-Kafīf Al-Zarhūnī*, ed. Muḥammad Bin Sharīf. Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Malakiyya, 1407/1987.

Al-Zayānī, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad. *Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawlat Mūlāy Al-Sharīf*, ed. Rashīd Al-Zāwiya. Al-Rīmānī: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1992.

Al-Zayānī, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad. *Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib ʿan duwal Al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib; Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, ed. and trans. Octave V. Houdas. Paris: 1886; reprinted Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969.

Al-Zayāni, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad. *Al-Turjumāna al-kubrā fī akhbār al-maʿmūr barran wa-baḥran*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Karīm Al-Fīlālī. Al-Muḥammadiyya: Maṭbaʿat Faḍāla, 1387/1967.

Secondary Sources

ʿAbd Al-Raḥīm, ʿAbd Al-Raḥīm ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān. *Al-Rīf al-miṣrī fī al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar*, 2nd ed. Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1986.

Baratz, Morton S., "Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (December 1962): 947-52.

Benet, Francisco. "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (October 1963): 1-23.

Beitz, Charles R., *Political Theory and International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Berque, Augustin. "Le rural, le sauvage, l'urbain," *Études rurales*, No. 187 (January-June 2011): 51-61.

Berry-Chikhaoui, Isabelle. "Les notions de citadinité et d'urbanité dans l'analyse des villes du Monde arabe, Essai de clarification." *Les Cahiers d'EMAM,* No. 18 (2009), 9-20, https://journals.openedition.org/emam/175.

Betts, Richard K., "Analysis, War, and Decisions: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable." *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (October 1978): 61-89.

Blanchet, Philippe. "Les relations urbain-rural d'un point de vue sociolinguistique et ce que révèle la question des langues minoritaires." In eds. A. Mabrour et al, *La Ville et l'urbain: visions nouvelles et regards croisés*. El Jadida: La Faculté LSH de l'université d'El Jadida, 2020, 317-26.

Brons, Lajos, "Othering, an Analysis." *Transcience*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2015): 69-89.

Cavender, Amal. *Migrants and Fassi Merchants: Urban Changes in Morocco, 1830-1912*, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, PhD Dissertation, 2017, https://www.proquest.com/docview/1958939814.

Cigar, Norman. "Urban Banditry in Pre-Protectorate Morocco: The Case of Muḥammad al-Ghālī in Fes." *The Maghreb Review*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2024): 353-82.

Corbier, Mireille. "City, Territory and Taxation." In eds. John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *City and Country in the Ancient World*. London: Routledge, 1992, 211-40.

Davoudi, Simin and Dominic Stead. "Urban-Rural Relationships: An Introduction and Brief History." *Built Environment*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2002): 269-77.

Dowding, Keith. "Three-Dimensional Power: A Discussion of Steven Lukes' *Power: A Radical View*." *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2006): 136-45.

Fishwick, Marshall W., "The Cowboy: America's Contribution to the World's Mythology." *Western Folklore*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (April 1952): 77-92.

El Ghazali, Abdelaziz. "L'approche du concept de 'l'urbain': le cas du Maroc." In *L'évolution des rapports villes-campagnes au Maghreb, Université Mohammed V, Colloques et*

séminaires no. 10 (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1988), 13-40.

Griswold, A. Whitney. "The Agrarian Democracy of Thomas Jefferson." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (August 1946): 657-81.

Harrami, Noureddine. "Les formes sociales de classification de l'espace au Maroc; La perception du 'rural' et de 'l'urbain' dans un milieu urbain." In *Dynamiques urbaines et développement rural*. Rabat: CERED, 1999, 247-85.

Hijji, Mohammed. *L'Activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque saʿdide*. Muḥammadiyya: Imprimerie Fédala, 1976.

Ḥijjī, Muḥammad. *Al-Zāwiya al-dilā'iyya wa-dawruhā al-dīnī wa-l-ʿilmī wa-l-siyāsī* (Rabat: Al-Maṭbaʿa Al-Waṭaniyya, 1384/1964).

Hofstadter, Richard. "The Myth of the Happy Yeoman." *American Heritage*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (April 1956): 43-53.

Idrissi Janati, M'hammed. "Les images identitaires à Fès: divisions de la société, divisions de la ville." In ed. Christian Topalov, *Les divisions de la ville*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2002, 347-72.

Janeczek, Andrzej. "Town and Country in the Polish Commonwealth, 1350-1650." In ed. S.R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 156-75.

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Körner, Martin. "Town and Country in Switzerland, 1450-1750." In ed. S.R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 229-49.

Lapidus, Marvin. *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Langellotti, Micaela and Dominic Rathbone. "The Rise and Fall of the Village from Roman to Arab Egypt." *The British Academy*, 23 August 2021, https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-village-from-roman-to-arab-egypt.

Lewis, Matt K., "Why Conservatives See Rural America as the 'Real' America." *The Week* (New York), 15 January 2015, https://theweek.com/articles/447585/why-conservatives-rural-america-real-america.

Lowe, Philip, J. Murdoch, and G. Cox. "A Civilised Retreat? Anti-urbanism, Rurality and the Making of an Anglo-Centric Culture." In eds. P. Healey, S. Cameron, S. Davoudi, S. Graham, and A. Madani-Pour, *Managing Cities, The New Urban Context*. London: John Wiley & Sons, 1995, 63-89.

Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Mainet, Hélène. *Ville-campagne, urbain-rural: mots, lieux et liens. Approches croisées France-Afrique subsaharienne*. Toulouse: Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, 2017.

Manos, Ioannis and Georgia Sarikoudi. "'Othering,' Translating Socio-Cultural Anthropology into Education." In eds. Jelena Tošić and Christa Markom, *Einführung in die Bildungsanthropologie: Ein Lehrbuch*. Vienna: New Academic Press, 2022, 275-78.

Marshall, Alex. "The GOP's Deceptive Campaign Against Urban America." *Governing* (Folsom, CA), 4 September 2020, https://www.governing.com/community/the-gops-deceptive-campaign-against-urban-america.html.

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*, 3rd ed. New York: International Publishers, 1998.

Mazzīn, Muḥammad. *Fās wa-bawādīhā: musāhama fī tārīkh Al-Maghrib al-saʿdī, 1549-1637*, 2 vols. Rabat: Maṭbaʿat Al-Maʿārif Al-Jadīda, 1986.

Mezzine, Larbi. *Le Tafilalt: Contribution à l'Histoire du Maroc aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles*. Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1987.

Mote, F. W., *A Millenium of Chinese Urban History: Form, Time, and Space Concepts in Soochow*. Rice Institute Pamphlet, Rice University Studies, vol. 59, no. 4, 1973.

Mouhtadi, Najib. *Pouvoir et religion au Maroc: Essai d'histoire politique de la zaouia*. Casablanca: EDDIF, 1999.

Murphey, Rhoads. "City and Countryside as Ideological Issues: India and China." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1972): 250-67.

Naciri, Mohamed. "Regards sur l'évolution de la citadinité au Maroc." In *L'évolution des rapports villes-campagnes au Maghreb, Université Mohammed V, Colloques et séminaires no. 10*. Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1988), 61-80.

Nagel, Jack H., "Some Questions About the Concept of Power." *Behavioral Science*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (March 1968): 129-37.

Najmī, ʿAbd Allāh. *Al-Taṣawwuf wa-l-bidʿa bi-l-Maghrib: ṭā'ifat Al-ʿAkākiza*. Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat Al-Najāḥ Al-Jadīda, 1421/2000.

Nicholas, David M., "Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth Century Flanders." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (July 1968): 458-85.

Ngueyap, Ferdinand. "Espaces urbains et ruraux, injustice des lieux et régimes démographiques: la construction d'une nouvelle discontinuité spatiale de la mortalité en Afrique?" In *Régimes démographiques et territotire: les frontières en question, Actes du colloque de La Rochelle, septembre 1998* (Paris: Association internationale des démographes de langue française, 2000), 519-33.

Okolie, Andrew C., "Introduction to the Special Issue – Identity: Now You Don't See It; Now You Do." *Identity*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2003): 1-7.

Paxman, Jeremey. *The English: A Portrait of a People*. London: Penguin, 1999.

Pinto, Giuliano. "I nuovi equilibri tra città e campagna in Italia fra XI e XII secolo." In *Città e Campagna nei secoli altomedievali: Atti delle Settimane LVI. (Spoleto, 27 marzo-1 aprile 2008)*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2009, 1055-81.

Powell, John A. and Stephen Menendian. "The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging." *Othering and Belonging*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 2016), 14-39.

Rafeq, Abdul-Karim. "Economic Relations between Damascus and the Dependent Countryside, 1743-71." In ed. A.L. Udovitch, *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*. Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1981, 653-86.

Rojas-Caldelas, R., C. Pena-Salmon, A. Ranfla-González, R. Venegas-Cardoso, O. Leyva-Camacho, and J. Ley-Garcia. "Approaches to Analyzing the Rural-Urban Interface: Comprehensive Development Views from Town and Countryside." In eds. C.A. Brebbia, S. Hernández, and E. Tiezzi, *The Sustainable City VI*, Vol. 129. Southampton, UK: WIT Press, 2010, 359-70.

Rummel, R.J., *Understanding Conflict and War: Vol. 2: The Conflict Helix*. Beverly Hills, CA: Halsted Press, 1976.

Sarukkai, Sundar. "The 'Other' in Anthropology and Philosophy." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 32, no. 24 (14-20 June 1997): 1406-09.

Scott, Tom. "Town and Country in Germany, 1350-1600," 215-19. In ed. S.R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 202-28.

Sebti, Abdelahad. "Chroniques de la contestation citadine: Fès et la révolte des tanneurs (1873-1874)." *Hespéris-Tamuda*, Vol 29, No. 2 (1991): 283-312.

Shucksmith, Mark. “Re-imagining the Rural: From Rural Idyll to Good Countryside.” *Journal of Rural Studies*, No. 59 (April 2018): 163-72.
Staszak, Jean-François. “Other/Otherness.” In eds. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009, 43-47.
Sun, Yufan. “Recontextualizing Max Weber’s Ideal Type: Lessons from Idealization in the Philosophy of Natural Science and Economics.” *Innovation in the Social Sciences*, No. 2 (2024): 194-234.
Tacoli, Cecilia. “Rural-Urban Interactions: A Guide to the Literature.” *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (April 1998): 147-66.
Vimercati Sanseverino, Ruggero. *Fès et sainteté, de la fondation à l’avènement du Protectorat (808-1912)*. Rabat: Centre Jacques-Berque, 2014, https://books.openedition.org/cjb/538.
Wizārat Al-Thaqāfa. *Al-Zawāyā fī A-Maghrib*, 2 vols., n.p.: Wizārat Al-Thaqāfa, 2009.

العنوان: العلاقات بين الحواضر والبوادي في مغرب ما قبل الحماية استنادا إلى وجهة نظر المدينة

ملخص: تبحث هذه الدراسة في تصورات سكان المدن للبوادي في المغرب قبل الحماية باستخدام مفهوم "الآخر" كنهج تحليلي، حيث تميز العلامات الذات عن الآخرين، الذين يُنظر إليهم على أنهم مختلفون وأدنى مستوى ويشكلون تهديدًا. وتفترض الدراسة أن مفهوم التغريب يعكس نظرة المدن إلى العالم القروي في المغرب، وأن هذه النظرة تنطوي على عواقب نفسية وملموسة. لكن هناك فرضية ثانوية مفادها أن التغريب في المدن المغربية لم يعكس بالضرورة توازن قوى يترجم تلقائياً إلى تبعية البوادي للمدينة. وتسعى هذه الدراسة الدراسة إلى تحديد وتحليل المفهوم الثنائي السائد آنذاك عن المجتمع الحضري والقروي، والجوانب الثقافية والمادية لـ"الآخر،" واستجلاء مدى تأثير "الآخر" على علاقات القوة، وآليات الانتقال والتكامل بين البوادي والحواضر، وتختتم الدراسة بتقييم لمفهوم "الآخر" باعتباره نهجا تحليليا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المغرب، أهل الحواضر، البادية، المدينة، الآخر.

Titre: Les relations entre zones rurales et urbaines dans le Maroc pré-protectorat: Le point de vue à partir de la ville.

Résumé: Cette étude examine la perception urbaine de la campagne dans le Maroc pré-protectorat en utilisant le concept d’altérisation comme approche analytique, où des marqueurs distinguent le soi des autres, qui sont considérés comme différents, inférieurs et menaçants. L’hypothèse de l’étude est que le concept d’altérisation reflétait la vision urbaine du secteur rural au Maroc et que cette perspective avait des conséquences à la fois psychologiques et tangibles. Une hypothèse corollaire, cependant, est que l’altérisation urbaine au Maroc ne reflétait pas nécessairement un équilibre des pouvoirs se traduisant automatiquement par une subordination de la campagne à la ville. L’étude identifie et analyse la conception binaire ville-campagne de la société qui prévalait à l’époque, les aspects culturels et matériels de l’altérisation, l’effet de l’altérisation sur les relations de pouvoir, les mécanismes de transition et d’intégration entre la campagne et la ville, et conclut par une évaluation du concept d’altérisation en tant qu'approche analytique.

Mots-clés: Maroc, urbain, rural, ville, campagne, altérisation.