

# The Presence of Riffian Mines in the Amazigh Oral Heritage and its Socio-Historical Dimensions



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### ABSTRACT

The eastern countryside was officially incorporated into the Caliphate region in 1912 A.D. Subsequently, the Spanish administration-initiated settlement projects to exploit the countryside's resources and wealth, particularly the minerals that the region had accumulated. Spain's pursuit of mineral wealth was pivotal in colonial intervention and settlement near mining areas. This led to the formation of numerous representations among the tribe's people about the colonial exploitation of their wealth and the ensuing social, cultural, and historical changes. These transformations can be traced through the region's oral heritage, especially lyric poetry, folk tales, and inherited oral narratives. The Qaliya tribe's oral heritage offers a unique perspective on the socio-economic impact of colonial intervention, revealing the community's representations and experiences of mineral exploitation. It is crucial to emphasize that the oral heritage of the Qaliya tribe is not just a supplement to historical documents but a fundamental tool for comprehending the region's history. It is a testament to the tribe's remarkable resilience and cultural richness, a living narrative that has withstood the test of time. The oral transmission of events and facts provides a unique perspective on the tribe's history, offering a starting point for reinterpretation. Therefore, oral heritage plays a pivotal role in the historiography of periods that constituted historical turning points, the impacts of which are still present in the collective mind-set of the Rifian tribes, particularly the Qaliya tribe, whose mountains harboured abundant mineral resources, with iron being the most significant. From this standpoint, this paper aims to reveal aspects of the representations of the Qaliya tribe community regarding mineral exploitation and the areas of its presence based on the oral heritage in the region. The lyrical heritage, which serves as a signalling factor, leads to the identification of this tribal Amazigh community socially and culturally. This is done through a socio-historical approach, which enables monitoring the transformations of this society, its representations, and its socio-cultural characteristics. The Qaliya tribe relied primarily on oral memory to preserve its identity and cultural specificity; as such, it offers a unique and intriguing insight into these transformations through their oral heritage. We will try to prove this by focusing on using lyric poems (Izran) inherited within the tribe to monitor aspects of the history of the Qaliya community, the traces of which are still engraved in the memory of the region.

### Keywords:

oral heritage; Izran; mines; countryside; Qaliya

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“We hide ourselves in music in order to reveal ourselves”

Jim Morrison

## Introduction

The chronological trace of the Spanish colonial exploitation of castle mines, as vital as it is, only constitutes a time frame for us because what we seek is to identify the socio-historical dimensions of the presence of mines in the countryside in connection with colonial exploitation, by bringing to mind three essential elements, which are the central issues of Mark Block's concern<sup>1</sup>; namely intellectual such as questioning, synthesis, and comparison. Questioning by interrogating the oral heritage available to us and providing temporary explanations and answers to the questions raised<sup>2</sup>. The composition aims to overcome the confusing details and combine the threads of human action related to the mining areas of the countryside in general and the Qaliya tribe in particular. The comparison goes beyond description as it relates to dual colonialism between Spain and France. The Sultaniyya region was also known for the emergence of mining areas.

Therefore, it is necessary to first understand the forms of colonial mining exploitation and then subject the results of this exploitation to a socio-historical examination. This examination is linked to the transformations of the tribe's characteristics, which are based on both oral heritage and historical documents. By combining these sources, we can construct a comprehensive picture of the Rifian community in Qaliya, including its structures and productive functions during and until the end of the protection period.

## 1. The importance of singing heritage in Rifian society

The Rifian person's connection with "Izran"<sup>3</sup> goes beyond the relationship of enjoyment and recreation or the sharing of time. Instead, it accompanies him whenever he comes and goes. While practising most of his activities in the field and at home, it became: "It falls within the ceremonial rituals of man in his struggle for existence."<sup>4</sup> This Rifian singing heritage remained more comprehensive regarding the diversity of its topics and its interest in detailed events, both ordinary and exceptional, and there is no more explicit evidence of this than the details of the heroic liberation battles<sup>5</sup>. Ezran's spontaneous singing became famous in the region with the phrase "Ezran n lala

boya,"<sup>6</sup> in which women found a platform to express psychological, emotional, and social needs. Many sources report that women blamed Muhammad bin Abdul Karim Al-Khattabi for preventing them from singing "Ezran" at parties and public events during the period of the Rif Liberation War. They were affected by the cancellation of the spectacle, as it was a poetic forum par excellence<sup>7</sup>. They could not bear this measure and considered it an unbearable shock, so they sang protest poetry, satirizing this decision and, through it, demanding that it be retracted<sup>8</sup>, which indicates the immense value of singing for the Rifian person and his freedom from any authority that tries to cancel it<sup>9</sup>.

**mulay muḥənd ma wa ɔ rḥkam n š  
umi tqqim ralla buya wa tḡi di tmwat n š**

*Hi Moulay Mohand, is this your ruling?*

*Banning the song of "Lala Boya" from your land?*

**Arbi a thɔiɔ a nḡ yuš tasriḥ**

**a nḡ yuš tasriḥ ḥ lala buya ɔ šɔiḥ**

*May God, guide him*

*To Bless the singing of Lala Boya and dancing.*

## 2. Toponymy of mining areas

Toponymy plays an essential role in studying local history due to the relationship of geographical place names and human names to historical facts and to the anthropological and linguistic characteristics of any tribe. We will focus on interpreting the meanings of site names and the features of change in their linguistic patterns—more than paying attention to defining and describing them. Within the framework of this approach, we will limit ourselves to listing the most important sites of mining areas in the Qaliya tribe. It is as follows:

### Qaliya:

Several researchers link the name "Qaliya" to "Qaliya Kart", basing this on what Al-Bakri reported. If we accept this proposition, the name Qaliya is taken from the castles or citadels with which the region was known, and therefore the name Qaliya "does not have a human connotation, i.e. "Thing,"<sup>10</sup> in terms of ethnicity, one researcher points out that "Beni U rtada, or at least a faction of them, is the one who later became known as Qaliya."<sup>11</sup> Many oral narratives, through field research, indicate that the name relates to the nature of the agricultural activities for which the Qaliyaites were famous and are mainly related to the operations of "uprooting" crops that grow underground. The expressions are still in circulation until now. It is "anqræ" aɔ neqræ, especially crops of potatoes, turnips, etc. From this, it may be concluded that the matter could be related

to a name given by other tribes to the people of the tribe in reference to the usual agricultural activities in the region.

#### Beni Bouyafur

"Bu" means the owner of the property, and "Afrur" may be derived from "Afrur", which among the people of the region means red soil. One of the most important rivers in this fifth of the tribe is "Igzar Azkag", meaning the Red River, about the colour of the soil spread in Iksan. Moreover, Ahwaz contains several minerals, the most important of which is iron, and we find this present in Izran Qaliyah regarding the conditions of the resistance against colonialism:

**emayən i kiḡ saḡu šar azggwaḡ  
anzar ḥafi yššaṭ uššən ḥafi ytzu**

*If you want to know what you want, then.*

*I spent two years under the red dirt between the rain and the howling of wolves.*

The word "afrur" can also mean crumbled. If it is derived from the verb "yevruri", meaning fragmentation, which is observed in the soil and rocks of several areas of Beni Bouyafur, which are exposed to erosion and fragmentation, especially on the slopes, and among what was considered a kind of satire in the lyrical heritage of Beni Bouyafur, and this description was used for the soil and rocks of the region. "

**limbayeəṭ n mḡara ḡ uzru ḥ tnfra**

*A seagull landed on a rock that was crumbling beneath.*

As for Spanish writings, they indicated, in one of the articles published in 1909 A.D., that the name "Beni Bouyafur" means the shepherd's sons, "Hijos del pastor."<sup>12</sup>

#### Afra:

The word's meaning may not differ from the type of soil mentioned previously. However, we found that the word has another meaning: a low and concave place suitable for collecting or preserving water<sup>13</sup>, and its diminutive is "Tafraout", which means, in the local language, The place where water is poured to feed livestock. Also, another definition holds that "Afra" is close in pronunciation and meaning to "Afri," meaning the cave<sup>14</sup>. There are many caves in the area.

#### Iksan:

It is also said: "Isan" is the plural of "Is", which means horses, and some believe that the origin of the word is "Ouxan" and the Spaniards wrote it Ouxan because the letter "Shin" is written as "X" in Spanish, and when read in French the word is

pronounced "Ouxan", and according to this trend; The origin of the site is "Adhra n Washin", meaning Wolf Mountain. We think that this is incorrect, given that all of the elderly people we met from the region did not mention that "Adrar-n-Wushin" had been traded in the past, except around the "Ushan" valley extending to Azghangan, and that Isan, "Wesan," or Iksan ( According to the method of pronunciation), it is the name by which the mountain was known, and it remains prevalent to this day. However, Hassan Al-Wazzan, Marmul Karbakh<sup>15</sup>, and Ibn Battuta should have mentioned the mountain with this name. Otherwise known as "Jabal Zaghnge" <sup>16</sup>, Moleras attributed the site to "Sidi Bou Sabr" <sup>17</sup>, which is one of the most famous shrines in the region.

### 3. The historical context of the beginning of the exploitation of Riffian minerals

The belief in Morocco's richness in underground resources contributed to it, especially in its northern part. In stimulating European financial and political circles to carry out relevant exploration operations, competition increased between the powers to obtain adequate facilities and guarantees for their exploitative projects, opening the door to colonial penetration. "At the beginning of the twentieth century, the countryside was an unexploited area, not yet discovered by Europeans, surrounded by legends and stories, as was the case with its imaginary wealth and its diverse and widespread mines, especially at the end of the nineteenth century, as the French traveller Mollieras tried to highlight, who considered the countryside like Peru." Or "the new Eldorado."<sup>18</sup>

Although the Rif region is geographically mountainous, it contains layers of lead in the form of sulfur carbon and carbonate. It can be considered that Spain's rush for mineral resources was among the most critical factors of colonial intervention in the Qaliya tribe. Colonial studies and research reported the abundance of iron and lead minerals in Beni Bouyafur. Foreigners have conducted mineral research, and foreign companies are competing to win the exploitation of the Beni Bouyafur mines in Iksane. It is a representation among the population that the exploitation of the region's minerals will be a source of conflict between the European powers, and this poetic stanza indicates this representation.

**a yaḡrar n uksan yffḡḡ ḡayek rmæḡn  
Oh Mount Iksan, Mothering metals  
yffḡḡ ḡayek nnuqaṭ rgnus ḥak mḡən  
silver will bring countries to arms**

The word "silver" in this poem refers to the importance and value of iron metal. It seems that the Riffian people of the Qaliya tribe were previously aware of this, especially after the repeated visits of foreigners interested in prospecting for minerals in the Mount Iksan region since the beginning of the twentieth century, especially engineers and investors—Spaniards in the field of mining and mine-exploitation.

It is worth noting that the position of Spanish capital from the beginning was cautious and did not undertake direct investment in the exploitation of mines, except after providing cash liquidity and benefiting from the occupied sites along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. Spain began to exploit minerals in northern Morocco before imposing protection based on what was decided at the Al-Khazirat Conference. In the year 1906 A.D., the preparation of maps to determine the locations of minerals began, and the Spaniards took advantage of Al-Jilali Al-Zarhouni in Qaliya, who facilitated mining operations for European companies<sup>19</sup>. The Jewish investor David Charbet played an essential role by bringing Spanish capitalists to The Figueroa Company<sup>20</sup>, sending engineers to analyze the samples, and several interested parties emerged in the mineral sector. In 1908, the Spanish group founded the Spanish Company Rif Mines<sup>21</sup> (Compañía et al.), and this company obtained mining exploitation rights. Moreover, the right to build a railway extending over thirty kilometres links the mines of Beni Bouyafrur to the city of Melilla<sup>22</sup>. Other companies were also established in the same period, and the list of the names of settlement companies to exploit the minerals of the region after the imposition of Spanish protection became as follows:

- Europran North African Ltd Mines
- Minera Setolazar S.A
- Alicantina
- North Africa

These companies benefited from the terms of the agreement of November 16, 1910, which the Spanish government concluded with Sultan Abdel Hafiz, in the context of seeking to solve the problems resulting from the conflict between Qaliya and the Spaniards, as it stipulated the concession in favour of Spain of 55% of tax collections on mines, and the appointment of a Spanish employee to oversee the Monitoring the implementation of the agreement. However, the entry of Morocco into the protection system and the tribe's submission to the Caliphate region made Spain accelerate time to legalize its exploitation of minerals by issuing the mines decree

issued in 1914 A.D., and the law regulating mines issued in the official protection bulletin on January 20, 1915, A.D., which specified the legal conditions for the quarries, and the locations of the materials used in them. Fuel, mines, springs, salt water, and every other virtual resource are underground. The people of Qaliya considered that their land and natural resources had been sold to the Spaniards, and they expressed this with great pain and anguish in their lyrical poems, including:

**srig ijn war ur inu inhəz**

**ami ɔa innan aɔra(r) n uksan imənz**

*The tidings I heard school my heart  
for the sale of Mount Iksan*

**a yaɔrar n uksan a ya sus n yhsan**

**yəwyi šak arumi ybna ɔayək asnyan**

O Mount Iksan, you rotted my bones

But the Christian stole you to build pillars

#### 4. Exploitation of Riffian mines and transformations in the socio-economic structure

Oral narratives from respondents who worked in mines during the Protectorate<sup>23</sup> indicate that the first beginnings of exploitation were carried out in traditional ways, through the captain digging in the upper layers, where the iron metal was raw and without impurities. It was carried from Mount Iksan on the backs of animals and then transported to trucks and railway train cars from Azgangan towards Melilla, and most of the workers were minors between the ages of 12 and 18 years. In the second stage, companies moved towards settlement and building mineral production means. Establishing furnaces because the matter required the removal of impurities (especially sulfur) and condensation processes; older workers began to join the work after the protection system was officially established and the exploration, transportation and export operations were organized.

Until 1918 A.D., workers' wages were at most two simple for 10 to 12 hours of work per day. During the same period, workers employed by the Rif Mining Company were paid 5 Pesetas per day<sup>24</sup>, and the magazine "Africa" indicates that the daily wage ranged between 3.25 and 6.25 Pesetas, depending on each worker's productivity.

Spain did not have a project to convert metals into manufactured materials, as it dealt with iron metal, a raw material exported purely to manufacturing centres in Germany, France, England, the Netherlands, and other European countries. Minerals were being extracted at a rapid pace,

especially in Beni Bouyafrur in the mines of Iksan and Ahvaz (along with other minerals, the most important of which is lead in the Afra mines), which formed a production pattern based on direct export and continuous and escalating exploitation, from 1912 A.D. to 1921 A.D., before the outbreak of the Muhammad bin Abdul Karim movement. Al-Khattabi against Spain, so production and exports doubled during the period of World War II, as about 30 million tons of iron metal were extracted from Mount Iksan between the years 1941 A.D. and 1958 A.D.

**Table No. 1: Statistics related to the quantities of metals destined for export from the port of Melilla (1914 AD - 1925 AD) in tons.**

Years	Zinc	Lead	Iron	Mining Companies
1914	-	-	6.061	Rif Mines
1915			65.687	Rif Mines
	700	4.128		North Africa
			13.602	Alicantina
			3.850	Setolazar
1916			125.660	Rif Mines
	1.915	2.313		North Africa
			51.641	Alicantina
			22.325	Setozar
1917			120.980	Rif Mines
		1.009	5.124	North Africa
			28.045	Alicantina
			45.128	Setolazar
1917			201.719	Rif Mines
	1.779	2.076		North Africa
			5460	Alicantina
			61.606	Setozar
1919			174.018	Rif Mines
		1.149	2.850	NortAfrica
			41.090	Alicantia
			51.349	Setolzar
1920			294.499	Rif Mines
		687	14.900	North Africa
			13.150	Alicantina
			51.211	Setozar
1921			65.863	Rif Mines
		93	17.700	Norte Africa
			229.973	Rif Mines
1922		160	13.094	Norte

			8.910	Africa
				Alicantina
			48.108	Setozar
1923			358.009	Rif Mines
		65	7.000	Norte Africa
			35.759	Setolazar
1924			314.690	Rif Mines
	1.053	220	3.830	Norte Africa
			75.693	Setolazar
			275.916	Rif Mines
1925		23	10.950	Norte Africa
			88.763	Setolazar
	Total	5.447	11.923	2.992.504

It is clear from the table that the "Spanish Company for Rif Mines" had a monopoly on the exploitation of iron ore in the Beni Bouyafrur mines, with about 80% of production, and it exported it as a raw material to foreign markets. This company equipped the production area with a 30 km railway linking the mines to the port of Melilla and employing 1,503 workers. The "Sitolozar Company" equipped the region with another 27.7 km long railway through which 105 locomotives pass, indicating the strength of colonial exploitation of the underground wealth of Qaliya.

Based on statistical data relating to the pace of production and export, and concerning the pattern of production based on raw and direct export, it can be said that Spain, through its colonial policy, The Beni Bouyafrur region missed the opportunity to turn into a manufacturing hotspot, but what prevented this was the nature of Spanish colonialism itself, which did not have the conditions and investment capabilities to move the region towards industrialization. The region was subject to management that relied on military force and the presence of observers in all regions. There was no opportunity to open the way for European capitalist investment. Spain lacked an industrial bourgeois class qualified to launch major industrial projects, similar to European countries that could develop and prosper the capitalist system. It is also possible to add an internal factor related to the nature of the region, as the latter was formed by the warehouse in The former, and to Spain throughout protection; An area of resistance, conflicts and armed clashes, and therefore it was not easy to venture with colossal capital to transform Qaliya from an area of mining exploitation, into an area of interconnected

capitalist relations between the mining and industrial sectors. Despite this, Spanish settlement brought about several changes in the quarry field that were linked to facilitating colonial exploitation through the forced possession of property, the opening of quarries, and the establishment of workers' residential neighbourhoods, the first of which was in San Juan, then Sitolazar, Ixan, and Azgangan, metal condensation processing workshops, construction of transportation routes, and paving of roads. And construction of railways. Moreover, all these facilities and others changed the nature of the Riffian landscape and turned it into a mining area par excellence.

Working in the mines provided stable incomes, which forced the population to work regularly and continuously. Daily work in these mines gradually contributed to the workers' disengagement from their agricultural exploitation, which led to a shift in the economic behaviours of the village families<sup>25</sup>.

It is worth noting that, despite the importance of mining revenues, the region has yet to benefit from the development of mining exploitation to establish industrial equipment there. The number of miners who own agricultural land has remained high, and the workers collectively are prompted to speak with reservations about "petrification." As for the natural and human levels, the nature of the social reality, and the natural and human geography of the Rif areas in the area of Qaliya in general, and Beni Bouyafrur in particular, it represented a tribal social system based on the practice of agricultural and pastoral activities, and some commercial activities, within an area in which movement was almost permanent, and in many directions, especially towards Oran.

These general features constituted a stumbling block due to the conditions for the transformation of the socio-economic structure of the region. Capitalist companies in the mining sector only constituted a platform for the emergence of socio-economic transformations, but they moved towards integration to become enormous capitalist structures. They found themselves, at first, in a state of almost complete loss of the simple labour force, supposedly the first agent to reveal the bowels of what Mount Iksan contained in terms of Iron. This will accelerate the attraction of a large number of Spanish labor force, to the point that the presence of foreign colonizers in Qaliya will cause socio-demographic changes within the tribe.

However, more than a century after the beginning of the exploitation of the countryside mines, the oral tradition still echoes the suffering of

the tribe's people. It expresses an epic tragedy with a burning that has not been erased by time. Among the songs that evoke collective memory about the operations of prospecting, shipping, unloading and exporting iron ore from Iksan abroad are the following:

u<sup>w</sup>ssan nnəš i sbħan arbunt  
 ħ mi žarwan siwḍənt irumyən  
 țarwan nnəš i ți ħbchən țarwan nnəš  
 i ți siḍfən qqimn ḍaysən ifqqušan<sup>26</sup>

*Your days bygone carried away on Christian Locomotives*

*Your progeny's digging up left a burning in their heart*

A picture of miners from the people of Qaliya working in the mines



© Hispanus, *La esfera*, Año III, 9 December 1919, Nº154, P.3

## Conclusion

Social processes, with their inherent diversity and temporal dimension, allow individuals to adapt time to their goals and aspirations, leading to either transformations or a steadfastness against change. Karl Marx noted that individuals create their history within circumstances shaped by the past. This paradox, explored by contemporary sociologists like Anthony Giddens and Norbert Elias, is particularly relevant when examining culture's role in social organizational change. This is evident in the study of how the memory of mines influences the rural populace, considering its historical and socio-cultural implications, as well as the lyrical cultural heritage that reflects these transformations.

This context emerged in the early twentieth century, particularly following the establishment of the Protectorate in 1912 and the beginning of colonial rule in Morocco. Throughout this period, tribal societies in rural areas did not fully transition to "proletarianization" as mining complemented traditional activities like agriculture, trade,

smuggling, and work on French estates in western Algeria.

Over a century later, collective memory retains the feelings of exploitation by Spain, viewing the extraction of minerals as a “theft” that drained their community’s vitality. Consequently, the enduring presence of mines in collective memory has shaped the cultural framework of rural society, influencing the development of social institutions and cultural organizations that transcend individual lifetimes, thereby ensuring their stability and continuity.

## Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Habida, *Historical Schools*, Dar Al-Aman, Rabat, 1st edition, 2019, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Lucien Febvre made the question the beginning and end of history, and historical science was a study completed in a scientific manner, that is, in which historical research is subject to asking questions and formulating hypotheses. Looking at:

Lucien Febvre, *Combat pour l’histoire*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1956. P.54

<sup>3</sup> Ezran: It is a plural form, its singular is: “Ezri”, and its equivalent in the Arabic language is: “poetic verse”, which is a style that depends on an improvised assembly of multiple verses, with no organic links between them. Rather, it may exceed two or more verses on contradictory topics, without embarrassment. The poet or vocalist repeats or improvises, so much so that in most cases it is impossible for him to repeat the same “text”, with the same verses, and in the same order. It is divided into two parts. The first is produced and performed by “The Sheikhs” or “Imdhiazin” and is distinguished by its disciplined rhythm and artistic value. The second is created by women and is the most sincere and spontaneous. See:

Fouad Azrawal, “The Poem in Amazigh Poetry,” *Moroccan Excavations*, No. 4, Al-Jasso Press, Oujda, 2006, p. 120.

Samuel Binary Leonard, “Notes on popular songs in the Rif, Berber archives, 1915-1916”, *Fasic*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, AL KALAM, Rabat.1987. pp. 26 - 27.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Hussein Al-Idrissi, “Rural Lyrical Poetry in Morocco,” *Popular Culture Magazine*, No. 4, 2009, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 92

<sup>6</sup> American researcher David Montgomery Hart believes that “Ayara Labuya” as a lyrical phrase is more than just a cultural trait. Rather, it is a social tradition that carries an institutional character, and therefore we can say without exaggeration that any tribe that does not sing “Ayara la Boya” is not considered a truly rural tribe. David Montgomery Hart, *The Aith U Riagel Tribe - A Tribe from the Moroccan Rif, An Ethnographic and Historical Study*, MS, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> Previously, Thamgra (wedding) consisted of 15 days. Then it reduced to a week and then to two days due to the wars and conspiracies that were besetting the region. Muhammad bin Abdul Karim Al-Khattabi had to issue his decision on this last matter. Regarding two days without using ammunition. To keep it during confrontation with

the enemy. Even the poetic spectacle that used to culminate in every wedding or parallel gathering was also cancelled, in order to avoid any surprise and to be cautious. Look:

Abdel Samad Majouki. *Rural resistance through rural Amazigh poetry, “Dahar Oubran,” as an example*, High Commission, Dar Bouregreg, Rabat, 2014, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Moumen Chicar, “Songs of Rif women: An image, an identity”, In: *Songs of women: from production to reception*, Conference proceedings organized by FLSH on April 30, 2009, Cheikh Hasan bookstore, Oujda, 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Al-Hussein Al-Idrissi, M.S., p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Hassan Al-Fikaiki, *Moroccan Resistance to the Spanish Presence in Melilla (1697-1859 AD)*, M.S., p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmed Al-Tahiri, *The Emirate of Beni Salih in the Land of Nakur*, Al-Najah New Press, Al-Dar Al-Badha, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1998, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> El impartial, *Diario De La Mañana*, Mexico, Saturday 02-10-1909. Q.2.

<sup>13</sup> Drouin Jeannine. “Elements of Berber toponymy in the Moroccan Atlas”. In: *Nouvelle revue d’onomastique*, N°41-42, 2003. P.199.

<sup>14</sup> Malika Boussahel, *Toponymy of Sétiviens: Morphological and semantic approach*, Master Monograph, Bejaia, 2001, P. 117

<sup>15</sup> Hassan Al-Wazzan, *Description of Africa, Part 1*, translated by Muhammad Hajji and Muhammad Al-Akhdar, Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1983 AD. pp. 265-270.

<sup>16</sup> Marmol Carbajal, *Africa, Part 1*, translated by Muhammad Hajji et al., New Knowledge Library, Rabat, 1984, pp. 267 and 297.

<sup>17</sup> Auguste Molleras, M.S., pp. 75 and 163.

<sup>18</sup> Maria Rosa de Madariaga, In the Trench of the Wolf, ed., p. 43.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Jilali Al-Zarhouni ceded the minerals of the Qaliya tribe, pursuant to the “Firman” decree, after several negotiations. To review the stages of negotiations and the cession agreements. Looking at: Rachid Yashouti, Spain, the Rif and Sharif Mohamed Amezian, M.S., pp. 70-71-72.

<sup>20</sup> David Charbet; A French Jew, born in Tlemcen, began his life as a trader in livestock and their hides. He had monopolistic partnerships with merchants in the eastern countryside, including Jacob Salama. Looking at:

<sup>21</sup> This company is called C.. E.M.R.

<sup>22</sup> About the context of the construction of the railway and the events associated with it; Looking at: Hassan Al-Fikaiki, Sharif Muhammad Amzian, Martyr of National Awareness (1908-1912), Ruba Net, Al-Yat, 2008, pp. 56-60.

Rachid Yashouti, Spain, the countryside and Sharif Mohamed Amezian, M.S.

<sup>23</sup> We relied on their oral accounts about their work in the mines, and their fathers' work prior to the protection period. The list of respondents and dates of interviews can be seen in the list of references and sources.

<sup>24</sup> Víctor Ruiz Albénis, *El Rif: Retrato de un Español en el Norte de Africa*, Juan Fueyo, Madrid, 1912. P.84.

<sup>25</sup> Maimoun Aziza, *The Countryside during the Spanish Protectorate*, ed., p. 345

<sup>26</sup> A clip from the song “Azghangan” by Aynath.

## حضور مناجم الريف في التراث الشفهي الأمازيغي وأبعاده السوسيوثقافية

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### مُلخَص

أصبح الريف الشرقي خاضعا بشكل رسمي للمنطقة الحليفية سنة 1912م، وعملت الإدارة الإسبانية على استكمال المشاريع الاستيطانية لاستغلال موارد الريف وثرواته، خاصة المعادن التي اكتنزتها المنطقة. وكان تهاافت إسبانيا على الثروات المعدنية، من بين أهم عوامل التدخل الاستعماري والاستيطان في قرب مناطق المناجم. وهو ما خلف تمثلات عدة لدى أهل القبيلة حول الاستغلال الاستعماري لثرواتهم، وتحولات اجتماعية وثقافية وتاريخية، يمكن رصدها من خلال التراث الشفهي خاصة الأشعار الغنائية، والحكايات الشعبية، والروايات الشفهية المتوارثة. وجدير بالذكر، أن الإنتاجات التراثية الشفهية، تعد متممة للوثائق التاريخية، بل يمكن أن تشكل في غياب الوثيقة، أداة أساسية لفهم تاريخ المنطقة، ومنطلقا لإعادة قراءة تاريخ القبيلة، من خلال التوارث الشفهي للأحداث والوقائع. وبذلك يساهم التراث الشفهي في التأييد لفترات شككت منعطفات تاريخية، ما زالت رواستها وآثارها كامنة في الذهنية الجماعية لقبائل الريف، خاصة قبيلة قلعية، التي اكتنزت أحشاء جبالها ثروات معدنية غنية أهمها الحديد.

من هذا المنطلق، يأتي هذا المقال، ليحاول الكشف عن جوانب من تمثلات مجتمع قبيلة قلعية، حول الاستغلال المعدني ومناطق وجوده، بالاستناد إلى التراث الشفهي بالمنطقة، خاصة التراث الغنائي، الذي يُعد بمثابة علامات تشوير، يقود إلى التعرف على هذا المجتمع الأمازيغي القبلي اجتماعيا وثقافيا. وذلك من خلال مقارنة سوسيوثقافية، تُمكن من رصد تحولات المجتمع القلعي وتمثلاته، وخصائصه السوسيوثقافية. وهو مجتمع اعتمد على الأساس الذاكرة الشفهية في الحفاظ على هويته وخصوصيته الثقافية. وهو ما سنحاول إثباته من خلال التركيز على استنثار أشعار غنائية (إيزران) متوارثة داخل القبيلة، قصد رصد جوانب من تاريخ مجتمع قلعية، ما زالت آثارها محفورة في ذاكرة المنطقة.

**كلمات مفتاحية:** التراث الشفهي، إيزران، المناجم، الريف، قلعية