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VOLUME II

TRIBESMEN AND THE COLONIAL ENCOUNTER: SOUTHERN TUNISIA DURING THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE 1882 TO 1940.

A dissertation submitted in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Geography at Durham University

by

Adrian Fozzard

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1987

13. APR. 1988

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

MATMATA: THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF TRADE AND PRODUCTION.

Lt. Bétirac calculated Matmata's regional balance of trade and production (see Table 3.1.) on the basis of assumed levels of production and consumption. His account of these calculations is provided below:

Le pays [Matmata] est très pauvre en céréales et une colonne ne saurait guère compter sur les achats de graines faits sur place. Malgré sa sobriété, et bien qu'elle dispose des oliviers, de dattes, de figues et de divers autres produits, chaque famille, compossée d'un homme, d'une femme, et de deux enfants, dépense pour sa nourriture:

ou 14 ouïba badji d'orge
ou 7 ouïba badji de blé

Cette base étant jettée, il est facile de faire un compte exact des besoins de l'indigène, de voir au tableau statistique qui sont ses ressources et d'en déduire les achats qui restent à sa charge.

Le calcul fort simple est doublent intéressant, d'abord parceque c'est un des éléments qui nous permettra de connaître la situation économique de nos montagnes ensuite parce que l'approvisionnent nécessaire complété par les indigènes au moyens de ventes ou d'échanges, nous connaîtrons exactement la quantité de céréales qu'une clonne trouverait dans le pays.

Si l'on se reporte autant de statistique, on voit que la moyenne des récoltes en orge est de 7,500 ouïba badji. La dispense annuelles en comptant 1331 familles est de 9.317 les indigènes doivent, par conséquent en acheter 1,817, soit à 8 R. [reals] = 14,535 R.

Les resources en orge sont de 9,317 ouiba badji d'orge total et il faudrait rétrancher une quantité proportionelle au laps de temps écoulé entre l'époque de la moisson et l'estivage d'une troupe dans le pays.

Le blé rapporté bon an 2,385 ouiba badji. La nourriture des habitants en consomme 4,658. Il faut donc que les habitants achètent 2,273 mesures à la raison de 15 piastres l'une, conséquent dépense de 34,095 réaux.

Resources en blé aux Matmata = 4,658 ouiba badji:

Dépenses 14,536 R. d'orge
34,095 R. de blé
au total 48,631 Réaux.

Nous poursuivrons ce travail par l'étude rapide de la vente des autres produits, des ressources qu'ils produit et des résultats qu'ils aménent au point de vue économique.

Les oliviers sont d'un grande rapport aux Matmata. Les montagnes estiment à 8 jarres (a jarre valant 3 réaux) la quantité d'huile fournie par un bon arbre, avantageusement placé manquant pas d'eau.

Un olivier de fertilité moyenne donne 4 jarres: d'un mauvais on tire au moins deux.

En tenant compte de la nombre 8 + 4 + 2 / 3 qui est égal à jarres 4 66/100, et en notant que l'olivier ne donne de fruits que tous les 2 ans, il ressort que chacun d'eux fournit, bon an mal an, 2 jarres 33/100 d'huile. Le nombre des oliviers étant de 10,580, la récolte d'huile aux Matmata s'élève à 24,651 jarres.

Ressources: 24,651 jarres d'huile. D'autre part, les dépenses, a raison d'une jarre, par famille et par mois s'élèvent à 15,972 mesures; il reste donc aux indigènes 8,679 jarres d'huile à vendre chacune d'elles vaut environ 6 réaux:

6 x 8,679 = 52,074 piastres

Recettes: 52,071 piastres

Le figuier peut compter à juste titre parmi les ressources des Matmata. ce fruit est en effet fort estimé dans le pays ou chaque famille met de côté, pour sa provision annuelle, 2 ouiba djebali.

Chaque arbre produit en moyenne 1 ouïba, les indigènes en possèdent 9,950 soit autant de mesures.

Si nous distrayons de ce total le chiffre exigé pour les besoins des habitants soit 2,662 ouiba djebali, il reste 7,288 mesures à vendre. L'ouiba djebali vaut 2 réaux 1/4, les recettes s'élèvent à 1,539 réaux.

Palmiers: Nous n'avons pu établir assez exactement quelles sont ressources fournies par les palmiers et quelle quantité de dattes les indigènes achètent tous les ans, pour faire un chapitre spéciale pour cet arbre fruitier.

Toutefois, nous pouvons avoir que les montagnards se consentent générale de leurs récoltes de dattes.

Jetons maintenant un coup d'oeil sur les resources fournies par les troupeaux et sur les bénéfices qu'ils rapportent.

Le chiffre des chameaux s'élève à 1,100, dont 500 chamelles produisant chaque année 200 petits. Toutefois, comme des animaux sont confiés aux Merazigues ou au Adara, il convient, en additionnent les pertes provenant de mort et les gages donnés au pasteurs, de ne prendre que le 2/3 du total, soit 133 petits, à 80 réaux chacun = 10,640 R.

Resources: 1,100 chameaux

Recettes: 10,640 réaux

Les indigènes possèdent 90 juments qui produisent en moyenne 40 petits; les pertes ou dépenses amenées par l'élevage retirent le bénéfice de 10 d'entre eux, restent encore 30 poulains à 15 réaux l'un = 6,000 réaux.

Ressources: 80 chevaux et 90 juments

Recettes: 6,000 réaux

Les ânes sont dénombrés sur le pied de 688, dont 344 ânesses donnant 150 ânons; chacun de ceux à peut étre estimé à 15 réaux, soit:

Ressources: 344 ânes, 344 ânesses

Recettes: 2,250 réaux

Sur les 627 boeufs ou vaches, il ya 400 de ces dernières dont la moitie ou 200 produisent un même nombre de veaux ou de génisses à 25 R. l'un, soit:

Ressources: 227 boeufs, 400 vaches

Recettes: 200 x 25 = 5,000 piastres

8,060 moutons, dont 4,000 brebis donnent d'abord leur laine ou 8,060 toissons mais comme il entre 4 ou 5 d'entre dans chaque

burnous, il convient de remarquer qu'aucune vente de ce genre ne pourrait être faite. Les 4,000 brebis produisent 3,050 agneaux valant 3 R. chaque.

Ressources: 4,060 moutons, 4,000 brebis

Recettes: 1/25 du produit est laissé aux pâtres = 2,800 x 3 = 8,600 réaux.

8,555 chèvres donnent chaque année en moyenne 7,000 chevraux qui valent entre 2 réaux chaque, soit:

Resources: 8,555 chèvres ou boucliers

Recettes: 14,000 réaux

En résumé, au point de vue économique, la situation des Matmata est la suivant:

Recettes:		Dépenses:	
Huile	52,074	Orge	14,636
Chameaux	10,640	Blé	34,095
Juments	6,000	Dattes (Dépnses qui n'ont pu exactement. Il convient de faire remarquer qu'elle n'élèvent pas à un fort chiffre	
Ânes	2,250		
Boeufs et vaches	5,000		
Moutons	8,640		
Chèvres	14,000		
Alfa	19,200	Medjba	67,500
	117,804		116,131

Menouillard (1901) attempts a similar balance for each cheikhat of Matmata. His assumptions are not clear since the statistics are provided in a synoptic table which is provided in Table 3.2. as statistics for Matmata as a whole.

APPENDIX II.

TWO ACTS OF DONATION FROM SOUTHERN TUNISIA.

Acte de Donation

Ayant été constaté que l'honourable Amor ben el Hadj M'hamed ben Amor dénommé el Aantir des Djelidat (Od. Abdeldjebil) est le propriétaire de:

la totalité d'une chamelle blanche hors d'âge et ses produits mâles et femelles.

la totalité de deux chamelles connues sous le nom de chamelles 'ech chaïr' et des chamelles de Amor et de es Seghir et de leurs produits.

la totalité de ce que détient sa femme Medellela bent Mohamed ben Hamidia de la même tribu, en fait de bijoux ouvrés ou non.

sa part du troupeau de chèvres et de moutons portant la marque de la femme.

Du témoinage des comparants, Amor susnommé a la propriété entière des biens ci-dessus désignés.

Amor a demandé acte de ce qu'il fait don de la totalité des animaux et des bijoux ci-dessus mentionnés à sa femme Medellela et après elle à leur fils le jeune Mohamed el Bahi.

Cette donation est valable, légale. Il a distrait cela de son bien, l'a détaché de son patrimoine et constitué une des propriété entière de la femme Medellela qui est la bénéficiaire de cette donation valable, légale, exempte de conditions annulatives, mauvaises, dans le but de plaire à Dieu l'Immense et d'obtenir sa récompense abondante, car il récompense ceux qui font l'aumône et ne laisse pas perdre la rémunération de ceux qui font le bien et qu'il considère comme péché la révocation de la donation aumônière le présent et l'avenir.

La femme Medellela a comparu, a accepté de son mari la donation sus indiquée et a pris possession des animaux, des bijoux et des chamelles.

Dont acte pris contre la mandant dont l'identité est connue et qui est l'état de capacités légales le 7 Dho el Gaada.

Mohamed el Bachir ben el Hadj Bachir
Mhamed el Kouni ben el Hadj Amor Ali Tobba

Source: Commission Administrative de Séquestre, Procès-Verbal, Président Cpt. Cosson, Annexe de Tataouine, 14 April 1916, **AGGT.A.207ter.**

Acte de Donation

Mohammed ech Chibani et Amor fils de Ali ben Amor bou Felgha des Djelidat (Od. Adbeldjelil) font donation de leurs biens meubles chameaux, moutons, objets, poteries, ânes, chevaux, armes, instruments agricoles, grains, argent, or ouvré ou non à leurs fils Mohamed et Touhami et Ali fils de Amor sus nommé et Ali en Neffi fils de Mohamed ech Chibani sus nommé ainsi qu'à ceux des enfants qui pourraient leur naître pendant le reste de leur vie à l'exclusion des filles. Chacune de ces dernières Salema, Mabrouka, et Mebareka filles de Chibani et Aïcha, Seguia, et Fatma filles de Amor recevra une jeune chamelle. Chacune des femmes Fatma bent Saad ben el Hadj Ali et Tih femme de Chibani et Hanina bent Ali femme de Amor recevra un chameau hors d'age.

Ce dont est fait dans le but de plaire à Dieu l'Immense et d'obtenir sa récompense abondante et universelle, car - qu'il soit exalté! il récompense ceux qui font l'aumône et ne laisse pas perdue la rémunération de ceux qui font le bien.

Les susnommés ont distrait cela de leurs biens, l'ont détaché de leurs patrimoines et se constitué une des propriétés des bénéficiaires, un revenu propre d'entre leurs revenus, par suite de cette aumône valable légale, exempte de conditions annulatives, mauvaises. Et il ne leur reste plus concurremment avec eux sur la dite chose ni droit, ni propriété, la co-propriété à aucun titre. Lesx femmes et les filles n'ont droit qu'à ce aui est attributé à chacune d'elles.

Le nommé Touhami a comparu en personne, a accepté et pris connaissance du don en son nom et au nom des autres donataires précités.

Dont acte pris contre le mandant dont l'identité est établie et qui est dans l'état de capacités légalement admissables le 20 Redjeb 1322
(30 Septembre 1904).
Signé:

Saad ben Mohamed el Medni des Djelidat
Mohamed el Doukkani ben Mohamed ech Chibani des Djelidat

Source: Commission Administrative de Séquestre, Procès-Verbal, Président Cpt. Cosson, Annexe de Tataouine, 14 April 1916, **AGGT.A.207ter.**

APPENDIX III.

AN ACT OF HABOUS FROM SOUTHERN TUNISIA.

It has been regularly established that the honourable, venerable, and wise Si Saïd ben Ahmed Laouer el Medenini owns in entirity a garden (*sania*) with a well, planted with palms in the Oued Medenine el Keblaoui, bordered on the watersheds by the properties of Mohammed ben Abdelkader ben Hassen Meztouri's inheritors, and below by a path and the property of Abdallah Laouer Medenini's inheritors and to the north by the inheritors of Chouachane Hadi el Abassi and his associate, to the south and the east by the watersheds (*stoub el-ma*). This garden belongs to the above named with all its rights dependant irrigation channels (*seguia*), and ditches allowing water to drain.

The above named Si Said ben Ahmed Laouer owns besides the above a garden (*djesser*) planted with fig trees between the Ksar of the Médenine and Rass Chaabet et Tine, bordered above by the inheritors of Messouad ben aoune en Nabhani, below by the Chouachane Naceur, liberated slave of the Krada, to the south and east by the watersheds, and the north by Mohammed Berrouk ez-Zelteni. This garden belongs to the above nemed with its rights and dependancies, ditches, and irrigation channels.

The above named Said ben Ahmed also owns the whole of a garden (*djesser*) planted with figs and containing a bunch of palm trees, he owns only a third of this garden in association with the named Daouia el Aouria, it is bordered above by the watersheds, below by the ravine Daouia, to the south by the watershed, with all the rights and dependants, ditches and irrigation channels.

The above Said ben Ahmed also owns a *ghorfa* in Ksar en Nessar opening to the south bordered on the right of its entrance by Salem et-Taib and to the left by Fatma el Fourtia, and above by Belgacem el Khouild with all its rights and dependants.

He also owns another *ghorfa* in Ksar el Rab opening to the south above the inheritors of Taib ben Said el Ghoul.

Last of all he owns several ploughlands in the Oued Sinor with his associates and his brothers the Aaouer, some other ploughlands in the lands of the Ouerghamma, some personal effects, camels, sheep, and donkeys.

The above Said has worked on all his property described above for his own profit during his life and after his death to the profit of his male children Mosbah and Mansour, then to the profit of their children and the children of their children of male sex to the exclusion of daughters, from generation to generation. The nearest generation will exclude the most distant generation in the enjoyment of this habous. Those of the beneficiaries who die will be replaced by his son or, if dead, by an equally distant descendant.

Hereafter the said Said Laaouer has reserved for his wife, Mansoura bent el Lettif ben Khalifa el Médenini quarter of the harvest of the above *sania* and two gardens (*djessour*), at her death this harvest this harvest will revert to the beneficiaries of the habous. He has also reserved for his daughter Fatma during her life the whole of the harvest of the group of palm trees in the garden (*sania*) beside the Talia, and the harvest of the two fig trees in the first of the above two gardens (*djessour*). At her death this harvest will revert to the beneficiaries of the habous.

This habous has been established according to the Hanefite rite which recognises the validity of habous from the moment of the beefactor. I definitively immobilise ... without the need of acceptance by the beneficiaries.

Drawn up in the middle of Ramadan 1256 (7th to 17th November 1840) by the notaries

Brahim ben Bettayeh ben Hassen el Meztouri
Hassen ben Ahmed el Meztouri

Source:
AGGT.C.61.

A copy (reduced in size by 40%) of the original follows.

بعراق تبت واستغرق على ملك الكرم H جل الجفيه النبيه الغاربي من سعيد بن احمد H عور المرنيسي كامل
السانية بذات اليه وشيخ تجيلد الكاينة بواد مرنيس الغبلاد وبه يحيى كما ان من H على بالنسبة الماء
ورثت العول يحيى بن عبد القادر بن حسن الزن لحوري ومن H سعيد بالنسبة الماء لها يحيى وبعده ورثت عبد الله
H عور المرنيسي وجوبا ورثت الشوشان ملاذي العباسي ومن شاركه وقبلة وشي فاصبوا ما يه
بكله وكل ما بيه كوعامة منابعه والسواقي والمساقي والكل في الداخلة الدبه والخارجة عنها مع
حاز الجسم المسمى تينا الكاين فلانه بغابة فوق مرنيس براس شعبة الخيز يحيى كما ان من H على ورثت
سعود بن عمر النبهاني ومن H سعيد الشوشان نوع عتيبة الكبادة وغبلة وشي فاصبوا ما يه
بجريا بجوابرون الزيتي ومعه بكله وكل ما بيه والسواقي والمساقي والمحاميل الجبالية الماء اليه
مع كامل الجسم المسمى تيناوب عشق نخل بل الكل والماء لشركة العفية الضاوية العورية بجرغاله
من H على صبوا ما يه ومن H سعيد العفية الضاوية المذكورة وقبلة وجوبا صبوا ما يه بكل ماله ما يه
والسواقي والمساقي وجامة المنابع باسمها مع كامل الفرجة H رضية الكاينة بفج الدماء حرفصور
نهر مرنيس باقية الجوج يحيى داخلة مثال التايب يسار داخلة باقية العورية واعلاه التنيم
H خويلد بكله كل ما بيه مع كامل الفرجة الثانية الكاينة بفج اجابي الباب باقية العبد
السعيد بن مريت التايب لسعد العول بكله كل ما بيه مع كامل الفرجة بيل وجميع ماله من ارض الجبال
الكاينة بواد السعد مع شاركه في اخوته العور مع ماله وارض الجبال ابن كانت وتعينت بوطن
مرنيس وما لله H من المنقلات والابل والغنم والجمل ذا الجسم على نفسه وقد يعد له بعض
على اولاد المذكور بما حباه ومنصور يحيى اولاد يحيى واولاد ابراهيم المذكور ومن H ما
بذاته بعد كامل تجيلد بعد جيل الطبقة العليا تجب السعد ومن عن واخيه ولا مقامه
من له يجلب ولا ينصبه لمن بعد درجته وجعل لزوم عنه الحق المسمى منصور بنت الحبيب بن خليفة
المرنيسي الربع من كامل غلة السانية والجسم تستغل منه مدة حياتها واذا ماتت ولحقت بالله تعالى لحق
المستثنى بالمستثنى منه لحوق الفرع بالاصل وكما استثنى غلة كامل عن النخل الكاين بالسانية
من المذكورة الكاينة من ناحية الكاة مع غلة كل متين بالجسم H واستغل ما لكل ابنته الحرة التيب
الجسم بالكمة تنفلهم مدة حياتها واذا ماتت ولحقت بالله تعالى لحق المستثنى بالمستثنى
منه لحوق الفرع بالاصل داخل وفعل الجسم المذكور [illegible] فعل الفعل ابو يوسف
يعقوب صاحب H ما H عمل ابا حنيفة النعمان صاحب H ومالك رضي الله عنه [illegible] H
يكفي في انعقاد الحبس واقراره قول المحبس حبسته ووقفته وابرته ويبين الملك رفعته من غير اعتقاد
الحوز وقبول ولد يحكم حاكم اذ هو القول المعتمد به عند علماء بلدنا ونجاروا وراء النهر وهو جرى
العمل بتونس في تحبيس الناس في التحبيس شهر عليه من تسمع منه وهو جمال الكمال وهي من بنت في اواخر
رمضان المعظم فرغ بالاول عشر الله ستة وخمسين ومائتين والف وصلى الله على ابراهيم ابن ابي الطيب رحمه
الله

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد بن احمد الزن لحوري
عن الكاتب بورغمه

الزن لحوري عن الكاتب بورغمه

APPENDIX IV.

AN ACT OF MORTGAGE FROM SOUTHERN TUNISIA.

Translation into French by the military interpreter at Tataouine.

Traduction de l'acte de nantissement

Le soussigné a requis acte de ce qu'il cède en nantissement à l'honourable, illlustre Si Mohammed ben M'hamed ech Chibani des Djelidat, six palmiers situés dans l'Oued Semar dans les parts indivises qu'il possède avec son frère es Seghir.

Le créancier nanti a le choix de ces arbrea dont il aura la jouissance pendant une durée de trois ans partir de la date (de l'établissement du présent acte).

Ces palmiers comprendront trois palmiers de l'espèce dite 'Rotbi' et trois palmiers de l'espèce die 'Meghrassi' avec faculté pour le créancier nanti de jouir de la récolte d'un autre palmier si l'un des palmiers choisis ne produisait pas de fruits.

Ce nantissement cessera que le créancier aura reçu la somme de soixante francs soixante centimes.

Cette renonciation aux produits en faveur de l'illustre sus nommé est faite conformément au rite hanéfite en usage en Tunisie.

Rédigé le Kaada 1332 (October 1914)
Signé Mohamed ben el hadj Souf el Djine ben Ahmed ben Abdellatif es Seghir ben el Hadj Souf el Djine ben ben Ahmed ben Abdellatif

Source: Commission Administrative de la Séquestre, Annexe de Tatanouine, Procès-Verbal, Président Cpt. Gautier, 17 June 1916. **AGGT.A.207ter.**

APPENDIX V.

AN INDEX OF WEALTH.

Biographical notices and lists of guarantors compiled by caïds and notaries respectively provide details of the property owned by candidates for administrative office and their guarantors. They are an exceptional record of the distribution of wealth within the community. There are, however, a number of limitations. First of all, these lists and notices refer to only ten to thirty of the wealthiest members of each cheikhat at the time of an election. Secondly, the lists were not based on a form and so do not always contain comparable information. Lastly, the accuracy of the statistics provided must be called into question. The frequency distribution for each of the categories are are grouped around tens and fives implying that they are in fact estimations. Whether it may also be true to call them lies is more difficult to assess. No corroborating evidence is available for any of the lists. It should be pointed out, however, that the list was retained by the Service and so was available for verification against tax registers. Falsification would merit imprisonment. It is to be hoped that this threat encouraged the tribesmen to inscribe their property truthfully.

Comparison between individuals and periods is possible using estimates of total wealth in francs (see Table 4.3. and 4.15.). In order to correct for inflation a Standardised Index of Wealth in Francs has been created by dividing the value in francs by a Retail Price Index beginning in 1914 (the values of the Retail Price Index are shown in Figure 5.1.) (see Tables 4.3. and 4.16.).

Unfortnately less than one quarter of the lists and notices provide a summary statistic of wealth and none are available for the period before 1905. For these reasons an independent Index of Wealth has been created by multiplying the nine most important forms of tree and animal wealth by constants. The values assigned to these

constants are: for olives 25, figs 10, dates 10, goats and sheep 10, camels 100, horses 200, cattle 100, donkeys 15, and mules 20. They are based on the ratio of their values in francs on twenty one different sets of lists of guarantors from 1908 to 1953 (see Table 1 below). None of the lists provide valuations for djessers or land. For this reason the Index has had to omit these categories despite their importance as measures of landed wealth.

As a summary statistic the Index is more versatile than the single estimate of wealth provided by the Wealth in Francs since it enables one to compare the relative importance of different categories of wealth. In Table 4.21. the value of Tree Wealth is divided by Animal Wealth to show the relative proportions of the two categories in the composition of total Wealth.

To test the accuracy of the Index it was correlated against the Value in Francs and Standardised Value in Francs using the Pearson's and Kendall correlation coefficient. These are non-parametric tests that can be applied to non-Gaussian and small populations. The results show remarkably close correlations between the variables (see Table 2. below). The Index of Wealth, therfore, is an excellent surrogate for Value in Francs.

TABLE 1. The Ratio Value of Property Categories in the Index of Wealth.

	Sheep and Goats	Camels	Horses	Donkeys	Cattle	Olives	Figs	Dates
1908	7.5							
1908	11	160		30		60	20	
1918	30	250	900	80		75		25
1919	55	500	1,100					
1919	65	500	1,000					
1919	50	550	1,750					
1919	50	300	1,200			100		
1926	150	600	1,200			200	50	50
1927	100	1,000		250	1,000			
1927	110	1,000	1,500	150	1,200	480	90	90
1929	100	1,000	2,000	225				
1929	100	1,000		300				
1930		500	1,250					
1931		2,000	5,000	1,200				
1931	60	500	1,500	100				
1934	50	500	850			400	75	80
1938	120							
1943	1,500	5,000	10,000	1,000				
1943	1,500	10,000	16,000	1,200				
1953	5,000					10,600		3,000
Ratio Value	10	100	200	20	100	25	10	10

Sources: **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

TABLE 2. Correlations between the Index of Wealth and Wealth in Francs and Standardised Wealth in Francs.

Period	Valid Cases	Index against Wealth: Pearson's	Index against Wealth: Kendall's	Index against Standardised Wealth: Pearson's	Index against Standardised Wealth: Kendall's
			Accara		
1887-1920	0				
1921-1930	12	.	.		.
1931-1940	19	.	.	.	.
1941-1955	86	**	*	**	*
			Matmata		
1887-1900	0				
1901-1910	4	**		**	
1911-1920	182	**	**	**	**
1921-1930	5	**		**	
1931-1940	3	.	.	.	.
1941-1955	6	.	.	.	.
			Khezour		
1887-1900	0				
1901-1910	118	**	**	**	**
1911-1920	136	*	*	.	.
1921-1930	3	.	.	.	.
1931-1940	46	*	*	*	*
1941-1955	10	.	.	.	.
			Djebalia		
1887-1900	0				
1901-1910	1				
1911-1920	0				
1921-1930	168	**	**	**	**
1931-1940	39	**	**	**	**
1941-1955	0				
			Ouderna		
1881-1920	0				
1921-1930	56	**	**	**	**
1931-1940	0				
1941-1955	31	.	.	.	.
			Touazine		
1887-1910	0				
1911-1920	57	**	**	**	**
1921-1930	13	*	.	*	.
1931-1940	14	*	*	*	.
1941-1955	14	.	.	.	.
All		**	**	**	**

. Insignificant * Significance > 0.9 ** Significance > 0.99

APPENDIX VI.

A SEDITIOUS SONG FROM MATMATA (1914).

Matmata le 25 septembre 1914.

RAPPORT DU LIEUTENANT SAGNES
sur les agissements du nommé SALEM BEN EL HADJ BELGACEM BEN MOHAMED, de la fraction des Oulad Sliman, tribu des Matmata.

.....

Le 18 Septembre, dans la soirée au cours d'une nocce qui réunissait de 3 à 400 personnes à Techine, le nommmé SALEM BEN EL HADJ BELGACEM BEN MOHAMED de la fraction des Oulad Sliman, se mit à chanter. La chanson paraissait composée par lui car elle rapportait à des personnels intentionellement travestis afin de rendre son récit plus intéressant.

C'est en ces termes qu'il rappela les anciens impôts "prestations" & "Medjba":

"Le Cheikh me dit: Viens mon garçon verse tes impôts. Tu dois tes prestations. Paye-les en argent ou tu y seras contraint.

"Pour mon chameau il me réclama une piastre. Pour la medjba il me fit payer 10 douros, sans compter le reliquat.

"Il n'accepta pas le billon, mais exigea des douros qui fussent frappés différentes.

"Il me réclama de l'orge, j'en avais pas.

"Je parcourus les montagnes. Personne ne voulut m'en céder.

"Je passais alors péniblement au tamis un tas que j'avais où l'orge était mélangé à du blé. Etc..."

Parlant de l'institution de l'état-civil en Tunisie, il s'écria:

"Les temps sont changés; maintenant, celui chez qui un enfant nait dans la nuit doit dès le lendemain en aviser la Harbia (Bureau des Affaires Indigènes). Etc..."

Enhardi par le succès obtenu le chanteur entama une autre chanson dans laquelle il passa en revue l'emeute du Djellaz et l'occupation de la Tripolitaine par les Italiens. Cette chanson est intitulée "Je pleure et mes larmes tombent goutte à goutte; je souffre de l'abandon de Zouara."

Ces deux vers commencent et finissent chaque strophe.
Voici le corps de la chanson.

"Je pleure etc...

"Dans l'Est la lutte a éclaté. Voyez l'ironie (sic.). Le coeur ne peut la supporter. Maintenant les Italiens y sont arrivés. Le sang de l'Islam a coulé. Celui qui se cache augmente son malheur mais celui qui est sage à l'avenir devant lui.

"Je pleure etc...

"Celui qui a assisté à l'affaire de Bab Souika, le fils du Douiri est tombé comme un sac. Les Italiens l'ont laissé recouverte il a été pris. Que Dieu lui fasse miéricorde.

"Avec un sabre bien tranchant on a percé sa chair. On l'a brulé comme un amas de détritus dans lequel on aurait mis une allumette un jour de sirocco. Celui qui a assisté à cette affaire a reçu aussi une faveur divine.

"Celui qui a trouvé la mort pendant la guerre sainte est certain au jour du Jugement Dernier d'avoir un compte favourable. Dieu lui a permis d'accomplir sa part d'actions qui lui permettront d'obtenir les bienfaits de la vie."

Le chanson se poursuit sur ce ton et passe en revue toutes les localités du Sud Tunisien que les Beys "ont vendues comme des légumes" (sic.). De Déhibat à Zarzis et à Ben Gardane. Le chanteur ajoute que "la révolte chasse les autorités qui s'y trouvent" et que "Tataouine a déjà évacué par les Officiers".

Les deux chansons ont été répétées par leur auteur à Monsieur l'Officier Interprête AUGIAS à qui sont dues les traductions qui précèdent.

Le Chef de Bureau estiment que ces chansons revêtent un caractère séditieux et tenant compte de cette circonstance aggravante qu'elles ont eu une large publicité demande qu'une punition de 6 mois et 500 francs d'amende soit infligée à leur auteur le nommé SALEM BEN EL HADJ BELGACEM BEN MOHAMED.

Cette indigène a été incarcerée le 19 septembere 1914 à la geôle de Matmata.

No. 1108 du 28 septembre 1914. (Médenine)

Le Colonel Commandant Militaire prononce une punition de un mois de prison et 100 Frs d'amende que cette peine soit portée à prison et 500 francs d'amende.

Signé: VERAUD.

Source: **AGGT.A.197.2.**

APPENDIX VII.

ACTS OF ELECTION FROM SOUTHERN TUNISIA.

Act of election of Ali ben Amor ben Abd er-Rahmen el Sedraoui 5 Redjeb 1308 (27th April 1891).

Traduction

Les honourables Ahmed ben Moussa et Tazardenti es Sedraoui du Djebel el Abiod,

Milad ben hadj Khalifa du même lieu,
Said ben Salem en Nabihi,
Mohammed ben Termine,
Ali ben Mohammed Debiaa,
Mohammed ben Mohammed ben Saad,
Belkassem ben Salah,
Khalifa ben Amor el Tarlas,
Ali ben Ahmed el Hebaa,
Ahmed ben Aissa ben Ahmed,
Ahmed ben Mohammed Guenidi,
Mohammed ben Brahim el Aieb,
Ahmed ben Mansour el Medanir,
Mohammed ben Ali ben Mouss,
Moussa ben Ali es Sebissi,
Messaoud ben Ali ben Moussa,
Moussa ben Ali es Sebissi,
Messaoud ben Ali el Fartass,
Moussa ben Ahmed ben Aissa,
Amor ben Ali ben Hadj,
Mohammed ben Amor el Hebassi,
Mohammed ben Hamed el Aouiti,
Khalifa ben Belgassem,
Ahmed ben Amor Guenidi,
Ahmed ben Ali ben Tsabet,
Yahia ben Mansour el Blidi,

Louanges à dieu!

Les vingt quatre indigènes dénommés ci-dessus ont comparue les deux notaries du présent, et ont déclaré qu'ils avaient convenu de leur plein gré, que leur cousin de tribu l'honourable, le considéré, le bon, Ali ben amor ben Abd er-Rahman es-Sedraoui serait leur cheikh, en remplacement de son prédecesseur. Il aura à s'interesser à leurs affaires courantes et administrés. Il percevra sur eux les impôts du gouvernment, existants et neuve, en opérant pour céla comme pour les autres cheikhs. Comparution, témoinage et covention complète. Dans leur déclaration ils se partent responsables des fonds du gouvernement, dans ce cas, contraints de rembourser le manquant et effectuer le remboursement de leurs propres devises, confornèment aux règlements. Fait avec l'autorisation de l'Emir des Emirs si Youssef Allégro de l'Arad en vertu d'une lettre de ce fonctionnaire. Témoinage a été porté par les notaires les déclarants. Ils se trouvaient dans l'état valable. établi à la date du 5 Redjeb 1308.

Enregistré à la page 59 du régistre réglementation
Coût: 2 piastres.

Le mot Moussa de la première ligne est taché d'encre les notaries en font la remarque. Suivent les signatures des deux notaries:
Mohammed ben el Hadj el Meguedimi, Mohammed ben el Hadj Mansour el Meguedimi.
P.O. Mohammed Hider Khalifa du Gouveneur.

Pour traduction conforme
Tatouine le 22 avril 1891,
L'Interprète Militaire, Signé: Grech.

Source: **AGGT.A.186.12.**

A copy of the original follows.

المكرم موسى بن احمد بن موسى التزغي ابن السيد راوه من
الجبل الغربي
المكرم مبارك بن الحاج خليفة الفيل
المكرم سعيد بن سالم الفاخري الفيل
المكرم محمد بن تهيم الفيل
المكرم علي بن محمد حبيب الفيل
المكرم محمد بن محمد بن سعد الفيل
المكرم بالقاسم بن صالح الفيل
المكرم خليفة بن عمر البعر الحاسر الفيل
المكرم علي بن احمد الاحيدي الفيل
المكرم احمد بن عيسى بن احمد الفيل
المكرم احمد بن محمد فنيد الفيل
المكرم محمد بن ابراهيم الهلابي الفيل
المكرم احمد بن منصور انبار الفيل
المكرم محمد بن علي بن موسى الفيل
المكرم موسى بن علي البسيس الفيل
المكرم مسعود بن علي البعر الحاسر الفيل
المكرم موسى بن احمد بن عيسى الفيل
المكرم عمر بن علي بن الحاج الفيل
المكرم محمد بن عمر الاحيدي الفيل
المكرم محمد بن احمد الاعويتي الفيل
المكرم خليفة بن بالقاسم الفيل
المكرم احمد بن عمر فنيد الفيل
المكرم احمد بن علي بن ثابت الفيل
المكرم يحيى بن منصور الابلي الفيل

الحالة حضرة الشهود الاربعة والعشرين
نفرا المذكورين اسماؤهم اعلاه والشهود والتبع انفقوا بر خلافهم
بان يكون ابن عمهم المكرم الاجل الخير علي بن عمر بن عبد الله
جبران فيهم يشخذ عليهم عوضا عنهم كان قبلهم لينظر في
التزغ في امورهم المعروفة وفوائدهم المنحرفة ويستخلص
منهم اموال الدولة الكاسبة الموظفة والتي تستحق وضع
كفالة الشهود اشارة حضورا والشهود اتفاقا تاملات
وبالشهود انهم ضامنين فيه عسى ان يتخلد بذلك من
اموال الدولة او يعرف متخلد شيء وحيث يصل الى الدولة فيهم
المكلفون به والمعدودون له من مالهم الحلال بحكم ضمان الاداء
وسيلة وكتب هذا عن اذن امير الامراء المسمى يوسف بن علي
المقدم وعلى الاعراف بواسطة مكتوب منه وشهد عليهم وهم
بالحالة ابلاغ بشر علي بن الحاج اليوم الثامن من رجب المعظم الا
حيث من عشرة ام ثمان وثمانين والف هجرية وتم رسم
مبلغ ٥٠٠ من اقتدار العمل واجرى ريالات وحسبها الله ونعم
الوكيل فيه رب ويه الاعلام بادن السعي ابن البعر الجبلي

الحاج سالم

المقدم ومع الشهود

بيان

خليفة محمد بن الحاج منصور

الحاج سالم

الحاج منصور

المقدم

وجيه

الشهود

Act of election of M'hammed ben Sliman ben Mabrouk ben Hali ez-Zemerteni 23 Ramadhan 1308 (2nd May 1891).

Traduction

Que dieu repande ses bénédictions sur notre seigneur Mohammed et qu'il lui accorde le salut,

Les individus dont les noms suivent sont de Zmerten (Toujane) ciconscription de l'Arad,

Mabrouk ben Mohammed ben Mabrouk ben Hali,
Aissa ben Mohammed ben Mabrouk,
Mohammed ben Belgassem ben Hali,
M'hammed ben sliman ed-Douiri,
L'ex-cheikh Salah ben Said,
Mansour ben Salem ben Mansour,
Ali ben Said ben Ahmed,
Abdallah ben Abdallah ben Salem,
Belgassem ben Ahmed ben Mabrouk,
Salem ben Ali ben Said,
Said ben Mohammed ben Mabrouk,
Ahmed ben Mabrouk ben Hali,
Said ben Mohammed ben Said,
Ali ben Ali ben Mohammed en-Nalouti,
Ali ben ech-Cheikh Sliman ben Hali,
Mohammed ben Abdallah ben Ramdham,
Messaoud ben Amor ed-Douiri,
M'hammed ben Mohammed ben Hali,
Amor ben Khalifa ben Said ed-Douiri,
Ali ben Mansour ben Moussa,

Louange à dieu!

Ont comparu par devant les deux notaires rédacteurs du présent, tous les individus ci-dessus designés, tous notables de Zmerten, lesquels ont déclaré qu'ils consentaient d'un commun accord à avoir comme Cheikh, le vénérable M'hammed ben Sliman ben Mabrouk ben Hali ez-Zmerteni et à ce qu'il s'occupe de toutes leurs affaires. Les comparants se portent caution pour toutes les dettes dont serait redevable le sus nommé envers le haut Gouvernement, et s'engagement à les rembourser.
Comparition, déclaration, accord et caution complète.
Les sus-nommés, au moment de leur déclaration, se trouvaient dans un état de santé légalement admissable. Leur identité ayant été établie à la date du vingt trois Ramadhan 1308.
Cet acte a été dressé par ordre du magnamine l'Emir el Ommara si Goussen ben Ali el Legro, Gouveneur de l'Arad, lequel ordre a été approuvé par la signature de son Khalifa. Si Sassi ben Mansour Khalifa edj-Djebel qui apposé sa signature sur deux actes des deux notaires.

Consigné à la page 123 du régistre des deux notaires.
Coût: 2 piastres.

Signé: L'humble devant son Dieu, Belgassem ben el Hadj Ahmed ben Dada et-Toudjani.
Consigné sur les deux régistres à la page 101, à la date sus-indiquée, L'humble devant son Dieu.
Signé: Mohammed ben salah et-Toudjani.

Pour traduction conforme,
Gabès le 20 juin 1891.
L'interprète M. aux 2e. classe. (signed) Gillard.

Source: **AGGT.A.186.2.**

A copy of the original follows.

الحمد لله صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وسلم تسليما

اعيان الانجاز الاتية اسماؤهم من ضريبة ازمور من قبيل بن جاز من عمل الماء

ذ ابو محمد المطرم مبروك بن محمد بن مبروك بن جهال
عيسى بن محمد بن مبروك من القبيل
محمد بن ابو القاسم بن جهال من القبيل
محمد بن سليمان الدويري من القبيل
الشيخ كاز صالح بن سعيد من القبيل
منصور بن سالم بن منصور من القبيل
علي بن سعيد بن محمد من القبيل
عبد الله بن عبد الله بن سالم من القبيل
ابا القاسم بن محمد بن مبروك بن جهال من القبيل
سالم بن علي بن سعيد من القبيل

سعيد بن محمد بن سعيد من القبيل
احمد بن مبروك بن جهال من القبيل
سعيد بن محمد بن سعيد من القبيل
علي بن علي بن محمد الفالوني من القبيل
علي بن الشيخ اسليمان بن جهال من القبيل
محمد بن عبد الله بن رمضان من القبيل
مسعود بن عمر الدويري من القبيل
محمد بن محمد بن جهال من القبيل
عمر بن خليفة بن سعيد الدويري من القبيل
يحيى بن منصور بن موسى من القبيل

الحمد لله حصري لذي شهيد به جملة العشور بغير المنظور بن لعلا
الاعلام من اعيان ضريبة ازمور وانشهدوا بانهم التمسوا وحضروا بانه
من المطرم محمد بن سليمان بن مبروك بن جهال الزمورتي شيدنا عليهم بنه
كلا امورهم السياسية والعرفية وضمنوا جميعا معنى ان يشتملوا به
بنه منه من اموال الدولة العلية بمعنى ضمان الاداء وسميه حصر
وانشهدا وانجلا وضمانا وزلا تاميين وشهدوا عليهم بذلك
حال الجواز والصحة بتاريخ يوم الثلاثاء عشرين من شهر
ربيع الاخر عام سنة ثمانية وثلاثين والف والاذن والاذن
اهل العهدة الامير الاعز سيدي يوسف بن عبد الله ايضرو اعلى ما
اذن ـــــــ سيدنا ابلغ عنه خليفته السيد سالم بن
خليفة الاجل حسن حفظه شهيد به وحضر بصحيفة حاية ولما
وعشرين بالدوتري واجيزه بالاذن الجيد لربه

الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد بن الحاج الطيب الله
اعلى الله قدره آمين

ميلاد القصر لربه ابا القاسم
بن الحاج محمد بن الحاج التوجاني
الله به آمين

ويشهد وسمته بتبرعه جملة واحدة بعد العيد قبل اخراجه اعلاه بغير رجعة الا
بعد اداء

ميلاد الحاج التوجاني
الله به آمين

ميلاد محمد بن الحاج التوجاني
الله به آمين

APPENDIX VIII.

ACTS BETWEEN PATRON AND CLIENT TRIBES.

Traduction

Que Dieu répande ses bénédictions sur notre Seigneur Mohamed et sur ses compagnons.

Avec l'aide et la puissance de Dieu, le veneré, l'illustré, le Cheikh Assen ben Abd el Lathif, de la famille des Oulad Ali (fraction des Ouled Debbab) achète au véneré, à l'illustré, au Cheikh, son contribule Abdallah ben Mansour sa part sur les gens de R'damès ainsi que la moitié des deux parts qu'il avait achetées du fils d'El Montesr ben Ali.

En d'autre termes, le Cheikh Abdallah ben Mansour vend tout ce qui lui revient sur les R'damésiens du quartier "Tengazine" et tout ce qu'il perçoit comme "tribut arabe" (saïba arbia) dans le pays de R'damès (argent, coiffures, chaussures, etc...) et tous objets remis à cette occasion.

Le marché a été consenti pour la somme de 151 réaux ayant cours à la date des présentés (petits réaux).

Le vendeur reconnait avoir reçu le prix et donne quittance définitive et complète à l''acheteur, ce dernier ayant consenti à ce que dessus.

En foi de quoi le présent acte a été établi sur témoinage de chaque contractant qui se trouvait dans l'état légal de capacité et d'identité requis.

Fait dans les derniers jours du mois de D'ou-l'-Qaâda 1247 (avril 1833).

(notaire) el Hadj Ahmed el Mougueddem.
(Que Dieu l'assiste!)

Pour traduction conforme:
Tataouine le 18 Février 1908.
L'Officier Interprète,
[signed] Sumian

Traduction

Louange à Dieu!

Le rédacteur des présentés s'est occupé de l'examen d'un acte revêtu de la signature d'un certain nombre de notaires de R'adamès, acte conservé par Ahmed ben Abd el Lehaïef des Oulad Debbab, aux termes duquel un certain nombre de gens du Touat (plus de 15) déclarent se mettre sous la protection du Cheikh Mohammed ben AbdelLathaïef frère d'Ahmed ben AbdelLathaïef et s'engagent à lui verser le tribut dans les mêmes conditions que les gens de R'adamès vis-à-vis des Ouderna. De son côté Mohammed ben Abdalah leur doit aide et protection quand ils voyagent et à leur passage dans le "fiafi" (désert en partie habitable); ils doivent les protéger même contre les Ouer'emma. Les

Touati comparants déclarent agir au nom de tous leurs frères du Touat.

Aujourd'hui le cheikh Ahmed dit avoir perdu l'acte en question. Les présentés en tiendront lieu.

Fait vers le milieu de Djoumadi, le 1er 1244. (Novembre 1828)

Signé: Ahmed ben Bou Taieb el Djellithi, des Ouerr'emma.

Pour traduction conforme:
Tataouine, le 18 Février 1908,
L'Officier Interprète,
Signé: Sumian.

Traduction

Louange à Dieu seul!

La pésente lettre émanant de la Djemaa du quartier des Beni Mazir' est addressée aux vénerés nos compagnons de la Djemaa des Oulad Aoun (Ouerr'amma). Que Dieu les protège!

Ensuite, que le salut soit sur vous tous, grands et petits, hommes et femmes, ainsi que la miséricorde de dieu et des bénédictions! Que Dieu soit loué dansx toutes circonstances et qu'il soit exalté!

Sachez que tous ceux qui ont "compagnons" chez les Ouerr'emma sont en droit d'exiger d'eux leur protection sur eux et sur tout ce qui les touche. Vous avez cependant oubliés et assez cessé de vous occuper de nos affaires. Il est vrai que ceux d'entre nous, aussi bien de votre côte que du nôtre qui se connaissaient ont disparu au sein de le miséricorde de Dieu et que, par suite, les relations réciroques sont devenues rares. Nous ne nous conaissons donc plus; mais, s'il plait à dieu, du jour où nous renouerons des relations, le bien en résultera. Apprenez que la Djemaa des Oulad Chehida (Ouerr'amma) sous les ordres d'el Aouini nous ont razziés et nous ont pris onze chameaux, deux chamelons et un esclave. Nous sommes des gens de zaouia connus pour notre honnêteté chez les particuliers aussi bien que dans les collectivités. Or ces gens-là nous ont attaqués et nous ont pris notre bien arbitrairement, en enemis. Mais vous êtes là, et nous vous demandons de faire restituer nos chameaux et notre esclave. Nous ne voulons pas nous plaindre officiellement; nous vous envoyons l'un de nous, el Hadj Ali ben Aïssa, imam de mosquée. Si Dieu vous inspire, vous l'aiderez et lui remettrez les animaux enlevés comme doivent faire tous les "compagnons" pour leurs compagnons; si vous nous abandonnez, nous serons des victimes.

Répondez-nous par lettre. Quant à nous, nous ne pouvons abandonner les traditions en usage avec vous, fils de pères, que avec votre consentement. El Hadj Ali à son retour nous remettra votre décision. La présente lettre vous est addressée pour vous faire connaître ce qui précède.

Fait le Redjeb 1297 (juin 1879)

Pour traduction conforme

Tataouine, le 18 Février 1908,
L'Officier Interprète
Signé Sumian

Source:
Annexes to Rapport du Cpt. Donau, Médenine, 27 February 1908.
MAE.NS.68.

APPENDIX IX

DIVIDE AND RULE: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TRIBES AND THEIR USE BY THE FRENCH

9.1 Nomads and Farmers.

Like so much of our understanding of pre-Protectorate Tunisia the reality of relations and distinctions between the nomadic and sedentary tribes is disguised by the prejudiced and propogandist literature and documentation of the colonial period. The stereotypes are clear: the nomads embodied all that was bad in Tunisia, they were fanatical, violent, destructive, bullying, thieving, lazy, incompetent and inprescient; the sedentary communities all that was good.

According to the contemporary interpretation of Maghrebian history it was the nomad, more than any other factor, that had reduced Tunisia to its deplorable condition on the eve of the Protectorate. Tunisia's halcyon days as a Province of the Roman Empire were a product of Imperial security and a sound agricultural economy. The Arab invasions were but a temporary set back in a 'golden age' which continued well into the 11th century[1]. Then, to use Ibn Khaldun's simile - familiar to the French through de Slane's 1852-56 translation - 'une nuée de sauterelles', the Beni Hillal and Beni Soleim nomads, were unleashed upon the Maghreb in 1052[2]. Their orgy of destruction obliterated Tunisian agriculture, uprooted trees, pulled down the irrigation works, and imposed a regime of pastoral nomadism that assured subsequent poverty. To quote only the most recent in a long line of historians favouring this interpretation

> l'invasion hilaliene, brutale, massive et imprévisable, redoutable promotion du nomadisme arabe, a voué à une anarchie séculaire la Bérberie orientale dont elle a détruit la civilisation florissante et le potential.[3]

It became a popular image. M. Pavy, speaking at the inauguration of L'Institut de Carthage, began with Tunisia's wealth under Rome and then went on to describe the Beni Hilal

> L'herbe même ne pousse plus, dit une proverbe, où leurs cavales ont passé [...] Jamais la Barbarie fait nation, ne s'incarna plus terriblement. Jamais pareille force, décuplée encore par un fanatisme aveugle ne feut plus redoutablement mise au service du genie de la destruction.[4]

Some went so far as to ascribe the very poverty of the soils and the aridity of the climate to the depredations of the nomad[5].

Even before the occupation of Tunisia this interpretation of Tunisian history had its critics. Mercier, for example, argued that Carette's estimate of one million for the size of the Hilalien invasion was an exaggeration and suggested the more credible statistic of two hundred thousand, itself an overestimate[6]. More recent historians have eschewed the 'destructive horde' interpretation altogether. Economic decline, documents from the Geniza archives suggest, began well before the Beni Hilal[7], and nomadism was more its product than its cause[8]. The arrival of the Beni Hilal and Soleim far from being sudden and unforeseen, seems to have taken many years and been at the request of the the Ziridi dynasty for whom they may have acted as auxiliaries[9]. Nor were they the wild tribesmen and enemies of order that later historians described, on the contrary in the years before the 'invasion' they had peacefully co-existed with agriculture'[10].

Whatever its historical worth the myth of the Hilal did much to prejudice the French against the nomads. Nomadism was seen as a way of life incompatible with agriculture. Nomads destroyed trees, fed crops to their herds, and cared little for irrigation works and accessories of agriculture. If agriculture was to expand in Tunisia the nomads must either change their way of life or leave. In reality the distinction between nomad and sedentary was by no means as clear as these commentators would have us believe (see Chapter 2).

Moreover, the argument continued, nomadism had expanded only at the expense of agriculture and its sedentary practitioners. In

Southern Tunisia the communities cultivating the fertile plains were forced by the invaders into the barren and inhospitable mountians

> Réfugié dans un pays difficile pour éviter les incursions des voisins pillards, le Matmatien a été réduit à vivre du sol de ses montagnes comme il l'avait vu faire à ses ancêtres les Kabyles de l'Ouest.[11]

> les autochones [étaient] réduits à chercher leur moyen d'existence dans les ravins de la falaise.[12]

There, only by their skill and perseverance, they were able to establish a system of cultivation based on a labour intensive agricultural technology the djesser

> la ténacité et l'industrie des berbères qui habitent cette région, des jebalîya, ont réussi à créer des jardins dans un pays où on ne voit tout d'abord que des pierres.[13]

To the geographer Xavier de Planhol these became mountain fortresses where the native population had sheltered from the nomadic onslaught, surviving in adverse conditions only their skill and perseverence[14]. Again the reality was very different from the colonial perception. The mountains far from being the poor agricultural environment assumed were to be preferred to the surrounding plains (see Chapter 2).

The assumption that the sedentary communities were denied access to the plains was equally inaccurate. Military reports from before the occupation of the South reveal that the mountain tribes used pastures both in the plain and in the Dahar[15]. North in Matmata and south at Douiret acts from the 1870's demonstrate that the herds of sedentary communities pastured along side those of the nomads[16], and the oasis communities used ploughlands outside the oases, and depended on distant pastures for the survival of their herds[17].

Those sedentary communities that remained in Tunisia, French writers argued, were continually harassed and threatened by their nomadic neighbours. The nomad was by nature rapacious and besides, the argument went, the poverty of the nomadic economy compelled them to steal from their more productive neighbours. For them 'le pillage tient une grande place dans leurs moyens d'existence'[18]. The consequent insecurity inhibited agricultural and commercial

development[19]. Mirscher's explanation of the decline of the oasis of Ghadames is typical of its period

> Exposé aux nombreuses incursions des Our'rama [Ouerghamma], sans aucune protection du gouvernment Turc, dont le rôle se borne à l'éxploitation de la Tripolitaine, cette oasis, comme celle de grand Sinaoun et Chaoua, est en plein décadence.[20]

The island of Djerba, as Rebillet pointed out, demonstrated the potential of the country protected from the bedouin[21]. Sedentary communities were, it was claimed, particularly susceptible to such attacks where their natural defences were weak, as, for example, in the mountains south of Douiret which 'ont été victimes de l'instinct pillard et dévéstateur des Ouerghamma et moins protégés que leurs voisins ont succombé et ont dû quitter la place'[22].

It is true that the bedouin did raid into the settled areas, but the frequency and severity of these raids was by no means uniform. Among the tribes raiding was a persistent hazard, and the communities bordering the tribal pastures must have suffered in much the same way. Nalout, for example, suffered raids at least annually[23]. Even the natives of the isolated island of Djerba feared nomadic raids, preferring to surrender to the French in 1881 rather than suffer occupation by the mainland tribes, a policy followed by many of the oases inland[24]. Closer to the cities and the state's garrisons, however, raiding was less common, the product of some extraordinary circumstance, a tribal revolt, or, all too often, a drought[25].

In the south, however, it was not the raiding by nomadic tribes that caught the attention of the administration and the public but the system of 'oppression', formalised in the payment of 'protection money'. Medieval historians used the term **kefara** to describe payments made by oasis communities to neighbouring nomads for protection against other tribes, payments enforced by the threat of violence[26]. It was a practice that continued into the 19th century and the early years of the Protectorate under the name **djeddada**[27] or, in acts of the Ouderna referring to collective payments by the quarters of Ghadamès and Touat, by the term **saiba**

arbia (See Appendix VIII). For the French these payments were an unmitigated evil. Described as 'tribute' in many of the documents, the Service officers and the public preferred to label the the practice extortion, the proceeds of an open protection racket.

A still greater iniquity was the subjection of the mountain communities, not through a tribute levied on the fraction as a whole, but through personal contracts that bound individual sedentaries to nomadic masters. It was a relationship described by the French as 'servage', but their meaning, as Rebillet's description makes clear, was stronger: 'Leur situation est misérable, leur attitude est celle d'esclaves, et leur condition est pire que l'esclavage'[28]. The Djebalia paid their nomad 'masters' an annual revenue, the **'adda** or **'ollaga**. Initially an open contract in which the sedentary paid an annual revenue for the service of protection, the French argued that the relationship had gradually soured as the nomads demanded greater and greater revenues and privileges until it became a veritable slavery. The payments were considerable, providing the nomads with a substantial revenue, and the sedentaries with a heavy obligation[29].

These payments in kind were, French commentators believed, a small part of the Djebalia's burden. For Rebillet and Goguyer the nomad effectively owned the land cultivated by the sedentary. He could not dispossess his 'serf' but

> celui-ci vend le patrimonie commun sans consulter et dispose de tous les accessoires de l'immeuble, bétail, provisions, sans consulter et davantage, sans autre règle à l'exercise de son droit de maître que celle de son intérêt bien entendu.[30]

It was a practise that inevitably led to analogies with slavery

> Une famille djebalia avait d'autant plus de valeur qu'elle était nombreuse en enfants mâles; chose difficile à croire mais cependant vraie, c'est que les droits sur les familles vendaient comme un marchandaise.[31]

An interpretation that was further encouraged by the inheritance of 'master-serf' relationships through families, the belief that 'le montagnard privé de sahab nomad était obligé de desparaître de la contrée'[32], and the scornful treatment of the 'serfs' by their nomad

'masters' such that 'le droit de seigneur va jusqu'à verser le sang du serf impunément'[33]. So heavily did the weight of servitude bear upon some of the mountain communities that they preferred to abandon their villages and flee to the north[34].

Military power was seen as the means by which the nomad dominated his sedentary neighbours. 'Les nomades sont des conquérants', wrote Goguyer, and by virtue of this 'maîtres'[35]. In the case of the smaller communities this was possibly true, particularly where the sedentary community shared the same oasis or ksar as its nomadic 'masters':

> Une partie de les djebalia vivent dans les ksours même des Ouderna qui les ont complètement asservis, et les traitent comme des serfs taillables et corvéables à merci.[36]

Forest and Goguyer both point to the greater exactions of the nomads on these communities, the el Galâa for example, both in the revenues, the 'masters' control of the land, and his control of the 'serf'.

The assumption of the nomads superior military ability must, however, be questioned. At a general level Talal Asad has argued that

> pastoralists have been more successful at resisting than imposing structures of domination: those who engage in animal husbandry as their basic means of livelyhood do not have the capacity to establish a permanent military advantage over cultivators at any significant scale.[37]

an argument already advanced by Forest in the context of some of the djebalia of Southern Tunisia

> Rien de tel [the servage experienced by the small communities of the Jebel Abiodh] s'est produit sur le djebel proprement dit, en raison de l'impossibilté d'occuper le pays et parrallèlement de mater les tribus qui y'habitent.[38]

The Djebel Demmer was inaccessible. According to the Army's Geographical Service there were only fifteen negotiable passes between Matmata to Douiret, any of which a few men could 'tenir longtemps une colonne en échec en défendant les approches des citernes et des defiles'[39]. What is more the sedentary communities

had built fortresses close to their villages, and defensible granaries where they could shelter from attack.

The sedenatary tribes were also creditable fighters. Tissot wrote of the Matmata that 'le camp gardé par ces intrepides fantassins, excellentes tirreurs, c'est à l'abri de toute surpris'[40]. On numerous occasions they demonstrated their abilities: the Matmata defeated General Otsman's mahalla at Haddege in 1869[41], in 1872 the Fessatou repelled and killed sixty two Chaamba raiders[42], and in 1882 the Accara repelled a raid by the Ouerghamma[43]. The sedentary fractions were no more invinsible than the nomads, but the nomads could not attack them with impunity as some of the colonial sources would have us believe. Nor were the mountain communities frightened into their mountain fastnesses. At the time of the French occupation they had already begun to move down into the valleys. This descent was most pronounced in Matmata where before the Protectorate, indeed as early as the 1840's, there were already three entire troglodyte villages with houses dug into the loess of the valley floor[44]. This descent may have begun as early as the sixteenth century[45].

In light of their military abilities it is worth re-examining the sedentary communties servitude. Oasis communities in Nefzaoua, all of whom paid some revenues to the Touareg, were under no threat of direct control by the nomads. They could, effectively repulse their attacks[46], but hostility with their neighbours was a tiresome inconvenience. Use of pastures in the erg, where the Nefzaoui were no match for the Touareg mounted on swift **mehari**, depended on the 'protection' of the Touareg. Of course the tribes of Nefzaoua might have enjoyed these pastures *pro gratis*, as was later the case, but it would be wrong to argue that they received nothing for their money.

The master-servant relationship of the Ouderna and Djebalia was not described in these terms by the tribes themselves. The term sahab, used to reciprocally identify the 'patron' and the 'client', means friend not master. This was, moreover, reflected in the mutual respect of the relationship. Associations between the sahab and the 'client' were, all the sources agree, freely contracted. There

appears to have been some tradition that linked specific fractions as Table 9.1. depicts, but Goguyer's evidence, the most complete on this matter, demonstrates that the relationships between communities were by no means exclusive[47]. Tradition in the south, furthermore, provides several examples of sedentary communities rejecting the 'suzerainté' (to use Menouillard's phrase) of one nomadic group to associate with another[48]. Similarly the nomad could exchange his sahab with that in another tribe or sell the revenues to another fraction (see Appendix 4). Not all contracts had the same value. An association with a cheikh, Le Boeuf assures us, was worth far more than with any lesser tribesman[49]. A distinction which implies the contracts role as an alliance rather than as a simple payment of patronage.

The bond between the sahab and his client was defined by a contract, often a written act, which stated the responsibilities of each partner and they both had recourse to the qanoun if they were dissatisfied. Louis quotes the only available example of such a contract, which states simply that the sedentary provided an annual income or 'ollaga comprising a specified amount of oil, figs, and items of clothing[50]. Other sources give differing lists of goods but the total revenue generated by the various fractions varied little (see Table 9.2.). In exchange the sahab protected his client. This was not necessarily an empty service

> le nomade devait employer son temps, son energie et son influence auprès des siens pour obtenir, le cas écheant, la réparation des dommages causés a son sahab montagnard. Le nomade protecteur ne devait pas hesiter à risquer même sa vie pour faire obtenir satisfaction à son protegé.[51]

Following raids on the Douiret by the Nouail in 1886 the Od. Chehida set off in chase, caught up with the raiders and after a bloody fight returned the stolen herds[52]. The nomad also gave access to pastures and may even have herded the sedentary's animals. Tissot's 1857 report suggests as much[53], and letters to and from the Matmata to the Algerian government following a Chaamba raid on the Beni Zid in 1877, provide documentary evidence. Of approximately 300 camels

seized (this was the figure eventually agreed in contrast to the original claim of the Beni Zid for 1,218 animals) 145 belonged to their clients in Matmata[54]. Le Boeuf describes a similar practice among the Djebalia[55]. The close resemblance between the 'adda and the shepherd's contract (see Chapter 5) may, in this context, be significant rather than coincidental. In the same way the tribal reports show the sedentary communities to have enjoyed the use of ploughlands in the plains. The Matmata, for example, usually ploughed beside the Beni Zid[56]. Sedentary tribes could only have used pastures distant from the mountains and ploughlands with the protection of the nomads. Without this their diverse economy would have been impossible.

The relationship was more symbiotic than a dichotomy and oppression of the sedentary by the nomad[57]. The relationship between the nomad 'patrons' and their 'sedentary' clients was certainly more equal than that described by the French. Some were, it should be admitted, more equal than others. As Rebillet pointed out, the communities of the Djebel Abiodh living beside their semi-nomadic patrons, the Ahl el-Kalaa, the Tazeghdanet, and the Tachout among the Od. Chehida, were in less of a position to assert themselves. They were despised as 'farmers' by their nomadic 'masters' but they do not seem to have suffered from the 'yoke' as Rebillet would have us believe[58]. Most were prosperous cultivators, who enjoyed considerable independence inspite, or perhaps because, of the proximity of their powerful neighbours.

Although there were some writers who sought to to defend nomadism both intellectually and politically (Bernard and Lacroix with their 'L'évolution du Nomadisme en Algérie' are perhaps the most influential example) they were but a minority. Most of the French in Tunisia, and the colonial press in particular, attacked the nomads as a hindrance to development and a threat to the ordered way of life the Protectorate represented. Colonists feared the nomad, feared him almost hysterically, and to the government the nomad was always a potential rebel. Arguments provided by the destructiveness of the Hilal and the oppression and slavery in

Southern Tunisia were, consequently, marshalled in justification of a systematic attack on the nomadic way of life.

The French interpreted their occupation of the south as a liberation of the sedentary communities. Inconvenient evidence of resistance to the French occupation among the sedentary tribes was dismissed as the product of nomadic intimidation

> Pour les paissables habitants des oases, auxquels les nomades imposaient l'insurrection sous menace de la pillage, l'approche du division Logerot fut considérée comme déliverance.[59]

The situation of sedentary tribes, and its 'just resolution' became justifications for the occupation. To quote Général Dionne

> ils sont opprimés par eux [the Ouderna] et ésperant à une emancipation que seuls nous pouvons leur assurer, ils ont en outre, à l'inverse des Ouderna, toute à gagner par l'établissement de l'ordre et la sécurité.[60]

It was an interpretation the sedentary communities were at pains to propogate. Even the Matmata, Bourgognon reports of a conversation with Sassi Fattouch in 1887, praised the French for delivering them from the nomads' 'yoke'[61]. In these circumstances the elimination of sahab relations, interpreted as the worst manifestation of this oppression, inevitably figured prominently among the Service's policies. Unfortunately Captain Cuinet's report (dated 1st October 1893) detailing the measures taken to end these payments has been lost[62]. Nevertheless other sources show that these exchanges had come to an end by the mid-1890's. The nomads received no compensation and lost an important source of cereals and fruit, while the sedentary communities, protected by the French, continued to use the nomads' pastures. Goguyer considered this an injustice,

> Nos administrateurs, mus sans doute par un sentiment généreux, empressons-nous de le dire, ont commis la faute de dépouiller une caste au profit d'une autre caste.[63]

His advise, to tread more gently in the elimination of the payments, was ignored.

The elimination of the formal exchange in the 'client' relationships marked only the beginning of a systematic

discrimination against, restriction, and robbery of the nomad under the Protectorate. The tax privileges the nomad enjoyed before the Protectorate were gradually dropped. By the First World War they were on a completely equal footing with their sedentary neighbours (see Chapter 6). Controls of movement were introduced, imposed on all Tunisians, but aimed specifically at regulating the nomads' migrations. As Colonel Faure-Bigaud stressed when advising the institution of these passes, the free movement of tribesmen throughout the Règence presented a grave threat to security[64]. The intention was not to prevent the traditional transhumance, which was recognised as a necessity of the nomadic economy, but to control and direct it. In practice, however, regulation successively disrupted, restricted, and, in response to the changing economy of the receiving areas, transformed its pattern.

Although the Department of Agriculture approved of migrations other government departments did not. Whilst the migrations were small scale the main concern was that inter-tribal hostilities would break the peace[65]. But, as numbers increased after the First World War, many began to fear for public order and the safety of the colonists dispersed in the bled. The Department of Public Security, for example, complained to the Résident Général in 1922

> Du point de vue de la securité cette exode [the movement of Southern tribes to the North] présente des dangers sérieux pour les colons et les propriétaires indigènes du Nord, à la protection desquels il y a lieu d'apporter toute votre attention.[66]

The colonial press was particularly concerned. As early as 1920 'La Tunisie Française', the most outspoken newspaper of the colonial faction, called on armed groups of colonists to

> empêcher les delits de pacage commis partout où elles passent par ces vagabonds qui ne savent pas respecter le bien d'autrui. C'est ce qui passe actuellement en Algérie où les tribus transhumantes s'installent de vive force sur les propriétés qui leur plaisant.[67]

Seven years later the Chambre Mixte du Commerce et de l'Agriculture du Centre, claiming that 'cette exode présente un grave danger pour les agriculteurs', demanded

> Que les migrations des nomades soient réglementés avec un vigeur tout particulière et que des mesures soient envisagés pour assurer le retour de ces tribus dans leur pays d'origin.[68]

By the 1930's the colonists saw themselves as 'menacés par l'inva sion des bedouins'[69], and the seasonal transhumance took on the proportions of a new Beni Hilal that might swamp the Protectorate. Nor was security their only concern. 'Les nomades qui entournent Tunis sont ils une menace pour la santé publique?' 'Le Petit Matin' asked rhetorically. To which both the paper and the government answered, emphatically, yes[70]. Ill fed, ill clothed, and diseased the nomads brought with them malaria, typhus, small pox, and plague epidemics that reinforced the colons' paranoia and hostility.

By the 1940's there was a new type of migrant, the starving bedouin 'infintement plus dangereuse [than the transhumant] pour les colons et agriculteurs tunisiens'[71]. The government's solution to the problem of transhumance was to impose more and more restictions on the tribes' movements. Migrants with herds were discouraged and so the old nomadism declined. Instead the migrant came with only enough animals to transport his belongings. His principal purpose was to find seasonal work.

Restricted to the unreliable pastures of the south, bordering the desert, and with the better pastures in this region occupied by plantations, the nomad tribes were gradually forced to settle. But if sedentarisation was the unforeseen product of the restrictions on nomadism, it was also policy in itself. For the military, as Rebillet stated in the earliest plans for the occupation of the south, sedentarisation offered the prospect of peaceable tribesmen forced into submission by their dependence on agriculture and attachment to the land[72]. For the economists and agriculturalists sedentarisation was a pre-condition for development, replacing nomadic pastoralism with intensive agriculture and arboriculture. And lastly, for the colonists sedentarisation offered the prospect of large areas of land freed for development[73].

The government's campaign against nomadism went still further: to privilege the sedentary above his nomad neighbour by redistributing land in favour of the farmer. In the late 1890's the caïdats were redefined in the Dahar so that the mountain communities gained preferential access to pastures formerly enjoyed by nomads from Nefzaoua. General Begassière was quite frank about his partiality

> Il avait convenable de favouriser les sédentaires, en raison de leurs aptitudes speciales à mettre le sol en valeur: mais la mésure n'était basée sur aucun droit de propriéte ou même de parcours, car il n'en existe pas dans le Dahar.[74]

Eight years later the military moved the border between Nefzaoua and Tataouine still further to the west to encourage the sedentary tribesmen, these 'individualités entreprennantes'[75].

The presumption that the sedentary communities were better able to develop the south's agricultural resources was, however, only one reason for this discrimination. The military were also motivated by a desire to redress the injustices suffered by these oppressed communities confined to the mountains by the surrounding nomads. As Lt. Dévaux explains in his report on a land dispute between the Douiret and the Od. Slim, their former sahab

> Il semblerait équilibre de réviser un peu les partages, adoptés jusqu'à ce jour, en donnant aux Douiret les terrains qu'on estimera leur étre nécessaire.[76]

The resultant delimitation gave the Douiret 80,000 ha. of land formerly recognised as belonging to semi-nomadic fractions. Following this success the Douiret tried, in 1934, to extend still further their land holdings in the plain. Their case was rejected but, considering the documentary evidence available to the nomads, it received a remarkably sympathetic hearing from the government[77].

The sedentary communities were also better able to take advantage of economic growth during the Protectorate period. They were more competent and more enthusiastic in their extension of arboriculture, their long tradition of employment in the cities allowed them a supplementary source of income, and their sedentary

life style gave them easier access to government services. Besides, with their economy based on arboriculture rather than herds, they suffered less from the droughts of the 1930's. Contemporaries note a growing disparity of wealth between the nomad and the sedentary (Chapter 4). In the 1940's Moreau contrasted the bankruptcy of nomadism with the stable economy of the oases and mountain communities[78]. Prost and Clarke both argued that the standard of living had risen among the sedentary communities whilst it had remained stable or even fallen among nomads[79]. The contrast was not lost on the nomads. The Protectorate's discriminatory policies were seen for what they were. Alienated from the regime it is not suprising to find them playing a particularly active part in the terrorism on the eve of Independence. The sedentary communities, in contrast, remained largely indifferent[80].

The Protectorate was not content, however, to divide the communities economically, it sought a formal political, social, and administrative division that would provide the basis of an alliance with the sedentary communities. It sought to divide and rule.

9.2. A Berber Republic.

The development of a political and administrative policy towards the sedentary communities was based on the belief that these communities enjoyed a racial unity that set them apart from the surrounding nomads as Berbers rather than Arabs. Berthelon and Chantré's anthropometric study of North Africa [81] and more popular accounts describe the Berbers as more Caucasian than Semitic

> dont les types ont le profil délicat, le tient peu bistré et les yeux bleus.[82]

> généralement de taille moyenne, trapus, au front large et plat, à l'eil vif. Leur vigeur est peu commune ils ont surtout les muscles des jambes très developés et sont piétons de premier ordre.[83]

There was also a distinct Berber personality: 'intéressé, économe, prévoyant et rangé'[84] and 'peu francs, très âpres au gain mais intelligents et laborieux'[85]. In contrast the Arabs were; 'lourds d'allure, lâches, traîtres, peu hospitaliers, éternellement divisés

entre eux'[86]. Albergoni and Pouillon correctly dismiss these quotations as 'sotisses'[87], nevertheless, these stereotypes formed the prejudices of the administration. Prejudices that were fed by further, but largely false, distinctions of culture and economy.

Idoux, for example, claimed that the Berbers were formerly Christians and had never been completely Islamicised. In support of this assertion he pointed to the persistence of the qanoun rather than Islamic law in the communities of the south[88]. Much was made of the djemâa as a political institution peculiar, the French implied, to Berber communities. It was an institution which established a link between the Berber civilisation and that of ancient Rome. An institution which suggested a democratic principle, if not a democratic reality in Berber society[89]. To Le Boeuf, a prominent military officer, the Berber communities were 'petits républiques'[90]. Commentators also described a particular Berber economy, based on arboriculture and complex water-gathering technologies[91]. Superficial similarities between the disparate Berber communities of North Africa were advanced as arguments for distinct Berber historical, religious, and linguistic tradition, a unity of Berber culture and society across the Maghreb, a unity that confirmed the distinction between the Berber and Arab.

Contrasts were seen in every facet: in race Caucasian/Semitic, in character industrious/lazy, in politics democrats/tyrants, in economy farmers/nomads, and so by extension good/bad. They were not unique to Southern Tunisia, indeed most of the descriptions of that region drew on the work of an earlier generation of French writers describing the Berber communities of Kabylie, the Mzab, and the Djebel Aurès[92]. That these distinctions were fallacious was demonstrated when commentators attempted to identify specific Berber communities in Southern Tunisia.

It was generally accepted that the Berbers were in place before the Arab invasions (though the debate as to whether they were the indigenous inhabitants or, as the Arab historians argued, early immigrants still continues[93]). How great a proportion these racial Berbers were in the population of the south was never assessed, their predominance was simply assumed. Commentators recognised,

their predominance was simply assumed. Commentators recognised, however, that Arab culture had eroded, in some cases even replaced, that of the native Berbers. While some have argued that this 'Arabisation' was imposed, that the Berber culture was swamped by the Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim, most historians regard this Arabisation as a gradual process, an assimilation rather than an imposition[94]. As Berbers adopted Islam, Arabic, Arab culture and *genres de vie* they became, to use the French classification, *Berbers-Arabisés*. These were, according to French accounts, only small proportion of the population in the south. Violard, for example, claimed that of the 40,000 Ouerghamma 34,000 were Berbers, a mere 4,000 Berbers-Arabisés and even fewer, 2,500, Arabs[95]. Le Boeuf, who includes the Touazine, Accara, Khezour, and the whole of the Ouderna among the 'républiques Berbères' of the south, confirms the numerical predominance of the Berber culture and race[96]. That most of these tribes were nomadic or semi nomadic, that none spoke Berber, and that they rejected any Berber identity ('les Oureghamma', wrote Victor Mayet, 'se disent arabes, mais ils ne sont pas'[97]) seems to have mattered little to the French.

In reality Berber culture, if we define it narrowly, but at least measurably, by the use of Berber language, was extremely restricted by 1882. The written script, of which there was an example in the Mosque at Douiret in 1885[98], had been forgotten generations before and the spoken language was restricted to a few villages: Zraoua, Taoujoudt, and Tamezredt in Matmata; Chenini, Guermessa, and Douiret in the Djebel Demmer; and to a substantial, though isolated, community on Djerba[99]. These mountain communities, in contrast to the Berbers-Arabisés, identified themselves as of Berber origin and made an effort to preserve their Berber identity through rigid endogamy and social segregation[100].

It was to these self confessed Berbers that the administration turned in its attempt to create a Berber republic. European writers were sympathetic towards them. They were oppressed by their nomadic neighbours and had sought deliverance in the French occupation. They also seemed to appreciate French rule more than their nomad neighbours. 'Elles sont biens disposés pour les Français', Rebillet

Europeans racially and culturally than their Arab neighbours. Because of this they were favoured. To quote the closing phrases of Masqueray's influential 'Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie'

> elles [the Berbers] ne diffèrent de notre société actuelle que comme les abrissaux battus par le vent sahaien diffèrent des arbres de nos forêts, en développement, non en nature. Ayons bon ésperance d'élever jusqu'à nous les hommes qui les ont conçues. Nos moyens d'action sont assez puissants pour y parvenvir, si nous voulons résoluement les faire profiter, en retour de notre conquête, de la supériorité que nous devons à fortune meilleure et aux expériences de notre passé.[102]

Some believed that the Berbers could be assimilated into the European population, reinforcing it against the hostile Arabs[103]. The less ambitious assigned them a distinct but still supportive role. In 1886 Rebillet argued that 'les habitants de Duirat sont nos alliés naturels du pays'[104]. Colonel Foucher reiterrated the same belief (prophetically) on the eve of the First World War : 'il est certain que en cas de trouble on pourrait compter sur les djebalia plus que sur les nomades'[105].

In Algeria France's Berber policy had sought to separate and distinguish the Berber and the Arab, to reinforce the Berber culture and eliminate Arab influences. Berber customs, culture, and their political integrity were reasserted and reinforced by the elevation of the djemâa to administrative and judicial functions previously performed by Arab caïds and cadis. After the revolt of 1871 the emphasis of Algeria's policy changed to one of assimilation through use of French administration, law, and education. It was however only a change of style. The intention remained, as modern Algerian historians stress, to divide Algerian society, to alienate the Berber minority from the Arab majority, by increasing old and creating new distinctions and resentments between the communities[106].

Albergoni and Pouillon have suggested in a recent study that no comprehensive and defined Berber policy was formulated in Tunisia. Instead

> On peut (ainsi) trouver trace d'une multitude des mesures et d'intentions ponctuelles, révélent un certain pati pro-berbère; si aucun dessin politique ne s'en dégage, on est amené à inférer - pour cette époque et à cette niveau local - un climat et une attitude diffuse qui ont pu autant que les mesures concrètes, froisser les «susceptibilités arabes» les plus jalouses de leur statut et de leurs privilèges.[107]

Pro-Berber and anti-Arab prejudice permeated every level of the military administration. It was reflected, for example, in the territorial gains Berber, and other sedentary, communities made from delimitations of collective land and administrative units.

Besides this piecemeal favouritism the military also tried to segregate the Berbers within the administration, to isolate the Berbers from their Arab neighbours. Doctor Berthelon advocated such a policy in 1894

> Nous avons trouvé, entre Gabès et la Tripolitaine, une sorte de petit état Berbère, semi-indépendant; notre intérêt était de lui conserver son originalité et son autonomie; au lieu de cela nous l'avons soumis au l'influence beylicale. Grâce à nous, actuellement on l'arabise; de la sorte on unifie la Régence. Cette unification ne peut se réaliser qu'à notre détriment en vertu de l'axiome qui commande de 'diviser pour régner'.[108]

The following year Matmata (formerly divided in two by the administration, with one khalifa in the north responsible to the caïd of Aradh and a second in the south responsible to Médenine) was united and established as a seperate Berber caïdat. It became the only Berber caïdat in the south. But within two years the caïd was revoked and subsequent caïds were appointed from outside the region. As a result its Berber identity was lost[109].

Administrative segregation was more successful among the Djebalia of Tataouine. In 1894, Govenor Allegro appointed Belgassem Leffat, at that time Khalifa of Douiret, his naib with authority over the Berber communities of Douiret, Chenini, Guermessa, Guettofa, Beni Barka, Sedra, and Beni Ykhzer. Allegro's intention was clearly to impart some unity to the disparate Berber communities: 'il [Leffat] sera chargé de leur administration comme il est chargé de celle de leurs frères de Douiret'[110]. Although the

military disapproved initially'[11], they soon came round. When, in the following year, Leffat proposed the attachment of the Berber communities of Mekhalba, then part of the cheikhat of the Od. Debbab, and Guettofa and Tunket, part of the Ajerda, to the khalifat of the Djebalia, the military readily accepted. Officers at Tataouine explained that the sedentary communities were often in conflict with or harassed by the 'Arabs' in their cheikhats, and at a policy level

> puisque en crèant le khalifa des Djebalia on semble avoir voulu donner aux montagnards une certaine autonomie dans le caidat des Oudernas, il n'y a point de raison pour laisser ainsi deux de leurs fractions sous l'autorité d'un chef nomade dont la direction de tout temps suscité des plaintes de ses adversaires.'[12]

Detached from their nomad sahab these communities were amalgamated to form financially viable cheikhats (the Guettofa were combined with the Beni Ykhzer, the Sedra with the Tazardant) and then united with the other communities of the Djebel Demmer to form a Berber khalifat under a Berber khalifa. This may not have had the territorial integrity the French would have wished but it effectively isolated the Berber communities within the administration. When, in 1897, the caïdat of the Ouderna was abandoned and the khalifats re-organised that of the Djabalia was retained as

> nécessaire pour sauvegarder les intérèts des populations sédentaires chez les Oudernas, outre les avantages politiques qu'elle présenta.'[13]

Its future seemed secure, yet fifteen years later the khalifat was relegated to an honorary position and the khalifa retired.

Albergonni and Pouillon ascribe the policy's collapse to lack of co-operation between the Berber cheikhats'[14]. There is some truth to this. At the time of the occupation the Berber communities were notoriously divided

> Loin de s'unir à eux pour répousser les tribus de la plaine ou seulement contrebalancer les Oudernas, ils combattent isolément et opèrent pour leur compte. Il faut chercher les motifs de cette attitude dans les rivalités

> locales qui divisent ces populations en un nombre considérable de soffs.'[115]

An imposed administrative unity could not overcome traditional emnities. On the contrary by elevating the khalifa of Douiret to a position of pre-eminence among the cheikhats rivalries were only intensified.

Nor were the Berber communities as easily separated from the 'Arab' cheikhats as the French anticipated. In the early years of the khalifat these communities had, it is true, sought independence from the 'Arabs' by becoming distinct administrative units but by the beginning of the 20th century the consequences of this reorganisation were manifest. Most of the small communities were amalgamated or absorbed to form viable administrative units. Competition for leadership and the position of cheikh became intense, with the smaller communities complaining again of oppression and extortion by their larger, though now Berber, neighbours. Feeling ran so high in the cheikhat of Sedra, that when a candidate from Tazardanet was elected the Sedra threatened to migrate to Tripolitania if the new cheikh was imposed'[116].

Furthermore the re-organisation ignored the community of interests between the Berbers and their Arab neighbours. Both the Sedra and the Tazardanet had camped with, and used the pastures and ploughlands of the 'Arab' tribes to which they had been attached (the Deghaghra and Od. Chehida respectively). Separation from these fractions had, for the Sedra at least, isolated them from the lands essential to their survival. For the larger communities such as the Douiret this presented little difficulty. Their size and the support of the influential Leffat family helped them fund legal cases and secure access to areas of the Dahar and the plain. For the Sedra the solution was to seek reintegration within the Deghaghra. Interestingly enough Tazardanet preferred not to be associated with the Od. Chehida, insisting instead on either a cheikhat of their own or association with the Guettofa, another Berber cheikhat. As the kahia makes clear in his report, administrative independence had had little impact on their economy. They continued to camp and pasture

among the Od. Chehida and so administrative independence was a luxury they could afford'[117].

The military also had problems with personnel. Initially Belgassem Leffat seemed the ideal administrator. He was, according to a report of 1889, 'un des rares indigènes qui nous soient devoués et sur lequel on puisse compter'[118], and another in 1896 described how 'dés les debuts de l'occupation il a été pour nous dans le sud un collaborateur zélé et dévoué'[119]. Towards the end of the century, however, he fell from grace. In 1900 he organised a demonstration against a delimitation of the caïdat and accused an officer of corruption. His brother's tax frauds, in which he was implicated, further damaged his reputation. A year later Belgassem visited Tunis on leave. There he reduced himself to a laughing-stock, marching around the town dressed in his red burnous complete with medals saluting every officer he met. Some said he had gone mad'[120]. The military would not brook such behaviour and quickly became hostile towards their former favourite

> Si Belgassem Leffat nous a rendu des services dont il a été du reste largement recompensée. Mais il s'est exagerée ses mérites et dans ces derniers temps il a laisse paraître son mécontentment de ne avoir pas été pourvus de fonctions plus élévés que les siennes. L'autorité militaire lui reprochait surtout de se désinterisser des affaires de son khalifalik; toutefois en considération de son passé, elles fermaient les yeux sur ses manquements. A mon sens, cette indulgence a suffisement duré.[121]

Thereafter the khalifa rarely involved himself in administrative affairs and the military made no attempt to extend his responsibilities. In 1912 he was honourably retired and the khalifat reduced to an honorary position.

To all intents and purposes the khalifat ceased to exist. It was integrated into the caïdat of Tataouine beside the nomad cheikhats. Not all sense of a separate Berber administrative identity was lost with Leffat's retirement, the amines, for example, continued to be organised with the Djebalia as a separate group and many of the Berber cheikhats established in the late 19th century survived. But the driving force had gone. As early as 1900 the Protectorate had recognised the limitations of the Berber Republic,

and, as Begassière's comments above suggest, whilst Leffat still entertained ambitions for the further advancement of the policy and his own authority both had, as far as the military were concerned, attained their fullest potential. The khalifat of the Djebalia had not, after all, succeeded in uniting the Berber communities and so their administrative isolation could serve no purpose.

But the abandonment of the khalifat of the Djebalia did not mark a parting of the ways for the French and the Berbers. The Djebalia's failure to join the revolt in 1915 was taken as testimony of their continued fidelity and justified further privilege. As the President of an Arbitration Committee admits

> Jusqu'à ce jour les Douiret ainsi que les autres Djebalia n'ont pas été amis au partage des terres collectives de l'Annexe. On ne peut plus ignorer ces tribus, travailleuses, calms, qui sont toujours demeures fidèles à notre cause alors que de nombreuses familles des Od. Slim, abandonnent tout, partaient en dissidence.'[122]

The government also sought to advance prominent Berbers within the administration. Ahmed ben Belgassem Leffat, for instance, was appointed caïd of Matmata in 1928 and then Médenine in 1935.

How effective this pro-Berber policy was is difficult to assess. In its attempts to unite the Berbers into a discrete and integral community it certainly failed as the weakness of the khalifat of the Djebalia demonstrates. It was also unable to prevent the erosion of Berber culture. Berthelon had deplored the arabisation of the Berber communities that resulted from their inclusion in the Tunisian administration. For him, and his contemporaries, the persistence of a distinct Berber culture was essential to any policy of divide and rule. He had hoped a separate Berber administration would protect the Berber culture and identity'[123]. But without a Berber script this was impossible. Arabic remained the administrative language in the khalifat, where, it should be remembered, not all all the communities spoke Berber anyway. As the government's intervention in local government increased so did Arabic. Moreover, with the growing importance of emigration to the cities Arabic became more and more a necessity. Far from enjoying a resurgence the Berber language went into a rapid

decline, as a survey commissioned by the Tunisian government in 1922 demonstrated (See Table 9.4.). Captain Sol's report on the situation in Matmata elucidates the general process

> La langue Arabe fait sans cesse de nouveau progrès dans les milieux berbères, et tend à submerger les quelques groupements qui ont conservé la langue de leurs ancêtres. Aujourd'hui le groupe berberphone ne comprend plus que les cheikhats de Zraoua et de Tamazredt, soit une population total de neuf cent individus environ. Ce nombre de l'avis mêmes des indigènes diminue chaque année et déjà on peut constater que nombre d'individus des dits cheikhats n'emploient plus que la langue arabe dans leurs conversations.[124]

Further south Chenini and Douiret remained the only two Berber speaking communities because 'la fraction de Guermessa a presque complètement abandonné l'usage du dialecte berbère, seuls quelques viellards le parlent encore'[125]. Women might try and prevent the loss of the language by speaking it amongst thmselves but it was a losing battle.

The French believed that the pro-Berber policy cemented an alliance between the Berbers and the Protectorate, and they took the events of 1915 as their proof. Algerian historians have, however, been sceptical about the success of the Berber policy in the Kabylie. Khaddache argues that the Berbers resented the governments attempts to draw them apart from the Arabs and that the Kabylie took an active part in the attempts to overthrow French rule in the years after 1945[126].

The evidence does not support such a view of self sacrificing national unity in Southern Tunisia, but it is clear that the Berbers were more equivocal supporters of the Protectorate than the French would ever admit. Although few Berbers took an active part in the 1915 revolt (see Table 6.17.) government investigation revealed that the cheikhs Douiret and Chenini entered into negotiations with the rebels[127]. If the revolt had shown more promise they might well have joined. During the 1920's and 1930's the Berber communities sheltered and succoured the bands of fellaga in the Dahar. Later in the 1930's Berbers in Matmata and at Douiret established Nationalist cells[128]. In these circumstances to describe a close association

between the Berbers and the French would certainly be misleading. Of course the Protectorate had its supporters among the Berber communities, the family Leffat, for example, as it did among the 'Arabs', but it seems that these associations were more opportunistic and personal than permanent and corporate.

If the Berber policy failed to secure a French/Berber alliance it succeeded in alienating the 'Arabs'. Indeed one wonders sometimes whether the measures taken were intended to slight the Arab more than to attract the Berber. At an early date Goguyer warned that to overthrow the relationships that existed before the Protectorate might incur the resentment of these tribes. He advised a less divisive and antagonistic policy

> Comment fera-t-a croire aux nomades - élément important aussi à notre point de vue, pasteurs, transporteurs, soldats - comment leur fera-t-on croire que nous agissons autrement que par une antipathie invincible, capable de nous faire méconnaître nos véritsables inérêts? Et comment cette antipathie, dont ils peuvent trouver là un indice, ne provoquerait-elle pas chez eux un sentiment réciproque?[129]

Arab tribesmen also resented the appointment of Berbers to senior posts. When, in 1889, Rebillet appointed a Douiri as Bach Chouach of the makhzen at Tataouine 'Arab' tribesmen boycotted the post rather than be put under the authority of a Berber[130]. The government recognised that such appointments were unpopular and turned down Ahmed ben Belgasem Leffat's candidature as kahia of Tataouine on the grounds that

> Il est à craindre que sa nomination à Tatouine ne soit pas accueillé avec toute la faveur désirable par les arabes de la région qui vraisemblablement n'accepteront pas sans répugnance l'autorité d'un Djebali.[131]

Ten years later, however, the military overruled any such qualm and appointed Ahmed caïd of Médenine. The khalifat of the Djebalia was also unpopular. Salem ben Bouajila, caïd of the Ouderna, simply refused to recognise Belgassem Leffat's authority outside the community of Douiret. In 1896 he wrote to the Prime Minister calling on the government to punish the khalifa for his pretensions and

intervening in affairs beyond his administrative competence'[32]. Even after Leffat's appointment was confirmed the caïd continued to deny his authority up to the moment of his own revocation in 1896. The Arabs cannot have missed the preferential treatment the Berbers received in land disputes. Beyond these matters of policy Albergonni and Pouillon suggest that the government's inconsiderate treatment of these tribes, their unconcealed contempt for the 'Arabs' their way of life and culture, and their obvious favouritism towards the Berbers created a lasting sense of resentment against the Protectorate. A resentment expressed in the revolt of 1915.

Whether the favouritism shown to the Berber communities encouraged resentment against them, and so succeeded in dividing Southern Tunisian society is more difficult to assess. The opposition to the successful Berber families may, in part, reflect this. It is significant, however, that in 1915 the rebels, far from attacking the communities of the Djebel Demmer, which were easily within their reach and offered good prospects for plunder, entered into negotiations to gain their support.

The failure of Berber policy in Southern Tunisia, as in Algeria, may be explained as a misinterpretation of the relationship between the Berbers and their Arab neighbours and the exploitation of a distinction that had little practical significance. But although the policy failed it was not without results. Government support and favouritism helped the Djebalia and, in particular through the redistribution of land, contributed to their relative economic success.

9.3. Inter-Tribal Conflict: a liability and an asset.

'Les Arabes [sont] en guerre continuelle les uns contre les autres', wrote the traveller l'Abbé Poiret of the tribes of North Africa'[33]. Those of Southern Tunisia were considered worse than most. Hoeffer claimed of the Ouerghamma that 'leur commerce est la guerre' and that the surrounding tribes were 'également belliqueses'[34]. Contemporaries confirmed, by experience and by reputation, that the tribes of the region were at war almost 'every

year' from the early 19th century to the time of the French occupation[135].

Warfare had a prominent place in tribal culture. Tribesmen, particularly among the nomads, considered themselves first and foremost warriors. A raid offered an opportunity to display virility and skill. The successful and courageous made no secret of their prowess

> Les hommes ont écrit sur le cannon de leur fusils noms de ceux qu'ils ont tué, et celui qui en a le plus est le plus respecté. On m'en cite qui ont leur cannon de fusils tout couverts de ces marques.[136]

They were respected, their achievements eulogised in songs and poems[137]. Deambrogio's translation of a qanoun from Southern Tunisia shows that all adult males had to own a gun, and those who owned two camels, twenty five sheep and whose wives had more than one pound of jewellery had to maintain a horse. They were also obliged to mobilise and support their neighbours and kin. Those who failed to do so faced substantial fines[138].

Military activity was, however, limited to the **razzia** (raid). This was, as Peyssonel describes, very different from a European war

> les arabes se font souvent la guerre de nation à nation, et se volent réciroquement leurs bestiaux [...] les guerres sont rarements cruelles parmi eux, ils ne visent qu'aux butin, et rarement ils se tuent. Ils respectent toujours les femmes, qui ne sont jamais ni maltraitées ni insultées.[139]

The primary intention of these raids was to seize property not to kill enemies. Most were directed against isolated camel herds or flocks of sheep and goats out at pasture. Raiders would seize anything: animals, goods, clothing, guns, hostages, slaves even women[140].

In drought years the range and the intensity of raiding, increased. The famine of 1868, for example, brought tribesmen from the south to the gates of Sfax[141]. Within the South, however, raiding was independent of economic conditions. It occured in good years and bad, a situation which encouraged some to believe that the tribes 'vivent de vol et de rapine'[142]. For the individual raider

the prizes could be substantial since a successful raid could seize hundreds of sheep and goats and tens of camels and the raiding parties rarely comprised more than twenty riders[143].

Although these raids were organised like military expeditions every effort was taken to avoid confrontation. A raid on a caravan or a camp might give greater profits but most raiders preferred to give large groups a wide berth and steal herds protected by a lone shepherd. These shepherds might be robbed of their clothes but they were rarely murdered, they were regarded as non-belligerents since they went unarmed and rarely resisted a raiding party[144]. The **Zoghba** (small raiding party) went unarmed, attacking by night or ruse rather than using force to seize a herd. There was no shame in using trickery[145]. Nor was their dishonour in flight. If pursued the raiders ran rather than than stood their ground. Booty was taken with them if it was mobile enough but if the enemy were too close it had to be left. Sheep were particularly difficult to seize when pursued because they moved so slowly. Occasionally raiders picked up the sheep, putting them on the back of their horses but more often they cut off the sheep's tail as a trophy of their 'success'[146].

Despite these precautions confrontation was often unavoidable. Large groups lost the element of suprise and so invited resistance. If the communities were given long enough warning of a raid they could occupy the wells which raiders would have to use and so ambush them. Alternatively they could try and isolate themselves by filling in or poisoning the wells the raiders would have to use[147]. If the raid came as a suprise, the victims used the **tabbour** (drum whose sound carried tens of kilometres across the plain), hanging in each douar to assemble other members of the fraction and give chase[148]. Once the tribe had assembled they could sometimes catch up with raiders, slowed down by their booty:

> Ils [the Ouerghamma] ont attaqué près de Sinaoun la caravanne qui avait amené Hadj Ahmedou Mohamed, et qui retournait vers Tripoli. Ils ont amené des chameaux mais les gens de Sinaoun sont partis à mehara et ont rattrapé le rhezi près de son pays; ils ont tombés sur dix cavaliers, ont enlevé tout le butin et, je crois, les selles des cavaliers.[149]

On occasion the raiders might lose heavily: twenty dead in a Ouerghamma raid on the Accara in which 300 camels were seized, and an 62 dead in a Chaamba raid on the Fessatou in 1872[150].

Raiding was not indiscriminate, it was limited to those communities that were in a state of hostility. Louise Sweet, in her study of the North Arabian Bedouin (a study which she freely admits is supported only by anecdotal evidence) argues that any one time a single Bedouin tribe will be at peace with some of its neighbours and at war with others. Petty thieving between communities at peace deteriorates to retaliatory raids and a gradual escalation of conflict to large scale raiding. The losses incurred by the communities in these raids eventually encourage a truce and a temporary conclusion of hostilities. The differing stages of this cycle of hostility which a single community enjoys with its neighbours produces a continual recycling of camels. A pattern of 'exchange' which stops short of the elimination of the victims and their herds and thus, by allowing retaliation, provides the means for the cycle to continue. The other side of this circulation through raiding is the circulation and exchange through co-operation in peace, in particular the circulation of access to pastures. For Sweet these cycles were an adaption where local ecological conditions may decimate the herds or pastures of individual communities[151]. In its description of a stable (in the sense that no-one is eliminated from the system by raiding and that in the long term the net losses and gains of all the communities tend towards zero) and yet flexible system of alliances and hostilities, driven by the tendency of truce to deteriorate, systematically, towards hostility the model is attractive. In several important respects, however, Southern Tunisia does not comply with such a structure.

First of all the pattern of alliances and hostilities between tribal groups in Southern Tunisia, far from showing flexibility, was persistent and hostilities between enemies were not long silenced by any truce. The Ouerghamma fought the Beni Zid throughout the 19th century[152], as they did the Nouail[153]. Reciprocal raiding meant that the conflict was constantly renewed. Wood, for example, describes how the Tripolitanian tribes 'exasperated by the incessant attacks

of their neighbours, made, as a reprisal, a successful razzia upon the Tunisian arabs of Nargama [Ouerghamma]'[154]. In April 1873 the Tunisian and Tripolitanian government tried to negotiate a truce between the tribes. It failed that September and raids began again'[155].

Lt. Colonel Belin's transcripts of the interrogation of Bou Taieb ben bou Khesheba, leader of a Chaamba raid on the Zentane (Tripolitania) in 1882, suggest how firmly and clearly the notion of enemy was conceived. In justification of the attack Bou Taieb argued "ces gens sont nos ennemis, et nous en sommes séparés par beaucoup de sang", meaning that so many had been killed on either side by conflict that any *rapprochement* was now inconceivable. When informed of his impending trial he continued "Il n'est pas possible que vous nous punissiez pour avoir fait cette ghazzai, qui est toute naturelle de notre part vis à vis de nos ennemis, les Zentanis"'[156]. So strongly were these oppositions conceived that by sheltering or allying with a tribe an individual or group inevitably became a target of its enemies. Ghouma's flight to the Beni Zid in 1856, for instance, alienated the Ouerghamma from from his cause and secured their part in his subsequent downfall'[157].

These oppositions polarised the tribes of Southern and Central Tunisia into two opposing **soff** (alliances, not to be confused with the soff within the fraction), which unlike the flexible and opportunistic Saharan soff described by Rey-Goldzeiger'[158], were a permanent feature of tribal life. The earliest catalogues of these alliances date from the 1860's, compiled by Mattei, Sicard, and Zaccone (see Table 9.3.), but details of tribal conflicts reveal that the groups have remained essentially the same since the beginning of the eighteenth century at least'[159]. The groups combined by these alliances into two opposed camps were fractions or whole tribes, not just in Southern Tunisia but extending north into the Sahel and Tell and east into Tripolitania'[160]. There is no clear pattern to these alliances on the ground. Certainly Montagne's chequerboard is not there, except in the barest outline (see Map 2).

Only in Matmata and Nefzaoua did the allegiance of soff cut across these social groups. In Matmata the villages to the north of

the plateau closely associated with the Beni Zid, belonged to the soff Bachia while those to the south and east, Zraoua, Tamazredt, and Toujane, linked to the Ouerghamma and Od. Yacoub, belonged to the soff Hassina[161]. Only in Nefzaoua did these soff divide villages.

Whether these alliances functioned outside of conflict is unclear from the sources. For Montagne, in Morocco

> These leffs are, above all, alliances in time of war, which involve reciprocal obligations of loyalty between all the cantons of the same bloc. They may also, however, be peacetime coalitions, and it is true that economic relations are frequently established by preference with states belonging to the same leff alliance.[162]

In the Tunisian context although Zaccone argued that the soffs were no longer as united as they had been, he said nothing more about their political role[163]. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the soff ever acted corporately in war or peace, even in the eighteenth century. To quote Valensi,

> les deux ligues constituent rarement des armées homogènes dirigées par les deux concurrents. Généralement, l'adhésion d'une tribu à l'un ou l'autre des partis, ou bien son alliance avec les autres tribus, signifient qu'elle peut razzier une tribu adverse avec la bénédiction du prétendant qu'elle soutient.[163]

Perhaps there were other relationships. Members of the same soff may, for instance, have shared access to pastures during drought years through the practice of achaba.

It was in the relationship between the tribes and the state that the pattern of soff had its clearest poltical expression. The tribal histories show the identity and composition of each soff as inextricably bound in its relationship with the state. According to this tradition the two parties were defined by the sides the tribes took in a dynastic crisis of the early eighteenth century[164]. Thereafter the soffs bear the names of the candidates they supported, the soff Hassina (also known as Cheddad), from Hussein founder of the Husseinite dynasty, and the soff Bachia (also known as Youssef) from Ali Basha, nephew of and rebel against Hussein. Although the historical accuracy of these traditions must be

questioned[165] the truth of the tribes involvement in this crisis cannot be doubted. Contemporary chronicles clearly record the partisans of each candidate. It is probable, however, that divisions of soff pre-date the early eighteenth century. Certainly there were tribes associated with and supporting the dynasty before that date, and the speed with which the parties formed behind their respective candidates suggests some predisposition.

In subsequent years the tribes remained loyal to their parties even in adversity. This loyalty was reinforced by the governments support of the Hassina soff against its rivals, and institutionalised by the government's use of a tribal makhzen to control most of Central and Southern Tunisia. In return for tax concessions these tribes helped the state collect taxes from other communities, suppress rebellions, and act as auxiliaries in conflicts with other states. Although this practice made the government dependent on the loyalty of its makhzen tribes it provided a cheap and flexible means of keeping control of large areas of territory where garrisons would be useless and expensive. It was an ancient practice dating the Hafsid period at least[166], and continued by the Turks in Tripolitania and Algeria as well as Tunisia[167].

Prominent among the makhzen tribes in Tunisia were the Drid and the Hammama who frequently participated in government expeditions to Central Tunisia[168]. Further south the Ouerghamma, contemporaries claimed, performed the same functions[169]. Co-operation with the government and tax collection inevitably brought these fractions into conflict with their neighbours and so perpetuated and intensified distinctions of soff.

Makhzen loyalty was not, however, unconditional. Where they felt the government asked too much or their interests diverged the makhzen could, and did, go into open rebellion. But for most of the nineteenth century, at least, the association between the government and the tribes was permanent and stable.

The effect of this pattern of alliances was to inhibit a clear cycling of raiding partners. Instead the Ouerghamma's raiding was reciprocal and bilateral, and carried out with numerous partners at

the same time. This did not encourage a balance of losses and gains. Mounted on swift mehari, the desert tribes could easily seize the camels of Nefzaoua and the mountain belt out at pasture in the erg, sandy desert, and then escape into a desert refuge. Occasionally the tribes of Southern Tunisia might pursue an attack as far as Souf but for the most part the tribes of the desert fringe remained the victims; victims of almost annual attacks in which the raiders might seize hundreds of camels. For Sweet these were unilateral rather than reciprocal raids since the sedentary communities did not have the means to mount raids on their nomad neighbours. But this imbalance between net gainers and net victims may also be seen among the nomad tribes. Small fractions, such as the Aleya could be decimated by their larger neighbours in one raid[170]. Larger communities suffered the attrition of net losses over a longer period. If we take the statistics of raiding across the Tunisio-Tripolitanian border during the period 1887-1889 at face value it is clear that the Ouerghamma were net benefactors from the numerous reciprocal raids[171]. Of course an element of this net transfer may be viewed as an exchange but the suggested balance was, in the short term at least, absent.

Without a balance the persistent raiding between the tribes excluded a stable system and allowed successful or powerful tribes to assert themselves above their neighbours. Ultimately raiding provided a means of seizing territory, by inflicting losses, by rendering pastures and ploughlands unusable through insecurity, and by the occupation of landmarks (such as permanent wells).

The numbers involved in these campaigns were limited, generally no more than those in a razzia. Expansion did not demand the co-operation of the whole tribe. In Morocco, for example, Ait Atta 'imperialism' was 'almost exclusively the work of a single section of the tribe'[172]. However advantageous the 'segmentary' organisation may have been for 'predatory expansion', through the consolidation of the tribe, larger associations than those of individual fractions, and rarely even these, were ever called upon[173].

The recent tribal history of Southern Tunisia has been dominated by the territorial expansion of the Ouerghamma

confederation. Until the 14th century at least the Ouerghamma were isolated in the Djebel Demmer[174]. At this time Le Boeuf suggests

> Les autochones réduits à chercher leur moyen d'existence dans les ravins de la falaise et du Djebel Abiodh n'ont pas rénoncé leur droits séculaires sur les territoires dont ils ont été chassé mais divisés par leurs querelles intestines ils ne peuvent se grouper en nombre suffisant pour expulser les envahisseurs.[175]

Tradition asserts that a Berber Holyman, Sidi Moussa ben Abdallah, and his six companions arrived at Ghomrassen from the Seguia el-Hamra and united the disparate Berber communities (Le Boeuf and Louis suggest in the 16th century). These companions were the eponynmous ancestors of the different tribal groups within the confederation[176]. In the following years the tribes emerged from the mountains and began a systematic expansion into the plains. They did not, however, expand together, but as discrete communities: the Ouderna in the south forced the Od. Yacoub to migrate to the Nefzaoua; the Khezour and the Haouia pushed the Hazem and the Aleya north to the limit of the oases of Aradh; while the Touazine moved out into the plains pushing the Nouail before them. By the end of the sixteenth century the confederation was already dispersed when a second holyman, Sidi Ali bin Abid el Assabehi, established a Ksar at Médenine as a central granary for the Ouerghamma. His intention, the tradition goes, was to preserve the unity of the tribal group.

Although the detail of these legends may be doubted, as one moves into the historical period the substance of this expansion can be traced in the documents. In 1672, Le Boeuf claimed, the Nouail were forced across the O. Fessi. Nouail property acts prove that they still held ksar Ben Gardane at the beginning of the 18th century and possibly as late as 1760. By 1770 it too was lost[177]. Further south the Ouderna were also encroaching on the plains. In 1724 the Dehibat were forced from the oasis of Remada, which they had bought from the Traifa as recently as 1673, and had to seek refuge in Matmata and Douirat[178]. The Traifa and the neighbouring Mekhalba were both absorbed by the Ouderna. Their survival in the region was the exception rather than the rule. All the other

communities were simply forced aside: the Nouail and Sian to the east; the Hazem and Aleya to the north; and the Od. Yacoub to the west. By the mid-nineteenth century the Ouderna exacted tribute on many of the mountain communities of the Djebel Nefousa and as far south as Ghadames[179]. At the time of the French occupation the Ouderna and the Touazine were still pushing east along the whole length of the Tripolitanian border. During the preceding decade there were frequent razzias and security was so bad that the tribes feared to plant crops in the plains[180]. If the Protectorate had not intervened the Nouail would probably have been forced still further east by the pressure of Ouerghamma raids.

The French invasion brought divisions between the tribes to the fore. From June to October 1881 the tribes buried their differences to oppose the French, but following the fall of Sfax in July and then Kairouan in late October, when French columns moved south to threaten the tribes' ploughlands and pastures, dissension appeared in the rebels' ranks. Those tribes that had been closely associated with the former regime, the tribes of soff Hassina, persisted in their opposition. They retreated before the columns and eventually went into dissidence. Prominent among them were the former makhzen tribes the Hammama, Drid, Neffat, and Jlass (see Table 6.14.).

Tribes of the Bachia soff, on the other hand, took shelter and waited for an opportunity to offer their submission. After the fall of Kairouan the Beni Zid retired to el Hamma while the other rebels camped south of Gabès. As General Logerot approached most of the rebels retreated to Tripolitania with Ali ben Khalifa but Amar ben Mohamed ben Cherfedine of the Beni Zid entered negotiations and secured favourable terms for their submission. With the prospect of avoiding the war tax levied on the dissident tribes and securing the favour of the new regime most of the Beni Zid preferred to submit[181]. The tribes of Aradh, the Hazem, Gheraira and the Aleya, also distanced themselves from Ali bin Khalifa after the fall of Kairouan. They were reluctant to declare in favour of the Protectorate while the dissident tribes camped in their pastures, but immediately Logerot's column arrived they submitted (though they tried to keep it secret for fear of victimisation by the rebels)[182].

In Matmata the division was also clear. The soff Bashia commmunities to the north of the plateau, associated with the Beni Zid, submitted in December 1881 but Toujane in the south, closely linked to the Ouerghamma and of soff Hassina continued to resist until forced to submit by the intervention of the military in December 1882[183].

The contrast between Bachia/submission and Hassina/dissident was not always clear. Several fractions of the Hammama submitted rather than depart into dissidence and were immediately condemned by their compatriots[184]. Similarly some of the Beni Zid remained loyal to the revolt and featured prominently in later raids as guides and leaders[185]. Nor did submission always signify abandonment of the revolt. Representatives from Matmata and possibly the Beni Zid, both of whom had already submitted, attended a meeting of the rebel tribes at Médenine in September 1882[186]. Nevertheless it is fair to say that by early 1882 the distinctions between the Bachia, aligning with the new regime, and the Hassina, loyal to the old, were already firmly established.

These two camps were polarised by the subsequent hostility between them. Tribes that had submitted were singled out for attack by the remaining dissidents. The Beni Zid, the Hazem, and the Matmata in particular, exposed as they were on the very edge of French military control, suffered raids continually from the first months of 1882 to the end of 1883. As a result the soff Bachia was drawn closer to the Protectorate. A tribal goum from Matmata occupied the wells on the Dahar in an attempt to cut off this route to the north, while the Beni Zid under Ben Cherfedine intercepted those raiding parties that passed through the net and pursued them in retreat. By the end of 1882 the French even made use of the Matmata and Beni Zid as auxiliaries, scouting in advance of the regular soldiers and serving as a light cavalry arm[187].

The soff Bachia showed no reluctance to mount operations against the dissidents. Indeed they responded with manifest delight. Tribesmen serving with French columns were allowed to sack the ksour and villages they seized and there was an element of revenge in the enthusiasm with which they conducted their operations[188].

Unable to reach the dissidents themselves the French encouraged those that had submitted to conduct counter-raids on the dissident camps. In February 1883, for example, the Od. Khalifa and Od. Hamed of the Touazine were camped on the eastern side of the O. Fessi, they believed safely out of reach of General Guyon-Verniere's column. Frustrated Vernière organised a large raid by the Beni Zid which was intended as a salutary demonstration of French omnipotence. When the Beni Zid attacked there were few people in the camp, the dissidents having gone in pursuit of a Nouail raiding party that had attacked the day before, and the Beni Zid managed to seize between 1000 and 1800 camels and 3000 and 9000 sheep and goats without loss of life'[189]. The effect on the dissidents was not, however, to make them submit. On the contrary it drove them into Tripolitania. Cambon was furious and roundly criticised the use of punitive razzias by friendly tribes as 'hors de proportion avec les résultats que le voulait obtenir'[190]. The Minister of War vindicated Général de Bostquénard but advised that such tactics should be used with caution'[191]. It was not tried again. Thereafter the military sought to regulate and more closely control the operations of their irregulars by re-establishing the formal relationship of the makhzen.

A letter from the War Ministry in January 1882 suggested the reconstitution of a tribal makhzen along the same lines as under the Beylical regime'[192]. The Protectorate seemed to have little interest in recruiting a new makhzen from among the 'opponents' of the former regime. The tribes put forward were, with the exception of the Beni-Zid (whose early submission did much to raise them in the government's estimation), former makhzen, the Drid, the Hammama, and part of the Ouerghamma (though which parts were not specified), all still in active rebellion. As a result the idea was shelved. A year later, however, in December 1883 Général Logerot advanced the question again by asking for formal appointment and tax exemptions for the Beni Zid and the Touazine as makhzen tribes'[193]. A study was commissioned. Its conclusions, presented in June 1884, supported the principle of a tribal makhzen but suggested that its services would be more valuable in regions beyond the direct control of the French

military, along the Tripolitanian border, than in Central Tunisia where there were already French garrisons[194].

As a result any ambitions for the Beni Zid as a formally constituted makhzen were abandoned, and, after lengthy negotiations, agreements were concluded with the Ouderna, Haouia, and the Touazine in October 1884. Each fraction agreed to maintain a stated number of mounted and armed 'cavaliers' for military service in return for tax exemptions. Their main responsibilities were to intercept and pursue dissident or Tripolitanian razzias, and to provide auxiliaries for military columns. The decrees envisaged a well defined chain of command: the **chouach** and **bach chouach** commanding contingents in the field with the khalifa responsible for the **mokhzani** provided by his fraction to the Commander-in-Chief Allegro, as Governor of Aradh and **'agha el oudjak** (general of the auxiliaries)[195]. The hierachy's purpose was to ensure the khalifa's control of and responsibility for his subordinates and ensure regular reports to the Governor on events within the circonscription and any military activity. But, beyond the order that they should not cross into Tripolitania, few restrictions were made on the manner in which they conducted their affairs. All that Boulanger wanted was

> qu'ils fussent dotés d'une organisation qui les soumit à notre action, tout en leur laissant les latitudes nécessaires pour ne pas entraver leurs efforts et pour ne pas contrarier leurs coutumes particuliers.[196]

The weakness of this independence soon became apparent. As early as March 1886 Allegro complained that he had little control over the khalifas and that the khalifas had little control over their subordinates. Not only were there frequent razzias into Tripolitania, but the khalifas seemed to condone and possibly even profit from such activities. 'Les tribus makhzen' he wrote in 1886 'au lieu d'assurer la paix sur la frontière, y portent le desordre'[197]. For General Saint-Marc 'l'organisation [of the makhzen] existait plutôt sur papier, qu'elle n'était veritablement éffectué', and without adequate control the makhzen was more of a liability than an asset'[198].

Following an attack on Turkish soldiers across the border the military agreed to completely restructure the makhzen as a professional body divorced from any tribal configuration, a transformation that was complete by 1888. Their tax privileges were temporarily maintained, but their special relationship with the government was effectively at an end.

This is not to say that the Protectorate entirely abandoned the political use of tribal loyalties and hostilities. Tribal auxiliaries continued to be recruited as a goum or militia. Its ostensible purpose was self defence but in fact the military used the tribes as a means of protecting and justifying the territorial integrity of the Regence. Razzias into Tunisia by dissidents and Tripolitanian tribes were intercepted or pursued as far as the border by the tribes themselves or in support of the makhzen. The tribes were also encouraged, sometimes even ordered, to oppose attempts by Tripolitanians to use pastures and ploughlands west of the O. Mogta.

There was a danger that the Nouail and Sian, supported by the Turks, might establish a *de facto* presence on Tunisian territory. To avoid this the Tunisian tribes were set up against the Tripolitanians. They were usually co-operative, encouraged by their traditional hostility towards the Nouail and Sian and the prospects of uncontested use of the djeffara north of the O. Mogta. In the autumn of 1891, for example, the Ouderna were ordered to south to protect their ploughlands against incursions

> ce ne fût pas sans difficutlé que les Ouderna s'étaient décidés à quitter leurs quartiers d'été, à reprendre la vie nomade plus d'un mois avant l'époque ordinaire à rester groupés sur un front de 20 kilometres où la sécheresse regnait encore, pendant que leurs terrains de nord étaient mouillés par les pluies et labourables.[199]

While the military were unable to enter the deep south the co-operation and obedience of the tribes was essential. This co-operation was not, however, always forthcoming. In the spring of 1892 the Djellidat were asked to remain at the frontier to oppose further incursions. They refused, an act of insubordination 'en quittent la frontière au mépris des ordres de leur khalifa'[200],

which infuriated the military and led them to revoke the tribe's fiscal privilege.

When the border delimitation came to be contested in law the Protectorate fell back on tribal land ownership to define and justify the purported boarder. Occupation by Tunisian tribes, at present or in the past, was regarded as *de facto* and *de jure* proof of sovereignty. The documentation of the Ouerghamma's territorial expansion became the Protectorate's evidence for using the O. Mogta as the border. Any usufruct enjoyed by the Tripolitanian mountain communities in the plain and north of the Mogta was explained away by reference to their former client status

> les droits ainsi aquis par les Ouezzan proviennent de l'occupation par ceux-ci, sous la protection et l'autorisation des Ouderna, absoluement maîtres de ces terrains.[201]

As a result of this delimitation Tripolitanian tribes were excluded from the ploughlands and pastures of the south and, ultimately, isolated Tunisia from its neighbour.

Conflict and dissention among the tribes of Southern Tunisia had its uses for the Protectorate, particularly in its early years, but it was also a liability. Contemporary authors criticised the insecurity of the Regence before the French occupation, which they saw as an important cause of its poverty and slow economic development. Without security neither agriculture or commerce could flourish[202]. At a political level the constant raiding across the Tripolitanian border threatened to escalate into wider conflict with the Turkish Empire and the Italians. Indeed General Allegro's suspected involvement in the cross border raids that precipitated the French invasion led many to question French intentions in the south[203]. Drummond-Hay, the British consul at Tunis was 'inclined to believe that the Wirghamma have been generally, if not always, the aggressors' and he intimated that Allegro might not be entirely innocent[204].

Constant raiding and persistence of dissident tribes were, moreover, a source of embarrassment to the French. Improving internal security figured prominently in justifications of the

Protectorate, and some writers wished to give the impression that it was welcomed by the Tunisian people exhausted by ineffectual government. Cambon, following a tour of Central Tunisia in early 1882 had written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

> J'ai trouvé partout les mêmes sentiments. On éspère que notre domination mettre bientôt fin à l'anarchie et au détestable regime économique qui épuise le pays.[205]

While the insecurity persisted the French appeared weak, both to the tribes and to foreign powers.

The occupation of the south was a direct response to these criticisms (see Chapter 6), and in the following decade the military made every effort to eliminate raiding within the south or across the border. Makhzen patrols supported by the tribal goum intercepted many of the raids to and from Tripolitania. Prominent Tunisian raiders were arrested, including the khalifa of the Od. Chehida, for their part in organising raids into Tripolitania[206]. The makhzen kept an eye out at the markets for raiders selling their ill gotten gains[207]. Across the border Turkish troops arrested Nouail raiders and threw them into prison[208]. An act which led to consternation in Tripolitania where attacks on the submitted Tunisian tribes were regarded as a legitimate practice[209].

Increasingly the Tunisian and Tripolitanian governments co-ordinated their actions. A *rapprochement* between the tribes was encouraged by organised restitutions and, although both the Nouail and the Ouerghamma, the French and Turks, complained of bad faith by their opponents, they successfully re-established the *status quo ante*[210]. By the early years of the twentieth century raiding parties of more than five people became the exception rather than the rule. Tunisian dissidents, who had always taken a prominent part in raids into Tunisia, had mostly returned by the late 1890's (see Table 6.15. and 6.16.), and for those that remained and their Tripolitanian patrons the risks were simply too high.

Professional bandits, who had always taken a large part of the blame for the cross border raiding, were, by the 1900's, the sole participants. Among the Sian one family accounted for more than one third of the tribes gains from raiding during the period 1900 to

1907, among the Nouail four families accounted for one quarter[211]. Most of the raids were small, four or five camels being seized in a single expedition, and, in terms of their distance into Tunisia, unambitious. Increasingly the raiders turned to using **bechara**, a payment to a supposed third party for the return of lost or stolen property, to turn the stolen goods into cash because the sale of stolen camels in the market places was becoming too risky[212]. Not that all this raiding activity was across the border, Southern Tunisia had its fair share of bandits (see Chapter 4), particularly after the First World War, but even taking this into consideration the south was secure and raiding rare under direct military control.

By the early 1890's the French were advertising their achievement. Drummond-Hay quotes from a 'Journal Officiel Tunisien' of 1890 a somewhat premature celebration

> déjà les razzias de tribu à tribu tunisienne et les coups de mains autrefois si frequents des deux côtes de la frontière entre Tunisiens et Tripolitains sont devenus de rares exceptions. Une veritable ère de paix a commencé pour cette région jadis si agitée.[213]

The French came to see themselves as 'hériters des Romains' who secured a *pax romana* allowing the south to develop[214]. And security was also, for them, the symbol of civilisation, and the occupation of the south had

> reculer jusqu'aux abords du sahara les limites de la vie civilisée, pour faire régner dans leurs cercles l'ordre, l'obeissance aux lois, la respecte des biens et des personnes.[215]

It was an incontestable good widely supported, they argued, among the population of Southern Tunisia[216].

There were, of course, very tangible benefits for the tribes of the south from the 'régime de paix'. Agricultural development could, for instance, spread unmolested into the plains, up to the very borders of Tripolitania. But it also had unfortunate consequences for the tribes. Without raiding there was no making peace, and on those occasions when arbitration became necessary the role of arbitrator was invariably assumed by the state. The state also assumed the responsibility for providing and arranging achaba.

No longer would the state reflect the divisions of soff. The tribal makhzen had been abandoned. As a result relationships between the tribes and, in particular, the relationships of soff, atrophied like the upper levels of the tribal structure. To what extent traditional enmities, such as that between the Ouerghamma and Nouail, or those embodied in soff continued to be important in the political life of the south are unclear. If they did persist they had few opportunities for expression. The failure of the revolt of the Ouderna in 1915 to spread among the Beni Zid might, it is true, be ascribed to the continuing antipathies between these tribes. But the fact that the Beni Zid did enter negotiations with the rebels at that time and, if the revolt had shown more promise, might have joined suggests that soff was no longer as important as it had been.

Conclusion.

Under the Protectorte relations between the tribes were taken over by the government thereby isolating political and social life at the level of the cheikhat. This dissolution of the tribe and resolution of tribal conflict had an important implication for the Protectorate, it paved the way for Nationalism as an ideology that encompassed all Tunisian society. Distinctions between tribal societies were still manipulated but through policies based on mistaken interpretations of tribal politics. As a result the French were unable to divide and rule. If they had continued to support a policy of soff, like the previous Beylical regime, they would have had more success. This is not to say that their tribal policy had no effect. If favouratism towards the sedentry communities did not create allies, victimisation of the nomads made enemies. Enemies that provided a constant source of instability within the south.

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

Publications have been referred to using the Harvard system and full bibliographical details are listed in the bibliography. Government publications are listed separately in Sources II. References to documents in the footnotes quote (where available) first the author of a report or letter, secondly the documents status as a report or note and the title, or if the document is a letter, the addressee, thirdly its category and number, fourthly its date, fifthly where it was written, and lastly its catalogue reference (in bold type). The names of officers in the field and tribesmen have been given but administrators of ministerial rank are described only by their office unless the idenfication of personnel is pertinent to the argument. The catalogue references describe first of all the archival depository (see Sources I for abbreviations), secondly the series, thirdly the carton number, fourthly the dossier number, and lastly the file number. In order to save space the following abbreviations have been used to identify correspondence and correspondants:

A.I.	Affaires Indigènes.
C.C.	Contrôleur Civil.
C.G.	Consul Général.
DP.	Dépêche Politique.
G.G.	Gouverneur Général.
M.A.E.	Ministère des Affaires étrangères.
M.G.	Ministère de Guerre.
P.M.	Première Ministre.
R.G.	Résident Général.
RM.	Rapport Mensuel. (Because these reports are duplicated in the following archives **AGGT.A.196.**, **MAE.NS.281. to 304.**, and **ANSOM.26.H.16. to 18.**, the archival source is not given. Where the report is only preserved at one depository (as in the case of monthly reports written by officers in the South and submitted to the Central office of the Service for compilation) its archival source is quoted).
S.A.I.	Service des Affaires Indigènes.
S.G.G.T.	Secrétariat Général du Gouvernment Tunisien.
S.R.	Service des Renseignements.
V.C.	Vice Consulat.

CHAPTER 1.

1. Martel (1965) has produced a two volume study of Southern Tunisia for the period immediately preceding the Protectorate up to 1911. Although he examines economic and, to a lesser extent, social issues his principal interest is the political and military history and implications of the occupation.
2. See for instance Anderson (1986), Bidwell (1973), Evans-Pritchard (1949), Fernea (1970), Nouschi (1961), and Rey Goldzeiguer (1977).
3. For reviews of the Orientalist tradition see Said (1985) and Turner (1978). For examples of this tradition in the study of tribal populations see the work of the 'segmentary lineage theorists' described in Chapter 7: Gellner (1969 and 1972), Hart (1972, 1976, and 1983), and Waterbury (1971).
4. Coon (1951).
5. See Turner (1976) for a review of the literature. Rey (1971) provides a 'Marxist' examination of economic and social change in the Congo during the colonial period.
6. Vidal de la Blache (1913, p. 297). See also Vidal de la Blache (1902 and 1911).
7. Braudel (1975). Braudel's histiographical essays are collected in Braudel (1969).
8. Berdoulay (1978, p. 87).
9. Gregory (1982, pp. 13-17).
10. Seddon (1977b, p. 11).
11. Gregory (1982, p. 14).
12. Eagleton (1983) examines the process of text-reader interaction with regard to literary criticism.

CHAPTER 2.

1. Bonvallot (1979); Floret and Potanier (1982, Chpt. 1); Isnard (1952); Poncet (1967); and Winstanley (1970). One officer reports that the people of Nefzaoua were 'dans la joie' because a large area on the edge of the Sahara had been dampened for the first time in twenty five years. S.A.I. Kébili to R.G. 18 January 1915. **MAEN.PS.171.**
2. Bois (1944, 1945, and 1950). Wood to Stanley, 7, 4 January 1868, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.82.** describes the economic conditions of 1868 as 'one of the severest famines on record', and continues 'amongst the tribes occupying the barren regions on the border of the Sahara where grain cannot be obtained'.
3. Carton (1895 and 1896).
4. Nicholson (1978).
5. Coque (1962); and Floret and Potanier (1982). A French officer describes the way floods increased the soil cover in these depressions: 'Après avoir rempli toutes les couvettes de leur lit, ils [the oued] ont inondé les goraat les plus occidentales de leurs cours. L'eau en disparaissant a laissé à la surface du sol une couche de limon de 5 à 6 centimetres d'epaisseur'. R.M. January 1916.
6. Despois (1935, pp. 24-28), Levainville (1907, pp. 127-8), and Floret and Potanier (1982, p. 143).
7. Springs at Toujane Matmata yielded only 48 m^3/day and Remada 108.2 m^3/day compared to 6,480 m^3/day at Ras el Ain Kébili. Le Boeuf (1909a), Marty (1944), and Moureau (1948) provide details of the yields of springs in the early years of the Protectorate. Rapport de Lt. Delou [1899?]. **MAEN.PS.932.** Compares yields at Remada with those elsewhere in the South.
8. Philebert (1895, p. 179) and Service Géographiqe de l'Armée (1886) describe the problems of finding water in the south.
9. Rebillet, Cdt., 'Le Sud de la Tunisie', **REC.1.1.** describes professional well diggers. Aissa ben Ali Ghourian and Mohammed ben Yakhlef to S.G.G.T., 18 May 1936, Tunis. **AGGT.A.13.** and Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 52) describe wells in Matmata.
10. Seran (1948, pp. 79-80).
11. Philebert (1895, p. 191) and Bourgognoin, M. 'Chez les Troglodytes', 1887 **ANSOM.25.H.26.** describe cisterns.
12. Bousstrout (no date, p. 19) and Rapport de Lt. Delou [1899] **MAEN.PS.932.**
13. Aaron (1972, Chpt. 2).
14. Decker-David (1911, pp. 330-333), Levainville (1907, p. 140), and Mignangoin (1908).
15. Menouillard (1912a, p. 115), Mignagnoin (1908, p. 24), and SERESSA (1958).
16. Leclerc to R.G., 1109, 27 November 1892. **MAE.NS.53.**
17. On practices of cultivation and the plough in the pre-Protectorate period see Brahimi (1976, pp. 300-1), Guin (1866), Levainville (1907, pp. 140-1), Pückler-Muskau (1837, III, pp. 190-1), Valensi (1977, pp. 184-190) and Richardson, J. 'An account of the present state of Tunis' [1845] **PRO.FO.102.29.**. The cost of ploughs in 1915 in 7me. Procès

verbal de la Commission d'evaluation des dommages, 31 March 1922, **AGGT.A.207.2.**.

18. Valensi (1977, pp. 197-8).
19. RM's from throughout the Protectorate period provide details of harvest yields, Menouillard (1912a, pp. 150-2), Patin 'L'Extrême Sud Tunisien' **MAEN.PS.874.**, and Lecoq in Decker-David (1911) also provide statistics.
20. Shaw (1738, p. 256). Valensi (1977, p. 194) describes a swarm 4 miles long by 300m. wide. The largest recorded in the south was 400m. by 500m. (RM February 1919) other reports describe 2,000 sacks of crickets being gathered by tribesmen (e.g. R.M. March, April 1918; November 1929).
21. Valensi (1977, p. 194). See also Bois (1944).
22. Pückler-Muskau (1837, III, p. 190-1) and Richardson, J. 'An account of the present state of Tunis' **PRO.FO.102.29.**.
23. Zaccone (1875, pp. 197-8).
24. Carton (1912) claims that there were wild olives in the south. Le Houerou (1958c) provides an ecology and physiology of the olive with special reference to Southern Tunisia. See also Bouchard (1911), Bourde (1893a), Marty (1944), Mignagnon (1900, 1901, 1909, 1911, and 1912), Moreau (1911), Pericaud (1911), Sagnes (1911), and Sajous (1911), and Tournieroux (1922) on the olive tree and problems of cultivation.
25. Detailed accounts of the djesser are provided by Bonvallot (1979), Prost (1954), and Tixeront (1961).
26. SERESSA (1958, p. 86-7). See also Joly (1909, p. 240-3) and Moreau (1911).
27. Joly (1909, p. 240-3) and Coignet (1923).
28. Despois (1955 and 1963) and Tixeront (1959-60).
29. Service de l'Armée (1886, p. 39).
30. Philebert (1895, p. 181) and Jamais, Registre de Correspondence, Letters 466 and 468. 25 April 1882. **SHAT.1K.201.**.
31. Le Boeuf (1909a, p. 116).
32. Gén. Swiney to M.G., No.12, 13 March 1891. **MAE.NS.50.**
33. Ellafi (1981).
34. Joly (1908a and 1909), Menouillard (1911), Moreau (1911), and Sajous (1911).
35. Reibell (1932, p. 178) and Lecoq in Decker-David (1911).
36. Fekih (1969) provides an ecology of the date palm. For the poor quality of dates cultivated outside the oases consult Levainville (1907, p. 140), Marty (1944), Menouillard (1901) and RM August 1932.
37. Babou (1907) and Mazières (1907).
38. Marty (1944).
39. Malet (1898), Reade, T. 'Report on the Regence of Tunis its commerce and its agriculture', 31 March 1848, **PRO.FO.102.32.**, and 'Notice concernant les tribus de Nefzaoua', 15 July 1900, **MAE.NS.81.**
40. Floret and Potanier (1982) and Le Houerou (1958a).
41. Le Houerou (1958a and b), SERESSA (1958), and Service de la Production Animale, 'L'élévage de l'ovin tunisien', 1954. **AGGT.E.231.12.**
42. On the requirements of the herding animals see Behnke (1980),

Bourde (1893b), Louis (1979), Moreau (1947), Prost (1954), and SERESSA (1958).

43. On the products of these herding animals and their use in Southern Tunisia see Louis (1976 and 1979), Prost (1954), and SERESSA (1958).
44. RM's August and September 1917.
45. Moreau (1947, p.161) and RM November 1922 and RM (Tataouine) March 1927.
46. Cpt. Moreau to R.G., Tataouine, 38/15, 17 August 1924. **AGGT.E.226.2.**
47. RM (Tataouine) January 1935 **AGGT.A.196.3.**
48. Traditional herding practices in the south are described by Bourde (1893b), Decker-David (1911), Forest (1940), Louis (1975, 1976, and 1979), Mart (1944), Menouillard (1904 and 1906), and Prost (1954).
49. Bourde (1893b, p.18).
50. Maquart (1937, 277-81) provides a detailed account of the transhumance carried out by the Haouia. Forest (1940) and Prost (1950 and 1954) describe transhumance among the Ouderna and Djebalia; Marty, P. (1907) and Lt. Bétirac 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.** among the Matmata; and Lt. Maguenot 'Notice sur les Ouerghamma', May 1886, **MS.Clarke.** among the Touazine, Ouderna, and Haouia. The RM's between 1883 and 1893 also contain detailed accounts of the movements of the tribes which confirm that the pattern and direction of movements by each fraction within the south varied little from year to year. They also trace herd movements during drought years such as 1889, 1892, and 1893 into Central and Northern Tunisia.
51. Boujadi (1885, p. 116), MacGill (1811, p. 66), and Moreau (1947, p. 133).
52. Dumas (1855, p. 35)
53. Dumas (1855, p. 106) and Chevarrier to Chargé d'Affaires, Gabès, 22 July 1875, **ANSOM.25.H.19.**
54. Pellissier (1853, p. 164).
55. Gaast (1968, p. 203).
56. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.251, 19 April 1907, **MAE.NS.67.** describes groups of Chaamba tribesmen searching the Dahar in search of truffles.
57. Marty (1944), Menouillard (1901), Lt. Bétirac 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**, Leclerc in Decker-David (1911), Marty (1907), Tardy (1904), and Violard (1905).
58. Bruun (1898), Cornetz (1898), Haggy ebn-el-Dyn el Eghouâty (1834, p. 289), Mayet (1887), Pervinquière (1912, p. 89), Temple (1835, II, p.106), and Lt. Barry 'Notice sur des Beni Zid et l'oasis d'el Hamma', March 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**. A letter from the Caimcan of the Djebel Nefousa to Hassen Pacha, September 1861, **ANSOM.29.H.1.** mentions in passing the practice of hunting ostriches in the Tripolitanian djeffara.

59. Tijani (1852, p. 123). Métral (1936) provides a drawing of the carving at Ksar Segdel which she mistakenly describes as a boat. Helms (1981)'s archaeological study of the Syrian desert describes walls that may have been built in ancient times as pens into which animals could be driven for slaughter.
60. Camps-Faber (1963, p. 58).
61. d'Avezac (1836, p. 12). Louis (1979, pp. 110-111) has used oral traditon as his source when describing the same hunting methods.
62. Bourde, 'Rapport sur les invasions des sauterelles', 11 April 1891, **MAE.NS.225.**, R.M. April 1909, and Louis (1979, pp. 98-99) describe the methods of preparation.
63. Most of the ethnographic studies of the Protectorate period make some reference to the way of life and economic basis of the region's tribes. The most complete studies are: general, Clarke (1956), Joly (1909), Le Boeuf (1909a and b), Marty (1944) and Rebillet (1886); for the oases of Nefzaoua, Moreau (1947) and 'Notice concernant les tribus des Nefzaoua', 15 July 1900, **MAE.NS.80.**; Aradh, Lt. de Béchevel, 'L'Aradh (Villages et Oases)', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.26.** and Lt. Lapaine 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraïra, Hamerna, and Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1332.21.**; Accara, Menouillard (1912a) and Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Accara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**; Matmata, Joly (1909), Menouillard (1901), Marty (1907), and Lt. Béchevel 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**; Haouia, Maquart (1937) and Tardy (1904); Djebalia and Ouderna, Forest (1940), Pauphillet (1953), and Prost (1950 and 1954); Touazine, Lt. Maguenot, 'Notice sur les Ouerghamma', May 1886, **MS.Clarke.**
64. Marty (1907, p. 53).
65. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 40).
66. Allegro to R.G., 24 November 1884, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.208(Sud).**
67. Cdt. Rebillet 'Le Sud Tunisien', **REC.1.1.**, Joly (1909, p. 245).
68. Reibell (1932, p. 178).
69. Bouquet (1939), Louis (1979, p. 125), and Ristoricelli (1938).
70. Behnke (1980, p. 47).
71. Duveyrier (1881, p. 81).
72. Joly (1909, p. 500).
73. Syndicat d'études Sud Tunisiens to M.A.E., 28 November 1905, and annexes **AGGT.E.379.2.**.
74. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.137, 3 March 1909, **MAE.NS.68.**
75. Jourdy (1908) and Pervinquière (1912).
76. Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance des régions de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.**
77. La Quinzaine Coloniale (1912, pp. 703-4).
78. Jus (1878), Le Boeuf (1909a, p. 98), Rolland (1887), Servonnet and Lafitte (1888, p. 183).
78. Martel (1965, II, pp. 149-159) provides a detailed history of the O. Mellah project. Le Boeuf (1909a, p. 98 and 1909b, pp. 58-59)'s continued to review the project favourably despite its clear technical deficiencies and insolvency.
80. Martel (1965, II, pp. 108-11), Puits Artesians No.1 and No.2 **AGGT.E.353.1 and 2.**, Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance

de région de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.**, Anonyme 'Rapport sur le geohydrologie de l'Extrême Sud Tunisien', 29 June 1929, Tunis, **REC.1.9.**, Cpt. Lejeune 'Géographie et hydrologie des T.M.S.', 1947, **REC.1.10.**, Cpt. La Neele, 'Les associations spéciales d'intérêt hydraulique dans le Nefzaoua', 1929, **REC.2.5.**

81. Coignet (1917), Ginnestous (1906), and Wolfrom (1901).
82. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.117, 18 February 1895, **MAE.NS.226.** Cpt. Donau's report , No.557, 26 July 1905, Kébili, **AGGT.E.594.1.** infers this was as true of the interior as it was of the coast.
83. Registers of concessionaires at Zazis well No.1. and No.2 **AGGT.E.594.1 and 2.**
84. Bourde (1893a), Campbell (1914), and Mignagoin (1900, 1901, and 1909). In 1911 the government organised a Congress of olive cultivators at Sousse attended by officers from every post in the south and some from Algeria. The Congress' purpose was to encourage olive cultivation throughout the Regence and propogate technical developments.
85. Joly (1909, p. 244).
86. See for example R.G. to S.A.I. Bureaux, No.AG 263-1, 15 March 1929, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.189.** and R.M. September 1923. Violard (1905, p. 21) quotes a circular sent by Cdt. Béchevel in 1903 asking Tunisian officials to encourage the construction and repair of djesser's.
87. Joly (1908, p. 462) and Cpt. Mollot, Rapport, 23 July 1941, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.**. Monthly reports of November 1923 and January 1923 confirm that repairs were carried out.
88. Vice-Président de la Municipalité d'el-Hamma to S.G.G.T., 28 January 1922, and Direction des Service économiques Indigènes to S.G.G.T., 106, 8 February 1922, **AGGT.E.43.3.**
89. Marty (1944, p. 80).
90. Decker-David, 'Rapport sur les desiredata des colons et des indigènes', 29 June 1911, **AGGT.E.232.1.**
91. For example RM January 1923.
92. Bouchard (1911), Menouillard (1912a), Marty (1944), and RM December 1919.
93. Enquête économique, Matmata, June 1920, **MAEN.PS.712.**
94. Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931c, p. 22)
95. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 12 May 1905, Matmata, and Gen. Roux to R.G., 115, 26 April 1905, **AGGT.E.43.2.**, and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.48, 27 January 1900, Tunis, **MAE.NS.64.**
96. Bernard (1911), Boeuf (1915 and 1922), Mallor (1911), Marès (1911), Mignagoin (1908), and Saurin (1896).
97. RM February 1915.
98. Section d'état, Note, 31 May 1920, **AGGT.E.30.8.**
99. I/C Kébili to R.G., 30 March 1922, **MAE.PS.171.**
100. The letter 'Rémarques de M. Berthote sur le projet du décrét concernant la mise en valeur des terres incultes' [no date], elucidates the views of the liberal European lobby, the two notes of the Section d'état dated 19 April 1921 and 21 April 1921, indicate the opposition to decree among the native community **AGGT.E.30.8.**

150. Louis (1976 and 1979) and Golvin (1957) give comprehensive lists and descriptions of the artisanat produced in contemporary Southern Tunisia. Numerous other studies provide details of certain products or techniques: paints and mortar, Bruun (1898, p. 83); alfa, Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**, Charmettant and Louis (1950), Maquart (1905, p. 555), and Menouillard (1901); pottery, Gobert (1941); textiles, Combès (1946), Martel, C. (1955), Skhiri (1971), and Sugier (1971).
151. See Louis (1969). There were numerous speculations about the origins of the native oil press (Christofle (1930) and Joly (1908) are examples). These tended to argue that the press was a Roman invention, this may have been true, but it is quite probable that the press was of native origins.
152. Mzali (1921, p. 79).
153. See Balfet (1982) for an account of specialisation and mutual aid among female artisans in North Africa.
154. Lt. Barry, 'Oasis d'el Hamma et tribu des Beni Zid', March 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
155. Rebillet 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** and Lt. Béchevel 'L'Aradh (Villages et Oasis)', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.26.**.
156. Lt. Delard, 'Enquête sur l'artisanat', 13 January 1944, Médenine, **MAEN.PS.786.**; Chef de Bat. Briand, 'Note sur la situation économique de la Circonscription de Tataouine', December 1950. **MAEN.PS.932.**; and Lt. Mollot, Rapport, July 1941, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712**; and Direction de l'Office des Arts Tunisiennes to Direction des Finances, 906, 19 December, Tunis, **MAEN.PF.2117.** all point to declining commercialisation of artisnal products, in particular textiles, from the 1930's.
157. Numerous documents in **MAEN.PF.2117.** describe the Tunisian silk weavers' opposition to new weaving machinery introduced by factory owners.
158. Marty (1944, pp. 504-7).
159. Pellissier (1853, p. 172).
160. Cherif (1982, p. 71-74) and Ganiage (1966).
161. Gallagher (1983, p. 113).
162. Despois (1935, pp. 270-2).
163. Louis (1976, p. 64) notes ten abandoned village sites, Cdt. Rebillet lists nine in 'Historique de la frontière Tuniso-tripolitaine des origines jusqu'à Mars 1890', 10 March 1890, Médenine, **SHAT.2.H.51.1.**, Violard (1905, p. 31) as many as thirty.
164. Talbi (1977).
165. The original acts of the Dehibat and French translations are preserved in **MAEN.PS.796.**.
166. Gallagher (1978), Ganiage (1966, p. 866), Sebag (1965), and Valensi (1977, p. 287-90).
167. On brideprices in the South see Maquart (1937, p. 269) and Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**; J. Richardson claims that selective infanticide was used to eliminate deformed or unhealthy children in 'An account of the present state of Tunis', 1845, London, **PRO.FO.102.29.** (infanticide was a common claim in accounts of primitive societies in the early 19th century);

one case of infanticide was described by Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 1021/11, 28 May 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.27.**.

168. Irons (1975, p. 151).
169. Ganiage (1966, p. 866).
170. Valensi (1977, p. 290). See also Gallagher (1978, pp. 305-6) and Sebag (1965).
171. Cherif (1984, pp. 28-29).
172. Valensi (1977, pp. 267-287).
173. Espina to Consul Général, 75, 11 July 1850, Sfax, **MAE.VC(SFAX).1850.**
174. Lt. Delom, Rapport, 1899, Tataouine, **MAEN.PS.796.**. Gallagher (1978, p. 304) calculates that each epidemic killed at most 5% of the population.
175. Boutineau (1890), Courbet and de la Bourde (1895), Lefèvre (1912), Marix (1884), and Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, pp. 11).
176. Cotts-Watkins and Menken (1985).
177. Général Swiney to R.G., 478, 23 July 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.G.8.**
178. Général Swiney to R.G., 369, 11 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.G.9.**
179. The official procedure was defined in the circular 'Note sur le dénombrement des populations européenes et indigènes' sent to all officials. For the S.A.I.'s alternative method see Cpt. Barré to R.G., 72/14, 8 January 1921, Ben Gardane. All his colleagues concurred. **AGGT.E.540.1.**
180. Bou Hasna (1938).
181. Lepidi (1953, pp. 80-1).
182. Clarke (1952, pp. 364-6).
183. Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 1021/11, 28 May 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.27.**
184. Bou Hasna (1938, p. 112) and Clarke (1952, p. 366).
185. Perkins (1980, pp. 132-9).
186. RM March 1940.
187. Chef. du Batt. Lafond to R.G., 588/3, 11 May 1937, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.18.**.
188. Rapport du Lt. Bertrand, 161/3, 1 September 1937, Kébili, **AGGT.A.190.10.**
189. Marty (1944, p. 110).
190. Prost (1950, p. 54) and SERESSA (1958, p. 22).
191. Bloch (1929) describes the measures taken to control epidemics in the south during the 1920's.
192. RM December 1917.
193. Dr. Blachard, 'Note sur la situation médicale des Territoires Militaires du Sud Tunisien', September 1937, **MAEN.PS.874.**
194. RMs (Tataouine, Médenine, Matamata, and Ben Gardane) April to December 1936 **AGGT.A.196.1.**
195. Bloch (1929) and Courbet and de la Borde (1895).
196. Boujadi (1911, pp. 213-4).
197. Direction Général de l'Intérieur to S.G.G.T., Hygiène Publique No.838, 21 June 1934, and Médicin Cpt. Meuet to Cpt. I/C Matmata, 4 June 1934, **AGGT.A.184.6.** describe a case of evasion and complaint in Matmata.
198. Gallagher (1983, pp. 92-96). See for example, Notice Biographique, Mohammed ben Sahad ben Ali, **AGGT.B.182.34.**
199. Bennoune (1976, p. 215).

200. White (1973).

CHAPTER 3

1. Owen (1981, pp. 56 and 287).
2. Owen (1981, p. 292).
3. The tribal reports in **SHAT.MR.1321 to 1323.** give a good indication of the direction these 'informal' flows.
4. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
5. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 12), Caïd of Nefzaoua to P.M., 26 May 1888, Kébili, **AGGT.E.59.2.**, Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraira, Hamerna et Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**, and [no author given], 'Village et Oasis de Gabès', June 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.25.**.
6. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, pp. 24-5), Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraira, Hamerna et Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**, and RM January 1890.
7. For a discussion of government control of markets in North Africa see Benet (1957) and Ponasik (1977), and the amine and government control of the market in Tunisia see Cannon (1977, *passim*) and Payne (1940).
8. Pellissier (1853, p.163) and Zaccone (1875, p. 160).
9. Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**
10. Benet (1957) and Eickelman (1976).
11. Caïd of the Ouerghamma to P.M., 7 December 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.6.** and RM October 1892.
12. Pückler-Muskau (1837, III, p. 215), indentifies the flow of goods and the RM's of October 1883, November 1884, November 1885, December 1886, November 1892 and October 1893 provide a detailed list of tribes participating in these regional flows and the goods they carried. A similar pattern of exchange is described in Algeria by Bernard and Lacroix (1906).
13. Jeangérard (1909), Général Ritter to Général Cdt. Constantine, A.I.171, 30 March 1882, **ANSOM.26.H.13.10.**, Général Lucas to R.G., 694, 1 September 1885, Gabès, **AGGT.A.191.1906.**.
14. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, R.G. to M.A.E., DP.193, 13 January 1882, **MAE.CPTr.21.**, Général Cdt. Constantine to G.G., Tel, 14 May 1877, **ANSOM.25.H.20.5.**, and RM's July 1887, September 1887, and December 1889.
15. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 408-9), Duveyrier to G.G. Algeria, 25 August 1860, Ghadames, and Hamza ben Boubeker to Cdt. Colonne, 6 July 1860, Ghadames, **ANSOM.2.H.1.**, and R.G. to M.A.E., 12 June 1889, **MAE.CCT.62.**.
16. Boussoutrout (no date, p. 23).
17. For the Souf see Chef de Bureau Arabe Marmien, 'Rapport sur l'Oued Souf et ses relations commerciales', c.1850, **ANSOM.22.H.26.**, Duveyrier to G.G. Algeria, 25 August 1860, Ghadames, **ANSOM.29.H.1.**. For the Djerid and Kairouan see Brunn (1898, p. 42), Pellissier (1853, p. 358) and Valensi (1873, p. 12).
18. Mayet (1886, p. 191), Pellissier (1853, p. 364), Playfair (1877, p. 275), Temple (1835, II, p. 226), Fillipi in Monchicourt (1929, p. 120), and MacGill (1811, p. 142).
19. Blanc (1889, pp. 7-8), Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, Bougognon, 'Chez les Troglodytes', 1887,

ANSOM.25.H.26., and Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**.

20. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 25) and MacGill (1811, p. 141).
21. [no author given], 'Villages et Oases de Gabès', January 1884, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**
22. Jeangérard (1909), Marty (1907, p. 42), and Menouillard (1901).
23. Benet (1957, foot note 57) and Bernard (1975, pp. 301-2).
24. See Kraiem (1973, I, pp. 286-302) and Valensi (1977).
25. RM November 1887.
26. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.363, 12 June 1889, **MAE.CCT.62.**.
27. Lecoq in Decker-David (1911).
28. Lt. Bétirac, 'Noitce sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.** and Menouillard (1901, pp. 390-4).
29. Commissariat de Police de Souk Arras, 16 May 1882, **ANSOM.26.H.13.1.** and for the situation among Tripolitanian tribes see de Bisson (1881, p. 29) and Algeria Bernard (1975, p. 301).
30. Richardson (1848, I, p. 6).
31. el Hadj Ali ben bou Abid el Khali to Féraud, 25 November 1881, **MAE.CPTr.20.**
32. Prax, 'Le Souf. Le Sahara Algerien', 4 November 1847, **MAE.CPT.10.**
33. Espina to Consul Général, Tunis, 60, 20 March 1850, Sfax, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).**
34. Cpt. Marty, 'Renseignements commerciaux sur les pays Tuareg', 8 April 1858, **ANSOM.22.H.26.**, and on the Ghadamensians in Tunisia see their petition to the R.G., 1 September 1891, **AGGT.E.18.2.**
35. RM's July and August 1883, and Commissariat de Police, Souk Arras, 482, 16 September 1882, **ANSOM.26.H.13.2.**
36. C.G. Tripoli to M.A.E., DP.21, 23 April 1887, **MAE.CPTr.20.**
37. Department de Constantine Section A.I. to G.G., 86, 29 June 1873, **ANSOM.25.H.18.9.**
38. Lt. Béchevel, 'L'Aradh (villages et oasis)', 3 July 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.26.**.
39. Fogg (1939).
40. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 14).
41. Lt. Béchevel, 'L'Aradh (Villages et oasis)', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.26.**, Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur la tribu de Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**, and Caïd of Nefzaoua to P.M., 4 May 1891, **AGGT.E.59.2.**
42. Lt. Lapaine, 'Notice sur les tribus de Hazem., Geheraira, Hamerna, et Aleïa', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**
43. **Commissariat de Police de Souk Arras, 414, 10 June 1882, ANSOM.26.H.13.1.** These peddlars were used as spies by the French.
44. Hamrouni (1981, p. 106).
45. Raymond (1959).
46. C.C. Djerba to R.G., 172, 29 July 1887, **MAE.NS.45.**
47. MacGill (1811, pp. 119-121), Blaquière (1813, II, p. 184), Pellissier (1853, pp. 364-5), and Arnoulet (1947). See Joffé (1985b) for an account of Malta's trade with neighbouring

Tripoli.

48. Pellissier (1853, p. 352).
49. Pellissier (1853, p. 364) and Valensi (1873, p. 10).
50. Valensi (1873, p. 9).
51. [no author given], 'Villages et oasis de Gabès', June 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.25.** and Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraira, Hamerna, and Aleïa', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**
52. For statistics of Tunisia's pre-Protectorate trade see Arnoullet (1947), Ganiage (1959, pp. 55-60), Valensi (1977, Chapter 8).
53. As note 52. For contemporaries assessments of imports and cotton's place in the trade see Pellissier (1856, p. 146) and Valensi (1873, Appendix). Servonnet and Lafitte (1888, p. 85), Weymess-Reid (1882, p. 268), Crowe to Palmerston, Consular 26, 26 May 1847, Tunis, **PRO.FO.101.18.**, and Tissot to Roches, 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.32.** all stress the Britain's pre-eminence in the textile trade. The British government, on the other hand, appears to have largely underestimated the scale of this trade (see Marsden (1971, pp. 200-202).
54. Consul at Sousse to M.A.E., DP.2, 10 June 1843, Sousse, **MAE.CPT.7.**
55. Mattei (V.C. Sfax) to C.G., 19 June 1855, Gabès, **MAE.CCT.15.**; Chevarrier (V.C. Gabès) to Chargé d'Affaires at Tunis, 22 July 1875, Gabès, **ANSOM.25.H.19.3.**; and Tissot to Roches (C.G. Tunis), 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.32.** all provide details of the contraband trade in guns.
56. Général Logerot to M.G., SR.11, 22 January 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.27.6.**.
57. Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.78, 9 July 1884, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.24.**
58. On the European community in pre-Protectorate Tunisia see Ganiage (1955a), Rossi (1926), Triulzi (1971) and Vadala (1911). On the Europeans in the south see Combès (1952); Martel (1965, I, pp. 114-129 and 153-61); Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 23); 'Reports of the British Consular Agent on the Island of Jerbi' inclosure in Wood to Russell, 57, 11 June 1864, **PRO.FO.102.71.**; and Espina (V.C.Sfax) to C.G., 75, 11 July 1855, Sfax, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).**
59. Stanhope Freeman to Russell, 27 September 1860, **PRO.FO.102.61.** describes the south as a region 'entirely unknown'. Espina (V.C. Sfax) to C.G., 85, 30 March 1851, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).** describes, in evident admiration, Mattei's tours of the interior. Chevarrier to Chargé d'Affaires, 22 July 1875, Gabès, **ANSOM.25.H.19.3.** describes his tour of the region in that year as something of an adventure.
60. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, pp. 12 and 23); Mattei to C.G., 56, 18 May 1853, **MAEN.VC(GABES).**; and Stanhope Freeman to Russell, 26 September 1860, **PRO.FO.102.61.** describe the Jews' central role in international trade.
61. Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur les Mehabeul', April 1888, **SHAT.MR.1322.29.**
62. Richardson to Warrington, 24 September 1845, Ghadames, incolsure in Warrington to Aberdeen, 14, October 15 1845, Tunis, **PRO.FO.84.598** and Richardson to Warrington, 13 November

1845, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.101.16.** describes the relationship between local Jewish traders, the Ghadamensians, and the British subjects (of Maltese origin) Levy and Silva. Department of Constantine Section A.I. to G.G., 86, 29 January 1873, **ANSOM.25.H.18.9.** describes a similar partnerships in Tunisia. Perimbaum (1973) provides a general study of the brokerage system and the extended family relationships of the trans-saharan trade.

63. C.G. (Tripoli) to French Ambassador at Constantinople, 6 May 1870, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.15.**
64. Richardson to Warrington, 13 November 1845, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.101.16.**
65. Martel (1965, I, p. 154). Christine Deveux of the Sorbonne (Paris) is at present preparing a thesis on the status of protégés in pre-Protectorate Tunisia. Ponasik (1977) provides some discussion on the status of protégés in pre-Protectorate Morocco.
66. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 24) and Martel (1965, I, p. 152) describe M. Pariente's ambivilent and powerful position in Djerba. Triulzi (1971) provides further details of links between the Italian trading community and the Tunisian royal family and the Mamelukes.
67. Frank (1850, p. 122).
68. Tissot to Roches, 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.32.**
69. Dinguilzi (1927) and Seran (1950) briefly outline the growing importance of tea drinking, Zawadowski (1944) and Pauphillet (1954) the introduction of foreign textiles in traditional clothing.
70. R.G. to Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie, 15 May 1889, **MAE.NS.229.**
71. Stanhope Freeman to Russell, 27 September 1860, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.61.**
72. Lanessan (1886, p. 137).
73. Valensi (1969).
74. C.G.(Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.4, 4 April 1873, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.15.**
75. Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.156, 11 August 1881, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.20.**; Mattei (V.C. Sfax) to Roustan (C.G. Tunis), 5 June 1881, on board the French battleship 'L'Alma', and Roustan (C.G. Tunis) to M.A.E., 5 August 1881, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.60.**
76. On the Medieval Trans-Saharan trade and its importance see Akabar (1983), Bovill (1968), Lacoste (1974), and Najet Pacha (1976).
77. Cherbonneau (1857, pp. 287-9); Dickson (1860, p. 259); Frank (1850, p. 122); MacGill (1805, pp. 147-9); Tully (1817, p. 295); Richardson to Palmerston, Tripoli, 16 February 1850, Tripoli, **PRO.FO.101.26.** and Crowe to Palmerston, 26 February 1852, **PRO.FO.101.28.** all provide details of the composition of the trade in the first half of the 19th century.
78. Renault (1982).
79. Greaves (1825, pp. 507-8), Grasberg de Hemso (1826, p. 120), and Temple (1835, I, p. 248) identify Sousse, Gabès, and Tozeur respectively as termini of the Saharan trade. Fillipi

Monchicourt (1929, p. 263) claims that Gabès was a staging post, this is probably more realistic.

80. Duveyrier (1905, p. 122), Mirscher (1863, p. 39), C. Marty, 'Renseignements commerciaux sur les pays Tuareg', 8 April 1858, Laghouat, **ANSOM.22.H.26.**; and Richardson to Warrington, 13 November 1845, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.101.16.** all describe European products found in the Sahara.
81. Dickson (1860), Duveyrier (1905, pp. 122-3), Mirscher (1863, pp. 40-4); R.G. to M.A.E., 12 June 1889, **MAE.CCT.62.**; and Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.** all give details of the potential profits of Saharan commerce.
82. Richardson to Palmerston, 16 February 1850, Tripoli, **PRO.FO.101.26.**
83. Greaves (1825, p. 515) and MacGill (1810, p. 147).
84. Johnson (1976), Le Comte Essayrac de Couture (1853, pp. 564-6), Miège (1975 and 1981, p. 87), Newbury (1966), and Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.153, 30 July 1881, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.20.**.
85. Subtil (1844, pp. 110-1).
86. Mohamed el Hachaïchi, 'On the ancient relations between Ghat and Djanet being a review of the material in the Grand Mosque of Tunis', 6 Sfar 1325, **AGGT.A.280.6.**.
87. R.G. to M.A.E., 12 June 1889, Tunis, **MAE.CCT.62.**
88. On costs of transport between the various towns and staging posts on the Saharan route see Carette (1844), Dickson (1860, pp. 259-60), Grasberg de Hemso (1826, p. 121), and Mirscher (1863, p. 70).
89. Kraïem (1973, II, p. 33).
90. See Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886) for a description of the routes in the south at the time of the occupation.
91. Duveyrier (1881, p. 552), Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, pp. 11-2 and 25), and [Author not given] 'Villages et oases de Gabès', January 1884, **SHAT,MR.1321.25.** describe the ports and their limitations.
92. Barth (1965), Johnson (1976), Miège (1975 and 1981), Newbury (1966), all identify the opening up of the West African route as an important cause of the commerce's eventual decline. Crowe to Palmerston, 6, 7 November 1851, **PRO.FO.84.857.** explains that 'the Ghat and Ghadames merchants complain that their trade is seriously affected by the opening of this new communication [the Niger water-way]'. For the effect of the Cape route on Syrian and Central asian caravan traffic see Grant (1937) and Steensgaard (1973).
93. Carette (1844, pp. 162-79) describes in detail the problems of security and the solutions adopted by North African travellers. See also Barth (1965, I, p. 36), Bebrugger (1846), Ben Messaib (1900, p. 269), and Richardson (1848, I, p. 188). And accounts of attacks on caravans in Division de Constantine S.A.I. to G.G., 795, 12 November 1880, **ANSOM.25.H.21.6.** and Mattei (V.C. Gabès) to C.G., 19 June 1855, Gabès, **ANSOM.25.H.16.1.**
94. Duveyrier (1874, pp. 160 and 163-4), Emerit (1954), Mirscher (1863, p. 37), Crowe to Malmesbury, Dip.5, April 22 1852,

Tunis, **PRO.FO.101.31.**, and Wood to Clarendon, 38, 8 October 1856, **PRO.FO.102.50.**.

95. On the government's exploitation of trade see Arnoullet (1947, pp. 175-7), Cherif (1970, p. 740), Kraïem (1973, I, pp. 276-82), and Valensi (1977, Chpt. 8). Kraïem (1973, I, p. 457) provides a list of monopolies. Similar systems of control and exploitation existed in Tripoli (Folayan 1970, p. 258-64) and Morocco (Ponasik, 1977).
96. French objections are explained in Consul General to M.A.E., DP.45, 23 January 1840, **MAE.CPT.4.** The causes of the revolt in Sebag (1958, p. 176), Serres (1925, p. 253), and Consul General to M.A.E., DP.57, 25 April 1840, **MAE.CPT.4.**
97. MacGill (1811, p. 122); Pellisier (1853, pp. 364-5), Reade to Aberdeen, Consular 10, 18 September 1843, **PRO.FO.102.18.**, Thomas Reade 'Report on the Regency of Tunis its commerce and its agriculture', Consular 7, 31 March 1848, **PRO.FO.102.32.**, and Wood to Sir Victor Poulton (Secretary of the Government of Malta), 2, 27 November 1872, **PRO.FO.102.94.** all describe instances of export control during droughts.
98. Chateaubriand in Monchicourt (1929, p. 24) stresses that the caravans from the south paid no taxes in 1788. Prax (1850, p. 87) and Subtil (1844, p. 111) describe the introduction of customs duties on this route.
99. Stanhope Freeman, 'Report on the re-establishment of the caravan trade between Tunis and Ghadames', 27 September 1860, **PRO.FO.102.61.**
100. Richardson (1848, I, p. 355), Pellissier (1853, p. 151), and Richardson to Warrington, 13 November 1845, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.101.16.**
101. The persistence of contraband was a worry for the Bey and his French neighbours because it provided an opportunity for the tribes to arm themselves with the most up to date weaponry. For the Bey there was the added threat that smuggling would provide the means for the emergence of a local strongman comparable to Bu Himara in North Eastern Morocco (see Dunn (1980) and Seddon (1981, pp. 106-109)).
102. Consul at Sousse to M.A.E., DP.6, 2 September 1843, Sousse, **MAE.CPT.7.** complains indignantly of the failure of local officials to prevent the open smuggling trade carried on within sight of the town.
103. See Bdira (1978) and Ganiage (1959) for accounts of Tunisia's commercial legislation and the European impact before the Protectorate.
104. Martel (1965, II, pp. 114-144) and Driss (1985).
105. See, for example, RM's November 1897, November 1911, November 1924, and October 1932. For local exchanges within the south see 'Enquête économique', 5 June 1920, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.** References to caravans between the regions become scarce from the beginning of the 20th century and a report from Médenine dated October 1927 **AGGT.A.196.6.** states explicitly that caravans 'ont devenu rares depuis vingt années'.
106. Colonel Faure-Bigaud to Général Saint-Marc, 25 December 1887, Gabes, **MAE.NS.46.**
107. Caïd of Nefzaoua to S.G.G.T., 4 May 1891, Kebili, **AGGT.E.59.2.**

and Général Leclerc to M.G., 645, 21 July 1891, **AGGT.E.59.3.**

108. On the development of new market facilities see Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931 a to e). On the refurbishment of Médenine see Chef de Bat. Donau, 'Rapport au sujet du dévéloppement du mouvement commercial de Médenine', 1170, 24 October 1913, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.3.**
109. Général Leclerc to R.G., 645, 21 July 1891, **AGGT.E.59.3.** and 'Rapport sur le centre du Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.7.**
110. Act of 29 July 1892 inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 812,, 12 August 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
111. Général Leclerc to R.G., 737, 13 July 1892, Tunis, and Lt. Rogier to Lt. Colonel Rousset, 26 June 1892, Tataouine**MAE.NS.54.**
112. Allegro (Governor of Aradh) to R.G., 18 June 1892, Gabès, and R.G. to Général Leclerc, 666, 30 November 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
113. Direction des Finances to S.G.G.T., 29 October 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
114. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1013, 12 June 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
115. Général Begassière to R.G., 44, 11 February 1902, Tunis, **AGGT.B.223.34.**, for example, describes the growth of the market at Zarzis and the increasing frequency of its use.
116. Permanent regional markets also proliferated and in Morocco (Fogg, 1939 and 1940), Tripolitania (Blake, 1968) and Cyrenaica Johnson (1973) during the colonial period.
117. Lt. Deveux, Rapport, 128/3, 5 June 1929, Matmata, **AGGT.B.224.59.**
118. Admiral Estéva to I/C Matmata, 4 June 1941, **MAEN.PS.712.**
119. Service Central de S.A.I., 982, 12 September 1940, Tunis, **MAE.N.PS.682.**
120. Martel (1960b) provides a detailed study of the caravan trade between Gabès and Algeria from 1899 to 1917.
121. RM's provide details of flows of caravans (animals and conductors) between Tripolitania and Tunisia, some also give breakdowns of the commodities exchanged, for example, January 1894, April 1899, July 1899, June 1900, July 1901, February 1910, and June 1934.
122. RM January 1895.
123. 'Rapport sur le centre de Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.7.**
124. RM September 1896.
125. RM September 1898.
126. Cdt. Roux, 'Rapport sur les hostilités Italo-Turque du 1 Octobre 1911 au 1 Octobre 1912', 15 October 1912, **SHAT.2.H.50.5.** gives details of market sales and prices during the period. Beef prices rose by 40%, mutton by 20%, fruit and vegetables by 45%, and eggs by 60%.
127. M.A.E. to M.G., 196, 17 February 1912, Paris, **MAE.NS.74.** gives details of the 'Odessa' incident. See Cdt. Roux, 'Rapport sur les hostilités Italo-Turque du 1 Octobre 1911 au 1 Octobre 1912', 15 October 1912, **SHAT.2.H.50.5.** and RM August 1912 for details of this and other contraband activities.
128. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.660, 10 September 1913, Tunis, and Cpt. Bourgnon to R.G., 460/9, 12 November 1913, Tunis, **MAE.NS.75.**

and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.946, 12 December 1913, Tunis, **MAE.NS.76.** give details of the Italian restrictions on cross boarder traffic and their new markets.

129. RM July 1914.
130. RM's March and June 1917 and April 1918.
131. Lt. Mathieu to R.G., 241/9, 19 March 1924, M'chiguig, and Lt. Lewden to R.G., 1020/9, 25 November 1924, Dehibat, **ANSOM.29.H.9.**, and Lt. Lewden to R.G., 231/9, 9 February 1925, Pistor, **ANSOM.29.H.8.**
132. See RM's April and September 1923, June 1924, and November 1927.
133. Service des Affaires économiques, 'Renseignements Tripolitaines. Achats des céréales tunisiens', 654.D., 31 May 1929, Algiers, and subsequent reports in the same file **ANSOM.29.H.10.** provide details of this trade.
134. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard to R.G., 43/5, 4 December 1933, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.E.231.3.**
135. 'Rapport sur l'activité du Service des Affaires Indigènes de Tunisie au cours de l'année 1941', **MAEN.PS.874.**
136. Ahmed ben Abdelkrim Bettaieb to the Bey [an unusual destination], 24 June 1934, and S.G.G.T. to R.G., [no date and no number, marked 'Secret'], **AGGT.A.183.1936.**
137. Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 30/3, 10 February 1934, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.183.1936.**
138. S.G.G.T. to R.G., [no date and no number, marked 'Secret'], **AGGT.A.183.1936.**
139. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 167/15, 2 August 1932, Ben Gardane, and Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard to R.G., 43/5, 4 December 1933, Ben Gardane **AGGT.E.231.3.**
140. RMs June and August 1886, and January and June 1888.
141. Act dated 29 July 1892 inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 812, 12 August 1892, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
142. 'Rapport sur le centre de Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.7.**. See also Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 440/3, 6 August 1908, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.39.**
143. Direction Général de l'Intérieur, Note, 2 August 1926, **AGGT.A.179.1.** gives some idea of the diversity of origins and occupations of the residents at Tataouine.
144. RM May 1909.
145. RM March 1919.
146. Matmata, 'Enquête économiqe', June 1920, **MAEN.PS.712.** states categorically 'il n'y aura pas dévéloppement au plateau de Matmata sans des routes meilleures'.
147. Douib (1972, p. 178) and Marty (1944, p. 462) describe the growth of wheeled traffic. Cpt. Bouvet, Rapport, 426/14, 13 April 1920, Zarzis, **AGGT.B.223.55.** describes the gradual replacement of camel transport by wheeled carts at Zarzis. Hadj Messaoud Achache (of Ksar Haddad) to the Caïd of Tataouine, 11 May 1935, **AGGT.E.338.20.**, is the first recorded application for a driving licence in the south.
148. Violard (1905, p. 65) and Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance de la région de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.**
149. Fallot (1899, pp. 47-54), M. Chambert (Président de la Chambre Mixte de Centre) to R.G., 15 May 1904, Sousse, **MAE.NS.297.**, and

plans for development in **AGGT.E.379.4.**.

150. Syndicat d'études Sud Tunisiennes to M.A.E., 28 November 1905, **AGGT.E.379.2.** and *Le Courrier Tunisien* , 'La question de la port de Gabès', 2 April 1913.
151. See the Admiralty publication 'Tunisia' this details the port facilities in the south and their development up to 1946.
152. Cdt. Roux, 'Rapport au sujet des hostilités Italo-Turques du 1 Octobre 1911 au 1 Octobre 1912', 15 October 1912, **SHAT.2.H.50.5.**
153. RM's May 1904, April 1905, and March 1907.
154. Lecoq in Decker-David (1911).
155. RM's February and April 1919, May 1920, and March 1923.
156. Direction de Commerce et Travail (1931).
157. RM July 1910.
158. Mazières (1907) and *Dépêche Tunisien*, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 23 May 1900, **MAE.NS.234.**
159. RM November 1917.
160. Combès (1946).
161. RM's May 1920 and June 1923. Direction des Finances, Note, 3 April 1920, **AGGT.E.244.5.** describes the lengths that merchants were having to go to secure their supplies of wool.
162. Liauzu (1978, p. 7).
163. See Martel (1964 and 1965, II, pp. 114-144) and Driss (1985).
164. Violard (1905, p. 42).
165. RM's August and September 1890.
166. Menouillard (1912, p. 152), Violard (1905, p. 42), RM January 1892, and 'Rapport sur le centre de Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.7.**
167. Direction des Finances to S.G.G.T., 28 August 1920, **AGGT.E.226.2.**
168. RM April 1922.
169. Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la première semestre 1941', July 1941, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.**
170. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 1 June 1936, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.**
171. Bourde (1893, p. 7), Decker-David (1911), Fallot (1899, p. 32), Magnan (1900), and Sanson (1898).
172. D.G.A.C.C. (1913) and Rohmer (1949, p. 22).
173. 'Enquête économique, Matmata', 5 June 1920, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.**
174. Ageron (1970) and Bernard (1975) have written of the relationship between taxation and commercialisation in Algeria.
175. Commissariat de Police de Souk Ahras, 16 May 1882, Souk Arras, **ANSOM.26.H.13.1.**
176. RM July 1893.
177. RM November 1923.
178. RM March 1923.
179. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 26/19, 1 April 1922, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.18.**
180. Lt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 167/15, 2 August 1932, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.E.231.3.**
181. Mahjoubi (1977, Chapter 6) describes how the French underwrote the Tunisian currency. The order of the Ministry of Finances,

22 Februay 1882, **SHAT.2.H.27.1.** set immutable exchange rates between the two currencies. This did not, however, prevent money trading between the two currencies in the early years of the Protectorate.

182. Marty (1907, p. 43) and Marty (1944, p. 536).
183. 'Notice concernant les tribus de Nefzaoua', 15 July 1900, **MAE.NS.80.**
184. RM February 1898.
185. Dinguizli (1927, p. 426).
186. Marty (1944, p. 112).
187. Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 568/11, 1 July 1926, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1926.**
188. 9me Procès-Verbal de la commission d'évaluation des dommages, 3 April 1922, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
189. D.G.A.C.C. (1917), Confé de Kérambriec (1909), and Fleury (1900).
190. On regional differences in wool prices see Combès (1946), on prices generally see Decker-David (1911) and Marty (1944, Chapter 9).
191. Wolfrom, 'Rapport sur le Commerce de la Tunisie en 1895', **MAE.NS.231.**
192. D.G.A.C.C. (1913 and 1917) and Tournieroux (1922).
193. D.G.A.C.C. (1917), Confé de Kérambriec (1909), and Fleury (1900).
194. On the concession see Fleury (1900), Martel (1965, II, pp. 171-2), and the file on alfa trading **AGGT.E.233.10.**.
195. 'Petition des négociants de Sfax', 21 November 1885, (signed J.Mattei), and 'Petition des négociants de Gabès' to H. Sicard (V.C. Gabès), 31 December 1885, **MAE.NS.223.**
196. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.240, 27 June 1887, **MAE.NS.223.** explains the government's determination to end the concession. In order to do so the government conveniently ignored pleas by the concessionaires that insecurity and the flight of rebels had reduced manpower in the alfa pulling regions (Franco-English Esparato Fibre Supply Company Ltd. (London) to R.G., 9 October 1884, London, **AGGT.A.208.10.**).
197. Fleury (1900) and Martel (1965, II, p. 172) list the companies involved in the trade after the trade was liberalised, and provide details of their proportion of the trade.
198. Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 151/15, 1 March 1933, Médenine, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
199. S.G.G.T., 'L'Alfa en Tunisie', 2 March 1937, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
200. For this reason the government wanted to eliminate the discount (Direction des Finances, 'Note sur l'alfa et les efforts de l'administration pour en moraliser le commerce', March 1931, **AGGT.E.64.11.**) but the merchants refused to do so (Chambre Mixte du Sud, Séance of 4 June 1931, **AGGT.E.64.11.**).
201. Petition of forty two inhabitants of Matmata to S.G.G.T., 21 January 1938, Matmata, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
202. Chef de Bat. Briand to Cdt. T.M.S., 3423/15, 17 November 1951, Tataouine, **AGGT.E.64.11.** See also P.M. to Ministère d'Agriculture, 16 May 1951, **AGGT.E.59.18.**
203. Rapport des Affaires économiques, 'L'Alfa', 1938, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
204. Taieb (1980).

205. D.G.A.C.C. (1917) and Fleury (1900).
206. Direction de Commerce et Travail (1931), Tabonne (1934), and Taieb (1980).
207. For details of the collapse of prices in the late 1920's and 1930's see Driss (1985, Chapter 4), Liauzu (1978, p. 6) and Nouschi (1976).
208. 'Situation économique et politique de la région de Zarzis et des territoires militares', inclosure in Chef de Bat. Filio to Cpt. Fouches, 9 June 1932, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.874.**
209. Lt. Bellot to R.G., 427/15, 13 May 1932, Zarzis, **MAEN.PS.874.**
210. RM's December 1931 and December 1935.
211. RM's July and August 1929 and November 1931.
212. Driss (1985, Chapter 4).
213. RM July 1921.
214. Marseille (1976)'s account of the effects of the depression on Algeria's trade parallels and expands on the studies available for Tunisia.
215. Martel (1965, II, pp. 114-144).
216. Driss (1985, Chapter 6).
217. RM August 1917.
218. Dinguizli (1927, p. 426).
219. Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 568/11, 1 July 1926, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1926.**
220. Zawadowski (1944, p. 97).
221. RM May 1920.
222. Golvin (1957), Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la première semestre 1941', and 'Enquête économique, Matmata', July 1920, **MAEN.PS.712.**, Chef de Bat. Briand, 'Note sur la situation économique de la circonscription de Tataouine', December 1950, **MAEN.PS.932.**, Lt. Délard, 'Enquête sur l'artisanat', 13 June 1944, **MAEN.PS.786**, Direction de l'Office de l'Arts Tunisiens to Sous-Directeur des Finances, 906, 19 December 1947, Tunis, **MAEN.PF.2117.**.
223. Lt. Laveran to Cdt. T.M.S., 17 April 1914, Kebili, and I/C Kebili to R.G., 27 April 1915, Kebili, **MAEN.PS.189.**
224. RM's May 1912 and December 1914.
225. RM's April and October 1900 and August 1903.
226. Le Boeuf (1909a, p.128) and 'Rapport sur le centre de Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.7.**
227. Combès (1946).
228. Combès and Louis (1967) and Sethom (1964).
229. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 568/11, 1 July 1926, Zarzis and 586/11, 3 August 1926 describes the events of the boycott. Albert Allal et Co. (Tunis) to Directeur General de l'Intérieur, 25 June and 5 July 1926, puts the merchants point of view (**AGGT.A.183.1926.**).
230. 'L'artisanat tunisien est à l'agonie', in *el-Zohra*, 23 July 1931, and Habib Bourguiba, 'La protection du marché intérieur', *L'action tunisienne*, 14 November 1932.
231. Inspector Bechir Hachaichi to M. le Chef de Surêté à Tunis, 128/12/2, 8 August 1934, Tunis, and Chef de Surêté to commissionaire Prinicpal de Police, 572/D1, 14 April 1934, **MAEN.PF.2117.**
232. Quoted in Woolf (1920, pp. 46-7).

233. Leijri (1974, I, pp. 78-81), Sammut (1983, Chapter 8), Tabonne (1934), and Taieb (1980) describe the legislative changes introduced by the Protectorate to advance their commercial policies.
234. See, for example, Le Boeuf (1909a, pp.122-36), Maquart (1937), and Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931a to e).
235. RM July 1909.
236. Violard (1905, p. 42).
237. For example, Col. Lamounier to I/C Kebili, 24 October 1929, Médenine, requests exhibits for a fair at Tamanrasset **MAEN.PS.172.**, and Lt. Col. Le Boeuf, Circular to S.A.I., 23 August 1913, **AGGT.183.1906.** contains lists of exhibits for an exhibition in Paris from each circonscription in the south.
238. Nancy et Deambrogio, 'Notes succinctes sur le Nefzaoua', November 1904, **SHAT.2.H.34.8.**
239. Numerous writers stressed the possibilities and the importance of the Trans-Saharan trade, among the most prominent publications were Bordier (1881), Le Boeuf (1909a and b), Pujat (1907), and Rebillet (1895), all senior officers.
240. Bourgeot (1978), Cordell (1977), Johnson (1966), and Miège (1975 and 1981).
241. Martel (1965).
242. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.644, 19 July 1912, **MAE.NS.74.** optimistically announced that Tunisia had the new outlet for the Saharan trade because the Tripolitanian War had cut off the route to Tripoli. Lt. Bouvet, 'Rapport sur la situation actuelle du commerce saharien', 12 February 1913, Tunis, **MAE.NS.75.** was likewise optimistic about the opportunities for the commerce. Articles from the Tunisian newspapers '*L'Unione*' and '*Dépêche Tunisienne*' compiled in **MAE.NS.75.** indicate the popular hope that this trade could be rekindled. The Algerian government also had hopes that the commerce would be re-directed towards its Saharan towns G.G.A. to M.G., 2747, 31 July 1912, Algiers, **SHAT.2.H.50.6.**
243. G.G.A. to R.G., 1387, 23 April 1913, Algiers, **MAE.NS.75.** explains the plans for the 'expedition'. F. de Parlier de la Roque to Directeur de la Bureau de Tunisie (Paris), 11 May 1931, Moorside, Westfield, Hastings, England, one of Allane's creditors and R.G. to M.A.E., A.I. 766, 4 June 1931, **MAE.T.360.** describe the disasterous conclusion of the expedition and the 102,750 frs. compensation Allane received.
244. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.919, 16 June 1923, Tunis, and DP.1562, 9 October 1923, whilst listing several Saharan caravans that had arrived in Southern Tunisia, argues that there was little opportunity left for a substantial Trans-Sharan trade. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.1515, 14 July 1924, Tunis, demonstrates that International agreements had effectively ended any ivory trade. G.G. to R.G. and G.G. French West Africa (Dakar), 31, 3 June 1925, outlines the much diminished scale of this commerce and the reasons for its decline (all in **MAE.T.32.**).
245. For example, M. Patin, 'L'Extrême Sud Tunisien ses richesses et et ses besoins', 1922, **MAEN.PS.874.** encourages the government to re-invest in the trade. The covering letter (I/C Médenine to R.G., 15 May 1922, Médenine) warmly endorses M. Patin's

proposals.

246. Duprec (Chef de l'Annexe at Adjer) to Cdt. Oasis Ouargla, 4 August 1925, Adjer, **MAE.T.32.**
247. Plans for the sponsorship and protection of the expedition are related in Direction Général des Finances to R.G., 25302/2, 8 October 1925, and 9487/2, 10 April 1926, **MAEN.PF.1785** and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.1797, 19 September 1925, Tunis, **MAE.T.32.**. Cpt. Abritat, 'Relation du voyage de Mohammed Allane à Djanet et à Ghat', (No date or number), and Mohammed Allane to R.G., 17 October 1927, Gabès, describe the expeditions dismal failure.
248. For example, 'Rapport du Chef de Bat. Corbillet (Cdt. Militaire des Oasis) sur sa visite faite aux autorités italiens à Ghat les 25 et 26 février 1931', **MAE.T.362.**
249. Col. Lamounier to I/C Kebili, 24 October 1929, **MAEN.PS.172.**
250. Féraud to M.A.E., DP.153, 30 July 1881, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.20.**, Féraud to M.A.E., DP.196, 24 January 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**, Féraud to M.A.E., DP.44, 15 November 1883, Tripoli **MAE.CPTr.23.**, Général Forgemol de Bostquénard to M.A.E., 73, 16 October 1883, and Général Boulanger to M.G., SR.20, 24 March 1884, **SHAT.2.H.27.6.**.
251. E. Daloz, Consul at Malta to C.G. Tunis, 28 July 1881, Valetta, describes how gun powder was smuggled into Tunisia in gin bottles, and a Greek ship with 210 barrels of powder unloaded at Djerba **MAE.CPT.60.**
252. Féraud to M.A.E., DP.60, 7 March 1884, **MAE.CPTr.24.**
253. Féraud to M.A.E., DP.3, 6 January 1885, Tripoli, describes how Vittorio (another Maltese) landed 700 barrells of powder on the coast near Tunisia. Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.28 19 April 1886, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.25.** estimates the number of modern repeater rifles among the Tripolita nian tribes.
254. RM March 1905.
255. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.239, 15 April 1907, **MAE.NS.67.**
256. Cpt. Bot, 'Rapport sur un convoi d'armes et munitions se dirigeant vers la frontière Morocaine', 12 September 1907, Tlemcen, indicates that this caravan had originated in Southern Tunisia and M.G. to M.A.E., 24 September 1907, commends a makzen for his single handed seizure of a boat laden with contraband guns on the coast near Ben Gardane **SHAT.2.H.27.6.** Général Leclerc to R.G., 50, 13 January 1893, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.17.** records a caravan of 4,500 kg. of gun powder intercepted in the Djebel Matmata. RMs August 1900, August 1903, and March and August 1905, record contraband caravans in Southern Tunisia and the Tripolitanian border zone carrying armaments.
257. Cpt. Filio, Rapport, 100/7, 13 March 1920, Kebili, **AGGT.A.189.1.** describes a flourishing trade in Mauser rifles. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 10/C, 8 April 1936, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.** notes that these weapons were still available thirteen years after the end of the revolt.
268. S.G.G.T. to Direction des Finances, 227, 25 April 1934, **AGGT.E.231.3.**
259. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.?, 12 May 1882, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
260. Général Saint-Marc to M.G., 236, 11 March 1888, Tunis, and M.G. to M.A.E., 10 June 1888, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**

261. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1013, 12 June 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
262. I/C Médenine to S.A.I., 9 June 1915, **MAEN.PS.171.** details the restrictions introduced. See also RM August 1914.
263. RMs July and September 1918.
264. Of the First World War see RM June 1917 of the Second see Seran (1950, pp. 242-4) and Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la premier semestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712.**.
265. See RM's May and June 1918.
266. Chambre Mixte de l'Agriculture et du Commerce du Centre, Procès Verbal, 27 March 1907, Sousse; G. Lefebvre and G. Lemann (Négociants) to R.G., 27 June 1911, Tunis; and 'Rapport sur la fraude des céréales et plus particulièrement des orges', 17 June 1911, Tunis, outline the complaints of the European merchants and S.G.G.T. Circulaires 2 November 1899 and 20 August 1907; and the decree of 8 November 1911, represent the governments response**AGGT.E. 244.6.**. The decree allowed for sentences of up to two years for such frauds. Similar correspondence preceded the decree of 19 October 1911 establishing the same offence in the wool trade **AGGT.E.224.5.**
267. See for example Petition from the people of Ksar Médenine to P.M., Moharassen 1337, **AGGT.B.223.21.**
268. Cannon (1977, p. 83).
269. S.G.G.T. to Direction de Finances, 3778, 26 August 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
270. Caïd of Matmata to P.M., 58, 8 July 1930, Matmata, **AGGT.B.182.59.**
271. Cpt. Prévost to Cdt. Médenine, 708, 25 July 1898, **MAE N.PS.756.**
272. Personel file of Letaief ben el Hadj Abdelkader Ksiksi (appointed 1903).
273. Said ben Ali ben Arfa to R.G., 13 March 1893, Fondouk el Ghriba, Tunis, and Lt. Martin, Rapport, 21 June 1893, Kebili, **AGGT.E.45.1.**
274. Payne (1940, p. 27).
275. Circulaire Ministèrielle, 'Compétence exclusive des amines', 15 November 1923, **AGGT.G.35.**
276. S.G.G.T. to Direction de Finances, 3778, 26 August 1891, summarises Rebillet's argument. General Leclerc to R.G., 645, 21 July 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.E.59.3.**
277. S.G.G.T. to R.G., 28 March 1894, **AGGT.E.45.1.**
278. See Esteban (1901, p. 133) for an officers attitude towards the Jewish traders. Fournel (1887)'s descriptions of the Jewish community in Tripoli and their role in commerce are the most bare-faced anti-semitism but it is a sentiment that may be seen in many authors at the end of the 19th century.
279. Caïd of Matmata to P.M., 58, 8 July 1930, **AGGT.B.182.59.**
280. RM (Médenine) August 1936 **AGGT.A.196.1.**
281. Conseil Administratif, Matmata, P.V. 10 November 1937, and 9 March 1938, **MAEN.PS.683.**. Lt. Bossy, Rapport, 2721/4, 16 September 1936, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.196.1.**
282. Chef de Bat. Belnet, Rapport, 1412/5, 1 September 1945, Zarzis, **AGGT.B.182.27.** complains that an amine allowed sales at price the level set by the mercuriale.

283. Lt. Bossy, Rapport, 2721/4, 16 September 1936, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.196.1.** provides an interesting example. Hai ben Zahir Cohen and Didon Cohen representing Haouati Madar and Alfred Cohen, both of Djerba, had built up large stockpiles of grain at Tataouine which they refused to sell even though the tribesmen thereabouts were dying of starvation. They were waiting, Lt. Bossy suggests, until the price was sufficiently high. The military and the amines were powerless to intervene.
284. Direction Général de l'Intérieur to Direction des Finances, 27 November 1925, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
285. Direction Général de l'Intérieur, Compte Rendu, 22 July 1930, **AGGT.E.64.11.**
286. RM May 1920.
287. RM's March 1919, May 1923, and August 1936.
288. The most acrimonious of these was the fight between Carette and the military over the shop at Chenini summarised in R.G. to M.A.E., DP.559, 12 August 1892, with inclosed reports from all involved **MAE.NS.54.**. Chef de Bat. Donau to R.G., 514/14, 8 July 1907, Médenine, **AGGT.A..181.6.** records a fist fight between a young Italian merchant, M. Pariente, and the amine.
289. Marx and Engels (1967, pp. 83-4).

the village. Sequestration reports from the First World War (**AGGT.A.207ter.**) reveal a similar dispersion of property among the Ouderna. A pattern of landownership that Djemai (1972) confirms of Taoudjout.

24. Zgall (1980, p. 14)
25. Boris (1951, pp. 16-20), Dumas (1911, pp. 34-6), and Pauphillet (1953, p. 223).
26. Valensi (1977, p. 102).
27. Buisson (1964, p. 903).
28. See, for instance, Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** and Chef de Bat. Donau to R.G., 247/3, 23 July 1907, Médenine, **AGGT.A.206bis.14.**.
29. Barth (1964, p. 71 and pp. 78-9).
30. Black (1972) and Irons (1975, pp. 156-7). Barth (1964, p. 75)'s position is ambiguous, he admits both large and small herd owners suffer losses but does not explicitly state whether these will weigh heavier on the small or large herd owner.
31. Bradburd (1982, p. 101).
32. On Islamic inheritance law see Debou (1939, pp. 58-120), Surdon (1935, pp. 93-101), and Valensi (1977, pp. 97-99).
33. It is common to see Biographical Notices referring to private animal wealth whilst land is shown to be held in a co-proprietal association or by the father. See, for instance, Biographical Notice of Milad ben Cheikh Ahmed ben el Hadj Khalifa inclosure in Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 270/3, 3 March 1920, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.45.**.
34. Hahmia bent Said el Medjebbi, Commission Administrative de Séquestre, Procès-Verbal 3, 4 June 1916, **AGGT.A.207ter.1.** describes the occasions on which her son received animals from her husband. Other documents show that young children did own animals, Lt. Lecoq, Rapport, 213/3, 21 June 1912, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**, for example, lists the property of a five year old.
35. Lt. Valentini, Rapport, 908/3, 8 March 1914, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.11.** describes an argument between brothers over the practice of serial inheritance which elucidates the prinicples.
36. Examples of female disinheritance arise in the sequestration of rebel's property during the First World War: inheritance of animal wealth, Fatma bent Ali ben Aoun Doudei (Od. Chehida), Commission Administrative de Sequestre (Tataouine), Procès-Verbal 8, 10 October 1916; act of donation, el Hadj Amor ben Ali ben Bou Belcha, Commission Administrative de Sequestre (Tataouine), Procès-Verbal 3, 14 April 1916 (see Appendix II); maintenance, el Hadj Abd el Moumen ben Saad (Od. Chehida), Commission Administrative de Sequestre (Tataouine), Procès-Verbal 15, 20 March 1917; and habous, Aleia bent Aoun el Douedi, Commission Administrative de Sequestre (Tataouine), Procès-Verbal 23, 17 September 1918, **AGGT.A.207ter.1.**
37. Djemai (1972, p. 28).
38. Memmi (1981) and Saurin (1896, p. 11).
39. On the legal status of habous see Debon (1939, pp. 121-172), Mercier (1894), Saurin (1897), and Tartour (1935). An example of an act is provided in Appendix III. See also Président de Djemaia de Habous to P.M., 14499, 11 September 1940,

AGGT.C.63.1..

40. Cpt. Cosson to R.G., 270/33, 29 March 1917, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
41. The Cadhi of Djebel Abiodh in Lt. Nancy, Rapport, 16 March 1902, **AGGT.A.176.9.**
42. Decker-David (1911, pp. 31-3) and Saurin (1897, p. 12).
43. Caïd of Tataouine to Ministère d'Agriculture, 232, 15 February 1951, **AGGT.A.206bis.14.** See also, Président de la Djemaia de Habous to P.M., 13267, 28 December 1949, **AGGT.C.63.1.**
44. Col. Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** See also, Decker-David (1911).
45. Chebil (1954) and Saurin (1897).
46. Lecoq (p. 651 in Decker-David, 1911) lists the public habous in Matmata - a total of 1673 olive trees, 316 fig trees, and 369 date palms. A survey of the habous held by zaouia's in 1903 concluded at Matmata that their lands were 'sans importance' (Cadhi of Djebel Matmata to P.M., 45, 7 February 1903, Matmata) and that none of the four zaouia's in the Djebel Abiodh had any estate (Cadhi of Djebel Abiodh to P.M., 484, 22 February 1903, Tataouine) **AGGT.C.22.3.**.
47. Scemama (1934).
48. Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Accara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.** R.G. to M.A.E., DP.85, 27 February 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.61.** indicates the dispersion of the Accara's land along the coast.
49. Pückler-Muskau (1837, III, p. 95).
50. Cherif (1982), Memmi (1981), and Valensi (1977).
51. Valensi (1977, p. 129) and Memmi (1981).
52. Valensi (1977, p. 114). See also Kraiem (1983, pp. 148-9).
53. Général Leclerc to R.G., SR.554, 11 May 1893, **AGGT.A.183.29.**
54. Ducroquect (Directeur des Finances), Instruction du 10 Avril 1892 sur l'établissement et l'apurement des roles de medjba, 10 August 1892, **AGGT.E.17.2.**
55. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 1, 16 April 1908, Matmata, and inclosures **AGGT.A.186.12.** and Lt. Faveris, Rapport, 22 November 1905, Matmata, and inclosures **AGGT.A.186.11.**.
56. Marty (1944, p. 80). See Millet (1899) and Le Boeuf (1903) for French attitudes to colonisation.
57. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.654, 15 September 1891, and P. Bourde, 'Note sur l'organisation de la colonisation en Tunisie', 1892, **MAE.NS.225.** and R.G. to M.A.E., 549, 9 December 1899, and Note (Confidential), 'Note sur l'immigration italienne', 1899, **MAE.NS.233.**
58. Decker-David (1911, p. 62), Piquet (1912), and Poncet (1962).
59. Marty (1944, p. 80).
60. Decker-David (1911, preface).
61. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 139). See also Le Boeuf (1909a, pp. 60-1).
62. See, for example, Ruedy (1967).
63. M.A.E. to R.G., 12 January 1891, **MAE.NS.225.**. A view reaffirmed by Résident Général Flandrin in 1919 (quoted by Rectenwald, 1921, p. 3).
64. Commission de Colonisation, 'Rapport à la Résident Général sur l'habous en Tunisie', 22 September 1903, **AGGT.C.23.3.**
65. On the development of habous legislation see Harber (1973),

Poncet (1962, pp. 189-193), Sammut (1983, p. 154), and J. Abribat, 'Du habous, du bail à complant, et du bail à defrichement', 1912, **AGGT.C.22.1.**

66. Harber (1973, p. 312).
67. Poncet (1962, pp. 147-8).
68. On the process of 'domainalisation' see Poncet (1962, pp. 180-4, 193-9, and 264-90) and Sammut (1983, pp. 157-9). On the Sialine lands see Rectenwald (1914).
69. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.38, 27 January 1900, **MAE.NS.234.** On the 'affaire Couitéas' and subsequent legislation see Bardin (1938), Ben Salem (1973), Dumas (1912), Desmé de Chavigny (1911), Housset (1939), Millot (1922), Poncet (1962, pp. 184-9), Sammut (1983, pp. 155-7), and Surin (1948).
70. R.G. to M.A.E., S.T.416, 29 July 1901, **MAE.NS.235.** The count was sold a large area of the Bled Cegui in 1898 by tribesmen using false names and fake documents. While remarking on his gullibility Millet advanced his case as evidence of need for legislation.
71. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.38, 27 January 1900, **MAE.NS.234.**
72. Allegro (Gouverneur de l'Aradh) to R.G., 132, 18 August 1892, Gabès, **AGGT.A.178.23.**
73. Tribunal Mixte de Tunisie, Président S. Berge, Ali ben Belhaiem et les habitants de Sened v. Direction de l'Agriculture, 18 June 1904, *Journal des Tribunaux de Tunisie*, 16 (5), pp. 563-67. See also Tribunal de l'Ouzara, 27 June 1908, *Journal des Tribunaux de Tunisie*, 21 (1), pp. 30-1. Rectenwald (1921, pp.46-54) provides a legal review of the judgements that reinforced the decree of 14 January 1901.
74. Hamrouni (1981), Kassab (1976), and Poncet (1962, pp. 453-84).
75. Blanc (1889, p. 18). See also Duveyrier (1881, p. 93), Pervinqière (1912, p. 247), and A. Martel (colon at Gabès) to M.G., 6 August 1911, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.26.4.**
76. R.G. to M.A.E., Services de Tunisie 246, 20 June 1902, Tunis, **MAE.NS.236.**
77. Violard (1905, p. 53).
78. Lt. Bouchard to R.G., 220/4, 5 June 1907, **AGGT.A.183.1909.**, explains the complaints of M. Pellet colon at Zarzis. M. Giroud (Membre de Conférence Consultative) to S.G.G.T., 12 February 1906, Gabès, describes the military's un-coperative attitude and concludes 'des tels événements si contraire à la colonisation française ne doivent pas se réproduire' **AGGT.A.194.2.**. Président de Chambre Mixte de Commerce et d'Agriculture du Sud to R.G., 29 July 1901, Sfax, infuriated by the military's refusal to help colons at Zarzis, threatened to move a motion at the Conférence Consultative abolishing military authority in the region **AGGT.A.183.1902.**
79. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.394, 26 May 1911, **MAE.NS.73.**. R.G. to M.A.E., 1453, 17 October 1924, the military refused permission to tourists wishing to travel in the south on the grounds of insecurity **MAE.T.29.**
80. Président de la Djemaia de Habous to P.M., 5882, 23 April 1906, **AGGT.C.62.1.**
81. See, for example, the dispute between M. Salon and his neighbour Ahmed ben Lehedeb in Ahmed ben Lehedeb to R.G., 22

August 1906; Cpt. Vairef [signature illegible] to R.G., 380/4, 13 August 1906, Médenine; and Lt. Faveris to R.G., 427/11, 12 September 1906, Zarzis, in **AGGT.A.183.1906.** and Madame Narni's dispute with her neighbour in Lt. Bouchard to R.G., 220/15, 5 June 1907, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1909.**

82. Colonel Sigonney to R.G., 138/C, 4 August 1934, Médenine, **AGGT.A.191.1934.** describes the early stages of the O. Mellah colonisation, Colonel Tortat, Note, D.32, 23 October 1953, **AGGT.A.206bis.14** describes its failure after M. Le Pont's eviction.
83. Violard (1905, p. 51) and M. Pellet to P.M., 8 November 1900, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1900**
84. Général Roux to R.G., SAI.45, 25 February 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.25.**
85. Douib (1972, pp. 172-3) and Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance de la région de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.**
86. Douib (1972, p. 172) and Marty (1944, p. 365).
87. Bourde (1893b), Magnman (1900), and Sanson (1898).
88. Allegro to R.G., 92, 22 April 1888, **AGGT.A.182.2.**; and RMs March 1888 and February 1903.
89. Cpt. Favret, 'Rapport au sujet de l'exportation clandestine en Tunisie d'un troupeau de mouton', 440/1, 16 March 1919, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.7.**
90. Direction des Service économiques Indigènes to S.G.G.T., SG.186, 31 March 1920, **AGGT.A.206bis.21.** rejects the application of a group of sheep farmers from Le Havre to set up a ranch in the south.
91. Lt. Bouchard to R.G., 220/15, 5 June 1907, Zarzis **AGGT.A.183.1909.**
92. See Zaouche (1906) and Paul Vigné d'Octon in Sammut (1983, pp. 373-7).
93. Général Leclerc to R.G., 542, 28 March 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.B.182.16.**
94. For example, Lt. Faveris, Rapport, 28 April 1909, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.1911.** rejected witnesses testimony (admissable in Islamic law) in favour of a written act, even though the act did not clearly specify the contested plot.
95. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.396, 5 July 1893, **MAE.NS.56.**
96. For example, Lt. Nancy, Rapport, 123, 8 April 1907, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.4.** records a fight between the Od. Hamed and the Meztoura during a delimitation (three dead); and Général Begassière to R.G., 266, 20 April 1900, Tunis **AGGT.A.183.1900.** records a fist fight between the Merazigue and Matmata duringa delimitation of the Dahar (1 dead).
97. Lt. Scoffoni, Rapport, 1 June 1930, Matmata, and Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la premier semestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712** emphasise the importance which the government attached to the rapid completion of delimitation.
98. R.G. to Cdt. T.M.S., 24 Septmber 1933, Tunis, corrected the military's enthusiasm for imposed solutions after a letter of complaint and demonstration by the Djellidet. In R.G. to Cdt. T.M.S., 10 November 1933, Tunis, he commands 'Je vous demande à cette occasion de vouloir bien attirer l'attention de cet

officier, auquel je rends du reste pour les efforts qui il fait actuellement, a fin de parvenir au réglements inombrables conflits de terres collectives qui existait dans son cercle, sur la necessité de ne pas faire pression ni ne pas paraître faire pression sur les collectives qui montrent de la répugnance à accepter aménagements transactionals' **AGGT.A.178.12.**.

99. Cpt. Frémeville, Rapport, 10 July 1907, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.1.** illustrates the principles of the rigid delimitation of ploughlands and the procedures for 'renting' lands in neighbouring territories.
100. R.G. to Cdt. Division d'Occupation, 30 April 1901, Tunis **AGGT.E.234.3.** reminds the military that the decree of 15 December 1896 upheld the principle of 'open pasture' traditionally recognised in Tunisia.
101. J. Mattei, 'Quelques notes sur la tribu des Meteliths', 4 November 1892, **MAE.NS.226.**, Dumas (1912, p. 326), and Decker-David (1911, p. 42).
102. Joly (1909, p. 244). See also, Menouillard (1901, p. 390) and Service de Affaires Indigènes (1931c, p. 19).
103. J. Lannesan, 'La politique coloniale', 23 September 1907, **AGGT.E.252.1.**
104. J. Mattei, 'Quelques notes sur la tribu des Meteliths', 4 November 1892, **MAE.NS.226.**
105. Guyader (1941, p. 2). See also Surin (1948, p. 3) for a description of this evolutionary model of land tenure.
106. 'Rapport sur le centre de Ben Gardane', 1910, **SHAT.2.H.49.6.** and Le Boeuf (1909a, pp. 126-8).
107. Cpt. Donau, Rapport, 557, 26 July 1905, Kebili, **AGGT.E.594.1.**
108. Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 29 May 1918, Kebili, **AGGT.A.189.1923.**
109. Albi Roget (Deputée de Haute-Marne) to M.A.E., 21 May 1892, Paris, **MAE.NS.226.**
110. Prost (1954, p. 37).
111. Cpt. Fourches to Chef de Bat. Filio, 9 June 1932, Zarzis, **MAEN.PS.874.**
112. Marty (1944, p. 332).
113. Lt. Fourches, Rapport, 911/3, 7 June 1927, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.23.**
114. Lt. Devaux to R.G., 4 June 1925, Kebili, **MAEN.PS.188.**
115. Lt. Scoffoni to R.G., 440/3, 9 May 1929, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1936.** records squatting on lands near Zarzis, but advises the government to accord them legal rights in the forthcoming delimitation. Conseil de Tutelle Locale (Tataouine), Procès-Verbale, 12 August 1936, describes the same process near Douiret, and Conseil de Tutelle Locale (Kebili), Procès Verbal, 27 February 1934, in the Dahar (**AGGT.A.206bis.1.**
116. Cpt. Donau, Rapport, 557, 26 July 1905, Kebili, **AGGT.E.594.1.**
117. Buisson (1964, p. 902).
118. Conseil de Tutelle Centrale (Principes), [1934?], **AGGT.A.206bis.14**
119. Bessis *et al.* (1956, p. 57).
120. Bessis *et al.* (1956, p. 60)
121. 'État des biens dont les Djerbiens sont propriétaires dans la circonscription de Médenine', 20 December 1946, Médenine,

MAEN.PS.796.

122. Mohamed ben Belgassem ben Said (Zraoua), Notice Biographiquein Lt. Cosson, Rapport, 95/3, 16 March 1915, Matmata, **AGGT.A.188.12.** owned a garden at Douz. Cpt. Sol to R.G., 787/19, 15 December 1921, Matmata, **AGGT.A.189.1922.** records at garden at el Hamma owned by a Matmata.
123. Louis (1973a, p. 461; 1975, pp. 296-307; and 1979, pp. 252-6). See also Foissy (1948), Lanfry (1945a), and Laoust (1920).
124. All these mortgages are referred to in the reports of the Sequestration committees in **AGGT.A.207ter.1.**
125. For example, Fournel (1886, pp. 54-6), Frank (1850), and Esteban (1901, p. 133).
126. Chater (1978, pp. 35-7 and 178-88).
127. Goldberg (1972).
128. Lt. Labbé, Rapport, 28 February 1898, Gabès, and inclosures **AGGT.A.188.1.** details the Paolo Tapia's acts and includes copies of the original acts of credit. Further details are provided by Général Saint Marc to R.G., 42, 23 January 1888, Tunis, **AGGT.A.190.1.**
129. 'Situation économique de la région de Zarzis', 9 June 1934, Zarzis, **MAEN.PS.874**
130. Saurin (1896, p. 33).
131. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 1231/5, 26 December 1926, Zarzis, **MAEN.PF.2034.**, Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance de la région de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.** and 'Situation économique de la région de Zarzis', 9 June 1934, Zarzis, **MAEN.PS.874.**
132. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 1231/5, 26 December 1926, Zarzis, and C.C.Teboursouk to R.G., 460, 30 March 1931, **MAEN.PF.2034.**
133. M. Petit, 'Les dettes et la pratique de l'usure dans la région d'Ammale', 4 June 1936, Alger, **ANSOM.10.H.88.3.**
134. Conseil Administratif, Matmata, Procès Verbal, 9 March 1938, **MAEN.PS.683.**, and C.C. Djerba to R.G., 127, 8 April 1931, Homut Souk, **MAEN.PF.2034.**.
135. On the type of contracts used by userers see 'La lutte contre l'usure', Résponse à Note No.58 de Général Weygard (1941), **MAE.PF.2034.**, Chef de Bat. Filio above, and M. Petit, 'Les dettes et la pratique de l'usure dans la région d'Ammale', 4 June 1936, Alger, **ANSOM.10.H.88.3.**
136. Interest rates taken from correspondence and reports in **MAE.PF.2034.**
137. Lt. Scoffoni to R.G., 198/15, 30 September 1931, Matmata, **AGGT.A.187.1932.**. See a comparable case in C.C. Teboursouk to R.G., 460, 30 March 1931, Teboursouk, **MAEN.PF.2034.**
138. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 1231/5, 26 December 1926, Zarzis, **MAEN.PF.2034.**
139. Lt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 116/3, 8 July 1931, **AGGT.A.182.6.** makes it plain that the baliffs were being used frequently in the ealy 1930's.
140. Général Begassière to R.G., 1037, 8 December 1900, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1900.** describes M. Pellet's usurious activities. C.C. Gabès to R.G., 362, 17 March 1931, Gabès, **MAEN.PF.2034.** on the credits offered by French officers. See also *el Zohra*, 6 January 1933; *Nanda*, 2 August 1931; and *Tunis Socialiste*, 14

February 1931 and 19 December 1932 on the organisation of the trade.

141. Avis de Chef de Bat. Miquel, 18 September 1923, **AGGT.A.178.7.**
142. R.G. to G.G. Algeria, 20, 15 October 1920, **AGGT.A.277.2.** See Sainte-Marie (1975) for a study of the Kabylie's trading practices.
143. Cpt. Chavanne, Report, 13/3, 18 July 1930, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.181.13.**
144. Nourredine (No date).
145. Cpt. Filio, 'Conférence sur l'importance de la région de Zarzis', March 1921, **REC.2.3.**
146. For accounts of the Muslim law on interest and banking and attitudes to usury see Fahim (1961), Michaux-Bellaire (1927), and Udovitch (1970, 1975, and 1981).
148. 'Plan analytique d'une note sur l'usure', 16 January 1935, Alger, **ANSOM.10.H.64.2.**
149. Cpt. Chavanne, Report, 13/3, 18 July 1930, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.181.13.**
150. C.C.Teboursouk to R.G., 460, 30 March 1931, **MAEN.PF.2034.**
151. R.G. to M.A.E., Telegram 138108, 29 October 1896, Tunis, **MAE.NS.227.** and R.G. to MA.E., Telegram 880, 13 November 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.228.**. On the permanent system of seed distribution see R.G. to M.A.E., DP.14, 11 January 1898, **MAE.NS.232.** and various documents on the administrative details in **AGGT.E.226.4.**
152. RMs September and October 1902 and December 1905.
153. RM June 1922.
154. Lt. Sagnès, Rapport, 219/3, 2 July 1911, Matmata, **AGGT.A.182.14.** explains that the cheikhs had submitted limited requests for grain because the harvest had been good that year and everyone could supply their own seed.
155. RM (Médenine) August 1924, **AGGT.A.196.2.**
156. Lt. Devaux to R.G., 329/15, 25 February 1928, Kebili, **AGGT.A.188.1.**
157. M. Duvan (Office de Colonisation) to S.G.G.T., 9 October 1912, **AGGT.233.18.** explains the purpose of the mortgages.
158. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 1231/5, 26 December 1926, Zarzis, **MAEN.PF.2034.**
159. Direction des Finance to R.G., 2273, 26 January 1931, **MAEN.PF.2034.** and Habib Bourguiba, "Les prêts de semence", 4 March 1933, in Bourguiba (1967, pp. 218-22).
160. R.G. to Cdt. T.M.S., 3 December 1930, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.189.**
161. RMs (Tataouine, Médenine, Ben Gardane, and Matmata) 1936.
162. 'La lutte contre l'usure', Résponse à Note No.58 de Général Weygard (1941), **MAEN.PF.2034.**
163. Marx (1976, I, p.876).

CHAPTER 5.

1. Marx (1976, I, p. 875).
2. On exploitation within the domestic production unit see Meillassoux (1981, Chapter 5).
3. Gaudry (1929, p. 135). See also Louis (1979, pp. 218-223).
4. Reibell (1932, p. 165). See also, Asad (1970, p. 47).
5. For example, Marty (1944, p. 125).
6. On sexual taboos in agriculture in Morocco see Laoust (1920, pp. 382-3).
7. Commission Administrative de Sequestration, Procès Verbal 9, 12 October 1916, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.** concludes that it is often impossible to distinguish between the property held by women, whether daughters, sisters, wives, or mothers, during sequestration since no written evidence of ownership was retained and all property was managed in common.
8. Fogg (1939).
9. RM March 1920 describes three Matmati travelling to Gabès to sell houlis. See also Balfet (1982).
10. Ferichou (1978, p. 835).
11. Officers reported that children were unable to attend schools because they were forced to work by their parents even in some of the wealthier families (Cpt. Maquart to Direction de Enseignement, 23/3, 12 January 1929, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.5.**).
12. Quoted by Kahn (1981, p. 72).
13. SERESSA (1958, pp. 86-7).
14. Carton (1894, pp. 21-2).
15. On mutual aid in Southern Tunisia see Louis (1973a, 1976, pp. 300-1 and 1979, pp. 252-4), Djerba see Foissy (1948), Kabylie see Lanfry (1945) and Maunier (1926 and 1927), and Morocco see Laoust (1920, pp. 322-336).
16. Wood to Russell, 6, 9 January 1861, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.64.** and Drummond-Hay, Memorandum, 10 January 1870, Tunis, **PRO.FO.84.1324.**
17. Mohammed Hassan (Chef de la Service d'Instruction), Note, 19 February 1891, Tunis; Général Leclerc to R.G., 943, 6 October 1891, Tunis; and 'Liste des esclaves liberés avant 1890', **AGGT.A.287.1.**. See also Goguyer (1890), Mayet (1887, p. 296), and Valensi (1967, p. 1283).
18. Duveyrier (1881), Pervinquière (1912), Ladreit de la Charrière (1912), and Crowe to Palmerston, 10, 5 October 1847, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.84.193.**
19. McDonough (1979).
20. Djemai (1972, p. 22).
21. S.G.G.T. to all C.C., 3844, 3 September 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.G.1.**.
22. Bruun (1898, p. 138).
23. Hamzaoui (1979), Rebillet (No date), Rectenwald (1912), Tlili (1974, pp. 73-7), Van Krieken (1976, pp. 228-30), and Zaouche (1908) provide detailed discussions of the khammes' conditon.
24. Van Krieken (1976, pp. 228-30).

25. Hamzaoui (1979, p. 447).
26. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 16 April 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.**
27. On the shepherd's contract in Southern Tunisia see Berger-Vachon (1931), Galopin (1949), Louis (1976b and 1979, pp.59-63), Menouillard (1904 and 1906), Prost (1954, pp. 51-7), and Seran (1948, pp. 67-9).
28. Berger-Vachon (1931) and Maurin (1945).
29. Prost (1954, p. 53).
30. Louis (1979, p. 62), Lecoq in Decker-David (1911), Prost (1954, p. 53), all describe the Rebaia as the preferred camel herder. Général Leclerc to R.G., 163, 8 February 1896, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.2.** idenitifies the Dehibat and Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 297/3, 4 September 1909, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.1.** the Aouin as the best shepherds.
31. Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 297/3, 4 September 1909, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.1.** and Général Roux to R.G., 16, 18 January 1906, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1905.**
32. Lt. Witz, Rapport, 970/9, 9 December 1912, Dehibat, **AGGT.A.280.1.**
33. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 16 April 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.**
34. Mohammed ben Saad ben Ellafi (Nebahna), for example, was forty two years old and still a shepherd according to his Notice Biographique (1898) **AGGT.A. 182.9.**..
35. Louis (1979, p. 60) and see, for example, list of herd owners and shepherds in Général Roux to R.G., 16, 18 January 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1905.**.
36. Marty (1944, p. 125).
37. Cpt. Delom, Rapport, 1134/3, 14 October 1911, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.20.**.
38. état nominatif des indigènes de Guermessa inscrits sur la liste de medjba', in **AGGT.A.178.16.**
39. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1144, 20 November 1892, Tunis, and C.G. Tripoli to R.G., 18 October 1893, Tripoli, **AGGT.A.280.1893.**
40. The details of this type of relationship are brought out by disputes between the participants in Deposition No.3 in 'Dossier de l'enquête sur les faits reprochés au Khalifa des Djelidet', (1896) **AGGT.A.177.9.**, P.M. to Caïd of Nefzaoua, 27 July 1910, Tunis, **AGGT.A.191.1910.**, and Cpt. Abadie to R.G., 1021/19, 11 July 1939, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
41. 'Liste des biens de Sliman ben Saïd ben Moussa' inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 1650, 21 October 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.12.**
42. Réclamation de Mohammed ben Ahmed ben Akhaz to Commission Adminstrative de Séquestation, October 1917, describes the principle, 'le plaignant et le dissident ont labouré ensemble. C'est le plaignant qui a ensencé, mais il s'est servi du chameau du dissident pour les labours. Pour cette raison il a réclamé la moité des grains laissés chez le dissident' **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
43. Berger-Vachon (1931) and Maurin (1945).
44. On the mogharsa contract see Bourde (1899, pp. 37-9), Decker-David (1911, p. 241), Tartour (1935), They (1941), and Valensi (1977, p. 139).

45. Ellafi (1981) and Zghall (1980, p. 22-3).
46. Valensi (1977, pp. 139-41).
47. Acts of the Dehibat dated 1754 and 1768 in **MAEN.PS.932.**
48. Général Leclerc to R.G., 153, 1 February 1893, **AGGT.A.190.7.**. See also Clarke (1955, 1956, and 1959).
49. Marès (No date, pp. 11-2).
50. On the emigration of the Djebalia see Berthelon (1894, p. 189), Djemai (1972), Fallot (1899, p. 36), Jemai (No date), Maigray (1968), Marty (1948), Prost (1950 and 1955), and Col. Rebillet, Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**.
51. Almost all those migrants described in the documents fit into these categories. For example, a Ghomrassini doughnut seller at Tunis in Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 686, 7 October 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.52.**; a Zeraoui baker at Tunis in Lt. Valentini, Rapport, 43/3, 27 January 1912, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**; a Tamazredti porter at Tunis in Général Roux to R.G., 226, 29 July 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.A.187.1905.**; and an Ababsa doughnut salesmen at Tunis, Lt. Valentini, Rapport, 910/3, 10 March 1914, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.11.**
52. 'état nominatif des indigènes de Guermessa inscrits sur la liste de medjba', in **AGGT.A.178.16.**and Lt. Laveran, Rapport, 27/3, 27 March 1911, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
53. Blanchet (1897, p. 243).
54. état nominatif des indigènes de Guermessa inscrits sur la liste de medjba', in **AGGT.A.178.16.**
55. Fallot (1899, p. 36).
56. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 40) and Lt. Laveran, Rapport, 27/3, 27 March 1911, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
57. See Le Boeuf (1909a, p. 139).
58. Decker-David (1911, pp. 218-41), Colonel Rebillet (No date) [extract from the colonial journal 'L'Association'], and numerous letters from colonists in **AGGT.E.232.11.**
59. Bourde (1893a, p. 16, and 1899, p. 38).
60. Minagnoin (1900, p. 5).
61. Decker-David (1911, p. 218).
62. *Dépêche Coloniale* 9 June 1909, in **MAE.NS.74.**
63. Chef de Bat. Filio, Rapport, 23/3, 18 January 1920, Zarzis, **MAEN.PS.874.**
64. I/C Kebili to R.G., 21 September 1921, **MAEN.PS.171.**
65. Maquart (1937, pp. 286-7).
66. 'Situation économique des Territoires du Sud', 30 December 1912, **MAEN.PS.171.**
67. Jemai (1974).
68. A few individuals had experience of Europe in the early years of the Protectorate. For example, Khalifa ben Abdallah ben Askeri of Beni Zelten in Général Leclerc to R.G., 279, 2 March 1893, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.10.**. Many more had experience of the European communities of North Africa: Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 40) and Philebert (1895, p. 189).
69. 'Note sur l'emploi en France de la main d'oeuvre africaine', January 1916; M.G. to Ministère de l'Intérieur, 33/11, 7 January 1916, Paris; and G.G. Alger to Ministère de l'Intérieur, 6 July 1915, **MAE.G.1507.** describe France's labour shortage and the potential of the North African colonies. See

also Bennoune (1976, p. 21), Gallissot (1983), Meynier (1976), and Nogaro and Weil (1926) on North African migration to Europe.

70. Circular 1, 18 October 1915, R.G., **AGGT.G.22.**
71. Telegram 153, 31 May 1916, Tunis, **MAE.G.1507.**
72. Jemai (1974).
73. 'Rapport sur le fonctionnement du Bureaux Annexe des Affaires Indigènes au Havre pendant la deuxième sememstre 1917', **MAE.G.1509.** and M. Martin, 'Rapport sur l'utilisation de la main d'oeuvre des musulmans Nord Africaines à Bourdeaux' 15 June 1916, Bourdeaux, **MAE.G.1508.** graphically describe the treatment immigrants received during the war.
74. Telegram 92, 12 April 1916, Tunis, **MAE.G.1507.**
75. C.C. Kairouan to R.G., 407, 12 November 1892, and C.C. Sousse to R.G., 339, 12 November 1892, **AGGT.A.280.1893.**
76. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1144, 20 November 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.A.280.1893.**
77. R.G. to M.A.E., 12 January 1901, **AGGT.E.18.2.** and C.C. Sousse to R.G., 339, 12 November 1892, **AGGT.A.280.1893..**
78. S.G.G.T., Note, 8 June 1899, Tunis, and see also C.G. Tripoli to R.G., 1671, 18 November 1894, Tripoli, **AGGT.A.280.1893.**
79. Lehroy-Beaulieu (1904).
80. 'Les Tripolitains en Tunisie' *Quinzaine Coloniale*, 25 June 1913, and *Dépêche Tunisienne* 29 August 1913, **MAE.NS.74.**
81. C.C. Gafsa to R.G., 1294, 21 August 1912, Gafsa, **AGGT.A.280.3.**, R.G. to M.A.E., 2036, 17 November 1938, Tunis, and inclosure 'Note au sujet des Tripolitains en résidence en Tunisie' **AGGT.A.280.1940.**
82. Cpt. Barré to R.G., 551/14, 10 May 1922, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.280.1919.** describes railway workers seeking permission to return to Tripolitania. Général Naguès to Général Blanc, 2458 BP., 31 May 1940, Tunis, **AGGT.A.280.1940.** lists the range of occupations held by Tripolitanians in Tunisia.
83. R.G. to C.C.'s of Kairouan, Gafsa, Sousse, and Thala, 8 July 1913, No.184, Tunis, **AGGT.A.280.1.** asks the C.C.'s to find land for Tripolitanian refugees.
84. RM May 1907.
85. Bourde (1893a, pp. 36-39), Decker-David (1911, pp. 224-5), and Poncet (1962, p. 160).
86. R.G., Circular 3989, 10 December 1888, Tunis, **AGGT.G.8.**
87. Rebillet (No date) and Sammut (1983, p. 141).
88. See, for example, the complaints of two colons at Sousse in Caïd of Sousse to S.G.G.T., 12 September 1911, and S.G.G.T. to Direction des Finances, 15 September 1911, **AGGT.E.17.2.**
89. Lakhdar (1954).
90. Mottes (1925).
91. 'Enquête sur la main d'oeuvre en Tunisie', Questionnaire filled in for Zarzis, 25 June 1929, **MAEN.PS.874.**
92. Poncet (1962, p. 470).
93. Mottes (1925, p. 34). See Marx's critique of historians' interpretations of the transition from serf relations under Feudalism to wage labouring under capitalism in *Capital* (1976, I, p. 875).
94. Zaouche (1908, p. 459).

95. Zaouche (1908, p. 459).
96. 'Enquête sur la main d'oeuvre en Tunisie', Questionnaire filled in for Zarzis, 25 June 1929, **MAEN.PS.874.**
97. Poncet (1962, p. 470).
98. Poncet (1962, p. 407) and SERESSA (1958).
99. Lt. Fourches, Rapport, 481/3, 30 July 1923, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.25.**
100. Marty (1944, p. 173-189), Lt. Mollot, 'Questions économiques indigènes pendant la première semestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712.**, and Chef de Bat. Briand, 'Note sur la Situation économique de la Circonscription de Tataouine 1950', **MAEN.PS.932.**
101. See Prost (1950) and Clarke's interviews with the cheikhs of the South **MS.Clarke.**.
102. Clarke (1956) and Prost (1950).
103. S.G.G.T., Compte Rendu, 7 April 1936, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
104. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 500/13, 31 December 1926, Zarzis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
105. Prost (1955, p. 445).
106. RM July 1917.
107. Prost (1955, p. 317).
108. Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 2582/3, 12 August 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.179.1931.** describes the case of Mohammed ben Labied Abiodh's family at Guermessa.
109. Lt. Scoffoni, Rapport, 1 June 1931, **MAEN.PS.712.**
110. Boureau (1977) and Baudel and Baudel (1980).
111. I/C Kebili to R.G., 29 September 1916, Kebili, Tunis **MAEN.PS.171.**, Chef de Bat. Briand, 'Note sur la Situation économique de la Circonscription de Tataouine', 1950, **MAEN.PS.932.**. RMs May and September 1918.
112. See for example Lt. Lewden, Rapport, 155/19, 20 January 1930, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.3.**
113. B'dir and Djemai (1977, p. 54).
114. Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la première sémestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712.**
115. Louis (1979). Glavanis and Glavanis (1983) describe the persistence of mutual aid relationships in Eygpt.
116. R.G. to C.C. Medjez el Bab, 4 January 1936, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.** and C.C. Kef to R.G., 1270, 3 May 1927, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
117. Marty (1944, p. 125) and Prost (1950, p. 79).
118. C.C. Medjez el Bab to R.G., 964, 27 May 1938, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
119. C.C. Béjà to R.G., 1455, 7 April 1937, Béjà, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
120. C.C. Tunis Banlieue to D.G.C.C., 117-C, 9 January 1946, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
121. In 1937, for example, the government appointed 173 temporary spahis to control the migrants (S.G.G.T. to R.G., 13 April 1937, **AGGT.E.234.3.**).
122. Liauzu (1976, p. 612).
123. Liauzu (1978, p. 23).
124. 12 residents of Douiret to R.G., 20 July 1936, Tunis, **AGGT.A.179.1.**
125. 'Commission chargé de donner son avis sur les questions

touchant la transhumance et le nomadisme à Tunis', Procès Verbal, 1 April 1937 and 8 April 1937, Dar el Bey, **AGGT.E.234.3.**

126. Commission de la Securité to Chef Securité Générale (Tunis), 3013/1, 10 July 1936, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
127. 'Commission chargé de donner son avis sur les questions touchant la transhumance et le nomadisme à Tunis', Procès Verbal, 8 April 1937, Dar el Bey. The press took up the campaign. For example, *Le Petit Matin*, 7 April 1937 had an article entitled 'Les nomades qui entournant Tunis sont-ils une menace pour la santé publique?' which listed the diseases the starving masses brought with them from the country (**AGGT.E.234.3.**).
128. Philebert (1895, p. 191).
129. Reibell (1932, p. 178).
130. Bruun (1898, p. 42).
131. Demeersman (1982).
132. Boujadi (1911, pp. 213-4).
133. Aouda (1938), Bouquet (1939), Marty (1944), Pauphillet (1955), Prost (1950), and Cpt. Médicin Burnet, 'Le niveau de vie dans la circonscription de Médenine: étude médicale', 1950, **MAEN.PS.756.**
134. RM July 1927 describes the diet in Matmata during the summer.
135. Prost (1950).
136. Cpt. Filio to R.G., 566/19, 30 April 1921, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1921.**
137. RM April 1920 explains that 'Le prix exorbidant [of barley] a cependant une consequence heuruse, à savoir que la plupart des pauvres se dec ident enfin à aller travailler dans le centre et le nord de la Régence'.
138. RM October 1926 describes how 'Les veillards et les infirmés sont particulièrement touchés et le plupart ne vivent que grâce aux aumônes de leurs contribules'.
139. RM June 1936 (Ben Gardane) **AGGT.A.196.1.**
140. Cpt. Thevet, Rapport, 1156/15, 30 July 1936, Zarzis, **AGGT.E.353.6.**
141. RM (Médenine) November 1936 **AGGT.A.196.1.**
142. Lt. Dévaux to R.G., 11 June 1925, Kebili, **MAEN.PS.188.** reveals that the government was very strict about who they employed on these projects or accepted in the camps, those who might find employment in Northern Tunisia were turned away.
143. See correspondence and government reports in **AGGT.E.226.10.**
144. RM (Tataouine) February 1948 **AGGT.E.226.10.**
145. 'Assistance aux neccessitaux premier trimestre 1954', inclosure in S.G.G.T. to Ministère d'état, 6 January 1954, **AGGT.E.226.10.**
146. See complaints of the officers in RM's (Médenine, Tataouine, Matmata, and Nefzaoua) January to March 1954 **AGGT.E.226.10.**
147. For example, RM's (Tataouine and Médenine) March and June 1936 **AGGT.A.196.1.**
148. Ginnestous (1955).
149. Bourguiba's article "La famine en Tunisie" in *La Voix Tunisien* 9 May 1931, reprinted in Bourguiba (1967, p. 68-75).
150. Marx (1976, I, p. 875).

CHAPTER 6

1. See Burke (1972), Montagne (1973), Terrasse (1950, pp. 356-8), and Waterbury (1970).
2. On the pre-Protectorate state see Abun-Nasr (1975), Anderson (1986), Bachrouch (1977), Brown (1974), and Cherif (1972, 1981, and 1982).
3. Abun-Nasr (1975, p. 75), Bachrouch (1977, p. 154), and Cherif (1973).
4. Davis reprinted in Sebag (1958, p. 175).
5. Valensi (1977, p. 358).
6. T. Reade, 'Report on the Regency on Tunis its Commerce and its Agriculture', 7, 31 March 1848, **PRO.FO.102.32.**
7. On the taxes paid in pre-Protectorate Tunisia see Barthes (1923), Bernard (1925), Goguyer (1895b), Kraïem (1973, I, pp. 265-317), Valensi (1977) and Van Krieken (1976).
8. Kraïem (1973, I, p. 315). Van Krieken (1976, p.43) calculates the proportion to have been 45% of government revenue.
9. Sicard's letter Annexe in C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., 2 September 1869, No.306, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.10.** See also Kraïem (1983, pp. 154-6).
10. Frank (1850, p. 166). Fillipi in Monchicourt (1929, p. 269) describes the power of of the caïd of Djerba in early 1820's.
11. Ben Smail and Valensi (1971, p. 103).
12. Brown (1974, pp. 118-122).
13. Smida (1970, pp. 188-199) and Van Krieken (1976, p. 146).
14. Général Forgemol de Bostquenard to R.G., 19 September 1882, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.69.**
15. Espina (Vice consul at Sfax) to C.G., 75, 11 July 1850, 11 July 1850, Sfax, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).1850.**
16. Brown (1974, Chapter 3), Martel (1956), and Van Krieken (1976, p. 203).
17. Playfair (1877, p. 271) and Pellissier (1853, p. 159).
18. Reibell (1932, p. 150).
19. Van Krieken (1976, p. 221).
20. Espina (V.C. Sfax) to C.G. Tunis, 85, 30 March 1851, Sfax, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).1851.**
21. Pellissier (1853, pp. 213-4).
22. On the mahalla in 17th and 18th century Tunisia see Bachrouch (1977, pp. 163-7), Bebrugger (1846, p.76), and Cherif (1984, p. 359), and in the 19th century Brown (1974, pp. 128-133) and Van Krieken (1976).
23. Temple (1835, II, p. 124).
24. Peyssonel (1838, p. 63). Van Krieken (1976, p.211) quotes an Arab source which makes the same comment.
25. Daumas (1857, p. 133) and Van Krieken (1976, pp. 210-11).
26. Chater (1978, pp. 171-180), Grandchamp (1935, I, pp. XXIX), and Van Krieken (1976, p. 213).
27. Ferrire to Clarendon, 8, 10 May 1856, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.50.**
28. Davis (1854, p. 104).
29. Brown (1974, pp. 131-133).
30. Brown (1974, p. 134). See Cherif (1984, p. 353) on the taxes paid in Aradh and Van Krieken (1976, p. 221) on the regularity of tax payment.

31. Fillipi in Monchicourt (1929, p. 263).
32. Wood to Salisbury, 48, 22 August 1878, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.111.** and C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., DP.34, 20 August 1878, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.17.**
33. Cdt. Rebillet, 'La Colonne', 23 January 1891, Médenine, **REC.1.4.**
34. Tully (1817, p.362)'s description refers to the Djebel Nefousa in Western Tripolita nia the Eastern extension of the mountains in Southern Tunisia.
35. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 39).
36. Davis in Sebag (1958, p. 176), Serres (1925, p. 310), Reade to Palmerston, 7, 14 May 1840, Tunis; 9, 14 June 1840, and 13, 28 August 1840, **PRO.FO.102.7.**; and C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., DP.59, 10 May 1840, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.4.**
37. Wood to Clarendon, 36, 8 October 1856, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.50.**
38. Tissot to Roches (C.G. Tunis), 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.** and Roches to M.A.E., 69, 10 November 1856, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.16.**
39. C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., 308, 7 September 1869, Tunis, and 311, 22 September 1869, **MAE.CPT.33.**, and Wood to Clarendon, 16, 19 May 1869, Tunis, with inclosures from the British vice consul at Gabès, and 25, 19 June 1869, **PRO.FO.102.84.** This episode appears to have made quite an impression on tribes who repeated the story to officers in the early years of the Protectorate, for example, Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmat a', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**
40. Bruce in Playfair (1877, p. 276).
41. Pellissier (1853, p. 170).
42. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.208, 28 June 1886, Tunis, **MAE.NS.46.**
43. Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
44. Pellissier (1853, p. 169). Paolo Della Cella wrote of neighbouring Tripolitania that 'under governments so decidedly despotic, power always concentrates itself near the personage of the sovereign, and out of that sphere all is anarchy and confusion. Thus this tract of border country is, as in former times, the resort of all the thieves, miscreants, and malcontents of both governments, so fertile in evil doers' (1822, p. 184).
45. Cherif (1984, pp. 362-3).
46. Van Krieken (1976, p. 221). Ganiage (1959) has seen the period before the French occupation as one of gradually declining government control over the tribes and the countryside.
47. Carvajol de Marmol (1667, II, p. 576) and Blaquière (1813, p. 139).
48. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 37).
49. Col. Rebillet to R.G., 26 March 1893, inclosure in R.G. to M.A.E., DP.223, 9 April 1893, Tunis, **MAE.NS.42.**
50. J. Richardson, 'An account of the Present State of Tunis', 1845, London, **PRO.FO.102.29.**; Richardson to Warrington, 24 October 1845, and 13 November 1845, with inclosure 'An account of the oasis and city of Ghadames', **PRO.FO.101.16.**
51. C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., DP.241, 7 May 1844, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.7.**
52. On the Turkish occupation of Tripolitania and local resistance see Anderson (1986, pp. 70-6 and 87-95), Féraud (1927, pp. 380-412), Rossi (1968), and Slousch (1908).

53. Fillipi to Monchicourt (1929, p. 214).
54. Ellafi (1981, pp. 312-3). Smida (1970, pp. 141-161) discusses Kherredine's judicial reforms.
55. Reade to Aberdeen, 23 July 1845, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.23.**
56. Van Krieken (1976, p. 213) discusses the government's attempts to prevent cross border raiding. See also C.G. Tripoli to M.A.E., 12, 29 September 1873, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.15.** C.G. Tripoli to M.A.E., 34, 20 October 1878, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.17.**
57. Ganiage (1966). Cherif (1984, p. 353) lists the taxes paid in Aradh at beginning of the 18th century. The medjba represents the largest part of the taxes paid. Cherif suggests that this was a global tax. The tribes did, however, also pay fines.
58. Reade to Palmerston, 7, 14 May 1840, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.7.** See also Pellissier (1853, p. 328). Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** claims that the Ouerghamma paid 100,000 frs. per year as driba, Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to R.G., 4 October 1891, Gabès, **AGGT.A.208ter.3.** claims they paid 43,000 frs., and S.G.G.T. to R.G., 29 October 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.2.** argues that the Touazine (one of the largest tribes in the Confederation) paid only 2,950 frs.
59. Youssef (1978, p. 403-4).
60. For example, Charmol (1667, III, pp. 39-40).
61. Bachrouch (1972, p. 135).
62. Reade as above, Davis in Sebag (1958, p. 176), and Serres (1925, p. 310).
63. Wood to Russell, 26, 7 December 1861, **PRO.FO.102.63.**
64. Marçais and Farès (1931, p. 195). For repression of opposition by the Turkish occupation forces in the 17th century see Bachrouch (1978, pp. 163-7) (including references to the siege of el Hamma).
65. Gandolphe (1924 to 1926).
66. Le Boeuf (1909b, pp. 39-40).
67. Cherif (1980, p. 36) and Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 41).
68. Chater (1978, pp. 157-188).
69. Brown (1974, p. 22). McLaughlan (1978, p. 294) evinces a similar opinion of Tripoli in stating that 'Faute de mieux, Tripoli can be considered a city of aliens with an overwhelming preoccupation in maritime affairs which had precious little relevance to Arab and Berber communities of the interior'. He suggests that the city was divorced from its hinterland economically and so the regime could afford to divorce itself politically.
70. Brown (1974, p. 94).
71. Ibn Khaldun (1967).
72. Brown (1974, p. 23).
73. Hess (1972).
74. Smida (1970, pp. 188-9) and Van Krieken (1976, p. 149).
75. Zaccone (1875, p. 158). In Tripoli, however, the tribes were little distant from the capital and could easily intervene in politics of the capital as the events at the end of the 18th century demonstrated see Tully (1817, pp. 295, 327, and 336) and Féraud (1927, pp. 286-99).
76. For accounts of the revolt of 1864 see Grandchamp (1935) and Slama (1967).

77. Poiret (1789, I, p. 39).
78. Pennell (1982, p. 3).
79. Richardson to Warrington, 24 October 1845, Ghadames, **PRO.FO.101.16.**
80. Peyssonel (1838, p. 63).
81. Desfontaines (1838, p. 31).
82. MacGill (1811, pp. 40-1) and Pellissier (1853, p. 45).
83. 'La perception de l'impôt arabe', E. Delacroix, 1863, in Chester Dale Collection, National Gallery of Art Washington.
84. See, for example, Waterbury (1970, p. 17).
85. Temple (1835, II, p. 124).
86. Mattei to Duchnese de Bellecourt, 12-17 April 1866, Sfax, in Grandchamp (1935, p. 245).
87. Reade to Palmerston, 7, 14 May 1840, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.7.**
88. Wood to Clarendon, 36, 8 October 1856, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.50.**
89. Mattei to de Beauval, Telegram, 10 March 1864, Sfax, in Grandchamp (1935, I, pp. 6-7) and Sicard to de Beauval, 21 April 1864, Gabès, (*ibid.* pp. 29-30).
90. Wood to Clarendon, 16, 19 May 1869, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.84.**, C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., 306, 2 September 1869, Tunis, and 308, 7 September 1869, **MAE.CPT.33.**, and Kraïem (1983, pp. 152-156).
91. Pennell (1982, p. 10) and Van Krieken (1976, p. 213).
92. Menouillard (1912a, pp. 109-110).
93. Ellafi (1981, pp. 313-4).
94. Demeersman (1966).
95. Blaquière (1813, p. 139).
96. C.G. Tunis to M.A.E., 59, 14 August 1864, Tunis, in Grandchamp (1935, I, p. 295).
97. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.18, 18 November 1885, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.25.**
98. Augias (1911, p. 44), Charmes (1883, p. 220), and Ibn Fadl al-'Omari (1927, p. 133).
99. Général Guyon Vernier to Général I/C Corps d'Occupation, 56, 8 January 1883, 56, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
100. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, A.Q. (1883) and Charmes (1883, p. 218).
101. R.G. to M.A.E., 18 September 1882, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.** and R.G. to M.A.E., 12 May 1882, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
102. Général Guyon Vernier to Général I/C Corps d'Occupation, 56, 8 January 1883, 56, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**, and Général Forgemol de Bostquénard to M.G., 29, 7 April 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
103. Général Guyon Vernier to Général I/C Corps d'Occupation, 56, 8 January 1883, 56, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**, and Général Forgemol de Bostquénard to M.G., 29, 7 April 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
104. Frémaux (1977) and Rey-Goldzeiger (1977).
105. Général Jamais, 'Registre de Correspondence', 468, 25 April 1882, **SHAT.1.K.201.**
106. Boujadi (1886, p.77), Général Jamais, 'Registre de Correspondence', 468, 25 April 1882, **SHAT.1.K.201.**, and Général Bostquénard to M.G., 22, 30 March 1882, **MAE.CPT.67.**.
107. R.G. to M.A.E., 23 August 1881, Tunis, and Général Bullot to M.G., 9689, 23 October 1881, Marseille, **SHAT.2.H.26.2.** describe the seizure of the hostages among the Khroumir. Some of these were sent to prisons in Algeria others to France. Boujadi (1911, p. 77) reveals that hostages were also taken in the

south.

108. M.G. to M.A.E., 939, 16 September 1882, Paris, **MAE.CPT.69.** and M.G. to M.A.E., 21 December 1882, Paris, **MAE.CPT.70.**
109. R.G. to M.A.E., 168, 3 March 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.2.**
110. Philebert (1895, p. 179). Cdt. Rebillet, 'La Clonne', 23 January 1891, Médenine, **REC.1.1.**
111. Marsden (1971, pp. 131-142) and Crispi (1914, III, pp. 31-44).
112. Cdt. Corps d'Occupation to M.G., 26 June 1882, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.** and C.G. Tripoli to M.A.E., DP.218, 30 March 1882, Tunis, **MAE.CPTr.21.**
113. Cdt. Rebillet, Rapport Commandant Superieur du Cercle de Médenine au sujet de la prise de possession de son Commandement', December 1889, Médenine, **REC.1.3.**
114. Règlements de Makhzen, 16 September 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
115. Allegro to R.G., 31 March 1886, Zarzis, and 9 April 1886, Zarzis, and Général Dionne to M.G., 30, 15 April 1886, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**
116. Allegro to R.G., 31 March 1886, Zarzis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**
117. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** and Cdt. Rebillet, Rapport Commandant Superieur du Cercle de Médenine au sujet de la prise de possession de son Commandement', December 1889, Médenine, **REC.1.3.**
118. Général Dionne to M.G., 16 March 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
119. M.G. 'Projet de lettre pour le Cdt. de la Divsion d'Occupation de Tunis', 3 April 1886, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
120. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 30 December 1887, Tunis, **MAE.NS.46.**
121. Drummond-Hay to Rosebury, 12, March 15 1893, inclosure 'Report of Mr. Drummond-Hay on a tour in the Southern frontier districts of Tunis' **PRO.FO.3138.27.**, Cdt. Rebillet, Rapport Commandant Superieur du Cercle de Médenine au sujet de la prise de possession de son Commandement', December 1889, Médenine, **REC.1.3.**, and Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931e, pp. 18-9).
122. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 52). See also Le Boeuf (1903). . Officers in the Service published numerous articles on the region's archaeology, particularly military archaeology of the Roman period (Martel 1965, II, pp. LXIII - LXVII, provides a catalogue of these works). Several of these publications focused on the road system. Other contemporary works also detailed Roman military strategy Cagnat (1913) and Gsell (1904).
123. Général Gillon to M.G., 10 June 1887, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
124. Road construction and repair feature on every RM written after the occupation of the south.
125. See also correspondence, reports and reviews concerning the deployment of troops in the south in January 1910 in **SHAT.2.H.50.3.**
126. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.218, 29 March 1892, Tunis, **MAE.NS.54.**
127. Cdt. Rebillet, Rapport Commandant Superieur du Cercle de Médenine au sujet de la prise de possession de son Commandement', December 1889, Médenine, **REC.1.3.**
128. Général Leclerc to M.G., 24, 7 August 1893, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
129. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.779, 24 December 1893, Tunis, **MAE.NS.57.**
130. Chef de Bat. Le Boeuf 'Rapport du Chef de Personnel et du

Service des Affaires Indigènes en Tunisie sur l'Organisation définitive des Territoires nouvellement occupés au sud de Dehibat à la suite de la convention Franco-Ottomane de Tripoli du 19 Mai 1910', 25 March 1914, Tunis, **REC.1.5.**

131. R.G. to Col. Foucher, Cdt. T.M.S., 15, 16 January 1916, Tunis, and R.G. to S.G.G.T., 29R, 3 March 1916, Tunis, **AGGT.A.193.1.**
132. RM April 1903.
133. Quoted in Boujadi (1911, p. 44).
134. The officers responsibilities are clearly defined in Général Foregemol de Bostquénard, Circulaire 26, 'Instructions aux Commandants des Cercles en Tunisie', 1 July 1882, Tunis, **AGGT.A.197.1.**. Perkins (1981) provides an excellent description of their life and work.
135. Esteban (1901, p. 21).
136. Général Foregemol de Bostquénard, Circulaire 26, 'Instructions aux Commandants des Cercles en Tunisie', 1 July 1882, Tunis, **AGGT.A.197.1.**. This position was later reaffirmed by Massicault, R.G. to M.A.E., DP.77, January 1887, Tunis, and Section d'Afrique M.G., Analyse, 'L'organisation du Sud de la Tunisie', 20 July 1887, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
137. 'Note au Sujet du Personnel des Officiers', [c.1919], **MAE.T.246.**
138. R.G., Note, 3 November 1894, **AGGT.A.197.1.**
139. Lecoq (1914) wrote the text book for this course. It contains lectures on Tunisian customs, law, and the administrative responsibilities of an officer.
140. 'Note sur l'organisation des confins militaires en Tunisie', 20 December 1900, S.A.I. Bureau Central, **MAE.NS.295.**
141. R.G., Circulaire 54R, 23 September 1919, Tunis, and Cdt. T.M.S. to R.G., 8 May 1936, 1145/10, Médenine, both describe the shortage of personnel in the south **AGGT.A.193.1.**
142. See Martel (1960a, 1963a, and 1966) on the development of the makhzen.
143. See, for example, Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 670, 25 June 1908, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.43.** and Lt. Calvet to R.G., 790/15, 19 August 1925, **AGGT.A.183.1923.**
144. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Rapport Commandant Superieur du Cercle de Médenine au sujet de la prise de possession de son Commandement', December 1889, Médenine, **REC.1.3.**
145. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 61/3bis, 12 March 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.** and Martel (1966, p. 115).
146. Général Begassière to R.G., 25 April 1900, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
137. Général Foregemol de Bostquénard, Circulaire 26, 'Instructions aux Commandants des Cercles en Tunisie', 1 July 1882, Tunis, **AGGT.A.197.1.**.
148. Instruction No.3, 'Au sujet des travaux faits par les Officiers de Renseignements', inclosure in M.G. to M.A.E., 4867, 7 May 1886, Tunis, **MAE.NS.281.**
149. S.G.G.T., Arrête, 1911, describes a payment to Dho ben el Hadj Ali ben Lafi (Touazine) 'pour avoir signalé la présence d'un dissident sur le territoire' **AGGT.A.207.2.** Lt. Fourches, Rapport, 261/13, 9 March 1921, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.18.** describes information received from a paid informant among the

Ghomrassen.

150. Feuchwang (1973) describes the relationship between British anthropologists and the colonial state. The same relationship existed among the French academics.
151. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 243, 23 March 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1890.**
152. Col. Faure-Bigaud to Général Saint-Marc, 25 December 1887, Gabès, **MAE.NS.46.**
153. Lt. Col. Donau, Rapport, 1443/3, 11 September 1918, Médenine, **AGGT.A.181.6.**
154. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.48, 27 January 1900, Tunis, **MAE.NS.64.**
155. Col. Fourcher, Avis du Cdt. Militaire, 20 April 1916, Médenine, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
156. Général Leclerc to R.G., 27 August 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.A.207.3.**
157. Col. Fourcher, Avis du Cdt. Militaire, 20 April 1916, Médenine, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
158. RM September 1889.
159. R.G. to M.A.E., 557, 4 November 1915, Tunis, **AGGT.A.208ter.3.**
160. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 469/19, 8 May 1920, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.1920.**
161. RM July 1911.
162. Albert Morizot to Président de la Chambre Mixte du Sud, 17 July 1901, el Khouyet [near Zarzis], **AGGT.A.183.1901.**
163. Lt. Valentini, Rapport, 22 April 1914, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.1929.** and Général Leclerc to R.G., 436, 9 May 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.12.**
164. Général Servière to R.G., 560, 31 July 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.21.**
165. Lt. Sagnès, Rapport, 413/14, 4 September 1914, Matmata, and 454/14, 25 September 1914, **AGGT.A.197.1.**
166. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.987, 16 November 1912, Tunis, **MAE.NS.74.** describes the case of imported handkerchiefs bearing pictures of the Italo-Turkish War. These 'mouchirs tombent sous le coup de décrét prohibant l'introduction et mise en vente en Tunisie d'images sur papier ou tissu relatives à des faits de guerre entre musulmans et non-musulmans'.
167. *Bulletin de la Comité de l'Afrique Française* (1918, p.244). See also Marty (1944, p. 78) and Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931e, p. 28).
168. Maquart (1937, p. 287).
169. RM November 1899.
170. *Revue Indigène* (1906), *Quinzaine Coloniale* (1911), Dallagi (1977), Julien (1967, pp. 95-6), and Saurin (1914).
171. RM October 1892.
172. R.G. to M.A.E., 447, 6 June 1913, Tunis, **MAE.NS.303.**
173. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.48, 27 January 1900, Tunis, **MAE.NS.64.**. The Tunisian administration agreed with Millet, S.G.G.T. to R.G., 372, 12 November 1900, **AGGT.A.207.6.**
174. For example, Col Lévan to R.G., 494/19, 19 May 1920, Médenine, **AGGT.A.183.1921.**
175. Martin (1937) and Perkins (1981).
176. Carette, 'Les Bureaux arabes', *Le Matin*, 9 December 1892, **MAE.NS.55.**
177. Albert Morizot to Président de la Chambre Mixte du Sud, 17 July

1901, el Khouyet [near Zarzis], **AGGT.A.183.1901.**

178. R.G. in M.G. to M.A.E., 16 January 1889, Paris, **AGGT.A.193.1.**
179. Président Chambre Mixte et d'Agriculture du Sud de la Tunisie to R.G., 29 July 1901, Sfax, **AGGT.A.183.1901.**
180. Charmes (1883, pp. 305-7), Duveyrier (1881, p.138), and Mohammed ben Khalifa to R.G., 6 December 1882, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**.
181. Général Forgemol de Bostquénard to R.G., 245, 6 November 1882, Tunis, and R.G. to M.A.E., 28 November 1888, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.26.4.**
182. Général Jamais, Registre de Correspondence, 455, 15 April 1882, **SHAT.1.K.201.** and Général Gillon to M.G., 457, 27 April 1887, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
183. R.G. to M.A.E., 28 November 1888, Tunis, **SHAT.2.26.4.**
184. RM October 1895.
185. Cpt. Miquel to R.G., 22 June 1909, Matmata, and S.G.G.T. to Direction des Finances, 4685/c, 20 October 1900, **AGGT.A.186.10.** indicate that the abolition of maraboutic privilege was unpopular not only among the maraboutic fractions but also among their lay neighbours.
186. R.G. to M.A.E., 28 November 1888, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.26.6.**, Général Swiney to R.G., 354, 7 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.5.**, R.G. to M.A.E., DP.823, 28 October 1891, Tunis and Général Leclerc to R.G., 21 September 1891, Tunis, **MAE.NS.52.**
187. Ducroquet, Direction des Finances, 7 February 1902, Tunis, **AGGT.E.21.3.**
188. Conférence Consultative, 'Note au sujet de la Réforme de la Medjba', Session of November 1908, **AGGT.E.17.6.** provides a breakdown of the government revenues.
189. Chenel (1912, p. 80).
190. Ducroquet, 'Instruction sur l'établissement et apurement des roles de medjba', 10 August 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.E.17.5.**
191. For critiques of the medjba see Chenel (1912), Snoussi (1912), Mohammed Chadi Dargouth, 'Note sur les doléances des indigénes se plaigneant du grand nombre des impôts et des coutumes additionels', 1912; and Ducroquet, (Direction des Finances), 'L'impôt medjba tunisien est-il à condamer?', 1905. Ducroquet to Mon cher ami (the R.G.), 19 April 1905, Tunis, (a note written on personal writing paper) declares that if so many native Tunisians oppose the medjba it was opportune to modify the tax **AGGT.E.17.6.**
192. RM February 1883. A suggestion repeated by Ducroquet (Direction des Finances), 'L'impôt medjba tunisien est-il à condamer?', 1905, **AGGT.E.17.6.** On the lezma see Chenel (1912, p. 92) and Bernard (1925, p. 41-3).
193. Julien (1967, p. 44). Even Ducroquet (the Director of Finances) opposed the replacement of the medjba by taxes on the European community such as a tax on alcohol, Ducroquet (Direction des Finances), 'L'impôt medjba tunisien est-il à condamer?', 1905, **AGGT.E.17.6.**.
194. Conférence Consultative, 'Note au sujet de la reforme de la medjba', Session de November 1908, and 'Le dégrévement de la medjba et la question de la l'achour', *La Dépêche Tunisienne'*, 7 April 1910, **AGGT.E.17.6.**

195. For critiques of the achour see M. David, 'L'achour, un impôt inégale', November 1929, Tunis, and P.M. to Cheikhs, Kahias, Khalifas et Caïds, Circular 6, 13 January 1936, Tunis, **AGGT.E.23.8.** See also Un Tunisien, 'L'achour', *L'événement*, 15 March 1914, and S.G.G.T., Resumé des renseignements donnés parles contôleurs civils, 2 August 1910, Tunis, lists the organised opposition to the increases in the achour throughout Tunisia, riots, demonstrations, political agitation **AGGT.E.23.4.**
196. P.M. to Cheikhs, Kahias, Khalifas et Caïds, Circular 6, 13 January 1936, Tunis, **AGGT.E.23.8.**
197. Direction des Finances to S.G.G.T., 259141, 19 December 1936, Tunis stresses the importance of prompt recovery. Direction des Finances, Lettre commun aux Caïds, 7320, 10 June 1936, Tunis, and Circulaire 5164-S, 11 May 1937, ask the Caïds to ensure the prompt payment of taxes and the elimination of debts. The Direction des Finances kept a league table of tax recovery so that they could check which caïds were not determined enough in pursuit of their taxes **AGGT.E.15.10.**. It was left to the officers to make the same checks on the cheikhs in their circonscription.
198. Directeur des Finances to S.G.G.T., 5769-5, 26 July 1907, Tunis, **AGGT.E.17.1.** states that 'les collecteurs sont autorisés à accorder des delais sous leur propre responsabilité'. For assessment of arrears and punishment of cheikhs allowing delays see, for example, Direction des Finances to P.M., 21 December 1910, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.16.**
199. Lt. Harlé to R.G., 171/19, 28 February 1906, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.1.** describes the arrest and imprisonment of a man who refused or was unable to pay his taxes.
200. C.C. Makhtar to R.G., 1808, 16 May 1942, Makhtar, **AGGT.E.15.10.**
201. Mohammed el Mokthar and Hammouda to S.G.G.T., 28 August 1910, Monastir, **AGGT.E.23.4.** See also, Lt. Fourches to R.G., 26/19, 1 April 1922, Tataouine, who rejects a similar accusation against the cheikh of Ghomrassen in Petition of 56 Ghomrasseni to R.G. and S.G.G.T., 24 December 1921, Ghomrassen **AGGT.A.178.18.**.
202. S.G.G.T. to Direction des Finances, 2319/S, 24 November 1929, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1935.**
203. Cpt. Maquart to R.G., 1934/3, 30 October 1937, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
204. Martel (1965, I, p. 71).
205. Général Begassière, 'Nécessité de fixer une proportion entre le produit des impôts des Territoires Militaires et les resources à mettre annuellement à la disposition de l'administration de ces territoires', 1903, **AGGT.A.193.4.**
206. Violard (1905, p. 82).
207. Pervinqière (1912, p. 32).
208. 'Note pour le Ministre au sujet de dépenses à emprunter sur les resources extraordinaires de trésor tunisien', 22 April 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.228.**
209. Général Roux to M.G., 536 N, 7 March 1907, Tunis, **MAE.NS.66.** describes the inadequate medical facilities in the south.
210. Général Begassière, 'Nécessité de fixer une proportion entre le produit des impôts des Territoires Militaires et les resources

à mettre annuellement à la disposition de l'administration de ces territoires', 1903, **AGGT.A.193.4.**

211. Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 679/21, 16 November 1933, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.7.** quotes and dismisses the article in *el Zohra*..
212. Martel (1965, I, p. 118).
213. Général Begassière, 'Nécessité de fixer une proportion entre le produit des impôts des Territoires Militaires et les resources à mettre annuellement à la disposition de l'administration de ces territoires', 1903, **AGGT.A.193.4.**, Violard (1905, p. 82), and Pervinqière (1912, p. 32).
214. Du Bourdieu (Direction des Finances) to R.G., 13 October 1903, Tunis, **AGGT.A.193.4.**
215. On the government's capitulation see Karoui and Mahjoubi (1983, pp. 77-90) and Mathlouthi (1983). On the continued resistance of the tribes see Attia (1970), Ayadi (1983), and Karoui to Mahjoubi (1983, p. 93-167).
216. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.75, 21 July 1882, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.68.**
217. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.245, 30 June 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.22.**
218. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.86, 1 October 1884, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.24.**
219. On the doctrine of djihad see Peters (1979).
220. See, for example, Charmes (1883) and Général Boulanger to M.G., 237, 14 May 1885, Tunis, **AGGT.A.208.1.**
221. Attia (1970, p. 92) quotes a letter sent by Ali ben Khalifa.
222. C.G. (Tunis) to R.G., DP.52, 4 March 1882, Tunis, **MAE.CPTr.67.** quotes a letter from Mohammed ben Ahmed el Arab, Cheikh Ahman, el Hadj Sad ben Aoun, to Mohammed ben Mohammed to the people of Beni Zelten.
223. Attia (1970, p. 97).
224. Karoui and Mahjoubi (1983, p. 114).
225. Attia (1970, p. 115) and Martel (1965, I, p. 253).
226. Marty (1937, pp. 449-51).
227. RMs give details of the composition of raid ing parties.
228. See Danziger (1977). Abd el Qader was able to emerge as a central figure in the opposition to the French because his maraboutic origins transcended tribal rivalries.
229. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.200, 3 February 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**
230. Quoted by Attia (1970, pp. 93-4).
231. Attia (1970, p. 95), Cherif (1980, p. 43 and 1983, p. 348), and Martel (1965, I, pp.223-6).
232. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., 205, 24 February 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**
233. See C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., 7 March 1882, Tripoli **MAE.CPTr.21.**; 245, 30 June 1882, **MAE.CPTr.22.**; and 22, 5 March 1883, **MAE.CPTr.23.**.
234. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., 230, 4 May 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**
235. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.86, 1 October 1884, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.24.**
236. Allegro (Governor of Aradh) to P.M., 2649, 26 June 1885, Gabès, **AGGT.A.208.Sud.**
237. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., 230, 4 May 1882, Tripoli,

MAE.CPTr.21.

238. Général Boulanger to M.G., SR.50, 30 July 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**, Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to P.M., 2649, 26 June 1885, **AGGT.A.208.Sud.** and RM's June 1884 and December 1886.
239. Général Foregmol de Bostquénard to R.G., 114, 6 April 1883, Tunis, and Direction des Finances to Allegro, 2 April 1883, shows that 10,610 piastres were spent on the return of dissidents during the first two months of 1883 alone **AGGT.A.208.1.** C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.16, 5 February 1883, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.23.** describes how the return of large numbers of dissidents was organised.
240. Martel (1965, I, p. 294). Other leaders were able to secure favourable terms, for example, Mohamed ben Salah ben Khalifa, secured himself a pension of 20,000 frs and appointment as Qaid of Nefzaoua (M.A.E. to R.G., 15 December 1882, Paris, **MAE.CPT.70**), others include Belgacem ben Khalifa (Govenor of Aradh to P.M., 17 April 1885, Gabès) and Belgacem bou Allegue (Général Lucas to R.G., 59, 21 January 1886, Tunis) **AGGT.A.208.Sud.**. Kherredine's support was also secured with a pension of 30,000 frs. (Mahjoubi, 1977, p. 156).
241. Général Boulanger to M.G., 42, 24 September 1885, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.4.**
242. See C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., 7 September 1887; 21 September 1887; and 16 May 1888; and Massicault (R.G.) to M.A.E., 20 August 1887, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.4.**
243. Général Saint-Marc to M.G., 15, 5 April 1888, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.4.** notes that the Wali rejected the demands of the Od. Hamed for permission to live permanently in Tripoli. RM's June, July and December 1887.
244. Général Leclerc to R.G., 567, 13 May 1893, Tunis, **AGGT.A.208.1.** notes that 'les gens ont vécu misérablement dans les Syrénes pendant le temps de leur dissidence' and returned after a year living there.
245. See, for example, Lt. Deservaux to R.G., 373/9, 20 April 1912, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.208.Sud.** who describes how two dissidents from the Od. Aoun Allah were arrested at Ben Gardane market, but in contrast to earlier dissidents, 'les deux indigènes ont declaré ne pas avoir l'intention de se fixer dans leurs tribu d'origine ils ont été refoulés en Tripolitania aprés avoir aquitté entre les mains de Khalifa des Touazines le montant de la medjba de l'exercise courant'.
246. RM November 1887.
247. Haggard to Salisbury, 25, 22 May 1897, Tunis, **PRO.FO.27.3345.**
248. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.348, 18 May 1892, Tunis, **MAE.NS.54.**
249. Cpt. Dezelus, 'Rapport sur l'engagement de Chaggart el Maliane', 30 March 1889, Metameur, **SHAT.2.H.29.2.** describes the background behind behind a clash between the Krainia and the makhzen. RM February 1889 describes the irritation felt by the tribes at the attempts to organise elections of cheikhs.
250. Cpt. Guyader, Rapport, 17 May 1936, Médenine, **MAE.N.PS.733.** and *La Dépêche de Constantine*, 2 April 1935, **AGGT.E.560.1.** On other occasions rumours about the extension of conscription passed around the region, for example, RM's September 1898 and March

1899.

251. Lt. Bougoin, Rapport, 61/3bis, 12 March 1908, Mamtata, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
252. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 12 May 1905, Matmata, and Général Roux to R.G., 115, 26 April 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.E.43.3.**
253. Turin (1971).
254. Médicin Cpt. Meuet to I/C Matmata, 4 June 1934, Gabès, inclosure in Direction Général de l'Intérieur to S.G.G.T., HP.838, 21 June 1934, Tunis, **AGGT.A.184.6.** and Cpt. Issemann, Rapport, 18/26, 20 April 1924, Kebili, **AGGT.A.191.1923.** describe two occasions on which the tribesmen opposed the mass vaccinations.
255. Maquart (1937, p. 294).
256. RM's August 1887, July 1888, May 1894, and October 1895.
257. Haggard to Kimberly, 9, 15 March 1895, **PRO.FO.27.13237.**
258. RM's June 1889 and August 1890.
259. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 61/3bis, 12 March 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.** and Cpt. Forest, Rapport, 3101/3, 13 July 1942, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.12.**
260. Lt. Swiney to R.G., 354, 7 June 1890, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.5.**
261. Esteban (1901, p. 37).
262. Lt. Abadie, Rapport, 884/3, 15 May 1937, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
263. RM February 1894.
264. Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 26 March 1898, March, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
265. Cpt. Issenmann, Rapport, 18/26, 20 April 1924, Kebili, **AGGT.A.191.1923.**
266. RM's February to June 1899.
267. For example, Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 1018/3, 24 November 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.183.1909.** describes how two Touazine fled to Tripoli, Général Leclerc to R.G., 1620, 8 November 1894, Tunis, **AGGT.A.191.1898.** a cheikh fled after plaints about his corruption, R.G. to M.A.E., DP.413, 10 September 1898, Tunis, **MAE.NS.63.** records the case of a man from Zarzis crossing the border to Tripoli to escape his creditors.
268. Cpt. Fourches to Monsieur le Commissionaire des Confins Occidentaux de la Tripolitaine, 1966/9, 22 September 1934, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.1.** and 'Note au sujet de la remise reciproque des malfaiteurs', 1932, **AGGT.A.180.5.**
269. RM May 1893. See also Général Leclerc to M.G., 16, 13 May 1893, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.49.1.**
270. RM March 1896. See Général Leclerc to R.G., 6 May 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.194.2.**
271. Ageron (1967, p. 53). For an extraordinary example of this flight into dissidence see Boyer (1971)'s account of the Djeramna's migrations from 1888 to 1929.
272. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 270/3, 3 March 1920, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.44.** and RM October 1897.
273. Boyer (1971).
274. RM's April and September 1897.
275. Lt. Sagnès, Rapport, 454/11, 25 September 1914, Matmata, **AGGT.A.197.1.**
276. Quoted in Marsden (1971, p. 189).
277. Lt. Sagnès, Rapport, 413/14, 4 September 1914, Matmata,

AGGT.A.194.1. and RM August 1914.

278. Général Servière to R.G., 560, 31 July 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.21.**
279. See, for example, RM October 1892 and September 1909.
280. RM July 1887. Cherif (1980, p. 27) shows that some bandits had lived within their tribes in the pre-Protectorate period.
281. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.508, 22 July 1907, Tunis, **MAE.NS.67.** and Lt. Nancy to R.G., 364/19, 5 June 1906, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.280.6.**
282. Sainte-Marie (1984, p.6). Cpt. Moreau, 'Brigandage, contrabande et criminalité dans le Sud Tunisien', 1948, **REC.2.8.** and RM September 1919.
283. Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 2804/19, 24 December 1932, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.179.1.**
284. Dejeux (1978).
285. Cpt. Moreau, 'Brigandage, contrabande et criminalité dans le Sud Tunisien', 1948, **REC.2.8.**
286. Cpt. de la Paix de Fréminville, Rapport, 2 January 1905, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.14**, Cpt. Charbonneau to Cdt. Gabès, 1, 9 January 1944, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.**, and Cpt. Rodrigues, Rapport, 928/3, 29 November 1928, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.14.**
287. C.G. Tripoli to R.G., 7 September 1889, Tripoli, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
288. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.508, 22 July 1907, Tunis, **MAE.NS.67.**
289. Commission de Tutelle Locale, Procès-Verbal, 21 February 1934, **AGGT.A.206bis.14.** and Lt. Bossy to R.G., 2800/13, 25 September 1936, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.179.1.**
290. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.219, 18 May 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.290.**
291. Callija (V.C. Gabès) to Haggard, Telegram, 16 May 1897, Gabès, inclosure in Haggard to Salisbury, 25, 22 May 1897, **PRO.FO.27.3345.**
292. Lt. Bouvet to R.G., Dehibat, 29 September 1911, 463/9, Dehibat, **MAE.NS.73.** and RM's June 1912 and June 1915.
293. Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 1 October 1915, Médenine, **SHAT.2.H.53.1.**, Général Mournier, Rapport, 11 October 1915, Tunis, **SHAT.7.N.2133** and RM June 1915. See also Burke (1975) on German assistance to Moroccan resistance during the First World War.
294. P. Bouret, 'Historique des opérations de 1915 à 1919', 1920, **REC.4.4.**
295. Day to day accounts of the events in the south during the revolt are provided by the 'Rapports du Général Commandant les troupes tunisiens sur les opérations' in **SHAT.2.H.53.4.** and a summary in P. Bouret, 'Historique des opérations de 1915 à 1919', 1920, **REC.4.4.**
296. Cdt. at Médenine to R.G., 3 November 1915, Médenine, **AGGT.A.178.14.** claims that the cheikh of Douiret entered negotiations with the rebels and Chef de Bat. Miquel, Rapport, 224/3, 19 February 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.19.** makes the same accusation of the cheikh of Ghomrassen.
297. R.G. to M.A.E., 6 November 1917, Tunis, **SHAT.7.N.213.**
298. 'Commission d'évaluation des Dommages' in **AGGT.A.A.208ter.1.**
299. 'Situation Politique de Cercle de Tataouine', December 1915, Risler, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
300. Interrogatoire du nommé Hamadi ben Hamachi ben Khalifa, Gheiria, Od. Aiar, Zlass, Spahis [held as a prisoner] evadé de

Gheiria, Od. Aiar, Zlass, Spahis [held as a prisoner] evadé de Nalout, 22 August 1916, **SHAT.2.H.53.5.**. See also RMs May and July 1917.

301. P. Bouret, 'Historique des opérations de 1915 à 1919', 1920, **REC.4.4.**
302. Burke (1975).
303. RM Febraury 1899.
304. Chef de Bat. Belenet to R.G., 754/20, 11 May 1945, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.25.**
305. RM June 1891.
306. Lt. Maquart, Rapport, 735/10, 24 September 1935, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.744.**
307. Thaalbi (1919).
308. See, for example, Tribu des Douiret to R.G., 20 July 1936, Douiret, **AGGT.A.178.14.**

CHAPTER 7

1. Cherif (1982 and 1984), Ellafi (1981), and Valensi (1977).
2. See Geertz, H. in Geertz *et al* (1979, pp. 341-6) and Gellner (1969, pp. 36-7) on the use of patronyms.
3. Geertz, H. in Geertz *et al* (1979, p. 343).
4. Abu Zahra (1974, p. 120). See also Abu Zahra (1982, Chapter 3).
5. The tribal reports are available in **SHAT.MR.1321 to 1323.**. See also Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, Bou Adjila, 'La tribu des Oulad Chehida', August 1954, Tataouine, **REC.2.11.**, Ben Hamadi (177), Boussoutrout (No date), Deambrogio (1902), Forest (1941), Le Boeuf (1909), Maquart (1937), Menouillard (1912a and b), Seran (1948), Zaccone (1875), and Anonymous (1902 and 1903).
6. See, for example, Lt. Bétirac, 'La tribu des Matmata', 19 April 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.** For de Slane's translations see Ibn Khaldun (1852-6).
7. Circulaire 26, 'Instructions aux Commandants des Cercles en Tunisie', 1 July 1882, **AGGT.A.197.2.** and M.G. to M.A.E., 4867, 7 May 1886, Paris, **MAE.NS.281.** The cheikhs had to provide this type of information S.G.G.T. to R.G., 501, 5 February 1889, **AGGT.A.G.1.8.**
8. Evans-Pritchard (1949), Gellner (1969, 1972, and 1981), Hart (1967, 1970, 1972, 1976, and 1981), and Peters (1960 and 1967).
9. Eickelman (1976) and Geertz, H. in Geertz *et al* (1979).
10. Valensi (1977, p. 39).
11. Most of the tribal reports and published sources in note 5 provide this type of historical information. See Valensi (1977, pp. 37-8) for an example of this type of chronology.
12. See Ben Hamadi (1977), Boris (1951), Louis (1979), and Marçais and Farès (1931) for examples of this type of poetry and song from Southern Tunisia.
13. Valensi (1977, pp. 33-35) compares the documentary accounts of Tunisia's dynastic crisis in the years 1728 to 1740 with accounts in the tribal reports gathered from the tribesmen, and concludes 'Autant d'événements, autant d'erreurs'. Bailey (1980) made a similar comparative study of Bedouin oral traditions in the Negev and recorded history and found them equally unreliable.
14. Peters (1960, p. 43).
15. Valensi (1977, pp. 69-81).
16. Gellner (1969, pp.62-3).
17. Donau in Dumas (1912, p. 298).
18. See examples in 'Tripolitains demandent asile en Tunisie' **AGGT.A.280.3.** and 'Dénombrement des Indigènes originaires de Libye stationnés en Tunisie' **AGGT.A.280.16.**
19. Hart (1976, p. 269).
20. Geertz, H. in Geertz *et al* (1979).
21. See the acts of election for cheikhs of these communaties in **AGGT.A.178.17.**
22. Lt. Bétirac, 'La tribu des Matmata', 19 April 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.** and acts of election in Matmata, for example, the election of Saad ben Mabrouk at Toujane in 1885 **AGGT.A.186.11.**

23. Jamous (1981, p. 26).
24. The major proponents of this theory in North Africa have been the British anthropologists Evans-Pritchard (1949), Gellner (1969, 1973, and 1980), Hart (1967, 1973, 1976, and 1981), Lewis (1960), and Waterbury (1970 and 1972). It has been adopted more recently by Cherif (1982 and 1984), Ellafi (1981), and Valensi (1977). Smida (1982) has reviewed the development of the theory and shows that it originated simultaneously in the British and French anthropoligical schools.
25. Gellner (1969, pp. 41-2).
26. Gellner (1969, p. 42).
27. Gellner (1969, p. 53).
28. Waterbury (1970, p. 65).
29. Berque (1978, p. 78).
30. Waterbury (1970, p. 65).
31. See Peters (1960) and Hart (1976, pp. 264-70).
32. Favret (1968, p. 64).
33. Fevrier (No date).
34. Gellner (1969, p. 54).
35. Gellner (1969, p. 63).
36. Bourdieu (1978, p.35).
37. Barth (1959b, p. 5).
38. Gellner (1969, p. 49).
39. Bourdieu (1978, p. 40).
40. See, for example, Commission Arbitrale de Sequestration, Procès-Verbal 19, 29 January 1918; 21, 7 May 1918; 9, 10 October 1916; and 7, 30 August 1916 **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
41. Scemama (1934).
42. Cpt. Cosson to R.G., 1232/15, 18 December 1924, Médenine, **AGGT.A.183.1925.**
43. 'Commissions de Sequestration' in **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
44. See, for example, petition for entry into Tunisia by Abdessid Ettouïs inclosure in Lt. Flevet to R.G., 317/9, 19 June 1911, Dehibat, **AGGT.A.280.3.**
45. 'Commissions de Sequestration' in **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
46. Bourdieu (1965, p. 231).
47. Bourdieu (1965, p. 214).
48. Lt. du Breuil de Pontbriand, Rapport, 21 March 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
49. For example, P.M. to Caïd des Ouerghamma, 10 December 1909, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1909.**
50. On dia see Chelod (1971) and Schwartz (1924). An example of the payment of 1,800 frs dia following a murder is recorded in detail in Général Bégassière to R.G., 761, 10 October 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1899.**
51. See Louis (1979, Chapter 8).
52. Asad (1970, pp. 131-2).
53. Cpt. Fine to R.G., 1078/19, 3 December 1918, Médenine, **AGGT.A.183.1918.**
54. Petition for entry into Tunisia by Abdessid Ettouïs inclosure in Lt. Flevet to R.G., 317/9, 19 June 1911, Dehibat, **AGGT.A.280.3.** See also, Pelligra (1975) and less detailed accounts of the composition of douars in Cpt. Moreau to R.G., 380/9, 28 April 1914, Ben Gardane, and 380/9, 5 May 1914,

AGGT.A.180.8.

55. Pelligra (1975).
56. Général Bégassière to R.G., 759, 9 October 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1899.**, Lt. Nancy, Rapport, 123, 8 April 1907, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.4.**, and Lt. Harlé, Rapport, 3 November 1904, Kebili, **AGGT.A.190.7.**
57. Lt. du Breuil de Pontbriand, Rapport, 21 march 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
58. Abu Zahra (1982, pp. 61 and 92).
59. Carton (1894, p. 20) and 'Commissions de Sequestration' in **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
60. Petition for entry into Tunisia by Abdessid Ettouïs inclosure in Lt. Flevet to R.G., 317/9, 19 June 1911, Dehibat, **AGGT.A.280.3.** and less detailed accounts of the composition of douar's in Cpt. Moreau to R.G., 380/9, 28 April 1914, Ben Gardane, and 380/9, 5 May 1914, **AGGT.A.180.8.**
61. See Louis (1976, p. 56) on the quarters of Guermessa, Bourdieu (1965, pp. 221-3) on the morphology of the village in Kabylie, and Hart (1976) and Jamous (1981) describe villages in Morocco. See Photograph 3.
62. Menouillard (1912b) notes the origins of the communities of Matmata and the names of these villages.
63. Tijani (1852, p. 102).
64. Général Bégassière to R.G., 326, 20 March 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1923.**
65. On the zerda see Demeersman (1964), Dornier (1950), Ferichou (1972), Louis (1976, pp. 327-9, and 1979, pp. 264-5), and Maquart (1937, p. 273). For examples of these festivals in the documents see, RM June 1892 and Cdt. Donau to R.G., 1337, 14 September 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.8.**
66. Cpt. Lewden, Rapport, 62/6, 26 October 1933, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.12.**
67. For example, RM February 1888.
68. Menouillard (1912) and Lt. Bétirac, 'La tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**
69. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 42).
70. Most of the fractions of the Touazine shared the same koubba and marabout in the tomb of Sidi Ali ben 'Abid (Boussoutrout, No date) and most of the Ouderna focussed on the tomb of Sidi Mohammed Sahya bou Djelida (Le Boeuf, 1909b, p. 24 and Lt. Bechével, 'Notice sur l'Aradh', 1884, **SHAT.MR.1332.32.**
71. Gellner (1969, p. 49).
72. R.G. to M.A.E., Telegram 151, 18 October 1892, Tunis, **MAE.NS.55.**
73. Hart (1976, p. 269).
74. On the revolt of 1840 see Pellisier (1853, p. 164), Sebag (1958, p. 175), Serres (1925, p. 253), Reade to Palmerston, 7, 14 May 1840, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.7.**, C.G. (Tunis) to M.A.E., DP.56, 17 April 1840, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.4.**; on the revolt of 1856 see Tissot to Roches (C.G. Tunis), 1 May 1857, **MAE.MD.8.**; on the revolt of 1868 see Wood to Clarendon, 16, 19 May 1869, **PRO.FO.102.84.** and C.G. (Tunis) to M.A.E., 306, 2 September 1869, Tunis, 308, 7 September 1869, and 311, 22 September 1869, **MAE.CPT.33.**

75. Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, and 21 October 1884, **SHAT.2.H.58.2.**
76. Service de Renseignements, 'L'Occupation de la Tunisie', 1881, **SHAT.2.H.35.** and Lt. Bétirac, 'La tribu des Matmata', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**
77. Boussoutrout (No date, p. 22) and Ferichou (1973).
78. Boris (1951, p. 18) and Pauphillet (1953, pp. 219-224).
79. Boris (1951, p. 18).
80. Perkins (1981).
81. Hanoteaux and Letourneaux (1872). Lt. Breuil de Pontbriand, Rapport, 21 March 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.** quotes Hanoteau and Letourneaux's work on Kabylie in describing political life in Tamazredt, Matmata.
82. Montagne (1973, pp. 40-1)
83. Berque (1978, pp. 424-39), Gellner (1969, pp. 66-7), and Hart (1976, pp. 313-38) and 1981, p. 181). Only Waterbury (1970, p. 65) continues to see leff in the same terms as Montagne.
84. Favret (1968), Gellner (1969), Hart (1976), and Seddon (1972 and 1981, Chapter 4).
85. Hart (1981, pp. 188-9).
86. See accounts of elections in **AGGT.A.186.13.**. M. Balzagette (Intéprète Militaire), Rapport, 4 July 1916, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.2.** claims that the the Od. Saken always supported the most powerful faction.
87. Lt. Breuil de Pontbriand, Rapport, 21 March 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
88. See, for example, Lt. Bourrely, Rapport, 417/3, 24 October 1911, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**, Lt. Lecoq, 245, 11 July 1912, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.**, and Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 2583/3, 13 August 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.15.**
89. Lt. Laveran, Rapport, 961/3, 24 November 1912, Tataouine; Cpt. Cosson to R.G., 865/15, 24 August 1919, Tataouine; and Cpt. Moreau to R.G., 37/3, 6 February 1926, Tataouine, (with inclosures) **AGGT.A.178.16.**
90. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 4 October 1905, Matmata. See also a detailed breakdown of the rival political groups in the village in Lt. Bourgoin, 16 April 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.** a history of the soffs in the village in Lt. du Breuil de Pontbriand, Rapport, 21 March 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
91. See, for example, the combinations of lineages among the Djebah (Haouia) in Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 724/3, 21 June 1919, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.30.**, among the Ababsa in Général Leclerc to R.G., 229, 21 February 1896, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.61.**, and among the Beni Zelten (Matmata) where 10 lineages combine to form two opposing camps Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 216, 28 June 1909, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
92. Barth (1959b, p. 12, and 1959a, Chapter 9).
93. Barth (1959b, p. 20).
94. For example, Lt. Tardy to R.G., 788/11, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.1906.**, Cpt. Risler, Rapport, 621/11, 26 August 1915, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.183.1915.**, and Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 18 September 1905, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.43.**
95. Favret (1968, pp. 29-30).
96. Repondu à Cercle A.I., 50/3, 27 February 1902, Matmata,

MAEN.PS.683.

97. See Peters (1967). See also Favret (1968) and Hart (1976 and 1983).
98. Faveret (1968, pp. 38-41), Hart (1976), and Peters (1967, p. 266).
99. Peters (1967, p. 269).
100. Lt. Eyraud to R.G., 369/19, 23 April 1918, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.18.** provides a history of the feud. See also RMs August and November 1909 and June 1911. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 18 September 1905, Tataoune, **AGGT.A.182.43.** records the events leading up to a riot that may have been connected to the same feud.
101. Inclosure in Cpt. Moissy to R.G., 181/3, 11 May 1918, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
102. Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 957/9, 18 May 1921, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.208ter.1.**
103. For example, Lt. Jean, Rapport, 458/3, 26 February 1940, Matmata, **AGGT.A.182.12.**, and Cpt. Monnet, Rapport, 20/3, 10 January 1948, Matmata, **AGGT.A.182.13.**.
104. Lt. Colonel Foucher to R.G., 13 November 1909, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.8.**
105. Valensi (1977, pp. 48-50). The quarrel between Sliman and Achaches is based on legendary dispute (see Menouillard, 1912b, p. 24-5).
106. Peters (1967, p. 268).
107. Cpt. Monnet, Rapport, 20/3, 10 January 1948, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
108. Evans-Pritchard (1940, p. 156).
109. See for example, Lt. Lecoq, Rapport, 213/3, 21 Jaunary 1912, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.** on the realignment of lineages in Toujane.
110. Deposition de Sliman ben Ghizaine inclosure in Lt. Breuil de Pontbriand, 21 March 1901, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
111. Valensi (1977, p. 41).
112. Eickelman (1976, p. 109).
113. See Brunn (1894), Duhamel (1932, pp. 157-188), Louis (1975, pp. 266-83 and 1979, Chapter 9), Louis and Sirvonal (1973), Maquart (1937, pp. 269-72), and Menouillard (1902) for accounts of marriage in Southern Tunisia.
114. For example, Lt. Bouvet, Rapport, 976/3,20 October 1921, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.13.**
115. Brunn (1898, p. 104).
116. Cpt. Lewden to R.G., 3149/15, 25 November 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.179.1.**
117. Hilal (1971, p. 88).
118. The case of M'hamed ben Naceur ben Abdallah Ghomrasseni illustrates the expectations and responsibilities of affinal relationships and the strength of public opinion see Caïd of Tataouine to Direction des Services Judiciaires, 437, 17 June 1933, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
119. See Hilal (1971).
120. Murphy and Kasdan (1959, p. 18). See also Barth (1954) and Cuisinier (1962).
121. See Chamla and Demoulin (1982, pp. 489-503).

122. Maquart (1937, p. 269) identifies endogamous fractions within the Haouia. The Berbers were also endogamous, see Djemai (1972, pp. 56-63) and 'Report of Mr. Drummond-Hay on a tour in the Southern Frontier Districts of Tunis', inclosure in Drummond-Hay to Rosebury, 12, 15 March 1893, Tunis, **PRO.FO.27.3138.**
123. Chelod (1973).
124. Bourdieu (1978, p. 48).
125. Hilal (1971) and Joseph (1976).
126. In Barth (1954, p. 168), writing of Kurdistan, parallel cousin marriage appears as an obligation.
127. Barth (1954, p. 168).
128. See Maquart (1937, p. 169) and Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Accara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**
129. Hilal (1971, pp. 92-3).
130. Peters (1967, p. 274).
131. Brunn (1894, and 1898, pp. 180-91).
132. Louis (1979, p. 203).
133. Cuisinier (1962). Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 463/3, 25 April 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.19.** describes just such a marriage pattern.
134. Djemai (1972, p. 69). Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 16 April 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.** describes the ruptures that proceeded from a divorce in Tamazredt.
135. Levainville (1907, p. 135). See also Brunn (1898, pp. 104-6).
136. Laupts (1897) and Mayet (1886, pp. 198-9).
137. Col. Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
138. Louis (1979, *passim*).
139. See for example Cpt. Pericaud, 920/3, 18 June 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.40.**
140. Demeersman (1969) and Green (1978).
141. Cherif (1984, p. 58). See also Cherif (1982) and Kraïem (1973, I, pp. 135-6).
142. See Tahar Bou Adjila on the descent of his own family and its pre-eminence within the Od. Chehida in 'La tribu des Oulad Chehida', Tataouine, August 1954, **REC.2.11.**
143. See, for example, Gellner (1969) and Hart (1976 and 1983).
144. See Brunn (1898, pp. 103-110) on Sassi Fattouch. Commission d'évaluation des dommages, Procès-Verbaux, (1921-22) **AGGT.A.208ter.1.** demonstrate that the wealthier individuals often owned considerable sums in jewellery and clothing.
145. Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 311/3, 23 March 1909, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.177.7.** and Cpt. Ponthier du Chamaillard, Rapport, 26/3, 19 February 1934, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.31.**
146. Mottadeh (1980, pp. 72-93). On patronage relationships see also Eickelman (1976), Gellner (1981, p. 70), Geertz (1979), and Seddon (1972, pp. 122-3).
147. 'Liste des biens de Sliman ben Moussa, Cheikh de Guermessa', inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 1650, 21 October 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.2.**
148. Hamzaoui (1979, p. 447).
149. See, for example, Chevarrier (V.C. Gabès) to Chargé d'Affaires (Tunis), Gabès, 22 July 1875, **ANSOM.25.H.19.3.** During the Protectorate it was usual for officers and foreign visitors to stay with cheikh or another prominent notable.

150. Inhabitants of Beni Barka to Direction Général de l'Intérieur, 21 July 1931, Beni Barka, **AGGT.A.178.18.**
151. Barth (1959, pp. 89)
152. See, for example, Brown (1976), Demeerseman (1967-1970), Laroui (1977), and Stambouli and Zghall (1976).
153. See, for example, Gellner (1981), Hammoudi (1974), and Pascon (1981).
154. Henia (1980, p. 139).
155. Marx (1967, I, p. 899).
156. Hamzaoui (1979, p. 468).
157. Fisher and Fisher (1970), Milland (1912), Richardson (1848), Temple (1835, I, 427), and Terrier (1911).
158. Brunn (1898, p. 138), Duveyrier (1860, p. 549), Philebert (1895, p. 189), and Lt. de Béchevel, 'L'Aradh (villages et oasis)', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.26.** and Lt. Barry, 'Tribu des Beni Zid et Oasis d'el Hamma', March 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
159. Louis (1979, p.25-6).
160. Inclosure in Commission de Tutelle Locale, Procès Verbal, 20 October 1922, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.206.14.**
161. Lt. Lecoq, Rapport, 213/3, 21 January 1912, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**, and Commissions de Sequestration in **AGGT.A.208ter.2.**
162. Barth (1965), Liman (1981), Pervinquière (1911), and Richardson (1848).
163. Dumas (1912, Annexe A), Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to P.M., 563, 31 January 1887, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.44.**, Général Leclerc to R.G., 1312, 16 December 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.10.**, Général Leclerc to R.G. 1414, 30 October 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.19** and Cpt. Pericaud, Rapport, 100/3, 25 January 1908, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.20.**
164. Komorowski (1971), Liman (1981), Tremearne (1968), and Zawadowski (1942). On negro musicians see Louis (1979, p. 211-3) and Lt. Chanavas, Rapport, 598/3, 26 June 1914, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.19.**
165. Pirson (1978, p. 153). See also Pirson (1975).
166. Pirson (1978, p. 153).
167. Rezig (1981, p. 165).
168. Goguyer (1941, p. 4).
169. Poncet (1962, p. 481).
170. See Clarke (1954, 1955, and 1956) and Martel, C. (1955) on the organisation of transhumance. Lists of migrants leaving the south in **AGGT.E.234.3.** and **MAEN.PS.172.** and Tripoltainians entering Tunisia **AGGT.A.280.8.** indicate that tribesmen continued to travel and find employment in extended family groups well in the 1950's.
171. Costello (1977) summarises the research on social change and urbanisation in the Middle East. On Tunisia see Stambouli (1971).
172. Lt. Forest to R.G., 111/9, 9 May 1935, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.183.1935.**
173. Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 440/3, 6 August 1908, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.39.**, and Cpt. Lewden, Rapport, 985/3, 24 May 1929, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.12.**
174. See B'dir and Djemai (1977), Clarke (1956), Djemai (1972),

Jemai (1974), Maigray (1968), and Prost (1950 and 1955) on the persistence of return migration.

175. Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la premier semestre 1941', July 1941, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.** and Lt. Rodrigues to R.G., 170/19, 15 April 1926, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
176. For example, Lt. Abadie to R.G., 1525/18, 24 August 1937, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.** It was much the same in other mountain communities. See for instance, Lt. de Birhis to R.G., 1425/3, 29 June 1933, Tataouine, inclosures of two petitions both sent from Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.15.**
177. Djemai (1972, p. 75), Jemai (1974, pp. 14-29), and Stephenson (1977).
178. Jemai (1974) and B'dir and Djemai (1977) describe the process of diversification.
179. Callens (1955, pp. 168-9 and 176-9). Letters sent by the migrants suggest that most lived in oukala's or houses shared by several men of the same community, see, for example, letters from Tunis inclosures in Cpt. Lewden, Rapport, 2074/3, 1 October 1932, **AGGT.A.178.16.**
180. Callens (1955, p. 169).
181. I/C Matmata to R.G., 798/3, 15 April 1942, Matmata, and Cpt. Monnet, Rapport, 20/3, 10 January 1948, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
182. Dardel and Klibi (1955).
183. Harrison (1967, pp. 421-3).
184. Clarke (1954, pp. 102-3).
185. On the conditions at the mines and the development of a class identity see Brunet (1956), Dougi (1984), Duissard (1972) and Liauzu (1978).
186. Cme Tunisienne des Phosphates du Djebel M'dilla to Cdt. T.M.S., 6 March 1930, M'dilla, **MAEN.PS.189.** is the only request for labour from the south found. Clarke (1956, p. 90) claims that the mines preferred to use labour from further afield because local labour was unreliable, returning to their village for agricultural work.
187. Dougi (1984, p. 20).
188. Meynier (1976), Nogaro and Weil (1926) and A. Matrin, 'Rapport sur l'utilisation de la main d'oeuvre des musulmans nord-africaines à Bourdeaux', 15 June 1916, Bourdeaux, **MAE.G.1508.**
189. Bouguessa (1983).
190. Bessis *et al.* (1956, pp. 99-105).
191. Bessis *et al.* (1956, p. 102).
192. Anderson (1986, pp. 148-9).
193. Only 23 of the 44 secretaries appointed in the south were from local tribes, 17 were Jews from the south or Djerba and 4 were Muslims from outside the region (2 from Djerba) in **AGGT.A.176, 180, and 184.**
194. Marty (1944, p. 101).
195. Temevin (1977, p. 30).
196. Jemai (1974, p. 37).
197. Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la premier semestre 1941', July 1941, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.712.**
198. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence 1952-4 au Nefzaoua', 18

April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**

199. Marty (1944, p. 101).

CHAPTER 8

1. Asad (1970, p. 101) and Hart (1976, p. 214). Lt. Valentini to R.G., 59/3, 9 February 1914, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.** 13 provides an exmple of a father using the threat of disinheritance to compel the obedience of his son.
2. Cpt. Moreau, Rapport, 363/19, 22 April 1914, Ben Gardane, and Lt. Devereux, Rapport, 593, 1 July 1914, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.280.10.**
3. Behnke (1981, p. 55) and Pelligra (1975, p. 281). Unfortunately there is no detailed documentary evidence that enables to examine the political life of the douar.
4. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 42), Reibell (1932, p. 149), Marty (1907, p. 34), and Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
   On the djemâa in Tunisia see Bardin (1939, pp. 118-9), Forest (1940, pp. 23-5), Lanfry (1945b, pp. 73-4), Louis (1979, pp. 23-4), and Rondot (1953).
5. Vinogradov (1972, p. 76), writing of the Beni Mtir (Morocco), argues that 'the major function of the *jmaa* was the regulation and containment of conflict'
6. Deambrogio (1903, p. 101) quotes the qanoun of the Haouia.
7. Lt. Col. Foucher, Note, 352/11, 25 February 1908, Médenine, and Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 31/11, 10 February 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.187.1908.**
8. Deambrogio (1903) quotes in full two examples. Others from elsewhere in the Maghreb and discussions of the qanoun include Bousquet (1953), Bruno (1918), Milliot (1926 and 1930), and Surdon (1928 and 1936).
9. Rapport sur la situation des Territoires de Commadement pendant l'année 1894, **ANSOM.26.H.14.5.**
10. Rapport du Cercle, 50/3, 27 February 1902, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.**
11. Bruno (1918, p. 302), Masquerray (1886), and Rinderhagen (1911, p. 54).
12. Reibell (1932, p. 149) and Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 42), Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1..**
13. Henia (1982, pp. 123-7).
14. Valensi (1977, p. 83).
15. See, for example, Asad (1970), Hart (1976), and a document from the Ouerghmma dating 1876 criticises a government appointed cadhi as 'jeune et manque de sagesse' in Ellafi (1981, p. 313).
16. Act of election of Ali ben Cheikh Mohammed ben el Hadj Belgacem Leffat (1890) in **AGGT.A.178.14.**
17. Vinogradov (1972, p. 76).
18. Henia (1982, p. 138).
19. Ibn Khaldun (1967, pp. 101-3).
20. Henia (1982, p. 139).
21. Act of election of Ali ben Cheikh Mohammed ben el Hadj Belgacem Leffat (1890) in **AGGT.A.178.14.**
22. There are two acts of election for the Dehibat at Matmata in 1889 one comprises 12 names another 23 **AGGT.A.186.1.**
23. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Rapport au sujet de la prise de possession de

commandement', December 1889, Metameur, **REC.1.3.** See also Bruno (1918, p. 305).

24. Deambrogio (1903).
25. Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.** and Allegro (Govenor de l'Aradh) to P.M., 11 October 1884, Gabès, **AGGT.A.194.3.** RM's February, April, and June 1887.
26. RM's January and August 1888, January 1889.
27. Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to P.M., 23 June 1884, Gabès, and 4 August 1884, Gabès, **AGGT.A.194.3.**
28. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
29. *** (1903, p. 436) and Lt. Barry, 'La tribu des Beni Zid et l'Oasis d'el Hamma', March 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
30. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
31. Henia (1980, pp. 137-87).
32. Hart (1983, pp. 76-87) and Vinogradov (1972, pp. 76-7).
33. Général Sermet to R.G., 749, 24 July 1898, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
34. Gellner (1969, pp. 88-9) and Hart (1983, pp. 76-80).
35. La tribu de Beni Barka et Migachemine to Direction Service Judicaires, 29 June 1931, Tataouine, and Cpt. Lewden, Rapport, 2071/3, 7 June 1931, **AGGT.A.178.17.** and Lt. Lapaine, 'La tribu des Hazem, Gheraïra, Hamerna et Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**
36. Valensi (1977, p. 82).
37. Louis (1979, p. 23).
38. Pauphillet (1953, p. 219).
39. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.** The cheikh of the Dehibat in Matmata was revoked by his djemâa Général Leclerc to R.G., 386, 29 March 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.2.** as was the cheikh of the Zmerten (Matmata) Général Leclerc to R.G., 581, 7 July 1891, **AGGT.A.186.2bis.**
40. Dresch (1984, p. 41).
41. Montagne (1973, Chapter 4) and Seddon (1981, Chapter 4).
42. Montagne (1973, p. 67).
43. Montagne (1973, pp. 61-69). Maxwell (1983) provides an interesting account of the emergence of the Glaoui family.
44. Pellissier (1853, p. 169).
45. Chevarrier (V.C. Gabès) to C.G., 16 May 1876, **ANSOM.25.H.19.8.** and Allegro to P.M., 24 June 1884, Gabès, **AGGT.A.194.3.**
46. Montagne (1973, p. 60). That cheikhs gathered such funds and had such assistants in Southern Tunisia is demonstrated by the investigation into the affairs of el Hadj Amor ben Abdesmed of Kebili (Nefzaoua) in Général Leclerc to R.G., 385, 6 April 1892, Tunis, **AGGT.A.190.16.**
47. Reibell (1932, p. 149).
48. Allegro to R.G., 31 March 1886, Zarzis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.** and Général Dionne to M.G., 16 March 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
49. Carrette (1844, p. 89). Eickelman (1976, p. 44 and 1983) describes a similar situation in Morocco.
50. Mason (1976).
51. Déporter, Rapport d'une enquête, 1 April 1885, Gabès, and Général Boulanger to R.G., 247, 15 April 1885, Tunis, **AGGT.A.188.1.**

52. Kraïem (1983, pp. 152-6), and C.G. (Tunis) to M.A.E., DP. 306, 2 September 1869, **MAE.CPT.33.**
53. Mattei (V.C. Gabès) to C.G., 19 June 1855, Gabès; Féraud, Principaux épisodes des événements du sud de la Province de Constantine, 1855; Affaires Arabes to C.G., 406, 27 October 1857, Constantine; and Cercle de Biskra to Général Derraux, 99, 21 November 1857, Biskra, **ANSOM.25.H.16.**
54. Attia (1970, pp. 100-4), Allegro to P.M., 22 June 1884, Gabès, **AGGT.A.194.4.**, and RM July 1884.
55. Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.215, 22 March 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**
56. Général Boulanger to M.G., 42, 24 September 1885, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**
57. Féraud (C.G. Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.262, 26 August 1882, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.21.**; DP.86, 1 October 1884, **MAE.CPTr.24.**; and Maconi (?) to Ambassade Constantinople, 12 March 1883, Tripoli, **MAE.CPT.73.**
58. Cherif (1980, p. 42) and Kraïem (1983, pp. 154-6).
59. Service de Renseignements, 'L'occupation de Tunisie', 1881-3, **SHAT.2.H.35.**
60. Asad (1970, pp. 141-245).
61. Montagne (1973, p. 68).
62. It is worth noting Ibn Khaldun (1967, p. 105)'s comment 'Prestige is an accident that affects human beings. It comes into being and decays inevitably.'
63. Ibn Khaldun (1967, pp. 136-42).
64. Barth (1959a, p. 134).
65. Gellner (1969, p. 65).
66. Perkins (1981, pp. 93-5) and Rey-Goldzeiger (1977, pp. 496-7). Von Sivers (1982, p. 116) while admitting that the French officials did carry out acts of administration adds that the 'idea of direct rule was actually a fiction nurtured by colonial officials'.
67. The Service de Renseignement's mandate was defined by Général Forgemol de Bostquénard, 'Instructions aux commandants des cercles en Tunisie', Circulaire 26, 1 July 1882, **AGGT.A.197.4.**
68. Officers readily admitted their involvement in administrative affairs, for example, Cpt. Miquel to R.G., 631/3, 1 August 1912, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.188.1.**, the Residents General repeatedly warned against such intervention, for example, R.G. to C.C. et Bureaux de S.A.I., 1GCC/273, 29 January 1938, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.683.**
69. Allegro to P.M., 20 June 1884, Gabès, **AGGT.A.197.3.** and Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, and inclosures 'Réglements de Makhzen', **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
70. Lecoq (1914, pp. 5-19).
71. RM January 1889.
72. For example, Chef de Bat. Chavanne, Rapport, 1985/3, 6 July 1938, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.11.** and Cpt. Forest, Rapport, 738/3, 15 March 1940, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.17.**
73. Général Sermet to R.G., 1167, 8 December 1898, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.25.**, Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 608, 29 August 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.21.**, Lt. Callé, Rapport, 25 March 1899, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.181.2.**, and Lt. de Belenet, Rapport, 26 March

1898, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.**

74. P.M. to Allegro (Governor of Aradh), 2028, 24 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.A.1178.14.**
75. Général Swiney to R.G., 731, 28 October 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
76. Général Swiney to R.G., 354, 7 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.5.**
77. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 686, 7 October 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.52.** See Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 733, 27 October 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.190.2.** for a similar explanation.
78. A survey of the caïdat of Tataouine in 1936 discloses that eight out of fourteen cheikhs were completely illiterate Chef de Bat. Lafond, Rapport, 51/2, 20 January 1936, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.40.**
79. Cpt. Risler, Rapport, 545/3, 6 December 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.186.10.**. See also Cpt. Augustin's complaint of a candidate that 'ses administrés ont beaucoup d'influence sur lui' in, Rapport, 347/3, 20 May 1940, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.10.**
80. For example, Lt. Huguet, Rapport, 1941/3, 15 October 1929, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.8.**. Only in the most extreme circumstances were allowances made for the difficulties of collecting taxes as in during the drought of 1921, Lt. Fourches to R.G., 1060/3, 3 November 1921, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
81. Général Swiney to R.G., 354, 7 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.5.**, and Debou (Contrôleur de Rencensement) to Direction des Finances, C, 31 May 1918, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.28.**.
82. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 6 November 1905, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.2bis.**
83. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.219, 18 March 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.290.** and Lt. de Belenet, Rapport, 26 March 1898, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
84. Général Servière to R.G., 560, 31 July 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.21.**
85. Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 222/3, 21 February 1913, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.18.**
86. Lt. Bossy, Rapport, 762/3, 22 June 1937, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.22.** and S.G.G.T. to R.G., 23 April 1914, Tunis, **AGGT.A.184.1.**.
87. Général Doux to R.G., 330, 8 November 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.10.** and Cpt. Pericaud, Rapport, 803/3, 4 July 1908, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.52.**
88. Général Leclerc to R.G., 123, 25 January 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.28.** and Direction des Finances to P.M., 20 November 1913, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
89. Cpt. Pericaud, Rapport, 403/3, 6 March 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.30.** and Cpt. Thivet, Rapport, 1736/3, 17 November 1936, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.25.**
90. La Commissionaire Divisionière Chef de 2me Région to Direction Sûrête Publique, 79/s, 3 November 1933, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.4.** and Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard to R.G., 43/5, 4 December 1933, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.E.231.3.**
91. Général Forgemol de Bostquénard, 'Instructions aux commandants des cercles en Tunisie', Circulaire 26, 1 July 1882, **AGGT.A.197.4.**, and M.G. to Général Saint-Marc, 12 June 1888, Paris. R.G., Note, 18 November 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.A.197.2.** lists the following government officials as beyond the direct

authority Service des Affaires Indigènes: caïds, khalifas, muphtis, cadhis, amines, professeurs de madrassas, imams, cheikhs de zaouia, oukils de habous, naïbs de habous, and Inspectors des Finances.

92. Chef de Bat. Miquel to I/C Matmata, 12 May 1919, Médenine, **MAEN.PS.684.**
93. Lt. Bouvet, Rapport, 787/3, 28 June 1910, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.36.** records how a cheikh who stole 294 frs. from the tax registers and was forced to pay this money back, pay a fine of 250 frs. and was revoked at a time when his income was just over 400 frs.
94. R.G. to C.C.'s, 21 June 1927, Tunis, **AGGT.G.23.**
95. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
96. P.M. to Caïds et Kahias, Circulaire 12, 8 June 1920, Tunis, **AGGT.G.36.**
97. Perkins (1981, p. 96).
98. Fadhel ben Mohammed ben Mosbah ben Belgassem bou Gerba to R.G., 23 December 1937, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.10.**
99. R.G. to Général Cdt. Division d'Occupation, 106, 20 March 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.32.**
100. The actual circulaire has not survived but the rules it established are outlined in P.M. to Caïd of Ouerghamma, 3894, 31 March 1906, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.37.**
101. Caïd of Ouerghamma to P.M., 3 April 1935, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.35.**
102. P.M. to Caïds et Kahias, Circulaire 12, 8 June 1920, Tunis, **AGGT.G.36.**
103. P.M. to Caïds, 1010, 5 April 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.G.14.** and Cpt. Issenman, Rapport, 17/3, 10 February 1925, Kebili, **AGGT.A.190.6.**
104. Caïd of Ouerghamma to P.M., 7 January 1905, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.37.** and Cpt. Pericaud, Rapport, 920/3, 18 June 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.40.**
105. Cpt. Moreau, 203/6, 24 May 1928, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.14.** and Général Beggassière to R.G., 273, 6 January 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.32.**
106. Cpt. Moreau, Rapport, 15 January 1915, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.9.**
107. Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 694/3, 24 July 1909, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.10.**
108. Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 233/3, 20 April 1922, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.17.**
109. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
110. R.G. to Cdt. Bureau Matmata, 372, 4 September 1912, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.684.**
111. Lt. Bossy, Rapport, 761/3, 22 June 1937, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.16.**
112. 12 Nichan Istiqar medals were awarded to administrators from the south; 27 to makhzen: see lists in **AGGT.E.314.3.**
113. Général Forgemol de Bostquénard, 'Instructions aux commandants des cercles en Tunisie', Circulaire 26, 1 July 1882, **AGGT.A.197.4.**
114. Général Begassière to R.G., 318, 13 July 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.4.**
115. R.G. to C.C.s and Officers des Bureaux A.I., 21 June 1927,

AGGT.G.23.

116. For example, Cpt. Delon, Rapport, 14 October 1911, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.21.**
117. Von Sivers (1980).
118. Cpt. Delon to R.G., 481/3, 5 May 1911, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.21.**
119. Lt. Scoffoni to Cdt. T.MS., 254/3, 15 February 1931, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.683.** and Admiral Esteva to Cdt. Matmata, 2/SG/SE, 3 February 1942, Tunis, **MAEN.PS.684.**
120. Lt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 24 February 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
121. Lt. Valentini to R.G., 59/3, 9 February 1912, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
122. For example, Général Leclerc to R.G., 163, 8 February 1896, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.2.** and Général Leclerc to R.G., 1414, 30 October 1893, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.19.**
123. Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 189/3, 26 May 1910, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.31.** and Bureau des A.I. to R.G., 798/3, 15 April 1942, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
124. Lt. Abadie to Cdt. T.M.S., 1378/11, 24 July 1937, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.684.** and P.M. to Caïds, 21 November 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.G.12.**
125. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1650, 21 October 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.2.**
126. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 572/3, 29 May 1908, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.42.** and P.M. to Caïds, 1 April 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.G.17.**
127. Direction des Finances to S.G.G.T., 5769-5, 26 July 1907, Tunis, **AGGT.E.17.1.**
128. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 6 November 1905, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.2.** and Lt. Laveran, Rapport, 907/3, 14 November 1912, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.43.**
129. Caïd of Ouerghamma to P.M., 22 June 1937, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.22.**, Cpt. Thivet, Rapport, 1736/3, 17 November 1936, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.15.**, and Cpt. Chavanne to R.G., 638/3, 8 June 1931, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.38.**
130. For example, Mohammed ben Brahim Bou Kessor to R.G., 24 October 1907, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.44.**, and Cpt. Fremville to R.G., 586/9, 27 July 1907, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.49.**
131. Ameur ben Ali ben Ameur to S.G.G.T., 11 July 1913, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.3.**
132. Zghall (1967, p. 152).
133. Asad (1970) and Salzman (1974).
134. Bidwell (1973, Chapter 5) and Maxwell (1983, Chapters 8, 9, 10).
135. Burke (1973a), Fernea (1970), and Khoury (1982 and 1983).
135. Général Leclerc to R.G., 434, 23 May 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.A.190.8.**
136. P.M. to Caïds, 1010, 5 April 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.E.14.**
137. Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 246/3, 27 February 1910, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.12.** records the case of a khalifa giving his nephew undue support.
138. For example, M. Balzagète (Interprète Militaire), Rapport, 4 July 1916, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.** and Chef de Bat. Miquel, Rapport, 163/3, 7 February 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.7.**
139. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1414, 30 October 1893, Tunis,

AGGT.A.178.19.

140. Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to P.M., 950, 21 October 1893, Gabès, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
141. Général Sermet to R.G., 325, 30 April 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.187.6.** and Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 724/3, 21 June 1919, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.30.** describe the election procedure.
142. Cpt. Bouvet, Rapport, 65/3, 11 March 1916, Kebili, **AGGT.A.190.11.**
143. Cpt. Briand, Rapport, 300/3, 24 June 1945, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.19.**
144. Lt. Rodrigues, Rapport, 139/3, 14 March 1924, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
145. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 696, 7 October 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.54.**
146. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
147. Reibell (1932, p. 179).
148. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.104 tel., 8 May 1893, Tunis, **MAE.NS.287.**, Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 26 March 1898, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.**, and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.219, 18 May 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.290.**
149. Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 5 February 1897, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.** and Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 434/3, 20 May 1921, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
150. Amor ben Mohammed Ettrebi to P.M. 17 February 1902, Ghomarssen, **AGGT.A.182.52.** and Général Roux to R.G., 12, 13 January 1904, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.16.**
151. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 129/19, 31 January 1908, Médenine, **AGGT.A.182.66.**
152. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.48, 27 January 1900, Tunis, **MAE.NS.64.** and Millet (1905, p. 87).
153. Decree 23 November 1918.
154. The Personnel files of the Résidence Général archives kept at the Nantes depot of the Ministère d'Affaires étrangères cannot be consulted until 2015.
155. Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 26 March 1898, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.** R.G. to M.A.E., DP.219, 18 May 1897, Tunis, **MAE.NS.290.**, R.G. to M.A.E., DP. 104 Tel., 8 May 1893, Tunis, **MAE.NS.287.**, and Chef de Bat. Lafond to Cdt. T.M.S., 248/8, 23 May 1935, Médenine, and Lt. Maquart, Rapport, 735/10, 24 September 1935, Médenine, **MAEN.PS.733.**
156. Mühl (1954, pp. 89-90).
157. Caïd of Ouerghamma to P.M., 12 October 1911, Médenine, **AGGT.A.178.2.**
158. Avis de Cdt. T.M.S. in Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 233/3, 20 April 1922, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.17.**
159. Lt. Colonel Bourgoin to R.G., 1131/3, 6 July 1922, Médenine, **AGGT.A.186.17.**
160. Cpt. Chavanne, Rapport, 1221/3, 24 October 1933, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.23.**
161. Cpt. Risler, Rapport, 545/3, 6 December 1916, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
162. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 966/3, 19 September 1908, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.58.**
163. The Personnel files of cheikhs in the Résidence Général archives at Nantes cannot be consulted until 2015.

164. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 12 December 1905, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.17.**
165. If the cheikh made a genuine mistake in, for example, the collection of tax revenues this was often picked up by his enemies and formed the substance of a plaint. This made it difficult for the officers to punish the cheikh and deal with conspirators. See for example, Lt. Nöel, Rapport, 1385, 29 November, Matmata, **AGGT.A.1186.16.**
166. Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 5 February 1897, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.**
167. Lt. Rodrigues to R.G., 125/3, 14 February 1925, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.15.**
168. R.G., Note, 132, 6 November 1898, Tunis, **AGGT.G.20.**
169. Général Servière to R.G., 589, 8 August 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
170. Cdt. Tataouine to R.G., 97, 15 March 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.44.** shows how the cheikh of Chenini was revoked simply because he was suspected of negotiating with the Ouderna rebels.
171. Lt. Sajous, Rapport, 837/11, 19 September 1909, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.60.**
172. Lt. Tardy, Rapport, 33/3, 8 June 1908, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.43.**
173. Lt. Faumy, Rapport, 417/3, 8 October 1922, Kebili, **AGGT.A.190.12.**
174. R.G., Note, 132, 6 November 1898, Tunis, **AGGT.G.20.**
175. Général Roux to R.G., 346, 18 November 1905, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.15.** and Lt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 845/3, 28 May 1931, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.29.**
176. Cpt. Issenman to R.G., 75/19, 25 July 1927, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.12.**
177. Général Begassière to R.G., 210, 24 April 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.12.**
178. Cpt. Sol, Rapport, 56/3, 18 February 1920, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
179. M. Balzagette (Interpète Militaire), Rapport, 4 July 1916, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.12.**
180. See 'La reorganisation administrative de Matmata', 23 October 1893, S.A.I. Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.1.** on the re-organisation of the Matmata; Général Servière to R.G., 731, 21 September 1899, Tunis, on the re-organisation of the Ouderna; Général Leclerc to R.G., 488, 5 May 1892, Tunis, on the re-organisation of the Accara; and Lt. Béchevel, 'Project de reorganisation du Nefzaoua', 27 June 1887, Douz, **REC.1.2.**
181. Allegro (Governor of Aradh) to S.G.G.T., 44, 3 February 1894, Gabès, and Petition of the people of Toujane to P.M., 9 Maharram 1311, Toujane, **AGGT.A.186.11.**
182. P.M. to Governeur de l'Aradh, 418, 18 January 1894, Tunis, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
183. Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 216, 28 June 1909, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.10.**
184. R.G. to Président du Conseil, 28 August 1918, Tunis, **AGGT.A.199.1.**
185. Chef de Bat. to R.G., 754/20, 11 May 1945, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.182.25.**
186. Lt. Laveran, Rapport, 961/3, 24 November 1912,

TataouineAGGT.A.178.16.

187. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 865/15, 24 August 1919, **AGGT.A.178.16.**
188. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard to Cdt. T.M.S., 633/11, 28 April 1936, Matmata, and Cpt. Monnet, 20/3, 22 January 1948, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
189. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 270/3, 3 March 1920, Tataouine, and 619/3, 8 July 1920, **AGGT.A.182.45.**
190. On the amalgamation of the Médenine and Aouin see Lt. Chauvin, Rapport, 397/3, 4 September 1909, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.182.1.**
191. Général Sermet to R.G., 297, 20 April 1899, Tunis, **AGGT.A.182.52.** and Général Sermet to R.G., 530, 18 May 1898, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
192. For example, Cheikh Ahmend ben Belgassen ben el Hadj Ouafi of the Hamidia Cpt. Briand, Rapport, 3664/3, 19 November 1944, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.177.4.**
193. Bernard and Lacroix (1906, p. 292).
194. Rey-Goldzeiguer (1977, pp. 496-7)
195. Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, and 'Réglements de Makhzen' **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
196. Reibell (1932, p. 149), Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, Général Dionne to M.G., 16 March 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**, and Allegro (Governor of Aradh) to R.G., 31 March 1886, Zarzis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**
197. Général Leclerc to R.G., 1586, 6 December 1893, Tunis, **AGGT.A.181.6.**
198. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
199. Lecoq (1914, pp. 6-19).
200. Cpt. Fourches, Rapport, 13 May 1932, Médenine, **AGGT.A.181.3.**, Cpt. Chavanne, Rapport, 13/3, 18 July 1930, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.180.13.**, Cpt. Fievet, Rapport, 726/2, 19 July 1917, Ben Gardane, and Général Leclerc to R.G., 1563, 27 September 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.181.6.**
201. Général Leclerc to R.G., 84, 21 January 1896, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.2.** and Général Leclerc to R.G., 1655, 21 October 1895, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.9.**
202. Général Leclerc to R.G., 874, 28 August 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.3.**, Général Begassière to R.G., 191, 13 March 1900, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.6.**, and Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 23 March 1909, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.181.5.**
203. Général Leclerc to R.G., 874, 28 August 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.3.**
204. Lt. Delon, Rapport, 27 September 1896, Tataouine; Général Leclerc to R.G., 1106, 13 October 1896, Tunis, and 163, 16 February 1897, **AGGT.A.176.1.**
205. Lt. Belenet, Rapport, 5 February 1897, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.**.
206. Lecoq (1914, p. 10).
207. Cpt. Miquel to R.G., 132/3, 16 August 1909, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.**
208. Général Leclerc to R.G., 874, 28 August 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
209. Cpt. Tremeau to R.G., 289/2, 26 June 1945, Gabès, **AGGT.A.181.11.** and Lt. Sagnès, Rapport, 198/3, 27 April 1914, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.**
210. Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 364/3, 30 March 1914, Médenine,

AGGT.A.181.1. and 348/3, 12 December 1908, **AGGT.A.184.1.**

211. Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 208/3, 17 February 1913, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
212. Lt. Valentini to R.G., 1337/3, 7 November 1913, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.188.1.**
213. Lt. Col. Donau to R.G., 1212/19, 25 July 1918, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
214. Lt. Fourches, Rapport, 1060/3, 3 November 1921, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
215. Colonel Faure-Bigaud to Général de Brigade d'Occupation, 25 December 1887, Gabès, **MAE.NS.46.**
216. Général Begassière to R.G., 266, 20 April 1900, Tunis, **AGGT.A.183.1900.**
217. Lt. Sagnès, 198/3, 27 April 1914, Matmata, **AGGT.A.184.1.**
218. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 30 March 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.181.8.**
219. R.G. to C.C.s, Circulaire 3, 12 November 1925, Tunis, **AGGT.G.47.**, P.M. to Caïds, 55, 26 September 1900, Tunis, **AGGT.G.24.**, P.M. to Caïds, 13 December 1891, Tunis, **AGGT.G.12.**, and P.M. to Direction des Finances, 18 June 1890, Tunis, **AGGT.E.15.2.**
220. RM March 1906.
221. Cpt. Bourgoin, Rapport, 19/6, 14 January 1913, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1913.**
222. R.G. to S.G.G.T., 222, 10 June 1912, Tunis, and Lt. Derevaux, Rapport, 593, 1 July 1912, **AGGT.A.280.8.**
223. Cpt. Megrier, Rapport, 413/9, 23 November 1914, Kebili, and Cpt. Moreau, Rapport, 363/9, 22 April 1914, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.280.8.**
224. Liauzu (1978, pp. 151-2).
225. See personnel files in **AGGT.A.208ter.32 and 33.**
226. P. Bouvet, 'Historique des operations dans le Sud Tunisien de 1915 à 1919', **REC.4.4.** and Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence 1952-4 au Nefzaoua', **REC.1.12.**
227. Cpt. Issenman, Rapport, 259/1, 21 August 1923, Matmata, **AGGT.A.187.1923.** and RM December 1923.
228. See Leijri (1974, I, pp. 121-38) and Sammut (1983, Chapters 8 and 11).
229. Thaalbi (1919)
230. See 'Les Protégés et les Protecteurs', by R. Louzan, in *L'Avenir Social*, No.188, 2 April 1921, and article in the Arab journal *Zohra* quoted at length in Cpt. Fourches to R.G., 679/21, 16 November 1933, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.7.**
231. Cpt. Valentini, Rapport, 157/4, 17 February 1916, Zarzis, **AGGT.A.183.1916.**
232. See Khoury (1983) for an account of similar policies in Syria.
233. Général Pistor, Note, 20 November 1908, Tunis, and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.393, 24 May 1911, Tunis, **MAE.NS.302.**
234. Col. Sigonny, Rapport, 493/2, 17 October 1935, Médenine, and Cpt. Guyader, Rapport, 17 May 1935, Médenine, **AGGT.A.744.**
235. Cpt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, Rapport, 14 December 1933, Ben Gardane, **AGGT.A.183.1936.** and Lt. Abadie, Rapport, 24 August 1937, Matmata, **MAEN.PS.684.**
236. Cherif (1971).
237. Liauzu (1978, pp. 178-9).

238. C.C. Sousse to R.G., 5002, 6 July 1936, Sousse, **MAEN.PF.2117.**
239. Valensi (1971)'s map of the strikes in 1936-7 overlooks the activity in the south. RM's July, August, and November 1937, February and June 1938.
240. Khaled (1983, p. 279). Cdt. T.M.S., Note, 1 July 1937, Médenine, **MAEN.PS.684.**
241. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence au Nefzaoua', 18 April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**
243. Cpt. Monnet, Rapport, 20/3, 20 January 1948, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.13.**
244. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence au Nefzaoua', 18 April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**
245. Montety (1973).
246. See Joffé (1985a) and Waterbury (1970, pp. 110-2).
247. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence au Nefzaoua', 18 April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**

APPENDIX IX

1. Speech of M. Pavy, 'L'orage de l'association tunisienne', to the Société de Carthage, (1894), and Mercier (1875). For accounts by contemporary historians Brunschwig (1940), Idris (1962), Marçais (1946, p. 177), and Talbi (1966).
2. Ibn Khaldun (1925, I, p. 34). See also El Bekri (1866, p. 142).
3. Idris (1968, p. 366).
4. Dr. Carton (1894, p. 26).
5. Bourde (1899, pp. 3-10) and Fallot (1899, p. 34).
6. Mercier (1875, pp. 142-3).
7. Goitein (1962, p. 569).
8. Poncet (1954).
9. Brett (1974-5).
10. Daghfous (1975).
11. Menouillard (1912, p. 180).
12. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 20).
13. Pervinquière (1909a, pp. 447-8).
14. Xavier de Planhol (1962). See also Blanchet (1899, pp. 246-51) and Hilton-Simpson (1922).
15. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, Marty (1907, p. 42) and Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 42).
16. Act of Governor of Aradh Rabi Ettani 1294 inclosure in C.G. Tunis to G.G. (Alger), 12 June 1878, Tunis, and Djemâa of Douiret to M. Captain at O. Souf, 10 November 1881, Douiret, **ANSOM.25.H.20.5.**
17. Lt. Béchevel, 'L'Aradh (villages et oasis)', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.25.**, Lt. Béchevel, 'Les tribus de Nefzaoua', 1889, **SHAT.MR.1322.32.**, and Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraira, Hamerna, et Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**
18. Blanc (1889, p. 18). See also Dyer (1921, p. 42) on the interpretation of the nomadic economy in Pakistan.
19. Pellissier (1853, p. 164), Poiret (1789, I, p. 40), and Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**. See also the work of the 10th century arab commentator Ali Mahalli (Fagnan, 1924, p. 154).
20. Mirscher (1863, p. 266).
21. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
22. Lt. Cuinet, 'Notice sur les Dehibat', 7 March 1890, inclosure in Général Swiney to M.G., 12, 13 March 1891, **MAE.NS.50.**
23. Duveyrier to G.G. Alger, 19 November 1860, Nalout; C.G. Tripoli to C.G. Alger, 12 May 1866, Tripoli; and C.G. Tripoli to G.G. Alger, 64, 27 March 1869, Tripoli, **ANSOM.29.H.1.** See also Guérin (1862, I, 219) for an account of a raid on the Accara.
24. Attia (1970, p. 73), Le Boeuf (1907, p. 124), Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**, and Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribu des Hazem, Gheraïra, Hamerna, et Aleya', April 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.21.**
25. Tully (1817, p. 122 and 336) and Wood to Stanley, 7, 4 January 1868, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.82.**
26. Brett (1981, pp. 537, 540-1), Brunschvig (1940, I, p. 162), and Mercier (1875, pp. 227-8).
27. Le Boeuf (1909b, p.46), Duveyrier (1905, p. 203), and Cpt.

Moreau, 'Brigandage, contrabande, et Criminalité dans le Sud Tunisien', 1948, **REC.2.8.**.

28. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Rapport au sujet de la prise de possession du commandement', December 1889, Metameur, **REC.1.3.**
29. For accounts of the 'servage' in the South see Forest (1940), Goguyer (1895a), and Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 46).
30. Goguyer (1895a, p. 311).
31. Deambrogio (1902, p. 266).
32. Le Boeuf (1909a, p. 46).
33. Goguyer (1895a, p. 311).
34. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Historique de la frontière Tunisio-Tripolitaine des origines jusqu'à Mars 1890', 10 March 1890, Médenine, **SHAT.2.H.51.1.**
35. Goguyer (1895a, p. 309). See also Blanchet (1899, p. 249).
36. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
37. Asad (1973, p. 71).
38. Forest (1940, p. 12).
39. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 39) and 'Notice sur l'Aradh', 1884 (?), **SHAT.MR.1322.32.**
40. Tissot to Roches (C.G. Tunis), 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.**
41. C.G. (Tunis) to M.A.E., 306, 2 September 1869, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.33.**
42. C.G. (Tripoli) to M.A.E., DP.81, 1 October 1872, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.15.**
43. Service des Renseignements, 'L'Occupation de la Tunisie, 1881-1883', Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.35.** and Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**
44. Hhaggy Ebn-el-Dyn el Eghouâthy (1834, p. 290), Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 40), Pellissier, 'Voyage de Soussa aux frontières de Tripoli, 2me Rapport, 10 August 1846, Soussa, **MAE.CPT.10.**, and Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', February 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**
45. Lecoq in Decker-David (1911).
46. Martel (1958), and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.282, 20 April 1892, Tunis, and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.488, 13 July 1892, Tunis, **MAE.NS.54.**.
47. Goguyer (1895a).
48. Menouillard (1912b, p. 25).
49. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 46).
50. Louis (1979, pp. 32-3).
51. Forest (1941, p. 9).
52. RM May 1886.
53. Tissot to Roches (C.G. Tunis), 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.32.**
54. Governor of Aradh, Act, Rabi Ettani 1294, inclosure in C.G. (Tunis) to G.G. Algeria, 12 June 1877, Tunis, and A.I. Constantine to G.G. Algeria, 562, 6 June 1877, Constantine, **ANSOM.25.H.20.**
55. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 47).
56. Lt. Bailly, 'La Tribu des Beni zid et l'Oasis d'el Hamma', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
57. Gellner (1973).
58. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
59. Le Boeuf (1907, p. 24).
60. Général Dionne to M.G., 16 March 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**

61. M. Bourgognon, 'Chez les Troglodytes', 1887, **ANSOM.25.H.26.1.**
62. Captain Cuinet's report is recorded in Chavanne (1931). This is, apparently, the last that was seen of it, for it is not quoted in Martel (1965) nor is it in any of the archives.
63. Goguyer (1895a, p. 313).
64. Colonel Faure-Bigaud to Général Cdt. Brigade d'Occupation, 25 December 1887, Gabès, **MAE.NS.46.**
65. C.C. Thala to R.G., 272, 27 March 1900, Thala, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
66. Direction de Surêté Publique to M. Le Commissionaire de Police, 23, 23 May 1922, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
67. *La Tunisie Française*, 5353, 21 June 1920.
68. Chambre Mixte de Commerce et d'Agriculture du Centre, Procès-Verbal de la Séance du 28 April 1927, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
69. C.C. Tunis Banlieue to R.G., 117-C, 9 January 1946, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
70. *Le Petit Matin*, 7 April 1937, and 'Commssion Chargé de donner son avis sur les questions touchant la transhumance et le nomadisme à Tunis', Procès-Verbal, 8 April 1937, Dar-el-Bey, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
71. C.C. Tunis Banlieue to R.G., 117-C, 9 January 1946, Tunis, **AGGT.E.234.3.**
72. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
73. Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to R.G., 132, 18 August 1892, Gabès, **AGGT.A.178.2.**
74. Général Begassière to R.G., 517, 10 December 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.181.8.**
75. Chef de Bat. Donau to Cdt. Annexe at Tataouine, 658/10, 23 October 1909, Médenine, **AGGT.A.193.1.**
76. Lt. Devaux to Cdt. T.M.S., 19 November 1923, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.206bis.14.**
77. Lt. Bourhis to R.G., 1529/15, 11 January 1934, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
78. Moreau (1950, p. 50).
79. Clarke (1954 and 1956, pp. 255-6) and Prost (1950).
80. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence 1952-4 au Nefzaoua', 18 April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**
81. Berthelon and Chantre (1913).
82. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 41).
83. Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**
84. Levainville (1907, p. 138).
88. Idoux (1900, p. 64).
85. *** (1902, p. 282).
86. Mayet (1886, p.199).
87. Albergnni and Pouillon (1976, note 12).
89. The father of this idea was Masquerray (1886). See also Bruno (1918, pp. 302-3) and Rinderhagen (1911, p. 46). It has survived, in modified form, into the modern literature (see Pirson (1975)).
90. Le Boeuf (1907, p. 113).
91. Joly (1907a) and Pervinqière (1911).
92. See Ageron (1967, I, p. 267-76), Bidwell (1973), Khaddache (1973), and Marthelot (1973a).
93. See Mercier (1875) and Norris (1982) on the documentary history of the Berbers.

94. See Bruschvig (1940), Idris (1962), Marçais (1946), Marçais (1956) and Mercier (1875).
95. Violard (1905, pp. 8-9).
96. Le Boeuf (1907, p. 137).
97. Mayet (1886, p. 334).
98. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 41).
99. Hhaggy Ebn-el-dyn el Eghouâty (1834, p. 291), Service Historique de l'Armée (1886, pp. 41-4), Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**, and 'Notice sur l'Aradh', [1884?], **SHAT.MR.1322.32.**
100. Jemai (1972, p. 72) and 'Report of Mr. Drummond-Hay on a tour of the southern fronier districts of Tunis' in Drummond-Hay to Roseberry, 12, 15 March 1893, Tunis, **PRO.FO.27.3138.**
101. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
102. Masquerray (1886, p. 261).
103. Laupts (1897).
104. Colonel Rebillet, 'Le Sud Tunisien', 1886, **REC.1.1.**
105. C olonel Foucher to R.G., 50/3, 9 January 1913, Médenine, **AGGT.A.180.5.**
106. On France's Berber policy in Algeria and Morocco see Ageron (1967, I, 277-92), Bidwell (1973), Khaddache (1973), and Marthelot (1973).
107. Albergonni and Pouillon (1976, p. 386).
108. Berthelon (1894, p. 170).
109. Lt. Bougoin, Rapport, 61/3bis, 12 March 1908, Matmata, **AGGT.A.186.14.**
110. Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to R.G., 24 January 1894, Gabès, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
111. The military already had conflicting plans that 'les ksours soient placés sous les ordres des khalifa des tribus Oudernas que emmagisnaient leurs grains et leurs autres approvisionnements dans les mêmes ksours' (Général Leclerc to R.G., 258, 15 February 1894, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.8.**).
112. Poste at Tataouine, Note, 1 November 1896, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
113. Général Leclerc to R.G., 874, 28 August 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.3.**
114. Albergonni and Pouillon (1976, p. 389).
115. Service Géographique de l'Armée (1886, p. 42).
116. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 270/3, 3 March 1920, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.45.**
117. Cpt. Cosson, Rapport, 619/3, 8 July 1920, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.45.**
118. Général Saint-Marc to R.G., 186, 30 March 1889, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
119. Général Leclerc to R.g., 874, 28 August 1897, Tunis, **AGGT.A.180.3.**
120. Général Begassière to R.G., 37, 10 February 1903, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
121. Général Begassière to R.G., 517, 10 December 1901, Tunis, **AGGT.A.177.8.**
122. Commission Arbitrale (Litige entre les Od. Slim et les Douiret)), Procès-Verbal, 5 December 1924, Darcen Brega, **AGGT.A.206bis.14.**
123. Berthelon (1894).

124. Cpt. Sol to R.G., 122/10, 22 February 1922, Matmata, **AGGT.E.540.3.**
125. Lt. Fourches to R.G., 246/14, 16 February 1922, Tataouine, **AGGT.E.540.3.**
126. Khaddache (1973).
127. Cdt. Tataouine to R.G., Telegram 97, 15 March 1916, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.44.**, Lt. Fourches, Rapport, 917/3, December 1915, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.16.**, and Cdt. T.M.S. to R.G., 3 November 1915, Médenine, **AGGT.A.178.14.**
128. Cpt. Faurie, 'À propos de la dissidence 1952-4 au Nefzaoua', 18 April 1955, Kebili, **REC.1.12.**
129. Goguyer (1895a, p. 313).
130. Cdt. Rebillet, 'Rapport au sujet de la prise de possession de son commandement', December 1889, Metameur, **REC.1.3.**
131. Lt. Fournay to R.G., 1109/3, 5 September 1924, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.180.1.**
132. Caïd of the Ouderna to P.M., 19 Djoumada I 1314, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.181.8.**
133. Poiret (1789, I, p. 116).
134. Hoeffer (1850, p. 9).
135. Pellissier (1853, p. 170) and Reade to Aberdeen, 23 July 1845, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.23.**
136. Duveyrier (1905, p. 70).
137. Louis (1979, pp. 117-9), Marçais and Farès (1931), and Marty (1937, pp.171-7).
138. Deambrogio (1903, pp. 97-8).
139. Peysonnel (1838, p. 213).
140. Duveyrier to G.G. Algeria, 19 November 1860, Nalout; Caimcan of Djebel to Hassen Pacha inclosure in C.G. Tripoli to G.G. Algeria, 12 May 1866, Tripoli; C.G. Tripoli to G.G. Algeria, 64, 27 March 1869, Tripoli, **ANSOM.29.H.1.** all give detailed accounts of the type of goods stolen in inter-tribal raiding.
141. Wood to Stanley, 7, 4 January 1868, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.82.** On occasion the Beni-Zid might raid as far north as Monastir (Telegraph, Khalifa of Monastir to P.M., 370, 22 May 1867, Monastir, **AGGT.SH.37.430.**).
142. Poiret (1789, I, p. 40).
143. On the organisation of the razzia and division of the stolen goods see Louis (1979, p. 117), Tissot to C.G. Tunis, 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.**, and the Deposition of a Chamba raider in Lt. Col. Belin to Général Cdt. Subdivision of Médéa (Cercle of Laghouat), 119, 18 November 1882, Oued, **ANSOM.29.H.2.** On the quantity of goods stolen and the size composition of raiding parties see the RM's 1882 onwards.
144. Général Dionne to M.G., 39, 20 April 1886, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.48.4.**, R.G. to M.A.E., DP.?, 21 August 1895, Tunis, **MAE.NS.59.**, and RM's January 1885 and December 1889.
145. A example of a raiding party using a ruse to seize a herd is provided in R.G. to M.A.E., DP.1037, 28 December 1891, Tunis, **MAE.NS.53.**
146. RM September 1884 and September 1887.
147. Mirscher (1863, p. 251), and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.528, 6 July 1891, Tunis, **MAE.NS.51.**
148. Mouron (1891, p. 151).

Appendix IX

149. Duveyrier (1905, p. 198).
150. C.G. (Tripoli) to **M.A.E.**, DP.38, 8 August 1870, Tripoli, and C.G. (Tripoli) to **M.A.E.**, DP.81, 1 October 1872, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.15.**
151. Sweet (1965).
152. Pellissier (1853, pp. 170, and 209-10), Zaccone (1875, p. 160), Reade to Aberdeen, 23 July 1845, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.23.**, and Wood to Russell, 26, 7 December 1861, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.63.**
153. Féraud (1927, p. 269), Mirscher (1863, pp. 87-8), and Prax (1950, p. 264).
154. Wood to Clarendon, 38, 8 October 1856, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.50.**
155. C.G. (Tripoli) to **M.A.E.**, DP.4, 4 April 1873, Tripoli, and 12, 29 September 1873, **MAE.CPTr.15.**
156. Deposition of a Chamba raider in Lt. Col. Belin to Général Cdt. Subdivision of Médéa (Cercle of Laghouat), 119, 18 November 1882, Oued, **ANSOM.29.H.2.**
157. Cercel de Biskra to Général Devaux, 99, 21 November 1857, Biskra, **ANSOM.25.H.16.2.**
158. Rey-Goldzeiger (no date, pp. 12-4). See also Huguet(1907).
159. See accounts of tribal conflict during the 18th century in Youssef (1978).
60. Deambrogio (1902), *** (1902), and 'Les Tribus Tripolitains' inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 40, 189 January 1891, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.48.1.**
161. Menouillard (1912) and Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**
162. Montagne (1973, p. 37).
163. Valensi (177, p. 51).
164. See Gandolphe (1924-6), Rousseau (1864), and Youssef (1978).
165. Valensi (1977, p. 33).
166. Brunschvig (1940, II, p. 103).
167. Bachrouch (1977, p. 166) and Cherif (1984, p. 362). The system of makhzen tribes also has parallels in Algeria (Emerit (1966) and Von Sivers (1981)) and Tripolitania (Tully (1817)).
168. Chater (1878, pp. 63-4), Temple (1835, II, p. 91), and Tissot to C.G. (Tunis), 1 May 1857, Tunis, **MAE.MD.8.**
169. Zaccone (1875, p. 159), Pellissier, 'Voyage de Soussa aux frontiers de Tripoli', 2me Rapport, 10 August 1846, Soussa, **MAE.CPT.10.**, and 'Notice sur l'Aradh', [1884?], **SHAT.MR.1332.32.**
170. Lt. Lapaine, 'Notice sur les tribus des Hazem, Gheraïra, Hamerna, et Aleïa', July 1887, **SHAT.1322.21.**
171. While admitting that the Tunisian tribes had gained most from the raids the Resident General suggested that the Tripolitanians had exaggerated their losses (R.G. to M.A.E., DP.195., 14 April 1890, Tunis, **MAE.NS.48.**
172. Dunn (1972, p. 90).
173. Sahlins (1961).
174. Ibn Khaldun (1934, III, pp. 288-90), Idris (1962, I, p. 464), Lewicki (1971, p. 184), and Tijani (1856, p. 111).
175. Le Boeuf (1909a, pp. 19-20).
176. See Le Boeuf (1909a, pp. 19-32), Louis (1975, pp. 26-9), and Macquart (1937, pp. 261-5) for versions of the legend.
177. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 49) and Allegro (Governor of Aradh) to

R.G., 67, 28 December 1892, Gabès, **MAE.NS.42.**

178. The acts of the Dehibat in **MAEN.PS.932.** are one of the few first hand accounts and original documents tracing the growth of the Ouderna.
179. Deambrogio (1902, p. 266), Goguyer (1895a), and 'Les Tribus Tripolitains' inclosure in Général Leclerc to R.G., 40, 189 January 1891, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.48.1.**
180. For example, C.G. Tripoli to M.A.E., 23 December 1874, Tripoli, **ANSOM.22.H.26.**, C.G. to M.A.E., DP.4, 4 April 1873, Tripoli, and 12, 29 September 1873 **MAE.CPTr.15.** and C.G. to M.A.E., DP.49, 18 September 1879, Tripoli, **MAE.CPTr.17.**
181. Le Boeuf (1907, p. 127), Service de Renseingnements, 'L'Occupation de la Tunisie 1881-1883', **SHAT.2.H.35.**, and Lt. Bailly, 'L'oasis d'el Hamma et la tribu des Beni Zid', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
182. Lt. Lapaine, 'Tribus des Hazem, Gheraïra, Hamerna, et Aleïa', July 1887, **SHAT.MR.1321.21.**
183. Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**
184. Général Ritter to G.G. Algeria, 163, 27 March 1882, Constantine, **ANSOM.26.H.13.1.**
185. Général Boulanger to M.G., 42, 24 September 1885, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**, Général Lucas to R.G., 59, 21 January 1886, Tunis, and Général Dionne to R.G., 228, 19 March 1886, Tunis, **AGGT.A.208.4.**
186. RM September 1886.
187. Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Beni Zid', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.** and Lt. Bailly, 'L'Oasis d'el Hamma et la tribu des Beni Zid', April 1884, **SHAT.MR.1321.28.**
188. Boujadi (1911, p. 77), and Général Jamais to Général Logerot, 468, 25 April 1882, in Général Jamais, 'Registre de Correspondence', **SHAT.1.K.201.**
189. Général Foregmol de Bostquénard to M.G., 16, 31 March 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.2.**
190. R.G. to Général Foregmol de Bostquénard, 168, 3 March 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.29.2.**
191. M.G. to M.A.E., 17 April 1883, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.**
192. M.G. to Général Forgemol de Bostquénard, January 1882, Paris, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
193. Général Logerot to M.G., 5, 15 December 1883, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
194. Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
195. Général Boulanger to RG., 913, 17 November 1885, Tunis, **AGGT.A.195.2.** and Réglements de Makhzen, October 1884, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
196. Général Boulanger to M.G., 38, 11 January 1884, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
197. Allegro to R.G., 31 March 1886, Zarzis, **SHAT.2.H.29.4.** and RM September 1885.
198. Général Saint-Marc to M.G., 11, 18 March 1888, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.2.**
199. Général Leclerc to M.G., 1109, 27 November 1891, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.49.1.**
200. Général Leclerc to R.G., 265, 1 March 1892, Tunis,

AGGT.A.177.9.

201. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.310, 19 May 1893, Tunis, **MAE.NS.43.**
202. Duveyrier (1881, p. 138), Lt. Bouvet in Decker-David (1911), and Joly (1909 , p. 244).
203. Crispi (1914, III, p. 44) and Marsden (1971, pp. 131-42).
204. Drummond-Hay to Secretary of State, 3, September 1886, and 2, 9 April 1886, Tunis, **PRO.FO.101.76.**
205. R.G. to M.A.E., 12 May 1882, Tunis, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**
206. Général Saint-Marc to M.G., 9 July 1889, Tunis, **MAE.NS.47.**
207. RM January 1890.
208. R.G. to M.A.E., DP.594, 9 October 1889, Tunis, **MAE.NS.47.**
209. C.G. (Tripoli) to R.G., 7 September 1889, Tripoli, **AGGT.A.280.1889.**
210. Allegro (Govenor of Aradh) to R.G., 23, 29 January 1889, Gabès, **AGGT.A.280.1889.** and RM February 1889.
211. Service Central des S.A.I., 22 July 1907, Note, **MAE.NS.67.**, Lt. Nancy to R.G., 364/9, 5 June 1906, Ben Gardane, and Lt. Miquel to R.G., 703/9, 13 August 1906, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.280.6.**
212. Lt. Tardy to R.G., 812/9, 19 September 1906, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.280.6.**
213. Quoted in Drummond-Hay to Salisbury, 2, 9 January 1890, Tunis, **PRO.FO.27.3014.**
214. Le Boeuf (1909b, p. 52).
215. Le Boeuf's obituary in *B.C.A.F.*, 28 (7-8), p. 243.
216. Maquart (1937, p. 287).

TABLES

2.1. The climate of Southern Tunisia.

Station	Alt. (m.)	Length of record	Precipitation Mean mm.	Max. mm.	Min. mm.	Temperature M °C	m °C	μ °C	Evapor. Potential mm.	Days of Sirocco
Gabès	4	75	187	534	39	32.7	5.9	19.3	996	28
Houmt Souk	5	50	207	823	48	32.6	8.3	20.0	1042	25
Zarzis	11	60	206	472	46					
Ben Gardane	12	50	186	377	42	35.9	3.9	19.4	1026	
Matmata	515	66	231	692	38	35.2	5.4	18.9	1004	
Médenine	125	58	144	385	40	36.8	6.2	20.5	1096	38
Tataouine	240	50	123	294	26	37.9	4.8	20.2	1085	37
Kebili	56	58	89	217	11	42.2	3.1	20.9	1158	35

Statistics till 1977.
M Mean of the maximums of the hottest month.
m Mean of the minimums of the coldest month.
μ Annual mean.
Potential evapotranspiration calculated by Thornwaite's formula.

Source: Floret and Potanier (1982, p. 27).

2.2. The variability of rainfall in Southern Tunisia.

a. The annual rainfall (mm.) return periods.

	Mean Annual Rainfall	Coef. of Variab.	Return Period: Wet years 20	10	5	Median	Dry years 5	10	20	Length of Record
Matmata	231	18.4	520	409	326	179	110	78	62	66
Gabès	187	14.7	361	330	250	158	100	76	58	75
Médenine	144	12.1	245	206	178	140	105	64	52	58
Kebili	89	19.7	192	168	131	80	47	42	35	58

Coefficient of Variability =
Maximum rainfall of the series / Minimum rainfall of the series

b. Maximum daily rainfalls (mm.) return periods.

	Mean Annual Rainfall	Mean no. days of rainfall	Return Period: Wet years 20	10	5	Median	Dry years 5	10	20	Lenght of Recor d
Matmata	231	23	127	108	70	40	22	19	14	64
Gabès	187	31	102	86	64	35	21	14	9	75
Médenine	144	22	74	62	53	31	17	12	10	58

Source: Floret and Potantier (1982, pp. 30-31).

2.3. The Growth of Olive Plantations in Southern Tunisia.

	1886	1900	1910	1924	1930	1940
Zarzis	73,000	180,000		453,000	600,000	650,000
Ben Gardane		1,470		33,344		50,000
Medenine		16,073	24,113		77,308	
Tataouine		15,000	40,000		75,000	95,000
Matmata	10,560	24,000	60,000	120,000	160,000	200,000

2.4. The Expansion of Fig Cultivation in Southern Tunisia.

	1886	1900	1910	1924	1930	1943
Zarzis	9,650		45,000		50,000	100,000
Ben Gardane		885	2,500	8,964	10,500	12,500
Medenine		29,000	50,000		116,842	170,000
Tataouine	25,000		100,000		163,400	175,000
Matmata	9,950	14,000	20,000	30,000	60,000	127,871

2.5. The Expansion of Date Cultivation in Southern Tunisia.

	1886	1900	1910	1924	1930	1943
Zarzis	33,927	61,126		115,000	130,000	
Ben Gardane		340		3,654		
Medenine		3,749	12,367		53,639	60,000
Tataouine			20,000		24,400	30,000
Matmata	3,358	5,000	10,000		50,000	100,000

Sources:
Marty (1944), Menouillard (1901, p. 389 and 1912, pp.150-160), S.A.I. (1931 a to e); Enquête économique, Matmata, July 1920, **MAEN.PS.712.**; Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la 1er semestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712.**; Circonscription de Matmata, Plan Quadriennal, 25 January 1954. **MAEN.PS.712.**; Chef de Bat. Briand, 'Note sur la Situation économique de la Circonscription de Tataouine', December 1950, **MAEN.PS.932.**; Lt. Bétirac, Tribu des Matmata. Tunis. 19 April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**; Lt. Bailly, Notice Sur les Akara, November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1332.25.**

2.6. Animal herds in Southern Tunisia (1886-1937).

	1886	1893-4	1915-1917	1920-1922	1925-1927	1930-1932	1936-1938
				Horses			
Nefzaoua		300		201	187	162	220
Ouerghamma		1,045		1,169	829	1,073	1,167
Tataouine		500			369	568	677
Zarzis	147	300					
Matmata	190			109	228	43	67
Total T.M.S.			1,247	1,479	1,613	1,846	2,131
				Cattle			
Nefzaoua		110		46	78	65	94
Ouerghamma	935	175		808	464	443	244
Tataouine	380	10			199	262	178
Zarzis	514	373					
Matmata	621			1,078	969	1,051	500
Total T.M.S.			1,805	1,932	1,710	1,821	1,016
				Camels			
Nefzaoua		8,500		5,004	5,285	4,423	7,642
Ouerghamma	9,958	10,950		19,956	16,010	16,804	13,450
Tataouine	14,630	6,000			10,094	10,906	11,849
Zarzis	1,858	2,200					
Matmata	1,100			3,443	3,308	1,133	1,024
Total T.M.S.			34,695	26,842	34,697	33,266	33,965
				Donkeys			
Nefzaoua		4,000		1,307	1,424	1,770	1,733
Ouerghamma	5,134	4,115		8,082	5,266	6,155	4,995
Tataouine	5,901	1,200			3,464	3,300	4,171
Zarzis	1,012	937					
Matmata	688			1,997	1,623	1,823	1,160
Total T.M.S			10,539	11,386	11,777	13,048	12,059
				Sheep			
Nefzaoua		15,500		19,628	22,582	24,383	30,572
Ouerghamma	63,000	81,150		66,564	78,535	73,658	43,500
Tataouine	78,000	32,500			45,773	51,746	31,124
Zarzis	4,451	25,500					
Matmata	8,060			23,766	17,448	23,231	15,583
Total T.M.S.			83,453	109,958	164,338	173,006	121,049
				Goats			
Nefzaoua		21,500		31,614	36,525	33,985	44,164
Ouerghamma		63,250		87,369	81,247	81,681	39,048
Tataouine		32,500			70,436	77,314	55,424
Zarzis	3,729	25,500					
Matmata	8,555			50,185	21,576	33,639	15,583
Total T.M.S.			79,831	169,168	209,784	226,619	154,378

cont'd.

In order to reduce the affect of annual fluctuations in herd size all statistics after 1915 are averages of the three year period shown.

Sources:
Statistique Générale de la Tunisie; Lt. Maguenot, 'Notice sommaire sur les Ouerghamma', 1886. **MS.Clarke.**; Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887. **SHAT.MD.1332.25.**; Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', Tunis, 19 April 1886. **SHAT.MD.1332.28.**; Rapport sur la situation des Territoires de Commandement pendant l'année, 1894, **ANSOM.26.H.14.6.**

2.7.a. Proportion of sheep in the sheep and goat herd. Distribution.

Period	Valid cases	0.0	0.1-0.25	0.26-0.40	0.41-0.50	0.51-0.60	0.61-0.75	0.76-0.99	1.0
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	1							100.0	
1941-1955	20	15.0	10.0			10.0		20.0	45.0
				Matmata					
1887-1900	1			100.0					
1901-1910	4		50.0	25.0				25.0	
1911-1920	128	10.9	7.0	22.7	42.2	8.6		8.6	
1921-1930	69	13.0	11.6	27.5	21.7	14.5		8.7	2.9
1931-1940	42	11.9		9.5	35.7	19.0		11.9	11.9
1941-1955	122	17.2	13.1	19.7	26.2	8.2		11.5	4.1
				Khezour					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	36	5.6	16.7	13.9	36.1	11.1		16.7	
1911-1920	64	14.1	4.7	10.9	32.8	10.9		15.6	10.9
1921-1930	80	16.2	2.5	17.5	26.2	13.7		15.0	8.7
1931-1940	15	6.7	6.7	26.7	6.7	33.3	20.0		
1941-1955	24	4.2		25.0	12.5	20.8		4.2	33.3
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	55	20.0	12.7	29.1	20.0	7.3	9.1	1.8	
1921-1930	119	3.4	6.7	27.7	40.3	10.1	9.2	2.5	
1931-1940	50	18.0	2.0	22.0	40.0	4.0	8.0	6.0	
1941-1955	31	6.5	19.4	48.4	12.9	9.7			3.2
				Ouderna					
1881-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	3			66.7			33.3		
1921-1930	173	23.1	6.9	15.6	25.4	12.1	12.1	4.6	
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	65	13.8	9.2	13.8	27.7	12.3	9.2	13.8	
				Touazine					
1887-1900	1							100.0	
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	21	23.8	9.5	19.0	42.9			4.8	
1931-1940	13	7.7	15.4	46.2	15.4		15.4		
1941-1955	35	8.6	22.9	17.1	22.9	17.1		11.4	

2.7.b. Proportion of sheep in the sheep and goat herd. Average value.

	Matmata		Djebalia		Touazine	
	Accara		Khezour		Ouderna	
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	*	*	0.5	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.6	*
1921-1930	*	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
1931-1940	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.4	*	0.5
1941-1955	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4

* Average not calculated because less than ten valid cases.

Source: Notices Biographiques and Lists of garantors in **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

2.8. Hunter-gathering in Southern Tunisia.

Plants gathered for food.

Arabic Name	Botanical Name	Part used	Frequency of use
Hamim	Moricanda	Leaves	Frequent
Azoul	Muscari	Leaves/bulbs	Frequent
Labsan	Sinapis Pubescens	All	Frequent
Bezlim	Asphodelus fistulosus	?	Frequent
T'mir	Erodium Hirtum	Tubers	Frequent
T'rtsout	Asparagus Sp.?	Shoots	Frequent
Nebagh	Rhamnus lotus R. oxyacantha	Fruit	Seasonal
Mehna	Daucus pubescens	Roots	Infrequent
Morghid	Erdorium Glmophylum	Roots	Infrequent
T'mir el Djemal	Erodium Guttatum	Tubers	Infrequent
Guiz	Sorsonera Undulata S. Alexandra	Roots/Leaves	Infrequent
Guetaf	Atriplex Halimus	All	Famine
Balluth	Lentiscus Sp.?	Fruit	Famine
Dhemakh	Rhus oxyacantha Cav.	Fruit	Famine
Talma	Sorsonera laciniata	Roots	?
Tifef	Sonchus oleraceus	?	?

Plants gathered for industrial purposes

Alfa	Stipa tenacissima Lygoeum spartum	Weaving mats and baskets
Hallab	Periploca levigata	Charcoal
Tarfa	Tamarix africana	Charcoal
Djeddari	Rirus divia	Charcoal
Rtem	Retama duriaei R. raetam	Charcoal (low quality)
Thuya	Tamarix danispalata	Tar
Sumac	Rhus oxyacanthus	Dye

Animals

Zoological name	Common name	Product
Ovis musimon	Mouflon	Meat, skin
Sus scrofa	Wild boar	Meat
Struthio camelus	Ostrich	Meat, feathers, skin, grease
Ovis ammotragus	Barbary sheep	Meat, skin
Gazella dama (?)	Gazelle	Meat, skin
?	Antilope	Meat, skin

Sources:
Bouquet (1939); Ristoricelli (1938); Louis (1979, pp. 133-135).
Foureau (1896) indexes most of the botanical names for the plants.

2.9. Amines appointed in Southern Tunisia (1886-1945).

Agriculture

Achaches(M)	1887	Zarzis(A)	1895	Djellidet T.	1908
Od. Sliman(M)	1889	Zarzis(A)	1895	Kerchaoua(O)	1908
Od. Sliman(M)	1889	Khezours(K)	1898	Sedra(D)	1908
Od. Sliman(M)	1889	Khezours(K)	1899	Djellidet BB.	1908
Toujane(M)	1892	Haddada(D)	1899	Hamidia(O)	1908
Tamazredt(M)	1893	Guermessa(D)	1899	Deghaghra(O)	1908
Ch. el Galaa(M)	1894	Ghomrassen(D)	1899	Od. Chehida(O)	1908
B. Gardane(T)	1894	Djouama(H)	1901	Od. Debbab(O)	1908
Touazine(T)	1895	el Mouensa(A)	1903	Zraoua(M)	1908
Douiret(D)	1895	Ghebenten(K)	1903	Taoudjout(M)	1909
Od. Mabref(M)	1896	Amarna, Guettofa,		el Hallouf(H)	1913
Od. Sassi(M)	1896	Adjerda(O)	1908	Kherachfa(H)	1913
Zarzis(A)	1887	Toujane(M)	1906	Ababsa(O)	1916
Zarzis(A)	1895	Touazine(T)	1906	Od. Bou Ali(A)	1919
Zarzis(A)	1895	Touazine(T)	1907	Ghebenten(K)	1919
				Djellidet T.(O)	1924
				Techine(M)	1934

Markets		Transport		Weights	
Médenine	1898	Médenine	1920	Gourine	1902
Tataouine	1898	Zarzis	1923	Zarzis	1902
Zarzis	1902	Tataouine	1938	Bou Ghara	?
Metameur	1907	el Mouensa	1902		
Ben Gardane	1909				
Médenine	1911				
B. Kheddache	1938	Others			
Hassi Djerbi(A)	1942	Masons Matmata	1923		
Ghomrassen	1944				
el Mouensa	1945				

A Accara, D Djebalia, K Khezour, M Matmata, O Ouderna, T Touazine

Sources:
Personnel files of amines in **AGGT.B.182.1 to 71.**; Lists of agricultural amines (Matmata 15, Ouerghamma 29, and Nefzaoua 6) quoted in a note from the Sécrétariat Général dated 1921 in **AGGT.G.35.** and Lt. Fourches to R.G., Tataouine, 104/5, 30 January 1922, **AGGT.B.222.2.**

2.10. Irrigation and wells in Southern Tunisia (1951).

Region	No. Wells/ Springs	Total Flow l/sec.	Irrigated Area ha.	Comments
Gabès	79	1,650	3,300	75 artesian 20 wells
Kebili	28	1,050	1,250	
Zarzis	6	240	288	3 wells dried up
Djerba	6	40	140	4 wells dried up
Tataouine	1	6		Still not in use

Sources: Clarke (1956) and SERESSA (1958).

2.11. Wells built following the Decrees of 25 January and 15 September 1897.

	1897-1900	1901-5	1906-10	1911-15	After 1915	Total
Djebalia	3	7	7	7	3	27
Ouderna	13	12	6	15	4	50
Together		2	10	6		18
Tataouine	16	21	23	28	7	**95**
Médenine	9	3	5	16	6	**39**
Ben Gardane	2	3	11	16	4	**36**
Zarzis	4		3	1		**8**
Matmata	13	16	9	7	5	**44**
Total	**44**	**37**	**51**	**68**	**22**	**222**

Source: **AGGT.E.353.3 and 4.**

2.12. The Number of Oil Presses in the South (1943).

Circonscription	Motor-ised	Animal Powered
Médenine	1	82
Zarzis	17	4
Ben Gardane	1	1
Tataouine		30
Matmata	1	202
Kebili	0	0
Total	20	319

Sources: Marty (1944, p. 503).

2.13. The Population of Southern Tunisia before the Protectorate.

	Pellissier 1853	Ganiage 1860 Imposés	Ganiage 1860 Pop.	Gallagher 1875 (back projections) High br.	Gallagher 1875 (back projections) Low br.	Tribal Reports c.1886
Gabes	12,000	1,384	6,228			
Other Oases	15,000	954	4,299			
Zarzis	1,800					
Beni Zid	6,000					
Hamerna	4,000	1,389	6,250			
Hazem		712	3,204			
el-Alayat	1,000					
Matmata	5,000	2,029	9,130	9,763	11,983	5,325
Accara	4,000	386	1,736	8,139	9,990	6,039
Khezour (incl.Haouia)		534	2,403	12,130	14,888	6,467
Ouderna	5,000	1,015	4,567	11,730	14,396	12,028
Djebalia		1,994	8,973	7,133	8,754	10,820
Touazine		837	3,766	10,790	13,244	4,605
Ouerghamma	15,000	4,766	21,447	49,685	73,255	39,959
Total Aradh	68,800	21,938	98,721			

Maltzan 1868 Ouerghamma total population = 25,000.

Sources:
Pellissier (1853, p. 172); Von Maltzan (1868); Ganiage (1966, pp. 880-881). Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', 19 April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28**; Lt. Maguenot, 'Notice sommaire sur les Ouerghamma', 17 May 1886. **MS.Clarke**; Lt. Bailey, 'Notice sur les Accara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1332.No.35**.
A multiplier of 4.5 has been used to calculate total population from the number of taxpayers. Gallagher (1983, pp.92-6) claims to have back-projected national demographic data 'using standard demomgraphic formulas', one assuming a high birth rate and another a low birth rate. Unfortunately she gives no further details (she does not even record the assumed birth rates used in the calcualtions). To calcualte comparable statistics for Southern Tunisia, therefore, the ratios of between her absolute population estimates for Tunisia as a whole and the 1921 census have been used and the statistics above show this proportion rather than a calculated back projection.

2.14. The Population of Southern Tunisia (1886-1936).

	Date					
	c.1886	1890	1921	1926	1931	1936
Matmata	5,325	6,088	18,017	18,665	19,473	21,638
Haouia	2,100	5,865	10,603		12,378	13,889
Khezour	4,367	5,721	11,782		13,489	15,277
Médenine (ville)			244		478	637
Médenine		20,431	22,629	24,843	26,345	29,803
Ben Gardane	4,605	12,899	19,914	20,949	25,931	29,021
Zarzis	6,039	4,081	15,021	16,581	16,923	18,602
Ouderna	12,028	15,529	16,366	19,191	21,841	25,243
Djebalia	10,820	7,205	13,163	14,251	15,534	17,679
Djelidett	2,800		5,280	6,363	6,674	7,601
Villes			470		790	463
Tataouine			35,329	39,805	44,839	50,986
Nefzaoua		11,762	30,854	31,457	34,554	38,148
Total T.M.S.			141,764	152,300	168,065	188,198
Total Tunisia			1,889,388	1,932,184	2,159,151	2,335,623

Sources:
Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1332.28**; Lt. Maguenot, 'Notice sommaire sur les Ourghamma', May 1886, **MS.Clarke.**; Lt. Bailey, 'Notice sur les Accara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1332.35.**; Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931a to e); Statisitque Générale de la Tunisie, 1881-1892.

2.15. Birth and death rates in Southern Tunisia.

Date	Recorded births per thousand	Recorded deaths per thousand	Growth rate per thousand
1920	26.53	17.06	9.47
1921	20.61	12.53	8.08
1922	30.25	16.65	13.6
1925	21.30	15.71	5.59
1926	31.17	28.49	2.68
1927	31.78	21.92	9.25
1930	36.96	17.82	19.14
1931	32.74	17.00	15.74
1932	34.72	14.67	20.05
1935	29.26	14.32	14.94
1936	38.00	21.66	16.34
1937	28.65	22.70	5.95

Source: Total births and deaths by circonscription per year in Statistique Générale de la Tunisie, and the census data of total population 1921, 1926, 1931, and 1936.

2.16. Age and Sex Distribution of Population by Caïdat.

1921

	>18 years		<18 years	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Matmata	4,778	5,172	4,350	4,140
Médenine	24,701	23,600	23,200	21,331
Nefzaoua	8,277	7,892	7,911	6,827

	>18 years Male:Female	<18 years Male:Female	Adult:Children
Matmata	0.92:1	1.05:1	1.17:1
Médenine	1.05:1	1.09:1	1.08:1
Nefzaoua	1.05:1	1.16:1	1.10:1

1931

Matmata	4,908	5,476	4,822	4,387
Médenine	19,036	17,308	17,944	15,781
Tataouine	11,470	12,141	11,173	10,365
Nefzaoua	8,849	9,164	8,835	7,892

	>18 years Male:Female	<18 years Male:Female	Adult:Children
Matmata	0.89:1	1.10:1	1.13:1
Médenine	1.10:1	1.14:1	1.08:1
Tataouine	0.95:1	1.08:1	1.10:1
Nefzaoua	0.97:1	1.12:1	1.08:1

1936

Matmata	5,462	5,887	5,378	5,017
Médenine	19,850	19,018	20,832	18,479
Tataouine	13,258	13,363	12,973	11,772
Nefzaoua	9,792	10,020	9,721	8,734

	>18 years Male:Female	<18 years Male:Female	Adult:Children
Matmata	0.93:1	1.07:1	1.09:1
Médenine	1.04:1	1.13:1	0.99:1
Tataouine	0.99:1	1.10:1	1.08:1
Nefzaoua	0.98:1	1.11:1	1.07:1

Source: Cenuses 1921, 1931, and 1936.

2.17. Age and sex distribution of the population of Matmata by cheikhat.

	1910			
	>18 years		<18 years	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Od. Sliman	856	612	390	428
Achaches	653	533	552	420
Toujane	261	528	471	424
Beni Zelten	465	411	212	239
Zeraoua	205	225	235	205
Tamazredt	370	320	265	275
Beni Aissa	400	282	181	171
Total Matmata	3,582	3,111	2,306	2,202

	>18 years Male:Female	<18 years Male:Female	Adult:Children
Od. Sliman	1.40:1	0.91:1	1.79:1
Achaches	1.23:1	1.31:1	1.22:1
Toujane	0.49:1	1.11:1	0.88:1
Beni Zelten	1.13:1	0.89:1	1.94:1
Zeraoua	0.91:1	1.15:1	0.98:1
Tamazredt	1.16:1	0.96:1	1.28:1
Beni Aissa	1.42:1	1.06:1	1.88:1
Total Matmata	1.15:1	1.05:1	1.48:1

Source:
'La Population de Matmata', 1 May 1910, **MAEN.PS.684.**

2.18. Age and sex distribution of the population of Tataouine by ethnic group (1926).

	Males	Female	Children	Total
Djebalia	3,108	4,245	6,903	14,256
Ouderna	5,264	4,789	9,138	19,191
Djelidett	1,751	1,688	2,924	6,363
Total	10,123	10,722	18,965	39,810

	>18 years Male:Female	Adult:Children
Djebalia	0.73:1	1.07:1
Ouderna	1.10:1	1.10:1
Djellidett	1.04:1	1.18:1
Total	0.94:1	1.10:1

Source: Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931e).

2.19.a. Vaccinations in Southern Tunisia.

Type of Vaccination	Date 1906	1913	1914	1915
Smallpox	6,450	10,900	13,400	7,650
Diptheria		14	32	
Tetanus		12	40	37
Streptococcus		10		6
Venim		75	136	42
Dysentry		24	14	6
Plague			3	
Total	6,450	11,035	13,625	7,741

2.19.b. Hospitals, Infirmeries, and Dispensaries in the Territoires Militaires.

	Date 1914	1919	1924	1929	1936	1939
No. of Beds	37	31	32	39	38	82
No. of Consultations	26,384	27,656	33,987		10,872	4,900
Days in Hospital	3,751	1,350	2,019	951	4,737	
No. Hospitalised	241	89	58	87	254	
Male	183	76	38	51	141	
Female	43	5	16	14	73	
Children	14	10	4	22	40	
Deaths in Hospital	20	4	7	12	23	

Source: Statistique Général de la Tunisie.

Appointment of Doctors at Postes in Southern Tunisia.

Médenine	1891
Zarzis	1892
Tataouine	1892
Kebili	1899
Ben Gardane	1905
Matmata	1907

2.20. Jews and Immigrant Muslims in Southern Tunisia.

		1921	1931	1936
Matmata	Jews	243	232	216
	Tripoli	429	133	137
	Soudan		6	
Médenine	Jews	451	598	783
	Tripoli	72	91	272
	Soudan	13		
Ben Gardane	Jews	314	458	489
	Tripoli	196	245	203
	Soudan			
Zarzis	Jews	549	802	250
	Tripoli	337	484	455
	Soudan			
Tataouine	Jews	369	531	627
	Tripoli	150	280	374
	Soudan	204	27	
Nefzaoua	Jews	313	372	434
	Tripoli	53	67	46
	Soudan			
Total T.M.S	Jews	2,309	2,993	2,799
	Tripoli	808	1,300	1,487
	Soudan	13	33	

Source: Census statistics.

2.21. Tripolitanians in Southern Tunisia.

	Arrived Pre-1912	1937 Arrived Post-1912	Total	1936 Census
C.C. Gafsa	801	2,515	3,316	3,094
C.C. Tozeur	36	20	4	24
Kebili T.M.	11	857	868	46
Zarzis		23	23	455
Médenine	23	35	58	
Total Tunisia	10,047	13,217	23,217	23,807

Source:
'Note au sujet des Tripolitains en résidence en Tunisie', R.G. to M..A.E., DP.2036, 17 November 1938, **AGGT.A.280.1**; Cpt. Guyader to R.G., Kebili, 126/9, 11 May 1937; 135/9, 13 July 1937; 142/9, 21 July 1937; and Cpt. Bourhis to R.G., Médenine, 170/9, 20 July 1937; Caïd d'Ouerghamma to R.G., Médenine, 31 August 1937. **AGGT.A.280.16**

3.1. Trade in Matmata (1886).

Receipts	Reals	Expences	Reals
Oil	52,074	Barley	14,536
Chameaux	10,640	Wheat	34,095
Mares	6,000	Dates	
Mules	2,250	Medjba	67,500
Bulls and cows	5,000		
Sheep	8,640		
Goats	14,000		
Alfa	19,200		
Total	117,804	Total	116,131

Source:
Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', Tunis, April 1886. **SHAT.MD.1332.28**

3.2. Trade in Matmata (1901).

	Total Production	Domestic Consumption	Exports from region
Olive Oil	314,950	106,373	208,567
Figs	66,760	66,760	18,584
Cereals	24,100	24,100	
Dates	23,980	29,980	
Butter	6,865	2,725	4,150
Gueddim (alfa)	16,300		16,300
Burnous	31,200	17,450	13,750
Alfa Mats	?	?	8,000
Animals	?	?	32,350
Total	527,005	233,222	303,793

Values in francs.
Source: Menouillard (1901, pp. 389-391).

3.3. Exports and Imports to and from Zarzis (1886).

Imports	Piastres	Exports	
Arms	@1	Dates	40
Construction wood	149	Sponges (unwashed)	1,380
Coal	100	Tar	270
Cereals	1,755	Olive oil	4,740
Fruit	15	Sheep	200
Colonial goods	170	Wool (unwashed)	210
Flour	30	Salted fish	245
Animal skins	247	Flidjis	1,500
Vegetables	31	Barley	2,570
Ironmongery	752	Dry vegetables	10
Petrol	8	Textiles	30
Cotton	15	Washed sponges	
Olive Oil	110	Salt	
Food products	50	Djerban pottery	100
Manufactures	2,531	Salted fish	100
Wines and spirits	605	Grignons	30
Tunis and Mahdia			
Barley	¶13,750		
Cloth and groceries	1,500		
Total	21,818	Total	11,425

@ no price available

¶ 2,500 ouiba at 5.5 piastres/ouiba.

Source:

Lt. Bailey, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MD.1332.25**

3.4.a. Prices in the South c. 1886.

	Zarzis			Gabes		Matmata	
	High	Average	Low	High/Av.	Low	High/Av.	Low
Olive (Zarrazi)						80	70
(Chemlali)						60	50
Camels	400	275	200	325		350	100
Horses	800	450	250	350	200	1,000	100
Mules	50	30	15			60	20
Cattle	125	110	85			120	60
Goats	10	8	6	13	8	10	5
Ewes	20	15	12	20	15	20	15
Barley (ouiba)	8	5.5	4.5				
(hl.)				10	7		
Wheat (ouiba)	16	15	8				
(hl.)				22			
Olive oil (saa)	8	7	5			6	5
(hl.)				63			
Wool (fleece)	3	2.5	2	3.5	3		
Goats' hair (lb)	1	0.14	0.1				
Flidjis (metre)	1.25	1	0.14				
Haiks				40	18	60	25
Burnous				60	18	20	60
Ouzera	50	40	20	60	25		

Sources:
Lt. Bailey, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MD.1332.25**; 'Villages et oases de Gabes', 12 January 1884. **SHAT.MD.1321.25**; Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', 19 April 1886. **SHAT.MD.1332.28**

3.4.b. Prices at markets in the Territoires Militaires (October 1894).

	Djarra	Nefzaoua	Médenine	Tataouine	Zarzis
Sheep	14	10	12	8	15
Goats	8	10	12	8	15
Donkey	25	23	30	15	25
Horse	80	160	150	140	200
Camel	130	150	150		160
Cows/Bulls				60	70
Fleece	1.5	2			
Burnous	15	15			
Houlis	18	15	20		
Ouzera					20
Barley qx.	9	10.8	7	6	8.5
Wheat qx.	12.5	17.5	9	12	12.15
Olive Oil l.	0.7	0.65			
Butter	0.7	1.5			
Wood (load)			8		

Source: Rapport Mensuel, October 1894, **MAE.NS.288.**

3.5.a. The decline of Tunisia's Trans-Saharan caravan trade (1724-1877).

Date	Source	Terminus	No. Caravans per Year	No. Partic-pants	No. Slaves Per Year
1724	Peyssonel	Tunis	2		
1757	Laugier de Tassy	Tunis	2		
1783	Desfontaines	Tunis	2		
1785	Poiret	Tunis	<1	300/400	
1788	British Consul¶	Tunis	5/6		500-1,200
1788	Chateaubriand	Tunis	3		
1792	Tully	Tunis	1		
1805	MacGill	Tunis	3		600
1816	Dr. Frank	Tunis	3		>600
1825	Greaves	Tunis/Sousse	?		300-1,500
1835	Temple	Tozeur	2		
1840	Carette	Tunis	<1		
		Gabes	4/5		
1841	Davis#	Tunis	?		
1844	Subtil	Gabes	?		
1845	Richardson@	Tunis	None		
1846	Pellissier	Tunis	None		
1850	Prax	Tunis	?		
1853	D'Escayrac	Tunis	None		
1858	Marty§	Tunis	?		
1863	Mirscher	Tunis	None		
1877	Rae	Tunis/Gabes	None		

? reference to the terminus but not to the number of caravans.
Source:
¶ in Limam (1981, p.150); # in Sebag (1958, p.169); @ Richardson to Warrington, Ghadames, 13th November 1845. **PRO.FO.101.16**; Richardson, J., An account of the present state of Tunis, London, 1845. **PRO.FO.102.29**; § Renseignements commerciaux sur les pays Touareg, Laghouat, 8 April 1858, **ANSOM.22.H.26**

3.5.b. The Saharan caravan trade at Ghadames in 1911.

To the Soudan Commodity	Quantity	From the Soudan Commodity	Quantity
English Cotton	250,000	Filali	300,000
Paper	40,000	Ostrich Feathers	90,000
Silk	60,000	Unprepared leather	20,000
Sugar	15,000	Gold	40,000
Tea	15,000	Bekhour	7,000
Soap	5,000	Guerbas	10,000
Candles	5,000	Civet	3,000
Glassware	5,000	Kellas	10,000
Divers	5,000		
Total	400,000	Total	640,000

Source: Lt. Bouvet, 'Notes sur Ghadames', 1911, **REC.2.2.**

3.6. Annual sales at markets in the south (1896-1939).

	Médenine	Tataouine	Ben Gardane	Zarzis	Matmata
1896	638,000	296,111	38,000	125,000	
1897	240,000	191,946	200,000	800,000	
1900	260,800	211,698	443,000	138,000	
1909	571,500	255,500	674,700	794,000	
1910	465,000	328,950	1,122,000	330,300	
1916	1,035,950	1,053,736	949,995	303,525	
1930	5,618,700	3,940,645	3,959,120	3,214,700	1,026,000
1931	4,883,500	4,452,257	3,516,766	3,214,700	1,686,000
1932	3,340,000	3,458,480	4,789,184	2,262,350	
1933	2,704,900	5,665,940	7,644,050	1,914,200	1,144,000
1934	1,750,800	6,355,303	14,633,028	1,658,700	1,046,000
1935	2,274,950	5,967,624	14,597,875	2,072,850	568,000
1936	2,132,900	9,851,315	10,413,949	2,142,015	178,650
1937	3,562,500	8,645,270	23,338,067	4,608,165	126,650
1938	6,063,000	12,996,435	25,527,010	8,432,420	352,700
1939	5,970,900	13,724,808	13,617,807	11,928,215	452,300

Source: Rapports Mensuels.

3.7. Goods sold in the markets of the Territoires Militaires.

1916

	Médenine	Tataouine	Ben Gardane	Zarzis
Animals	228,500	447,397	402,720	152,550
Cereals	142,500	85,466	144,175	53,600
Olive Oil	96,000	95,450		36,750
Shopsales	236,000	396,000		
Exports			386,000	
Total	1,035,950	1,053,736	949,995	303,525

1935

	Médenine	Tataouine	Ben Gardane	Zarzis	Matmata
Animals	1,021,050	2,093,890	7,567,732	211,500	67,000
Cereals	464,000	562,960	746,113	383,300	142,500
Olive Oil	80,000	143,070	1,726,955	260,000	95,000
Wool	41,000	111,150		21,650	
Alfa	14,700			11,300	
écorce	15,300		2,265		
Local Textiles	23,000	23,209	10,300		
Imported Textiles	72,291	18,575	1,786,082	40,300	
Sugar		422,180	1,627,546	299,000	
Shop sales	583,000	2,166,245	1,771,420	233,330	166,500
Total	2,754,950	5,967,624	14,597,875	1,072,850	568,000

1936

	Médenine	Tataouine	Ben Gardane	Zarzis	Matmata
Animal	623,900	1,952,590	1,625,322	208,150	6,950
Cereals	377,000	1,673,630	1,077,921	333,725	23,200
Olive Oil	240,000	11,160	2,467,665	422,000	37,000
Wool	81,500	7,650		19,500	
Alfa	38,500			47,400	
écorce			2,350		
Local Textiles	12,500	29,440		800	
Imported Textiles	82,000	602,670	359,650	63,400	
Sugar		448,350	1,218,000	452,000	
Shop sales	554,000	1,892,305	1,519,310	244,900	111,500
Total	2,132,900	9,851,315	10,413,949	2,142,015	178,650

Sources: Rapports Mensuels.

3.8. Animals slaughtered in Tunisia (1916-1931).

	Beef	Veal	Sheep	Goat	Camels
1916					
T.M.S.	2,542	6,804	20,879	6,644	113
Djerba	97	60	5,703	1,434	46
Gabès	1,429	1,279	23,117	7,693	23
Tunis	23,174	832	123,967	29,953	85
Total Tunisia	56,986	10,904	371,952	132,248	787
1920					
T.M.S.	117	19	10,256	16,567	81
Djerba	6	13	1,955	2,478	49
Gabès	680	42	23,246	17,895	
Tunis	11,883	827	143,614	52,521	55
Total Tunisia	43,924	3,915	388,280	180,753	1,841
1926					
T.M.S.	62	3	8,211	24,464	214
Djerba	9	4	1,796	2,716	19
Gabès	699	10	15,379	7,883	
Tunis	22,983	1,083	137,471	52,454	888
Total Tunisia	41,402	5,275	385,546	226,322	1,891
1931					
T.M.S.	116	15	10,681	20,973	112
Djerba	20	7	2,259	3,863	14
Gabès	1,460	308	12,139	11,947	12
Tunis	40,321	2,019	¶222,600		146
Total Tunisia	77,345	7,788	473,362	177,486	1,230

Source: Statistique Générale de la Tunisie.
¶ sheep and goats.

3.9. Contraband seized in Southern Tunisia during 1941.

Commodity	Weight in kg.
Soap	12,600
Olive Oil	12,400
Tabacco	168
Flour	47,500
Tea	1,000
Barley	11,500
Semolina	3,631
Cloves	2,315
Butter	3,350
Fabrics	435
Total	94,899

Source:
Rapport sur l'activité du Service des Affaires Indigènes au cours de l'année 1941. **MAEN.PS.874.**

3.10. Contraband and smugglers in Southern Tunisia (1903-1911).

Date	Smuggler	Contraband	From	To
1903	Troud	Gunpowder 480 kg.	Algeria	Tripoli
	Touazine	Tea/Sugar 300 kg.	Tunisia	Tripoli
	Touazine	Tea/Tobacco 520 kg.	Tunisia	Tripoli
1904	Tripolitanian	150 Rifles	Tripoli	Chaamba
	Ouderna	Tea/Sugar 250 kg.	Tunisia	Tripoli
	Touazine	Tea/Sugar 600 kg.	Tunisia	Tripoli
1906	Adhara	Tobacco 110 kg.	Tunisia	Algeria
	from Nefzaoua	Tobacco 158 kg.	Tunisia	Algeria
	Touazine	Tea/Sugar 250 kg.	Tunisia	Tripoli
1911	Douz	Tobacco 140 kg.	Tunisia	Algeria

Source: Rapports Mensuels.

3.11. Movements in the ports of Southern Tunisia (1906-1939).

	Entries				Departures			
	Boats	Animals	Goods	Goods by Coaster	Boats	Animals	Goods	Goods by Coaster
				1906				
Zarzis	994	51	5,831		983	600	29,612	
				1915				
Gabes	765	22	14,463	1,485	765	587	6,422	76
H. Souk	608	222	6,485	43,313	607	48	2,620	123,109
Adjim	400	429	1,223	5,339	403	15	1,870	14,188
Aghir	405	1,099	1,460	24,560	397	64	634	54,896
el Kantara	38	13	14	13,569	39	0	144	10,484
Zarzis	541	149	2,163	621	534	77	1,791	146
el Biban	584	27	3,700	19,275	583	1,016	2,107	21,179
Marca Ksiba				6,225				311
				1920				
Gabes	492	5	6,601	26,730	493	685	2,646	61,511
H. Souk	621	926	8,837	23,521	627	49	2,758	79,239
Adjim	505	757	3,902	16,045	520	27	2,725	35,553
Aghir	370	924	1,385	3,228	368	118	389	13,332
el Kantara	56		26	571	53		134	224
Zarzis	522	337	2,717	16,011	511	339	1,968	26,008
Marca Ksiba				3,412				35,426
				1925				
Gabes	757	14	13,569	57,562	755	115	6,172	105,484
Houmt Souk	727	273	10,126	36,351	717	1,221	3,812	92,513
Adjim	437	25	1,752	35,939	437	2	3,588	17,294
Aghir	365	467	1,355	5,204	363	39	2,543	12,686
el Kantara	99		759	2,698	102		454	388
Zarzis	410	41	1,744	29,782	415	754	3,097	16,234
Marsa Ksiba				22,375				16,316
				1930				
Gabes	506	18	15,923	40,584	500	71	4,169	116,034
Houmt Souk	701	447	16,783	36,282	697	263	4,357	131,662
Adjim	377	105	5,633	51,083	365	3	1,853	55,584
Aghir	178	415	1,612	1,719	181	2	193	16,478
el Kantara	124		238	1,320	123		319	3,873
Zarzis	314	14	3,418	13,746	313	97	1,312	29,101
M. Ksiba	319	6	3,754	7,293	319	987	693	35,658
				1939				
Gabes				49,600				79,300
Houmt Souk				18,900				112,000
Adjim				12,200				38,400
Zarzis				21,300				34,400
Ben Gardane				6,800				41,400

Goods in tonnes.
Source: Statistique Générale de la Tunisie.

3.12. The composition of trade at Marca Ksiba (1922).

	January-March	April-June	July-September	October-December	Total
Wheat (qx.)			1,296		
Barley (qx.)			3,849	778	4,627
Olive Oil (hl.)	518	54	29	4	605
Dates (qx.)	280	3			283
Vegetables (qx.)	28	219	851	82	1,262
Forrage (loads)	137				137
Sugar (qx.)	90	2,068	718	634	3,510
Tea (qx.)	12	213	1,279	713	2,217
Flour (qx.)	403	1,338	2,952	757	5,450
Divers (qx.)	1,088	1,183	7,214	713	10,198

Source: Rapport Mensuels January to December 1922.

3.13. Exports from Ben Gardane (1905-1907).

	1905	1906	1907
Wool (kg.)	115,847	169,748	151,450
Wheat (qx.)	14.034	20,287	26,000
Barley (qx.)	27,403	45,738	56,000

Source: Le Boeuf (1909, p.128).

3.14. The caravan trade between Southern Tunisia and Tripolitania (1915-1936).

Source	Destination	Caravans	Animals	Men	Value	Empty Car.
			1915			
Ben Gardane			159	3,257	2,929	684,663
Tataouine		52			29,430	
Dehibat		82	535		83,116	
			1925			
Tunisia	Trip/Sah.	99			1,354,993	
Tripoli/ Sahara	Tunisia	69			*24,920	
			1929			
Tunisia	Trip/Sah.	520			3,639,437	
Tripoli/ Sahara	Tataouine	147			158,436	
			1935			
Tripoli	Ben Gard.	175	3,259	2,782	156,112	51
Tataouine	Tripoli	107			288,109	
Tripoli	Tataouine	63			441,699	
B.le Boeuf	Tripoli	206			867,692	
Tripoli	B.le Boeuf	22				

Value in Francs.
Source: Rapports Mensuels.

3.15. Prices in the interior of Tripolitania (1912-1927).

	*Jan. 1912 Ghadames	July 1916 Gharian	Oct. 1916 Ghadames	Oct. 1918 Nalout	¶Oct. 1927 Fessato
Wheat (ouiba)	10	unavail.	76		50
Barley (ouiba)	6	95	64		34
Figs		unavail.			
Sheep		40-50			
Goats		25-30			
Meat (Sheep per kg.)	3			10	
Camel		220-450			
Olive Oil l.		5			8
Cotton		130		300	
Sugar (kg.)	2	33	5		
Tea (kg.)		36			
Tobacco (packet)		2		6	
Matches (0.15 frs)		0.60			

Sources:
Rapports Mensuels **ANSOM.26.H.15.** and **26.H.16.**; * G.G. Algeria to M.G., No.340, 27 January 1912. **SHAT.2.H.50.6**; ¶ Cpt. Moreau to R.G., Ben Gardane, No. 1403/9, 22 October 1927. **ANSOM.29.H.8.1**

3.16. Price changes in Tunisia (1926-1936).

	Hard Wheat	Barley	Olive Oil	Wool
1926	100	100	100	100
1927	102	119	89	85
1928	83	103	94	104
1929	74	82	94	90
1930	73	57	94	-
1931	83	69	-	-
1932	65	56	50	37
1933	48	44	35	39
1934	58	48	39	37
1935	40	34	40	33
1936	57	59	52	37

Source: Liauzu (1978, p. 6).

4.1. The distribution of wealth between the ethnic groups of Southern Tunisia. The mean number of animals held by guarantors.

	Accara	Matmata	Haouia	Djebalia	Ouderna	Touazine
			Sheep and Goats			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	27.0	*
1901-1910	16.1	*	47.9	69.0	82.5	60.1
1911-1920	*	47.2	37.2	46.9	38.3	47.2
1921-1930	*	24.6	12.9	47.8	48.2	40.2
1931-1940	12.3	14.4	6.3	40.0	*	43.1
1941-1955	5.0	18.8	7.1	28.0	41.5	29.7
			Camels			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	4.0	*
1901-1910	1.8	*	3.0	4.6	7.8	14.0
1911-1920	*	2.6	2.8	3.4	6.5	9.3
1921-1930	*	2.1	2.7	3.3	5.8	6.8
1931-1940	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.7	*	7.1
1941-1955	1.2	1.3	0.8	4.5	3.6	4.3
			Horses			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	*	*	0.2	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
1921-1930	*	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5
1931-1940	0.4	*	*	0.4	*	0.6
1941-1955	0.1	0.3	0.1	*	0.3	0.4
			Cattle			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	0.7	*	0.6	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	1.6	1.0	1.0	*	*
1921-1930	*	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.1	*
1931-1940	0.1	0.5	0.7	0.6	*	*
1941-1955	0.0	0.5	*	*	*	*
			Proportion of Sheep in the total herd.			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	*	*	0.5	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.6	*
1921-1930	*	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
1931-1940	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.4	*	0.5
1941-1955	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4

* denotes less than ten valid cases.

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

4.2. The distribution of wealth between the ethnic groups of Southern Tunisia. The means of landed property held by guarantors.

	Matmata		Djebalia			Touazine
	Accara		Haouia		Ouderna	
			Olives			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	125.6	*	23.7	*	19.1	*
1911-1920	455.1	61.1	30.0	26.0	10.6	23.9
1921-1930	837.5	60.8	55.0	*	19.0	*
1931-1940	521.2	53.7	25.0	48.1	*	149.4
1941-1955	407.1	61.8	49.0	39.6	19.2	*
			Figs			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	83.76	*	89.8	*	19.3	*
1911-1920	*	97.3	120.7	37.0	20.7	70.5
1921-1930	*	73.6	144.1	*	34.2	*
1931-1940	52.7	22.8	38.7	37.5	*	73.2
1941-1955	11.0	58.7	56.0	30.2	17.9	*
			Dates			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	68.18	*	34.2	*	19.8	*
1911-1920	*	60.5	21.7	31.9	46.9	6.9
1921-1930	*	37.0	27.8	*	22.7	*
1931-1940	*	36.7	43.0	55.0	*	46.5
1941-1955	40.1	40.4	47.4	*	20.3	*
			Land			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	1.1	*	*	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	15.7	*	*	*	*
1921-1930	*	18.1	*	49.3	21.7	*
1931-1940	13.4	14.9	11.0	21.3	*	55.2
1941-1955	1.8	30.2	*	22.7	5.1	*
			Djesser			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	6.6	*
1901-1910	*	*	5.9	6.5	5.5	*
1911-1920	*	*	7.2	8.5	3.0	*
1921-1930	*	*	*	9.4	5.4	*
1931-1940	*	*	*	*	*	*
1941-1955	*	*	*	*	*	*
			Sania			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	1.9	*	1.7	*	*	*
1911-1920	1.6	*	1.7	0.8	1.6	1.1
1921-1930	*	*	*	1.6	1.4	0.6
1931-1940	1.6	*	*	*	*	*
1941-1955	*	*	*	*	*	0.6

* denotes less than ten valid cases.
Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

4.3. The distribution of wealth between the ethnic groups of Southern Tunisia. The mean value of property in francs held by guarantors.

	Accara	Matmata	Haouia	Djebalia	Ouderna	Touazine
			Wealth in Francs			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	*	*	2676.4	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	9290.1	9903.5	*	*	3731.9
1921-1930	49791.7	26900.0	*	40936.9	30824.1	18607.7
1931-1940	46921.0	*	14988.0	19400.0	*	30338.1
1941-1955	1265163.3	*	125000.0	*	153120.9	13014.3
			Standardised Wealth			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	*	*
1901-1910	*	*	2676.4	*	*	*
1911-1920	*	7087.3	4907.0	*	*	1618.0
1921-1930	16413.5	9769.8	*	6939.9	5415.0	3276.0
1931-1940	10651.8	*	3670.7	3045.0	*	6190.6
1941-1955	50016.9	*	16960.7	*	30624.2	2602.9

* denotes less than ten valid cases.

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

4.4. The distribution of wealth between the ethnic groups of Southern Tunisia. The mean wealth held by guarantors using the Index of Wealth.

	Accara	Matmata	Haouia	Djebalia	Ouderna	Touazine
			Total Fruit Trees			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	0.0	*
1901-1910	291.5	241.5	96.3	*	6.2	0.0
1911-1920	365.7	159.8	110.1	89.7	66.5	24.4
1921-1930	837.5	150.3	218.0	7.5	52.4	22.2
1931-1940	501.9	100.9	33.6	101.5	*	211.8
1941-1955	433.0	152.7	100.0	69.7	29.5	37.7
			Wealth in Trees			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	0.0	*
1901-1910	5535.4	3615.0	1173.0	*	92.3	0.0
1911-1920	9142.2	2401.2	1375.8	1274.9	796.7	355.4
1921-1930	20937.5	2302.3	2971.6	112.8	728.4	459.1
1931-1940	12465.5	1815.5	484.4	1539.2	*	4240.9
1941-1955	76000.0	2408.2	1614.7	1290.4	165.0	757.7
			Wealth in Animals			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	827.3	*
1901-1910	448.2	1024.0	792.0	1150.7	1572.8	2009.6
1911-1920	0.0	826.8	723.5	805.6	1028.8	1480.3
1921-1930	0.0	774.7	644.0	900.8	1115.9	1165.6
1931-1940	386.4	481.5	208.6	680.7	*	1260.7
1941-1955	440.0	488.5	170.0	743.8	2800.0	840.8
			Wealth			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	827.3	*
1901-1910	6486.8	3824.0	2086.0	1150.7	1668.3	2009.6
1911-1920	9142.2	3245.7	2130.1	2127.7	1834.0	1801.0
1921-1930	20937.5	3401.2	3738.2	996.4	1855.3	1763.7
1931-1940	14069.4	2323.8	744.1	2781.9	*	5410.7
1941-1955	12033.8	3018.2	2106.2	2034.3	1309.1	1598.5
			Proportion of Total wealth in Trees.			
1887-1900	*	*	*	*	0.0	*
1901-1910	0.9	0.4	0.5	*	0.1	0.0
1911-1920	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.1
1921-1930	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.1
1931-1940	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.7	*	0.7
1941-1955	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.2	0.1

* denotes less than ten valid cases.

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, and 190.**

4.5. Goats and sheep. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Animals 0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100	101-200	>201
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22	31.8	13.6	13.6	22.7	9.1	4.5	4.5	
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	81	32.1	43.2	11.1	7.4	2.5	2.5	1.2	
1941-1955	34	30.4	58.9	7.1	1.8	1.8			
				Matmata					
1887-1900	1						100.0		
1901-1910	5				20.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	
1911-1920	366	9.8	6.6	14.5	20.2	24.3	17.8	4.4	2.5
1921-1930	71	2.8	8.5	12.7	11.3	31.0	29.6	4.2	
1931-1940	52	19.2	21.2	25.0	9.6	5.8	15.4	1.9	1.9
1941-1955	149	18.1	12.8	21.5	15.4	19.5	6.0	6.7	
				Haouia					
1887-1900	1					100.0			
1901-1910	253	5.1		9.1	13.4	25.7	20.2	19.0	7.5
1911-1920	327	12.0	14.3	20.1	17.5	18.2	11.0	4.9	1.9
1921-1930	97	17.5	18.6	22.7	15.5	13.4	8.2	3.1	1.0
1931-1940	49	57.1	20.4	8.2	4.1	8.2	2.0		
1941-1955	37	35.1	45.9	8.1	8.1	2.7			
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	1					100.0			
1901-1910	81	6.2	4.9	13.6	16.0	29.6	13.6	11.1	4.9
1911-1920	226	7.1	16.4	13.3	20.4	15.5	18.1	6.6	2.7
1921-1930	147	4.8	12.9	23.8	15.0	19.0	14.3	6.8	3.4
1931-1940	55	5.5	18.2	18.2	23.5	14.5	12.7	5.5	1.8
1941-1955	34	8.8	26.5	23.5	23.5	8.8	5.9		2.9
				Ouderna					
1881-1900	33	12.1	6.1	33.3	9.1	9.1	24.2	6.1	
1901-1910	98	3.1	1.0	7.1	21.4	20.4	20.4	21.4	5.1
1911-1920	22	12.2	13.5	19.8	20.7	17.6	7.2	8.1	0.9
1921-1930	192	8.3	22.4	14.6	13.0	13.5	14.6	11.5	2.1
1931-1940	2		50.0	50.0					
1941-1955	71	8.5	31.0	11.3	12.7	9.9	12.7	12.7	1.4
				Touazine					
1887-1900	2				50.0			50.0	
1901-1910	99		3.0	7.1	18.2	28.3	33.3	9.1	1.0
1911-1920	213	4.2	10.8	16.0	19.2	26.8	15.5	6.1	1.4
1921-1930	101	4.0	18.8	21.8	21.8	15.8	10.9	5.0	2.0
1931-1940	36	2.8	19.4	13.9	19.4	22.2	6.7	2.8	2.8
1941-1955	39	10.3	23.1	20.5	10.3	17.9	12.8	5.1	

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.6. Camels. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Animals 0	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	11-21	>21
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	21		47.6	33.3	14.3	4.8			
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	9		22.2	44.4	22.2	11.1			
1931-1940	81	4.9	43.2	42.0	4.9	2.5	2.5		
1941-1955	80	7.5	66.2	25.0	1.2				
				Matmata					
1887-1900	2			50.0			50.0		
1901-1910	8		25.0	25.0	12.5	25.0	12.5		
1911-1920	351	2.0	35.9	24.2	14.5	16.8	5.7	0.9	
1921-1930	71	4.2	39.4	29.6	14.1	9.8	2.8		
1931-1940	54	11.1	48.1	31.5	3.7	3.7	1.9		
1941-1955	149	18.1	53.0	16.8	7.4	3.3	1.3		
				Haouia					
1887-1900	3			33.3			66.7		
1901-1910	247	5.3	20.6	28.3	19.8	16.2	7.7	1.6	0.4
1911-1920	327	6.5	24.6	32.9	16.3	11.1	5.5	2.8	0.3
1921-1930	97	7.2	26.8	38.1	13.4	5.2	3.1	3.1	3.1
1931-1940	55	18.2	58.2	18.2	3.6		1.8		
1941-1955	38	28.9	65.8	5.3					
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	81	1.2	11.1	25.9	19.8	17.3	18.5	4.9	1.2
1911-1920	237	3.8	28.7	27.4	13.1	14.3	8.0	3.0	1.7
1921-1930	160	1.9	28.7	28.1	13.7	16.9	5.0	5.0	0.6
1931-1940	55	1.8	45.5	38.2	14.5				
1941-1955	34		52.9	29.4	8.8	2.9	2.9		2.9
				Ouderna					
1881-1900	33		18.2	30.3	24.2	9.1	6.1	3.0	
1901-1910	99	1.0	6.1	17.2	6.1	34.4	19.2	10.1	7.1
1911-1920	220	4.1	24.1	17.7	11.8	14.5	13.2	8.6	6.0
1921-1930	195	2.6	22.6	22.1	14.9	12.3	13.8	6.7	5.1
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	71	2.8	33.8	21.1	15.5	14.1	4.2	7.0	1.4
				Touazine					
1887-1900	5						40.0		60.0
1901-1910	99			1.0	3.0	9.1	44.4	27.3	15.2
1911-1920	224	0.9	2.7	13.8	11.6	17.9	24.6	20.5	8.3
1921-1930	101	1.0	5.9	22.8	12.9	24.8	18.8	9.9	4.0
1931-1940	37		5.4	10.8	18.9	32.4	13.5	13.5	5.4
1941-1955	39		20.5	33.3	15.4	15.4	10.3	2.6	2.6

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.7. Horses. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Animals 0	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	11-21
				Accara				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	0							
1921-1930	2			100.0				
1931-1940	80	71.2	27.5				1.2	
1941-1955	44	93.2	6.8					
				Matmata				
1887-1900	2	100.0						
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	38	73.7	23.7					2.6
1921-1930	43	90.7	9.3					
1931-1940	0							
1941-1955	87	96.6	3.4					
				Haouia				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	96	77.1	21.9	1.0				
1911-1920	232	77.6	21.1	1.3				
1921-1930	0							
1931-1940	0							
1941-1955	33	90.9	9.1					
				Djebalia				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	35	71.4	25.7	2.9				
1921-1930	104	70.2	28.8		1.0			
1931-1940	34	58.8	38.2		2.9			
1941-1955	0							
				Ouderna				
1881-1900	0							
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	22	77.3	18.2			4.5		
1921-1930	141	78.0	20.6	0.7		0.7		
1931-1940	0							
1941-1955	40	77.5	22.5					
				Touazine				
1887-1900	2		50.0	50.0				
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	211	53.6	45.5	0.9				
1921-1930	89	55.1	42.7	2.2				
1931-1940	27	44.4	48.1	7.4				
1941-1955	39	56.4	43.6					

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.8. Cattle. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Animals 0	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	GT 10
				Accara				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	11	27.3	72.7					
1911-1920	0							
1921-1930	0							
1931-1940	48	89.8	10.4					
1941-1955	0							
				Matmata				
1887-1900	1					100.0		
1901-1910	6	16.7	50.0	16.7	16.7			
1911-1920	235	27.7	33.3	23.4	6.0	5.5	4.3	
1921-1930	71	45.1	29.6	19.7	2.8	1.4		1.4
1931-1940	33	78.8	9.1	6.1	3.0	3.0		
1941-1955	139	77.0	12.2	5.8	2.2	1.4	1.4	
				Haouia				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	107	49.5	43.0	6.5	0.9			
1911-1920	143	55.6	28.7	9.1	3.5	0.7	1.4	0.7
1921-1930	97	83.3	13.0	1.9	1.9			
1931-1940	13	38.5	53.8	7.7				
1941-1955	4			75.0		25.0		
				Djebalia				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	24	54.2	16.7	20.8	4.2		4.2	
1921-1930	42	52.4	31.0	14.3		2.4		
1931-1940	51	70.6	19.6	2.0		7.8		
1941-1955	0							
				Ouderna				
1881-1900	0							
1901-1910	1		100.0					
1911-1920	1		100.0					
1921-1930	49	85.7	14.3					
1931-1940	0							
1941-1955	0							
				Touazine				
1887-1900	0							
1901-1910	0							
1911-1920	0							
1921-1930	89	55.1	42.7	2.2				
1931-1940	0							
1941-1955	0							

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.9. Olives. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Trees 0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	GT 401
					Accara					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	22					13.6	40.9	18.2	13.6	13.6
1911-1920	13					7.7	7.7	15.4	15.4	53.9
1921-1930	12						8.3		8.3	83.3
1931-1940	100	1.0		1.0	1.0	3.0	8.0	15.0	25.0	46.0
1941-1955	119					1.7	9.2	31.9	31.9	25.1
					Matmata					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	6					16.7	16.7	66.7		
1911-1920	339	1.2	8.6	11.2	15.9	29.5	21.5	8.8	3.2	
1921-1930	71	2.8	2.8	15.5	8.5	28.2	33.8	8.5		
1931-1940	59		5.1	13.6	25.4	25.4	20.3	8.5	1.7	
1941-1955	155	1.9	2.6	7.7	11.6	32.9	34.2	8.4	0.6	
					Haouia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	182	7.7	34.1	19.8	14.8	11.5	11.0	1.1		
1911-1920	200	7.5	25.0	16.5	21.5	15.0	13.0	1.5		
1921-1930	97	12.4	17.5	17.5	12.4	12.4	14.4	9.3	3.1	1.0
1931-1940	25		12.0	52.0	20.0	12.0	4.0			
1941-1955	47		14.9	17.0	17.0	25.5	19.1	4.3	2.1	
					Djebalia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	237	8.0	37.6	19.8	14.8	9.3	7.2	2.5	0.8	
1921-1930	7		28.6	14.3			42.9	14.3		
1931-1940	56	3.6	25.0	16.1	10.7	17.9	16.1	8.9	1.8	
1941-1955	34		2.9	32.4	26.5	23.5	11.8	2.9		
					Ouderna					
1881-1900	0									
1901-1910	11		63.6	18.2	9.1	9.1				
1911-1920	188	12.2	57.4	19.7	5.9	3.7	0.5	0.5		
1921-1930	142	0.7	56.3	24.6	4.2	7.0	4.9	0.7	1.4	
1931-1940	3		33.3		33.3	33.3				
1941-1955	40	2.5	40.0	30.0	12.5	10.0	5.0			
					Touazine					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	70	40.0	12.9	10.0	5.7	20.0	10.0	1.4		
1921-1930	8					12.5	12.5		62.5	12.5
1931-1940	36	2.8		2.8	5.6	13.9	22.2	27.8	22.2	2.8
1941-1955	6					33.3		33.3	33.3	

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.10. Figs. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Trees 0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	401 >
					Accara					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	11			18.2		27.3	18.2	9.1	27.3	
1911-1920	0									
1921-1930	0									
1931-1940	11	36.4			9.1	27.3	18.2	9.1		
1941-1955	11	54.5	27.3		9.1		9.1			
					Matmata					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	6						16.7	83.3		
1911-1920	183	3.3	2.2	7.1	10.3	29.3	25.0	10.9	9.8	2.2
1921-1930	71		5.6	16.9	12.7	29.6	23.9	4.2	7.0	
1931-1940	28		35.7	32.1	14.3	14.3	3.6			
1941-1955	155	1.3	12.3	14.2	13.5	20.6	27.7	9.0	1.3	
					Haouia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	213	0.5	6.1	7.0	8.0	23.5	30.0	18.8	5.6	0.5
1911-1920	213	3.8	11.3	6.1	3.3	11.7	25.8	26.3	9.4	2.3
1921-1930	97	4.1		3.1	5.2	13.4	35.1	19.6	14.4	5.2
1931-1940	23		8.7	43.5	8.7	26.1	8.7	4.3		
1941-1955	48		16.7	14.6	8.3	22.9	27.1	8.3	2.1	
					Djebalia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	223	7.6	24.7	17.0	16.1	19.3	9.4	3.6	2.2	
1921-1930	9		33.3			22.2	22.2	22.2		
1931-1940	56	1.8	37.5	16.1	14.3	17.9	3.6	5.4	3.6	
1941-1955	34		11.8	17.6	35.3	29.4	5.9			
					Ouderna					
1881-1900	0									
1901-1910	10		50.0	20.0	10.0	20.0				
1911-1920	182	11.5	31.3	29.1	11.5	10.4	4.9	0.5	0.5	
1921-1930	140	5.0	27.9	19.3	17.1	17.9	10.0	2.1	0.7	
1931-1940	2					50.0	50.0			
1941-1955	40	7.5	35.0	32.5	17.5	5.0	2.5			
					Touazine					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	53	22.6		5.7	18.9	17.0	18.9	11.3	3.8	1.9
1921-1930	0									
1931-1940	27			7.4	7.4	22.2	40.7	22.2		
1941-1955	6			16.7	16.7	66.7				

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.11. Dates. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Number of Trees 0	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	GT 401
					Accara					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	11	9.1		9.1	9.1	18.2	9.1	36.4	9.1	
1911-1920	0									
1921-1930	0									
1931-1940	0									
1941-1955	117	12.8	19.7	26.5	6.0	16.2	9.4	8.5	0.9	
					Matmata					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	6				16.7	16.7	50.0	16.7		
1911-1920	384	2.9	8.1	17.4	16.1	17.2	22.1	13.3	2.9	
1921-1930	71	1.4	11.3	23.9	28.2	19.7	14.1		1.4	
1931-1940	59		25.4	25.4	25.4	11.9	8.5	3.4		
1941-1955	154	1.3	14.0	23.4	23.4	19.5	12.3	3.9	1.3	
					Haouia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	185	27.0	32.4	15.1	6.5	3.8	10.3	2.2	1.6	1.0
1911-1920	199	20.6	37.7	15.1	6.5	12.1	6.0	1.0	1.0	
1921-1930	97	16.5	33.0	16.5	8.2	12.4	8.2	4.1	1.0	
1931-1940	14		14.3	28.6	21.4	21.4	7.1	7.1		
1941-1955	13		7.7	38.5	7.7		46.2			
					Djebalia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	237	6.8	35.0	23.2	9.3	12.7	8.4	3.4	0.8	0.4
1921-1930	3		33.3	33.3				33.3		
1931-1940	55	5.5	16.4	20.0	12.7	14.5	20.0	9.1	1.8	
1941-1955	0									
					Ouderna					
1881-1900	0									
1901-1910	11		63.6	9.1	18.2	9.1				
1911-1920	199	11.6	34.7	26.1	10.1	10.1	5.5	1.0	0.5	0.5
1921-1930	128	4.7	39.1	28.1	14.1	6.3	5.5	2.3		
1931-1940	3		33.3	33.3		33.3				
1941-1955	40	2.5	55.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	12.5			
					Touazine					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	11	54.5	36.4			9.1				
1921-1930	1					100.0				
1931-1940	15	60.0	13.3	6.7	13.3	6.7				
1941-1955	4			50.0	25.0		25.0			

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.12. Land. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid	Area in Hectares 0	1-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	31-50	51-100	GT 101
					Accara				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22	9.1	86.4	4.5					
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	3		66.7		33.3				
1931-1940	62	4.8	17.7	35.5	22.6	16.1	3.2		
1941-1955	24	12.5	20.8	29.2	20.8		16.7		
					Matmata				
1887-1889	0								
1901-1910	1							100.0	
1911-1920	287	25.1	4.9	29.6	18.1	8.4	9.8	4.2	
1921-1930	71	4.2	11.3	22.5	29.6	11.3	21.3		
1931-1940	57	10.5	19.3	15.8	24.6	10.5	10.5	5.3	3.5
1941-1955	156	2.6	10.3	13.5	26.5	15.4	13.5	4.5	13.5
					Haouia				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	11		27.3	45.5	18.2		9.1		
1941-1955	0								
					Djebalia				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	6				1.7	16.7	50.0	16.7	
1931-1940	53	7.5	13.2	17.0	37.7	9.4	11.3	3.8	
1941-1955	33	3.0	6.1	63.6	9.1	15.2	3.0		
					Ouderna				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	117	4.3	22.2	10.3	14.5	0.9	27.4	14.5	6.0
1931-1940	1								100.0
1941-1955	40		27.5	37.5	32.5	2.5			
					Touazine				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	1						100.0		
1931-1940	11		9.1	18.2	9.1	9.1	27.3	9.1	18.2
1941-1955	4			66.7					33.3

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.13. Djesser's. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid	Number of Gardens 0	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	11-15	GT 16
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								
				Matmata					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	6		83.7	16.7					
1911-1920	1							100.0	
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								
				Haouia					
1887-1900	1					100.0			
1901-1910	52	11.5	11.5	21.5	11.5	11.5	5.8	21.2	5.8
1911-1920	132		3.8	11.4	9.8	30.3	20.5	17.4	6.8
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	5			20.0		40.0	40.0		
1941-1955	0								
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	73		4.1	6.8	11.0	27.4	35.1	15.1	
1911-1920	72			1.4	5.6	25.0	34.7	18.1	14.3
1921-1930	145		0.7	1.4	3.4	22.1	46.9	11.0	14.5
1931-1940	1						100.0		
1941-1955	1					100.0			
				Ouderna					
1887-1900	33				3.0	48.5	42.4	3.0	3.0
1901-1910	35		8.6	22.9	8.6	34.3	22.9	2.9	
1911-1920	95	4.2	21.1	16.8	24.2	25.3	8.4		
1921-1930	75	4.0	6.7	16.0	5.3	32.0	28.0	4.0	4.0
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								
				Touazine					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.14. Sania's (Irrigated Gardens). Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid	Number of Gardens 0	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	11-15	GT 16
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22		54.5	18.2	18.2	9.1			
1911-1920	13		53.8	30.8	15.4				
1921-1930	8		12.5	50.0	12.5	12.5	12.5		12.5
1931-1940	18		66.7	22.2		11.1			
1941-1955	4		25.0	25.0	50.0				
				Matmata					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	1		100.0						
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								
				Haouia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	13		46.2	38.5	15.4				
1911-1920	23	43.5	13.0	26.1	4.3	8.7	4.3		
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	4		50.0	25.0		25.0			
1941-1955	0								
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	19	26.3	63.2	10.5					
1921-1930	23		65.2	17.4	8.7	8.7			
1931-1940	0								
1931-1940	0								
				Ouderna					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	17		76.5	11.8	5.9		5.9		
1921-1930	17		70.6	17.6	11.8				
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	0								
				Touazine					
1887-1900	1			100.0					
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	75	26.7	45.3	25.3		2.7			
1921-1930	65	56.9	27.7	13.8		1.5			
1931-1940	1		100.0						
1941-1955	23	52.2	39.1	8.7					

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.15. Wealth in Francs. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Francs 0-5000	5001-10000	10001 20000	20001-30000	30001 50000	50001-100000	100001 200000	GT 200001
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	12			16.7	16.7	41.7	16.7	8.3	
1931-1940	19	5.3		15.8	10.5	36.8	31.6		
1941-1955	86	1.2			1.2		8.1	10.5	79.1
				Matmata					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	4			50.0	25.0	25.0			
1911-1920	182	32.4	40.7	20.3	3.3	2.7	0.5		
1921-1930	5		40.0		20.0	20.0	20.0		
1931-1940	3		33.3		33.3	33.3			
1941-1955	6				16.7	33.3		16.7	33.3
				Haouia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	118	88.1	8.5	3.4					
1911-1920	136	44.9	22.1	19.9	7.4	5.9			
1921-1930	3	33.3				66.7			
1931-1940	46	34.8	30.4	15.2	8.7	4.3	6.5		
1941-1955	10					20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	1		100.0						
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	168	1.2	8.3	25.6	13.1	17.9	26.8	7.1	
1931-1940	39	17.9	17.9	20.5	23.1	20.5			
1941-1955	0								
				Ouderna					
1881-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	56	7.1	35.7	30.4	21.4	3.6			1.8
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	31	3.2		9.7	3.2	22.6	12.9	22.6	25.8
				Touazine					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	57	66.7	28.1	5.5					
1921-1930	13						15.4	46.2	38.5
1931-1940	14	7.1	14.3	28.6	14.3	21.4	14.3		
1941-1955	14	42.9	35.7			21.4			

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.16. Standardised Wealth in Francs. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	Francs 0-5000	5001-10000	10001 20000	20001-30000	30001-50000	50001-100000	100001 200000	GT 200001
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	12	8.3	25.0	41.7	8.3	16.7			
1931-1940	19	26.3	36.8	31.6	5.3				
1941-1955	86	3.5	11.6	14.0	16.3	14.0	27.9	11.6	1.2
				Matmata					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	4			50.0	25.0	25.0			
1911-1920	182	51.6	31.9	11.0	2.2	2.7	0.5		
1921-1930	5	40.0	20.0	40.0					
1931-1940	3	66.7		33.3					
1941-1955	6	50.0	16.7	33.3					
				Haouia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	118	81.5	8.5	3.4					
1911-1920	136	65.4	18.4	15.4	0.7				
1921-1930	3	33.3		66.7					
1931-1940	46	80.4	10.9	6.5	2.2				
1941-1955	110		40.0	40.0		10.0	10.0		
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	1		100.0						
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	168	45.8	26.2	26.2	1.8				
1931-1940	39	79.5	20.5						
1941-1955	0								
				Ouderna					
1881-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0	64.3	32.1	1.8			1.8		
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	31	16.1	22.6	12.9	12.9	12.9	12.9	9.7	
				Touazine					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	57	96.5	3.5						
1921-1930	13	84.6	15.4						
1931-1940	14	78.6	7.1	14.3					
1941-1955	14	78.6	21.4						

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.17. Total number of fruit trees. Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid Cases	Number of Trees 0	1-25	26-50	51-100	101-200	201-400	401-600	601-1200	1201
					Accara					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	24	8.3			37.5	20.8	12.5	12.5	8.2	4.2
1911-1920	16	18.8	6.3	6.3	6.3	12.6	12.6	12.5	25.0	6.3
1921-1930	12				8.3		8.3	41.7	25.0	16.7
1931-1940	105	4.0	1.0	3.8	7.6	13.4	15.7	16.2	23.8	3.8
1941-1955	123	2.4		0.8	1.6	16.3	43.9	17.9	11.2	5.7
					Matmata					
1887-1900	2	100.0								
1901-1910	10	40.0			10.0	10.0	40.0			
1911-1920	387	1.6	5.7	11.1	22.5	36.4	16.3	4.1	2.3	
1921-1930	81	12.3	3.7	7.4	19.8	28.4	22.2	6.2		
1931-1940	59	1.7	23.7	49.2	11.2	6.8	3.4	3.4		
1941-1955	163	4.9	2.5	6.1	22.7	39.3	22.1	2.5		
					Haouia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	309	30.4	5.5	10.4	22.4	16.2	10.0	4.2	1.2	
1911-1920	327	36.4	4.6	7.0	12.5	17.1	14.1	7.3	0.9	
1921-1930	101	6.9	1.0	5.0	20.8	25.7	17.8	12.9	8.9	
1931-1940	63	60.3	3.2	15.9	9.5	7.9	1.6	1.6		
1941-1955	56	7.1	14.3	14.3	30.4	20.5	7.1	1.6		
					Djebalia					
1887-1900	0									
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	245	4.5	21.6	20.8	28.2	10.6	10.2	2.8	1.2	
1921-1930	0									
1931-1940	77	28.6	7.8	11.7	19.5	9.1	9.1	13.0	1.3	
1941-1955	34			41.2	50.0	5.9	2.9			
					Ouderna					
1887-1900	34	100.0								
1901-1910	101	89.1	6.9	1.0	2.0	1.0				
1911-1920	227	13.7	30.4	27.8	17.2	8.3	2.2		0.4	
1921-1930	198	24.2	17.7	29.3	15.2	6.6	2.5	3.0	1.0	0.5
1931-1940	3			33.3		66.7				
1941-1955	78	50.0	9.0	14.1	20.5	5.1	1.3			
					Touazine					
1887-1900	5	100.0								
1901-1910	0									
1911-1920	225	77.8	1.8	5.8	5.8	6.2	2.2	0.4		
1921-1930	13	91.8		1.8	0.9		4.5		0.9	
1931-1940	38	5.3	5.3	7.9	5.3	31.6	36.9	5.3	2.6	
1941-1955	39	84.6			2.6	2.6	7.7	2.6		

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.18. Wealth in Trees (Index of Wealth). Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid Cases	0	1-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-5000	5001-10000	10001 20000	GT 20001
					Accara				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	24	8.3			8.3	54.2	12.5	12.5	4.2
1911-1920	16	18.8	6.3			18.8	12.5	37.5	6.3
1921-1930	12					8.3	8.3	50.0	33.3
1931-1940	105	4.8	1.9	1.0	2.9	20.0	25.7	29.5	14.3
1941-1955	123	2.4		0.8	1.6	17.1	46.3	17.9	13.8
					Matmata				
1887-1900	2	100.0							
1901-1910	10	40.0				20.0	40.0		
1911-1920	387	1.6	11.9	12.4	32.6	32.0	7.0	2.6	
1921-1930	81	12.3	3.7	13.6	22.2	38.3	9.9		
1931-1940	59		1.7	30.5	44.1	18.6	3.4	1.7	
1941-1955	163	4.9	4.3	8.6	29.4	44.8	8.0		
					Haouia				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	309	30.4	12.6	18.8	18.8	17.2	1.9	0.3	
1911-1920	327	36.4	8.0	10.7	16.5	25.1	2.4	0.9	
1921-1930	101	6.9	4.0	16.8	22.8	33.7	10.9	5.0	
1931-1940	63	60.3	3.2	20.6	9.5	6.3			
1941-1955	56	7.1	19.6	17.9	33.9	16.1	3.6	1.8	
					Djebalia				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	245	4.5	31.0	26.1	22.4	12.2	2.4	1.2	
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	77	28.6	15.6	9.1	23.4	16.9	6.5		
1941-1955	34	2.9	44.1	44.1	5.9	2.9			
					Ouderna				
1887-1900	34	100.0							
1901-1910	101	89.4	6.9	3.0	1.0				
1911-1920	227	13.7	49.8	21.1	11.5	3.1	0.4		0.4
1921-1930	198	24.2	34.3	22.7	12.6	5.1	0.5	0.5	
1931-1940	3		33.7					66.7	
1941-1955	78	50.0	16.7	15.4	15.4	2.1			
					Touazine				
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	225	77.8	4.4	4.0	8.4	4.4	0.9		
1921-1930	110	91.8	0.9		0.9	0.9	4.5	0.9	
1931-1940	38	5.3	2.6	7.9	7.9	39.5	31.5	5.3	
1941-1955	39	84.6			5.1	2.6	7.7		

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.19. Wealth in Animals (Index of Wealth). Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid Cases	0	1-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-5000	5001-10000	10001-20000	GT 20001
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22		86.4	4.5	9.1				
1911-1920	16	100.0							
1921-1930	16	100.0							
1931-1940	81		3.7	81.5	11.1	2.5	1.2		
1941-1955	56		8.9	91.1					
				Matmata					
1887-1900	2			100.0					
1901-1910	5			40.0	60.0				
1911-1920	366	0.5	38.3	36.6	19.4	5.2			
1921-1930	71		26.8	49.3	21.1	2.1			
1931-1940	52	1.9	63.5	25.0	5.8	3.8			
1941-1955	149	1.3	63.8	22.1	11.4	1.3			
				Haouia					
1887-1900	1			100.0					
1901-1910	253	2.0	43.5	29.2	19.4	5.9			
1911-1920	308	2.9	49.7	27.6	14.3	5.2	0.3		
1921-1930	97	5.2	51.2	32.0	8.2	2.1	1.0		
1931-1940	49	10.2	79.6	10.2					
1941-1955	37	18.9	75.7	5.4					
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	81	1.2	33.3	32.1	18.5	11.1	3.7		
1911-1920	226	2.2	49.6	24.8	15.5	7.5	0.4		
1921-1930	147	0.7	39.5	37.4	11.6	9.5	1.4		
1931-1940	55	1.0	40.0	47.3	7.3	3.6			
1941-1955	34	73.5	20.6	2.9	2.9				
				Ouderna					
1887-1900	33		48.5	24.2	21.2	6.1			
1901-1910	98	1.0	16.3	36.7	19.4	22.4	4.1		
1911-1920	222	3.2	43.2	27.9	12.2	12.2	0.9	0.5	
1921-1930	192	1.6	39.1	30.2	16.1	8.9	3.1	1.0	
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	71		53.5	19.7	12.7	14.1			
				Touazine					
1887-1900	2				50.0	50.0			
1901-1910	99		3.0	19.2	41.4	30.3	6.1		
1911-1920	213		0.5	20.2	26.8	30.0	19.7	2.8	
1921-1930	101		32.7	35.6	18.8	9.9	2.0	1.0	
1931-1940	36		27.8	36.1	16.7	16.7	2.8		
1941-1955	39		41.0	41.0	10.3	5.1	2.6		

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.20. Total Wealth (Index of Wealth). Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid Cases	0	1-500	501-1000	1001-2000	2001-5000	5001-10000	10001-20000	GT 20001
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22				9.1	59.1	9.1	18.2	4.5
1911-1920	16		18.8	6.3		18.8	12.5	37.5	6.3
1921-1930	12					8.3	8.3	50.0	33.3
1931-1940	81				3.7	9.9	28.4	34.6	23.5
1941-1955	56		1.8		1.8	17.9	41.1	19.6	17.9
				Matmata					
1887-1900	2			100.0					
1901-1910	5			20.0	40.0		40.0		
1911-1920	366		0.3	4.4	7.9	26.0	43.4	14.8	3.3
1921-1930	71		1.4	4.2	21.1	53.5	19.7		
1931-1940	52			17.3	46.2	28.8	5.8	1.9	
1941-1955	149		2.7	4.7	25.5	53.0	14.1		
				Haouia					
1887-1900	1			100.0					
1901-1910	253		12.3	19.0	30.8	32.8	4.7	0.4	
1911-1920	308	2.6	23.4	12.3	21.8	31.8	6.5	1.6	
1921-1930	97	2.1	2.1	9.3	30.9	35.1	13.4	6.4	1.0
1931-1940	49	8.2	49.0	20.4	10.2	12.2			
1941-1955	37		10.8	21.6	35.1	24.3	5.4	2.7	
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	0								
1911-1920	226		13.7	19.0	34.1	25.2	6.2	1.8	
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	55	3.6	21.8	25.5	36.4	10.9	1.8		
1931-1940	34		29.4	41.2	26.5	2.9			
				Ouderna					
1887-1900	33		48.5	24.2	21.1	6.1			
1901-1910	98	1.0	12.2	40.8	18.4	23.5	4.1		
1911-1920	222		21.6	26.1	27.9	20.7	2.7		1.0
1921-1930	192		13.0	28.0	32.8	21.4	3.6	1.6	0.5
1931-1940	0								
1941-1955	71		42.3	16.9	16.9	23.9			
				Touazine					
1887-1900	2				50.0	50.0			
1901-1910	99		3.0	19.2	41.4	30.3	6.1		
1911-1920	213	0.5	18.3	24.9	28.6	21.1	6.6		
1921-1930	101		32.7	33.7	13.9	10.9	6.9	1.0	1.0
1931-1940	38		5.6		13.9	33.3	33.3	13.9	
1941-1955	39		35.9	30.8	12.8	7.7	12.8		

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.21. The proportion of trees in total wealth (Index of Wealth). Percentage frequency distribution of guarantors' wealth by ethnic group and period.

Period	Valid cases	0.0	0.1-0.25	0.26-0.40	0.41-0.50	0.51-0.60	0.61-0.75	0.76-0.99	1.0
				Accara					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	22						4.5	95.5	
1911-1920	16								100.0
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	81						1.2	95.1	3.7
1941-1955	56							91.1	8.9
				Matmata					
1887-1900	1		100.0						
1901-1910	5	60.0						40.0	
1911-1920	365	0.5		3.8	5.5	9.9	34.5	45.5	0.3
1921-1930	71		4.2	1.2	2.8	5.6	32.4	53.5	
1931-1940	52			3.8		7.7	23.1	63.5	1.9
1941-1955	149			0.7	0.7	4.7	22.1	70.5	1.3
				Haouia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	253	25.3	2.0	7.1	7.1	9.9	21.3	25.3	2.0
1911-1920	300	34.7	1.7	2.0	3.0	9.0	16.3	33.0	0.3
1921-1930	95	1.1		1.1	1.1	4.2	18.9	70.5	3.2
1931-1940	45	60.0					8.9	28.9	2.2
1941-1955	37					2.7	5.4	73.0	18.9
				Djebalia					
1887-1900	0								
1901-1910	226	1.3	7.1	14.6	11.9	13.3	28.8	20.3	2.2
1911-1920	0								
1921-1930	0								
1931-1940	55	3.6	1.8	3.6	12.7	7.3	30.9	38.2	1.5
1941-1955	34			2.9	5.9	35.3	55.9		
				Ouderna					
1887-1900	33	100.0							
1901-1910	97	86.7	1.0	6.2	3.1	1.0			
1911-1920	222	12.6	17.6	17.6	11.7	14.9	14.4	8.1	3.2
1921-1930	192	22.9	15.1	15.1	6.3	10.9	14.1	14.1	1.6
1931-1940	3	0							
1941-1955	71	45.1	12.7	12.7	4.2	12.7	7.0	5.6	
				Touazine					
1887-1900	2	100.0							
1901-1910	99	100.0							
1911-1920	212	80.7	3.8	5.7	3.3	3.3	2.4	0.9	
1921-1930	101	91.1	1.0			1.0	1.0	5.9	
1931-1940	36	2.8		2.8		13.9	25.0	55.6	
1941-1955	39	84.6					2.6	12.8	

Source: Lists of Guarantors and Biographical Notices **AGGT.A.178, 182, 186, 190.**

4.22. The distribution of wealth in the South (c.1886).

a. Absolute Statistics.

	Camels	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Palms	Olives	Figs
Accara	1,918	476	6,672	3,834	33,927	73,000	9,650
Matmata	1,100	621	8,060	2,385	3,358	10,560	9,950
Khezour	5,290	900		36,000			
Djebalia	2,200	280		30,000			
Ouderna	12,630	100		48,000			
Touazine	6,900	36		27,000			

b. Per Adult Male.

	Camels	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Palms	Olives	Figs
Accara	1.16	0.29	4.06	2.33	20.68	44.40	5.87
Matmata	0.55	0.31	4.06	1.20	1.69	5.31	5.01
Khezour*	2.05	0.35		13.94			
Djebalia*	1.25	0.15		17.09			
Ouderna*	4.00	0.03		15.21			
Touazine*	6.12	0.03		23.96			

* Statistics caluclated as males being one quarter of total population. Goats and Sheep are combined.

Sources: Lt. Bétirac, 'Tribu des Matmata', April 1886, **SHAT.MR.1322.28.**, Lt. Bailly, 'Notice sur les Akara', November 1887, **SHAT.MR.1322.25.**, and Lt. Maguenot, 'Notice sommaire sur les Ouerghamma', May 1886, in **CLARKE.MS.**

4.23. The distribution of Wealth in Southern Tunisia (1957).

a. Herds of sheep and goats.

Community	50-100	100-150	150-200	>200	Total Sample
Matmata	48	31	11	5	95
Beni Kheddache(H)	63	20	1		86
Médenine	52	14	2		66
Ghomrassen	70	3	2	1	76
Zarzis	11	8			19
Tatahouine	115	50	16	5	176
Ben Gardane	76	52	12	7	147

b. Land ownership. Properties greater than 100 ha.

Community	Number of Properties	Total Area Ha.	Percentage of Total Area
Matmata	19	2,200	0.3%
Médenine, Bou Gara, Sidi Makhlouf	16	1,700	3.0%
Ben Gardane	c.40		
Zarzis	c.100		

Source: S.E.R.E.S.S.A. (1958).

4.24. The Distribution of Wealth Matmata (1954).

	Frequency of inhabitants having							
	Trees					Animals		
	10-20	20-50	50-100	100-200	>200	10-50	50-100	>200
Toujane	2	50	150	450	300	30	40	2
Tamezred		5	200	300	150	30	50	
Haddege		75	210	200	120	na	na	na
Zraoua		7	50	200	100	40	40	3
Beni Aïssa		10	100	200	200	40	20	
Od. Sliman		50	100	200	150	50	30	4
Beni Zelten	3	100	150	450	300	60	5	4
Acheches	5	100	200	160	200	70	60	4
Total	10	317	1,160	2,160	1,520	320	245	11

Source: Prost (1954, pp. 51 and 56)

4.25. The European Population of the Territoires Militaires.

	French	Italian	Maltese	Others	Total
		1896			
Ben Gardane					
Kebili					
Matmata	2				
Medenine	23				
Tataouine	7				
Zarzis	33				
Total TMS	133	110	59	30	342
		1906			
Ben Gardane	8	2	10		20
Kebili	17	11			28
Matmata	4	2			6
Medenine	29	61	11	3	104
Tataouine	11	3	1	3	18
Zarzis (commune)	54	32	37	22	145
Zarzis (environs)	10	9		2	21
Total TMS	133	120	59	30	352
Total Tunisia	34,610				128,895
		1911			
Ben Gardane	13	6	9	28	56
Kebili	23	11	1		35
Matmata	5	1			6
Medenine	25	43	14	3	85
Tataouine	12	3	1	3	19
Zarzis (commune)	50	37	53	27	167
Zarzis (environs)	17	9	5	3	34
Total TMS	145	110	83	64	402
Total Tunisia	46,044				148,476
		1921			
Ben Gardane	36	8	16		60
Kebili	9	3			12
Matmata	6				6
Medenine	56	28	19	2	105
Tatouine	33	5			38
Zarzis (commune)	73	28	26	25	152
Zarzis (environs)	12	3		6	21
Total TMS	225	75	61	33	394
Total Tunisia	54,476				156,115
		1931			
Ben Gardane	68	2	3	27	100
Kebili	8				8
Matmata					
Médenine	125	15	1	7	148
Tataouine	98	3	5	2	108
Zarzis	110	14	17	29	170
Total TMS	470	40	26	68	605
Total Tunisia	94,427			195,293	

cont'd.

	1936		
	French	Others	Total
Ouerghamma	413	143	556
(Ben Gardane, Zarzis, Médenine)			
Matmata	17		17
Tataouine	130	11	141
Total	560	154	714

Source: Census statistics.

4.26. Colonists at Zarzis (1905).

French		Foreigners		
M. Pellet and Mmme. Nancy	1,400 ha.	M. Pariente	(Ital)	2,000 ha.
M. Gauffreteau	400 ha.	M. el Ketibe	(Turk)	300 ha.
M. Morizot	50 ha.	M. Carleton	(Brit)	280 ha.
M. Nieuli	50 ha.	M. Galéa	(Brit)	80 ha.
M. Brudgière	50 ha.	M. Cassar	(Brit)	30 ha.
Vve. Spiteri	30 ha.			
M. Bouret	30 ha.			
Vve. Husson	25 ha.			

Source: Violard (1905, p. 54)

4.27. The Size Distribution of European European Estates in the Territoires Militaires (1897-1911).

Hectares	1897		1900		1906		1911	
0- 10	19	106	6	39	7	35	11	49
11- 100	10	379	14	452	16	545	21	827
101- 500	2	600	1	228	1	141	1	205
501-2000			1	554	2	2880	2	1413
GT 2000							2	6618

Source: Rapport au Président de la République sur la situation en Tunisie comprenant des tableuax statistiques annexes 1897, 1900, 1906, and 1911.

4.28. The delimitation of collective lands before and after the decree of 23 November 1918.

i. Delimitations before the decree of 23 November 1918 in the Cercle of Kebili.

1906	22,000 ha.	Bled Cegui
1916-18	10,700 ha.	Bled Cegui
	11,250 ha.	Bled Chareb
	4,000 ha.	Bou Ghorfa

ii. Delimitations in Southern Tunisia following the Decree of 23 November 1918.

Circonscription and area of Terres Collectives		Area Delimited by		
	Total area Collective Lands	1930	1941	1950
Ben Gardane	80,000 ha.	26,634 ha.	61,300 ha.	
Medenine	60,000 ha.	14,000 ha.	19,210 ha.	
Zarzis	20,679 ha.	26,679 ha.	20,679 ha.	
Tataouine	600,000 ha.	25,000 ha.	577,036 ha.	
Kebili	15,000 ha.	31,000 ha.	79,544 ha.	
Matmata	100,000 ha.	11,654 ha.	58,744 ha.	59,000 ha.

Sources:
Marty (1944, p. 167), Circonscription de Matmamta. Plan Quadriennial. 25 January 1954. **MAE.N.PS.712.**, Rapport de l'Activité du Service des Affaires Indigènes de Tunisie au cours de l'Année 1941. **MAE.N.PS.874.**

4.29. The creation of Habous under the Protectorate (1897-1952).

Period	Matmata	Djebel Abiodh	Médenine	Zarzis	Total
1897-1918	58	53	40	4	155
1919-1930	39	46	42	9	136
1931-1952	32	17	33	-	82
Total	129	116	108	13	373

Sources: Lists of habous acts provided in cadhi's registers **AGGT.C.22.10.** (These lists are not necessarily complete).

4.30. Debtors and Creditors.

α Messaoud b. Hadj Abdallah Ghomrassen 1928	Abdallah b. Belgassem b. Abdallah	1,000
	Bouzid b. Ali Er Rebâa	500
	Ali b. Belgassem b. Daou	3,000
	Abdallah b. Belgassem b. Daou	5,000
	Djelaoui b. Mohammed Khaïli	200
	Abdallah b. Saïd Kerakh (cheikh's brother)	2,000
	Bouzakh (Djerban merchant)	7,000
	Slama (79 Rue Kasba, Tunis)	5,000
	Isaac b. Maatoug (Tataouine)	4,000
	Isaac b. Maatoug (Tataouine)	3,000
	Jacob Bellamine (Tataouine)	6,000
	Un négociant Djerba	4,000
	Mohammed b. Nasr b. Djerad	2,000
	Mohammed b. Nasr b. Rebâa	1,600
	Brahim b. Mabrouk Rebâa	1,000
	Total	47,300
β 2 brothers 1931 Matmata	3 Jews at Gabès	70,000
# 118 individuals 1930 Zarzis	Haouati Fanech (Zarzis)	100,000
@ Mabrouk ben el Hadj Saïd 1930 Khezour	Khamous ben Kheris	
	Sassi Hattab	
	Mongi Saada	
	Total	2,000
¶ Ahmed ben Nafti 1930 Touazine	3 userers	20,000
† Ammar ben Ahmed ben Amorel Jelidi, 1931 Touazine	Maatig ben Cohen (Zarzis)	4,330

Source:

* Anonymous letter from four Ghomrassini to Direction des Finances, Tunis, 1 October 1928. **AGGT.A.178.18.**

§ Lt. Scoffoni to Résident Général, 198/15, 30 September, Matmata. 1931. **AGGT.A.187.1.1931.**

Rapport de Cpt. Chavanne, 13/3, 18 July 1930, Zarzis. **AGGT.A.180.13.**

@ Lt. Wilmat to Résident Général, 685/3, 1 July 1930, Médenine. **AGGT.A.182.15.**

¶ Rapport de Lt. LaNeele, 942/3, 9 September 1930, Ben Gardane. **AGGT.A.182.29**

† Rapport de Lt. Ponthier de Chamaillard, 116/3, 8 July 1931, Ben Gardane **AGGT.A.182.7.**

5.1. Variations in the Proportion of the Harvest received by Sharecroppers.

Area	Crop	Proportion
Kairouan	Cereals	1/4
Kebili	Dates (common)	1/5
	(Fetimi)	1/8
	(Henra)	1/10
	(Nour)	1/13
Kebili	Degla en Nour	1/15
	Dates	1/5
	Olives	1/8
Bou Abdallah (Nefzaoua)	Dates	1/5
	(Fetimi)	1/7
	(Henra)	1/10
	Olives	1/7
Zarzis	Cereals	1/4
	Dates	1/6
	Sorghum	1/4
Beni Zid	Cereals	1/3

Source:
Kraïem (1973), Jeangerard (1909), Decker-David (1911), Lt. Bouvet in Decker-David (1911).

5.2. Herdowners and Herders in Southern Tunisia.

List 1. February 1894		List 2. August 1894	
Owner	Herder	Owner	Herder
Kraïnia	Zelliten	Zelliten	Zelliten
Kraïnia	Zelliten	Zelliten	Zelliten
Kraïnia	Nouail	Zelliten	Zelliten
Zelliten	Zelliten	Rebaïa	Zelliten
Rebaïa	Rebaïa	Rebaïa	Rebaïa
Nebahna	Aouin	Zelliten	Djelata
Aouin	Aouin	Nebahna	Nebahna
		Nebahna	Nebahna
		Nebahna	Nebahna
		Nebahna	Djellata
		Nebahna	Djellidet
		Nebahna	Djellidet
		Mestoura	Djellata
		Djellidet	Djellidet
		Djellata	Djellidet
		Djellata	Djellidet

Sources:
List 1. Général Leclec to Millet, R.G., DP.303, 23 February 1894, and List 2. P.M. to Allegro, (Gov. Aradh), 3684, 30 August 1894, AGGT.E.234.5.

5.3. Employment of Muslims in the Territoires Militaires (1931-1936).

Circonscription	Ag.	Comm.	Ind.	Journ. Trans.		Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé	Total
				Absolute Numbers					
				1931					
Matmata	4,627	62	12	18	64	42	62	21	4,846
Ouerghamma	17,435	259	336	581	59	169	87	110	19,036
Tataouine	10,687	124	94	282	9	143	74	57	11,830
Nefzaoua	6,749	255	101	39	8	112	262	139	7,665
				1936					
Matmata	4,791	44	43	224	25	51	44	240	5,462
Ouerghamma	17,048	231	461	1,427	13	172	143	355	19,850
Tataouine	12,613	91	74	185	6	102	62	125	13,258
Nefzaoua	4,334	136	190	4,639	8	90	209	186	9,792

	Ag.	Comm.	Ind.	Jour.	Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé	Total
				Percentages				
				1931				
Matmata	95.58	1.28	0.25	0.37	1.32	0.87	1.28	0.43
Ouerghamma	91.59	1.36	1.77	3.05	0.31	0.89	0.47	0.58
Tataouine	90.34	1.04	0.79	2.38	0.07	1.21	0.63	0.48
Nefzaoua	88.01	3.33	1.31	0.40	0.10	0.51	3.42	1.81
				1936				
Matmata	87.71	0.80	0.79	4.10	0.46	0.93	0.81	4.39
Ouerghamma	85.88	1.16	2.32	7.19	0.07	0.87	0.72	1.79
Tataouine	95.14	0.69	0.56	1.39	0.05	0.77	0.47	0.94
Nefzaoua	44.26	1.39	1.94	47.38	0.08	0.92	2.13	1.90

Source: Census statistics.

5.4. Employment in Southern Tunisia (c. 1930).

Ethnic Group/ District	Ag.	Comm.	Ind.	Journ.	Trans.	Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé	Total
				Absolute Numbers					
Matmata	4,874	112	18	64	62	42	13	22	5,207
Zarzis	3,914	156	258	400	37	50	20	48	4,883
Haouia	3,411	2	2			12	14		3,441
Khezour	3,491	60	15	126	2	41	16	49	3,800
Touazine	6,315	5	23	5	5	46	16	10	6,425
Towns	603	89	39	50	82	20	6	1	890
Ouerghamma	17,734	312	337	581	126	169	72	108	19,439
Djebalia	2,050	9	4	1		15	13	30	2,122
Djelidat	1,672	31	17	11	3	20	22	15	1,791
Ouderna	6,887	84	73	232	82	29	30	7	7,424
Towns	28	42	6	39	1	49	8	5	178
Tataouine	10,637	166	100	283	86	113	73	57	11,515
Nefzaoua	6,675	255	101	1,223	8	112	262	139	7,665

Ethnic Group/ District	Ag.	Comm.	Ind.	Journ.	Trans.	Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé
				Percentages				
Matmata	93.60	2.15	0.35	1.23	1.19	0.81	0.25	0.42
Zarzis	80.15	3.19	5.28	8.19	0.76	1.02	0.41	0.98
Haouia	99.13	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.35	0.40	0.00
Khezour	91.86	1.58	0.40	3.32	0.05	1.08	0.25	0.26
Touazine	98.29	0.08	0.61	0.08	0.08	0.72	0.25	0.16
Towns	67.75	10.0	4.38	5.62	9.21	2.25	0.67	0.11
Ouerghamma	91.23	1.61	1.73	2.99	0.65	0.87	0.37	0.56
Djebalia	96.61	0.42	0.19	0.05	0.00	0.84	1.23	1.41
Djelidat	92.77	1.73	0.95	0.61	0.17	1.12	1.23	0.84
Ouderna	92.77	1.13	0.98	3.13	1.10	0.39	0.40	0.09
Towns	15.73	23.60	3.37	21.91	0.56	27.53	4.49	2.81
Tataouine	92.37	1.44	0.87	2.46	0.75	0.98	0.63	0.50
Nefzaoua	87.08	3.33	1.32	15.96	0.10	1.46	3.42	1.81

Source: Handwritten sheet of figures by cheikhat in (no signature no date) **AGGT.E.540.1.**

5.5. Employment of Jews in Southern Tunisia.

Circonscription	Ag.	Ind. Comm.	Ind. Journ.	Trans.	Trans. Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé	Total
				Absolute Numbers				
				1931				
Matmata	0	62	3	0	0	0	0	65
Ouerghamma	0	20	1	1	0	1	0	23
Tataouine	0	130	9	1	2	0	2	0	134
Nefzaoua	0	74	11	2	0	1	0	0	90
				1936				
Matmata	0	31	3	26	0	0	1	0	61
Ouerghamma	0	220	78	39	4	5	9	19	374
Tataouine	0	123	14	6	0	0	2	23	168
Nefzaoua	0	51	29	15	0	0	0	3	98

Ethnic Group/ District	Ag.	Ind. Comm.	Ind. Journ.	Trans.	Trans. Fonct.	Prof.	Non Classé
				Percentages			
				1931			
Matmata	0.00	95.38	4.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ouerghamma	0.00	87.00	4.35	4.35	0.00	4.35	0.00	0.00
Tataouine	0.00	97.02	6.72	0.75	1.50	0.00	1.50	0.00
Nefzaoua	0.00	82.22	12.22	2.22	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00
				1936				
Matmata	0.00	50.82	4.92	42.62	0.00	0.00	1.64	0.00
Ouerghamma	0.00	58.82	20.90	10.43	1.07	1.37	2.41	5.08
Tataouine	0.00	73.21	8.33	3.57	0.00	0.00	1.19	13.69
Nefzaoua	0.00	52.04	29.59	8.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.06

Source: Census Statistics.

5.6. Workers in Southern Tunisia following a survey of 1951.

	Permanent Non-Wage Earners	Permanent Wage Earners	Khammes	Seasonal/ Temporary Labourers	No. Days Temporary Work/Yr.
Matmata	18,559	47	9,307	4,149	145,059
Zarzis*	18,768	1,039	129	16,735	1,457,940
Khezour	2,925	2	21	23	200
Haouia	5,486		4		
Touazine	4,057	20	111	1,346	80,408
Ouerghamma	31,236	1,061	265	18,104	1,538,548
Djebalia	11,796	1,830	963	191	7,330
Djelidat	3,218	5	1	45	380
Ouderna	13,007	2,052	684	89	2,483
Tataouine	28,021	3,887	1,648	325	10,193
Nefzaoua	18,712	163	12,308	8,857	593,351
Total					

Source: **MS. Clarke.**

Definition of Categories.

Agriculteurs: les propriétaires ruraux, les agriculteurs et ouvriers agricoles de toute catégorie; gérants contre maîtres, khammes, jardiniers, bergers.

Commerçants: les commerçants, le personnel de tous les magisins de vente, employés de commerce et de banque, colporteurs.

Industriels: les patrons et ouvriers de tous corps métiers s'adonnant effectivement à une fabrication quelconque, pêcheries.

Ouvriers Journaliers: les manoeuvres, les tâcherons, tous ceux qui n'exercent pas une profession bien caracterisée travaillant à la journée dans les exploitations commerciales, industrielles, ou agricoles.

Agents de Transport: les employés de chemin de fer et des tramways les agents de transport maritime, les conducteurs des voitures, les portefaix, les chameliers.

Fonctionaires: le personnel des Administrations et services publics, y comptant la magistrature, la police d'oudjak.

Professionels: les avocats, oukils, médecins, agents d'affaires, experts, courtiers, répresentants, amines, notaires, artistes, et membres d'enseignment religeux et des cultes.

Non Classé: personnes non susceptible de figurer dans l'un ou l'autre de précédents catégories, étudiants, infirmes, rentiers.

Source:
Note sur le Dénombrement des Populations Européene et Indigène en 1926.

5.7.a. Travailleurs Colonials sent from Tunisia to France (1916-1917).

	Combatants	Ouvriers Agricoles	Ouvriers Industriels	Total
April 1917	38,105			6,865
30 November 1917		8,945	4,580	13,525

Sources:
Ministère des Colonies to Résident Général, Paris, No.25, 14 April 1917 and Bulletin des Renseignements, Paris, 481/9/11, 17 January 1918, **MAE.G.1510.**

5.7.b. Travailleurs Colonials from Southern Tunisia (incomplete).

	Matmata	Medenine Kebili	Medenine B.Gardane	Zarzis	Zarzis Tataouine		Total
1916							
pre August	145	?	?	?	?	?	145
August		70					70
September	38						38
November	¶89						89
1917							
February		547		80			627
September	80	@260	130				470
October	100		39	40		24	203
1918							
January	40					69	109
February	‡64					40	104
Total	556	878	169	120	?	133	1,855

¶ 300 presentés, @ 400 presentés, ‡ 276 presentés
Source: Rapport Mensuels.

5.8. Specialist Professions of Southern Migrants.

Beni Aissa (M)	Bakers at Bab Souika and Bab Zira
Acheches and Od. Sliman (M)	Sell chick peas, beans, glibets.
Zraoua (M)	Bakers
Tamazredt, Taoudjoudt, and Toujane (M)	Porters at Fondouq el R'ella, Bab Djedid
Beni Zelten (M)	Porters Souk el Ouzar, Souk el Leffa, and Souk el Gouma
Ghomrassen (D)	Sell doughnuts
Guermessa (D)	Porters and Dockers
Douiret (D)	Cloth merchants (porters), patisseurs
Chenini (D)	Sell newspapers (cooks)

M Matmata D Douiret.Sources:
Jemai (no date), Maigray (1968), Marty (1948), Prost (1950 and 1955), Service Géographique de l'Armée de Terre (1886, p.40).

5.9. Migrants from the Mountain Communities (c. 1950).

Village/ Ethnic Group	Number	With Family	No. in North	% of families	Av. income
Tamazredt, Zraoua	700			100	15,500
Beni Aissa, Acheche, Haddege, Beni Zelten, Od. Sliman	1,000		40	30	12,500
Toujane	20				
Ghomrassen	750			50	35,000
Guermessa	150		12	75	70,000
Chenini	100	50%	20	75	70,000
Douiret	600			40	70,000
Meguedemine			100		
Od. Chehida, Od. Debbab	285			20	25,000
Deghaghra	200				
Tatouine	150				
Guettofa	100				
Hamidia, Beni Blell	300				
Zorgane	2,100			40	5,000
Krachoua	2,000				
Abasa	300				

Source: Prost (1950, pp. 71-83 and 1955, pp. 316-324)

Village/ Ethnic Groups	No. Migrants	Place of Migration	Period of Residence	Type of Employment
Od. Debbab	250	Tunis	1 yr.	Dockers Porters
Od. Chehida	200-250	Tunis/Zarzis /North	1-3 yrs.	Harvesters
Adjerda	60-300	Tunis/Zarzis /Mareth	1-3 yrs.	Harvesters/ Labourers
Deghaghra	700-1,000	1/3 at Tunis		
Ababsa	perm. c.70	c.45 Tunis	1 yr	
Djellidet Tata.	500			
Djellidet B.B.	few	1/3 Djerba Zarzis		Harvesters
Guettoffa	perm. 600	Tunis		
Zorgane	few	Djerba Zarzis		Harvesters
Krachoua				
Hamidia				
Amerna	0			
Ghomrassen	750	Tunis/North	1 yr.	
Douiret	perm. 1,200	Tunis		
Chenini	c.400	Tunis		
Guermessa				
Haraza	perm. 2/3	Hammam-Lif		

Source: Interviews and summary tables **MS.Clarke.**

5.10. Transhumants from the Cercle of Médenine (1901-1902).

Cheikhat of Origin	No. Herds	No. Herders	Sheep	Goats	Av. Herd Size	Mules
Melalha	4	6	710	810	380	3
Od. Khalifa (Chogman)	16	16	1,230	1,900	195	14
Nebahna	14	24	2,000	860	204	16
Krainia	20	31	4,140	3,040	359	
Od. Hamed	8	16	820	440	157	9
Aouin	2	3	485	215	350	4
Rebaia	2	2	250	130	190	4
Zelliten	5	8	713	242	191	6
Total	71	106	10,348	7,637	2,026	53

Source:
Liste nominative des indigènes de la tribu des Touazine qui demandent l'autorisation d'aller faire pacager leurs troupeaux en dehors du Cercle de Médenine. 1901. **AGGT.E.234.3**

Lineage of douar seeking achaba	No. Men	No. Tents	Sheep	Mules
Bou Djelada	35	25	500	100
Od.Hamed	37	25	700	100
Khenaïza	30	30	500	70
Dera Lalia	25	20	300	50
Outouta	60	40	700	120
Haouia	50	40	700	90
Od. el Hadj	100	80	700	100
AbdelJelil	80	70	500	120
Od. Hamed	50	40	400	120
Od. AbdelKader	70	50	300	80
Od. Ahmed	60	40	300	80
Od. Abdallah	40	30	300	75
Od. Bou Adhir	60	50	300	75
Total	697	540	6,220	1,255

Source:
List of douars seeking *achaba*. Signed the Khalifa of Djelidet. 18th October 1901. **AGGT.E.234.3**

5.11. Numbers of Transhumants from the Circonscriptions of Tataouine (1936 to 1952).

	No. People			No. Animals				
	Men	Women	Children	Sheep	Goats	Camels	Mules	Horses
			1936					
Amerna	173	147	211	1,207	867	209	117	19
Zourganes	119	86	138	437	122	168	47	21
Ababsa	93	126	140	20		167	66	25
Hamidia	12	29	44	200	80	35	6	5
Od. Chehida	15	22	34	32	29	18	13	
Od. Debbab	9	2	11	249	40	14	2	3
Adjerda	5	4	3	2		7	4	2
Krachoua	3	4	13	4	2	14		1
Djelidet B.B.	117	122	183	550	180	155	72	13
Djelidet Tata.	77	62	136	1,041	379	96	43	10
Guettofa (D)	11	7	6	50	50	8	4	1
Ghomrassen H. (D)	9			100	150	19	2	5
Ghomrassen B. (D)	7	3	5	300		6		1
Total	2,189	614	925	4,208	1,899	916	386	106
			1937					
Krachoua	3							
Od. Chehida	1	2						
Djelidet Tata.	4	3	8			8		
Total	8	5	8			8		
			1938					
Amerna	21	10	13			9	6	
Zourganes	15	7	28					
Adjerda	7						1	
Od. Chehida	3	1	4			2	1	
Ababsa	2							
Hamidia	2							
Deghaghra	1							
Djelidet B.B.	9	6	12			9	1	
Djelidet Tata.	4							
Total	64	24	57			20	9	
			1941					
Hamidia	13	19	27			16	9	1
Adjerda	7	12	21			9	4	
Od. Chehida	5	7	5			3	5	
Od. Debbab	5	5	7	4		4	2	
Amerna	5	5	10			5	5	
Deghaghra	1	1	6			1	1	
Guettofa			1				1	
Djelidet B.B.	7	11	22			26	18	
Djelidet Tata.	25	36	65	10		3	8	
Ghomrassen H. (D)	1	4	5			4	3	1
Total	69	99	159	14		71	56	2

cont'd.

	No. People			No. Animals				
	Men	Women	Children	Sheep	Goats	Camels	Mules	Horses
			1942					
Amerna	227	180	218		317	228	148	3
Zourganes	58	48	118			67	28	
Adjerda	45	46	76			50	31	1
Hamidia	24	16	14			18	14	
Od. Debbab	17	19	26			6	7	
Djelidet B.B.	138	111	152		14	127	61	2
Djelidet Tata.	125	161	210		1	133	68	
Guettofa (D)	1	2	3			2	1	
Total	635	583	817		332	631	358	6
			1943					
Amerna	5					5		
Od. Chehida	19	1	3			19		
Total	24	1	3			24		
			1947					
Amerna	412	368	386	339	585	505	311	5
Zourgane	97	90	116	120	133	122	50	7
Ababsa	41	45	55	8	20	2	54	
Krachoua	33	5	7	436	287	68	7	
Od. Chehida	30	9	12	302	281	8	8	
Hamidia	22	13	16	97	87	26	10	
Adjerda	6			75	53			
Deghaghra	2	2	8			4	1	
Djelidet Tata.	84	45	63	581	913	192	31	
Djelidet B.B.	22	5		366	222	4	5	
Ghomrassen B. (D)	27	5	10	338	280	16	5	
Guettofa (D)	10		2	140	197	3	1	
Ghomrassen H. (D)	9	8	10	18		17	7	
Douiret (D)	4		2	76	90			
Total	838	636	714	3,085	3,659	986	491	12
			1948					
Amerna	550	422	399	96		356	222	6
Zourgane	503	484	604			376	188	6
Od. Chehida	273	232	269	19		225	63	
Ababsa	225	262	280			208	105	2
Hamidia	174	166	226	16	5	143	55	
Od. Debbab	168	165	199	210		77	37	
Krachoua	141	113	166			93	32	
Deghaghra	133	153	112			67	42	
Adjerda	27	5	1			12	6	2
Djelidet B.B.	286	238	264			193	84	4
Djelidet Tata.	448	366	523	177		230	80	14
Ghom. H. (D)	155	136	164			101	41	
Ghomrassen B.	164	156	171	300		65	39	8
Guettofa	142	70	66	3		51	30	1
Douiret	8							
Dehibat	4	3	10			8		
Total	3,421	2,971	3,454	821	5	2,199	1,044	44

cont.'d

			1950					
Amerna	145	100	81			45	35	
Ababsa	20	15	15			6	6	
Djelidet Tata.	28	21	30			19	10	2
Total	193	136	126			70	51	2
			1951					
Amerna	107	120	88			108	62	
Zorgane	82	87	96			41	20	
Adjerda	10	1				18		
Djelidet Tata.	6	8	8			4	3	
Total	205	216	192			171	85	
			Annual Totals					
1936	2,189	614	925	4,208	1,899	916	386	106
1937	8	5	8			8		
1938	64	24	57			20	9	
1941	69	99	159	14		71	56	2
1942	635	583	817		332	631	358	6
1943	24	1	3			24		
1947	838	636	714	3,085	3,659	986	491	12
1948	3,421	2,971	3,454	821	5	2,199	1,044	44
1951	193	136	126			70	51	2
1952	205	216	192			171	85	

Source: List of statistics (original source unknown) MS.Clarke.

5.12. Family Budgets in Southern Tunisia (1938).

Farmer T.M.S. cultivating 2-3 ha. orge with a small herd of sheep and goats. Family: Father, Mother, 2 sons, 1 daughter, 2 sons less than ten years old.

Revenues	Frs.	Expenditures	Frs.
Total orge produced	2,500.00	Barley flour 4kg/day	2,160.00
Excedent	2,000.00	Dry figs 4kg/day	1,440.00
Sale of animals	300.00	Olive Oil 1/3 l. day	804.00
Product of family		Dry pepper 30g/day	66.00
industry	400.00	Salt 100g/day	25.20
		Sugar 150g/kg	206.50
		Gourbi (maintenance)	30
		Lighting	20
		Heat from gathered wood.	
		Water private cistern.	
		Clothing Man	300
		Wife	200
		Children	100
Total	6,200.00	Total	

Farmer in Central Tunisia. Olive plantation with 100 trees and part of an area of cereal ploughland. Family: Father, Mother, 1 Son 12 years, 1 daughter 9 years.

Revenues	Frs.	Expenditures	Frs.
Olives (-production	5,500.00	Wheat 2 kg/day	1,606.00
costs)		Barley 3.5 kg/day	1,638.00
350 kg barley	455.00	Olive Oil 0.3 l/day	720.00
300 kg wheat	660.00	Salt 50 g/day	12.80
		Spices, Pepper 5 kg, Dry	242.00
		Pepper 25 kg, Carvi 7 kg	
		Vegetables 2.5 frs/day	912.00
		Meat (beef and mutton)	416.00
		1 kg per week	
		Tea Sugar 15 frs month	180.00
		House with courtyard	
		Maintenance	50.00
		Light (petrol) 0.15frs/day	54.00
		Heat/cooking wood from trees	60.00
		Charcoal 100 kg	40.00
		Public wells	
		Clothes	400.00
		Soap	40.00
		Tobacco	144.00
		Taxes	250.00
Total	6,615.00	Total	6,734.00

Day labourer in an urban centre of the South. Family: Father, Mother, 1 son 6 years, 2 daughters 8 and 2 years.

Revenues	Frs.	Expenditures	Frs.
Father's work	720.00	Barley flour 0.5 kg/day	309.40
(3 frs. day)		Rice flour 0.5 kg/day	291.20
Mother spinning wool	335.00	Olive Oil 0.1 l/day	109.50
		Onions 20 g/day	7.10
		Pepper 10 g/day	21.90
		Salt 40 g/day	10.20
		Meat (goat/camel) every 3 months	20.00
		Seasonally 6 weeks summer 5 kg fresh figs/week	15.00
		Seasonally 9 months 4 kg dates/month	36.00
		Housing lives with father, Upkeep	20.00
		Lighting	27.00
		Clothing	120.00
		Divers incl. tax	100.00
Total	1,055.00	Total	1,087.30

Day labourer in Central Tunisia. Family: Father, Mother, 3 Sons 10, 4, and 2 years, 1 daughter 8 years.

Revenues	Frs.	Expenditures	Frs.
Father's work	2,400.00	Rice 0.55kg/day	240.00
Mother's work	120.00	Wheat 1 kg/day	803.00
(washing 10 frs. month)		Olive Oil 0.15 l/day	365.00
Eggs from family	150.00	Salt 40 g/day	10.20
chickens		Peppers, beans, onions 3 frs/week	156.00
		Tea and Sugar 10 frs/months	120.00
		Meat (1kg sheep/month) and Tripe (12 frs month)	144.00
		Seasonally 1 kg sardines twice per week for 6 months/yr	39.00
		Lodging no cost	
		Lighting	20.00
		Heating wood 0.5 frs/day	182.00
		Clothes and shoes	120.00
		Blankets and mats	60.00
		Soap	24.00
		Tobacco 0.5 frs/day	182.00
		Divers incl. taxes	120.00
Total	2,670.00	Total	2,693.20

Potter in a village of the South. Family: Father, Mother, 2 Sons 10 and 1 years, 1 Daughter 5 years.

Revenues	Frs.	Expenditures	Frs.
Production	2,400.00	Barley flour 2 kg/day	1,341.00
		Olive Oil 0.2 l/day	474.50
		Pepper 30 g/day	29.20
		Salt 50 g/day	14.60
		Onions 100 g/day	36.50
		Tea and coffee	164.50
		(for head of household)	
		Meat (goat/camel) 1kg/month	55.20
		Seasonally Summer 45 days	
		1 kg figs/day	22.50
		Winter 50 days	
		1 kg dates/day	50.00
		Housing (1 room)	20.00
		Lighting and heat from cooking	
		Clothes	100.00
		Divers incl. taxes	100.00
Total	2,400.00	Total	2,416.75

Source: Aouda (1938).

5.13. Meals and Consumption in Southern Tunisia (c. 1940).

Poorest Tribesmen in Southern Tunisia.

Breakfast	Nothing
Lunch	Bread and dates or figs.
Dinner	Melthouth (watery gruel) and bread without meat.

Tribesmen of Middle Wealth.

Breakfast	Dates or figs.
Lunch	Bread made from barley and figs and dates.
Dinner	Couscous or Melthouth or boiled rice, onions, oil, and fresh fruit.

Richest Tribesmen.

Breakfast	Kesra (unlevened bread made from barley).
Lunch	Tabouna (gruel made with olive oil) dates, olive oil, and vegtables.
Dinner	Couscous (wheat), vegetables, turnips, peppers, and goats milk.

Source: Marty (1944, pp. 471-2).

5.14. Begging in Tunisia.

A. The Number of arrests for Begging.

1934	4,693
1935	3,159
1936	4,631
1937	4,688
1938	4,239
1939	2,883

B. Monthly distribution of arrests for begging (1936-8).
(Index: annual mean = 100)

January	160.0	July	67.0
February	98.7	August	49.0
March	148.0	September	48.0
April	159.0	October	63.0
May	146.0	November	76.5
June	71.0	December	113.0

Source: Liauzu (1978, p.24).

6.1. The Mahalla.

Date	Regular Troops	Turks	Spahis	Makhzen Levies	Arti-llery	Total Troops
1840	11,000	1 Regiment			18	11,000
1845	2,500			7,500		10,000
1846		400	3,000	600		4,000
1854						30,000
1864					20	25,400
1878	2,500					2,500

C.G. (Tunis) to M.A.E., DP. 45, 23 January 1840, Tunis, **MAE.CPT.45.**, Kennedy (1845, II, p. 20), Pellissier (1853, pp. 213-4), Davis (1854, I, p. 168), Wood to Russell, 130, 20 December 1864, Tunis, **PRO.FO.102.72.**, Wood to Salisbury, 48, 22 August 1878, **PRO.FO.102.111.**

6.2. Garrisons in South East Tunisia (1882 to 1922).

	§1889	#1912	¶1914	©1922
Gabes		4e Batt.Afr 907		
		1e Sect.Art 61		
		4e Spahis 167		
Medenine	(2 Cos.)c.180	4e Tir 47	Mt.Art. 81	
			4eBatt.Afr 147	2 Batt
			4e Spahis 73	
Tataouine	(2 Cos.)c.135	4e Tir. 137	15e G.S. 600	
			4e Spahis 41	4e Tir. 60
Zarzis	(½ Co.)c. 45	4e Tir. 81	4e G.S. 478	
			4e Spahis 41	4e Tir. 60
Dehibat			15e G.S. 200	4e Spahis 52
Total		2,302	1,531	
Total Tunisia		11,173		
Goum à Mehari			200	210
Makhzen	87	214	290	276

Sources:
© Les Territoires Militaires du Sud Tunisien, 1922, Cdt. Faveris, **REC.1.7.**; ¶ Pierre, Historique des Operations dans le Sud Tunisien de 1915 à 1919, Pierre Bouret, 1925. **REC.4.4.**; # M.G. to M.A.E., 483, 31 January 1912, **MAE.NS.302.**; § Général Saint-Marc to M.G., 27, 27 January 1888, **SHAT.2.H.28.1.**

6.3. Reinforcement of the Garrisons in the South during the Revolt of the Ouderna in 1915.

Date	Médenine	Zarzis	Ben Gardane	Tata-ouine	Remada	Dehibat
Dec 1914						2 Cos.5e Batt. d'Afrique
12 August 1915				½Sq.4eSpahis (from Zarzis)		
14	1 Section de Batterie de Artillerie					
18						1 Co.5e Batt. d'Afrique (Cdt.Abbat)
19			2 Section de Batterie de Artillerie de 90			
21	2 Cos. 125e Territorial				1 Batt. 125e Territorial	
23				1 Batt. 126e Territorial		
26		1 Co. 126e Territorial				
27		1 Sq. 4e Spahis				
30					1 Co.15e Groupe Spéciale	1 Sq. Chasseurs d'Afrique
31			1 pel.4e Spahis	3 pel.4e Spahis		
1 September					1 Section Artillerie de Montagne	
22			3 Cos. 125e Territorial	1 Batt.1er Zouaves		
				1 Sect. 80 de Montagne		

Batt. Battalion
Co. Company
pel. Platoon
Sq. Squadron

Source:
Pierre Bouret, Historique des Opérations dans le Sud tunisien de 1915 à 1919, **REC.4.4.**; Rapports au Général Commandant les Troupes Sud Tunisien sur les Opérations **SHAT.2.H.53.4** and **SHAT.7.N.2133 and 2134**, and Divers reports and documents in **SHAT.2.H.53.1 to 5**.

6.4. Casualties in the French and Tunisian Armies in the South (1914 to 1 April 1919).

Dead and Missing	748
Wounded	264
Died of Disease	1,548
Total	2,560

Including 15 officers of the Services des Affaires Indigènes.

Source:
Pierre Bouret, Historique des Opérations dans le Sud Tunisien de 1915 à 1919, **REC.4.4.** and Chavanne (1931, p.143).

6.5. Distance of surfaced and unsurfaced roads in Southern Tunisia (January 1943).

Circonscription	Surfaced Roads Km.	Unsurfaced Motorable Roads Km.
Médenine	210	280
Zarzis	45	220
Ben Gardane	78	400
Tataouine	35	460
Kebili	40	380
Matmata	50	250
Total	458	1,990

Sources:
Chef. Batt. Briand, 'Note sur la situation économique de la circonscription de Tataouine', December 1950, **MAEN.PS.932.**; Lt. Mollot, 'Rapport sur les questions économiques indigènes pendant la 1er semestre 1941', July 1941, **MAEN.PS.712**; Col. Tortrat, 'Les Territoires Militaires Sud Tunisiens', 11 December 1954, **REC.1.11.**

6.6. Conscription of Tunisians into the Tunisian Army (1888-1935).

	1895	1905	1915	1917	1925	1935
Included on Conscription List	16,521	24,473	23,070	35,371	19,308	29,069
Examined following Draw		8,305	8,459	30,397	15,457	27,638
Designated for Conscription		2,283	4,212	14,950	5,838	7,916
Exempted as family supporter		897	1,733	§5,558	4,180	7,870
Exempted by illness		4,535	2,308	9,727	4,611	10,959
Exempted after payment of price of replacement		663	1,922	4,854	1,243	1,407
Exempted as students		205	169	198	242	469
Conscripted#	1,880	1,620	2,290	10,098	4,595	5,944

§ Sent to France as 'Travailleurs Agricoles Requisitionés' with the 4,974 individuals examined but exceeding the needs of the military.

For service in Garde Beylicale, 4e Tiralleurs, 4e Spahis, Division Navale, and Service des Ports.

Source:
Statistique Général de la Tunisie and R.G. to M.A.E., DP.174., 11 April 1900, **MAE.NS.295.**

6.7. Imprisonments Imposed by the Authorities of Southern Tunisia in the First Six Months of 1901.

	Number of Imprisonments by Authority				
Circonscription	Khalifa	Caïd	S.A.I.	Ministers	Total
Ben Gardane	11		30	3	44
Medenine		16	40	3	59
Kebili		21	14	5	40
Tataouine	12	2	21		35
Zarzis		12	2		14
Matmata		32	10		42
Total	23	83	117	11	234

Source: Rélève des incarcérations de premier semestre 1901 dans les différents postes de Sud de la Régence. **AGGT.A.197.2**

6.8. Cases Settled by the Caïds, Kahias, Khalifas Delegués and Présidents des Tribunaux Régionaux (1905-1930).

	Civil Law Cases					
	1905	1912	1915	1920	1925	1930
Caïds Matmata	0	105	91	59	57	113
Nefzaoua	239	202	290	42	84	52
Ouerghamma	1268	405	384	614	155	50
Tataouine					40	90
Kahia Tataouine			122	78		
Khalifa Ouderna		235				
Zarzis		165	237	227	109	35
Touazine				137		34
Président de Driba à Gabes.	2,384	962	1,137	452	372	160
Total	3,891	2,074	2,261	1,602	817	534

	Criminal Law Cases					
	1905	1912	1915	1920	1925	1930
Caïds Matmata	226	392	84	123	6	119
Nefzaoua	227	12	4	5	75	121
Ouerghamma	1,128	137	279	206	359	201
Tataouine					107	186
Kahia Tataouine			239	441		
Khalifa Ouderna		449				
Zarzis		146	445	578	74	214
Touazine				251		116
Président de Driba à Gabes.	148	363	647	616	934	1,019
Total	1,580	1,499	1,698	2,220	1,555	1,976

Source: Statistique Général de la Tunisie.

6.9. The reform of fiscal legislation during the Protectorate.

Decree/Arrête		Captitation tax Modification		Total value
4 October	1869	Medjba	24	27.5
15 October	1884	Establishes privelged regime of makhzen tribes.		
29 July	1889	Khezour and Accara to pay medjba	20	20
		Touazine and Ouderna driba fixé.		
20 August	1892	Principal decreased		
		North & Matmata	20	20
		T.M.S.	15	15
10 August	1896	Taxes must be paid in cash.		
14 June	1902	Taxe de Route added to Medjba		
		North & Matmata	3	23
		T.M.S.	3	18
12 May	1906	Pay medjba in parts of one quarter.		
31 December	1909	Principal decreased		
		North	18	18
		T.M.S.	15	15
31 December	1912	Principal decreased		
		North	15	15
		T.M.S.	12	12
30 December	1914	Establishes Istitan	10	10
24 December	1921	Increase in the principal	15	
		Supplementary cotisation in T.M.S	2	17
28 December	1929	Surtaxes regionales established		
		Tunis	8	
		North and Sahel	5	
		Centre	3	
		T.M.S.	2.5	17.5
24 May	1937	Income tax introduced.		

Agricultural Taxes

Achour

28 June	1898	Conditions of discount established.
31 July	1898	Discount of 90% for use of European plough.
31 December	1909	Extended to Matmata and Médenine.
16 February	1917	Extended to oats.
22 November	1935	Ends ashour.

Kanoun (Olives)

22 January	1894	Exemption for first ten years, establish procedure of census.
26 May	1900	Census of olive trees in T.M.S.
8 December	1901	Categories 0.05-0.5 centimes Ouerghamma and Aradh 0.1, 0.15, 0.2, 0.25, 0.3 francs.
20 December	1917	Categories in Regence changed to 0.05, 0.1, 0.15, 0.2, 0.25, 0.4, 0.5, 0.7, 1.0.

23 March	1929	Categories in Regence changed to 0.05, 0.1, 0.2, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, 1, 1.2, 1.5, 1.75, 2.
15 April	1932	Reduction of the tax by 30%.

Kanoun (dates)

22 January	1894	Exemption for first twenty years.
8 December	1901	Categories 0.0075-1.0 francs. Ouerghamma 0.075 francs. Aradh 0.02 francs.
24 December	1921	Categories 0.15-2.0 francs. Ouerghamma 0.15 francs. Aradh 0.40 francs.
1 February	1926	25% increase.
21 January	1929	75% increase.
15 April	1932	25% decrease.
31 December	1932	Ends Matmata's exemption. 45% decrease.

Mradjas

28 December	1926	Fruit trees tax Fig trees 0.10 frs. Almonds/Pistachios 0.20 frs. Others 0.10 frs.

Animal Tax

29 December	1918	Taxes on Horses, cattle, camels, sheep and goats applied to T.M.S.

Source: Journal Official Tunisien.

6.10. The changing fiscal burden of Southern Tunisia (1888 to 1929).

	1888 @Zarzis
Medjba/Driba	35,496.00
Achour	750.00
Qanoun	8,562.00
Total	44,808.00

	1894 δNefzaoua	1894 δMédenine	1894 δZarzis
Medjba/Driba	58,960.00	59,585.00	38,540.00
Achour	75.00		750.00
Qanoun	38,969.00		775.00
Total	98,004.00	59,585.00	40,005.00

	1904 ∫Nefzaoua	1909 †Médenine	1904 ∫Matmata
Medjba/Driba	49,776.10	64,464.00	40,000.00
Achour	303.20		
Qanoun	36,838.97		653.36
Mahouslats	16,751.55		
Total	103,669.82	64,464.00	40,653.36

	1929 @Nefzaoua	1929 @Médenine	1929 ¶Matmata	1929 @Zarzis
Istitan	164,521.00	131,200.00	91,350.00	83,980.07
Contributions Personnelles	1,085.00		12,180.00	
Achour	51.512.57	20,000.00	71,032.00	33,445.76
Taxe sur Bétail	49,145.02	63,200.00	61,918.00	23,111.18
Qanoun (Palms)	224,235.53	6,500.00		18,552.92
Qanoun (Olives)	3,039.59	22,400.00	163,496.00	88,531.92
Mradjas	3,986.14	8,700.00	5,566.00	6,076.18
Taxe Locative	7,109.34			
Total	504,634.19	252,000.00	405,542.00	253,657.50

Sources:

δ Rapport sur la situation des Territoires de commandement pendant l'année 1894. **ANSOM.26.H.14.5.** Nefzaoua includes Matmata.

∫ Martel (1964, vol II, p.71)

† Decree of 31 December 1909.

@ Services d'Affaires Indigènes (1930a, b, and e).

¶ Situation Général au 28 février 1930. Récouvrements Confiés au Caïd de Matmata. **MAEN.PS.712.**

6.11. Taxes paid in the cheikhat of Beni Barka (1929).

Tax	Amount due	Payments
Isititan	17,460	5,765
Cotisation	2,324	1.021
Prêts de Semences	14,425	3,284
Taxe sur Bétail	3,628	1,354
Fines	867	214
Qanoun (olives)	762	373
Fruit trees	325	91
Total	39,791	12,102

Source: Rapport Lt. Mignet, Tataouine, 1941/3, 15th October 1929. **AGGT.A.178.8.**

6.12. Total tax paid by Circonscription (1894 to 1940).

	§1894	†1901	†1910	@1929	¶1940
Médenine	59,585	158,062	218,052	252,000	453,774
Zarzis	40,005			253,697	539,527
Ben Gardane				227,356	356,615
Tataouine				459,796	403,962
Matmata		45,393	60,822	405,542	278,560
Nefzaoua	98,004	102,539	140,520	504,634	1,294,336
Total	197,594	305,994	419,394	2,103,025	3,005,824

Sources:

§ Rapport sur la Situation des Territoires de Commandement pendant l'année 1894. **ANSOM.26.H.14.5.** (Nefzaoua includes Matmata).

† Martel (1964, Vol II, p. 69) (Médenine includes all the Ouerghamma).

@ Service des Affaires Indigènes (1931 a to f).

¶ Rapport sur l'Activité du S.A.I. de Tunisie au Cours de l'Année 1941. **MAEN.PS.874.**

6.13. Government expenditure and receipts in Nefzaoua and Matmata (1901-2).

Receipts	Nefzaoua	Matmata	Expenditures	Nefzaoua	Matmata
Medjba	49,776	40,000	Roads/bridges	3,515	2,473
Achour	303		Water points	3,642	500
Qanoun	36,834	653	Buildings	155	220
Prestations	1,050		Nurseries/Locusts	200	250
Water Points	700	1,000	Doctors fees	600	600
Fines	7,250	2,355	Medicines	529	200
Mahsoulats	16,752		Pay. to cheikhs	900	
Monopoles	6,632		Makhzen	13,620	
Postes	2,745		Food for prison	1,397	596
Stamps,			Prison	7,090	
Registrations	4,604		Upkeep of jailers	27	25
Divers	685	5	Monopoles	18,625	1,200
			Postes	5,392	
			Archaeology		200
			Forests		
Total	127,331	43,013	Total	55,692	6,264

Source: Cdt. Donau in Martel (1964, II, p.71).

6.14. Dissidents from Southern Tunisia resident in Tripolitania. (1882-1893).

	¶July 1882	Nov. 1882	Dec. 1885	Aug. 1886	Dec. 1887	Dec. 1888	Jan. 1890	May 1893
Neffat	10,000	6,134	80	80	26			
Methelith	2,000	4,025						
Souassi	2,000	9,000						
Drid	3,000							
Zlass	20,020	15,576						
Od. Said	2,100							
Madjer	3,000	735						
Fraichich	11,500	3,135		50				
Hammama	53,047	15,784	180	175	51			
Od.Mehedeb	2,500	4,250	360	300				
Ounifa	200							
Matmata	50,000	#3,176						
Beni Zid	2,000	126	10		14			
Od. Yacoub		80	30	30	9			
Hamerna		45						
Ouerghamma	70,000							
Haouia		6,500		10	10	6	14	19
Ghebenten		1,547						
Medenine					100	60	68	75
Od. Hamed				+	297	74	65	50
Od. Khalifa		1,596		250	260			1
Mestoura					30	28	14	10
Zelliten				+	+			3
Od. bou Zid				100	100	7	7	
Krainia					+			18
Nebahna					92			4
Melalha								1
Rebaïa								35
Od. Aoun Allah								15
Accara								3
Od. Chehida							13	9
Od. Debbab				16	2		9	1
Deghaghra							9	9
Djelidet							1	1
Zourgane							1	1
Hamidia							1	
Krachoua							4	
Amerna							1	
Chenini							1	1
Total	231,367	79,151	660	1,011	1,021	175	221	306

2,420 of these from Toujane

Sources:

¶ Statistics from Eygptian newspaper *el Djouaid* in Cambon to Ministère des Affaires étrangères, DP.75, 22 July 1882, **MAE.CPT.68.** others from RM's.

6.15. The place of residence of dissidents from Southern Tunisia in Tripolitania (May 1890).

	§Nalout		Nouail		Zouara		Syrte	
		Gharian		Sian		Tripoli		Total
Lemalma		4						4
Mehada				10				10
Zemamra					5			5
Kraïnia			10	6	1			17
Zelliten					1			1
Nebahna					5			5
Melalha			2					2
Od. Khalifa				2				2
Od. Hamed		3	41	4			26	74
Rebaïa			25				9	34
Od. Aoun Allah			15					15
Meztoura			30					30
Médenine		45		1	24			71
Od. Debbab		9						9
Od. Chehida	22	1						23
Djelidet	1							1
Zourgane						1		1
Hamidia		1		4				5
Chenini						2	1	3
Mouensa					4			4
Total	27	60	123	25	44	.2	35	316

§ includes Ouezzan
Source:
Cdt. Rebillet, état nominatif des indigènes du Cercle de Médenine réfugiés en Tripolitaine, 13 May 1890. **AGGT.A.208.1**

6.16. The place of residence of dissidents from Southern Tunisia in Tripolitania (May 1893).

	§Nalout		Nouail	Zouara		Syrte	
	Gharian			Sian	Tripoli		Total
Haouia	3	1		10	5		19
Kraïnia					7	11	18
Zelliten					3		3
Nebahna				1	3		4
Melaha			1				1
Od. Khalifa			1				1
Od. Hamed		2	17	2		28	50
Rebaïa			22	4		9	35
Od. Aoun Allah			15				15
Meztoura			1	9			10
Médenine		45		1	25	4	75
Od. Debbab		9					9
Od. Chehida		1					1
Deghaghra	9						9
Djelidet	1						1
Zourganes					1		1
Chenini					1		1
Accara					3		3
Total	13	57	57	34	45	7	43	256

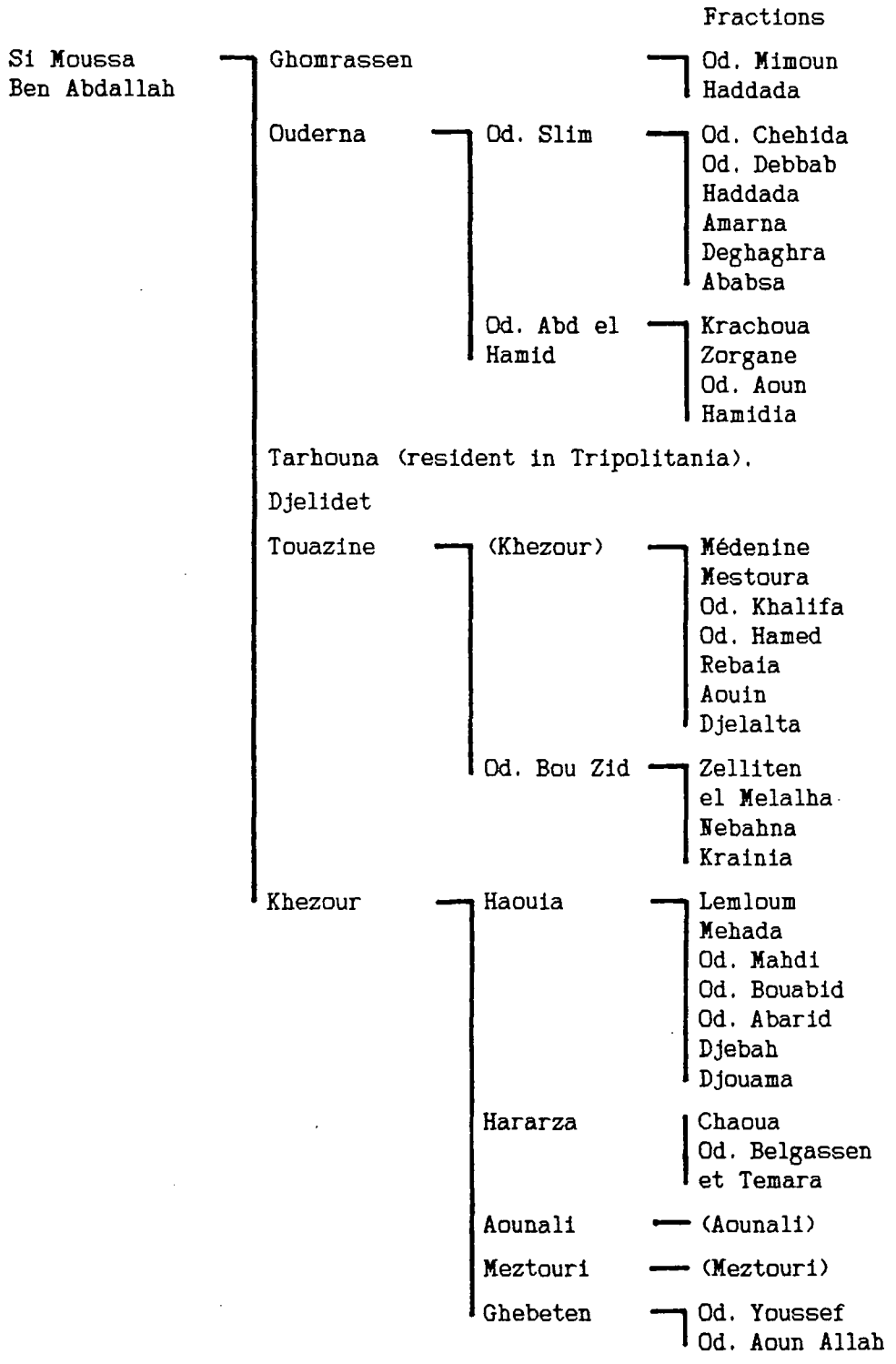
§ includes Ouezzan
Source:
Rapport Mensuel de Service des Renseignement, May 1890.
ANSOM. 26. H. 13.

6.17. The number of dissidents following the Revolt of the Ouderna.

	1918								1922
	In Camps				Court	In Tripoli			Total
Cheikhats	M	W	Dead	Aman	Martial	M	W	¶Total	Files
Od.Chehida	190	23	64	32	6	88	23	426	778
Od.Debbab	112	9	34	10	2	66	9	242	215
Zorganes	55	3	13	29	2	11	3	116	222
Dehibat	53		22	17	5	15		112	175
Krachoua	46	1	18	6	6	16	1	94	253
Hamidia	30	2	6	2		22	2	64	121
Djelidet BB.	14		2	32		3		51	51
Djelidet T.	19		8	2		9		38	33
Deghaghra	7		1	2		7		17	
Guettofa	12		1	3	1			17	25
Amerna			4	3	1	4		12	18
Adjerda	3		1	2		1		7	
Cedra	1		1			1		3	12
Douiret	2			1				3	
Guermessa	1							1	
Haraza	1							1	
Nefzaoua									28
Ouezzan									169
Algerians									2
Total	546	38	175	141	23	243	38	1,204	2,102

Sources:
État des Dissidents. 31 juillet 1918. **AGGT.A.208Ter.1.**
Personnel Rebelle (1915-1922) **AGGT.A.208** includes the files of all identified rebels. These files, therefore, provide a more accurate estimate of the number of rebels than the 1918 listing. Unfortunately most of the files contain only the rebels' names and so the 1918 list provides the best available statistics for the government's procedures against them.

7.1. The Genealogical division of the Ouerghamma.



Sources: Le Boeuf (1909b, pp. 21-9) and Maquart (1937, pp. 261-5).

7.2. The Genealogy of the Oulad Chehida.

- Od. Saad
  - Abd el Moumen
    - Od. Bou Zid 140
      - Od. Khalifa
        - el Behaiem
        - el Guenair
        - Derargha
        - Belablia
      - Zenaghia
        - el Aref
        - Yahia
        - Salem
        - Ahmed ben Naceur
      - Ahmed
        - Naceur ben Yahia
        - Kebbis
        - Bou Oksa
        - Reboudi
        - Chetih
      - Abd el Djelil
        - Djelailia
        - el Assi
    - Difallah 130
      - Od. Mbarek
        - Mbarek ben Abdallah
        - Khalifa ben Ahmend
        - Souid
      - Od. Aoun
        - Bouslane
        - el Akarit
        - Dhifallah
        - Aoun ben Dhifallah
        - el Heg
  - Bou Ajila
    - Od. Mhamed 110
      - Od. Said
        - D. Bouajila
        - D. Mhamed ben Said
        - D. Ali ben Mansour
        - D. Ali ben Belgassem
        - D. el Ouafi
        - el Guemassa
        - el Gueaana
        - el Ouibat
        - el Guessaouil
        - el Henainia
      - Od. Guemar
        - D. Salem ben Dho
        - Ali Zaguer
        - Houssa (Chouachine)
      - Tiour
    - Amor 140
      - Amor
        - Salem bou Adjila
        - Bahri
        - Bou Setta
        - Ahmed Bouajila
        - Amor ben Bouajila
        - el Guesraoua
        - Abdallah

cont'd.

- Ali
  - el Hadj Dho
  - ben Djedou
  - Mohamed
  - Ahmed ben el Montaceur
- el Djehadria
  - el Azara
  - Djemali
  - Yahia
  - Amor ben Salem
  - Dho

- Ahmed 40
  - Hassine
  - Od. el
    - Aoun ben Saad
    - Chenakiou
  - el Ariah
    - Ali ben Belgassem
    - el Ghaber
  - el Haffafa
    - Naceur
    - Ali

- Abdessayed 160
  - el Djebel
    - el Bidh
    - el Kirane
    - el Djouaida
  - el Guerassa
    - el Gherri
    - Ali
    - Abdallah
    - Ahmed
    - el Khelouj
  - Od. Othman
    - el Ardhaoui
    - Ahmed
    - Ameur
  - el Asbat
    - Abdallah
    - Sanana
    - el Hadj
    - Said
    - Chouachine

- Od. Soltane
  - Terarma 175
    - Belgassem
      - Chibani
      - Naceur
      - Ali
    - Naceur
      - Mansour
      - Mhamed
    - Ali
      - Mansour
      - Mhamed
      - Ahmed ben Mhamed
    - Aouini
      - Ahmed
      - Saad
    - Abd el Kader
      - Ali ben Khalifa
      - Ahmed ben Mhamed

cont'd.

- Od. Hellal
  - Ohgaf
  - el Hafiane

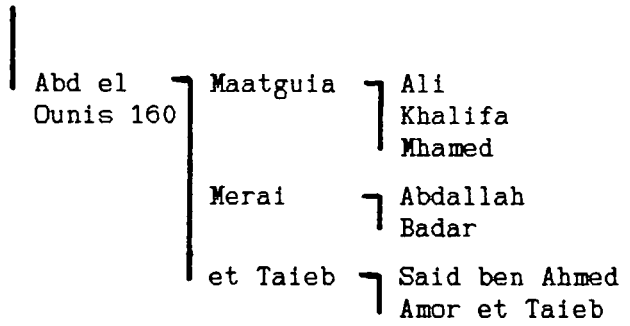
- el Agherba 190
  - Mhamed
    - el Hadj Ali
    - el Djedel
    - el Arkaz
    - el Kouanin
    - Ali ben Saad
    - es Sehem
    - Ali ben Belgassem
  - Ali Gharad
    - el Hadj Salem
    - Ali ben Salem
    - Said ben Naceur
  - Saad
    - el Habaylia
    - Belgassem Aoun
    - Ali ben Naceur
  - Abdallah
    - Saad ben Abdallah
    - el Hadj Ahmed
    - Khalifa ben Amor
    - el Machlouch

- Mansour 70
  - Hebra
  - Noglani
  - Lasoued
  - Abdallah

- Belgassem 160
  - Ahmed
    - el Ahouach
    - Naceur
    - Dho
    - el Mord
  - Khalifa
    - Amor
    - Abdallah
    - Chibani
    - Ali

- Merai 110
  - el Akhram
    - Said
    - Ahmed
  - Soltane
    - el Melaiah
    - Tebabsa
    - Aoun ben Soltane
  - el Aghrar
    - Said
    - Ali
  - el Aghmad
    - Salem
    - Mhamed
  - Chelaimaia
    - Said
    - Ali

cont'd.



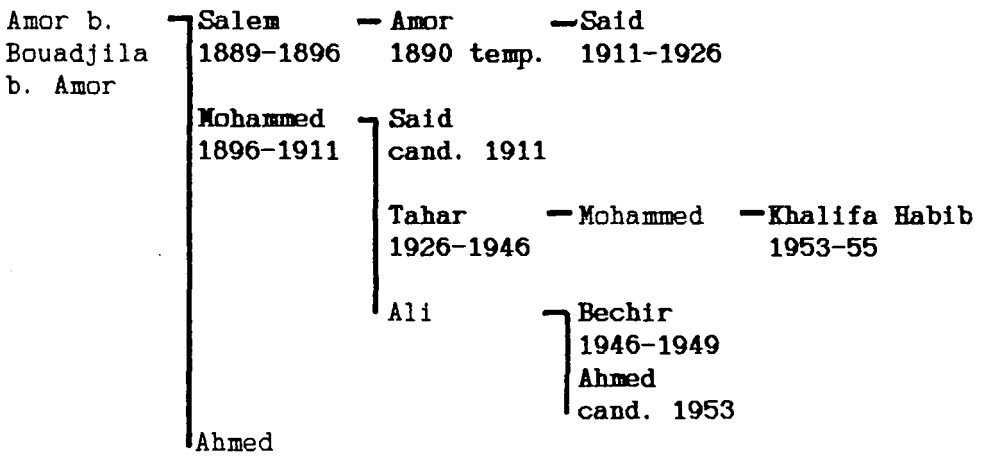
Source:
Bouadjila, T., 'La tribu des Oulad Chehida (Caïdat des Ouderna), Tataouine', August 1954. **REC.2.11.**

7.3. The family of Ali ben Medkour (Ahl el Kalaa).

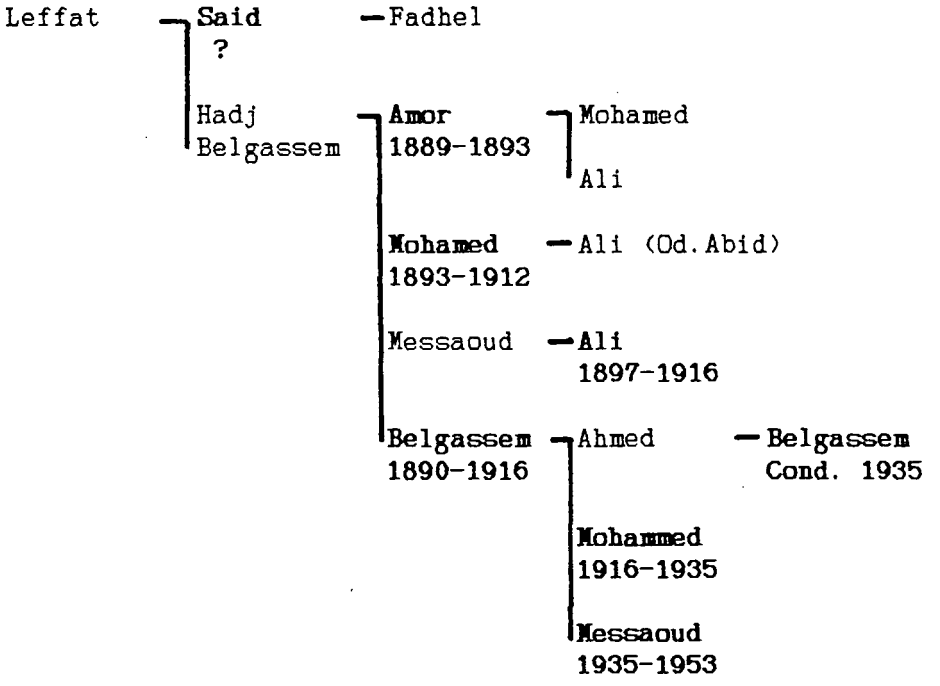
- Ali ben Medkhour
  - Abdesselem
  - Mohamed — Ali
  - Dho
    - Amor
    - Mouldi
    - Mohamed
  - Chibani
  - Mohamed — Salem — Ali — Mhamed — Ali
  - Mohamed
    - Khalifa
      - Ali
      - Said
    - Mhamed
      - Said
      - Salem
    - Yahia — Mohamed — Mhamed
    - Chouma
      - Moncef
      - AbdelHamid
    - Mohamed
  - Amor 1861
    - Mohamed
      - Amor
      - Naceur
      - Mansour
    - Yahia — el Hedi
    - Mhamed
    - Ali — Tahar
    - Messaoud
  - Ali
    - Ali — Mohamed
    - Messaoud — Bechir

Source:
Bouadjila, T., 'La tribu des Oulad Chehida (Caïdat des Ouderna), Tataouine', August 1954. **REC.2.11.**

7.4.a. Political office in the family Bouadjila, Od. Chehida, Tataouine.



7.4.b. Political office in the family Leffat, Douiret, Tataouine.



Cheikhs and Candidates in bold.
Sources: **AGGT.A.178.12. and 16.**

7.5. Lineages and Fractions in Southern Tunisia (1882-1940).

Djouama (Haouia)

1900	1903	1919	1937
Djouama	Djouama		Djouama
	Meskana	Meskana	
	Od. Ali ben Belgassen	Od. Ali b. Belg.	
		Od. Yzid	

Mehada (Haouia)

1900	1903	1937
Mhadba	Mehada	Mehada
	Kherachfa	Krerachfa
Od. At'ia	Od. Atya	Od. Atya
ez Zmanna		
el Barid		
el Amaïssa		

Sources:
Noel (1900); Lt. Tardy, étude sur la tribu des Haouaïa, 1903. **MS.Clarke.**; Maquart (1937, pp. 265-266); Rapport du Cpt. Sol, Médenine, 724/3, 21 June 1919. **AGGT.A.182.30.**

Krachoua (Ouderna)

1900	1909	1911	1936
el Amaïria	Amaira	el Khelaina	Khenaia
el Djedaïta	Djedaina	Djedania	
Od. Ali	Od. Ali		Od. Ali
el Khenaint	Khenaima		
Od. Bessaïd			
			Azloug

Source: Noel (1900); Cpt. Harlé, Rapport, 694/3, 24 July 1909, Tataouine **AGGT.A.178.10.**; Cpt. Moreau, Rapport, 15 January 1926, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.178.9**; Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, 22/3, 21 February 1913, Tataouine, **AGGT.A.182.18.**; and Chef de Bat. Miquel, Avis, 1936, **AGGT.A.178.7.**

Guermessa (Djebalia)

1900	1926
Od. Hamed	Od. Ahmed
Od. Bou Sinna	
Od. Abid	
Od. Bou Beker	Od. Bou Baker
Meharza	
	Od. Lahfed
	Od. Mohammed Salah
	Od. Brahim
	AbdelKrim

Cont'd.

Douiret (Djebalia)

1890	1896	1900	1905	1934
Od. Abid	Od Abid	Od. Abid	Od. Abid	Od. Abid
Od. Abdelkrim		Od. Abdelkrim		Od. AbdelkrimO
d. Abdelkrim				
Od. Belgassem	Od. Belgassem	Od. Belgassem		Od. Belgassem
Od. Said Bou Zid		Od.Saïd	Od.Bou Zid	Od.Said Bou Zid
Od Thaalb		Od. T'aleb	Od. Taleb	Od. Taleb
Zaghadna		ez Zer'adna	Zardana	Od. Zardana
	Od. Hamed	Od. Hamed	Od. Hamed	Od. Hamed
	Souabria	Souabria		Od. Souabria

Ghomrassen

1889	1899	1900	1908
Mouassi	Oum Moussa		OumMouassi
Zouaker	Zouaker	ez Zouakh	Zouakher
Od. Mimoun	Od. Mimoun	Od. Mimoun	Od. Mimoun
Od. Slim	Od. Slim	Od. Slim	Od. Slim
	Haddada	Haddada	
	Hamdoun	Hamdoun	
		Biouli	
		el Amassia	
		el M'rabt'in	

Sources:
Govenor of Aradh to P.M., Gabes, 563, 31 January 1887. **AGGT.A.182.44.**; Rapport de Cpt. Lasseman, Tataouine, 100/3, 3 October 1927 **AGGT.A.178.15.**; Cpt. Lewden to R.G., Tatahouine, 2,583/3, 13 August 1931, **AGGT.A.178.15.**; Petition from the Guermessa fractions to the Résident Général, Tunis, 26 December 1926, **AGGT.A.178.16.**; Général Swiney to Résident Général, Tunis, 366, 10 June 1890, **AGGT.A.178.14.**; Millet (Résident Général) to Général Leclerc, Tunis, January 1896, **AGGT.A.178.14.**; Rapport de Lt. Jeangérard, Tatahouine, 4 August 1905, **AGGT.A.178.5.**; Cheikh of Douiret to Tribunal Régional, 27 April 1934, **AGGT.A.178.14.**; Général Saint-Marc to R.G., Tunis, 686, 7 October 1889. **AGGT.A.182.52**; Général de Sermet to R.G., Tunis, S.R.279, 20 April 1899, **AGGT.A.182.52.**; Rapport du Lt. Tardy, Tatahouine, 1,425/3, 29 December 1908. **AGGT.A.178.18.**

Beni Aissa (Matmata)

1886	1893	1900	1912
Kalaa	Kalaa	Q'laa	
Bou Dafer	Bou Dafer	Bou Dafer	Od. Dhifallah
	Od Abdallah	Od. Abdallah	Ahel Ad'ran
		el Q'açrin	Od. Messaoud
		Ahel Ouadjen	el Ouadjen

Zraoua (Matmata)

1886	1900	1916
Od. Zraoua	Od. Hlal	
	Od. Aïssa	Od. Aissa
	Od. Sakin	Od. Saken
		Od. Abdallah

Cont'd.

Toujane (Matmata)

1886	1895	1900	1909	1919
Od. Bou Dada	Od. Bou Dada	Od. Bou Dada	Bou Dada	
Od. Ben Ahmed		Od. Mhamed	Od.Beni Ahmed	
Od. Barrouka	Barouka	el Braouka		
	Od. Esmed			
	Saad Allah	Saad Allah	Saad Allah	Saad Allah
				Od. R'arka
		Od. Hassen		
		Od. Mhelhel	Od. Mehelel	
				Taïcha
				Tsil

Sources:
Lt. Bétirac, 'Notice sur la tribu des Matmata', Tunis, 19 April 1886, **SHAT.MD.1332.28.**; Général Leclerc to R.G., Tunis, 1478, 11 November 1893, **AAGT.A.186.14**; Nöel (1900); Notice biographique: Hammouda ben Hammouda ben Hassim, 1909, **AGGT.B.182.8.**; Rapport du Lt. Valentini, Matmata, 43/3, 27 January 1912,**AGGT.A.186.14**; Rapport du M. Balzagette, Interprète Militaire à Matmata, 4 July 1916, **AGGT.A.186.12.**;Général Leclerc to R.G., Tunis, 8, 4 January 1895, **AGGT.A.186.11**; Deposition of Brahim ben Ahmed ben Brahim. Annexe in Rapport de Lt. de Belenet, Matmata, 26 March 1898, and Petitions of these fractions to the Prime Minister, **AGGT.A.186.11.**; and Cpt. Miquel, Rapport, Matmata, 216/3, 28 June 1909, **AGGT.A.186.10.**

7.6. A Sian Douar (1911).

Identified Household Groups — Chouachine in bold.
Head of Household (Age)
Wife
Sons
Daughters
Other Dependants

	Tent	Mule	Camel	Sheep/ Goats
1.1 Abdessid Ettouis (80)	1		80	250
Mabrouka bent Saïd (30)				
Aïcha bent M'hamed (55)				
Chaala bent Abdessid (12)				
El-Kami b. Abdessid Ettouis (35)				
Touma bent Khalifa				
Meriem (2)				
2 Hafid b. Abdessid Ettouis (30)	1			
Gharca bent Abdessid (20)				
3 Messaouad b. Abdallah Ed-Defenaoui (40)	**1**	**1**		
Mabrouka bent Messaoud (18)				
El-Mabrouk (12)				
4 Mthr.Khadidja (60)	1			
2.1 Eltouati b. Sellam b. M'hamed (60)	1	1	26	180
Gougua bent El-Natir (55)				
Houiai (40)				
El-Ghoual (20)				
Adesid (12)				
Ech-Chaala (14)				
Zohra (40)				
3.1 Ahmed b. Sellam ben M'hamed (70)	1		2	35
El-Boubaker (28)				
Sis. Mabrouka (65)				
4.1 Khalifa b. Sellam b. M'hamed (55)	1	1	45	200
Edlanis bent El-Mabrouk (50)				
El-Ati (14)				
M'bareka (12)				
5.1 M'hamed b. Saïd b. Khalifa (40)	1	1	30	140
Mabrouka bent Khalifa (30)				
6.1 Khalifa b. Saïd b. Khalifa (35)	1			
M'bareka bent Krinid (30)				
Ech-Chalba (5)				
Tourikia (2)				
7.1 Et-Touati b. Khalifa b. Saïd (30)	1			
Mthr. Mabreka bent Ech-Cheikha (70)				
Sis. Aïcha (18)				
Sis. Houiai (25)				
Mahria (2)				

Identified Household Groups
Head of Household (Age)
Wife
Sons
Daughters
Other Dependants

Chouachine in bold.

	Tent	Mule	Camel	Sheep/ Goats
8.1 Nasr Abdessid b. Hacen (40) Mabrouka bent M'hamed (35) Ed-Djedir (6) Ech-Check (2) Fatma (8)	1	1	13	20
9.1 Ali b. Hamidia (90) Ech-Chalba bent Aachim (80)	1		5	10
10.1 Ali b. Es-Sid b. Ali (40) Aïcha b. Adbessid Ettouis (30) Chahioua (6) Mahedeb (1)	1		5	30
11.1 Ahmed b. Es-Sahih b. Khalifa (50) Ech-Chabla bent M'hamed (45) Ech-Chaala (1)	1	1	2	
12.1 **Said b. Hamed (45)** **M'bareka bent Barka (40)** **Naceur (2)**	**1**		**4**	
13.1 Belgacem ben Mosbah (50) M'bareka bent Kafour (45) Mosbah (2)		1	13	10

Source:
Petition of Cheikh M'hamed ben Saïd ben Khalifa and el-Koumi ben Abdessid Et-Touis for residence in Tunisia, 24 June 1911, **AAGT.A.280.3**

9.1. Client tribes in Southern Tunisia and Eastern Tripolitania.

Client	Patrons
Douiret*	Od. Chehida (majority)
Chenini	Od. Debbab (majority)
Guermessa	Hamidia (majority)
Beni Barka	Hamidia
	Zorgane
Meguedemine	Od. Debbab
Guettofa	Od. Chehida (majority)
Tounkent	Amerna
Beni-Ykhzer	Hamidia
	Zorgane
Tazaghdanet	Od. Chehida
Ben Oussine	Od. Chehida
el Guelâa	Od. Chehida
Sedra	Od. Chehida
	Od. Debbab
Zetârena	Hamidia
Ouezzan	Od. Debbab
Nalout	Od. Chehida
	Zorgane
Medjabera	Od. Chehida
	Od. Debbab
	Hamidia
Kebao	Amerna
Fessato	Od. Chehida
Sinaoun	Od. Chehida
	Hamidia
Derdj	Od. Chehida
	Hamidia
Derdj@	Hamidia
	Deghaghra
Od. Bellil	Od. Debbab(Ghadames)
Touat	Ouderna (fraction ?)
Beni Mazigh	Ouderna (fraction ?)

Client	Patron
el Golâa	Od. Azira (Od. Yacoub)
Chenini/Guermessa	Od. Bounbaker (Od. Yacoub)
Ouerghamma¶	Od. Yacoub
Adara	
Ouezzan	
Nalout	
Sinaoun	
Bou Amrane	
Troud	
Hazem†	Beni Zid
Matmataδ	Beni Zid and Od. Yacoub
Toujane	Ouerghamma
Merazigue‡	Chaamba and Touareg
Merazigueθ	Haouamed (contract established 1764)
Adhara	Od. Sbâa (Od. Yacoub)
	Od. Debbab
	Haouamed

Sources:
* Goguyer (1895, p. 310); @ Le Boeuf (1909, pp.44-47); ¶ La Tunisie histoire et description (1896, p.460); ø Ben Hamadi (1977, pp.28-30); † Tissot to Roches, Tunis, 1 May 1857. **MAE.MD.8.32.**; ‡ Cpt. Moreau, 'Indigènes, brigandage, contrabande, et criminalité dans le Sud Tunisien', 1948. **REC.2.8.**; δ Tissot to Roches, Tunis, 1 May 1857. **MAE.MD.8.32.**; Letter from the Govenror of Aradh last ten days of Rabi Ettouni, 1294. **ANSOM.25.H.20.5.**; θ Notice sur les tribus de Nefzaoua, 15 July 1900. **MAE.NS.81.**

9.2. The *Sahab* Contract in Southern Tunisia.

Patron	Client	Contract
Od. Yacoub*		
Od. Azira	el Golâa	20 kg dates per house per year.
Od. Boubaker (bought from Mechachra in 1868)	Chenini/Guermessa	20 kg barley and 2 l. olive oil per house per year and 1 *houli* per village.
Od. BouAllègue	Od. Bou Amrane (Gafsa)	A levy on each caravan.
Od. Mira	Blidet	2 kg barley and 1 l. olive oil per hopuse per year.
el Haroudi	Zarcine	20 kg dates each house and 1 *houli* when daughter married outside the fraction.
Haouamid	Merazigue (Douz)	1 *ouzara* per year.
(Tripoli)	Adhara	20 kg dates per house per year.
Chaamba	Ghrib	1 lamb and 1 *ouzara* per tent per year.
Debbab@	Douiret	1 *ouzara*, 1 chéchia, 1 pair of shoes, 1 *houli* (spun wool provided by the patron), and an unspecified quantity of olive oil, dates and figs.
Various¶	Douiret, Chenini, Guermessa, Megued dine, Beni Barka, Cedra, Beni Ykhzer, Ouezzan.	4 *ouibas* (65 kg) wheat, 4 *ouibas* (65 kg) barley, 18 l olive oil.
Adjerda	Guettofa	65 kg wheat, 65 kg barley, and bunch of dates for each palm tree.

Sources:

* Ben Hamadi (1977, pp. 28-30) from an unidentified document in the Archives Générales du Gouvernment Tunisien.

@ Louis (1979, pp. 32-33) from a hand written act.

¶ Forest (1942, pp. 10-13).

9.3. Intertribal Soffs in Tunisia in the 19th century.

Bachia/Cheddad	Hassina/Youssef
Northern Tunisia	
Fraichich, Madjer, Ounifa, Souassi, Methlit, Od. Saïd, Mehadba.	Drid, Od. Aoun, Hamama, Zlass, Neffet.
Extreme South	
Beni Zid, Hazem, Hamerna, Dehibat, Aleïa, Traïfa.	Ouderna, Touazine, Khezour, Haouia, Accara, Merazig, Adhara.
Djebel Matmata	
Matmata, Zeraoua, Taoudjout, Beni Aïssa.	Toujane, Beni Zelten, Tamezret.
Djebel Demmer	
	Douiret, Chenini, Ghoumrassen, Beni Barka, Guettofa.
Oases of Aradh	
Djara, Oudref, Teboulbou, Mareth, Kettana, Arram, Debdeba, el Hamma (Beni Zid).	Menzel, Metouïa, Chenini (Gabes).
Tripolitania	
Nalout, Ouezzan, Yffren, Sian, Nouail, Zouara.	Adjilat, M'hamid.

Sources: Sicard Agent Consulaire à Gabès to Consul Général à Tunis, 7 August, 1867, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).1867.**; Mattei Agent Consulaire à Sfax to Consul Général à Tunis, 5 November 1867, **MAEN.VC(SFAX).1867.**; and Cdt. Rebillet, 'Les Tribus Tripolitaines', 1 May 1891, Médenine, **SHAT.2.H.48.1.** See also Martel (1964, I, p.62) who has used the first two sources to draw up a similar table.

9.4.a. Census of the Berber Speaking Population of Tunisia (1922).

Circonscription	Number	Origin
C.C. Djerba	12,584	Native
Medjez-el-Bab	90	Tripolitain/Algerian/Maroccan
Sfax	321	Maroccan/Tripolitain
Souk el-Arba	228	Algerian
Sousse	36	Native
Thala	300	Algerian
Tunis	1,922	Algerian
C.C.Bizerte	806	Algerian
Matmata	900	Native
Tataouine	3,392	Native
Medenine	22	Native
Total	20,601	

Source:
Secrétaire Général du Gouvernment Tunisien to Résident Général, Tunis, 8 May 1922. **AGGT.E.540.3.**

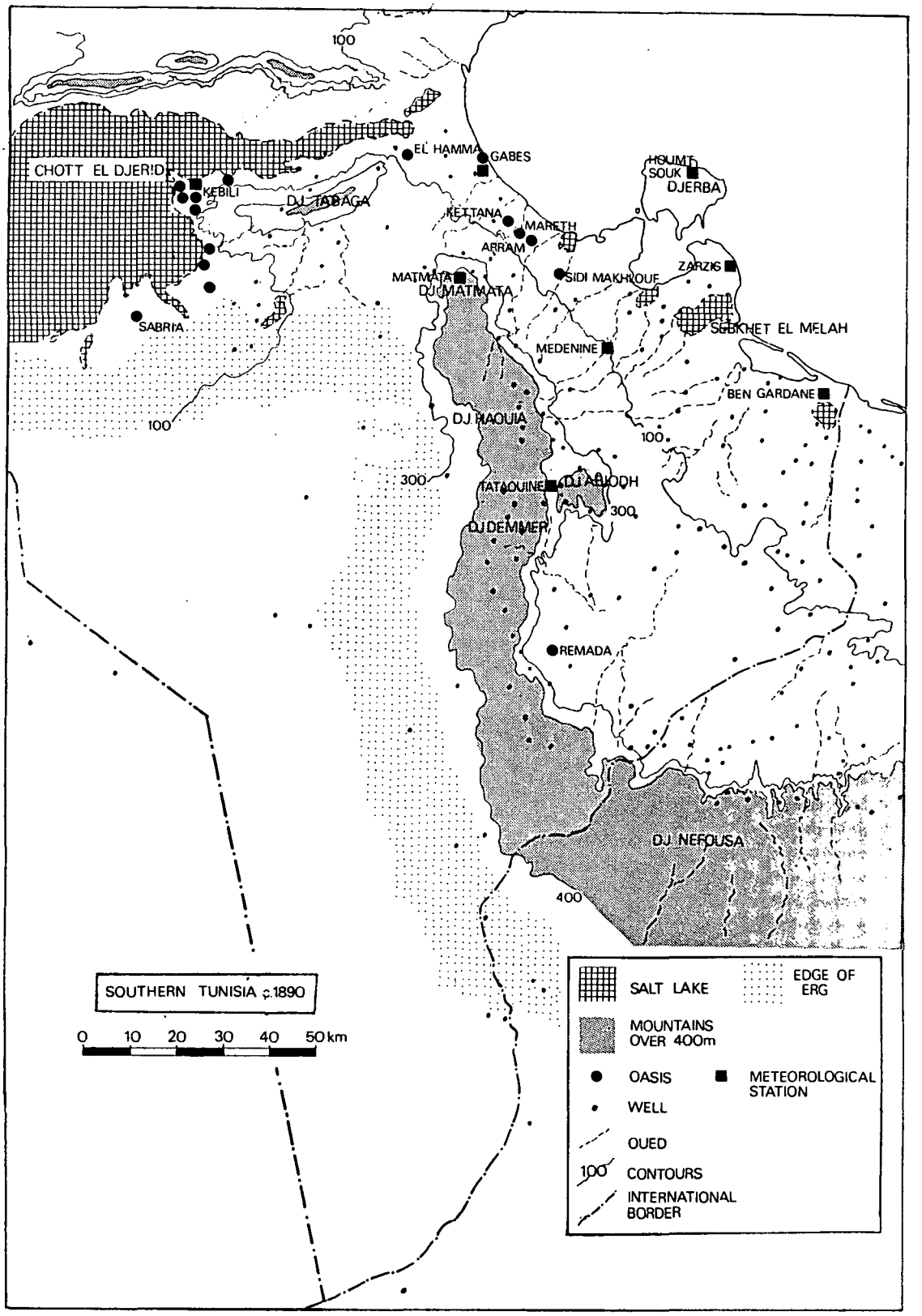
9.4.b. The Berber Speaking Population of Tataouine (1922).

Community	Male	Female	Children	Total
Chenini	142	231	233	706
Douiret	513	795	1,278	2,586
Guermessa	50	50		100
Total	705	1,076	1,511	3,392

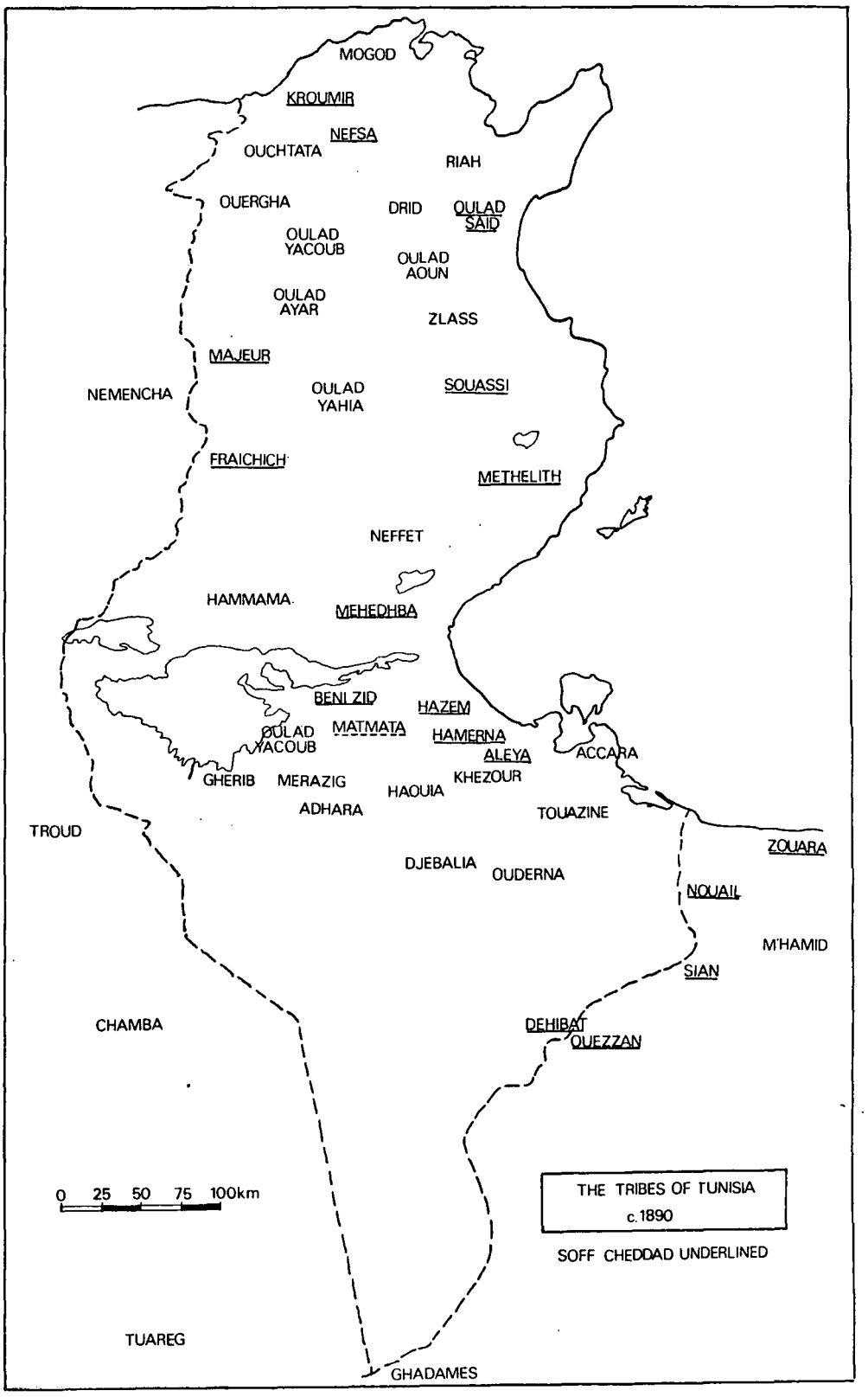
Source:
Lt. Fourches to Résident Général, Tataouine, 246/14, 16 February 1922, **AGGT.E.540.3.**

MAPS

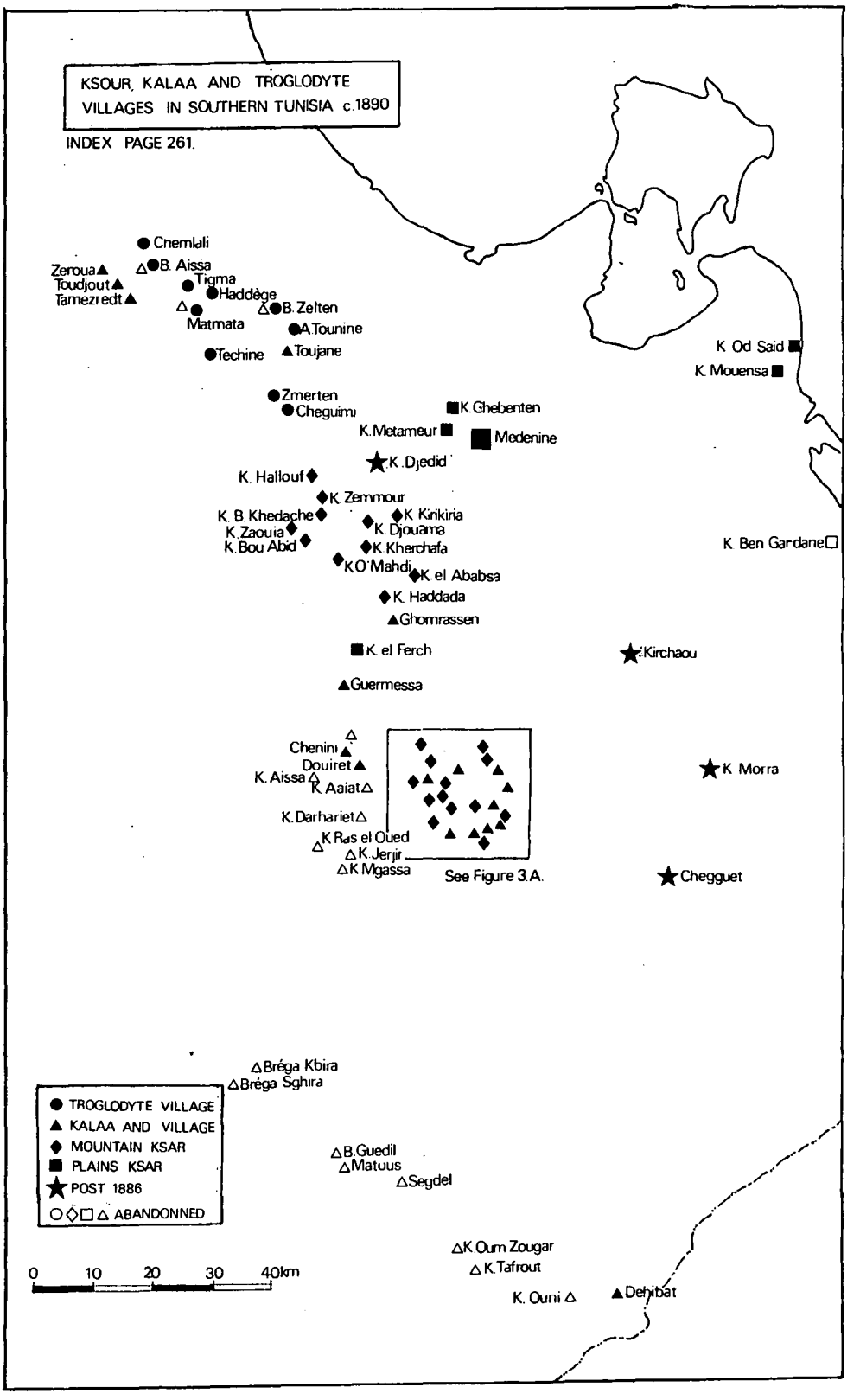
MAP 1


100
CHOTT EL DJERID
KEBILI
DJ TABAGA
EL HAMMA
GABES
HOUMT SOUK
DJERBA
KETTANA
MARETH
ARRAM
MATMATA
DJ MATMATA
SIDI MAKHROUF
ZARZIS
SEBKHET EL MELAH
SABRIA
MEDENINE
BEN GARDANE
DJ HAOUIA
100
300
TATAOUINE
DJ ABIODH
300
DJ DEMMER
REMADA
DJ NEFOUSA
400
SOUTHERN TUNISIA c.1890
0 10 20 30 40 50 km
SALT LAKE
EDGE OF ERG
MOUNTAINS OVER 400m
OASIS
METEOROLOGICAL STATION
WELL
OUED
CONTOURS
INTERNATIONAL BORDER

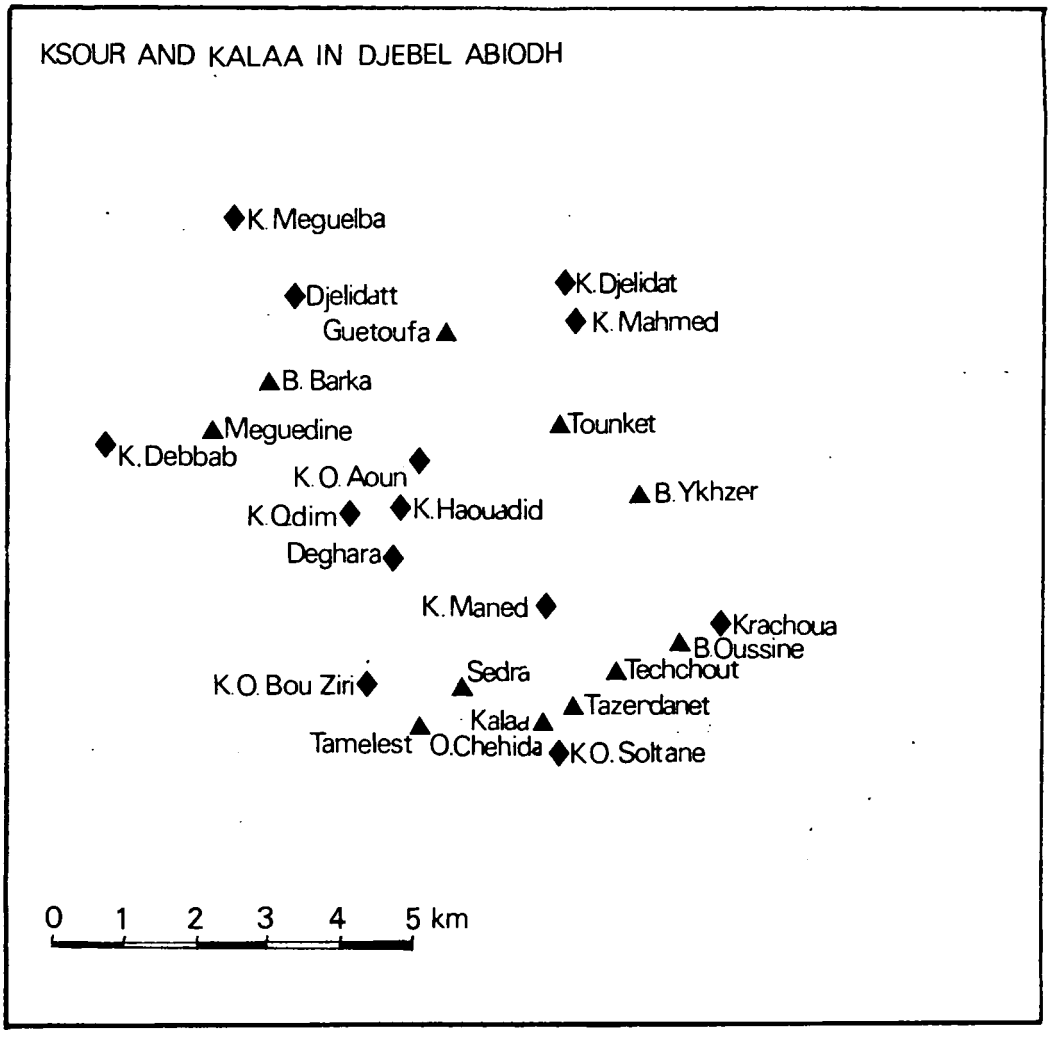
MAP 2


MOGOD
KROUMIR
NEFSA
OUCHTATA
RIAH
OUERGHA
DRID
OULAD SAID
OULAD YACOUB
OULAD AOUN
OULAD AYAR
ZLASS
MAJEUR
NEMENCHA
OULAD YAHIA
SOUASSI
FRAICHICH
METHELITH
NEFFET
HAMMAMA
MEHEDHBA
BENI ZID
HAZEM
OULAD YACOUB
MATMATA
HAMERNA
ALEYA
ACCARA
GHERIB
MERAZIG
KHEZOUR
HAOUIA
ADHARA
TOUAZINE
TROUD
ZOUARA
DJEBALIA
OUDERNA
NOUAIL
M'HAMID
SIAN
CHAMBA
DEHIBAT
OUEZZAN
0 25 50 75 100km
THE TRIBES OF TUNISIA
c.1890
SOFF CHEDDAD UNDERLINED
TUAREG
GHADAMES

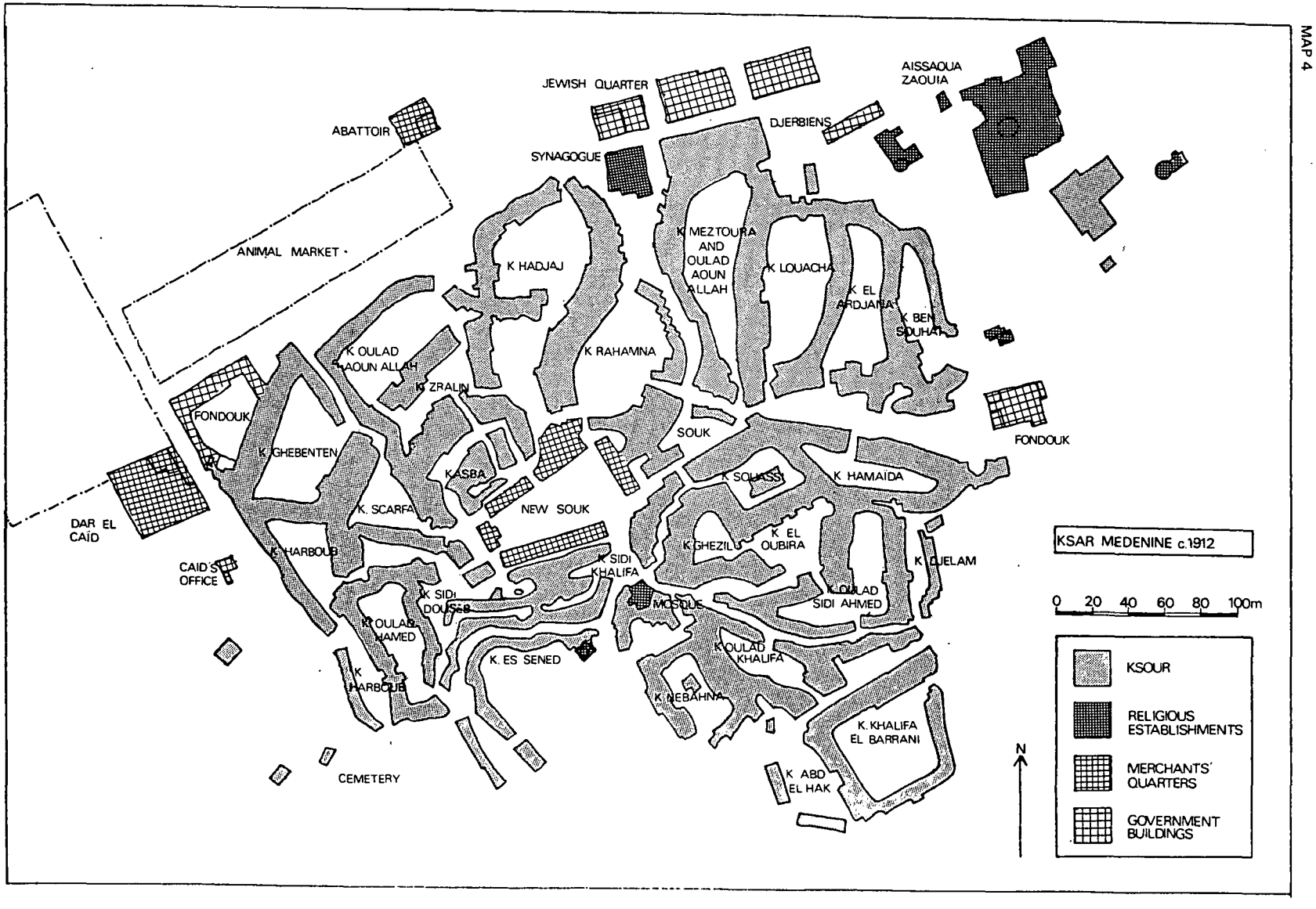
MAP 3


KSOUR, KALAA AND TROGLODYTE VILLAGES IN SOUTHERN TUNISIA c.1890
INDEX PAGE 261.
Chemlali
B. Aissa
Zeroua
Toudjout
Tamezredt
Tigma
Haddège
B. Zelten
Matmata
A.Tounine
Techine
Toujane
K. Od Said
K. Mouensa
Zmerten
Cheguimi
K.Ghebenten
K.Metameur
Medenine
K.Djedid
K. Hallouf
K. Zemmour
K. B. Khedache
K. Kirikiria
K.Zaouia
K. Djouama
K. Bou Abid
K.Kherchafa
K. Ben Gardane
K.O'Mahdi
K. el Ababsa
K. Haddada
Ghomrassen
K. el Ferch
Kirchaou
Guermessa
Chenini
Douiret
K. Aissa
K. Aaiat
K. Morra
K.Darhariet
K Ras el Oued
K.Jerjir
K Mgassa
See Figure 3.A.
Chegguet
Brega Kbira
Brega Sghira
TROGLODYTE VILLAGE
KALAA AND VILLAGE
MOUNTAIN KSAR
PLAINS KSAR
POST 1886
ABANDONNED
B.Guedil
Matuus
Segdel
K.Oum Zougar
K.Tafrout
K. Ouni
Dehibat
0 10 20 30 40km

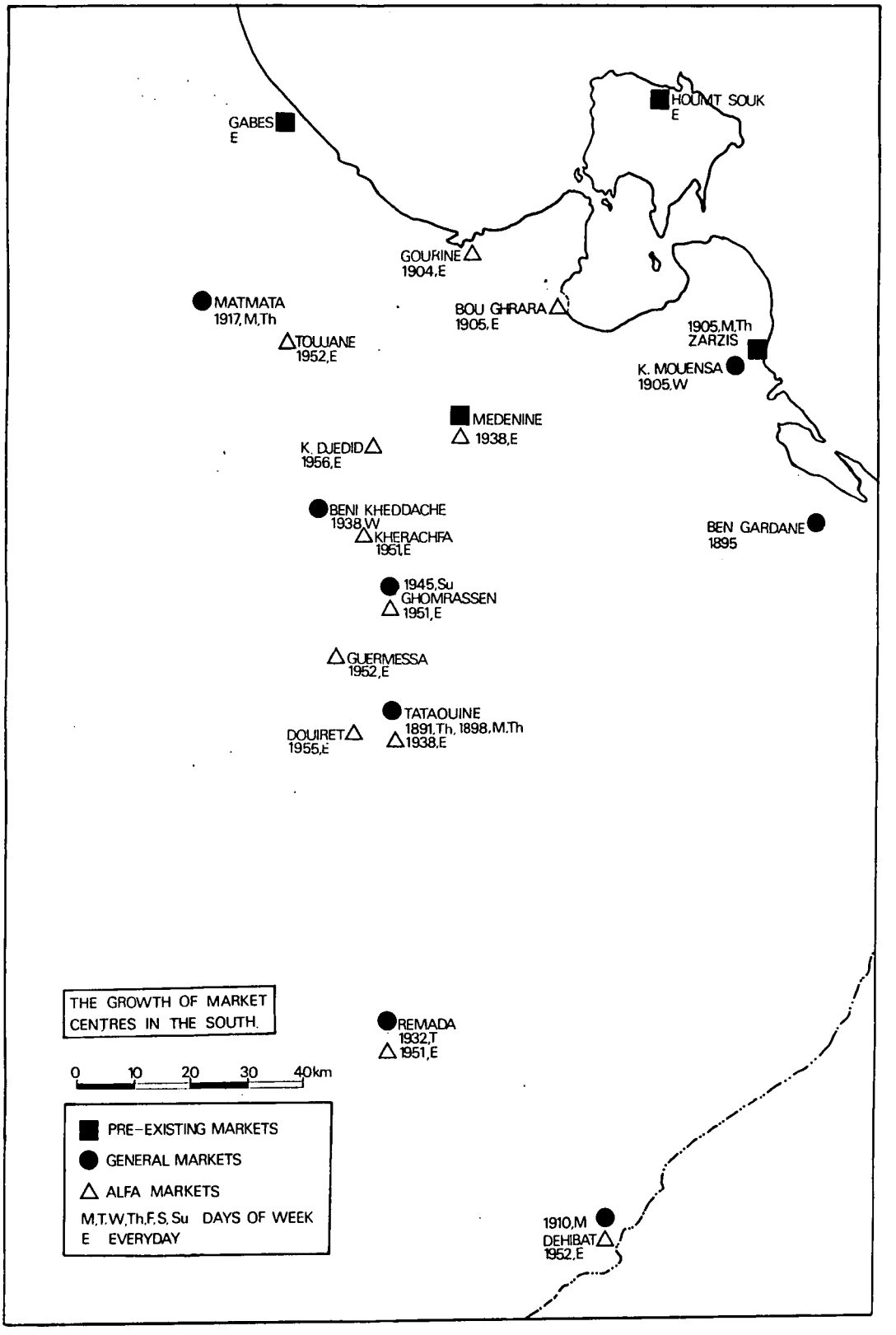
MAP 3.A.


KSOUR AND KALAA IN DJEBEL ABIODH
K. Meguelba
Djelidatt
Guetoufa
K. Djelidat
K. Mahmed
B. Barka
Meguedine
K. Debbab
Tounket
K. O. Aoun
K. Qdim
K. Haouadid
B. Ykhzer
Deghara
K. Maned
Krachoua
B. Oussine
Techchout
K. O. Bou Ziri
Sedra
Tazerdanet
Kalaa
Tamelest
O. Chehida
K. O. Soltane
0 1 2 3 4 5 km

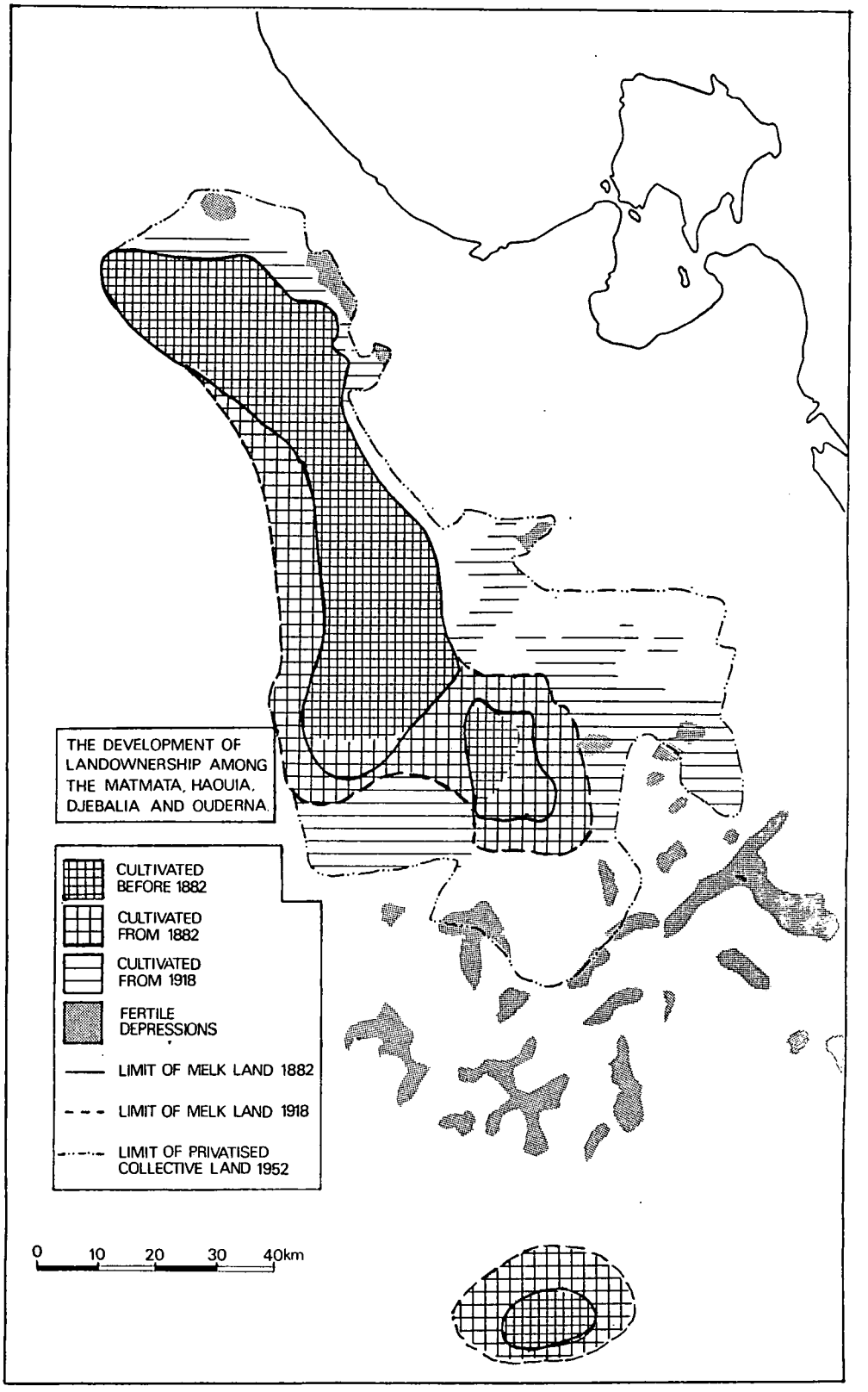
MAP 4


JEWISH QUARTER
AISSAOUA ZAOUIA
ABATTOIR
DJERBIENS
SYNAGOGUE
ANIMAL MARKET
K MEZTOURA AND OULAD AOUN ALLAH
K HADJAJ
K LOUACHA
K EL ARDJANA
K BEN SOUHAT
K OULAD AOUN ALLAH
K RAHAMNA
K ZRALIN
FONDOUK
SOUK
FONDOUK
K GHEBENTEN
KASBA
K SOUASSI
K HAMAIDA
K SCARFA
NEW SOUK
DAR EL CAID
K EL OUBIRA
K HARBOUB
K GHEZILU
K SIDI KHALIFA
K OUELAM
CAID'S OFFICE
K SIDI DOUSSB
MOSQUE
K OULAD SIDI AHMED
K OULAD HAMED
K ES SENED
K OULAD KHALIFA
K HARBOUB
K NEBAHNA
K KHALIFA EL BARRANI
CEMETERY
K ABD EL HAK
N
KSAR MEDENINE c.1912
0 20 40 60 80 100m
KSOUR
RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS
MERCHANTS' QUARTERS
GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

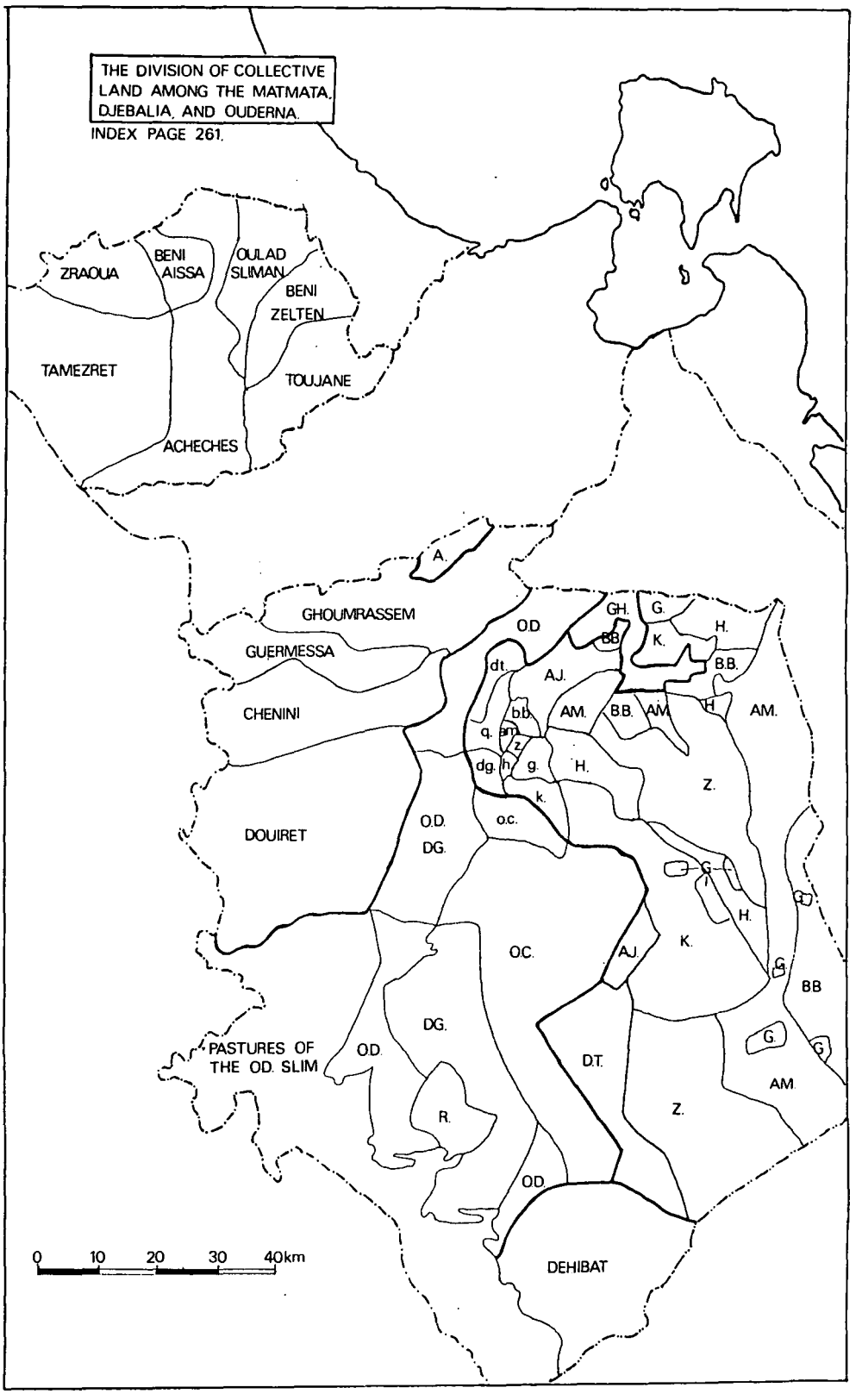
MAP 5


GABES
E
HOUMT SOUK
E
GOURINE
1904,E
MATMATA
1917,M,Th
BOU GHRARA
1905,E
TOUJANE
1952,E
1905,M,Th
ZARZIS
K. MOUENSA
1905,W
MEDENINE
1938,E
K. DJEDID
1956,E
BENI KHEDDACHE
1938,W
KHERACHFA
1951,E
BEN GARDANE
1895
1945,Su
GHOMRASSEN
1951,E
GUERMESSA
1952,E
TATAOUINE
1891,Th, 1898,M,Th
1938,E
DOUIRET
1955,E
THE GROWTH OF MARKET CENTRES IN THE SOUTH.
REMADA
1932,T
1951,E
0 10 20 30 40km
PRE-EXISTING MARKETS
GENERAL MARKETS
ALFA MARKETS
M,T,W,Th,F,S,Su DAYS OF WEEK
E EVERYDAY
1910,M
DEHIBAT
1952,E

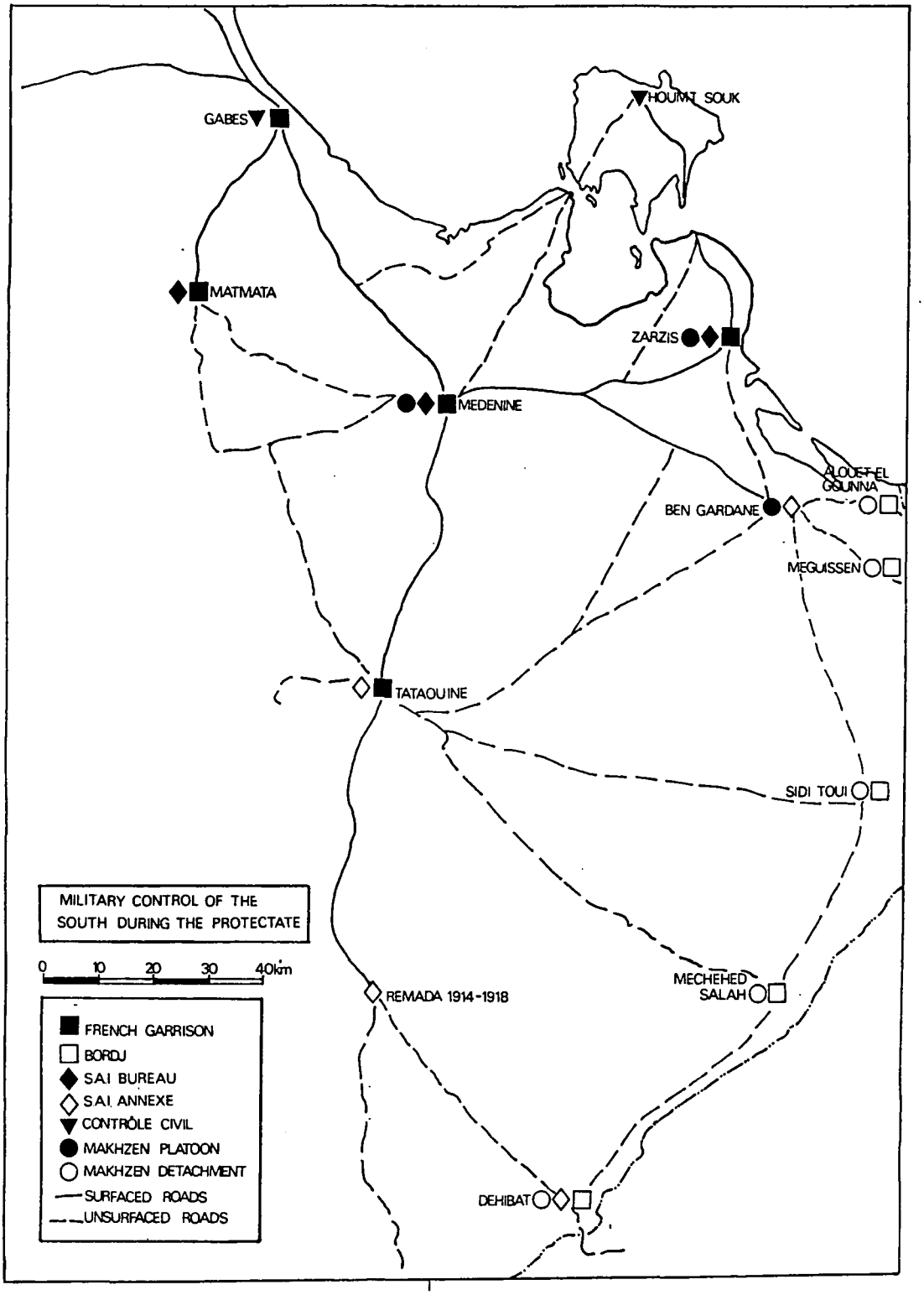
MAP 6


THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDOWNERSHIP AMONG THE MATMATA, HAOUIA, DJEBALIA AND OUDERNA.
CULTIVATED BEFORE 1882
CULTIVATED FROM 1882
CULTIVATED FROM 1918
FERTILE DEPRESSIONS
LIMIT OF MELK LAND 1882
LIMIT OF MELK LAND 1918
LIMIT OF PRIVATISED COLLECTIVE LAND 1952
0 10 20 30 40km

MAP 7


THE DIVISION OF COLLECTIVE LAND AMONG THE MATMATA, DJEBALIA, AND OUDERNA.
INDEX PAGE 261.
ZRAOUA
BENI AISSA
OULAD SLIMAN
BENI ZELTEN
TAMEZRET
TOUJANE
ACHECHES
A.
GHOUMRASSEM
GUERMESSA
CHENINI
DOUIRET
O.D
GH.
G.
H.
BB
K.
B.B.
dt.
A.J.
AM.
B.B.
AM.
H
AM.
bb.
q.
z
dg.
h
g.
H.
Z.
k.
o.c.
O.D.
DG.
G
H.
K.
O.C.
A.J.
BB
DG.
PASTURES OF THE OD. SLIM
O.D.
D.T.
G.
AM.
Z.
R.
O.D.
DEHIBAT
0 10 20 30 40km

MAP 8


GABES
HOUMT SOUK
MATMATA
ZARZIS
MEDENINE
ALOUF EL GOUNNA
BEN GARDANE
MEGUISSEN
TATAOUINE
SIDI TOUI
MECHEHED SALAH
REMADA 1914-1918
DEHIBAT
MILITARY CONTROL OF THE SOUTH DURING THE PROTECTATE
0 10 20 30 40km
FRENCH GARRISON
BORDJ
S.A.I. BUREAU
S.A.I. ANNEXE
CONTRÔLE CIVIL
MAKHZEN PLATOON
MAKHZEN DETACHMENT
SURFACED ROADS
UNSURFACED ROADS

Index to Map 3 and 3.A. Villages and Ksour in Southern Tunisia.

Fraction	Settlements/ Ksour shown	Settlements/ Ksour not shown
	Matmata	
Hachaches	Matmata, Tigma	Chabaat es Smaala, Techine, es Smaila
Beni Aissa	Kalaa B. Aissa Chemlali	es Smaila, el Ksar, Bou Dafer, Dechra Beni Sbah
Zeraoua	Zeraoua	
Taoudjout	Taoudjout	
Tamezredt	Tamezredt	
O. Sliman	Techine, Haddège	Ras O. Matmata Chabat es Smaala
Toujane	Toujane	el Braouka, Afsil, et Taicha, Beni Barka
Zmerten	Zmerten, Cheguimi	
Beni Zelten	Beni Zelten	
	Haouia	
Lemalma	K. Hallouf, K. O. bou Abid	K. Djedid
Mehada	K. Kerachafa	K. Mohamed ben Amor, K. el Krerada
Djebah	K. O. Youssef, K. Djedid, K. Kirikiria	
Djouama	K. Djouama, K. Djedid	
Zemamra	K. Hallouf, K. Zemmour	
Mekarza	K. Beni Kheddache	
O. Mahdi	K. O. Mahdi, K. el Biouli	
	Khezour	
Mednine	K. Médenine	
Tmara	K. Métameur	K. Oum et Tmer
	Ouderna	
el Hadada	K. el Hadada	
O. Debbab	K. Debbab, Sedra	
O. Chehida	K. Maned, K. O. Soltane, Kalaa Od. Chehida, Remada	Segdel
Krachoua	K. Maned, Krachoua Kirchaoua	K. el Kherba, K. Chegguet
O. Azraq	K. Beni Yhkzer	
Zorgane	K. Maned	K. Od. Mehiri K. Legguine
Hamidia	K. Maned	Beni Barka, K. Djedid
Deghaghra	K. Deghaghra K. Qdim	K. Ounis, K. Rekhais K. Bou Zebrouna
el Amerna	K. Tounket	K. el OuahedK. Morra
el Aouadid	K. el Aouadid	Zerdad
el Ababsa	K. Ababsa, K. O. Mahdi	K. Medina, K. Baïouli, Temzait
Djellidet	Beni Barka	Ouadi Beni Blell, K. el Kornin, K. Mesrob

	Djebalia	
	Djebel Demmer	
Chenini	Chenini	
Guermessa	Guermessa, K. el Ferdj	
Douirat	Douiret	er Ramnat, Moqassa
	Djebel Abiodh	
Meguedime	Blidet	K. Hamariya
Beni Barka	Beni Barka	
Tounket	Tounket	
Guettofa	Guettofa, Tataouine	
Sedra	Sedra, Tamelest	Maztouriya
Tazerdanet	Tazerdanet, Techchout	
	Beni Oussine, K. O. Soltane	
Kalaa	Kalaa O. Chehida	
Beni Barka	Beni Barka	Blidet
Beni Yekhzer	Beni Ykhzer	
Quettofa	Krachoua	
	Accara	
Od. Bou Ali	K. Mouensa	K. Bled
Od. Saïd	K. Od. Saïd	
Zaouïa	K. ez Zaouïa	
Od. Mhamed		es Souihel
Hassi Djerbi		Hassi Djerbi
el Khlaïfa		el Khriba
el Mouensa		K. el Mouensa

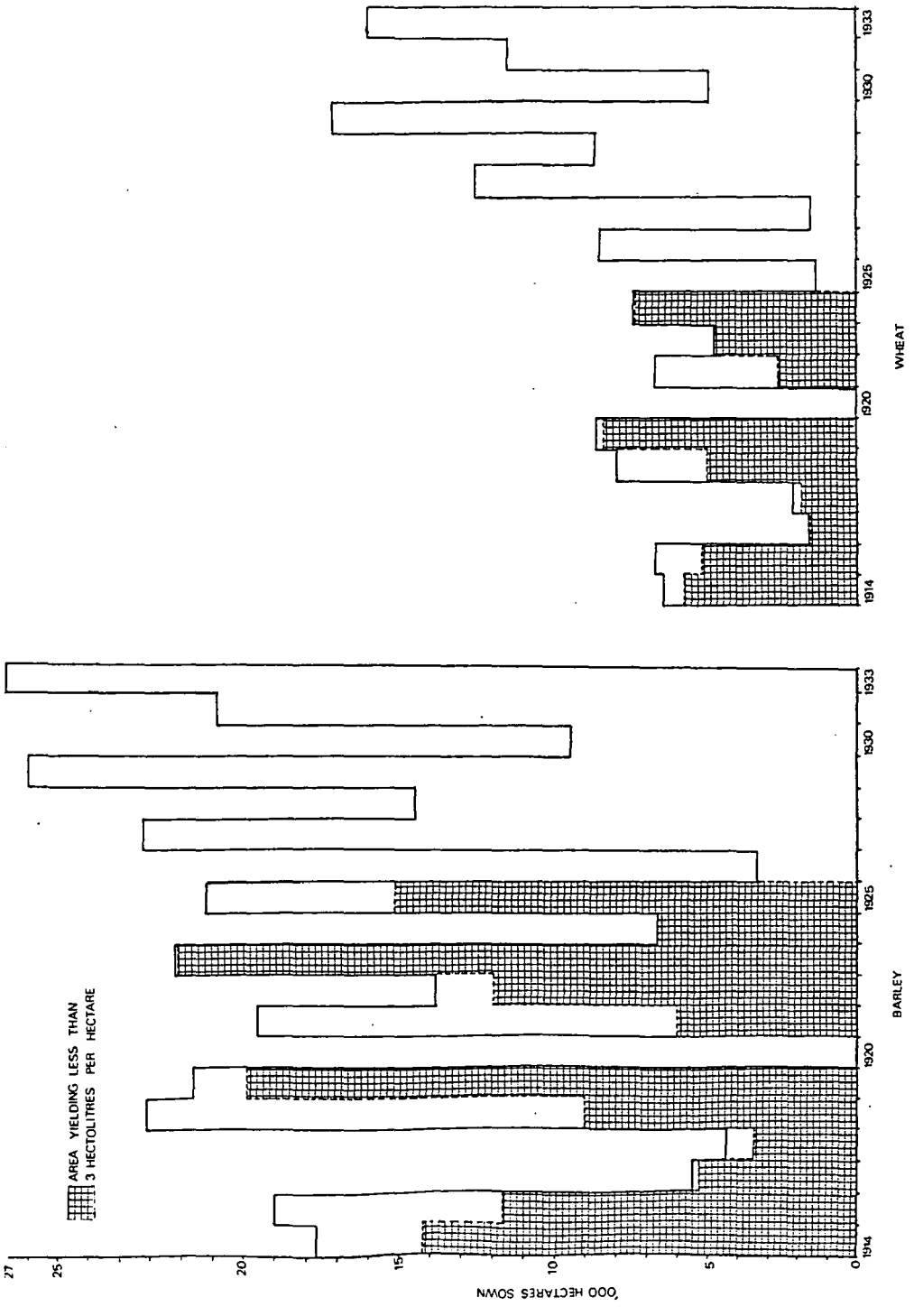
Sources:
Nöel (1900); Louis (1973); Louis (1976, pp. 37-137); Maquart (1937, p. 296); Menouillard (1901); Menouillard (1912); Lt. Bétirac, Notice sur la tribu des Matmata, 19 April 1886. **SHAT.MR.1332.28.**; Lt. Bailly, Notice sur les Accara, November 1887. **SHAT.MR.1332.25.**.

Abbreviations used on Map 7.

A	Ababsa
AJ	Ajerda
AM	Amarna
B.B.	Djellidet Beni Blell
DG	Deghaghra
DT	Djellidet Tataouine
G	Guettofa
GH	Ghomrassen
H	Hamidia
K	Krachoua
OC	Oulad Chehida
OD	Oulad Debbab
Q	Beni Barka and Meguedemine
R	Remada
Z	Zorgane

FIGURES

Figure 2.1. The area of wheat and barley sowed in Southern Tunisia. (Yields unavailable after 1925).



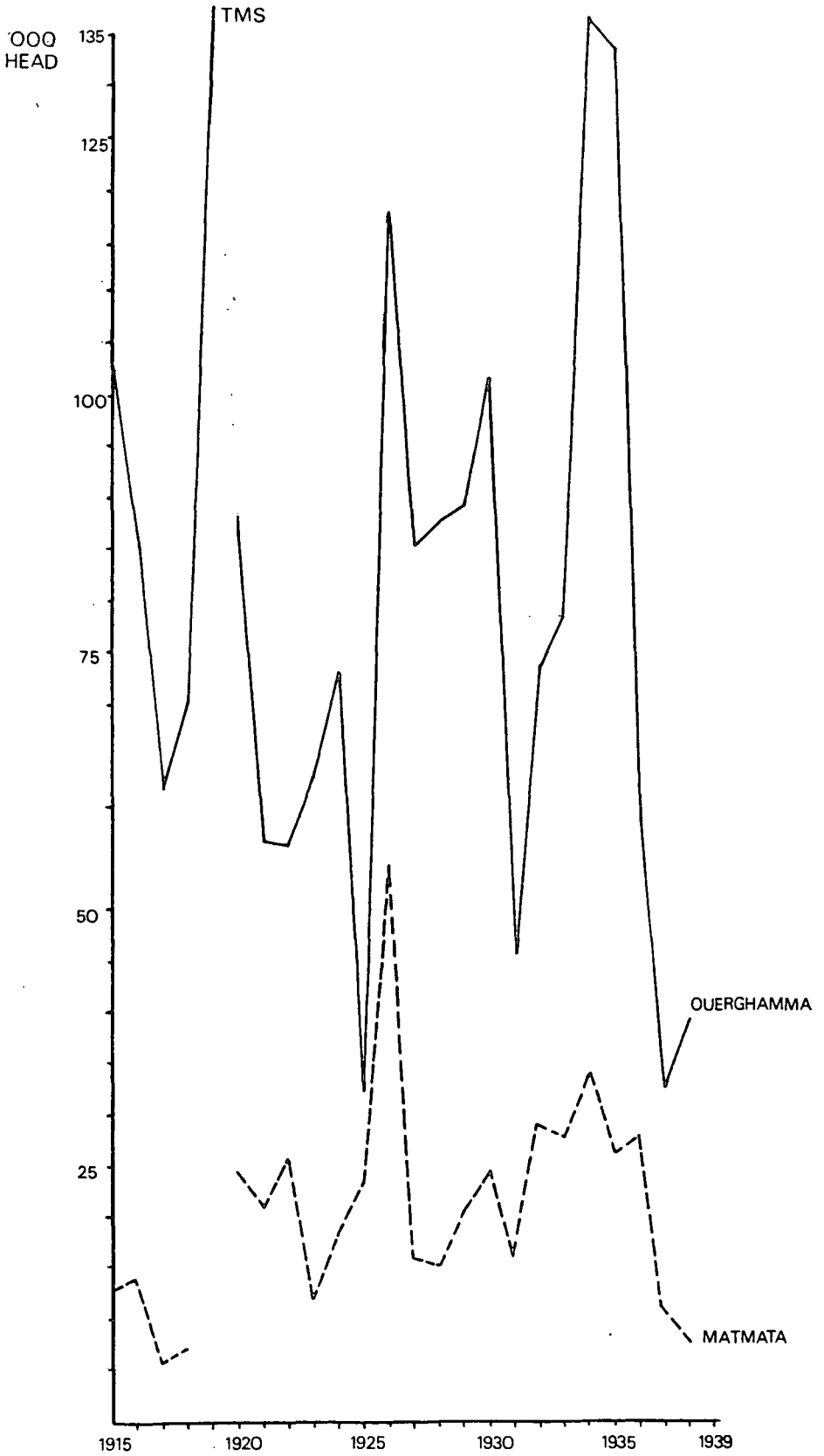


Figure 2.2. Sheep herds in Southern Tunisia (1915-1939).

Figure 2.3. Goat herds in Southern Tunisia (1915-1939).

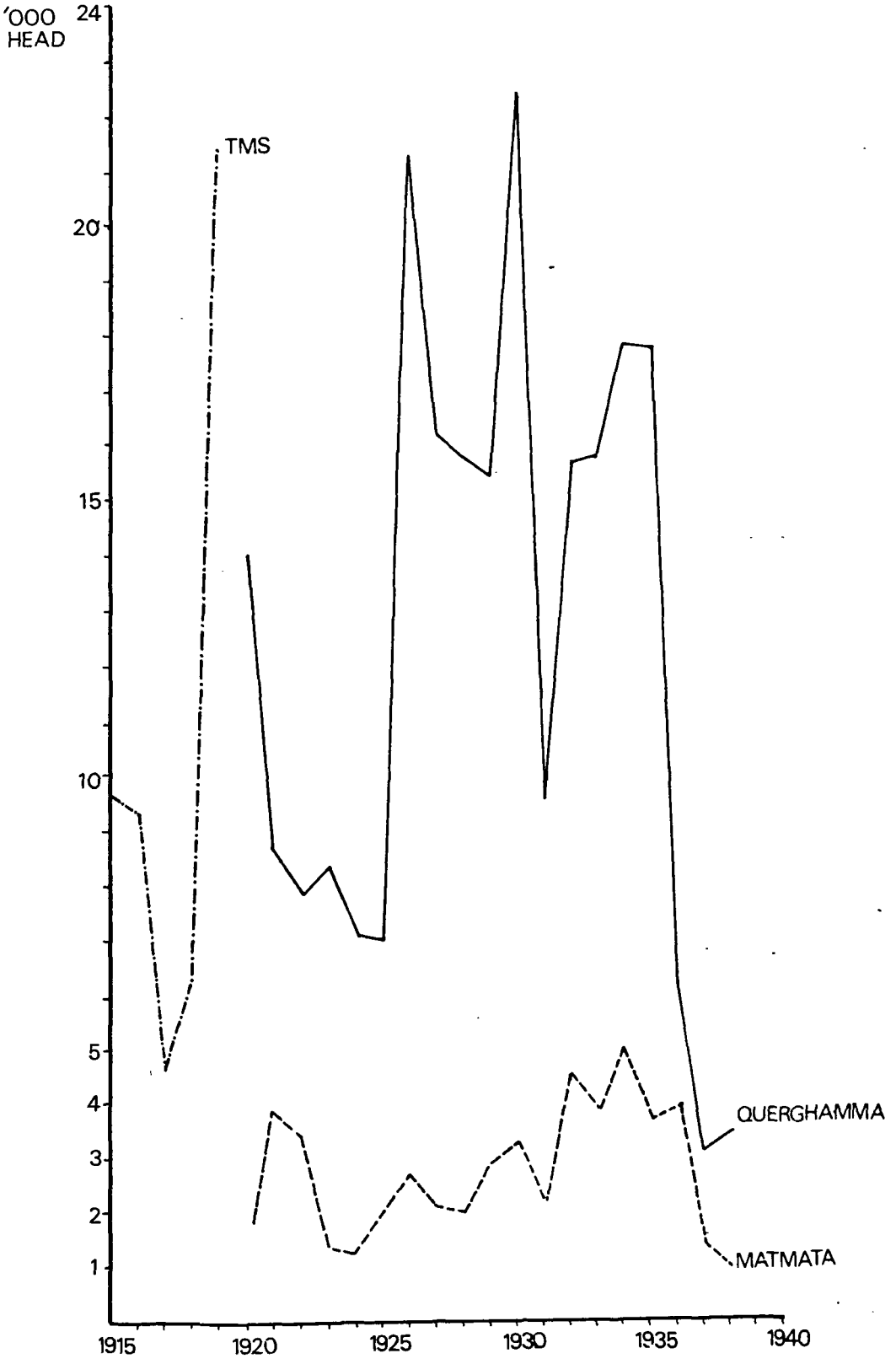
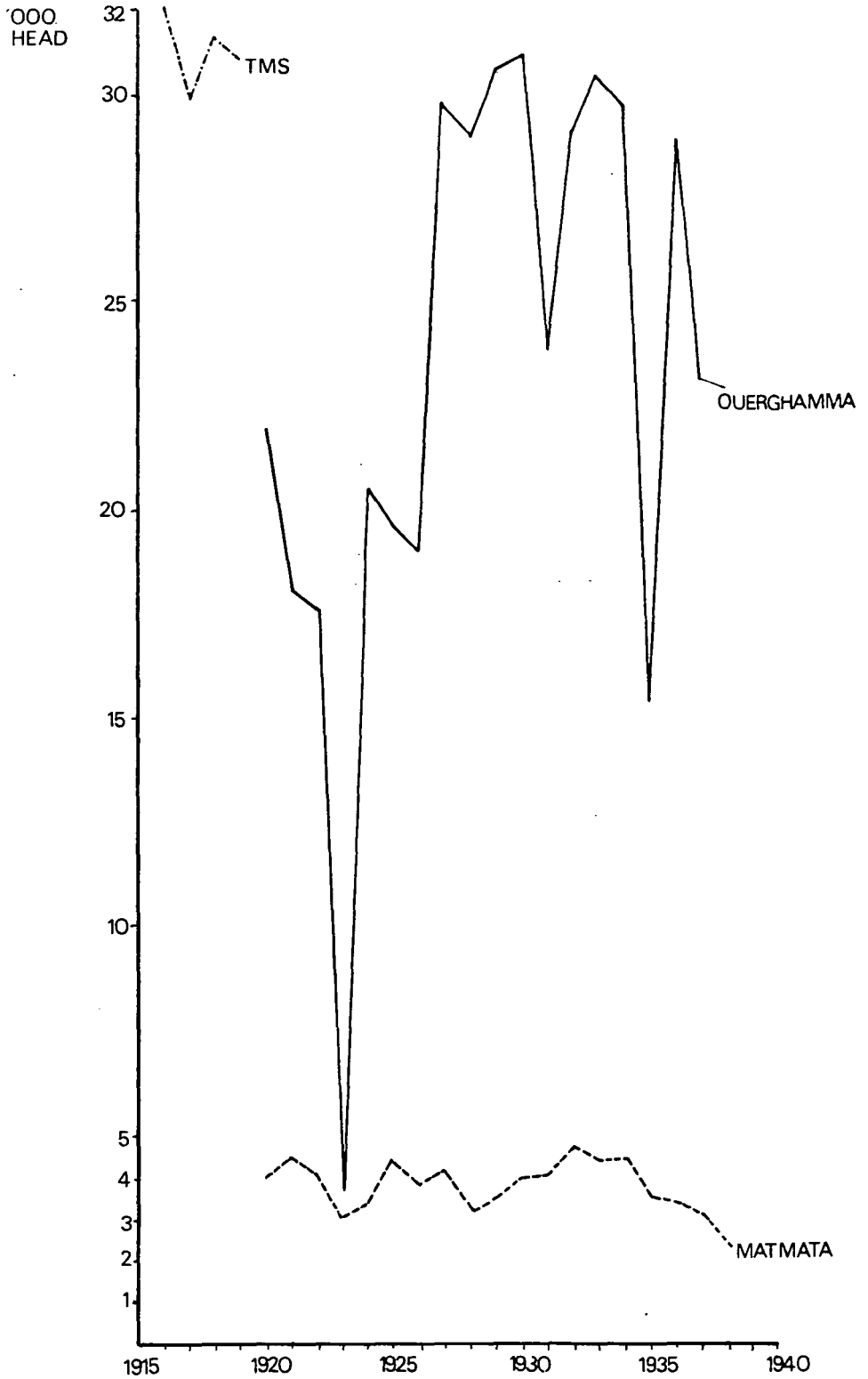
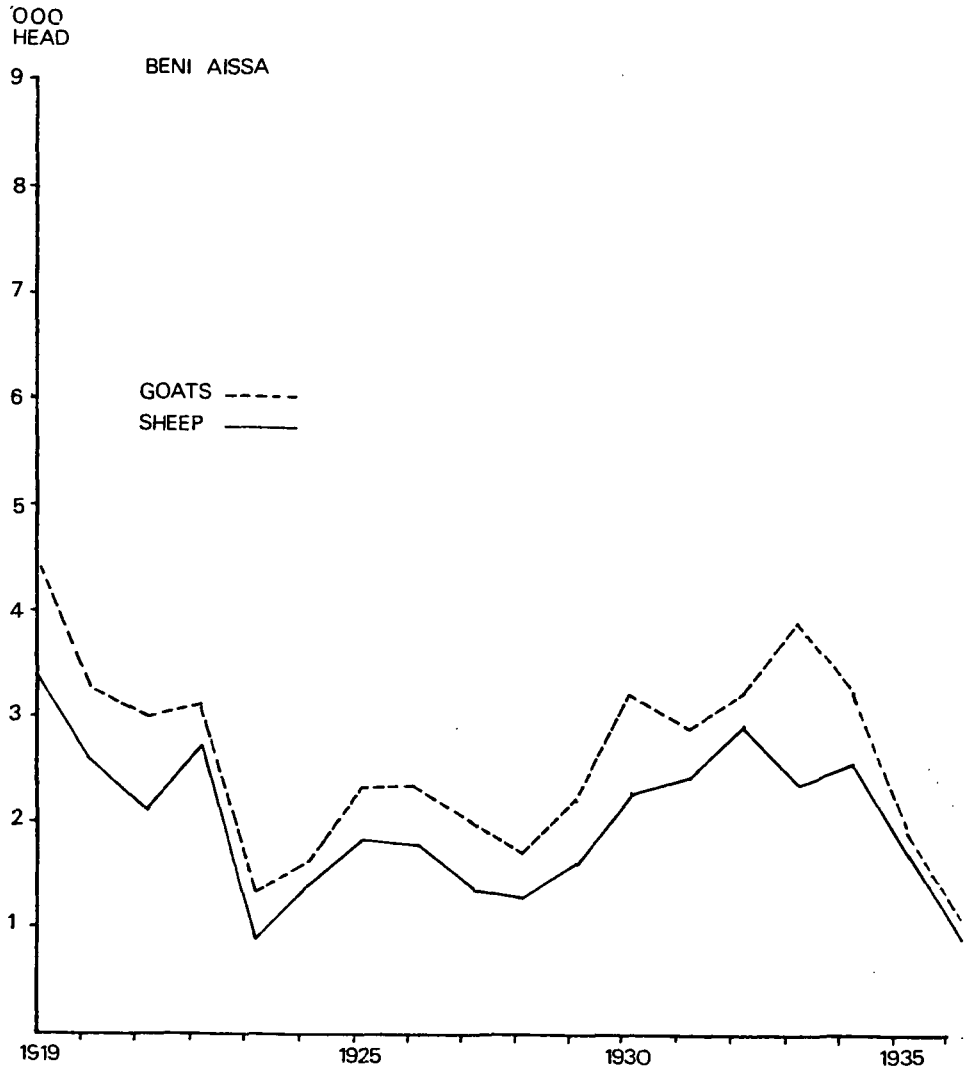


Figure 2.4. Camel herds in Southern Tunisia (1915-1939).





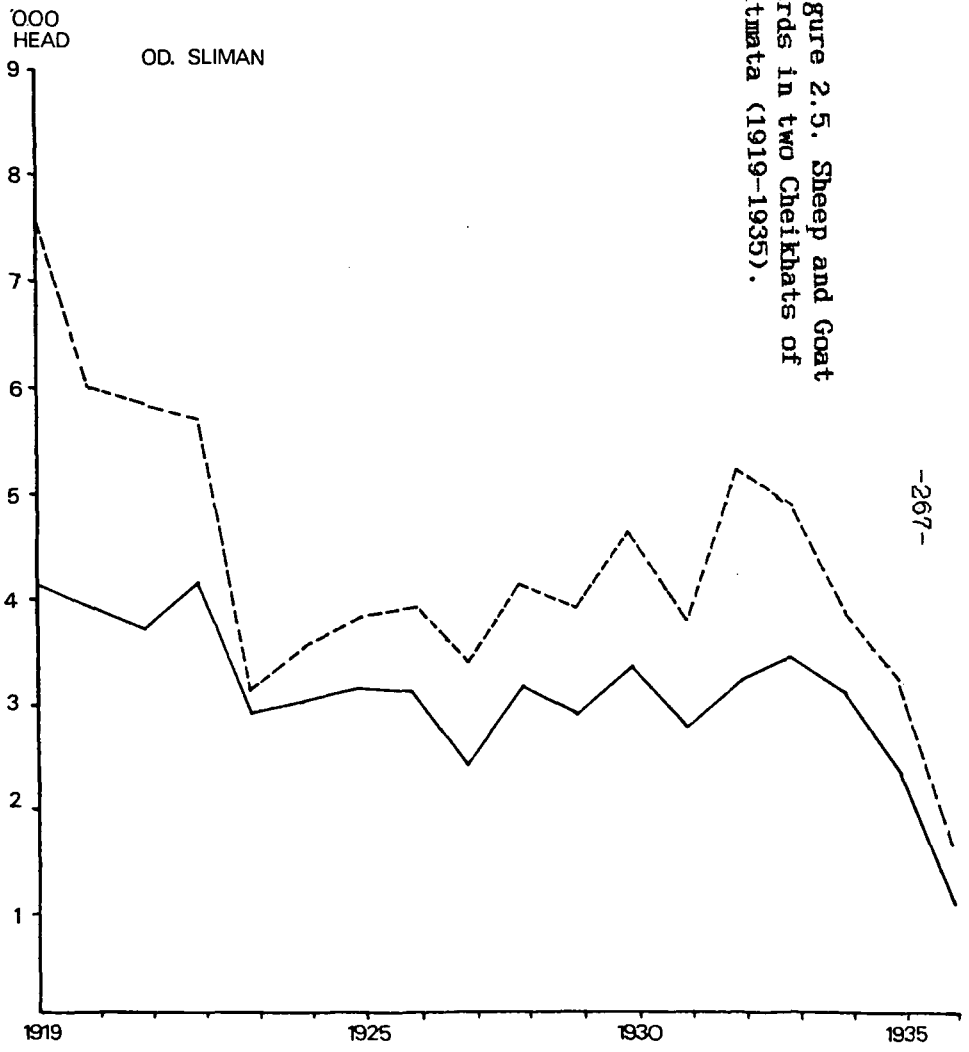
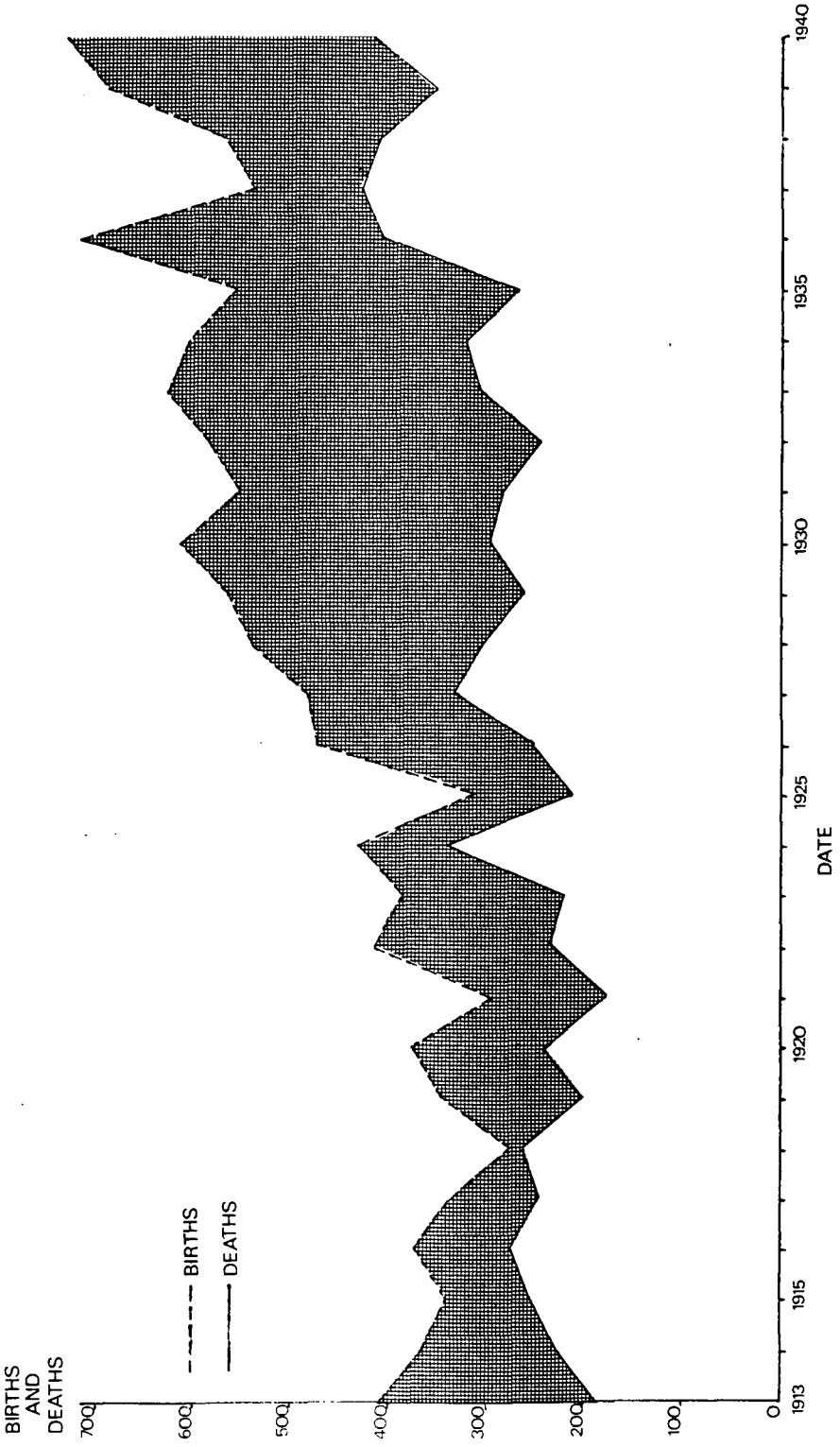


Figure 2.5. Sheep and Goat Herds in two Cheikhats of Matmata (1919-1935).

Figure 2.6. Births and deaths in Southern Tunisia (1913-1940).



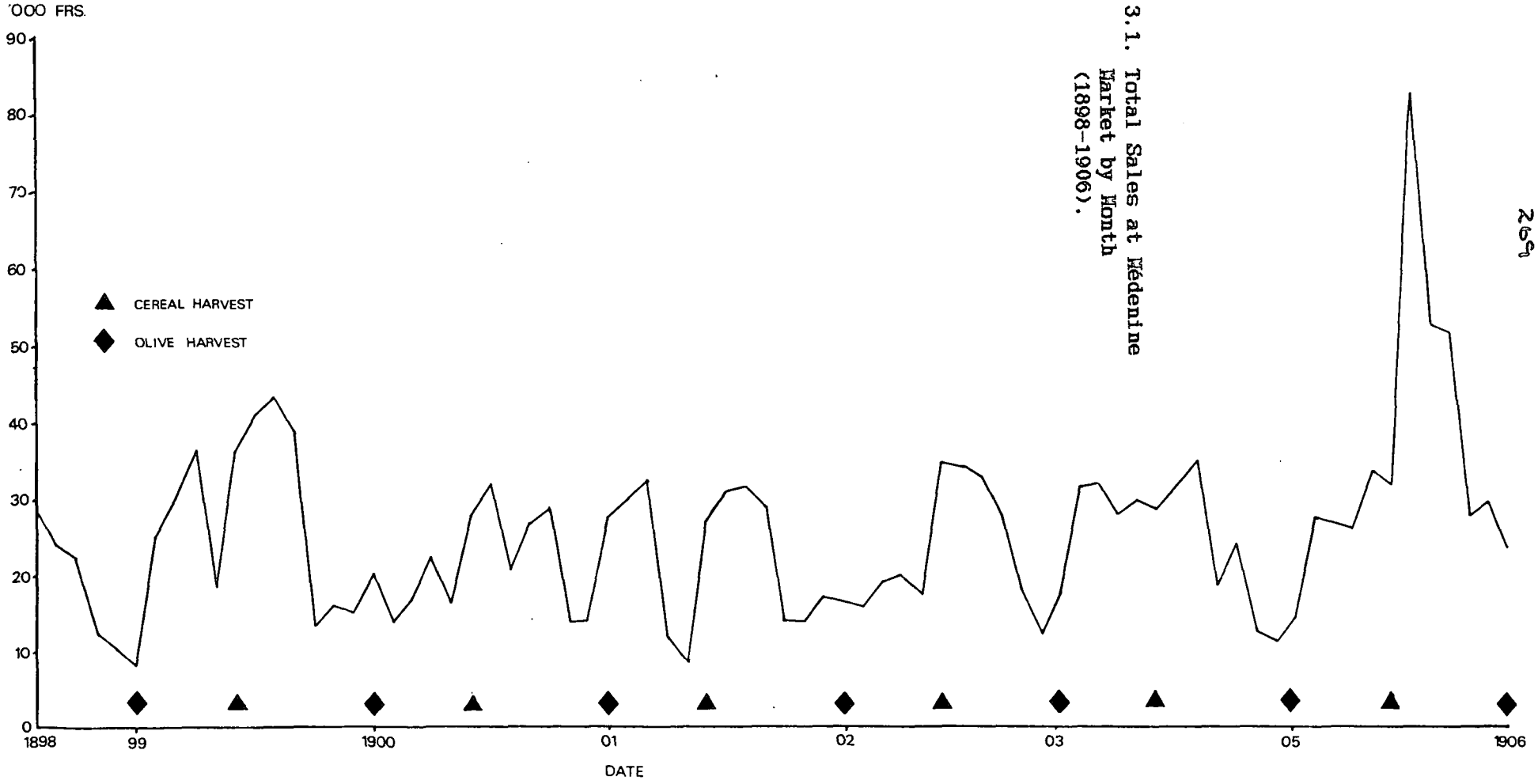


Figure 3.1. Total Sales at Médenine Market by Month (1898-1906).

Figure 3.2. Total Sales at Médenine Market by Month (1930-37).

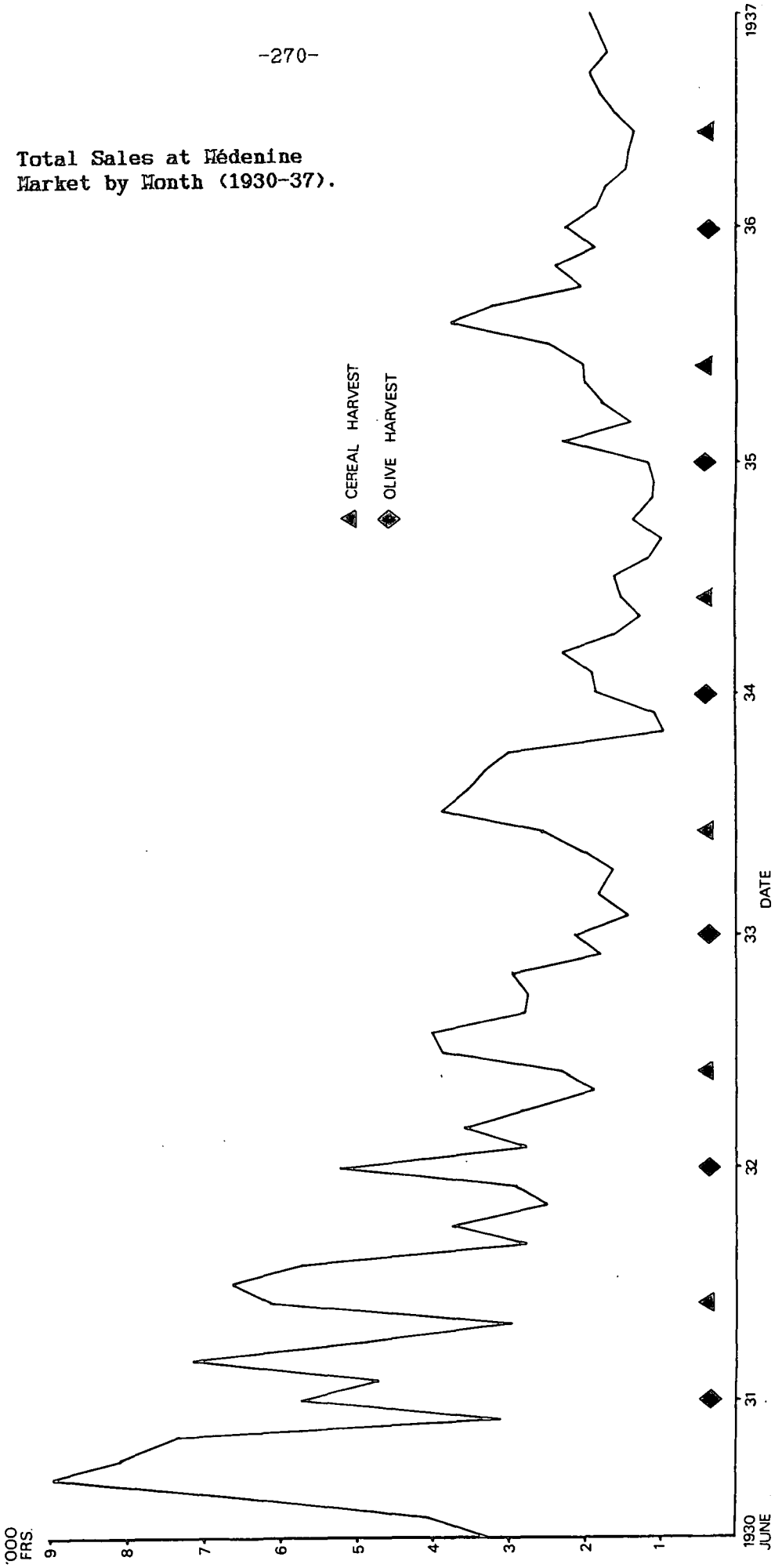


Figure 3.3. Cereal Prices at Médenine Market (January, April, June, and October from 1908 to 1917).

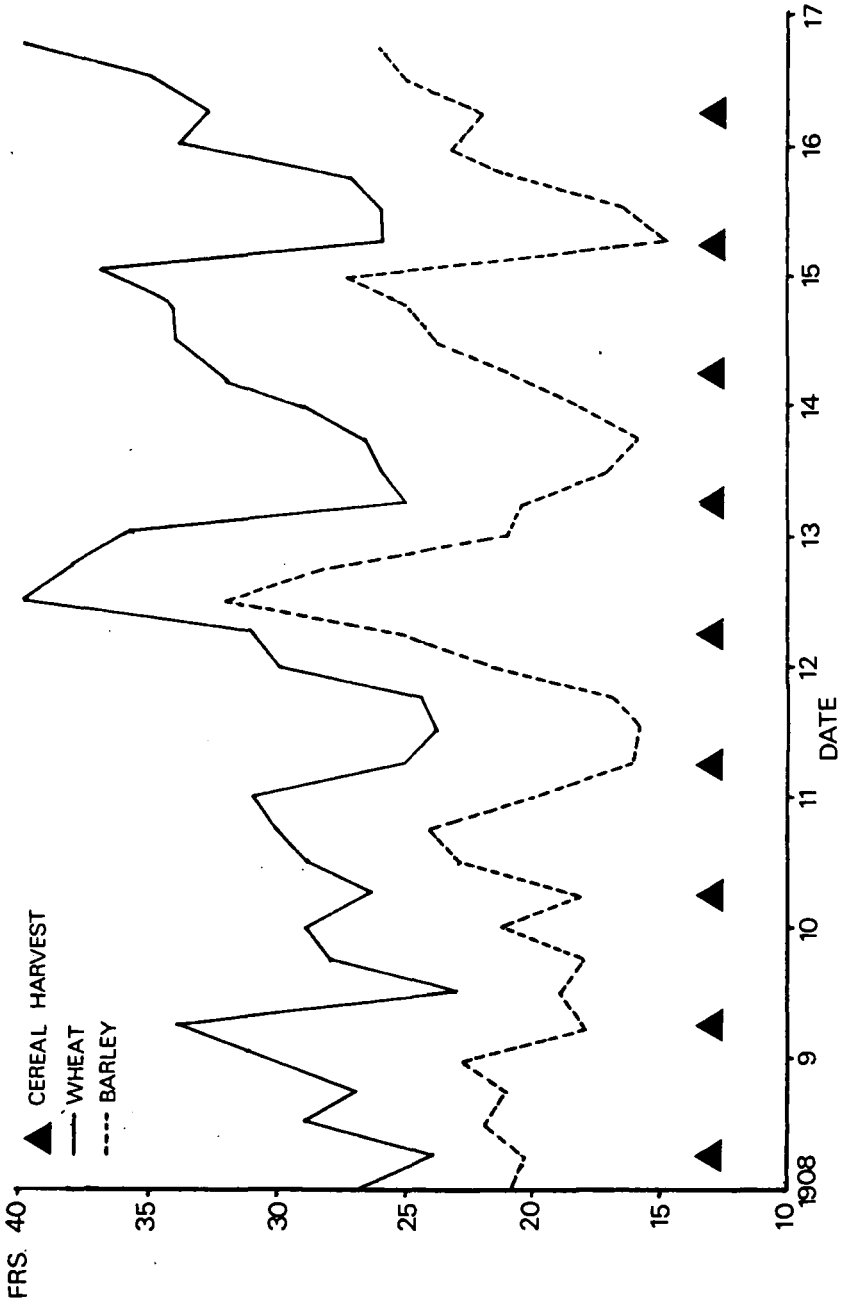


Figure 3.4. Cereal Prices at Médenine Market (January, April, June, and October from 1928 to 1941).

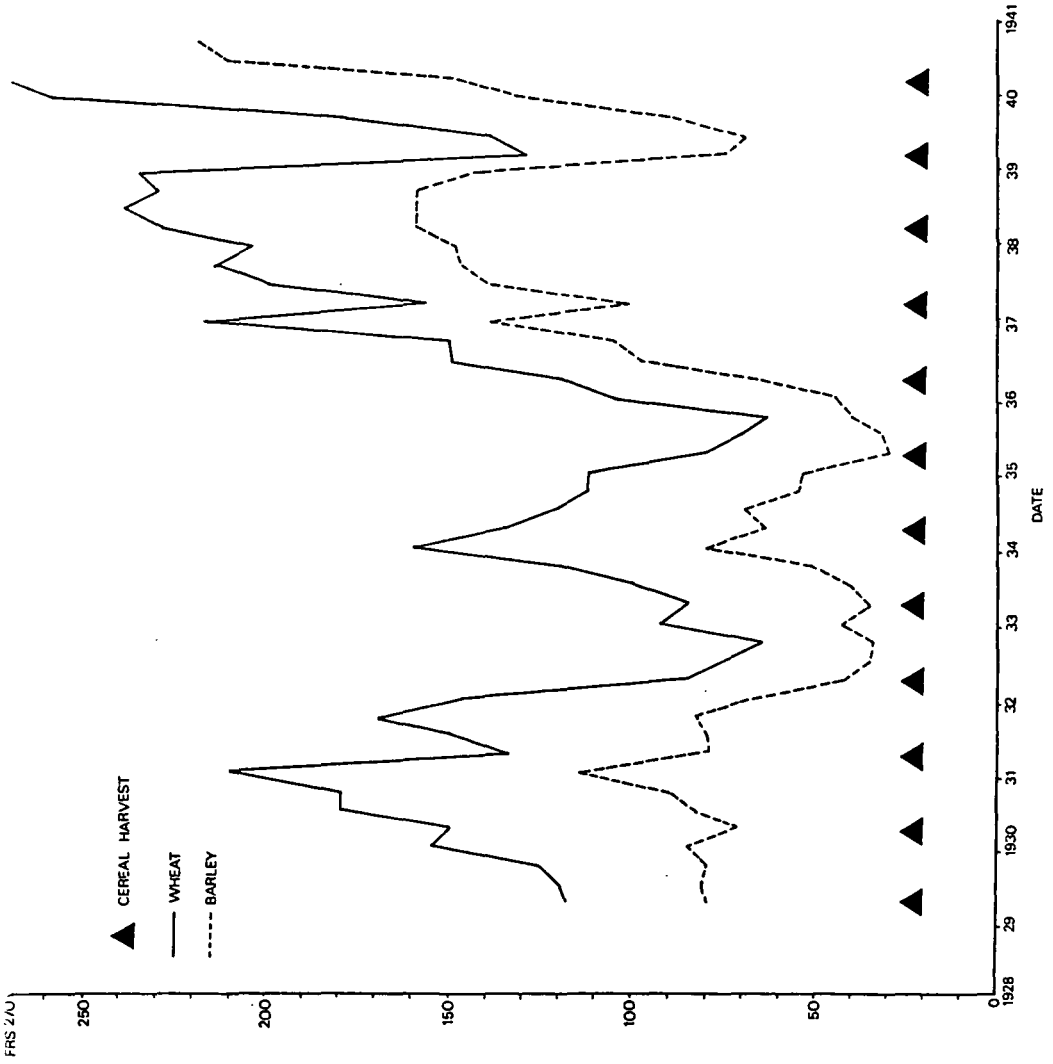


Figure 4.1. Mortgages and Loans of Seed Grain from Mutual Assurance Societies in Tunisia (1909-1940).

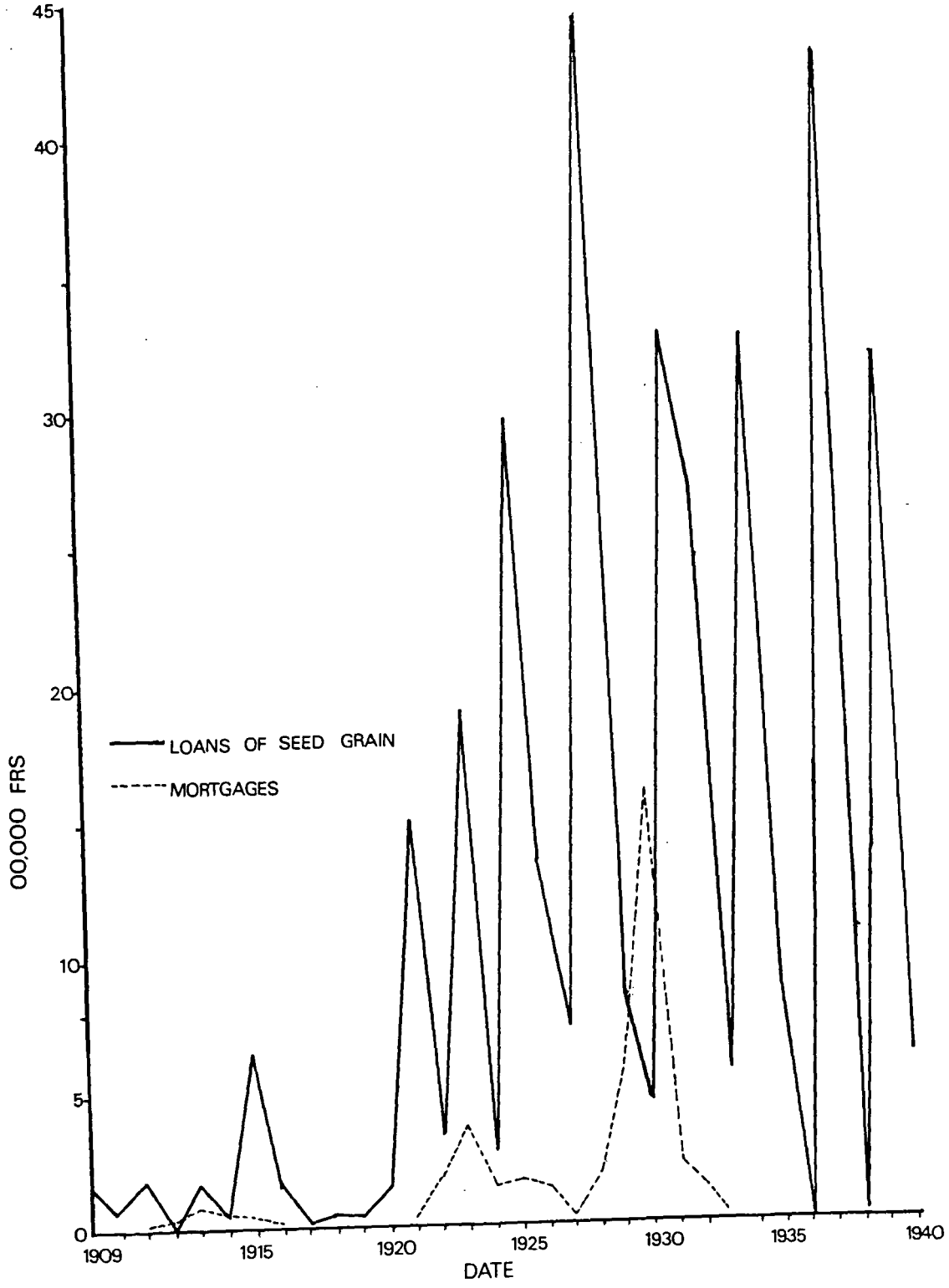


Figure 5.1. A Retail Price Index for Tunisia (1914-1937).

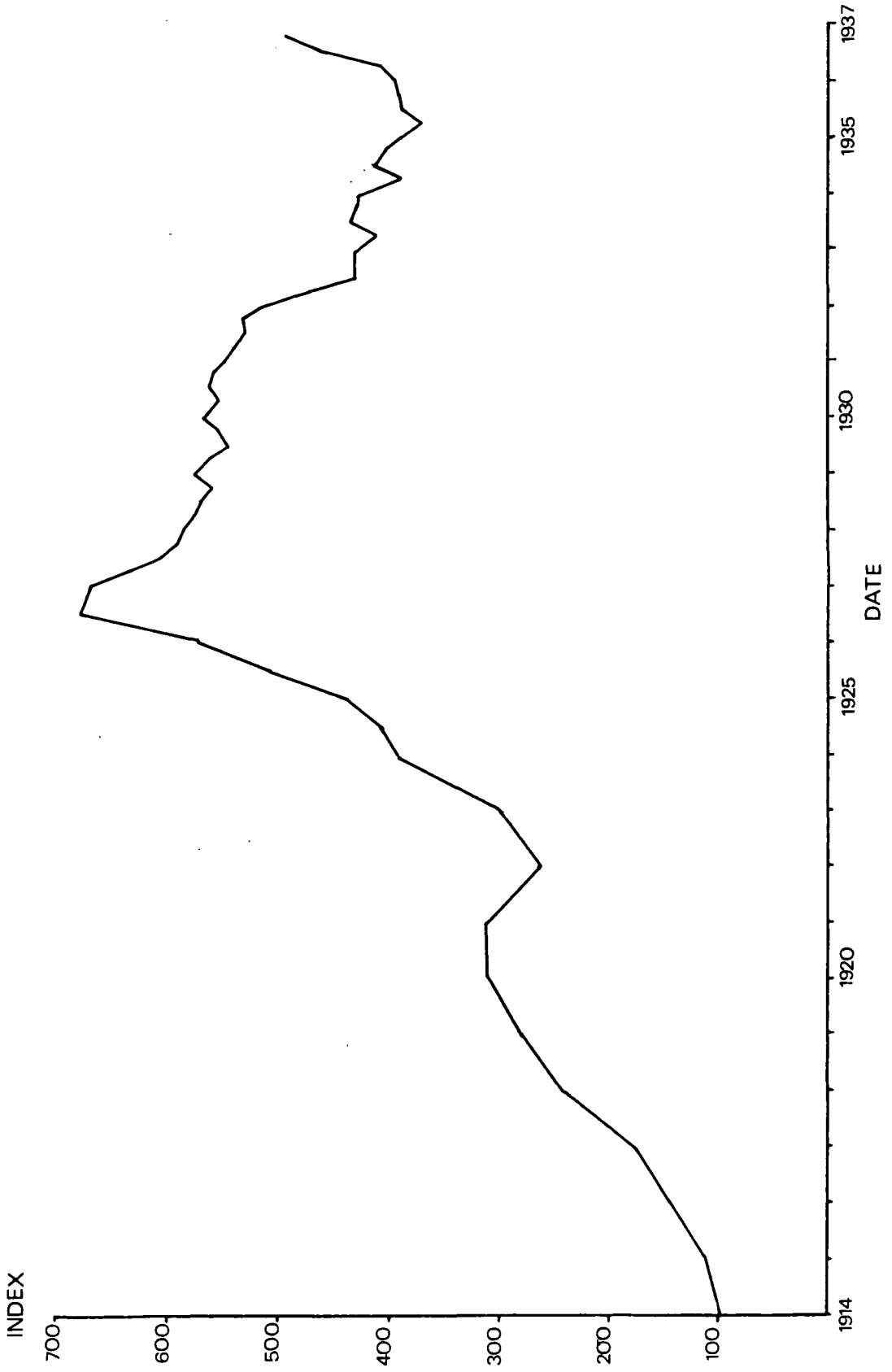


Figure 6.1. Monthly payments of taxes in Matmata (1932-1936).

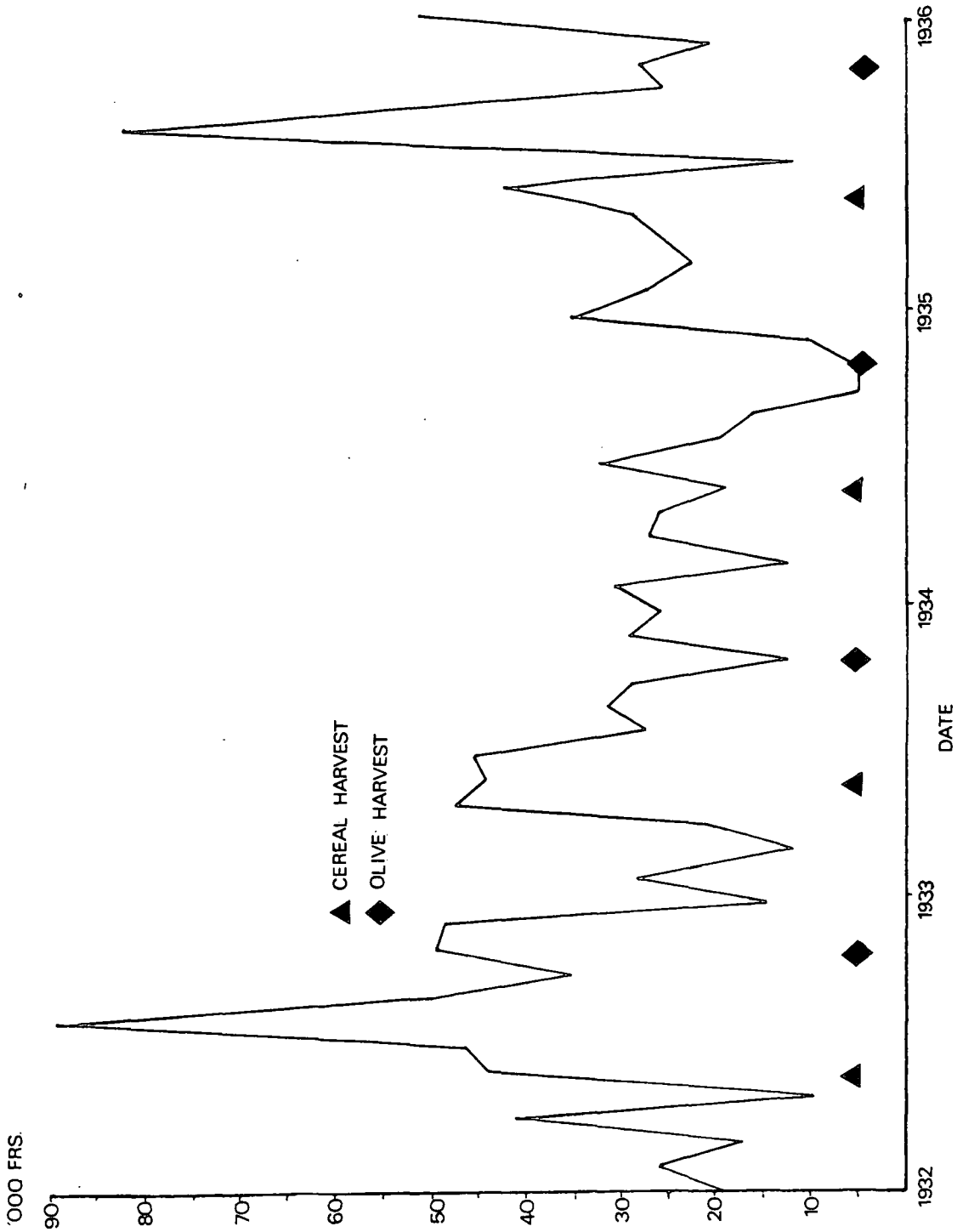
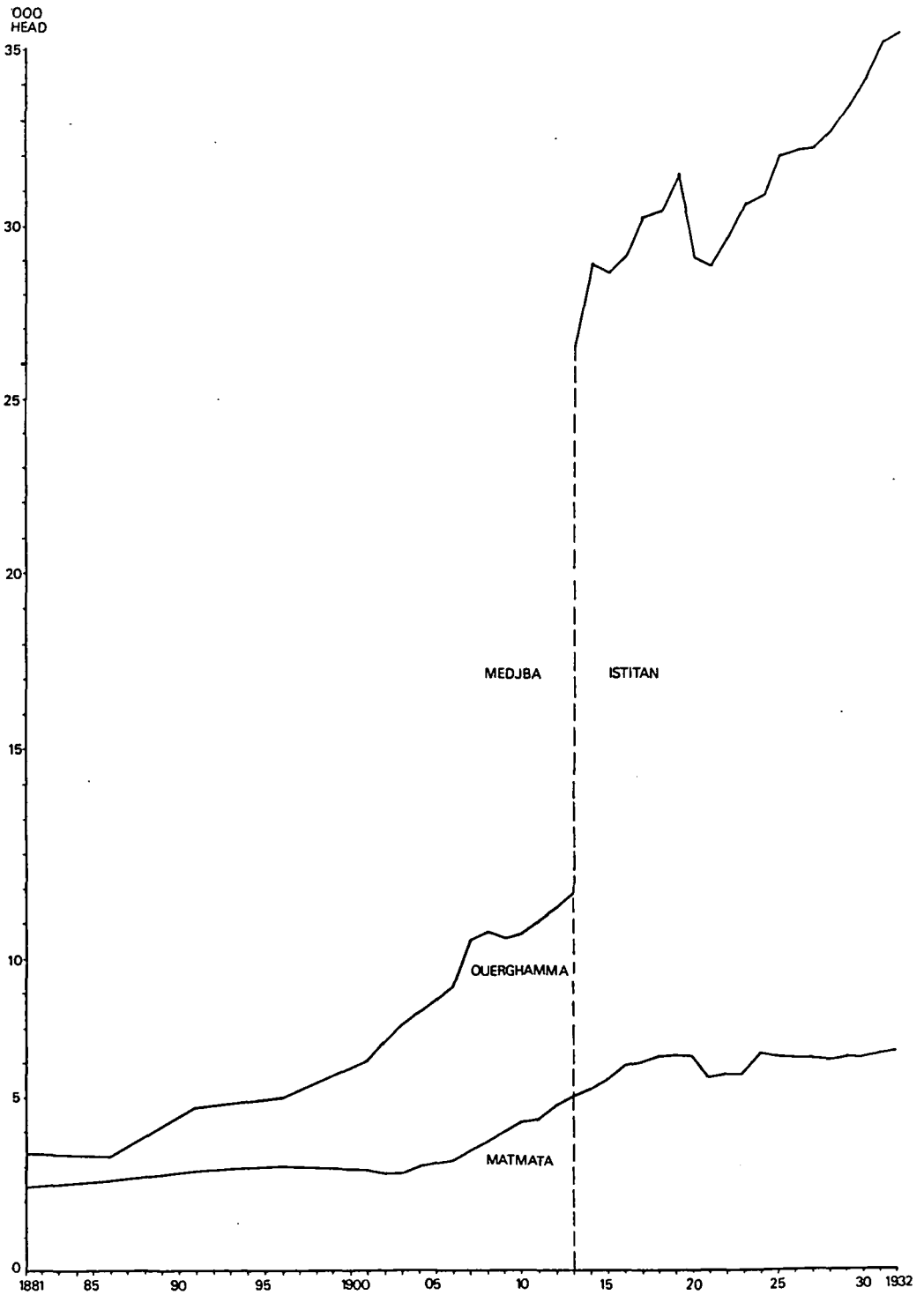


Figure 6.2. The number of people paying a capitation tax in Southern Tunisia (1881-1932).



ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A djesser. (Author, Matmata, 1985).
A. **Sirra** the retaining wall.
B. **Menfess** the overflow, termed **masraf** when in the centre of the retaining embankment. Usually lined with large stone slabs.
C. **Tabia** earth embankment.
D. **Djesser** the cultivated garden of the djessr downstream of the tabia, also termed **kliss**.

2. A hammala. (Author, Matmata, 1985).
A diversion channel carrying the water from one catchment to another supplementing the water supply to a djesser.

3. The village of Sidi Salem, Matmata. (Author, Matmata, 1985).
A troglodye village between Matmata Kbira and Tamazredt, dug into the **ard el hamri**, red loessal soil, of the valley floor.

4. The village of Tamazredt, Matmata. (Author, Matmata, 1985).
Tamezredt and the neighbouring villages of Zeraoua and Taoudjout are built in a similar style, flat roofed houses closely packed on the top of a hill, which contrasts with those elsewhere in the south. The aspect of the village has changed little since the beginning of the century. This photograph is very similar to one taken by M. Hamy on his tour of 1907 and now preserved in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris (Catalogue No. 64-12106-173), but unfortunately of too poor quality to reproduce. In the background (A) is the mosque, in the centre of the village, in the foreground (B) a **koubba** a saint's shrine, near the edge of a village but with its associated public cistern the centre of a **fariq** (a quarter).

5. Kalaa Beni Aissa, Matmata. (Author, Matmata, 1985).
The Kalaa has been gradually abandoned since the French occupation, most of the population now lives in a troglodyte village on the valley floor.

6. Toujane, Matmata. (Author, 1985).
The village has developed close to a spring and at the bottom of the escarpment of Matmata. It is divided into discrete **fariq** (quarters) each with its own watering point. In the foreground is the quarter of el 'Aref, clearly seperated from the rest of the village by the ravine. In background is the scarp of the Djebel Matmata.

7. Tribeswoman and child, Central Tunisia (?). (Postcard, before 1914, Musée de l'Homme, C.35-195-199).

8. The Market, Houmt Souk, Djerba. (Postcard, Postmark 20 April 1908, Author's Collection).
Houmt Souk was an important market place for the tribes of the south. These tribesmen are selling **gueddim**, a type of alfa that may be used as fodder.

9. Foum Tataouine. The Town. (Postcard, 1916, Author's Collection).
Twenty years after the town's foundation Tataouine was still very small. The only residential buildings were on either side of the market, mostly the seasonal homes of merchants. The

market place surrounded by shops dominates the town. Just to its left is an enclosed animal market. In the left foreground, flying the *tricouleur* is the Bureau of the Service des Affaires Indigènes, on its left the hotel, on its right the barracks of the Makhzen, just in front of it the nursery.

10. Ksar Médenine. The Interior. (Postcard, Before 1914, Author's Collection).
The largest ksar of the plains Ksar Médenine comprised at least 6,000 **ghorfa**, grain silos, at the turn of the century. The ksar was in fact an agglomeration of numerous smaller ksars (see Map 3.) each belonging to a fraction of the Touazine or Khezour.

11. Chenini, Djebel Demmer. (Postcard, Postmark 30 July 1915, Author's Collection).
Typical of the villages in the Djebel Demmer, Chenini is built around a spur. On the right a mosque can be seen one of three in the village at the time of the photograph (now there are only two). On the very top of the mountain the crumbled outline of kala'a (fortress)can just be seen.

12. A Chaamba Mounted on a Mehari. (Postcard, Postmark 2 February 1906, Author's Collection).
Although not a Tunisian tribe, the Chaamba from southern Algeria made frequent raids into Nefzaoua and the Dahar where the Djebalia pastured their herds. Their camels, the **mehari**, were so sturdy and fast as to make them virtually uncatchable in their own territory, the sandy desert.

13. Ksar Médenine. The Interior. (Taken by Dr. Carton, 1903, Musée de l'Homme, C.64-10122-173).
This picture shows the interior of the Ksar. Alfa sacks full of grain can be seen in the courtyard.

14. Kalaa Kebira, Matmata. (Taken by M. Hamy, 1907, Musée de l'Homme, C.64-11360-173).
A troglodyte village in Matmata. None of the houses are above ground. The only building in this picture is the koubba of Sidi Salem Machedeb on the right hand side of the photograph.

15. A Campment in the Desert. (Postcard, 1916 (?), Author's Collection).
The sender explains 'Les quartiers d'hiver d'une tribu arabe. Chaque tente forme le logement d'une famille. Ceux tu vois avec les burnous blancs sont les hommes les noirs ce sont les femmes. Qu'est ce que tu penses de ces hôtels en plein air. Bons baisers. Morbert.' The campment (of twenty one tents) is typical of those seen in the south.

16. A Bassour. (Postcard, Postmark 29 December 1905, Author's Collection).
A bassour was a covered saddle used by women on ceremonial occasions, such as during a wedding. This picture was probably taken among the Drid of Central Tunisia.

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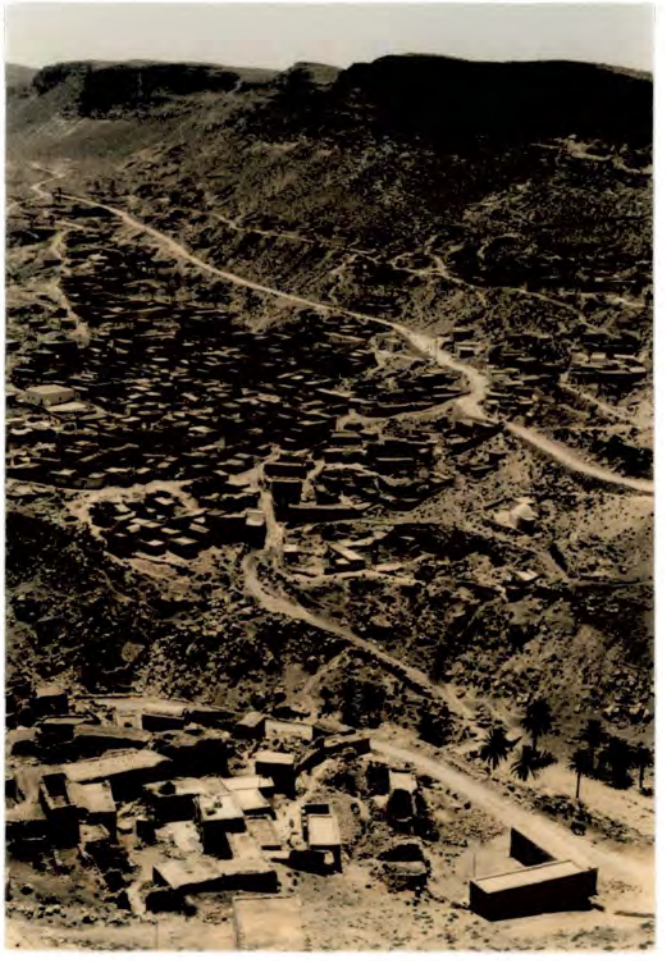

7

71
DJERBA. — Vue du Marché
D'AMICO, Libraire, 15, Avenue de France. — Tunis
Collections ND Phot

8

3 FOUM-TATAHOUINE. – (Ext. Sud Tunisien) Campagne 1915-16 — Vue générale

9

103. — MEDENINE. Le Ksar. Les Rhorfas. ND Phot.

10

66 — CHENINI. Vue générale. ND Phot.

11

Mehari monté par un Chambba
Alger, 2 Février
Collection ND Phot
POSTES

12

13

14

47. - EXTRÊME-SUD TUNISIEN. - Campement de Nomades dans le Désert
Imprimerie Moderne, A. Mutt, Sfax

15

80 x
Un Bassour
ND Phot

16

SOURCES.

SOURCES 1. ARCHIVES.

AGGT. Archives Générales du Gouvernment Tunisien, Dar el-Bey, Tunis.
Série A.

Cartons 176 to 179. Personnel files of Caïds, Khalifas, Cheikhs, and secretaries: affaires diverses qaidat of Tataouine.
Cartons 180 to 183. *ibid.* Médenine.
Cartons 184 to 187. *ibid.* Matmata.
Cartons 187 to 191. *ibid.* Nefzaoua.
Cartons 193 to 195. Service des Renseignements, Makhzen, and Police.
Cartons 196. Rapports Mensuels of the Service des Renseignements, Conseils de Qaidat.
Cartons 197 to 199. Rapports entre l'autorité militaire et civile.
Carton 206. Terres Collectives. Affaires Diverses.
Carton 206bis. Terres Collectives. Sud. Jardins d'Ouezzan.
Carton 207 to 209. Dissidents and Gens Suspectés. (Policy and personnel files).
Carton 208ter. Rebelles. Legislation, Reclamations, Personnel files, Recensement and Sequestrations.
Carton 278. Caravans du Sud.
Carton 280. Tripolitaine, Tripolitaines en Tunisie, Reven dications de Tunisie des Tripolitains,
Carton 287. Esclavage.
Carton 288. Animaux Errants.

Série B. Amines.

Carton 182. Amines du Sud. Questions Générales.
Carton 222. Amines du Sud. Organisation.
Carton 223. Amines Ouerghamma.
Carton 224. Amines Matmata.

Série C. Habous.

Carton 12. Oukils de Ouaqf. Sud.
Carton 22. Location et Vente des Biens Habous.
Carton 23. Questions Générales.
Carton 61. Enzel and Habous. Sud.
Carton 62. Echanges. Sud.
Carton 63. Affaires Diverses. Sud.

Série E. Directions.

Carton 15. Finances.
Carton 16. Regime Fiscal.
Cartons 17 to 19. Medjba.
Carton 20. Réclamations diverses.
Cartons 21 and 22. Kanoun.
Cartons 23 and 24. Achour.
Carton 30. Contributions Extraordinaires.
Carton 45. Mahsoulats T.M.S.
Carton 59. Marchés T.M.S.
Carton 64. Marchés d'Alfa.
Cartons 68 and 69. Monopoles. Contrabande.
Carton 76. Exportations.
Carton 83. Sociétés Indigènes du Prévoyence.
Carton 155. Législation Immobilière.

Carton 224. Pepinières.
Carton 226. Situation économique. Correspondence Générale.
Carton 231. élevage.
Carton 233. Affaires Diverses. économiques.
Carton 234. Paturages et Transhumance.
Carton 235. Travaux Publiques.
Carton 243. Culture de l'Olivier.
Carton 244. Commerce.
Carton 250. Organisation de Travail en Tunisie.
Carton 252. Terres de Colonisation.
Cartons 337 and 338. Travaux Publics. Routes.
Carton 353. Travaux Publics. Alimentation Hydraulique.
Carton 379. Travaux Publics. Ports Divers.
Carton 478. Recruitement.
Carton 539. Statistiques Divers.
Carton 540. Rencensement.
Carton 560. Incidents de Police.
Carton 594. Domaine d'état.

Série G.Circulaires.
Dossiers only.

REC. Centre Charles de Gaulle, Tunis.
Rapports, études et Conférences.
[Bound volumes of unpublished reports in the Résidence Générale library].
Volumes 1 to 5 (catalogued by subject).

MAE. Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris.
MD. Mémoires et Documents. Tunis.
Volumes 8 (1865) to 14 (1886).
CPTr. Correspondence Politique. Tripoli de Barabarie.
Volumes 20 (1881) to 25 (1887).
CPT. Correspondence Politique. Tunis.
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CCT. Correspondence Commerciale. Tunis.
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NS. Nouvelle Série. Tunis.
Volumes 42 (1893) to 43 (1893). Delimination Frontière Tunisio-Tripolitaine.
Volume 44 (1891 to 1894). Explorations.
Volumes 45 (1886) to 76 (1916). Affaires du Sud.
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Volumes 229 (1887) to 231 (1897). Commerce.
Volumes 232 (1898) to 240 (1916). Agriculture-colonisation-Commerce.
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T. Tunisie. 1917-1940.
Dossier 1. (Nos. 28 to 30) Rapports Mensuels (1917-1929).
Dossiers 31 to 32. Affaires Tunisio-Tripolitaines (1917 to 1929).
Dossiers 61 to 62. Questions Politiques.
Dossier 185. Agriculture. Questions Générales I

(1917-1919).
Dossier 239. Hydraulique Agricole (1917-1929).
Dossier 246. Questions Générales Service des Affaires Indigènes.
Dossier 360. Affaires du Sud (1930-1940).
Dossiers 361 to 362. Affaires Tunisio-Tripolitaines (1929 to 1939).

G. Guerre 1914-1918
Cartons 1507 to 1509. Afrique Questions Générales Africaines VIII. Main d'Oeuvre Indigène en Métropole.

MAEN. Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Nantes.
[The catalogue for this archive is, at present, not available for consultation.]

V.C. Vice-Consulates, Tunisia.
V.C.Sfax. Vice Consulat de Sfax.
Cartons 1839 to 1881.
V.C.Gabes. Vice Consulat de Gabès.
Cartons 1860 to 1881.

P.S. Postes du Sud.
Carton 171. Affaires économiques et Financières. Général (1891-1932).
Carton 172. Affaires économiques et Financières. Kebili (1929-1947).
Carton 187 and 188. Agriculture/élevage. Questions Générales. Kebili (1925-1954).
Carton 190. Agriculture/élevage. Général (1931-1940).
Carton 602. Statistiques Agricoles. Gabes.
Cartons 683 and 684. Administration Locale. Matmata (1906-1953).
Carton 710. Organisation Judiciaire. Matmata (1900-1953).
Carton 712. Affaires économiques/Agriculture (1938-1954).
Carton 733. Rapports Périodiques. Médenine (1907-1943).
Carton 744. Makhzen. Médenine (1935-1957).
Carton 756. Administration Locale. Médenine (1898-1951).
Carton 786. Justices françaises et tunisiennes. Médenine (1907-1944).
Carton 796. Agriculture et Commerce. Médenine.
Carton 798. Agriculture et élevage. Recensement de Bétail (1931-1955). Médenine.
Carton 874. Affaires économiques. Zarzis (1922-1954).
Carton 932. Affaires économiques et Financières. Tataouine.

P.F. Protectorat Français.
Carton 1651. élevage (1931).
Carton 1785. Affaires économiques Générales (1917-1927).
Carton 2034. Documents concernant la legislation de l'usure et sa repression (I) (1922-1932).
Carton 2098. élevage (1924-1949).
Carton 2109. Situation Agricole.
Carton 2110. Situation économique.
Carton 2117. Industries Indigènes et Artisanat Tunisien (1922-1949).

Carton 2125. Incidents Anti-Semitics à Gabès (1941-1942).

SHAT. Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Chateau de Vincennes, Paris.

2.H. Tunisie.
Cartons 25 to 55 (by subject).

1.K. Mémoires et Correspondence.
Carton 84. Don de Arthur Bourgoignon (Photograph album of his Service in Tunisia).
Carton 201. Jamais. Registre de Correspondence (Tunisie).
Carton 203. Edon. Registre de Correspondence (Tunisie).

7.N. Première Guerre Mondiale.
Cartons 2133 to 2135. évenements 1914-1919.
Carton 4136. Operations Militaires.

MR. Mémoires et Rapports.
Cartons 1321 to 1323. Rapports sur les Tribus en Tunisie.
Carton 1675. Mission Militaire du Lieutenant Campenon en Tunisie.

ANSOM. Archives Nationales. Section Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence.

10.H. Rapports économiques. Constantine.
Carton 1 to 88 (by subject).

11.H. Rapports Mensuels sur la Situation de Constantine.
Cartons 30 to 32.

22.H. évenements du Sahara.
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B.D.A.C.C.	Bulletin de la Direction d'Agriculture, du Commerce, et de Colonisation (1906-1939)
B.E.S.T.	Bulletin économique et Social de Tunisie
B.S.G.	Bulletin de la Société de Géographie
C.A.T.P.	Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires de Tunisie
C.T.	Cahiers de tunisie
I.B.L.A.	Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis
I.J.M.E.S.	International Journal of Middle Eastern
J.A.F.	Journal of African History
R.A.	Revue Africaine
R.F.H.O.M.	Revue Française Histoire d'Outre-Mer
R.H.M.	Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine
R.O.M.M.	Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Mèditeranée
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