

*For Karl Polanyi  
with best wishes  
Marvin Mikessell*

THE ROLE OF TRIBAL MARKETS  
IN MOROCCO

EXAMPLES FROM THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

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# THE ROLE OF TRIBAL MARKETS IN MOROCCO\*

## EXAMPLES FROM THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MARVIN W. MIKESSELL

WESTERN observers in Morocco are astonished by the juxtaposition of modern urban districts and deeply rural tribal territories. The gleaming, up-to-date buildings of Morocco's European quarters remind one of California rather than of France. Casablanca bears a strong resemblance to Los Angeles and its suburbs, Rabat could be San Diego, Oujda has the aspect of Fresno or Bakersfield. It is possible to travel for weeks in Morocco and never leave excellent highways. But in the areas of European influence one is never far from the "real Morocco," where tribal authority is still dominant and the goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The generalization is often made that the tribal territories are evolving from a medieval to a modern way of life, but such a comparison does not do justice to the magnitude of the change. The economic and social environment of tribal Morocco more closely resembles that in northern Europe at the time of earliest Roman conquest. In recent years Morocco has been struggling with problems that were resolved in the West more than a thousand years ago.

The clearest expression of this "split personality" is an abrupt transition from urban to rural settlement. In the Western world we are accustomed to think of towns as links between these two modes of life. In Morocco such links are hard to find. Between one city and another are only villages, hamlets, or isolated farmsteads. Towns of the Western type are of very recent origin, and most of them are in areas where European influence has been strong. The almost total absence of towns in Morocco can be explained by the presence of a special instrument of trade—the weekly market, or *sug* (plural, *aswag*). These markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites, which are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and are named according to the day of the week on which the market is held. On the morning of the appointed day streams of people converge on the market place. After a few hours of

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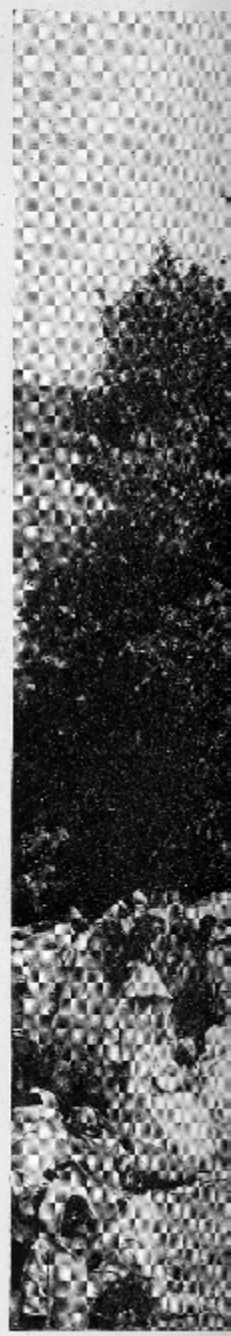


FIG. 1—Local market Morocco each week. (Photo)

Siba

i.e. before the Roman conquest.

local hub with trade as in Morocco

of Tiv Dabo way



FIG. 1—Local market at Teroual near Ouezzane. More than a thousand markets of this type are held in Morocco each week. (Photograph from Moroccan Tourist Office.)



brisk trading, the market begins to break up, and by nightfall the site is empty again.

The deeply rural "Northern Zone" of Morocco (until April of 1956 controlled by the Spanish as a "protectorate") is an excellent area in which to study the traditional role of the suq. This "zone," like the large area of Berber speech in the High, Middle, and Anti-Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco at the end of the seventh century, had small interest in the highlands. European colonists, largely concerned with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But it is only in the last two decades that their traditions of independence and self-sufficiency have been seriously disturbed.

#### TIME AND PLACE

Maps of Morocco show more than a thousand markets. Their presence is indicated by the following names:<sup>1</sup> *El had* (Sunday), *El uine* (Monday), *El teta* (Tuesday), *El arba* (Wednesday), *El khenis* (Thursday), *El jema* (Friday), *El sebt* (Saturday). For political as well as economic reasons each tribe holds at least one suq of its own, and a complete cycle of markets may be maintained. Six markets, for example, are held by the numerous Rifian tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel.<sup>2</sup> The ideal location permits any member of the sponsoring tribe to visit the market and return home in a single day. This stipulation can be satisfied even when the distance is as much as 20 or 30 miles; for the Moroccans are great walkers, and on market day no one wants to remain at home. The suq is much more than a market in the economic sense; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiations. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week. Since the suq serves as a clearinghouse for gossip and news, its attraction is overpowering. The *qadi* (Koranic judge) of the tribe of the Beni Seddat once granted a divorce to a woman whose husband had refused to allow her to visit the suq. On market days in the Senhajan mountains the writer has seen people wading barefooted through snow.

<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this paper special use was made of sheets of the "Carte de reconnaissance," 1:100,000, published by the Institut Géographique National (Annexe du Maroc), Rabat, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> For additional information on markets in the Rif, see D. M. Hart, An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Auh Waryaghel, *Canadian Rev. de Recherches Mélanges*, Vol. 2, 1957, pp. 51-86.

Physical factors are of primary importance in the selection of market sites. The critical requirement is a reliable water supply. In the moist highlands of Jebala and Rhomara each tribe possesses dozens of potential market sites, but in the Rif perennial streams are rare and the chief markets are located where there are springs or wells. Markets are often placed close to a religious sanctuary or shrine (*marabit*), since the site is protected by sacred authority, and malediction (*taqur*) falls on anyone who disturbs the peace. This was a major consideration a generation ago when Morocco was rent by tribal warfare and markets were turbulent assemblies of armed men.<sup>3</sup>

Local Two types of market are distinguishable (Fig. 2). The more influential is the local suq. Markets of this type draw a few hundred people from a radius of 10 or 12 miles (Fig. 1). Their main function is to serve as foci of commerce for dispersed but sedentary populations engaged in subsistence agriculture. Differences of slope, exposure, and soil permit some specialization, but no community specializes to the point of dependence on others for staple foods. One village may try to increase its flocks beyond the level of need or, if its land is wooded, may make pitchforks or plows. Another village may have a surplus of eggs or an overabundance of fruit. In spring cereal stocks are low, and there is a brisk trade in raisins and dried figs. The local suq also serves as a place of deposit for sugar, salt, cooking oil, and kerosene—the primary commodities that must be brought in from outside.

The second type of suq, the regional market, draws a larger number of people from a radius of as much as 20 miles. Markets of this type are located at the convergence of major communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones. Moroccans make a distinction between *bled segnia*, where crops can be grown under irrigation, and *bled hour*, where only dry farming is possible. The larger markets are usually on the frontiers of these two zones. The Wednesday market at Targuist, on the eastern edge of the mountains of Senhaja es-Srair, enjoys this combination of advantages (Fig. 3). The sole transportation artery between the humid Rhomara and the semiarid Rif passes nearby. Targuist is also the apex of two tracks over northern Morocco's mountainous spine. From the irrigated terraces of the highlands come summer crops of maize, beans, squash, and *kif* (*hashish*, *Cannabis sativa*). In the drier but warmer Rif there is in normal years a surplus of winter wheat and barley, nuts, fruit, and olive oil. The mountain

<sup>3</sup>The elaborate precautions taken to ensure order at markets are described in Robert Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: Essai sur la transformation politique des Berbères wilayatins (groupe Chirah)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 251-253.

tribes bring plants, hats, and mattings, esparto grass (used in tanning and leather) manufactured in the



Let us consider Bon Nsar (Sun) that attracts all flanks of a deep area of subsistence thin, but a few under irrigation barley and rye when this is not comes to the market cloth, soap, suitability charms braziers from and possibly a

tribes bring planks of cedar and pine, and the Rifian tribes make baskets, hats, and matting from cane, palmetto fibers (*Chamaecyparis humilis*), and esparto grass (*Stipa tunacissima*). The mountain tribe of Tarhzout specializes in tanning and leather work, which can be exchanged for pottery manufactured in the Rif.

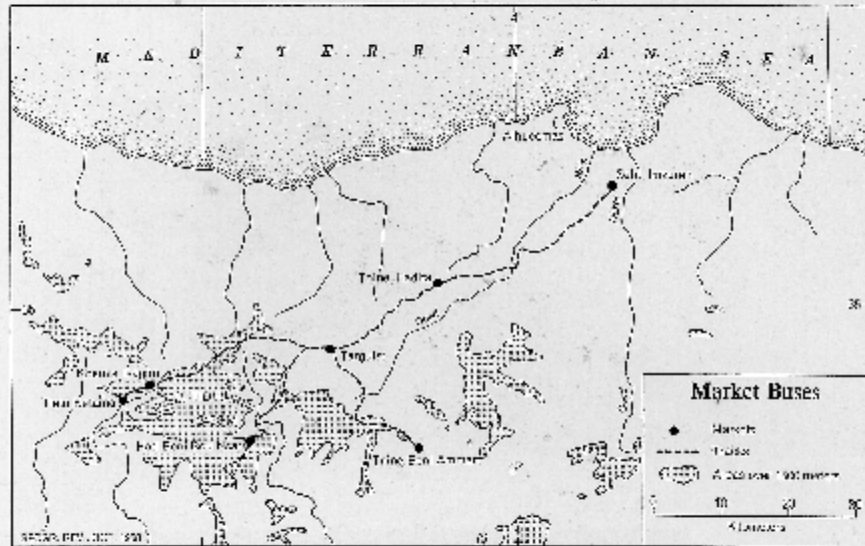


FIG. 3—Circulation of market buses from Targuist.

#### EXAMPLES OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL MARKETS

Let us consider two markets celebrated on the same day. El had Beni Bou Nsar (Sunday [market] of the sons of the father of Nsar) is a local suq that attracts about 300 people from a narrow zone extending along the flanks of a deep valley cut by the Oued el Had (Sunday stream). This is an area of subsistence agriculture. The slopes are steep and the soils stony and thin, but a few streams are perennial, and a variety of crops can be grown under irrigation during the dry summer to supplement the winter crops of barley and rye. The suq is reached by a track from Targuist (Fig. 3), and when this is not blocked by snow or mud, a small bus filled with merchants comes to the market. They set up tents or booths and display rolls of cotton cloth, soap, sugar, salt, tea, and a variety of other goods ranging from fertility charms to ball-point pens. Artisans repair shoes and make charcoal braziers from scrap iron. There may be a truckload of *lisa* from Alhucemas and possibly a traveling medicine man.



FIG. 4—Baskets  
made of palm tree fiber  
await customers at the  
Monday market of  
the Beni Hadita.

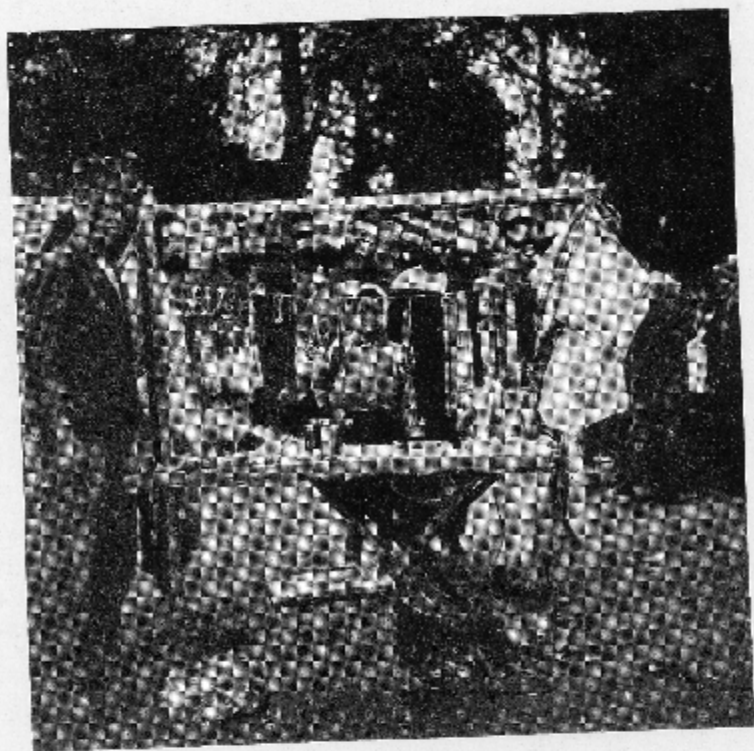


FIG. 5—Stand of  
an itinerant peddler at  
the Thursday market  
of the Beni Sedat at  
Isagan.

FIG. 6—A fish  
trunk from Allacemas  
prepares to leave Tlax  
Ketanc with human  
cargo.





Fig. 6—A fish  
trucks from Allamirnas  
prepares to leave Uera  
Ketama with human  
cargo.



Fig. 7—A market  
crier announces a tribal  
council decision at the  
Monday market of the  
Beni Hadifa.



FIG. 8—Tuesday market at Keutano. The Atlas cedar still clothes many slopes in the Senhajan mountains, but handsome examples such as these are rare.



FIG. 9—Five types of pottery at Jhel Armoic. Structure in background shelters meat market; formerly butchering was done in the open and meat hung on tripods.

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<sup>6</sup>This colorful phrase  
to the markets of *ex-ay*  
p. 172).

<sup>7</sup>The Rilian term for  
virtues to the dignified  
public are members of our

By noon all who are coming to the market have arrived. The suq is at its peak, "a vociferating, seething mass of human beings, quadrupeds and feathered things."<sup>4</sup> The women exchange gossip as well as their special property—eggs, poultry, bread, and fruit. The men gather apart and besides settling the important tribal business haggle over the prices of tea, oil, sugar, and meat. Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event. A rough system of quarters (*rabba*) is recognized, and week after week the same goods are found at the same place. Butchers and blacksmiths work a short distance away from the rest of the group. When there is a load of fish, fires are kindled and part of the purchase is consumed on the spot. But most people are satisfied with a simple meal of barley bread and dried fruit. By midafternoon the load of fish has been sold, and those who live close to the road—sometimes more than 50 people—crowd on the truck for a ride. The bus stays as long as the merchants feel that there is a chance for a sale, but by nightfall the suq is abandoned and the market bus is stirring up giant clouds of dust.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products; (2) exchange of rural surplus for urban goods; (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from special places within the country; and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger, regional, markets differ from the smaller, local, markets in a greater emphasis on the last two functions. A good example of the regional type is El had Jebel Arruit, located close to the ports of Melilla and Nador (Fig. 2). In addition to the simple goods offered at Had Beni Bou Nsar, this market boasts toy balloons, firecrackers (for use on wedding days), and a myriad of other commodities of national and international origin. On a representative day at Jebel Arruit one can see cotton cloth from England, canvas shoes from Spain, flashlights and padlocks from Japan, political posters from Egypt, and spices of many varieties, mostly from India. More than a thousand people gather here on market day. Four buses bring merchants from Melilla and Nador. Trucks also come from these cities and from Alhucemas and Onjda. This suq is large enough to require the services of professional weighers and criers.<sup>5</sup> But at nightfall the market place is deserted, and there is little to suggest that this suq was large and the

<sup>4</sup>This colorful phrase, written by Budgett Meakin at the turn of the century, is just as applicable to the markets of today (*The Moors: A Comprehensive Description*. [London and New York, 1902], p. 172).

<sup>5</sup>The Rifian term for such people is *tanziha*, "shameless ones." Shyness and reserve are cardinal virtues to the dignified Rif. Market criers, musicians, dancers, and others who display themselves in public are members of *outcaste* groups.

other one small. The largest trade at both markets is in the simple necessities of rural life, such as sugar, salt, and kerosene.

#### UNIQUENESS OF THE SUQ

*with a place*  
*with a place*  
 This system of trade has no counterpart at present in the Western world. The uniqueness of the suq derives from the fact that it is regarded as an institution, an event, and not as a feature of settlement. Merchants and peasants meet on neutral ground during a time of truce. For more than a thousand years merchants in the Occident have occupied fixed positions and encouraged dispersed rural populations to come to them. "Three rural trading institutions have been prominent in Europe," and none of them corresponds to the suq. The general commodity fairs of medieval time, such as those founded by the counts of Champagne, were annual or semiannual events designed to encourage wholesale exchange. Livestock fairs began either as specialized derivatives of general commodity fairs or as expressions of more ancient commercial contacts between pastoral peoples and entrepreneurs based in towns. The periodic village markets, still to be found in most of Europe, show a closer functional resemblance to the suq. But as early as the twelfth century rural markets in Europe had concrete expression as *bourg*, *Marktflecken*, or *market town*. Furthermore, these were imposed institutions with "market rights" and "market days" assigned by decree. In order to find a counterpart in Europe of the Moroccan suq, one must look beyond the Middle and Dark Ages to pagan time. There, in northern Europe at least, "market" meant periodic assembly and not necessarily a feature of settlement.<sup>7</sup>

*a. dense settlement*  
*b. nomadic (dispersed)*  
 Open-air markets of the Moroccan type represent an attempt to reconcile desires for security and for commercial exchange. But this system of trade can be effective only among populations of sedentary habit and dispersed settlement. Where settlement is dense, as in the Nile Valley, or widely dispersed and nomadic, as in the pre-Saharan steppe, other arrangements for trading must be made. Another prerequisite is that communications must not be too elaborate: for when transportation facilities evolve to a Western standard, markets of this type tend to lose their ephemeralness and change into trading towns.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. André Allox: *The Geography of Fairs: Illustrated by Old-World Examples*, *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 12, 1922, pp. 534-562.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. R. E. Dickinson's discussions of this topic in "The West European City: A Geographical Interpretation" (London, 1951), pp. 311-315, and "Germany: A General and Regional Geography" (New York, 1953), pp. 156-169.

Where are the to be found? Car existence of a "s Africa and along are scattered over terns of rural trade on the banks of until noon, when and shade." Week India." The West suq, and a similar the village fairs of a question of ind with rotating wa culture area? Or evolved spontanc were appropriate exist in parts of I trace to pre-Colum

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<sup>9</sup> Caravan: The So  
<sup>10</sup> F. J. Simons: *The University of California*

<sup>11</sup> H. M. Stanley: *The Periodic Fairs of Bumb*

<sup>12</sup> J. E. Spencer: *The Fairs of the Central Area of Rural Mexico, With*

Where are these prerequisites satisfied? And where are recurrent markets to be found? Carleton S. Coon<sup>8</sup> considers that the right conditions for the existence of a "staggered series of weekly markets" are found in North Africa and along the Caspian shore of Iran. In reality, markets of this type are scattered over an area extending from Morocco to the Philippines. Patterns of rural trade in Ethiopia are similar.<sup>9</sup> Stanley<sup>10</sup> found market places on the banks of the Congo, where all was "animation and eager chatter" until noon, when they became "silent again and untenanted, a prey to gloom and shade." Weekly markets play an important role in the economy of rural India.<sup>11</sup> The West Bengal *hat*, for example, functions almost exactly like the *suq*, and a similar comparison can be made between Moroccan markets and the village fairs of Szechwan.<sup>12</sup> As in most problems of culture history, it is a question of independent invention versus diffusion. Is a pattern of trade with rotating weekly markets sufficiently complex to suggest origin in one culture area? Or are we dealing with a system of exchange that could have evolved spontaneously wherever conditions of settlement and livelihood were appropriate? It may be noted that annual and weekly trade fairs also exist in parts of Latin America, and that the weekly fairs, at least, probably trace to pre-Columbian time.<sup>13</sup>

#### NEGATIVE ROLE IN URBAN EVOLUTION

Fortunately, ignorance of cause, in this case, does not preclude consideration of effect. The successful functioning of the *suq* in Morocco has had an arresting effect on urban evolution. These markets serve as links between cities and the rural countryside and render trading towns unnecessary. Indeed, there is no equivalent in Maghribi Arabic of the word "town." From *medina*, "city," the Moroccan vocabulary turns to *dachra*, "village," *douar*, "hamlet," and *azib*, "farmstead."

How could cities have evolved in Morocco without leaving traces of intermediate stages of urbanization? The answer is that Moroccan cities did

<sup>8</sup> Caravan: The Story of the Middle East (New York, 1951), pp. 171-190; reference on p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> P. J. Simons: The Peoples and Economy of Bugender and Semien, Ethiopia (Dis., Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1956), pp. 484-527.

<sup>10</sup> H. M. Stanley: Through the Dark Continent (2 vols., New York, 1875), Vol. 2, pp. 167-168.

<sup>11</sup> The literature on Indian markets is rich. See especially C. D. Deshpande: Market Villages and Periodic Fairs of Bombay Karnatak, *Indian Geogr. Journ.*, Vol. 16, 1941, pp. 327-339.

<sup>12</sup> J. E. Spencer: The Szechwan Village Fair, *Econ. Geogr.*, Vol. 16, 1940, pp. 48-58.

<sup>13</sup> The best accounts of rural markets in Latin America known to the writer are G. M. Wrigley: Fairs of the Central Andes, *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 7, 1919, pp. 65-80; and G. M. Foster: The Folk Economy of Rural Mexico, With Special Reference to Marketing, *Journ. of Marketing*, Vol. 13, 1948, pp. 153-162.

*Madras*  
*Ben.*  
*Cuzco*  
*Peru*  
*China*

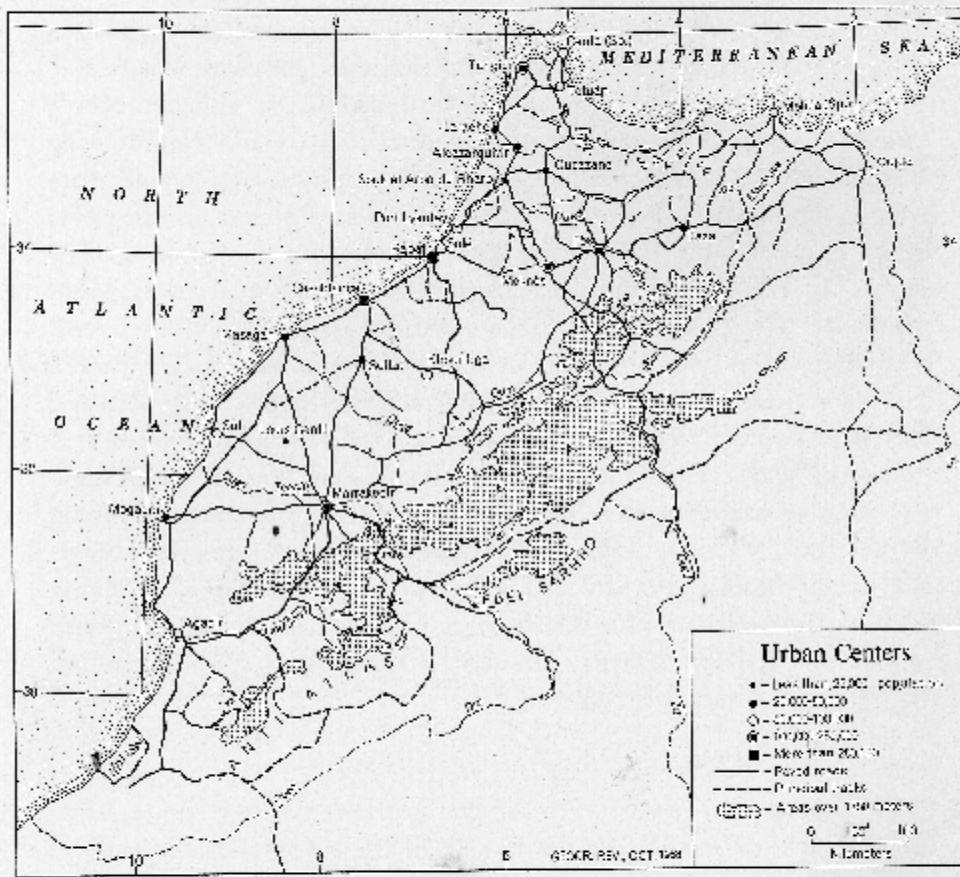


FIG. 10—Urban centers. Source: "Maroc: Voies de communication," 1934, *Annuaire Géographique National (Annexe du Maroc)*, Rabat, 1935; population data from "Les guides bleus: Maroc," Paris, 1934.

not evolve as trading centers for the rural countryside; they were established by decree. The Moroccan city is an imposed entity, foreign to tribal life. Some cities trace their origin to Roman time, others began during the period of Arab conquest, still others were founded by the Europeans. No Moroccan city is truly native. It is not surprising, therefore, that cities should be found only in the lowlands, where alien authority was easy to establish and maintain (Fig. 10). In the highlands Berber ideals of political independence and economic self-sufficiency acted as a check against urbanization.<sup>44</sup>

Intimate relations between city and hinterland are difficult to establish when urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Cities thus estab-

<sup>44</sup> This statement echoes Walter Fogg's remarks in "Villages and Sites in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco," *Scottish Geog. Mag.*, Vol. 51, 1935, pp. 144-151.

lished become places offering little in local markets for the area and renowned city intimately related is formed by destruction of Arabic o-

Illustrations of Ceuta and Melilla, colonial and military Spain (*plazas de guerra*). Tetuán began as a frontier town between Tangier and Ceuta. Migration for Muslims established in 1472 also as a refuge for a similar function of a whole series of Spanish, English, and other residents of Tangier. The town with the Jewish other settlements. Alhucemas and the Spanish proce-

The same pattern and the mining and European planning at Anfa, is no longer capital as Dar el-Bay, native cities like Marrakech and Marrakech began as military Saï, Mogador, and The economic function rather t-

<sup>45</sup> D. M. Lane, *Morocco*, 157-162.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. René Lemaitre,

lished become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs. Fès, located in a rich agricultural area and renowned for the high quality of its crafts, is the only Moroccan city intimately related to its hinterland. But the nucleus of the Fès bourgeoisie is formed by descendants of Arab immigrants from Spain, whose pronunciation of Arabic often is unintelligible to tribesmen living a few miles away.

Illustrations can again be taken from the Northern Zone. The ports of Ceuta and Melilla were used by the Portuguese and Spanish as bases of colonial and military activity and even today are governed as integral parts of Spain (*plazas de soberanía*). Larache and Arcila also reflect Iberian influence. Tetuán began as a military fort designed to protect the government route between Tangier and Fès. In the sixteenth century it was a focus of immigration for Muslims and Jews who were being expelled from Spain. Chaouen, established in 1471 as a base for campaigns against the Portuguese, served also as a refuge for Andalusian Moors. Alcazarquivir (Ksar el-Kebir) served a similar function in the eleventh century. Tangier has been the headquarters of a whole series of foreign interests—Carthaginian, Roman, Portuguese, Spanish, English, and, lately, even "international." Most of the Moroccan residents of Tangier are immigrants from the Rif, who have little in common with the Jebalan tribesmen of the nearby hills.<sup>15</sup> There are only two other settlements in the Northern Zone that deserve to be called towns, Alhacernas and Nador, and they owe their origin to the establishment of the Spanish protectorate.

The same pattern exists in the French zone. Casablanca, Port Lyautey, and the mining communities of Khouribga and Louis Gentil reflect European planning and investment. The name of Casablanca's tiny ancestor, Anfa, is no longer remembered; Moroccans know their bustling economic capital as Dar el-Beida, which also means "white house." The important native cities likewise began as planned communities. Oujda, Rabat, Salé, and Marrakech owe their origin to governmental decree. Taza and Meknès began as military outposts. Even the maritime trading centers of Mazagan, Safi, Mogador, and Agadir were established as centers of political control. The economic function of these cities was a consequence of their urban function rather than a cause.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> D. M. Hart: Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 1, 1957, pp. 153-62.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Fernand Joly and others: *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris, 1949), p. 113.

## RECENT TRENDS

At the beginning of the twentieth century there was not a single kilometer of road in Morocco suitable for wheeled vehicles. In fact, the only vehicles known were decorative carriages used by the Sultan for ceremonies. The French, realizing the need for good communications if they were to pacify the country and remain in power, promptly began work on an extensive network of roads. The Spanish made similar, though less successful, efforts in their zone. In 1955 there were 10,000 kilometers of primary or secondary roads (mostly macadam) and 35,000 kilometers of tracks open to buses and trucks during the dry season.<sup>47</sup> With the advent of roads and motorized transport, the traditional role of the suq began to change. The markets located on natural communication routes grew in size and influence, whereas the more isolated markets either remained local or simply faded away. Elderly Moroccans everywhere speak of markets unknown to their children. The site of an abandoned market can be established by suq terminology in a local place name; for example, a name such as *Bab et-tleta* (Tuesday Pass) or *Ain et-tleta* (Tuesday Spring) in areas where no Tuesday market remains.

Before the establishment of the European protectorates, not only were communications primitive but they were disrupted by tribal warfare. One of the main themes of Moroccan history is the distinction between *bled el-makhzen* (the land of government) and *bled es-siba* (the land of dissidence). The *bled es-siba* corresponded to the Rif and the Atlas Mountains, where communications were difficult to establish and maintain. Travel was possible only under the approval and protection of local authorities. Since intertribal feuds were common, long-range travel involved great risk. Merchants and travelers assembled in the cities until they were numerous enough to pay for protection. In parts of the Rif the tradition of market truce broke down, and a special system of woman's markets had to be established so that non-combatant members of the feuding tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade.

Primitive communications and tribal strife not only prevented the evolution of towns; they even discouraged the growth of the regional suq. The modern trend has been different. The more accessible markets have grown in size, and some have evolved into permanent establishments. In short, the suq, which for centuries acted as a substitute for the trading town, is now

<sup>47</sup> These figures are from the Michelin guide to Morocco, 1954-1955 edition, p. 27.

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evolving into the very thing it had militated against.<sup>15</sup> This trend ceases to be paradoxical when it is viewed against the background of Morocco's expanding network of roads.

The changes that have taken place at Tleta Ketama are indicative of this trend. Thirty years ago this was a local suq patronized mainly by members of a single tribe. Today the market easily qualifies as a regional suq. During the warm months of spring and summer more than a thousand people assemble here. Today's market has one advantage over its predecessor—it is reached by a road (Fig. 3). The presence of the road does not mean that the market is more accessible to the tribesmen who gather there, but it does mean that the site is more accessible to merchants from Targuist, Alhucemas, and Tetuán. Before the road was completed, the suq was no more attractive than several others in the area. Now everyone who possibly can goes there, even if it means neglect of markets closer to home. The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible.

The principal expression of the new trend is the overcrowded market bus. These buses carry a simple notation in Arabic script, *suuq* (markets), which is perfectly understood by the merchants and shoppers who board a bus at its terminal or flag one on the road. On Monday they are going to *suq et-tine*, on Tuesday to *suq et-ileta*, and so on through the week.

The circulation from Targuist, in northern Morocco, is representative of the whole country. Two buses of 1935 vintage start from here (Fig. 3). On Monday one goes to the market of the Beni Hadifa and the other to the market of the Beni Ammart. On Tuesday they both go to the mountain suq at Ketama. Wednesday is market day at Targuist, and not enough bus tickets can be sold to justify a trip. On Thursday the buses go back into the mountains to the small market at Isagan (Spanish, Llano Amarillo). Friday is a day of rest, and the buses again stay at their base.<sup>16</sup> On Saturday there is a large market at Imzuren, in the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel. On

<sup>15</sup> The best illustrations of evolution from country market to trading town are Settat and Souk el-Arba du Rharb, both in the French zone. For an interesting historical sketch of Settat and a discussion of many other aspects of urban evolution in Morocco see Konrad Wicke: *Marokkanische Stadttypen*, in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna, 1937) pp. 485-527.

<sup>16</sup> There is no Koranic sanction for the designation of Friday as a day of rest. The religious importance of this day derives from the fact that the imam preaches in the mosque on Friday, and the prayer of that day is the most important of the week. In recent years the idea of a "week end" extending from Thursday evening to Saturday morning has gained wide acceptance in the Muslim world. In Morocco at least, the idea of a workless Friday also has political overtones.

Sunday the attraction is the small suq of the Beni Bou Nsar, described above. There is not a single kilometer of surfaced road in this whole area, and by American standards the buses are long overdue for the junk yard. Yet day after day, year after year, they lumber on.

The buses are also used by tribesmen who take advantage of the market circulation to get close to their homes. Most villages in Morocco are within a day's walk of a bus route at least once in the week. But most of the tickets are sold to merchants who follow the complete circuit to sell their array of goods. The prices current at Targuist give an idea of the weekly volume of trade. Each round trip costs about one dollar. In order to recover this investment, pay for his goods, and make a small profit, the itinerant merchant must earn about twenty dollars during the week. By Western standards this seems a small sum. But it must be remembered that rural Morocco is still a region of subsistence agriculture, and that barter usually has priority over cash transactions. By Moroccan standards the Targuist merchants are doing well.

The influx of a larger number of people from farther away necessitates a more elaborate establishment at the market place. Inns are necessary, and also permanent storerooms and shops. Some structures were built by the Europeans. The officers of *Affaires Indigènes* in the French zone and of *Asuntos Indígenas* in the area of Spanish influence functioned as overseers of the native government, and this function required that they be present on market day. The practical procedure was to establish headquarters at the larger markets, and this led to the erection of buildings to serve as offices and dwelling places. Walls and gates were added, since the suq was the best place to collect taxes. At the larger markets the services of veterinarians and physicians were provided, and they too needed places of consultation and residence. As often as not the suq also served as headquarters of a military detachment. Almost all the regional markets now have structures built by Europeans, and many of the local markets have been enhanced in some way. A few markets have been moved from their original locations or shifted from one day to another. For example, the market at Targuist was moved from the valley of the Oued Rhis to the center of a small garrison town built by the Spanish after the end of Abd el-Krim's rebellion.<sup>30</sup> These innovations

<sup>30</sup> Changes of this nature are described in detail in two papers by Walter Foggy: "The Economic Revolution in the Countryside of French Morocco," *Journ. Royal African Soc.*, Vol. 35, 1936, pp. 123-139; and "Changes in the Lay-Out, Characteristics, and Functions of a Moroccan Tribal Market, Consequent on European Control," *Man*, Vol. 41, 1941, pp. 104-108.

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seem likely to persist. The local officials of the Moroccan government function independently of the old tribal authorities, and for the most part they have simply taken over the offices and houses used by the Europeans before Moroccan independence.

As a result of these trends many markets now have an appearance of permanence and solidity. In time trading may be spread throughout the week. Merchants may elect to stay put instead of moving their goods from place to place. Perhaps the shifting suq will continue as an instrument of barter, and permanent markets will develop as centers of retail trade. It is not yet possible to predict the outcome of these trends. In fact, it cannot be taken for granted that they will persist. The principal cause of change has been Morocco's expanding network of roads, and it remains to be seen whether the new government will be able to continue this work. Here is the key to the problem; for it seems to be a principle of economic geography that improvement of communications encourages centralization of trading facilities. (nicely markets)

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