

Al-Znakhrah tribe (Al-Sanajra) through archival documents and academic studies

Sehil Djamel*

University of Ghardaia (Algeria), sehil.djamel@univ-ghardaia.dz

Received: 15/10/2022 Accepted: 16/01/2023 Published: 26/01/2023

Abstract:

The sources dealt with Arabs Al-Zanakara or Al-Sanajra by mentioning, including the manuscript of the restriction and the statement of Umar in the M'zab Valley by Muhammad ibn Al-Khayther Al-Malyani and the French general Marby in his tagged article: *Histoire des Zenakras* published in the *Orient Revue de l'Orient*, Volume Five. It is likely, according to the components of the Zinakhara and their homes and neighbors, that they belong to Bani Urwa bin Zaghba, and it goes back to the word Al-Sanajrah, an Arab tribe mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi in the third century AH. Algeria with Boumzraq Bey al-Titari, and in the resistance led by Musa bin Lahcen al-Darqawi and participated in the Battle of Staouli against the soldiers of General de Bormont.

Keywords: Arab tribes, Zanakhrah, Sanajra, archival documents.

INTRODUCTION

The research in the field of human races in general has been a powerful scientific resource through which common human knowledge has gathered, and has always contributed to uncovering the ambiguity that has surrounded some aspects of the world's racial roots. Although, it is an important branch of sociology and anthropology, it also intersects with other important sciences such as genetics, history and geography. Therefore, the study of tribes and their origins in Algeria is crucial. This research aims to shed light on the identity and civilization of the Algerian nation as well as to refute the false allegations of French historians in their classifications of Algerian tribes by being subjective to their colonial background, and this is mainly to create suspicion and break the link with Algerians' true roots, as well as to tear up the Algerian nations apart and erasing it once and for all. The colonizer sought to propagate his ideas earlier within Algerian intellectuals. Unfortunately, this led to the emergence of a new ideology expressed by his pioneer: (I searched in the pages of history and asked the living and dead and visited the graves. However, no one has ever mentioned to me about this homeland). The truth is that these ideas have not been definitively vanished, but continue to be echoed by some intriguing people with firm associations with the global Zionist and Masonic circles. On the other hand, satisfying the unbridled curious desire imposed by sense with the urgency of the human psyche to answer the following logical and reasonable questions: who am ? Who am ? Who do I belong to?

It proved its legitimacy the recent studies in social psychology which confirmed the impossibility of separating man from his history and past. Therefore, the research in history and roots of the Zenakhra tribe and its origins is a model to support this proposition, and refute the claims and false allegations of the French colonial school.

It must be acknowledged that research about the Zenakhra tribe is hard due to the lack of sources in one hand, and the French document's writing monopoly on the other hand. Therefore, this makes us wary of the material provided by those writings, as well as

of the oral narrative entrenched in the tribe's collective imagination. Moreover, this prompts the researcher to use it with analysis and criticism, and on the other hand, there are no independent studies about this tribe but dispersed or fragmented information, and here lies the great difficulty of logically and sequentially linking events or giving the final summary in weighting conflicting views. We aim by this article to establish comprehensive future studies of Algeria's tribe.

Origin of the Zenakhra tribe and descent's roots

The Zenakhra tribe is one of largest tribes of Southern Titeri. French statistics done in 1844 confirmed that the tribe's population was 4036, meaning that it was larger than the inhabitants of the city of Medea, the capital of the Territory at the time. ⁽¹⁾ This tribe was administratively subordinate to the South during the Ottoman era. Moreover, these tribes were also called Arab tribes ⁽²⁾. The Zenakhra tribe is also an isolated tribe belonging to Khoja al-Khail ⁽³⁾.

In view of the fact that the latter provided him with the finest arabic horses and that their sons are renowned for being equestrian and brave. Therefore, Ouled Mukhtar in Saneg were so dependent on the Zenakhra's men in their wars during the Turkish era or in the colonial era. However, because of the lack of written information about the roots of this tribe, deepening the etymology of words is a paramount method in determining the genealogy of tribes as applied in sociology. We will first start to trace the origin of the word " Zenakhra " to find out whether it is of an Arabic or barbaric origin?

a. Invalidity of the claim of the barbaric origin of the word Zenakhra:

Some relied on Dr. Bouzian Derradji's writings about a branch of the tribe of SENHADJA called Zanaka, Izenakan or Eisenhakken ⁽⁴⁾. They claimed that the word " Zenakhra " is nothing but the alteration and misrepresentation of the name of the barbaric tribe Zenaka, which is derivative of the word Senhadja or Taznakht as evidenced by the fact that Senhadja is a zanakah, The convergence in pronunciation and acoustic image is very clear between Zenakhra and

Zanakah since when comparing them, they noticed the interchange between the letter K and Kh as it is commonly used, while the letter R fell perhaps to mitigate, so they included it within the barbaric tribes and specifically SENHADJA without giving sufficient evidence other than abstract allegations of proof.

This proposition can be described as just a characterization and representation of the dominant principle of linguistics which is the existence of convergence, pronunciation, agreement or commonalities in language, which is very common aspect resulting of the influence of languages in between. Therefore the word Zenakhra is of an Arabic origins infiltrated to the berber language as other words such as Tamtouth which derivate from the word Tamth meaning the menstruation in Arabic, and Arkaz which derivate from Rakiza meaning the pillar in Arabic, as well as Amorth which derivate from Momarathah meaning the wet ground with light rain.

For those who claim that the berber derivate from Arabic language⁽⁵⁾, this is a proof of the antiquity of the word Arabic word Zenakhra. Nevertheless, if we argue about this proposition, then some researchers affirms that berber is a branch of old Arabic in view that their accents matches with those of Dhifar in Oman. This lead Ib Betouta to claim that Dhifar is the original homa of the Berbers.⁽⁶⁾

and also it is a well-known that the origins of the tribe of Senhadja returns to the Arabic Yemen tribes⁽⁷⁾, where they left their home and immigrated to the Maghreb. This led an Omani researcher to write a comparative verbal lexicon between the accents of Dhifar and Berber, a remarkable scientific effort through which he proved that Berber is a branch of the ancient Arabic language⁽⁸⁾

Proof of the Arabic origin of the word Zenakhra:

The assembling of the letters Z, E, N, KH, R respectively has an Arabic origin, which is the root of the word Zenkhar, meaning of blowing in the nostril⁽⁹⁾. In this regard, the researcher and poet Mohamed Djerboua claims that the word Zenakhra return to the word Senadjra⁽¹⁰⁾, which is an Arabic tribe mentioned by Al yakoubi during the 3rd century Hijri

Al-Bakri asserted that the madjana of molar that the tribe of Senadjra is the homeland of Arabs⁽¹¹⁾. the text of Al yakoubi reads as follows: (From Kairouan to a city named Madjana, which has silver minerals, kohl, iron, Martek and lead, between mountains and reefs, whose people are said to be the Senadjers people, the first of whom are said to be from Sinjar of Rabia, soldiers of the sultan with varieties of Berbers and others)⁽¹²⁾. Therefore, These Senadjra are from Rabia, as Sheikh Mubarak al-Mili affirmed unambiguously demystifying the truth about Medjana that Ya 'aqobi stated that they were not the current Bourdj Bouariridj, but rather Miskayana.⁽¹³⁾ Moreover, Djerboua considers that the word "Senadjra" shifts its pronunciation because of the Egyptian influence and, over time, to Senakra as they are named today in Egypt, where they pronounce the letter G as K, and the Snakra are written by French scholars as Snakhra to finally settle the word on the Zenakhra.⁽¹⁴⁾

According to Djerboua, the Zenakhra tribe is divided into two sections: The Senadjra of Adnaniyah Rabia, which are currently represented by the Zenakhra of Mehawsha, who are the Mehawsha, who replaced the H with the Arabic ha', and they are situated in Bougezoul.

Summary and weighting:

Notably, Professor Djerboua's opinion is essentially centered on the semantic search for the word Zenakhra and to find a logical conclusion of the word that proceeded from a particular point of view, that Ibn Khaldoun omitted the lineages of the Arab tribes that deliberately preceded by the hilalian taghriba, such as the Quraishi, Tamimian, Rabia tribes... who entered the Maghreb from the time of early conquest to the Hilalians⁽¹⁵⁾.

Djerboua went so far as to describe Ibn Khaldoun as having committed a crime in the proportion of tribes in political terms⁽¹⁶⁾. Because he included tribes in another based on predominance or alliance, Apart from this accusation, Ibn Khaldun's blog is a basis and reference for the Hilalian tribes of alienation and its expatriate peoples, such as Zoghba, Riyah, Athbadj, Arabs of the Maakal and Salim, and those who entered with them from other tribes. If Ben

Khaldoun wrote his history primarily to research the descendants of the Hilalian tribes with a political background

- his writing was highlighted by the ruling authority at the time, allied or dilapidated with the Hilalian tribes.

- he had a strong excuse when he neglected to look for the lineages of the fatihin tribes and those who came after them.

Even if he did not disclose about the limitations of his research, the reader discovers it in multiplying the book and unquestionably insinuates it. He will discover that Ibn Khaldoun is more interested in the taghriba's tribes more than any other tribes. Nonetheless, he claimed that numerous tribes entered with the Hilalians and became their followers with loyalty and oath such as Rabia's tribe which are included in the Athbadj tribe and were the leaders at the time of the Hilalian entrance, ⁽¹⁷⁾ and the Yakoubi, and the mentioning of the Senadjra tribe of this particular name in the 3rd century Hijri ⁽¹⁸⁾, That is, five centuries before Ibn Khaldoun, so there is no evidence to say that the Senadjra turned into Zenakhra. Hence, the assertion that Senadjra of Rabia is the same today as the Zanakharah tribe based in Bougezoul and Hassi Fedul ⁽¹⁹⁾, and what really draws attention in Ibn Khaldoun's words is that this tribe of Athbadj, which includes Al-Amour tribe, who had close links and ties with the Zenakhra tribe.

This indicates that there is a relationship to look for, and if there is a question that arises strongly, is where did the Zenakhra tribe mentioned by Ya 'aqobi went, and what is its fate thereafter? Are they the remnants of the Rabia included in the Athbadj ? Regardless of the word "Senadjra" and whether or it changed to the word "Zenakhra"? Let's suppose that these Senadjra are the the same of Rabia of Athbadj and and study this hypothesis to ascertain its truth.

The relationship between The Zenakhra and Al-Amour and Hamian:

by reference to the Athbadj tribe, we find that one of them is the Al-amour tribe, a tribe belonging to Amrou bin Abdul Manaf bin Hilal, that is, they are brothers to the Qura tribes, so they are not

descendants of Athbadj tribe. ⁽²⁰⁾ During the presence of the Zenakhra in the country of the Chabaka, there was a sharp disagreement between them and tribe of Ouled Ouqab tribe; It resulted in a decisive battle in which El-Amour and Hamian joined Zenakhra and the Ouled Ouqab tribe were evacuated to the Ziban ⁽²¹⁾.

It is well known that war alliances among Arab tribes are based on ethnicity and relative kinship, and which confirms the relationship of the Zenakhra to the Al-Amour tribe, which is allied with the Orwa Ben-Zoghba tribes, is that the elder of the Zenakhra tribe at one time was of Al-Amour, his name was Abd al-Rahman Bashrayr from Ouled Bouhmida and this latter tribe is from Al-Amour, they settled Jabal al-Amour and then moved to Lalmayah ⁽²²⁾. Therefore, the help of Hamian is a proof of Zenakhra's kinship to Zoghba (Paramount Hilalian tribes).

Notably, when Zenakhra left the country of Chabaka, they went to Ghisha which is situated in the arenas of the Al-Amour tribe. They settled in it and inhabited one of its palaces, which originally appeared to belong to a branch of the Bani Al-Aghwat Zenatian. ⁽²³⁾ Their settlement in the the spheres of influence of Al-Amour without problems, and by evoking the Arabic mentality of tribes at that time which were characterized by nervousness, racial intolerance, dissonance, and fights for grass and water makes us the Zenakhra had kinship ties with Al-Amour and their allies represented by Orwa ben Zoghba.

The relationship between Zenakhra and the Hilalian tribe of Zoghba:

What confirms the relative kinship is the presence of a band in the Zenakhra Mehawsha tribe that has been present to date under the name Al Khamakneh ⁽²⁴⁾, which is specific to Ibn Khaldoun, numbering the branches of the Nedar Ben Orwa Ben Zoghba and that they are six large tribes: Sahari, Zayan, Ouled Slimane, Chriaat El Khamkanah and Ouled Khelifa ⁽²⁵⁾. Perhaps, the presence of Khmaknah in the Zenakarrah tribe to this day in Bougezoul led some researchers to identify the homes of Al-Nadir Ben Orwa bin Zoghba in the territory of Bougezoul ⁽²⁶⁾. Notably, Ouled Khamqan tribe is

also located in Ouergla, but is currently in the Makhadma tribe, With regard to the kinship between the Ouled Khamqan and Khmaknah, the matching of the name may be a strong evidence, especially since there is a strong enclosure that is likely to be the fact that the oral account of the Khmaknah of Zenakhra who claims that they came to Ouergla.

Also, the Zenakhra, when they were taken out of the Ghisha in Aflou because of Tribal Alliance of the Quarters,⁽²⁷⁾ who Hajj Issa al-Agwati brought from the the Emirate of Beni Jalab. This led the Zenakhra to travel along with the tribe of Ouled Madi in Msila which is itself a branch of the hilalian Zoghba tribe⁽²⁸⁾ and were neighbours until 1806.

If we have proved that the Zenakhrah tribe is connected to the Hilalian Zoghbah tribe, as well as to the Zoghbah-allied tribe of Al-Amour⁽²⁹⁾, which is included in Al-Athbadj, and even to the Hilaliyah tribe of Riyah, did the hilalian and Athbadj tribes swallow the Senadjra after they found out that it was weak? Meaning that it completely melted amid the powerful Hilalian wave that hit the Middle Maghreb at that time. So the Senadjra joined the Hilalians and they inevitably went from being described as a civilized tribe inhabiting a city named Madjana to a sedentary Arabian Saharan tribe living in poverty in the far desert, and so over time it has buckled into the hilalian tribes especially Zoghba, which has become the majority, and the Senadjra of Rabia eroded until it vanished and only the name was left, which also faded over time and the tribe's designation of Zenakhra was settled until nowadays, so the core of the Zenakhra tribe is the tribe of Senadjra from Rabia, because we cannot identify whom they are today in its forming sections, but it's certainly the oldest one, as well as saying that the Zenakhra belongs to the Hilalians became its last appearance

The linkage of Senadjra to Zenakhra is derived from the verbal connotation because the original label has not completely dissipated, Despite the Hilalian majority in the tribe, the Hilalian are likely to respect the seniority of Rabia's Senadjra in the Maghreb region, as well as because they are considered as the Arabs of the conquests

who have received honour, sanctity and special status and can justify the survival of the old label. The name of all in part is an ancient phenomenon in Arab tribes, So the Senadjra allied with the Athbadj represented by Al-Amour, and then with Zoghba represented by the Khamaknah and Riyah represented by Haraktah which will be mentioned later. Thus, the Zenakhra tribe was originally made up of a minority, namely the Senadjra tribe from Rabia, and was later endowed with a hilalian majority represented in Al-Athbadj, Zoghba and Riyah.

The relationship of Zenakhra with Riay and Al-Athbadj:

The Zenakhra of Mehawsha are divided into two large pieces. One is called the Mehawsha of Mouawiya. The other is the Mehawsha of Soualeh. The Mehawshah of Mouawiya includes the sections of Ouled Saad, Al Khamakanah, Nasirat, Harakatah, Ouled Qalam, and Awassi. On the other hand, The The Mehawshah of Soualed includes Ouled Mubarak, Ouled Lakhel, Al-Akhras ⁽³⁰⁾.

Noting that these Mouawiya were mentioned by Ibn Khaldoun: "They are from the tribes of Merdas from Riyah" ⁽³¹⁾, and the origins of the Haraktah from Oum El-Bouagui, who are branches from the mother tribe, which is also called the Haraktah, and from the oral inheritance the Haraktah of Zenakhra are descended from Al Baidhah ⁽³²⁾ Ain al-Bayda today, the stronghold of the Haraktah tribe in the east of Algeria, it is known that the Haraktah are hilalians from Riyah, and are the sons of bin Abu-Shaikh bin Assakar bin Sultan ben Zammam bin Radini ben Dhoad ben Mouawiya ben Mohamed ben Amer ben Yazid ben Riyah.

The Haraktah of Sbaikh, and Haraktah of al-Maathar, Al-djarma and Haraktah of Jbal al thlath and Seknia, of which we are interested, is the tribe of Seknia which is called Al-Khrareb, under which a ferka called Ouled Si Musa al-Murabati ⁽³³⁾, where the Haraktah today in Bougezoul belong to Musa Ben- Harkat (According to the folk novel Halab Al-Lakahat Musa Ben- Harkat appears to be the same as Musa Al-Murabati, This supports the proposition that the Senadjra who were in Madjana located east of Miskayana or Oum El Bouagui have been melted with the the

Haraktah of Riyah during the Hilalian march from the east, and this is how they moved during their internal migrations. On the other hand they belong to Ouled Deraj and are from Al-Athbadj, where the ferka of Soualed are also from Ouled Deraj in Msila.

This proposition is reinforced by the neighbouring of Zenakhra at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century of the tribe of Ouled Madhi ⁽³⁴⁾, which was under the influence of the Al-Sakhri family from the Dhouaouda, where the leadership of the family was to Abu dhiaf from Ouled Abdelhak from Ouled Madhi ⁽³⁵⁾ And the Ouled Deradj belonging to them and to this day there is a family name shared by the Ouled Matouq and the Soualeh from Zenakhra ⁽³⁶⁾, which means a dependence of Ouled Madhi in a period of time.

D. Sections of the Zenakharah tribe:

The Zenakhrah are divided into a Mehawshah and Kort and a centre of Zenakhra Mehawshah tribe today is in Bouguezoul, while the centre of the Zenakhra Kort tribe is today is Hassi Fadoul and it seems that the tribe's split into two was not very long ago, General Marby refers in his article on the history of the Zenakhra in 1844, which he drew from the oral accounts of the tribe's elders that the reason for the split was due to the sharp competition for leadership between Ouled Saad and Ouled Zabar,

It ended up by splitting part of Zenakhra with Ouled Zabar, to form later the tribe of Zenakhra Kort ⁽³⁷⁾, heading west to the Ould Shuaib tribe, but the frequent oral account preserved in the tribe's collective memory ⁽³⁸⁾ indicates that a group of Zenakhra went west to collect lost wheat resulting from the harvest. And somewhere they were captured by Sahari's Ould Khalif tribe, They stayed with them for a long time using these Zenakhras in forced labour and in hard and humiliating work. And when their brothers end up in Bouguezoul hearing those humiliations, 100 knights, led by a person named Ben al-Khamija, gathered and headed towards the Ouled Khalifa tribe to free their brothers from captivity.

In fact, this was done without war, but with material compensation for the damage done to their brothers, These compensation were sheep, camels, and tents, and then they brought them to Hassi Fadoul, it is there where they found an empty place filled with wheat, Nevertheless, they asked them to stay not far from where the wheat was, not far from Bouguezoul. Therefore, they called them Zenakhra Kort.

Regardless of this story, which represents glory for Zenakhra Mehawsha, The sons of Zenakhra transmitted the story from one another, by the same events and in a single way, which indicates their frequency and that it has already occurred. What caused Marby to lose sight of them?

Perhaps because the story of defection of Ouled Zabar from Zenakhra Mehawsha was later than the story of Belkhmija, that is why they mentioned to Marbi the important event that took place then. General Marbi describes Ouled Saad and Ouled Zabar as noble men who came from the West, and that they are related with the tribe of Ouled Shuaib ⁽³⁹⁾, according to the narration Ibrahim bin Al-Touhami's on the account of El Amir Abdulkader, that Ouled Shuaib and Al-Maqan originate from Ksar Boualam as they meet El Amir Abdulkader their grandfather Abdul-Qaoui ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

This is perhaps one of the reasons why El Emir chose a fellowship in the Taqin region, and the truth is that Ouled Shuaib belong to Al-Maqan, who are branches of the Hamian tribe ⁽⁴¹⁾, who are from Hilalian Zoghba, which is an evidence that a huge part of Zenakhra are from Hilalian Zoghba. Zaghba,

The term "Adjwad" was named after the belligerent and notorious tribes, known of their courage, such as the Hilalian tribes. However the term honor was not used frequently in its true meaning, as it was used most of the time in its metaphorical meanings, the reason why we find so many uses as: honor of education, honor of mysticism, honor of war, honour of Arabism.....

And it is true that Ouled Saad and Ouled Zabar are from the Arabic Adjwad. However, their honor conveyed by Marby was

metaphorical, and can be interpreted by their general affiliation to the Adnani Arab tribes. Therefore, the reason why the Mehawsha were called by this name is because of their public slogan they have endured for a very long time, which is summarized in their phrase. (Haouch la tfatech), which means that anyone is affiliated with the tribe is part of them and one of their sons as they do not treat him as a stranger.

The Zenakhra Mehawsha are called by this name because of their honor, fulfilment, generosity and neighborliness. In the meantime, Djerboua claims that the Zenakhra Mehawsha are the same Senadjra Rabia, as they are affiliated to a tribe named Al Mahaouche, as the H was replaced with Ha. He indicates that Al Mahaouche is a tribe affiliated with the Adnanian Rabia, and are till today in the Antara tribe, as well as in some of the Arabian tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. ⁽⁴²⁾

He also argued that the Zenakhra Kort are the same Senadjra who are affiliated to a man named Kort who is from Sounbous from Taie the famous Adnanian tribe, and not to the Kort which is the clover as previously reported in the story of Belkhmija ⁽⁴³⁾.

There is no doubt that the entry of the Senadjra from Rabia or Teie to Algeria is certain. The denomination of Mehawshaa and Kort as explained by Djerboua seems logical. However, the Zenakhra tribes may have forget and ignore it due to the length of time and the lack of written literature of about the tribe's history, as well as due to the melting of the Senadjra in Hilalian flowing waves.

* **Zenakhra Mehawsha:** Statistics of Ismael Irban indicate that they were 3000 inhabitants, of whom 1000 are men, 2,000 are women, old and children. They also had 500 tents, 800 camels and 250 horses ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

In another statistics, their population reached 4,030, as recorded in the Statistical Register of 1844, with two judges: Si Mohamed Al-Habashi for the inhabitants of Zenakhra Kort and Mohammed bin Abdul-Baqi for Zenakhra Mehawsha, however the record only indicated the Sheikh of Kort at that time, his name was Mohamed

ben Kachoui. It ignored to mention their sections, but the statistics mentioned that it had 330 horses, 1000 camels, 500 cows, 2000 sheep, 200 plows, 400 rifles.

As for the big families or nobles: We find in the record:

Si Mohamed Ben Brahim, Belhout Ben Maiza, Ferhat Kheniche, Ben hatak, Bachir Benali Ben zitouni. In the observation we read as follows: (A big and rich saharian tribe, with agriculture in Mefatha, Ouled Hamza and Abid. Their residency is down Ksar El Boukhari, they had a huge weekly market down Boghar. The record also mentioned that the French pointed one of the notables to be ruler of Ksar El Boukhari whose name was Badjra who belongs to Zenakhra Aouassi ⁽⁴⁵⁾. Nevertheless, we find that their number as found in the Glossary of Algerian tribes and douars as : 2280 inhabitants. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

The Zenakhra Mehawsha are composed of the following sections:

- **Haraktah** : an Arabic tribe from the tribe of Hilalian, who are the sons of Ben Abi Sheikh Ben Asaker Ben Sultan Ben Zammar Ben Redini Ben Daoud Ben Mouawiya Ben Mohamed Ben Amer Ben Yazid Ben Riyah. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

Soualeh: It includes bothe Ouled Mebarek, Kheraissia, and Ouled Lakhal, It appears that their roots belongs to the tribe of Ouled Deradj of Athbadj due to some common names as well as the presence of the tribe of Soualeh of Deradji in Msila. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

Ouled Saad: They are the chiefs in Zenakhra Mehawsha and for Marby they may have come from the west, and may be related to Ouled Shuaib, described as knight and Ajwads which means they are related to Zoghba ⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Ouled Ghanem (Kalem) :

Al-Mochrifi in Bahdjat El-Nadher mentioned that the tribe Ouled Ghanem of Zoghba, and he claimed that they are the descendant of Ghanem Ben Hilal Ben Ataf Ben Radad Ben Kerich Ben Abad Ben Menii Ben Yagoub Ben Amer Ben Zoghba ⁽⁵⁰⁾. However, the Saadla

who are related to Ouled Ghanem are the descendant of Saadla Ben Abid Ben Hamid Ben Amer Ben Zoghba. ⁽⁵¹⁾

Al-Aouassi: They are the descendant of Aissa Ben Moulahom, as he was wealthy, nomadic and had so many kids in Bouguezoul, his grave was 4 km away of Hedjila, and his origins were from Tolga, Biskra, as they claimed that he is a descendant of Hassan or Hussain. ⁽⁵²⁾

Ouled Amer: Also known as Ouled El-Mour, they are the oldest constituent elements of Zenakhra tribe. They had a military force and were renowned for their equestrians, including families with a glory named El-Adjwad. ⁽⁵³⁾

-Nuseirat: The roots of this section are likely to be of Ouled Nussier of Ouled Eifa of Ouled Nail of Zoghba. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

-Khamakneh: A very old section which is a branch of the Nedar Ben Arwa of Zoghba ⁽⁵⁵⁾

Nevertheless, the The number of Zenakhra Kort, according to the tribal lexicon, is 1526 ⁽⁵⁶⁾, and they are divided into seven sections as follows:

- **Selatnah:** There are several families under them, as we find that the title of Soltani from Al-Amour according to the prevailing narrative. The family of Djawabi is known by El-Amaour in Bathia of Chlef, while Zuriqat belongs to the Ouled Nail and Dahaber, including Tarabish to Ouled Hilal in Aflou. ⁽⁵⁷⁾

By returning to Bahdjat El-Nadher, we find out that he mentioned that Selatnah are called the same in Beni Amer and they belongs to their elder Sultan Ben Ouanoud Ben Abdallah Elkbir Ben Rabab Ben Djahouche Ben Hamed Ben Djahouche Ben Hadjaz Ben Hamid Ben Amer Ben Zoghba. ⁽⁵⁸⁾

However, Djawabis' are the same as Aouamer and they are called by Ben Amer El-Aouamer regarding to the grandfather Amer Ben Brahim Ben Yagoub Ben Maarouf Ben Said Ben Rabab Ben Hamed Ben Djahouche Ben Hadjaz Ben Hamid Ben Amer Ben Zoghba. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

As for Ouled Hilal, they belong to the Tarabech regarding to their grandfather Hilal Ben Ataf Ben Radad Ben Keriche Ben Abbad Ben Menii Ben Yagoub Ben Ben Amer Ben Zoghba. ⁽⁶⁰⁾

-**Kefifat:** They may have an old blood relationship with the tribe of Aziz.

-**Belaid:** They may have a relationship with Ben Amer of Hilalian Zoghba.

Husseinat: Some claims that they belongs to Hamian. However we are not sure about this fact.

-**Amamra:** According to Al-Mochrifi, the Amamras' belongs to their grandfather Amer Ben Zian Ben Messaoud Ben Chadad Ben Mohamed Ben Djahouche Ben Hadjaz Ben Hamid Ben Amer Ben Zoghba. ⁽⁶¹⁾

-**Toualeb:** They are a branch of Ouled Taleb from El Bouazid who came from Aflou. ⁽⁶²⁾

Confirmation of origins through genetic examinations:

Hence it is evident that the Zenakhra is an old Arabic tribe, founded on the ruins of the Senadjra from Rabia, and over time, they melted with the tribes of Zoghba and Riyah and Al-Athbadj to form its majority. Nevertheless, the higher percentage of the Hilalians who forms the Zenakhra are from the Hilalian Zoghba tribe.

The genetic tests have confirmed this fact as two positive results of the Hilalian mutant ZS4753, one a sample of the Nuseirat section, and the other a sample of the Ouled Matir from Khemaknah section. ⁽⁶³⁾

The travels of Zenakhra and their internal migrations:

We have mentioned that the Senadjra were in Madjana, which is near Meskiana, as they had a city with a metallic wall full with iron and lead.

During the Hilalian crawl in the 5th century Hijri, the Senadjra found themselves alone, so they melted with the Athbadj as they were the chiefs during the Hilalian crawl, and they united also with branches of Zoghba and Riyah to reform the tribe under a majority leaders⁶⁴hip of Zoghba.

So the Senadjra transformed gradually to Zenakhra, as we noticed as well the presence of Zenakhra in the Chabaka region, especially in its countryside as it was confirmed in a publication by Mansour ben Tayeb of Zenakhra known as Moul El Baghla who lived 118 years, as reported by Mohamed Ben Kheidher Ben Ahmed Ben Youssef Al-Maliani in his book Takyid wa bayan Min Omr Ouadi Mizab ⁽⁶⁵⁾. The Zenakhra also build a castle in Grara which is called El Ksar El Ahmar in 1448. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

The Ibadhi documents identify them as Maliki arabs. In fact the Zenakhra had a graveyard in Malika ⁽⁶⁷⁾, as well as a castle called El Ksar El Amer ⁽⁶⁸⁾. It seems that their presence in the Chabaka region was before their migration to El Gheisha in Aflou, as they lived in the old castle which is known today as Ksar El Zenakhra, but only the ruins remain.

Therefore, we find that they lived in Msila after they abandoned El Gheisha because of the attack of Larbaa tribes, and set next to the tribe of Ouled Madhi until 1806, when most of their horses died, which led them to migrate another time to the south of Titeri. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ They allied with the tribe of Arib against Beni Slimane and fought numerous battles. They arrived first from Seghouane and Oued El Hkem. However, they bump against the humid hill environment which does not fit with their camels and sheep, so they head south searching for wide plains, where they found it in Bouguezoul which was full of grass and harvest. They also expelled the tribe of Ouled Senane from it. ⁽⁷⁰⁾

Historians recorded the presence of some of the tribe of Zenakhra in Algiers during the turkish rule known as El-Barania included in the Aghwatians. ⁽⁷¹⁾

3- The National role of the Zenakhra tribe:

The Zenakhra tribe was one of the tribes who fought against the French since the beginning, where Boumerzag ruler of the Titeri. Probably, they fought as well in the battle of Staouali against the soldiers of General de Bourmont. The Zenakhra also fought with Mousa Ben Lahcen Darkaoui against the French where he appointed a leader called Si Lakhdar. ⁽⁷²⁾

Despite the fact that they fought in the battle of Ouamri with Darkaoui, they were also forming part of the Amir army, as they were followers of Khelifa Mohamed Ben Allal, they had 100 knights and 150 rifles. ⁽⁷³⁾

During the outbreak of the revolution of Ouled Sidi Chikh, the French noticed a suspicious movement of Zenakhra, El-Bouaiche and Ouled Mokhtar, it seemed later that they joined the popular resistance of Ouled Sidi Chikh, and cut off the French strategic route between Boghar and Djelfa on August 19th. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

The French recorded the Zenakhra and Rahman road cutting off of Colonel Archinard as he was near them in about 1200 meters, as skirmish took place and resulted in great losses for the French side. ⁽⁷⁵⁾

General Youcef the bastard targeted them on October 19th and tried to push them away of their areas of influence.

In a confidential document issued from the security services in Ksar El Boukhari dated on April 12th 1952 actually described. It's noticeable that the Zenakhra was ranked second after Ksar El Boukhari with No 128.

References:

1. Statistical Register of the French Army 1844 to count the tribes and properties (Boghar-South Tetri district), quoting of photographs from the original record published by the page of the Ksar El Boukhari Info.

2. -Abdeljalil Rahmouni, Relationship between the Central Authority and the baylakat of Ottoman Algeria (1520-1830), Thesis defended in order to obtain PhD in modern and contemporary history, University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel-Abbes, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Humanities

3. Bouziane Derradji, Amazigh tribes, its roles, homes, and notables, Dar Alkitab Alarabi, 2 parts, Edition of 2007, 2nd part.

4. Othman Saadi, The Berber Amazigh, Arab Arabians and the Arabism of North Africa through history, Dar Al Ouma, Edition of 2018.

5. Said Ben Abdallah Daroudi, About the Arabism of Berbers, Introduction to the Arabism of Amazigh though linguistics, Dar Al Naamane, Edition of November 2018.

6. Mohamed Hussain Elfarah, The Arabism of Berbers, Republic of Yemen, Ministry of Culture, Edition of 2010.

7. Alfairouzabadi, Majd Eddine Mohamed Ben Yagoub, Al-Kamous Al Mohit, V. Zakariya Djaber Ahmed, Anes Mohamed Alshami, Dar Al Hadith, Cairo, Edition of 2008.

8. Mohamed Djerboua, The Encyclopedia of Adnanian and Quahtanian tribes in Algeria and Arabic Maghreb, Dar El Montaha, Edition of June 2020, 2nd part.

9. Albakri Abi Abid, died 478 Hijri, Maghreb in the records of Africa and the Maghreb is part of Kitab Al Masalek wal Mamalek, Library of Muthana, n.d Yagoubi, died 284 Hijri, Al Buldan, V. Mohamed Amin Dhanaoui, House of Scientific books, Beirut, Lebanon, n.d.

10. Mebarek Ben Mohamed Al-Mili, Ancient and Modern history of Algeria, V. Mohamed Al-Mili, National Book Enterprise, n.d, 2nd part.

11. Ibn Khaldoun Abderrahmane, died 808 Hijri, History of Ibn Khaldoun, V. Khalil Chahada and Suheil Zakar, Dar El Fikr, Edition of 2000, 6th part.

12. Ibn Khaldoun Abderrahmane, Ibidem, part 6.

13. Hamian is one of the tribes of Beni Yazid Ben Zoghba Ben Hilal, for further information, See: Gourari Aissa, The book of the tribe of Hamian from 5th to 8th century Hijri, Thesis defended in order to obtain PhD, supervised by Abdelhamid Hadjiat, University of

Tlemcen, Department of Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2005/2006.

14. Laghouat or Lakouat is a branch of Maghraoua of Zenata, for further information, See: The role of Zenata in the sects movement in Islamic Maghreb, Mohamed Ben Ameira.

15. -Revue Lorient Bulletin de La Societé Oriental année 1844 P368-369-370-371/Histoire Des Zenakhra. See : Manuscript of General Marby.

16. Hadj Mustapha Ben Touhami, The biography of El-Amir Abdelkader and his jihad, V. Yahia Bouaziz, Dar Al-Basaier, Edition 2009.

17. -translated by: Hamza Amine Yahiaoui, Malek Ben Kheira, Universe of knowledge, Edition 2013.

18. Abou El Kacem Saâdallah, The Algerian National Movement, Universe of knowledge, Edition 2009.

19. Tayeb Ben Lakhdar Korshi Ghribi, Zahrat Al Khamael Fi nasab Ouled Sidi Nail and their neighbors, Dar Khaldouniya, Edition 2018.

20. Louadjmani, Ali Ben Younes, When did the Chaabna was mentioned for the first time in history, ep 02, published in an electronic blog (Mizab-Historical pages) published on May 17th 2018.

21. Saidouni Naser Eddine, Cheikh Mahdi Bouabdeli, Algeria in History (Ottoman era), 4th book, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, National enterprise of book.

22. Zair Abdelkader, The role of the califs of Amir Abdelkader in building the Algerian nation, University of Oran, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of History and Archaeology.

Margins:

¹ Statistical Register of the French Army 1844 to count the tribes and properties (Boghar-South Tetri district), quoting of photographs from the original record published by the page of the Ksar El Boukhari Info.

² Abdeljalil Rahmouni, Relationship between the Central Authority and the baylakat of Ottoman Algeria (1520-1830), Thesis defended in order to obtain PhD in modern and contemporary history, University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel-

Abbes, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Humanities, p. 93.

³ Ibid, p 172 – 191.

⁴ Bouziane Derradji, Amazigh tribes, its roles, homes, and notables, Dar Alkitab Alarabi, 2 parts, Edition of 2007, 2nd part, p 79.

⁵ Said Ben Abdallah Daroudi, About the Arabism of Berbers, Introduction to the Arabism of Amazigh though linguistics, Dar Al Naamane, Edition of November 2018, p 11.

⁶ Mohamed Hussain Elfarah, The Arabism of Berbers, Republic of Yemen, Ministry of Culture, Edition of 2010, p 09-11.

⁷ Said Ben Abdallah Daroudi, Ibidem, p 11-15.

⁸ Alfairouzabadi, Majd Eddine Mohamed Ben Yagoub, Al-Kamous Al Mohit, V. Zakariya Djaber Ahmed, Anes Mohamed Alshami, Dar Al Hadith, Cairo, Edition of 2008, p 723

⁹ Mohamed Djerboua , The Encyclopedia of Adnanian and Quahthanian tribes in Algeria and Arabic Maghreb, Dar El Montaha, Edition of June 2020, 2nd part, p 11.

¹⁰ Albakri Abi Abid, died 478 Hijri, Maghreb in the records of Africa and the Maghreb is part of Kitab Al Masalek wal Mamalek, Library of Muthana, n.d, p 49-145.

¹¹ Yagoubi, died 284 Hijri, Al Buldan, V. Mohamed Amin Dhanaoui, House of Scientific books, Beirut, Lebanon, n.d, p 188.

¹² Mebarek Ben Mohamed Al-Mili, Ancient and Modern history of Algeria, V. Mohamed Al-Mili, National Book Enterprise, n.d, 2nd part, p 123.

¹³ Mohamed Djerboua , Ibidem, p 26.

¹⁴ Ibid, p 6-7

¹⁵ Ibid, p 7-8

¹⁶ Ibn Khaldoun Abderrahmane, died 808 Hijri, History of Ibn Khaldoun, V. Khalil Chahada and Suheil Zakar, Dar El Fikr, Edition of 2000, 6th part, p 23

¹⁷ Mohamed Djerboua , Ibidem, p 05.

¹⁸ . Djerboua asserted that the Senadjra are the same as the Zenakhra based on the semantic research of the two words, and only that, and this point of view, although true in genealogy, is an internal research form that does not fall outside the scope of the word, so it always needs external evidence to reinforce it and strengthen it.

¹⁹ Ibn Khaldoun Abderrahmane, Ibidem, part 6, p 34.

²⁰ Publication in the official page of the researcher Abdelhamid Ban Messaoud Oualha, he claimed that the Zenakhra is the first tribe who lived in the Chabaka region based on ancient records.

²¹ Ibid.P.34

²² Hamian is one of the tribes of Beni Yazid Ben Zoghba Ben Hilal, for further information, See: Gourari Aissa, The book of the tribe of Hamian from 5th to 8th century Hijri, Thesis defended in order to obtain PhD, supervised by Abdelhamid Hadjiat, University of Tlemcen, Department of Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2005/2006, p 12.

²³ Khemaknah with Kh as stated in the official manuscript from Ibn Khaldoun, and was later published the page of Algeria Genes, it is not Djemaknah or Hemaknah or Manamna, so obviously, it is Khemaknah which this tribe exists till today in the Zenakhra tribe. We notice as well that Djemaknah or Hemaknah are two changes of Khemaknah, and it is the result of the fall of the letter H, as the first change was mentioned by Chikh Toufik Madani, See: The book of Algeria, p 134, and the second change was mentioned by Chikh Al-Mili, See Ancient and Modern History of Algeria, p 201.

²⁴ Kara Mabrouk, The Origins of Achrafs and tribes, 3rd Edition, 2016, p 125.

²⁵ Danthropologie Paris/Association, Pour L'enseignement des sciences anthropologique, Année 1905, p 190.

²⁶ Ibn Khaldoun, Ibidem, p 56.

²⁷ Mebarek Ben Mohamed Al-Mili Ibidem, p 201.

²⁸ This oral division is frequent maintained by the tribe within the legacy of collective memory gathered by a number of elderly people and confirmed by French writings about the Zenakhra tribe, as mentioned by the division done by Hadj Belabess Ben Halima who is retired now who was an administrator for a long time in the municipality of Bouguezoul. The page of tribus algeriennes confirmed the division when posting the article about General Marby and the History of Zenakhra.

²⁹ Ibn Khaldoun, Ibidem, p 12.

³⁰ A frequent oral legacy about the Heraktah of Zenakhra, as confirmed by Maktouf Ali, as he told me that Hadj Laadjal Maktouf is from the notables of the Heraktah and mayor of the city of Bouguezoul who told him that the Heraktah of Zenakhra are from the Heraktah Albeidha, of Oum El Bouagui ..

³¹ Ibn Khaldoun, Ibidem, p 50 Revue Africaine .16e, année .N°96(NOVEMBRE) .L.charles.Féraud

³² Kara Mabrouk Ben Saleh, Ibidem, p 154.

³³ Kara Mabrouk Ben Saleh, Ibidem, p 160.

³⁴ Revue Lorient Bulletin de La Societé Oriental année 1844 P368-369-370-371/Histoire Des Zenakhra. See : Manuscript of General Marby, Mohamed Djerboua, Ibidem, p 36-39.

³⁵ This narrative is frequently drawn from several parties and from the elderly elders of the Zenakhra tribe, for example: Hadj Ben Abbes Ben Halima, previous administrator, Hadj Rabah Ben Adjal Soltani Mujahid, Hadj Bouadaoud Ben

Mokhtar Aniba, Mujahid, Hadj Boudaoud Ben Ramdhan Mujahid, Hadj Rabeh Ben Souheil Mujahid.

³⁶ Revue Lorient Bulletin de La Societé Oriental année 1844 P368-369-370-371/Histoire Des Zenakhra. See : Manuscript of General Marby, Mohamed Djerboua, Ibidem, p 36-39.

³⁷ This narrative is frequently drawn from several parties and from the elderly elders of the Zenakhra tribe, for example: Hadj Ben Abbes Ben Halima, previous administrator, Hadj Rabah Ben Adjal Soltani Mujahid, Hadj Bouadaoud Ben Mokhtar Aniba, Mujahid, Hadj Boudaoud Ben Ramdhan Mujahid, Hadj Rabeh Ben Souheil Mujahid.

³⁸ Mohamed Djerboua, Ibidem, p 38.

³⁹ Hadj Mustapha Ben Touhami, The biography of El-Amir Abdelkader and his jihad, V. Yahia Bouaziz, Dar Al-Basaier, Edition 2009, p 146.

⁴⁰ Gourari Aissa, Ibidem, p 68

⁴¹ Mohamed Djerboua, Ibidem, p 25.

⁴² Ibid .P25

⁴³ Table of the Situation of the French establishments in the volume 7. Page 422 notice on the former Province Titteri By Ismail Irban

⁴⁴ The French Statistical Register of the French Army 1844 to count the tribes and properties (Boghar-South Tetri district), quoting of photographs from the original record published by the page of the Ksar El Boukhari Info.

⁴⁵ Akardou Oualoumi, Rodi Filer, Glossary of Algerian tribes and Douars, translated by: Hamza Amine Yahiaoui, Malek Ben Kheira, Universe of knowledge, Edition 2013, p 295.

⁴⁶ Ibn Khaldoun, Ibidem, p 50.

⁴⁷ Kara Mabrouk Ben Salah, Ibidem, p 154.

⁴⁸ Mohamed Djerboua, Ibidem, p 36.

⁴⁹ Al-Mochrifi, Bahdjat Nadher in the mentioning of the Arabs under the jurisdiction of Spanish such us Beni Amer, p 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p 6.

⁵¹ Kara Mabrouk Ben Salah, Ibidem, p 100.

⁵² Abou El Kacem Saâdallah, The Algerian National Movement, Universe of knowledge, Edition 2009, p 128.

⁵³ Kara Mabrouk Ben Salah, Ibidem, p 80.

⁵⁴ Ibn Khaldoun, Ibidem, p 75.

⁵⁵ Akardou Oualoumi, Rodi Filer, Ibidem, p 295. It is notable that the statistics return to the year 1876.

⁵⁶ A narrative about Hadj Rabah Ben Laadjal Soltani, Mujahed and from the notables of Selatnah and Zenakhra Kort.

⁵⁷ Al-Mochrifi, Ibidem, p 7.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p 9.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p 5.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p 6.

⁶¹ Tayeb Ben Lakhdar Korshi Ghribi, Zahrat Al Khamael Fi nasab Ouled Sidi Nail and their neighbors, Dar Khaldouniya, Edition 2018, p 329

⁶² Both the Algerian Genetic Page and the Hilalian Genetic Project Page on Facebook published as a result of the examination of both samples, it was shared widely. Quoting from an old manuscript from Laghouat mentioned: (Laghouat relative to the gardens, their inhabitants are Hilalian Arabs, from Zenakhra, Larbaa, Sahari, Ouled Nail, and Tlemcenian Achrafs, as well as Serkine who are berbers.

⁶³ Louadjmani, Ali Ben Younes, When did the Chaabna was mentioned for the first time in history, ep 02, published in an electronic blog (Mizab-Historical pages) published on May 17th 2018.

⁶⁴ Abdelhamid Messaoud Ben Oualha, The sons of Chaabna and the stages of cultural development in the Chabaka region (Population, religion and urbanization), p 364- 345.

⁶⁵ The graveyard of Zenakhra in Malika as mentioned by Abdelhamid Ben Messaoud Oualha in his official page.

⁶⁶ Ksar El-Amer is present in Ghardaia as mentioned in the narration by Machri who is an Arabic language teacher from Ghardaia

⁶⁷ . Revue LorientBulletindeLaSociété Orientalannée 1844P368-369-370-371/Histoire Des Zenakras

⁶⁸ According to the narration of Hadj Belabbes Ben Halima, retired administrator.

⁶⁹ Saidouni Naser Eddine, Cheikh Mahdi Bouabdeli, Algeria in History (Ottoman era), 4th book, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, National enterprise of book, p 101.

⁷⁰ Belakhdar Chouli, Hakim Chouiha, Omar Ben Salem, Mohamed Chabiri, Mohamed Mouisa, Messaoud Ben Salem, Belkacem Said Khaldi, Popular resistance in Ouled Nail, the resistance of Hadj Mousa Ben Hassen Darkaoui, Dar Djelfa Info, p 279.

⁷¹ Zair Abdelkader, The role of the califs of Amir Abdelkader in building the Algerian nation, University of Oran, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of History and Archaeology, p 87-88.

⁷² . Histore de L'insurrection des Ouled-Sidi-Echikh –Trumelet P37-38-46

⁷³ Ibid, p 64.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p 140.

⁷⁵ Confidential document issued from the French Security Services dated on April 12th 1952 and published by the page of Ksar El Boukhari Inf

