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AHMAD B. KHĀLID AL-NĀSIRĪ AL-SALĀWĪ'S

THE REIGN OF 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM

(1822 - 1859)

Translated and Annotated

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	iv
LIST OF TEXTS QUOTED	xvii
THE REIGN OF 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM (1822-1859)	
Chapter	
I. OF THE REIGN OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL, MŪLĀI, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM, HIS YOUTH AND EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS	1
II. THE BAI'A OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL, MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM.	4
III. THE BERBERS AGREE TO OFFER THEIR OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM AND THE REASON THEREOF.	7
IV. THE DEPARTURE OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN TO LOOK INTO THE AFFAIRS OF HIS SUBJECTS AND HIS ARRIVAL AT RABAT (RABĀṬ AL-FATH).	12
V. THE DEPARTURE OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN FOR MEKNES (MAKNĀSSA), HIS TRANSFER OF THE ĀIT YAMMŪR TO AL-HAWZ, AND HIS JOURNEY TO MARRAKESH.	17
VI. THE MISADVENTURE OF IBN AL-GHĀZĪ AND HIS FATE	22
VII. THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SHARIF SIDI MUHAMMAD B. AL-ṬAIYIB OVER TĀMASNĀ, DUKKĀLA AND THEIR PROVINCES	25
VIII. SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN BEGINS THE PLANTATION OF AGDAL (ĀJDĀL) IN MARRAKESH, THE CAPITAL.	28
IX. THE APPOINTMENT OF QĀ'ID ABŪ AL-'ALĀ' IDRĪS B. HUMMĀN AL-JARRĀRĪ OVER OUJDA AND ITS ENVIRONS	32
X. THE CONQUEST OF THE ZĀWĪYA AL-SHARRĀDĪ AND THE CAUSE WHICH PROVOKED IT	38
XI. THE AUSTRIANS ATTACK LARACHE AND THE CAUSE THEREOF	48

XII.	THE OCCUPATION OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH RESULTING IN THE INHABITANTS OF TLEMCEŪ (TILIMSĀN) STRIKING THE <u>BAI'A</u> OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN	52
XIII.	THE REVOLT OF THE <u>JAISH</u> OF THE WUDĀYĀ AGAINST SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN AND THE REASON THEREOF.	64
XIV.	THE APPEARANCE OF AL-HĀJJ 'ABD AL-QĀDIR B. MUHYĪ AL-DĪN AL-MUKHTĀRĪ IN THE CENTRAL MAGHRIB AND THE BEGINNING OF HIS STORY	81
XV.	COLLAPSE OF THE TRUCE WITH THE FRENCH AND THE DEFEAT OF THE MUSLIMS AT ISLY NEAR OIJDA; THE REASONS THEREOF.	96
XVI.	THE END OF THE STORY OF AL-HĀJJ 'ABD AL-QĀDIR, HIS DISAPPEARANCE AND FATE	108
XVII.	THE REVOLT OF IBRĀHĪM YASMŪR AL-YAZDAKĪ IN THE SAHARA	130
XVIII.	SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN SENDS HIS SONS TO THE HIJAZ AND THEIR EXPERIENCES DURING THE VOYAGE	136
XIX.	THE DEATH OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM	147
XX.	END OF THE STORY OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN, HIS REPUTATION AND GREAT DEEDS.	149
APPENDIX		153
BIBLIOGRAPHY		159

INTRODUCTION

The reign of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hishām marked a decisive turning point in Morocco's history. The forces of 19th century colonialism, France in particular, were made vividly aware by the battle of Isly and the fall of Tetwan to the Spanish in 1860 of the internal weaknesses which were sapping the strength of the Sharifian Empire. From then on it would only be a matter of time until Morocco faced the same fate as Algeria--a fate which was nevertheless to be postponed until 1912 because of the jealousies which pitted one European nation against another, none willing to see a rival power established opposite Gibraltar and thus strategically controlling the entrance to the Mediterranean. In order to make the events of 'Abd al-Rahman's reign more meaningful--events which illustrate fully the traditional ills of the Moroccan State--it will here be necessary to consider briefly the geographical-historical framework of the Sharifian Alawite Empire.

Morocco, the Maghrib al-'Aqsā, is divided geographically into three separate entities: the low lying plains of the West and North, the mountain ranges of the Rif and the High and Central Atlas, and the desert and steppe in the South and East. One of the few clear patterns which emerge out of the chaotic tangle of Moroccan history is the incessant migration of tribes and confederations, driven by hunger and poverty, from the Southern oases and Eastern steppes towards the fertile plains of the Northwest. On the plains the authority of

the Makhzen, the central government, was easily imposed and maintained; whereas in the mountains the Berber tribes retained more or less complete independence and were often the sworn enemies of the dynasty. The Sanhajian Berber tribes who inhabited the Central Atlas and who incessantly pushed towards the plains formed the greatest internal threat to the Alawites and hence made the problem of an Army capable of holding in check this drive one of utmost importance to the Makhzen.

The problem of a reliable army, a problem which continually plagued the Alawite State, and to which it never succeeded in finding a solution, was inherent in the very foundation of the dynasty. Mūlāi Rashīd (1663-1672), the real founder of the Alawite Empire, had neither depended on the support of a single ethnic group nor on a definite geographical region. Rather did he, acting on his own personal initiative, begin with sporadic raids only to end with a systematic conquest of the country at the head of an army composed of heterogeneous Arab elements. To find the origins of this army we must go back to the reign of Abū al-'Abbās Malik al-Mansūr (1578-1603) who, after nearly two centuries of anarchy founded the structure of an administrative system which was to endure until the days of the establishment of the French protectorate. Al-Mansūr had himself represented in the tribes by local Qā'ids whose primary function it was to collect the taxes demanded of them. These Qā'ids were dependent upon the Sultan, thus giving to the Makhzen its form of a central administrative authority imposed upon a loose federation of tribes. In order to protect this central government the Sultan created a permanent

army, the Jaish, composed of a group of tribes which, in return for military service, received special privileges such as exemption from taxation and grants of fertile lands. It was the remnants of this Sa'dian Jaish which helped Mūlāi Rashīd win his empire. His brother, Mūlāi Isma'īl (1672-1727), fully reorganized this military body to which he added elements of the Maghfāra and Wudāyā tribes, with the army thus formed being known under the name of the Jaish of the Wudāyā. Aware of the unreliability of this Arab Jaish, to which Berber contingents were often added, Mūlāi Isma'īl assembled the black slaves which had been imported under the Sa'dians and formed them into a fighting force, having them take an oath of fidelity to him on a copy of Al-Bukhārī's collection of Hadīth (hence their name, 'Abīd al-Bukhārī) and sent contingents to various parts of the country. It is difficult to estimate their effective strength but it is thought that by the end of his reign they numbered nearly 50,000 fighting men. However, upon Isma'īl's death the 'Abīd proved to be one of the greatest causes of anarchy in Morocco, for they played the part of a praetorian guard, making and breaking sultans at will in an attempt to find one who could pay them the highest wages. Thus for thirty years after Mūlāi Isma'īl's death a state of anarchy prevailed in the Maghrib al-'Aqsā and it was only under Sidi Muhammad (1757-1790) that relative calm was restored to an impoverished country. But both the Jaish of the Wudāyā and the 'Abīd al-Bukhārī were to prove ineffective in an attempt to mold the Maghrib into a united empire, and often they were themselves to revolt and threaten the very existence of

the dynasty as they did in 1832 under Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman.

In addition to the Sanhajian threat, which by the reign of Sidi Muḥammad had become so acute as to force the Sultan to abandon the traditional direct inland route between Fez and Marrakesh in favor of a Qaṣba guarded coastal route, another necessity for a reliable army came from the "Christian threat". For, as champions of orthodox Islam in Morocco, the Sultans had to display an active hostility against Christians, a hostility which manifested itself in the Holy War on the sea and in an attempt to force the Spanish and Portuguese to abandon their enclaves on Moroccan territory. Sidi Muḥammad fortified the coastal cities and installed artillery the length of the Atlantic coast, a measure certainly justified in view of the reprisal bombings of the Europeans. He also attempted to launch a Moroccan fleet and, according to Al-Nāsiri, had constructed 20 battleships and 30 frigates, sending to Tafilalet for men of the 'Āit 'Aṭṭa to man them. If he failed in his attempt to create a great navy, the effect of Moroccan piracy was sufficiently felt in Europe to attract reprisal bombings on the part of France who bombed Larache and Sale in 1765 and Loukkos in 1766. In 1817 Mūlāi Sulaiman (1792-1822) acceded to Europe's demands to suppress piracy in his domains and the remains of Morocco's fleet were docked. Sidi Muḥammad also attempted to reconquer the Christian enclaves in Morocco and in 1769 laid siege to Mazagan, forcing the Portuguese to leave, but only after having destroyed the greater part of the city, both walls and houses. This city was later rebuilt under 'Abd al-Rahman and given the name of Al-Jadīda.

In 1774 Sultan Sidi Muhammad attacked Malilla but, realizing the impossibility of a victory, made peace with the Spanish in 1775, a peace which Mūlāi Yazīd (1790-1792) unfortunately broke when he laid siege to Cueta in 1790.

As the Alawites did not have the support of any one of Morocco's ethnic groups nor of a specific geographical region they espoused the cause of a purified Islam in their attempt to combat the particularism of the Berber tribes, a purified Islam of which they themselves were the representatives. Murābitism having been a traditional force to contend with in Morocco the Alawites believed that its destruction or rather replacement by orthodox Islam would naturally strengthen their own authority. The influence of the Wahabis began to make itself felt in Morocco during the reign of Sidi Muhammad who himself used to say, "I am Malikite by rite and Wahabi by Dogma." This same Sultan had all Asharite books destroyed and attacked and laid waste to the Zāwīya of Boujad. Mulai Sulaiman sought to increase the spread of Wahabite doctrines and corresponded with 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd and in 1812, during the pilgrimage of one of this Sultan's sons, discussions took place between the Wahabis and the Moroccans which stressed certain points of agreement between them. Mūlāi Sulaimān also carried on the struggle against the Zāwīyas and in 1795-96 attacked the Zāwīya of the Sharārda. It would be false to suppose that these Alawite Sultans were not sincere Muslims or to suggest that their support of orthodox Islam was due to purely self-interested motives for their actions often give testimony

to their faith and piety. In charitable works, construction of mosques, assistance given to students and schools the Alawites gave ample proof of their sincere religious convictions; and if Sidi Muhammad, due to the depletion of the treasury, was obliged to impose taxes other than the legal Zakāt and 'Ushr, Mūlāi Sulaimān was quick to revoke them when they were no longer necessary.

Morocco then, especially during the 75 years preceding the advent of 'Abd al-Rahman, enjoyed a period of relative tranquility, a period during which the European powers were kept occupied with revolution and wars of empire in Europe which kept their attention off Africa and the Middle East. But Morocco, considering only the present in its goals and the past in its methods, was not taking advantage of the last chance it was to have to prepare for the onslaught of 19th century colonialism.

The events of 'Abd al-Rahman's reign can be arbitrarily categorized into those which took place within the national boundaries of the Sharifian Empire, having no direct repercussions abroad, and those which occurred at an international level, notably the conflict with France occasioned by Morocco's support of 'Abd al-Qādir. The reasons for the Makhzen's failure on the domestic as well as the foreign level were, however, both brought about by the basic faults inherent in the central government itself: an unreliable army, an inefficient, corrupt bureaucracy, unsound

financial conditions, and deliberate isolationalism, all of which contributed to make of 19th century Morocco an anachronism.

Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman, after having twice been designated by his uncle Mūlāi Sulaimān as successor, was proclaimed Sultan in Fez upon the latter's death in 1822. He met some resistance from the Berber tribes of the 'Āit Idrāsīn and the Gurwān, which, however, ended by submitting to the new Sultan. His cousin, Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām b. Sulaimān, who had tried to have himself proclaimed Sultan at Tafilalet, submitted then also. Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman contented himself with changing a few governors and, in an attempt to win the loyalty of the Fasis, had the Sanctuary of Mūlāi Idrīs in Fez enlarged.

The Sanhajian Berber tribes, effectively held in check by the Berber and Arab elements already settled on the plains, had ceased to be a threat to the Makhzen which had abandoned the policy of the founders of the dynasty to unite the country by conquering the "lands of insolence" and hitherto merely tried to retain the territory already in their control. To this end Mulai 'Abd al-Rahman sought to select capable governors, often chosen from among the tribes themselves, who were able to act independently, thus lightening the burden of the central government. Among these men his cousin Muhammad b. Ṭaiyib, governor of Dukkāla and Tāmasnā and Abū al-'Alā Idrīs b. Hummān al-Jarrārī, governor of Oujda, might be singled out. Nevertheless the Makhzen occasionally took action against the Berbers of the plains and in 1852 chastised the Banū Mūsa of Tadla, then later the Zammūr, who had revolted. It

was during a raid against the Zammūr that 'Abd al-Rahman died in 1859. In the South, the 'Āit 'Atta, under Ibrāhīm Yasmūr, became strong enough to throw off the authority of the Makhzen in 1854 and it was only due to the assassination of Yasmūr that its authority was restored.

The Arab tribes in the heart of the Makhzen were not any more stable than the Berbers and several revolts had to be put down with force. Muhammad b. Taiyib chastised the Dukkāla and Shāwīya at the beginning of 'Abd al-Rahman's reign, but in turn the tribes of eastern Morocco, the Sharārda, Banū Āmar, and Za'īr rebelled against the central government.

In the face of these tribal revolts the Makhzen was unable to organize an effective army. Handicapped by a lack of funds, the resultant agglomeration of tribes which formed the Jaish were ill-equipped, ill-trained and undisciplined. The remnants of Isma'īl's Abid had been forced to sell their equipment in order to subsist and 'Abd al-Rahman was obliged to reequip them. However, they never constituted more than a mediocre and unsure fighting force at best, and few in number, were used as the Sultan's personal bodyguard and as garrison troops in the larger cities.

In 1832 the Jaish of the Wudāyā, upon their return from Tlemcen, with the support of the 'Abīd revolted against the Sultan. The 'Abīd quickly abandoned the Wudāyā and retreated to Dār al-Dabibagh but the Jaish occupied Fez al-Jadīd and proclaimed 'Abd al-Rahman's cousin Sidi Muhammad b. al-Taiyib Sultan. After a 40-day siege of Fez al-Jadīd by Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman the Wudāyā

surrendered and were expelled from the army until 1845.

It was on the international plane, however, that the real tragedy of 'Abd al-Rahman's reign became apparent. The country became more and more open to foreign commerce with England gradually increasing her importance at the expense of other European nations. In 1829 the Sultan, in a vain attempt to revive the tradition of the Holy War on the sea, authorized captains of Rabat and Sale to cruise the coasts which resulted in a reprisal bombing of Larache by Austria and the destruction of the Moroccan fleet. In 1851, during a famine, two French ships charged with wheat were pillaged in Sale and in reprisal five French warships bombarded the city on November 30, 1851.

But it was Morocco's support of 'Abd al-Qādir, leading to war with France, which proved to be the most important event of 'Abd al-Rahman's reign--the event which brought Morocco into the 19th century Mediterranean world and which marked a turning point in her history. The event itself can be considered as falling into three time periods: 1832-44, 'Abd al-Rahman's support of 'Abd al-Qādir; 1844-45, war with France; and 1845, the Moroccan struggle against 'Abd al-Qādir in Morocco.

When France occupied Algiers in 1830, 'Abd al-Rahman, in view of the collapse of Turkish power, attempted to revive Isma'il's policy of expansion towards the East. After having received a request from the people of Tlemcen to accept them as subjects

he sent there his cousin Mūlāi 'Alī b. Sulaimān as governor of the city along with a force of the Jaish of the Wudāyā. They were welcomed by the city folk but the Kuraghliya and Arab tribes, who had been allied with the Turks, were hesitant and when the Jaish pillaged their goods they allied themselves with the French in Oran. 'Abd al-Rahman was forced to withdraw his troops and in 1832 promised de Mornay, French envoy to Meknes, not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Central Maghrib. France, without a clearly defined Algerian policy, had been content with limiting herself to occupying the coast, thus allowing the emergence of two strong governments in the interior: that of Ahmad Pasha in the East and that of 'Abd al-Qādir in the West. In 1837 the Convention of Tafna gave 'Abd al-Qādir most of the provinces of Oran and a part of the province of Algeria and he had the Khutba read in 'Abd al-Rahman's name. The Sultan, in return, supplied him with arms and equipment. When 'Abd al-Qādir declared war on France, Marchiel Bugeaud, thanks to his reorganization of the Armée d'afrique into mobile units, was able to completely rout the Amir's forces and compel him to seek refuge in Moroccan territory in 1843.

With the population of eastern Morocco enthusiastically supporting 'Abd al-Qādir, Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman felt obliged to send troops to Oujda in 1844. A French reconnaissance party was attacked by Moroccan cavalry a few months later and France, fearing to take too dramatic an action because of England, attempted to negotiate with the Qā'id of Oujda, 'Alī b. Ṭaiyib al-Janāwī. France asked for the expulsion of 'Abd al-Qādir and that the Moroccan-

Algerian border be fixed on the line of the Wādī Tafna. Morocco, perhaps counting on English support, refused to accept the French demands and Bugeaud's troops occupied Oujda. Moroccan forces, under 'Abd al-Rahman's son and Khalīfa Sidi Muhammad, along with 'Abd al-Qādir's men, attacked Bugeaud only to be defeated on July 15, 1844. The Sultan declared a Holy War against France but while he was making preparations the Prince de Joinville bombed Tangier (August 6) and Mogador (August 15), while Bugeaud, with 11,000 men, defeated the 40,000 man Moroccan army at Wādī Isly on August 13. The peace treaty was signed in Tangier on September 10, 1844, with France asking only that 'Abd al-Qādir be expelled or arrested.

'Abd al-Qādir, after having returned to Algeria, sought refuge again in eastern Morocco in 1845 where he hoped to recruit troops and advance to the neighborhood of Taza. The Sultan, now fully aware of the folly of armed conflict with France, sent an army against him which, after heavy losses, defeated his troops at Wādī Mulūya. 'Abd al-Qādir attempted to escape to the Sahara but finding the way barred by the Armée d'afrique, surrendered to the French on December 23, 1847.

To his contemporaries Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman, dignified, benevolent, a champion of Islam, was a great Sultan. If he failed to save the ills of his country it is because he attempted only the traditional solutions and then with only limited means. Mūlāi Isma'īl's dreams of conquest in the East were abandoned, his goal of forming an effective army independent of the tribes proved impossible to realize, the central government saw the territory under its authority gradually

shrink and finally, due to the victory of France, Morocco was forced into the orbit of the Mediterranean World and the European powers, in one form after another, were about to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

Sheikh Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī was born in Sale on April 20, 1835. At the age of 40 he entered the Sharifian Government and occupied several rather important positions in various parts of the country: Casablanca, Marrakesh, Tangier, Mazagan and Fez, thus hereby gaining much invaluable information which he was to incorporate into his history. Towards the end of his life he returned to Sale where he taught until his death on October 13, 1897.

The author of several important books, his greatest work, however, was the Kitāb al-Istiqṣā li-akhbār duwāl al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, first published in Cairo in 1894--a work unprecedented in Moroccan historiography. Considered by native Moroccan scholars of today as the best account of their national history, it nevertheless met with considerable opposition at the time of its publication, for Al-Nasiri, writing uniquely for Muslims, did not fear to admit that he had used European sources in the composition of the Istiqṣā. The two works thus used were the Memorias para historia da praca de Mazagao by Luis Maria da Cunha (Lisbon 1864) and the Descripcion historica de Marruecos y breve resena de sus dinastias by Manuel Pablo Castellanos (Santiago, 1878).

In this translation an attempt has been made to enrich the

text by attempting to identify every person and place mentioned. However, due to the isolation of 19th century Morocco, leading to a lack of European travelers and the scarcity of native geographical accounts of the country itself, many places have remained unidentified. Idrīsī, to be sure, is a valuable source of information but only in its broad lines due to the time lapse since he traveled in the Maghrib and the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman. Likewise several persons, mentioned only once by Al-Nāsirī and not at all by Al-Zaiyānī have perforce remained unidentified. Each chapter begins with the page number of the Arabic edition and each page is indicated in the translation itself. Names and places are footnoted the first time they appear only. The text used for this translation is the one revised by his sons and published in Casablanca in 1956.

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CHAPTER I

OF THE REIGN OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL,

MŪLĀI,¹ 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN B. HISHĀM,²

HIS YOUTH AND EARLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

/3/ Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Hishām (May God have mercy upon him!) had been tenacious of piety and virtue from his youth and was renowned for his rectitude and generosity. By nature reserved in his dealings with men, he persevered in religion, fasting, and rising in the night for prayer. All that was meaningless he abandoned while he was serious in all matters of importance, and as these habits of his became known all hearts and tongues loved and praised him in accord.

Because of this, his uncle, Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān³ (May God have mercy upon him!), noticed him, and taking him under his wing, watched over him and elevated him to a higher position than that of his own sons. When he sent his sons to the two Holy Sanctuaries⁴ for performing the pilgrimage, he sent him with them. During this journey he distinguished himself by his piety and worship and he tenaciously acted in such a way as to inspire confidence, all which raised his standing and reputation for righteousness. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had given him goods which were to defray the expenses of his voyage and aid him in the accomplishment of the pilgrimage, but upon his return he presented these goods to his uncle saying: "Oh sir, I took these goods to use during this journey only if my own were insufficient. For I

had gathered together money to spend during the trip and wished not to confuse it with any other. Thanks be to God that my own was sufficient." His uncle was amazed by this and his love for him and his contentment in him increasing, he returned the goods, greatly augmented, to him and blessed him.

He resided first in Tafilaleet (Tāfilālt)⁵ but as Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān drew near the end of his days he sent for him and appointed him governor of the port of Mogador (Al-Suwaira)⁶ and its environs where he diligently carried out his duties. During the revolt of the sons of Yazīd⁷ the Sultan again sent for him and appointed him governor over Fez (Fās),⁸ the capital and leading city of the Maghrib. His administration delighted all eyes and was agreeable to everyone. All this he (Sulaiman) had done to prepare him to rule and to appoint him in preference to any other.

NOTES

1. In classical Arabic Mawlaya, i.e., my lord, local usage has sanctioned the pronunciation Mūlāi which will be adhered to throughout the translation.
2. The son of Mūlāi Hishām and grandson of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. He had twice been designated as successor by his uncle Mūlāi Sulaimān before the latter's death in 1822, and he reigned until his death in 1859. His son Sidi Muḥammad succeeded him.
3. Mūlāi Sulaimān b. Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, uncle of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman, was Sultan of Morocco from 1792 to 1822.
4. The two Holy Sanctuaries of Islam, i.e., Mecca and Medina.
5. The district of Tafilalet lies south of the Lessor Atlas range of mountains on the borders of the desert. It was rich in date groves, a center of commerce, and the home of the reigning dynasty of Sultans sometimes called after it, the Filali Dynasty. Jackson, pp. 21-24.
6. The city of Mogador was founded by Sultan Sidi Muḥammad in 1763 with the assistance of the French architect Courmut. It lies in the district of Haha and was constructed with the intention of becoming southern Morocco's leading seaport. According to Jackson, its population at the beginning of the nineteenth century was 10,000. Terrasse 2, p. 298.
7. Mūlāi Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd and Mūlāi Sa'īd b. Yazīd. Mūlāi Ibrāhīm was proclaimed in 1819 in Fez and with his brother plundered the north of Morocco. Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 143-52.
8. According to Arab chroniclers founded by Idrīs II in 807 but thought by Massignon to have existed as early as 801. It remained the unique capital of Morocco until the reign of the Sa'dians. Jackson estimates its population at 380,000. Terrasse 1, pp. 116-22.

CHAPTER II

THE BAI'A¹ OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL,

MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN B. HISHĀM

(MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM!)

/4/ We have seen how Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān at the approach of death renewed his pledge to his nephew Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Hishām and sent him to Fez. Shortly thereafter the Sultan passed away with news of his death reaching Fez on the 26th of Rabī' I,² 1238 (December 12, 1822).³

The Sharīf,⁴ Qādī Mūlāi Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik, the learned Muftī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, and the merchant, the Amin⁵ al-Hājj al-Ṭālib b. Jallūn⁶ as well as other notables of the 'Ulamā and Sharīfs of Fez gathered with the notables of al-Wudāyā⁷ and their Qā'ids. After the testament was read they implored God's blessing upon Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān then, striking the Bai'a of Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman, greeted him as Caliph. The people, highest and lowest alike, rejoiced in his accession, and he received in succession the Bai'a of the Diwan and Army. Thus he rose to authority under a benevolent star and the glad tidings thereof were forwarded to other regions of the country. Delegations from various parts arrived with their Oath of Allegiance and gifts, no one refraining from the legal Bai'a. The people of the Maghrib drew a good omen from his succession and saw in the rainfall, the cheapness of prices, and in the peace

which reigned day and night a proof that their good fortune and happiness rested with him.

When the blessed Bai'a was completed and when that which we have mentioned concerning security and prosperity had come to pass, the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) appointed as Wazir the learned Faqih and man of letters Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Idrīs.⁸ The Sultan then received the felicitations of that learned man of letters and Muftī of Afriqiya, Sheikh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Riyāhī,⁹ who recited a long poem.¹⁰

NOTES

1. The act by which one person is proclaimed and recognized as head of the Muslim State. Cf. EI 1, 1113.
2. The fourth month.
3. The Muslim year has 354 days with year I beginning on July 16, 622, the day Muḥammad fled from Mecca. Hence there is often an overlapping when one seeks to convert Muslim years to our own system. Also, since in the Arabic dates, time is counted from sunset to sunset they may mean, in our system, either the day specified or the day following.
4. A descendant of 'Alī through al-Hasan.
5. The Amīn was a local officer in charge of customs and taxes. In general chosen by the Sultan from among the merchants of Fez, Rabat, and Marrakesh, they were usually independently wealthy and tended to be fairly honest due to which reputation they were frequently appointed as governors or ambassadors.
6. He had supplied Sultan Sulaimān with considerable money during the revolt of the Sons of Yazīd.
7. Arabs of the Ma'qil tribal confederation who had first been employed by Sultan Ismā'īl (1672-1727) in the formation of his Jaish. Collectively known as the Jaish al-Wudāyā they were composed of Arabs from the Maghafara, Banu Jarrār, Wulud Mata, Wulud Zirāra, Shibānāt, and Wudāyā tribes.
8. He remained the Sultan's Wazir, except for several short periods, until his death in 1847. There follow in text six verses by b. Idrīs in praise of the Sultan.
9. He had previously been sent to Sultan Sulaiman at Fez by Hammuda Pasha, son of 'Alī Bey, Governor of Tunis, to seek aid during a famine then raging in Tunis. He celebrated Sultan Sulaiman in a Qasida which created a sensation at the time. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 118.
10. Here follow in text twenty-nine verses by al-Riyāhī in praise of the Sultan.

CHAPTER III

THE BERBERS AGREE TO OFFER THEIR OATH OF ALLEGIANCE
TO SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN B. HISHĀM
AND THE REASON THEREOF

/6/ We have seen how the Berbers, after the battle of Ziyān,¹ had agreed upon opposing the Sultan and had risen as one man against him and against all those who spoke Arabic in the Maghrib. After the death of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān and the succession of Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman the Berbers reinforced and intensified this oath and made more complete preparations for revolt and intrigue, especially their leader al-Hājj Muḥammad b. al-Ghāzī al-Zammūrī.² Not only did he bring about the defeat of Sultan Sulaimān at the battle of Ziyān but he committed an analogous act by striking the Bai'a of Mūlāi Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd³ and inducing all he came in contact with to do so also. Fearing lest one of his brothers or family, who succeeded the Sultan, would take him to task, he persevered in attempting to turn the Berbers against the Sultan; and to this end he sought the assistance of Abū Bakr Muḥāwīsh,⁴ who secured for him the aid of the Berber chieftains; and they agreed to leave no trace of the Sultan or his party on the soil of the Maghrib. It is possible that their cause was espoused by some misled Arabs such as the al-Safāfi'a and al-Tuwazīṭ factions of the Banū Hasan tribe,⁵ the Za'īr⁶ and most of the Arabs of Tādīlā.⁷ However, when God (Be He praised!) wished to abrogate that which they had concluded and to

disperse that which they had gathered together and arranged, He found a pretext for intervention in Sheikh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Darqāwī,⁸ who, as we have seen in the report of the revolt of the Sons of Yazīd, had been imprisoned by the Wudāyā, where he remained in captivity until the Bai'a of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman. Now as Ibn al-Ghāzī was one of the disciples of the aforementioned sheikh and had great confidence in him, the sheikh's sons /7/ had come to him that he might strive for their father's release. They persisted until he saw no escape but to submit to the Sultan and enter into the community. Thus he came to the Sultan along with a delegation of members of his clan bringing their Bai'a and gifts. When the other Berbers, his allies, the Āit Idrāsin⁹ and the Gurwān,¹⁰ saw him submitting to the Sultan in what appeared to them as a betrayal, they disavowed the pact and rushed to offer their own Bai'a to the Sultan as well as their wealth and persons to his service. Thereafter, al-Hasan b. Hamu wā 'Azīz,¹¹ leader of the Āit Idrāsin, along with notables of his tribe, submitted to the Sultan and entered the community. As at this time he and Ibn Ghāzī were the mainstays of the Berber resistance, God, by confounding their plans, caused them to recognize the Sultan without a blow being struck or a spear being thrust and without a man moving or a horse charging. The Sultan received them with the greatest kindness, especially Ibn Ghāzī, whom he regarded as sincere. He made him his counselor and thereafter never made a move without consulting him. Furthermore he released into his custody Sheikh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Darqāwī (May God have mercy upon him!).

Later the Sultan married Ibn al-Ghāzī to one of his uncle's concubines

the daughter of the Qā'id, 'Amr b. Abū Sitta,¹² which raised the standing of Ibn al'Ghāzī in the government and thus he became a confident of the Sultan against whom he had risen in revolt. He accompanied him twice to Marrakesh¹³ as we shall later relate, if God will.

NOTES

1. In 1818 Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān prepared an expedition against the Sanhajian Berbers of al-Fazzāz, the wā Malu, which is known to the Arab Chroniclers as "The Affair of Ziyān" after one of the factions of this confederation. During the battle which ensued the Berbers in the Sultan's army under Ibn al-Ghāzī defected, and joining forces with the Ziyān, brought about the Sultan's defeat. Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 134-38.
2. Leader of the Zammūr Berbers who, through jealousy, brought about the defection of the Zammūr during the battle of Ziyān thus causing the defeat of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān. Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 134-38.
3. Cf. Supra p. 3, n. 7.
4. One of the sons of the pious Muḥammad wā Nasir who enjoyed great influence over the Berbers of the Middle Atlas, especially among the Gurwān tribe. It was with this Muḥammad wā Nasir that Sultan Mūlāi Yazīd (1790-92) sought refuge on one of the occasions when he had fled from his father Sīdi Muḥammad (1757-90). Abū Bakr enjoyed his father's prestige but lacked his disinterested motives and under him the Berbers often raised the standard of rebellion. He was the leader of the wa Malu. Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 138-39.
5. The Banū Hasan tribe belonged to the Ma'qil Tribal confederation which made its appearance in the Moroccan Oases in the 13th century. Since the end of the Meranite Dynasty they had been pushing steadily towards the northwest, across the Middle Atlas, and towards the Gharb.
6. The Za'īr Arab tribe was located south of the Wādī Bū Regreg in the vicinity of Rabat.
7. The region of Tādīlā is comprised of plateaus stretching from the high valley of the Wādī Umm al-Rabī' to the sources of the Mulūya. Six semi nomad tribes of Arab origin occupy these plateaus: Urdigha, Banū Mūsa, Banū Khirān, Banū Zemmūr, Sma'la, and Banū 'Amir.
8. Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī al-Fāsi (1737-1823) was the founder of the mystic brotherhood of the Darqāwī. He participated in the Bai'a of Mūlāi Ibrāhīm in Fez in 1819, then, when sent to take the Oath of Allegiance of the Wudāyā, was cast by them into prison. Levi-Provencal, p. 342; Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 150-51.

9. The Āit Idrāsīn belonged to the Sanhajian Berber family of the Middle Atlas. They had often taken the side of the Makhzen and in 1775 had helped Sidi Muḥammad put down a rebellion of the 'Abīd al-Bukhārī.
10. The Gurwān Berber tribe inhabit the Gurwān mountains, N.E. of Meknes. Originally from Tafilalet they arrived there in 1725.
11. Al-Hasan b. Hammu wā 'Azīz had been the leader of the Āit Idrāsīn at the Battle of Ziyān.
12. 'Umar Abū Hafs b. Abū Sitta, governor of Marrakesh under Mūlāi Sulaimān, had been killed by the Zirāra during Mūlāi Sulaimān's expedition against the Zawīya of the Sharrārda. Al-Nāṣirī, pp. 160-63.
13. Marrakesh, one of Morocco's imperial cities, Capital of the South, was founded by Yūsuf b. Tashfīn in 1062. In Idrīsī's day Marrakesh was one of Morocco's largest and most flourishing cities and according to Jackson's estimate its population was 270,000 at the beginning of the 19th century. Cf. Idrīsī, pp. 77-79; Jackson, p. 87.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEPARTURE OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN
TO LOOK INTO THE AFFAIRS OF HIS SUBJECTS
AND HIS ARRIVAL AT RABĀṬ (RABĀṬ AL-FATH)¹

/7/ When Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman (May God have mercy upon him!) had finished receiving delegations and congratulations in Fez, the capital, he turned his attention to an examination of the affairs of his subjects and the strengthening of his position in all parts of the kingdom. He appointed over Fez his negro slave (Waṣīf)² Abū Jum'a b. Sālīm, who had been Keeper of the Gate at the Great Palace (Dār al-Kubra) in Fez al-Jadīd.³ However, when it came time to depart he dismissed him, appointing in his place his paternal cousin Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib.⁴ Thereafter he left Fez al-Jadīd to look into the affairs of his kingdom.

He made his way first to the region /8/ of Sifyān⁵ and from there continued until he reached Qaṣr Katāma⁶ where he encamped at Kudya al-Ismā'īliya.⁷ There a delegation came to him composed of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām, a son of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!), and a company of Sharīfs and Scribes among whom was Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs.⁸ This Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām had gone from Tafilalet to Marrakesh upon the death of his father for the purpose of obtaining the Oath of Allegiance of its population for his brother Mūlāi 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaimān who had already been granted the Bai'a and Oath

of Allegiance of the people of Tafilalet. However when Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām realized that the population of the Maghrib had already agreed upon Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman he repented and, shunning his mission, made good his offence against the Sultan by coming to him with his Bai'a. Akansūs reports: "When we came from Marrakesh to Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman at Qaṣr Katāma, he, eagerly awaiting news of the deceased Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān, ordered me into his presence. I entered and sat with him for nearly two hours during which time he plied me with all sorts of questions. After the evening prayer I returned to him for the rest of his questions. Afterwards he mentioned the sons of his uncle, the deceased Sultan, and said, 'By God, they shall know naught but good from me.'"

Two or three days later he departed for Rabat and there established his residence to receive the delegations of the tribes of al-Hawz⁹ with their leaders and to celebrate the feast of al-Fiṭr¹⁰ in the year 1238 (May 12, 1823). He then returned to Fez in the company of the notables of the tribes of al-Hawz who had come in the delegations. When he had taken up residence in Fez his paternal uncle Mūlāi Mūsa b. Muḥammad visited him with a group of the inhabitants of Marrakesh among whom was Mūlāi 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Sulaimān who had been given the Bai'a at Sijilamasa.¹¹ He honored them and was generous to them and did not blame anyone of the partisans of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Wāhid but rather forgave them and showered them with gifts. He then appointed his paternal cousin Mūlāi Mubārak b. 'Alī b. Sulaimān over Marrakesh and sent him there in their company where he administered that city until that which we shall relate befell him.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) next ordered the purchase of the house of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Shaqshāq al-Fāsi, which was between the tomb of Mūlāi Idrīs¹² (May God be pleased with him!) and the Qisāriya.¹³ He ordered its demolition and the annexation of its land to the Mosque of Mūlāi Idrīs (May God be pleased with him!). He then sent for workers and craftsmen who strove with great skill until it became even more beautiful than the old /9/ Mosque. The person entrusted with this task was the Sharīf Mūlāi al-Hāshimī b. Mullūk al-Bulaghīnī, who, within a short time, had completed it with the utmost of splendor and perfection. God has written the reward for this on the page of the Sultan in the heavenly book.

During this period the great Sheikh, the wise and famous Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Arabī b. Ahmad al-Darqāwī (May God be pleased with him!) passed away on Monday night the 23rd of Ṣafar¹⁴ in the year 1239 (October 29, 1823). He was buried Tuesday at Abū Brīh¹⁵ in the territory of the Ghamāra¹⁶ where his tomb is famous. He was (May God be pleased with him!) an amazing man and of great importance. His letters, which are in the hands of the people, are fraught with a blessed breath. May God cause us to benefit from him and from those like unto him.

NOTES

1. Rabāṭ al-Faṭḥ, situated at the mouth of the Bū Regreg across from Sale, is one of Morocco's Imperial cities. It was chosen as the capital of Morocco by Yaḳūb al-Mansūr (1185-89). Jackson estimated its population at 25,000. Terrasse I, p. 334.
2. In the middle ages Waṣīf conveyed the general meaning of "slave" but in 19th century Morocco it had the added significance of "negro slave". Dozy 2, p. 810.
3. That part of Fez which lies on a plateau overlooking old Fez and in which was located the Dār al-Kubra or Sultan's palace. Cf. Jackson, pp. 132-33.
4. Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was later to be proclaimed by the Wudāyā at the time of their revolt in 1832. Terrasse I, pp. 317-18.
5. The Sifyān and Banū Malik Arab tribes occupied an area roughly 40 kilometers southeast of Meknes. DG p. 253.
6. Qaṣr Katāma (al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr) is 50 miles south of Tangier. Constructed by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Katāmī in the eighth century it was known to Idrīsī as Qaṣr 'Abd al-Karīm. Meakin identifies it as al-Qaṣr al-Saghīr but most authorities concur in locating it in or near al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr. Cf. Idrīsī, p. 89; LM p. 339.
7. Kudya al-Ismā'īliya proved impossible to identify. No mention of it is made by the European travelers in Morocco nor is it mentioned in the Rihla of Al-Zayānī. There is perhaps a connection between the word Kudya which according to Dozy means hill (of sandy soil) and the fact, mentioned by Idrīsī, that Qaṣr al-Katāma was only eight miles from the sea in sandy terrain. Cf. Idrīsī, p. 89.
8. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Akansūs (1796-1877) is above all considered as a poet in Morocco. His history of Morocco Al-Jaish al-'Aramram al-Khamāsī fī Dawla Awlād Mawlānā 'Alī al-Sijilmāsī is valuable only so far as it treats with the 'Alawit Dynasty. Al-Nāṣirī cites it on several occasions. Levi-Provencal, pp. 200-13.
9. The Hawz of Marrakesh is a vast plain bordered in the North by the Umm al-Rabī', in the East by the Middle Atlas, in the South by the foothills of the High Atlas and in the West by the Dukkala, Abda, Shiadma, and Haha. The Arab tribes of the Ḥawz are the Zarāra, Shabānāt, Wulad Mata', Wulad Jarrār, Manabha, and Dalim.

10. 'Id al-fiṭr, sometimes called "the little feast" (al-'id al-saghīr) in the Maghrib, is the feast of the fast breaking and occurs on the 1st of Shawwal. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 104.
11. Sijilamasa had been, before its destruction in the thirteenth century, a prosperous city and capital of Tafilalet. It is here used as a synonym for the district of Sijilamasa or Tafilalet. Cf. Idrīsī, pp. 69-70.
12. Situated near the Gate of Mūlāi Idrīs in Fez it is still today the object of pilgrimages from all Morocco. To the left of the tomb is located the Mosque of Mūlāi Idrīs.
13. The walled suq of the cloth merchants. Cf. Jackson, p. 132.
14. The second Arabic month.
15. On the left bank of the Wādī Awadur in the territory of the Banū Zarwāl tribe.
16. A western Moroccan Berber tribe, divided into many sub-tribes, said by Ibn Khaldun to belong to the Masmudi Berber family. EI 2, p. 120.

CHAPTER V

THE DEPARTURE OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN FOR MEKNES¹ (MAKNĀSSA), HIS TRANSFER OF THE ĀIT YAMMŪR² TO AL-HAWZ, AND HIS JOURNEY TO MARRAKESH

/9/ When Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman undertook his first journey to Rabat it was for the purpose of looking into the affairs of his subjects and their condition so as to acquire an insight which might influence his acts. Upon his return to Fez he made complete preparations for the subdual and pacification of the Maghrib, its reunification and its reanimation, for the revolts during the days of anarchy had wrought havoc upon the country and caused it anxiety. Mūlāi Mubāarak b. 'Alī, the governor of Marrakesh, had fallen under the influence of his evil entourage and many were the complaints against him laid before the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!), who decided to journey to Marrakesh.

Leaving Fez he went first to Meknes and as he drew near this city the 'Abīd³ came out to meet him with their banners raised on staffs. Their number was small and the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) asked them: "Where is the corps of al-Bukhārī?" They replied: "This is the blessing which the revolt has wrought and it is up to God and to you to assist us." The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) entered Meknes and, inspecting its treasury, found it "as clean as the palm of the hand". The 'Abīd were extremely reduced in number and destitute of equipment;

so much so that they had been forced to sell their horses and arms so as to be able to eat. He came to their aid and renewed /10/ their numbers and strength in horses, arms and rations and thus reestablished them and put an end to their poverty.

The author of Al-Jaish⁴ reports: "In short the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) found a State which had been successively jarred by revolts and which had passed from the beauty of youth to the ugliness of old age; its population decimated and its extent reduced, all since the time of the battle of Zayān to the death of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān. When God brought forth this fortified (in God) Sultan he found in the state only the last spark of life and a dying phantom, its foundations weakened and little short of falling into that ruin which leads to total annihilation. God, however, gave to him the support of an extraordinary fortune, and with its charge he carried the burdens of the kingdom with neither wealth nor men, the providence of God aiding him and keeping him from failure, until he reestablished the Ismailian sovereign power and thus restored the soul to a body after the fading away of its breath." After having accomplished his task in Meknes the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) turned his attention to the Āit Yammūr who had been granted land in the Jabal Salfāt⁵ and at al-Walja al-Ṭawīla⁶ from the time of Sultan Sidi Muḥammad⁷ (May God have mercy upon him!). They had prospered and increased there but their dwelling in this fertile and marvelous land had corrupted them and they aggressed against their neighbors, the people of Zarhūn⁸ and Gharb⁹ among others. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) ordered the Qā'id Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yushshu al-Mālkī al-'Arwī¹⁰ to make use of a stratagem to punish them. This he did, arresting nearly 400 of them and sending them to the

Sultan who in turn sent them to the Hawz of Marrakesh. He then went to Rabat where he appointed his brother, Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn b. Hisham, governor of Marrakesh in the place of Mūlāi Mubārak b. 'Alī. The Sultan then left Rabat for Marrakesh but first passed by the tribes of al-Shāwīya¹¹ where he took steps to remedy their situation. He had al-Hāshimī b. al-'Abbās al-Zayānī put to death for the murder of the Qā'id of the Shāwīya Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Wurāwī. This Hāshimī had used a ruse and invited the Qā'id to the hunt but when alone with him at the well-known place called Tāddārt,¹² near Madyūna,¹³ shot him to death. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!), after having appointed him over the tribes for a short time, gave orders that al-Hāshimī be beheaded at that very spot. He then proceeded to the tribes of Dukkāla¹⁴ where he chastised the al-'Awnāt before going on to Marrakesh. After entering the city he sent someone to bring Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Fāsi,¹⁵ instigator /11/ of the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd, from the prison of al-Jazīra¹⁶ and had him beheaded and his head hung up on the al-Khamīs¹⁷ gate in Marrakesh. The Sultan had Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Taiyib al-Biyāz al-Fāsi,¹⁸ who had been imprisoned with him, released and forgave him. For he had not been a follower of Ibn Sulaimān but rather was a magnanimous man and of an earnest nature. Hence the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) employed him, first appointing him Amin of the port of Tangier¹⁹ (Tanja) then later governor of Fez. The most high God knows the Truth!

NOTES

1. The name of Meknes is derived from the Zenata Berber tribe of the Mekkāssa which split into two factions and founded the two cities of Mekkāssa Taza (Taza) and Mekkāssa al-Zaitun (Meknes). It was the favorite capital of Mūlāi Ismā'īl. In the 19th century its population was estimated at 110,000. Jackson, p. 87.
2. The Āit Yammūr belonged to the Sanhajian Berber family of the Middle Atlas. Sidi Muḥammad had led an expedition against them in 1768 and later when Mūlāi Sulaimān again sent forces against them, they fled to Jabal Salfāt. Terrasse 2, p. 296; Zaiyānī, pp. 55, 727.
3. The 'Abīd al-Bukhārī were the descendant of the "black guard" of Mulai Ismā'īl. They were known as al-Bukhārī because they swore an oath of fidelity to the Sultan on a copy of al-Bukhari's collection of Hadith. During the period of anarchy (1727-1757) they staged many revolts and were one of the principal causes of trouble. Terrasse 2, pp. 279-86.
4. Supra, p. 15, n. 8.
5. Mount Salfāt lies between Wazzān and the Sabu River.
6. Unidentified. In Morocco Walja means that portion of land nearly surrounded by the loop of a river.
7. Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was Sultan of Morocco from 1757 to 1790.
8. Zarhūn is a group of mountains lying between the plain of Sa'is to the South and the Sabu Valley to the North. On the northern slopes the population is Rifian whereas on the southern slopes it is of entirely Arabicised Sanhajian origin. Berthier, pp. 23-24.
9. The low lying plains from the west of the Jabala mountains in the north to the Wādī Bū Regreg in the south.
10. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yushshu al-Mālkī al-'Arwī had been Qā'id of the 'Āit Zammūr under Mūlāi Sulaimān. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 151.
11. The Shāwīya (plural of Shāwī, "sheep breeder") of Tamāsna were Berbers of the Zanata and Hawwara who, more or less, arabicised, mixed with purely Arab elements.

12. Tāddārt. I have been unable to identify this village (?). There is a Tāddārt (Taddert) 97 kilometers southeast of Marrakesh in the High Atlas which is however obviously not the village referred to here.
13. Madyūna is 19 kilometers southeast of Casablanca and the site of a Thursday market for the Madyūna tribe.
14. The center of the Atlantic plain of the Meseta which stretches from Rabat to Magador is composed of the areas of Dukkāla and Shāwīya. Here the plain broadens to a width of 50 miles and is very densely populated. Dukkāla was originally the home of Berbers of the Masmudian family but by the 19th century had been occupied by Arab tribes (Za'īr). Terrasse 2, p. 450.
15. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Fāsi had been instrumental in causing the inhabitants of Tetuan to strike the Bai'a of Mūlāi Sa'īd b. Yazīd upon the death of his brother Mūlāi Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 152.
16. Al-Jazīra. Cf. Infra, p. 24, n. 1.
17. Bāb al-Khamīs (formerly Bāb Fās), near the Mausoleum of Sidi Abū al-Bushi, opens into a vast area where the Thursday market is held for all the tribes of al-Hawz.
18. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Taiyab al-Biyāz al-Fāsi was one of the chiefs of the Revolt of the Sons of Yazīd. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 154.
19. Tangier, one of the oldest cities in Morocco, was probably a Carthagian trading post. Captured by 'Ukba b. Nafi in 682 it remained in Muslim hands until 1471 when it was taken by the Portuguese who evacuated it in 1684. It was bombed by the Prince of Joinville on August 6, 1844 in retaliation for 'Abd al-Raḥman's support of 'Abd al-Qādir.

CHAPTER VI

THE MISADVENTURE OF IBN AL-GHĀZĪ AND HIS FATE

/11/ We have already related how Al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Ghāzī al-Zammūrī had struck the Bai'a of Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman and sought the release of Sheikh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Darqāwī (May God be pleased with him!). The Sultan had confidence in him and married him to one of the concubines of his uncle Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!). When they arrived together in Marrakesh he had him imprisoned, it not being clear in Akansūs' account if he was seized at the beginning of the journey or during its course. The reason therein was that this Ibn al-Ghāzī took familiarities with the Sultan which exceeded the limits which a subject should take towards his king. It was his habit to be present morning and night at the Sultan's door as was the custom with the great of the realm. One night, as he was returning home, one of the 'Abīd was lying in ambush for him along the road and fired at him. He missed and Ibn al-Ghāzī reached his home in safety. He blamed the Sultan and other members of the government for this and, his familiarity impelling him to speak out of place, he thundered and raged, cursed and threatened. The Sultan heard of it but took no notice. Then, in his rage against the government, his rashness led him to cease being present at the Sultan's door in spite of the government. The Sultan gave him free rein in case he wished to repent but he did not and rather did the Sultan hear that he was scheming to escape. He had

him arrested and sent to the island of Al-Suwaira,¹ which is a prison for dangerous criminals, where he was imprisoned for a certain time. It is said that he died there one morning in 1240 (1824-25).

/12/ In this year a treaty was concluded between the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) and the Sardinians. It contained 28 articles treating the establishment of peace, permanent security and courtesy of trade and various relations. The 13th article of the treaty stipulated the obligation of Muslim ships to declare a quarantine, if necessary, upon entering Sardinian ports and vice versa.

NOTES

1. The Island of al-Suwaira (Magador) lies one kilometer off shore. It was used as a "State" prison. IM, p. 215.

CHAPTER VII

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SHARĪF SIDI MUHAMMAD B. AL-TAIYIB OVER TĀMASNĀ,¹ DUKKĀLA AND THEIR PROVINCES

/12/ Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman (May God have mercy upon him!) had appointed his paternal cousin the Sharīf Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Taiyib b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh governor of Fez where he stayed for a certain time. Then he appointed him over all of the tribes of Tāmasnā and Dukkāla, giving him full power over their affairs. This Sidi Muḥammad was strong and a check against revolt; his violence like unto Dawsir² and his sword like unto that of al-Ḥajjāj.³ He had taken with him huge dogs, called by the common people al-Qanājir, and he let the people think that he threw those he was angry with to them to be devoured. It was also said that if brought a criminal he would rise and cut his throat with his own hand, thus once injuring his own finger while slaying a culprit.

When this Sidi Muḥammad arrived at Tāmasnā he inflicted a terrible repression upon the people of Harīz,⁴ arresting a great number, cutting off almost 200 heads and destroying the Qaṣba of Karīrān al-Harīzī⁵ known as Marjāna. The tribes, hearing of his violence, were terrified and shuddered with dread in apprehension of him. He then proceeded to Dukkāla with prisoners from Tāmasnā and upon reaching the banks of the Wādī Āzemūr⁶ had half of them cut to pieces and the others massacred. He then crossed the Wādī Āzemūr and encamped at Āzemūr.⁷ The fear of

the people was increased by this and all the tribes of Dukkāla submitted to him.

He then went to Mazagan (al-Jadīda)⁸ and established his residence there. He found it in ruins as it had remained since its conquest at the time of Sultan Sidi Muhammad (May God have mercy upon him!). Before the conquest it had been called al-Barija but after its conquest and the destruction of its walls by mines was known by the name of al-Mahdūma. Sidi Muhammad b. al-Ṭaiyib ordered the reconstruction of its walls and the rebuilding of its ruins and called it al-Jadīda, /13/ and menaced anyone calling it by another name from that day forth. It was he who constructed the small tomb opposite the door of the Great Mosque.⁹ When order had been restored for the Sultan in this area, due in part to Ibn al-Ṭaiyib and in part to the great famine raging in the Maghrib which decimated its population and threatened their total annihilation, he sent him to the Sahara to subdue its tribes and collect their Zakāt and 'Ushr.¹⁰ He went there but returned a short time later. The Sultan then appointed him over Oujda (Wajda)¹¹ where he stayed only a short time and then returned without success.

NOTES

1. Tāmasnā is the real name of the area occupied by the Shāwīya (a generic name for the pastoral tribes of the Zenata and Hawara Berber families settled there by the Merinides). The two names are used interchangeably.
2. Dawsir was one of the warriors of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir who was renowned for his cruelty. Bustan I, p. 766.
3. Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf was 'Abd al-Malik's governor in Iraq. Cf. Muir, pp. 331-35.
4. The Walud Harrīz occupy an area approximately 30 kilometers south of Casablanca.
5. Qasba Karīrān al-Harīzī (Marjāna) is also known as Berrechid, after a family which furnished Qā'idis for the Harrīz during the 19th century. Al-Nāsirī 8, p. 129.
6. Wādī Āzemmūr, i.e., the Umm al-Rabī'.
7. Āzemmūr is located on the left (Southern) bank of the Umm al-Rabī' 2 kilometers from the ocean. After its evacuation by the Portuguese in 1541 it became the capital of the Dukkāla. Jackson estimated its population at 1,000. Cf. Jackson p. 104; DG, p. 30.
8. Mazagan, a port on the Atlantic coast 7 miles S.E. of the mouth of Wadi Umm al-Rabī', is constructed on the site of Portus Rutulis. The first building constructed by the Portuguese in 1502 was a fortress called by the Moroccans al-brīga al-jadīda which was shortened to al-Jadīda. The Portuguese evacuated it during the reign of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1769. DG, pp. 31-32, EI 3, p. 423.
9. The mosque of Khalduniya.
10. In Morocco the Zakāt was the tax on livestock while the 'Ushr was that imposed on agriculture.
11. Oujda is situated on the plain of Angad on the present border between Morocco and Algier. The city, founded in 994 by Ziri b. 'Atiya, passed back and forth between the Moroccan Sultans and the Turks of Algier until Sultan Sulaimān annexed it to Morocco. EI 3, p. 1016.

CHAPTER VIII

SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN (MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM!)

BEGINS THE PLANTATION OF AGDAL (ĀJDĀL)¹

IN MARRAKESH, THE CAPITAL

/13/ After the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had pacified the Maghrib he began the plantation of Agdal to the west of Marrakesh. It is a vast park containing many gardens, each with its own boundary, name, and gardeners, and containing many species of very useful fruit trees such as olives, pomegranates, apples, lemons, grapes, figs, nuts, almonds, etc. Each type of tree yields thousands (of mithqals) each year; for example the lemon crop alone is sold at 50 thousand and even more if it is abundant. In the whole of this park are found flowers, odoriferous plants and vegetables of colors, tastes, fragrances and properties which defy description, for many are unknown in the Maghrib, having been imported from other countries and never having been seen here before. In the center of the park are large ponds upon which canoes and barks sail and to which the waters of riverlike springs flow after having irrigated these gardens. Many stone handmills are also found there and one side alone of one of the ponds is approximately 200 steps long. The Chosroesian kiosks, Cesarian domes and Merwanian terraces in the park dominate the view and defy description. Such are the Dār al-Hanā', al-Dār al-Baidā', al-Sālha, al-Zāhira and others. Adjacent to this park is Jamnān /14/ Ridwān² which, due to its unexcelled beauty,

its domes and terraces, surpasses even its neighbor.

In short the park of Agdal is a terrestrial paradise, surpassing froned Bawwan and causing one to forget Ghamdān and even Janna al-Munāra,³ al-'Āfiya,⁴ and other of the delightful parks of Marrakesh which this Dynasty founded in the days of its youth.

When the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) began the plantation of this park he had diverted to it the waters of the spring called Tāsultānt⁵ from the region of Masfīwa⁶ and whose water is the most agreeable, light and salutary to the body in the country. The population of Masfīwa had been taking water from this spring since the reign of Sultan Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, tapping it during the night and diverting its waters in canals to their gardens and farms. They continued in this manner until Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān, weary of their way of availing themselves of this spring, gave them the right to use it upon the yearly payment of 1,000 mithqals. Sultan 'Abd al-Rahman took away this concession against their will and had the water conveyed over precipice and hill to Agdal, thus benefiting those both near and far. The Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs composed a poem on this subject.⁷

/15/ Let it be known that most of the information thus far reported, since the beginning of this glad reign, has been taken from Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs (May God have mercy upon him!), who has presented it without dates which, however, is the object of this branch of science. When we did not come across exact dates in this period which we have thus far presented, we arranged everything in accordance with reflection and study and we included these facts so as not to completely lose their value. In any case all this took place between the years 1240 and 1250

(1824-1835). Only God knows the truth!

NOTES

1. The garden of Agdal is thought to have been begun by the Almohades in the 12th century. The Saadians took a special interest in it, a tradition that the Alicuits continued. EI 3, p. 304.
2. The garden of Riḍwān is smaller than Agdal but is reputed to be the more striking due in part to a Moorish pavilion set in a frame of black cypress trees. EI 3, p. 304.
3. The garden of Munāra, containing mainly olive trees, was planted in the 17th century.
4. The garden of Al-'Āfiya is between the Mellah and the Muslim cemetery.
5. Tāsultānt means "the Sultanness". LM, p. 291.
6. The territory of the Masfiwa is approximately 20 kilometers S.E. of Marrakesh. DG, p. 167.
7. Sixteen verses follow in text.

CHAPTER IX

THE APPOINTMENT OF QĀ'ID ABŪ AL-'ALĀ' IDRĪS B. HUMMĀN AL-JARRĀRĪ¹ OVER OUJDA AND ITS ENVIRONS

/15/ We have already seen how Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) appointed his paternal cousin Sidi Muhammad b. al-Taiyib over Oujda and how he returned therefrom without success. Now the administration of this city was one of utmost importance to the Sultan, demanding special attention because of its distance from the Sultan's palace and because it bordered on the Turkish kingdom.² It was an important frontier post also because of the number of its tribes, their differences of opinion, and their many contacts with the Arabs and Berbers. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) wondered to whom he could entrust the task of representing him in that important city. His choice fell upon the shrewd Qā'id Abū al-'Alā' Idrīs b. Hummān al-'Arabī al-Wadaiyī al-Jarrārī, to whom he entrusted its administration and upon whom he relied. For this man was unique in his time when it came to soundness of reasoning, realistic action, drawing sound conclusions from various causes, and in his love for the Sultan and his good advice to him.

He was appointed over Oujda at the beginning of the year 1243 (1827) and diligently undertook his duties, collecting in full the taxes of those dwelling both in villages and tents. His desire to offer good counsel and service led him to ask the Sultan's permission to correspond with

him about all that passed in that region /16/ with concern to the internal and external matters of the State so that the Sultan would be in direct contact with this city. He sought permission for this through the Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs who answered him saying:

I informed our lord, the victorious in God of what you wrote me concerning him. He was pleased by it and said: "I have no objections on the condition it be kept secret and that no one else know of it." Thus our lord will be aware of, and have an insight into these matters. Therefore neglect nothing in this affair and make a continual effort to improve your administration, the most serious and important aspect thereof being the security of the roads and the putting down of revolt, so that only good news comes from this area.

Thanks to the grace of God you are of sound judgment and have a knowledge of matters, especially those of that area. May God protect and guide you.

This area is well and prosperous and, thanks to the grace of God, in peace. Abundant rains have fallen, increasing the fertility of the soil and the population is diligently tilling the earth. Our lord is at Meknes al-Zaitūn where nothing disturbs him except perhaps the departure of his holy mother a month ago towards the mercy and clemency of God.

In Friendship and Peace

25 Jumāda II³ 1243 (January 14, 1828)

Muḥammad b. Idrīs (May God be kind to him).

During this period the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had appointed the Sheikh Abū Ziyān b. al-Shāwī al-Ahlāfī⁴ governor of Taza (Tāzā)⁵ and its environs and recommended that, in the Realm's service, he cooperate with Qā'id Idrīs. They were like two Rihan horses in their administration of that area with Qā'id Idrīs, however, taking the initiative. In the month of Ramadān⁶ (March 17 - April 15, 1823) of that year the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) decided to journey to the region of Sharq,⁷ Oujda and its environs; for he desired to see for himself those parts and to look into the affairs of an area which he had never before visited. Hence he convoked the tribes to attend the feast of Fiṭr and then to accompany him on his journey. But when they arrived for the feast a delegation of the Banū Yaznāsīn⁸ and the Arabs of Anqād⁹ went to him. He (May God have mercy upon him!) discussed with them the condition of their region and, as they complained of the infertility of its soil, he decided against his journey but promised them that he would rule over their region by the 1st of January of the next year.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) then decided to make a tour of the Maghrib's ports and to inspect their condition with a view to reviving the tradition of the Holy War. He left Meknes in the middle of Shawwāl¹⁰ /17/ 1243 (May 1828) and went, by way of Ardāt¹¹ in the area of Wazzān,¹² to Tetuan (Tittāwīn),¹³ then to Tangier and Arzila (Āsilā)¹⁴ where he visited its saint, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Murzaq¹⁵ for his blessing. He then went to Larache (al-'Arā'ish)¹⁶ and passed through all the ports until he came to Safi (Āsfī).¹⁷ During this time he received word of the revolt of the Sharārda¹⁸

against Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn, governor of Marrakesh. The Sharārda had ceased to obey orders, had attacked caravans and had committed many like acts, even coming into the gardens of Marrakesh. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) resolved to march against them. We shall now relate what passed between them.

NOTES

1. Abū al-'Alā Idrīs b. Hummān al-'Arabī al-Wudāyī al-Jarrārī was an uncle of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman.
2. That is to say Algeria. For a detailed study of the relations between Morocco and the Turks of Algeria see Auguste Cour, L'Etablissement des Dynasties des Cherifs au Maroc, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904).
3. Jumāda II - The sixth Arabic month.
4. Abū Ziyān b. al-Shāwī al-Ahlāfī was an influential Sheikh of the Ahlāf, an Eastern Moroccan tribe, and a sworn enemy of 'Abd al-Qādir. Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman, in a letter to King Louis-Philippe in 1845, spoke of his intention to use Abū Ziyān and his forces against 'Abd al-Qādir. Caillé, pp. 100-101.
5. Taza is about 60 miles E.N.E. of Fez where it controls the natural route from east to west due to its situation in a pass between the Rif and the Central Atlas. EI 3, p. 709.
6. Ramaḍān - The ninth Arabic month.
7. Sharq - The word sharq "east" is often used in Morocco to designate either Algeria or the Algerians.
8. The Banū Yaznāsīn (Znāsīn) occupied the mountainous country Northwest of Oujda. This tribe and the Angad were never completely subdued by the Makhzen during the 19th century.
9. Āngād - The Āngād occupied the plain west of Oujda.
10. Shawwāl - The tenth Arabic month.
11. Ardāt - The Wadi Rdāt is an important tributary of the Sabu. Brives, p. 227.
12. Wazzān, situated on the southern side of the Jabala mountains, is one of the religious and commercial centers of the Rif.
13. Tetuan, a town 21 miles south of Cueta, first appeared in Moroccan history in the 9th century during the decomposition of the empire of Idrīs II. Its population was estimated at 16,000. CF Jackson, p. 89.

14. Arzila is 27 miles S.W. of Tangier. Jackson claims its population to have been only 1,000 and reports that no trade was carried on there. Jackson, pp. 94-95.
15. Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi Muḥammad b. Murzaq lived at Sūq al-Hād in the Gharb. Mūlāi Sulaimān had previously been his guest. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 156.
16. Larache, the ancient Lixus, is located on the left bank of the Loukkos River near its mouth. Sultan Sidi Muḥammad (1757-1790) had numerous fortifications and bastions constructed there. Its population was 3,000. Jackson, pp. 95-96.
17. (Safi) Āsfī is 96 miles E.S.E. of Marrakesh on the Atlantic coast some 16 miles N. of the mouth of the Wādī Tensift. Its population was estimated at 12,000 by Jackson. Jackson, p. 107.
18. The Sharārda belonged to the Ma'qil tribal confederation and, like the Wudāyā, had constituted a Gaish. During the reign of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1757-1790) they inhabited the region west of Marrakesh. In 1821 they revolted against Mūlāi Sulaimān and succeeded in taking him prisoner.

CHAPTER X

THE CONQUEST OF THE ZAWĪYA AL-SHARRĀDĪ¹

AND THE CAUSE WHICH PROVOKED IT

/17/ We have already sufficiently spoken about the relations between Al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Sharrādī al-Zirrārī² and Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!). At the time of the Bai'a of Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman, Al-Mahdī struck his Bai'a along with the others. When the Sultan went to Marrakesh 500 horsemen of the Sharārda rode out to greet him at Mashra' Ibn Ḥamī³ thus giving proof of their loyalty. The Sultan was pleased with them and treated their delegations with honor. When they resolved upon returning, the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) said to them, among other things: "The past is dead and what was plundered during the days of insurrection has been forgotten. But from this moment forward let he who would commit a crime fear for himself." And so they departed for their region. Thereafter the Sultan celebrated the feast of the Mūlad⁴ in Marrakesh at which were present many delegations, including that of the Sharārda. They brought to the Sultan 15 loads of canvas, 5 loads of cloth and 4,000 mithqals all of which originated from what they had plundered from the Sāka⁵ of Mogador shortly before the death of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!) and in accordance with what we have related earlier. The goodness of the Sultan towards them and his desire for harmony with them was of such a high degree that he spoke to them saying: "Furnish me with 200 horsemen from among

you to go to Dra'.⁶ This canvas and cloth will serve for their attire and the money for their expenses." This they did and the Sultan presented them with clothing and gifts but later, when he had appointed his brother Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn over them, they were slack in obeying him. In his rashness Al-Mahdī addressed a complaint against him /18/ to the Sultan, who was then in Meknes, in which he accused him of collecting the Zakāt and 'Ushr in a way not in conformity with Shari' law, and of appointing over them five or six 'Amils⁷ instead of only one as they had had before. The Sultan took no offence at this and was especially kind in the letter he wrote to him and in which he promised that when he arrived in Marrakesh he would complain of it to his brother. In the meantime, and before he received this answer, Al-Mahdī excited his brethren to revolt against the Sultan and to acts which affronted God but which pleased Satan. Their horsemen swept over the roads and, cutting through them, razed them. They went to the Qā'ids which Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn had appointed over them, seized and imprisoned them, then pillaged their homes. In increasing numbers travelers and merchants, robbed and half-naked, arrived at the Sultan's gate bewailing what had befallen them at the hands of the Sharārda. Then did the Sultan become serious and, making preparations for war, wrote to his brother Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn to convoke the tribes of Al-Ḥawz and to gather them together in readiness for when he passed. The Sultan took to the road with the army of the 'Abīd, al-Wudāyā, Āit Idrāsin, Zammūr, and Arabs of the Banū Ḥasan, Banū Malik, and Safyān. He wrote to the Shāwīya and the Dukkāla to have their horses ready when he came by.

The reputation of Al-Mahdī had already grown so great as to influence

the ignorant of his own tribe and risked spreading to others as well. He even went so far as to claim to be the awaited Mahdī. The greatest cause for his and his tribes audacity was their success in inflicting a defeat upon Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!). Al-Mahdī and his Sharrārda believed that God would grant no one victory over them.

When the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) rode out from Rabat he encountered the pilgrim caravan which had been pillaged by the Hashtūka⁸ and the Shiyādma⁹ from the region of Āzemmūr. It was the practice in the Maghrib in those days for the pilgrim caravans from all parts of the Maghrib to meet in Fez from whence the Rakb departed in the form established in those days. But when these pilgrims from Sūs¹⁰ and elsewhere arrived in the region of the Shiyādma and the Hashtuka they were attacked and robbed of all they had. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) heard their complaints and was so indignant at the evil done to them that he marched against the criminals and inflicted such a terrible punishment upon them at the place known as Farqāla, in the vicinity of Āzemmūr, that they threw themselves into the sea crying for succor. At the beginning of the day they had inflicted some harm upon the Mahalla¹¹ but then the sands of time ran out for them and they were defeated. The Sultan /19/ had them put to the sword and the soldiers took their clothing and animals for themselves. This battle was an announcement of victory and a preface of triumph. The Sultan then crossed to Āzemmūr and from there went to Mazagan and followed the coast until he came to Safi where he visited Sheikh Abū Muhammad Sālih¹² (May God be satisfied with him!). He then turned towards the Zāwīya of the Sharārda and attacked it unawares. His

standards, victorious in God, were raised over it by morning without his going on to Marrakesh. Before the army had encamped and planted their banners war broke out and they engaged in combat with the Sharārda, refraining at noon for it was midsummer. The battle lasted six days with the Sultan bringing up against them cannons and mortars. On the fifth day of the battle, a Tuesday and the feast of the noble Mūlad in the year 1244 (July 18, 1828), the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) desired that the men refrain from doing battle. But the audacity and iniquity of the Sharārda led them to attack the Jaish. Fighting broke out and the Sultan ordered the army to advance and attack them. The great master Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Mallāh al-Salāwī was present at the battle and the Sultan ordered him to fire in earnest and without respite. During that day he fired 280 bombs into the midst of the Zāwīya which exploded when they fell to earth inflicting damage to the surrounding walls. Thus did the Sharārda in that day witness the "red death". However the Sharārda also fired shells and bombs from cannons and mortars which they had seized from the Mahalla of Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān. Then, on the evening of the 7th day of battle, a Friday, they fell to fighting amongst themselves and Al-Mahdī decided to flee. At this his companions said unto him: "What? You are going to flee and abandon us? But where is the reward you have promised?" He answered them thus, saying: "As for you, you have inherited service of the Sultan from your forefathers and you cannot cast it off; whereas for me, what I know and what I have learned from my forefathers is that the war against this village would last for seven days after which a Sultan would come from the sea and conquer it. That Sultan is he!" Thus he spoke to them for the last time

and the ignorant still believed in him even though he had brought ruin upon them and their wealth. For he who God has led astray can find no guide.

It is said that when it became dark he rode upon an ass accompanied by a group of his companions numbering about 20 horsemen. They escorted him to a place called Tizki¹³ where he bade them farewell and rode off alone towards Sūs, after having /20/ spilled sacred blood and pillaged sacred wealth. Thus was his page filled with crimes. We ask of God pardon and prosperity.

After Al-Mahdī had fled the Sharārda disbanded in all directions and spent the night transporting their women and children to places of refuge.

Those who had difficulty in escaping gathered together and went to their four Qā'ids. They released them and asked for their intercession with the Sultan. Morning found them on the outskirts of the Mahalla seeking permission to see Mūlāi Al-Ma'mūn. The permission was granted and they entered into his presence where they interceded on behalf of those among them who had remained and asked for their security. They then went to the Sultan, received permission to see him, and were ushered into his presence where they told him of Mūlāi Al-Ma'mūn's promise of security for them. The Sultan sanctioned this promise. The Sultan then ordered those Sharārda who remained, nearly 2,000, to be grouped together in the Qasba whereupon the troops plundered their homes and goods.

It is said that the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had not granted them security and after having imprisoned them decided to put them to the sword. He consulted the 'Ulamā' about this but they decided against bloodshed, and one of them, the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b.

al-Murābit al-Marrākushī, even gave the decision that they had repented before their defeat. Hence the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) decided against putting them to death, for he was tenacious of the law and always governed according to Shari' dictates. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) then ordered that the wives and children of Al-Mahdī be brought to him and he sent them to Meknes where they were lodged in the house of Qā'id Muḥammad b. al-Shāhid al-Bukhārī¹⁴ who had perished at the battle of Ā 'alīl¹⁵ under Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān. He also ordered the destruction of the walls of the Qaṣba and the displacement of the cannons and mortars which had been used against him.

A moment before the war ended and victory was won the master Muḥammad Mallāh perished under a bomb along with many others. The Sultan in person attended his funeral and granted generous gifts to his children. I read a letter from the pen of Wazir Ibn Idrīs in which he wrote: "Know that God (Be He praised!) granted us victory over the Zāwīya of the Sharārda and caused their guilty to perish unto the last man. The soldiers are still carrying out their destruction. Already 600 of them have been imprisoned and the men are growing rich from what they have found in the way of goods and treasures."

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) then divided the prisoners of the Sharārda into groups which he sent to Rabat /21/, Meknes, and Fez. Then, at the end of approximately one year, he set them free and settled them on the plain of Azghār¹⁶ and, gathering together their brethren from the tribes, he united them there where they are living to this day. As for Al-Mahdī, he fled to Sūs and stayed with the Āit Bū'amrān¹⁷ of Waltīta where he was granted the hospitality of the Murābit of that tribe,

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ā'jalī al-Bū'amrānī. He stayed there for three years, until he began to tire in that region, and then sent someone to intercede for him with the Commander of the Faithful. The Sultan heard his plea and Al-Mahdī came in irons to him at Marrakesh where he wept before him and begged for his forgiveness. The Sultan pardoned him and sent him to Meknes where he was reunited with his children. After a short time the Sultan appointed him governor over his brethren.

Akansūs has said: "He treated them harshly and their love for him changed into hatred so they complained of him to the Sultan who dismissed him.

Then with the Sultan's permission Al-Mahdī made the pilgrimage and upon his return was again appointed governor by the Sultan but they did not

accept him. Later he was imprisoned, then released, and matters went ill

for him. He did not die until the beginning of Shawwāl of the year 1293

(April 1828) after the commencement of the reign of the Sultan of the

epoch, the Imam of victory, the Commander of the Faithful Mūlāi al-Ḥasan

b. Muḥammad¹⁸ (May God be satisfied with him!)."

The victory over the aforementioned Zāwīya was celebrated by the poets of

the time and among them that man of letters, the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh

Akansūs.¹⁹ /24/ The Sultan stayed for a long time in Marrakesh and sent

his brother, Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn b. Hishām, to the region of Sūs to collect

the taxes.

At the beginning of the year 1245 (January 1829), in the month of Sha'bān,²⁰

the Sultan concluded a treaty with the nation of the Nabriyāl, known as

Austrians, which contained 12 articles concerning commercial transactions

and stipulating mutual security and respect between the two parties. The

final article established, upon the observation of these stipulations, a

lasting peace that could be neither increased nor decreased, and which no later event could endanger. But shortly thereafter hostilities broke out as we shall relate.

NOTES

1. The Zāwiya al-Sharrādī was constructed by Abū Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Sharrādī one day's journey W. of Marrakesh during the reign of Sidi Muḥammad. Al-Nāsirī 8, p. 160.
2. Al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Sharrādī al-Zirrārī, the son of Abū Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās, was rather known for his prophecies and knowledge of "white" magic than as a scholar. Nevertheless he exercised a tremendous influence over the Sharrārda and, when attacked by the forces of the Makhzen, captured Mūlāi Sulaimān. The Sultan was treated with all due respect and given an escort of the Sharārda to accompany him back to Marrakesh. Al-Nāsirī 8, pp. 160-64.
3. Mashra' Ibn Hami is a ford across the Tensift River 12 kilometers N.W. of Marrakesh.
4. The 'īd al-Mūlad commemorates the Prophet's birth and is celebrated throughout the Muslim world on the 10th of Rabī' I. In Morocco it has become the greatest of religious feasts.
5. Šāka - From Spanish "Saca" which means "exportation of merchandise". In Morocco it signified the tax levied on articles exported from Moroccan ports by Europeans. Cf. Dozy I, p. 812.
6. The Dra', which rises in the High Atlas, runs into the Atlantic Ocean 40 miles S.W. of Cape Nun. It is the longest river in Morocco. EI 1, p. 1074.
7. The 'Āmil was usually appointed by the governor of a province or city and was charged with the collection of taxes.
8. The Hashtūka are an Arab tribe dwelling in the vicinity of Āzemmur.
9. The Shiyādma, today numbering 125,000, is an Arab tribe which has inhabited the coastal area between Mogador and the Wādī Tensift since the 16th century.
10. The Sūs is a vast triangle of low lying land bordering on the Atlantic between the High and Anti Atlas and takes its name from the Wādī Sūs which flows into the ocean south of Agadir.
11. Mahalla conveys the meaning of the place where one makes a halt, i.e., camp.

12. Sidi Abū Muḥammad Sāliḥ b. Insarān b. Ghafiyān al-Dukkālī al-Majāri was a disciple of Abū Madyān of Tlemcen. He died September 20th, 1234 and around his tomb was constructed the ribāṭ of Āsfī which remained of course in the hands of his descendants. Levi-Provençal, p. 221.
13. Tīzkī is a word of Berber origin signifying "forest". I could find no other reference to this village (?).
14. Muḥammad b. al-Shāhid al-Bukhārī had been killed by the Garwān. Al-Nāsiri 8, p. 117.
15. The Battle of Ā 'alīl took place in the vicinity of the village of A'līl, between the Sultan and the Āit Idrāsin. Upon his victory the Sultan, after pillaging the Āit Idrāsin's camps, gave their land to the Garwān berber tribe. Al-Nāsiri 8, p. 158.
16. The plain of Āzghār, usually referred to as Shāwīya, is that part of the great Atlantic plain comprised between the Wādī Bū Regreg and the Wādī Umm al-Rabī'. For its role in Moroccan history see Terrasse 2, pp. 449-50.
17. The Āit Bū'amrān inhabited the Southern slopes of the High Atlas. Montagne, p. 19.
18. Milāi al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, son of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman, was Sultan of Morocco from 1873 to 1894.
19. There follow in Text 46 verses by Akansūs.
20. The eighth Arabic month.

CHAPTER XI

THE AUSTRIANS ATTACK LARACHE

AND THE CAUSE THEREOF

/24/ We have seen how Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) had, towards the end of the year 1243 (1828), made a tour of the frontier cities and ports of the Maghrib for the purpose of reviving the tradition of the Holy War upon the seas. This (tradition) had been abandoned by Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!). Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman gave orders for the construction of fleets which were to be added to the remnants of those of his grandfather Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh and authorized captains of ships from the /25/ two banks (al-'Adwatain)¹ of Sale (Slā)² and Rabat to sail out in corsairs and patrol the coasts and adjacent waters of the Maghrib. Two captains, al-Hājj 'Abd al-Rahman Bārkašh³ and al-Hājj 'Abd al-Rahman Brītal,⁴ sailed out and came upon some Austrian ships which, as these ships did not have the usual passports, they took as booty. They found in them much merchandise, especially oil, and led them back, some to Sale and Rabat and some to Larache. On Wednesday, the 3rd day of Dhū al-Qa'da⁵ in the year 1245 (Wednesday, April 27, 1830), the Austrians attacked Larache with a force of six ships, and from dawn to dusk showered shells upon it. During this time they took seven skiffs and loaded them with nearly 500 soldiers which they disembarked near the place known as al-Maqsara and from whence they went, attached one to another by iron hooks to keep them from fleeing, in the

direction of the Sultan's ships which were anchored in the river. They made their way there playing upon drums and fifes while their ships fired upon the length of the river so as to prevent it from being crossed. When they finally came to the Sultan's ships they put them to the torch and by so doing took vengeance for their own losses. But, after only a moment had gone by, Muslims from the coast attacked them violently from every direction and were soon joined in this by the inhabitants of Larache and its environs who, crossing the river aboard boats or by swimming, also fell upon them. A group of peasants, who were reaping the harvest in the fields saw the battle and joined in, playing a handsome role by beheading the Austrians with their scythes.

Manuel,⁶ who speaks of this battle in detail, said that 43 Austrians were killed, not counting the prisoners taken, and they abandoned one cannon and a large number of arms. The remainder beat a retreat to their ships looking (as they ran) anxiously behind them.

Let it be known that this battle was the event that convinced Sultan Millai 'Abd al-Rahman to renounce his great interest in sea raids. For when the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) tried to revive this tradition he encountered the rising force of the European powers with their increasing numbers and naval forces. In addition sea raids served only to raise contentions, disputes, litigations /26/ and altercations as well as stirring up ill will between the Sublime State and the allied peoples, all which risked to destroy all truce treaties. This conviction was confirmed when the French seized Algeria.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!), after serious study, decided to refrain from all sea matters in consideration of the common good and

and the lack of profit resulting from the attacks of Muslim ships. In addition to this the great European states, such as England and France, declared that no one should have ships if not prepared to observe the laws of the sea, the function of these laws being to facilitate the affairs of the sea and to guarantee favorable results and thereby preserve international friendship.

Among the important results of this was the establishment of consulates in the ports by any State that desired to send here its ships and merchandise as well as the setting up of a quarantine with its resultant developments, which neither the divine law nor tradition could accept, and which caused great concern. All this strengthened the resolution of the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) to abandon all which had led to this and such are the reasons which impelled him to decide to abstain. Anyone who ponders over this question will see the great advantage of abandoning (the holy war) although only the learned may comprehend it. As for the Austrian aggression it was solved by means of the English who sent their ambassador, along with the Austrian ambassador, to the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) in Meknes during the month of Rabī' I, 1246 (August 1830).

NOTES

1. Al-'Adwatain, i.e., the two banks, is a common reference to the two ports of Sale and Rabat which face each other on opposite banks of the Bū Regreg.
2. Sale had enjoyed great prosperity between the 16th and 18th century as a pirate center but after Mūlāi Isma'īl sent a contingent of the 'Abīd there in 1700 its importance declined. Jackson estimated its population as 18,000. Jackson, pp. 97-98.
3. Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rahman Bārkaṣh came from an old family of Andalusian origin (Vargas) which had often supplied governors for the city of Rabat. Levi-Provençal, p. 160.
4. Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rahman Brītal and Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rahman Bārkaṣh were the last of a long line of famous pirate captains from the ports of Rabat and Sale. Cf. Coindereau, p. 85.
5. The eleventh Arabic month.
6. Al-Nāsiri was the first Moroccan historian to make use of European sources--a fact which was noticed with a certain degree of suspicion by his compatriots. Here the reference is to the Descripcion historica de Marruecos y breve resena de sus dinastias by Manuel P. Castellanos which was published in Santiago in 1878, a work cited at least twenty times by Al-Nāsiri in the Kitāb al-Istiḡṣā. Al-Nāsiri, who could not read Portuguese, had the books translated orally for him by a certain Yūsuf, a Portuguese Jew, in return for his commenting on the poetry of Ibrāhīm b. Sohl. Levi-Provençal, pp. 364-366.

CHAPTER XII

THE OCCUPATION OF ALGIERS BY THE FRENCH RESULTING IN

THE INHABITANTS OF TLEMCEN (TILIMSĀN)¹ STRIKING

THE BAI'A OF SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN

(MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM!)

/26/ The French tyrants occupied the port of Algiers at the end of Muharram, the first month of the year 1246 (July 5, 1830).² The cause thereof was that the Turks of Algeria were diametrically opposed to the French at that time. Numerous land and sea battles had taken place between them and reprisals and tension increased as the Turks inflicted heavy losses upon the French. /27/ The Governor of Algeria at this time was Ahmad Pasha³ who issued his own orders and desired independence from the Ottoman Empire. It is said that the French laid complaints before the Ottoman Sultan, Mahmūd,⁴ who replied that it was their affair and not his. So the French attacked the port of Algiers with considerable forces and equipment and, after skirmishes and battles, occupied it on the aforementioned date.

Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman was in Marrakesh when this took place, but he departed immediately for Meknes when word of what had happened reached him at the beginning of the month of Ṣafar (July 1830). When this had taken place in Algiers the inhabitants of Tlemcen consulted among themselves and decided upon striking the Bai'a of Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!). They went to his governor at

Oujda, Qā'id Abū al-'Alā Idrīs b. Hummān al-Jarrārī and asked him to go to the Sultan to intercede on their behalf so that he might accept their Oath of Allegiance, look for ways of bettering their affairs, and protect them from the enemy. They then appointed from among themselves a delegation to the Sultan to lend weight to their request and to hurry its acceptance. They arrived at Marrakesh on the first of Rabī' I⁵ (August 20, 1830) of that year where the Sultan received their delegation with all possible honor and respect. After they had expressed their desires to the Sultan, he hesitated to give them immediate satisfaction for, in spite of his wish to accept them as subjects, he wanted to base his decision upon the prescriptions of the law as was his practice. Hence he consulted the 'Ulamā' of Fez of whom the greater part decided against it whereas some felt the request to be legal. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) followed the advice of those who consented, especially when the people of Tlemcen, after receiving the decision of the 'Ulamā' of Fez, replied with the following letter:

Oh our Lord, pole and center of glory, place and refuge of honor, base and source of lofty nobility, carpet and center of towering virtue, greatest, most glorious and most honorable Sultan, scion of great kings, our Lord and our Master 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hishām (May God preserve this treasure, our Lord, for the Muslims and grant him His friendship and reward!) know that the decision rendered by the 'Ulamā' of Fez does not rest upon a sound base, for they have only considered our Bai'a to the Ottoman Imām. To be sure this Bai'a is an argument against us however the matter is not thus. The governor

of Algeria was an usurper, playing with religion and hence God destroyed him to punish him for his iniquity, acts of aggression against the faithful, despotism and debauchery. For God takes His time with sinners /28/ before seizing them, but once they are in His grasp there is no escape. An indication of his usurpation and acts of independence was his disobedience of the Ottoman's orders and his non-compliance with them. He had no respect for the Ottoman and obeyed him in neither word nor deed. The Ottoman ordered him to make peace with the Christians but he accepted neither his orders nor his advice. He requested of him money to assist him against the evils the Christians were perpetrating but the Ottoman categorically refused this request and, far from being generous, did not grant him the least assistance. This is the reason why the infidel enemy was able to seize the city. Such is the reward of all wanton profligates for God grants mastery over all received from an illegal source to the vilest of enemies. All which we say of that usurper is general knowledge, perceptible to the eye, and needs neither proof nor arguments. All men are the servants and slaves of God and the Sultan is merely one to whom God has bestowed power so as to try him and cause him to suffer. If he govern in justice, clemency, fairness, and righteousness, as our Lord (May God make him victorious!) then is he the lieutenant of God on earth, the shadow of God upon His servants, and his standing is raised with the Most High God. If, on the other hand, he govern with injustice,

tyranny, oppression and corruption, like that usurper, he is in revolt against God in his kingdom, a detainer of supreme power, a vainglorious person who reigns over the earth without right, destined for the most terrible of God's punishments and His anger.

Moreover admitting that we are bound by our Bai'a to the Ottoman is not an argument against us. For his country is so distant that his rule is of no value to us, being that we are separated from him by plains, deserts, seas, villages, towns, and cities. It is true that his residence is nearer by sea but the infidels of today make its use impossible. In addition it is established by many a report from many quarters that he is so preoccupied with himself and his throne, so unable to defend even his nearest provinces and his capital, that he has had to buy a five year truce from the Christians at a terrible price and to give them a voucher so as to have security for his person and entourage during these five years. How could it be possible for him, in these conditions, to attempt to defend our country, province, and city? The most striking proof of his impotence is found in the case of Egypt and Syria which remained for more than five years under the control of the enemies of the Religion without his being able to find any other means to resist them and protect those countries than to seek the aid of the infidel enemy. The Most High God has already assisted this religion by means of perverse men. Al-Ubbi,⁶ in his commentary on Muslim, regarding

a case comparable to ours, declares that if the Imām cannot have his orders carried out in a county then it is permissible /29/ to choose and proclaim another and that every delay is a cause of death. For all necks are stretched towards that proclamation and all eyes and pupils ardently desire it. By silence have we escaped all other solicitations only to come to the threshold of our Lord's door (May God guide him and make him victorious!) to enter into his obedience, to bind ourselves to his service in accordance with the tribes and the cities, the sensible and thinking people. For we know that our Lord (May God make him victorious!) is alone worthy of that generous mission and is also the true Imām, he who has merited the dignity of his successive ancestors and to whom flow all glories and honors.

Hence we ask our Lord (May God make him victorious!) to deign to accept our Bai'a through the intercession of his ancestor the Prophet (May God pray for him, his excellent family and his elected companions!). Our last desire is: Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds.

When the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) read this letter he decided to accept their Bai'a and took it upon himself to honor it. He appointed his paternal cousin Mūlāi 'Alī b. Sulaimān⁷ over them and put under him a regiment composed of notable soldiers of the Wudaya and 'Abīd. He sent them to Tlemcen along with the delegation of that city which he had honored and showered with gifts. He then wrote to his governor Qā'id Idrīs asking him to watch over (them) and protect them

and work with Mūlāi 'Alī in administration and policy but that in reality the responsibility was his. I have come upon the letter of Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs in his own hand to the aforementioned Qā'id on this subject in which he says:

Praise be to God alone.

May God pray for our Lord Muhammad and his family. To our friend, the uncle of our Lord, Sidi Idrīs b. Hummān al-Jarrārī. Peace be upon you as well as the mercy and benediction of the Most High God for the good of our Lord (May God assist him!). We have received your letter brought by the notables of Tlemcen and neighboring tribes. We have granted them all possible assistance and have made all possible efforts on their behalf. Our master has treated them with the greatest generosity, both upon their arrival and departure, as is his practice, and dismissed them showered with honors. He has designated to represent him among them his paternal cousin 'Ali, whose intelligence, experience, cleverness, and honesty he knows. What is needed in that region are men of these qualities to be able to distinguish the situation of the hour from what has preceded it. Our master has also designated you to serve as an intermediary between his paternal cousin and the inhabitants of Tlemcen, for you also possess the qualities enumerated above. Therefore justify your reputation and guard yourself from greed and "desire not the good of /30/ others". You shall receive all that you need and that is indispensable, you have only to notify us. Hide nothing from us. Know

that our master has distinguished you among your tribesmen and brought you nearer to him. God is God! Justify your good reputation and may God bless you. Amen. Our Lord has granted to each of them a costume appropriate to their rank and in every city they entered he bestowed gifts upon them. He showed them the interior of his palace, all the gardens and royal places wherein only favorites are admitted. In short they have received unhopd for care and we were more than kind towards them. Let that suffice for them! It now only remains for you to acquit yourself towards us. Justify the hope we have placed in you and forget not that our Lord has put others to the test before you and sacrificed them. We ask God that you be as pure gold. That which our Lord has promised you will be sent as soon as you have fixed your residence in the region and all the inhabitants, city folk, and tribesmen will have seen proof of your good administration. The recommendations in our Lord's Sharifian letter are sufficient.

Friendship and Peace.

13 Rabi' II,⁸ 1246 (October 2, 1830)

Muhammad b. Idrīs (May God be kind to him!)

After Mūlāi 'Alī had arrived at Tlemcen the Sultan sent after him 500 horsemen, 100 foot soldiers, and a large group of elite artillery from Sale and Rabat. In this group was the son of the governor of Sale, Muhammad b. al-Hājj Muhammad Abū Jamī'a⁹ who was one of the most skillful. When Mūlāi 'Alī entered Tlemcen and established his residence there the people of the city rejoiced and their hearts were filled with joy.

Delegations came to him from every direction and he, along with Qā'id Idrīs, received their Bai'a for the Sultan. The Turkish Kurghaliya,¹⁰ who for a long time had formed the garrison of the Qasba of Tlemcen,¹¹ did however not submit. Mūlāi 'Alī besieged and fought them for a certain time until he conquered them and seized all their belongings. Two Arab tribes of the region, the Dawā'ir and the Zammāla,¹² also opposed him. It is said that they were the descendants of soldiers that Sultan Isma'īl¹³ (May God have mercy upon him!) had garrisoned in the region and who had remained there increasing to the present day. God granted Mūlāi 'Alī victory over them and the army plundered their goods as they had previously plundered the goods of the Kurghaliya. A great trouble was to result from this as we shall later relate, if God will.

During the first days of Ramadān of that year Qā'id Idrīs went out from /31/ Tlemcen accompanied by a group of soldiers from the Jaish with the intention of subduing the tribes dwelling in that region and to take the Oath of Allegiance from those who had hitherto refused.

Those who had already submitted were the inhabitants of Mascara (Ma'askara),¹⁴ al-Hasham,¹⁵ and al-Mushāshīl,¹⁶ the Banū Shaqrān,¹⁷ the Marabuts of Gharīs,¹⁸ Warghiya, Tahallīt, Hamiyan, and others.

Following is the text of their Bai'a:

Praise be to God who has caused the light of the Caliphate to shine in the face of this new epoch, who has manifested the heralding signs of happiness, good fortune, and security on the page of its dawn, and who has led his chosen people to align themselves under the standard of our master the Imām.

May prayer and peace be upon our Lord Muhammad, mercifully sent

for the two worlds, and upon his family and good companions. All the tribes subscribed on the right have sent delegations to our master, the Khalīfa Abū al-Hasan Mūlāi 'Alī, son of the Commander of the Faithful Mūlāi Sulaimān. He has read to them the letter of our victorious master, whose standard is raised and whose sword is famous, the Commander of the Faithful, Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman, son of our Lord Hishām (May God perpetuate his protection and guide his efforts to his satisfaction!) in the presence of his Khalifa the honest Tālib, the famous and fortunate Qā'id Sidi Idrīs al-Jarrārī. The delegations received the letter with respect and veneration and they bore witness unto themselves that they had taken an oath of fidelity towards our master the Imām (May God assist him and perpetuate his power and majesty!) and have resolved upon observing it and honoring him and so they have entered into the community. This Bai'a is complete and fulfills all the conditions, includes all engagements, and establishes all obligations. All have accepted and approved it and bind themselves to observe it.

Those who have heard the preceding have signed.

1 Jumāda II, 1246 (November 17, 1830).

Summing up, the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) took a very active interest in the affairs of that region and time after time spared no effort in providing it with arms, men, and money. He sent the blessed Sharīf Sidi al-Hājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Wazzānī¹⁹ to that region to call them to obedience and to invite them to enter into the community for they

had in him, as in his ancestor, great confidence. He sent also the excellent Sharīf Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Salām al-Bu'anani and appointed him Muhtasib²⁰ at Tlemcen. He sent also a great quantity of attire, standards, /32/ pavilions, cannons, mortars, powder, and lead. However, only what God willed was to come to pass, for the Arabs of this region, due to their little faith and lack of zeal, defected and almost all went over to the Christians after the latter had seized Oran (Wahran).²¹ But there was discord among the Qā'ids of the Sultan's army and violent struggles broke out between them with the echoes thereof reaching the Sultan. Then they sealed the matter by plundering the goods of the Kurghaliya, which they refused to surrender, and then plundered the wealth and cattle of the Zammāla and Dawā'ir in the vicinity of the Sharīf Sidi al-Ḥājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Wazzānī. All went ill and hope was lost. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) considered recalling the army, upon which he could not depend, and arrested Qā'id Idrīs, who had been denounced for having participated in the pillage of the Zammala and the Dawā'ir and then for having refused to return their goods. The Mahalla returned at the end of Ramadān of that same year.

On the 15th of Jumāda II (December 1, 1830) of that year there was an earthquake which destroyed one of the villages of Tlemcen, known as Al-Balīda, and in which perished all its inhabitants. All is God's! He acts as He wills!

NOTES

1. Tlemcen was founded in the 11th century by Yūsuf b. Tashfin. Sixty kilometers E. of Oujda it often had belonged to Morocco. In 1830 its population was between 12,000 to 14,000. Emerit, p. 87.
2. For an account of the occupation based upon the papers of the Marechal de Bourmont, commander of the expedition, see Gustave Gautherot, La Conquete d'Alger 1830, (Payot, Paris 1929).
3. Al-Ḥājj Ahmad Pasha was the Bey of Constantine from 1826 to 1848 and under the authority of the Bey in Algiers, Husain Pasha. Emerit, pp. 235-42.
4. Mahmūd II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1808 to 1839.
5. Rabi' I - The third Arabic month.
6. Muhammad b. Khalīfa b. 'Amr al-Washtātī al-Ubbī al-Malikī al-Tunīsī (d. 1424 or 1425) was the author of Ikmāl al-Ikmāl, a commentary on Ikmāl al-Mu'lim by the Qādī 'Aiyad al-Yahsabī which was in its turn a commentary on al-Mu'lim fi Fawa'id Muslim, a commentary on the Sahih of Muslim b. al-Ḥajāj. Brockelmann I, p. 160.
7. Mūlāi 'Alī b. Sulaimān, by his refusal to show a letter from his father the Sultan to the crowds of Fez, had unwittingly helped to spread the rumor that Mūlāi Sulaimān had abdicated. This rumor was, according to Al-Nāsirī, one of the main causes of the inhabitants of Fez proclaiming Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd. Al-Nāsirī 8, pp. 148-51.
8. Rabī' II - The fourth month.
9. Muhammad b. al-Ḥājj Muhammad Abū Jamī'a's father was later entrusted by 'Abd al-Rahman to accompany Léon Roches from Rabat to Mehdiya in 1845. Caillé, pp. 76, 100.
10. Kurghaliya (Qul-Oghli, i.e., son of a slave) was the name given in North Africa to the children of Janissaries and native women. They were not permitted to enroll in the ranks of the Janissaries but nevertheless formed a special social class with certain privileges not enjoyed by other social groups. At the beginning of the 19th century the Kurghaliya of Tlemcen numbered about 4,000. Emerit, p. 87; EI 2, p. 1114.

11. The Qaṣba of Tlemcen, usually known as the Mashwar, was constructed in 1145 by Yūsuf b. Tashfīn. It is in the southern part of the city. For a description of the mashwar see Emerit, pp. 83-84.
12. The Dawā'ir and the Zammāla tribes had been granted land on the plain of Oran by the Turks in return for military service. Their chiefs had houses in Mascara. Emerit, p. 9.
13. Mūlāi Isma'īl (1672-1727) was the second of the Alawite Sultans and the real founder of the dynasty.
14. Mascara, 80 kilometers E.S.E. of Oran, had been the seat of a Turkish Beylik from 1701 to 1791. It became the capital of Abd al-Qādir in 1832, was destroyed by Clauzel in 1835, then retaken by Abd al-Qādir in 1837. Bugeaud took the city on May 30th, 1841. Its population in 1830 was approximately 10,000. Emerit, p. 92.
15. The territory of the Ḥasham extended eastwards from Mascara and northwards towards Arzew.
16. The Al-Mushāshīl was a faction of the Al-Ḥasham tribe.
17. The Banū Shaqrān inhabited the region between the Wādī Habra in the North and Mascara. Emerit, p. 48.
18. The arid plain of Aghris lies to the West of Mascara.
19. Sidi al-Hājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Wazānī had, along with Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Darqāwī, struck the Bai'a of Mūlāi Ibrāhīm in Fez in 1818. He was later forgiven by Mūlāi Sulaimān at the time of the latter's entry into Fez. Al-Nāsiri 8, p. 158.
20. The muhtasib, counterpart of the Byzantine agoranome, was responsible for the maintenance of public morals, weights and measures in the suqs, quality of foodstuffs, etc. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, pp. 154-55.
21. Oran (Wahrān) is a seaport on the Algerian coast which was founded, according to the Arab chroniclers, in the tenth century by Andalusians. Its population in 1832 was 3,800.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REVOLT OF THE JAISH¹ OF THE WUDĀYĀ AGAINST SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMAN AND THE REASON THEREOF

/32/ The revolt of the Jaish of al-Wudāyā against Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman (May God have mercy upon him!) took place during the month of Muharram² at the beginning of the year 1247 (June 12, 1831). The cause of the revolt was the following.

Among the principal Qā'ids and notables of the Jaish were al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd al-Maghāfirī al-Hassānī,³ al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Maghāfirī al-'Aqīlī,⁴ and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Jarrārī. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had sent them on important missions and dispatched them to the most distant parts of the realm. On the surface they appeared obedient to the Sultan whereas in reality they were hostile towards him, the reason thereof being that the familiarity with which they had treated Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God have mercy upon him!) was no longer possible with Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman /33/ and had slipped from their grasp. They were at times disobedient but the Sultan overlooked it and neglected to punish them and at the time of the Tlemcen expedition sent them there along with the leaders and notables of the Jaish. Their attacks against the Government continued and their disturbances did not subside, neither in extent nor in intensity. Then took place the pillage of the Zammāla and the Dawā'ir which had been instigated

by them and in which they influenced the participation of Qā'id Ahmad b. al-Mahjūb al-Bukhārī, thus giving proof of their disrespect for the Sultan, his Khalīfa, and his governor. As there was a secret rivalry between them and Qā'id Idrīs al-Jarrārī the latter feared to oppose them in their plans of pillage "lest they stop up that hole with his head". Hence he acquiesced and plundered along with them. And so when the Sultan, as we have related, recalled the army, he sent someone to arrest Qā'id Idrīs at Oujda and bring him to Taza where he was imprisoned. When the army of Tlemcen arrived at 'Unq al-Jamal,⁵ near Fez, Qā'id al-Ṭaiyib al-Wadīnī al-Bukhārī,⁶ who was governor of Fez, went out to meet them. Some say that he wanted to arrest them on orders of the Sultan while others claim that he wanted to take possession of their luggage and trunks which were full of booty. The Wudāyā and 'Abīd however, when they staged their revolt, allied themselves and agreed to be "as one hand" against anyone who wished to harm them, and so when al-Ṭaiyib al-Wadīnī rode out against them they attacked him so violently that he returned at once and reported to the Sultan who became very angry with them.

Several days later the Sultan decided to arrest Al-Hājj Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-'Aqilī, who, getting wind of it, went to Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd and, flinging himself at his feet, said: "Without a doubt I am to be imprisoned but if the Sultan gives you any power over me then be generous and forgive me the wrongs you have received at my hands." Now Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd had previously been governor of Tārudānt⁷ but the Sultan had dismissed him putting Ibn Ṭāhir in his place. He (Ibn Ṭāhir) had treated him harshly but now he spoke to him in these terms. Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd then asked if in truth he was to be arrested and upon receiving an affirmative answer

replied: "As long as I live no harm shall befall thee."

The Sultan then sent for Al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Tāhir and Ahmad b. al-Mahjūb and, after rebuking them for their acts, had them arrested. He also arrested the notables of the Wudāyā and those of the 'Abīd who were taken and imprisoned that very evening. Al-Tāhir b. Mas'ūd was waiting at the Sultan's gate to free Al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Tāhir /34/ and his companion, and as they came out he went up to the guards and asked them to release the prisoners but they refused saying: "They have been arrested on the Sultan's orders." He (Ibn Mas'ūd) would hear nothing of this and, drawing his dagger, stabbed the doorman Idrīs al-Wudāyā in the shoulder and took from him his prisoner. He then advanced to free Ahmad b. al-Mahjūb who, however, refused and rebuked him saying: "I do not disobey the Sultan's orders."

The Wudāyā thought, because of their previous pact, that the 'Abīd would stand by them but God had abandoned their schemes. Al-Tāhir and Ibn al-Tāhir then rushed to their mounts and sped off in the direction of Dār al-Dabibagh⁸ while the Maghāfra⁹ brought up their arms and, loading and firing, attacked the Sultan's palace. The partisans of the Sultan came upon the scene with their cannons but the Wudāyā outnumbered them and charged them until the partisans closed the gate of the Mushwar upon them. The Sultan sought information of the matter and was told of these developments while in the company of Al-Hasan b. Hammū Wā 'Azīz who said: "Oh our Lord if these people will dare do such acts at your gate it is to be expected that they will attempt even more." The Sultan sent for his horse and rode out at sunset from Bāb al-Baja accompanied by Ibn Wā 'Azīz and other companions, both mounted and on foot.

When the Wudāyā learned of the Sultan's departure they all left Fez al-Jadīd and the Qaşba of the Sharāqa and overtook him at the bridge of 'Aiyād where, falling to the ground and kissing the hoofs of his horse, they pleaded with him and denied having any part in the crimes of those insolent people. During this time a light rain was falling and the sun had disappeared or rather set. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) heard their pleas and returned. Al-Hājj Muḥammad b. Farhūn advised the Sultan to go with him to the Qaşba of the Sharāqa which was at that time inhabited by the Ahl Sūs.¹⁰ He went with him, although with some misgivings, to his palace for at the moment it was a necessity. No sooner was he installed in the house of Ibn Farhūn than the Maghāfra, the Wudāyā, and the Ahl Sūs gathered around it. The Maghāfra were disrespectful and even decided upon killing him, but the Most High God protected him from their evil and caused disagreement to break out among them. The Ahl Sūs became excited and declared that the Sultan would pass the night nowhere but in his own house, so the Sultan rode out on his horse and they accompanied him that very night to his palace. Several days later, when the Wudāyā were inattentive, the Sultan betook himself to the garden of Abū al-Jalūd¹¹ outside of Fez al-Jadīd where the 'Abīd /35/ and other of his partisans joined him. Most of them stayed at Fez al-Qadīm whereas the Wudāyā remained alone at Fez al-Jadīd. The Sultan then sent for the 'Abīd of Meknes who responded to his call. When the Wudāyā learned of the Sultan's resolution to retire from their midst they thought ill of it for they knew that if the Sultan left it would not be without having chastised them. They pleaded with him to stay, excusing themselves and manifesting their repentance. But then the insolent ones went forth against the 'Abīd

and in the war which followed a number of men from both sides were killed.

The Sultan, afterwards, made peace between them and treated them kindly and then resolved to go to Meknes. He went forth with his effects, baggage, and fortune and took the road of Qabqab and the 'Aqbat al-Masājīn as if he were going to the region of Gharb. A great number of the notables of the Wudāyā went out to escort him; then, changing their minds, they retraced their steps. It is said they had heard some unpleasant words from the 'Abīd. They grouped themselves together and fell upon the 'Abīd, separated them from the Sultan, and plundered their goods and baggage. Some of them escorted the women to the palace under their protection: they could have done no better act. As for the goods and money, which were of great quantity, they were plundered. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) continued on his way but was followed by an impudent fellow from the Wudāyā who wished to assassinate him. However, God protected the Sultan from him and hence he (May God have mercy upon him!) arrived safely at Meknes and fixed his residence there.

News of this event reached Qā'id Idrīs b. Hummān al-Jarrārī, who was then imprisoned at Taza. He used a ruse to obtain his freedom by forging a letter in the Sultan's name and sending it to the governor of Taza who thereupon set him free. For the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had sent four pieces of paper bearing the great imperial seal to the aforementioned Qā'id Idrīs when this Qā'id was at Tlemcen, ordering him to carefully save them and to use them only for matters of the utmost importance concerning above all the Sultan and his government, when, owing to the distance separating Tlemcen from Fez, he would not have time

for instructions. Qā'id Idrīs took one of the papers and wrote upon it the order for his release, and thus escaping, went immediately to Fez. As soon as he arrived there he wrote to the Sultan informing him of what he had done and assuring him of his loyalty and that he was still prepared to offer good advice to both the Sultan and the Jaish.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) answered him thus:

We have received your letter and have acquainted ourselves with its contents. Praise be to God that you are safe! We /36/ had sent someone to release you for we realized that you had been compelled against your will to commit those acts and that therefore you were not responsible. On the contrary it was on account of your intelligence that you helped the plunderers for had you held them back there would have only resulted there a greater trouble. Hence you enjoy our trust for the present as well as for the future. You need never fear anything for you are among those known for their piety, intelligence, and sincerity. We have seen and heard of the diabolical disturbances wrought by our brethren. It is not fitting that we treat them as we treated those among them who are of no intelligence, for if we treated them thus then should we never more meet. Do all in your power for good and reconciliation and convey to them the assurance, from our part, that they have nothing to fear from us, for their courage is more deserving than the reconciliation of the tribes. Thus persevere seriously for "if through you God guides one man aright then is it better for you than all upon which the sun rises". Peace.

17 Muharram, 1247 (June 29, 1831).

Qā'id Idrīs took good care of the Sultan's Harim which had stayed in Fez al-Jadīd and among whom was his favorite concubine Mūlāt Faṭīma, daughter of Mūlāi Sulaimān. Qā'id Idrīs went to the Amīn who had previously been in charge of dispensation of food and said to him: "Write for me the value of the meat, flour, fat, etc. which you had sent to the Sultan's palace each day and (continue) to send it there." The Amīn prepared the invoice and sent it to him and thereafter sent each day the equivalent to the Sultan's palace. One day the water to the Sultan's palace was cut and Qā'id Idrīs had water brought everyday, the canals repaired and continued seriously in this manner until the water returned to its course.

Shortly thereafter the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) convoked all the Arab tribes: those of Hawz, Gharb, the ports, and the frontier posts; and all without exception arrived at Meknes. The Wudāyā heard of this and sent for the Sharīf Sidi Muhammad b. al-Ṭaiyib from one of the provinces, gathered around him and swore loyalty to him. But then the neighboring tribes that had promised to assist them abandoned them, for the tribes had resented this Sidi Muhammad b. al-Ṭaiyib since the days of his administration of Tāmasnā and Dukkāla because of his acts against their inhabitants for which he was universally hated.

The Sultan marched to Fez al-Jadīd and besieged them with cannons and mortars, firing upon them from the Mahalla of the Sultan at 'Ain Qadūs,¹² /37/ the Bastion of Abū Jalūd,¹³ the Bastion of Bāb al-Jīsa,¹⁴ and the Bastion of Bab al-Futūh.¹⁵ The siege continued for forty days. The Wudāyā responded by firing shells and bombs. The Banū Hasan played a

brave role in the battle. The Sultan then decided to wall them in and he sent for carpenters who set to work but the Wudāyā, weary of war, sued for peace. They used as their intermediary with the Sultan the Amin al-Ḥājj al-Ṭālib b. Jallūn al-Fāsī, and he (the Sultan) granted them security on the condition they leave Fez al-Jadīd. They submitted and sent as intercessors their old men and youths bearing platters upon their heads and among whom was their Sultan Ibn al-Ṭaiyib. He pardoned them all (May God have mercy upon him!) and among other things said to them: "Praise be to God that neither you nor I were victorious, for had I won I could not have prevented my army from massacring your children, and had you won you would have done all in your power to harm me. This is God's clemency to me and to you."

These words are an indication of the great intelligence of the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) and of his generosity and goodness. The Sultan, when he resolved to go to Meknes, appointed Qā'id Idrīs b. Hummān al-Jarrārī over the entire Jaish of the Wudāyā. This was on the 21st of Jumāda II, 1247 (November 28, 1831). Thereafter he went to Meknes where he established his residence and when the feast of al-Fiṭr drew nigh delegations came to the Sultan there. As calm was reestablished the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) wrote to Qā'id Idrīs to take part in the feast along with an abundant group of his brethren, about 500. They arrived and went into the Sultan's presence one evening in the mashwar. He reprimanded them to such an extent that the people thought he was going to have them seized but then he dismissed them whereupon they returned to Fez al-Jadīd. When the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) decided to return to Marrakesh he made his way first to Fez and encamped outside the

city for the purpose of looking into the affairs of its tribes, army, and his subjects. He then continued to Marrakesh.

One or two days after his departure from Fez he wrote to Qā'id Idrīs to send him Tāhir b. Mas'ūd and al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Tāhir to accompany him to Marrakesh, there to serve under his son and Khalīfa Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman.¹⁶ The two went off freely upon their horses but in fear of the Sultan on account of their terrible deeds which had been the cause of that great /38/ revolt. They went to Marrakesh and entered into the service of the Khalīfa.

And so came to an end this year during which the Sultan had dismissed his Wazir Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Idrīs, had him tortured, and later reinstated as Wazir. During the period of his dismissal the Sultan had appointed in his place the learned man of letters, the distinguished Faqīh, Saiyid b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Jāma'i¹⁷ who diligently carried out his duties (May God have mercy upon him!). Also during this period the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had constructed the great Maristan over the tomb of the Friend of the Most High God Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Ashir¹⁸ in Sale. There had previously been over the grave only the tomb and Mosque but the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) desired there to also be a Maristan. He had a second mosque and nearly twenty houses for the sick built and had water channeled there. He constructed an absolution chamber in front of the Mosque for the men and a second one for the women to the east of it. This was a noble act and God has written its recompense upon the Sultan's page. Then began the year 1248 (1832-1833) and during the month of Safar (July 1832) Qā'id Idrīs received a letter from the Sultan, who was at this time in Rabat, ordering him to send there Al-Hājj

Muhammad b. Farhūn al-Jarrārī. He arrived free but was arrested and sent to Mogador. Shortly thereafter the Sultan received a letter from his son, Sidi Muhammad, informing him that he had arrested al-Tāhir b. Mas'ūd and al-Hājj Muhammad b. Tāhir because they had persisted in their evil ways and diabolical acts until they had finally resolved upon assassinating him in the Maṣalla¹⁹ on the feast of al-Adha²⁰ of the preceding year. But God had protected him from them. When the Sultan arrived at Marrakesh he wrote to Qā'id Idrīs to arrest the leaders of the revolt one by one until most of them were imprisoned. Qā'id Idrīs during this period sensed that the anger of the Sultan with the Wudāyā had not abated and he prevailed upon him to reveal all that he held against them, what he wanted from them, and what they could do to satisfy him and to appease his anger. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) wrote him a letter in which, after the salutation and the Sharifian Seal, he revealed his desires in the text saying:

Our uncle with whom we are satisfied, Qā'id Idrīs al-Jarrārī. May Peace be upon thee as well as the blessing of the Most High God. You have demanded from us both orally and in writing an explanation of our desires /39/ and information of our intentions towards the Jaish and what they might do to please us. Regarding this we have given you a reserved answer because at the time we did not have complete confidence in your intentions and it appeared to us that your questions were inspired by your desire to have an insight into our orders. But now your sincerity, great devotion, and pure intentions have become clear and hence we consider you as one of our own children.

"One can be sure of nothing, if the day needs a guide." As a consequence you are the most worthy to know our secret thoughts and we shall hide nothing of our secret projects from you. Know (May God guide you!) that those we have combated in word and deed include all of the Maghāfra of that Jaish, with no distinctions made between the great or the humble, the strong or the weak. There is not to be found among them a single honest man and if the Wudāyā and the Ahl Sūs had come to their aid they would have succeeded in taking our life as they willed. But God has preserved us. What they merit for that according to law and custom is not hidden from anyone, but because of their former services and in consideration of our just anger, we have meted out only the lightest of punishments which the edicts of the Most High God would allow to their like. God has said (His Majesty be praised!): "Punish those who war against God and his Prophet and who strive to spread corruption upon the earth." We have sworn upon God and upon His angels to have no part of Fez al-Jadīd as long as the Maghāfra are within. This is the truth honestly expressed. And now explain to us how we should act, what we should do now, and what we should postpone until later, for we desire to settle this matter without causing difficulties or disgrace to the Jaish. Should we divulge this or keep it secret? In the case of their compliance indicate to us that part of our Kingdom to which they should be transported, Rabat or other parts such as the Qasba of Marrakesh.²¹ At any rate we cannot pardon them all, rather do we wish to

chastise them and inflict upon them at least a part of God's justice. Thus shall we have tranquility and calm and acquit ourselves of our oath, for a believer does not let himself be struck twice with the same stone.

You remind us of our pledge to honor you and it was a sincere promise and left no room for doubt (If God wills!). And do you not merit all our favors? For your intelligence and faithfulness has led you to the highest place. Had we found your like in the Jaish we would have had the greatest confidence in him, and would have done all necessary on his behalf. In brief you requested to occupy the place which Qā'id Qaddūr b. al-Khadir²² occupied under our great ancestor (May God have mercy upon him!). But you already occupy a higher position under us than he did, and the influence you have with us /40/ is greater and more appreciated than that which he enjoyed under our ancestor (May God make him a saint!), for he was rewarded only for his faithfulness. You, however, his equal in this virtue, surpass his in something more important, namely your kindness towards our wives and children who, without you, would have perished of hunger. Only a vile person would belie this good deed (May God keep us from such a thought!). Rejoice therefore and be glad, for your rank and situation in our eyes are such that if you realized its extent you would be filled with joy and happiness, as you shall see if the "dust clears". Our family does not cease from mentioning your kindness to them in the capital and reciting prayers on your behalf in our

presence. In the Hadith is mentioned a woman of the Banū Isra'il, who, upon seeing a dog licking the mud because of the acuteness of his thirst, gave him to drink whereupon God forgave her her sins. What has He then in store for one who did good to many who had hope only in God? May God never desert you.

Peace.

18 Glorious Ramadān, 1248 (February 9, 1833).

Then the Most High God made clear his orders concerning the Wudāyā to the Sultan and inspired him with the right course to take regarding them. First he ordered the transfer of the Raha²³ of the Maghāfra to the Qaṣba al-Sharrādī in the region of Marrakesh. The people thought that he would limit himself to this because he (May God have mercy upon him!) had let it be believed that he desired only the transfer of the Maghāfra. But then he transferred the Raha of the Wudāyā to Larache and its environs and then sent them to Jabal Salafat. Shortly thereafter he transferred the Raha of the Ahl Sūs to Rabat: their men to camp at Al-Mansūriya²⁴ on the banks of the Wādī al-Nafīfikh²⁵ while their Qā'ids and leaders were to stay in the Qaṣba of Rabat. They were to move their camp after a period of six years to the Qaṣba of Tamāra²⁶ near Rabat, but as it was in ruins, the Sultan, after two or three years, ordered its reconstruction and improvement. He (May God have mercy upon him!) brought to a term their influence in the army and for several years paid them no heed but later, towards the year 1260 (1834-1835), reinstated them as we shall later relate.

After the Sultan had completely evacuated the Jaish of al-Wudāyā from

Fez al-Jadīd he went again to Marrakesh and sent for Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd and Al-Ḥājj Muhammad b. al-Ṭāhir and had them imprisoned there for a time. Then the 'Ārifā²⁷ of the palace was sent with a letter from the Sultan to his son Sidi Muhammad in Fez with orders to execute Al-Ṭāhir and Ibn al-Ṭāhir at the very spot where the former had freed the latter. They were sent out to that place and when the Wasīf, Qā'id Farjī²⁸ arrived, Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd was brought forward and his skull crushed with a shell. /41/ Then Al-Ḥājj Muhammad b. al-Ṭāhir was brought forward to meet with the same fate as his friend. It is said that he died before being executed for no blood gushed forth from his body. As for Al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd he bled profusely and Sidi Muhammad, the son of the Sultan, ordered that he be buried. As for Ibn al-Ṭāhir, he was cast upon the bier and devoured by dogs until only his shackled feet remained. This was in the year 1250 (1835). As for Ibn Farhūn and his companions, they remained in the prison of Al-Jazīra until they perished.

Know that in this terrible battle there is an indication of the Sultan's perfect intelligence and the abundance of his clemency and generosity for he inflicted upon these people who had deeply wronged him only the least of the punishment they deserved, as he himself said and as you have seen and learned. I ask God (Be He praised!) to bless us and all Muslims with His grace, to protect us from evil and to grant us peace upon this earth and paradise in the afterlife. Truly He is capable of this and of answering our prayers.

NOTES

1. Local pronunciation is "Gīsh". The Jaish in Morocco was an irregular military contingent which took up arms only in the case of an expedition.
2. Muharram - The first month.
3. Al-Tāhir b. Mas'ūd al-Maghāfrī al-Hassānī had taken part in Mūlāi Sulaimān's disastrous attack on the Sharārda in 1820. Al-Nāṣirī 8, p. 161.
4. Al-Hājj Muḥammad b. al-Tāhir al-Maghāfrī al-'Aqīlī had, along with Al-Tāhir b. Mas'ūd, been with Mūlāi Sulaimān during his expedition against the Qaṣba of the Sharārda.
5. 'Unq al-Jamal, the "neck of the camel," is a common name for passes in North Africa.
6. Al-Taiyib al-Wadīnī al-Bukhārī was later to be sent by Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman to Rabat as Qā'id of that city only to be chased away by its inhabitants.
7. Tārudānt, in the Sūs, had been the capital of Muḥammad al-Shaikh, founder of the Sa'dian Dynasty, from 1520 to 1540. When Sidi Muḥammad closed Agadir to maritime commerce in 1765 it brought about a rapid decline in Tārudānt and Jackson estimated its population as only 25,000. Jackson, p. 88.
8. Dār al-Dabibagh (The house of the little tanner) is a qasba three kilometers Southwest of Fez. It includes a palace and mosque constructed in 1729 by Mūlāi 'Abd Allāh.
9. The Maghāfra tribe, of the Ma'qil tribal confederation, was incorporated into the Jaish by Mūlāi Ismā'il. The mother of Ismā'il had been from this tribe and he hastened to strengthen his ties with the tribe by marrying a Maghāfra woman in 1678. Terrasse 2, p. 255.
10. The Ahl Sūs are composed of the Wulād Jarrār, Wulād Mata', Zirāra and al-Shabānāt tribes (Ma'qil) and formerly had been the Army of the Sa'dians.
11. The Gardens of Abū al-Jalūd are in front of the Palace of Dar al-Baidā in Fez.
12. 'Ain Qadūs is a spring just West of Fez on the road to Meknes.

13. The Gardens of Abū Jalūd were situated between Fez al-Bali and Fez al-Jadīd and were adjacent to the Sultan's palace. I could find no reference to a fort in the gardens.
14. Bāb al-Jīsa was constructed in 1204 under the Almohades. It was the gate for Wazzān.
15. Bāb al-Futūh was the exit for Taza. The gate was reconstructed by Sidi Muhammad.
16. Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman was Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman's oldest son. He became Sultan at his father's death in 1859 and reigned until 1873.
17. Saiyid al-Mukhtār b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Jāma'i died in Marrakesh in May, 1835. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Hāhī al-Naknāfi followed him as Wazir.
18. Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Āshir was a Moroccan asthetic who lived in the 14th century. His tomb in Sale is still the object of pilgrimages and he is reputed to be able to cure mental diseases.
19. Maṣalla - The maṣalla is the place where the salāt is performed on special occasions, in Morocco on the feast of al-adha. It is a large space surrounded by a wall with a mihrab and provided with an elevated space for the khātib.
20. The Feast of al-adha, often referred to as the 'īd al-kabīr' in Morocco, is celebrated on the 10th of dhu al-hijja. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 94.
21. The Qaṣba of Marrakesh was built by Yaqūb al-Mansūr (1189-97) just outside the southern wall of the city. The Qaṣba was in such a state of ruin in 1746, when Sidi Muhammad became governor of that city, that he had to live in a tent until repairs could be made. EI 3, p. 304.
22. Sidi Muhammad had put down a revolt of the Wudāyā in Fez at the beginning of his reign and, after having taken many of them prisoner, later released 1,000 of the least guilty to form a Raha which was then sent to Meknes. The Sultan appointed as their Qa'id Qaddūr b. al-Khadir, the youngest of the liberated Wudaya, because of his "loyalty and intelligence". Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 15-16.
23. A "raha" was a force of 500 to 1,000 men. Terrasse 2, p. 350.
24. Al-Mansūrīya was built near the mouth of the Wadi Sir at the end of the 12th century by Yaqūb al-Mansūr. When the Portuguese appeared before Anfa in 1468 most of the population of Al-Mansūrīya fled to Rabat and in the 19th century it was a ghost town. LM, p. 230.

25. The Nafīfikh River flows into the Atlantic at Fedala, 61 kilometers S. of Rabat.
26. The Qasba of Tamāra, of unknown origin, contains a mosque which was enlarged and renovated by Mūlāi 'Abd al-'Azīz around 1900. It is located 14 kilometers S. of Rabat.
27. It was the 'Ārifa's (wise woman) main duty to prepare the Sultan's concubines before they went into his presence. Apart from this she fulfilled many sundry duties in the palace. ME, p. 203.
28. Farjī, when still a child, had accompanied his master Mūlāi Sulaimān on his expedition against the Qasba of the Sharārda. He later became Pasha of Fez. Al-Nāsiri 8, p. 162.

CHAPTER XIV

THE APPEARANCE OF AL-HĀJJ 'ABD AL-QĀDIR

B. MUHYĪ AL-DĪN AL-MUKHTĀRĪ¹ IN THE CENTRAL MAGHRIB

AND THE BEGINNING OF HIS STORY

/41/ When the Sultan's Army returned from Tlemcen with Mūlāi 'Alī b. Sulaimān, as has been related, a state of anarchy prevailed in that city and war again broke out between the Hadar² and the Kurghaliya while insurrections broke out among the Arab tribes of the region and thus the situation became confused.

The Faqīh Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mukhtārī,³ a Murābit of famous ancestors in this region, was settled in the midst of the camp of Al-Hasham with the Mushāshīl faction. He was engaged in doing good and in instructing science ('ilm)⁴ and for this purpose had founded a Zāwiya for students of the sciences and recitation of the Quran and thus became famous among these tribes who believed in him. And when the enemy fell upon the people of this region and insurrections broke out among them, the Hasham and some of the Banū 'Āmar⁵ gathered together to deliberate on the evils which had befallen them. They agreed upon striking the Bai'a of Sheikh Muhyī al-Dīn and went to him to make /42/ their plans known to him. However he refused to accept leadership, mentioning his piety and excusing himself by saying that he was already old, no longer good for anything and that he could die any day. But as they insisted and pleaded with him he recommended his son to them, Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhyī al-Dīn. He

had at that time several children and while Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir was neither the oldest, wisest, nor most virtuous he was, however, the most courageous and determined. They acquiesced to his suggestion on the condition that he would guide his son and give him the necessary advice. When this was settled, Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir gathered together a regiment of the Banū 'Āmar and the Hasham and marched against Oran, which had been taken by the Christians six or seven months earlier. They attacked the Christians violently, killing some and taking others prisoner, and, completely crushing them, returned victorious and triumphant. The tribesmen drew a good omen from this victory and loved him and thus was his prestige among them greatly strengthened and, there being no objection, he formed an army composed of the Banū 'Āmar and the Hasham.

When the people of Tlemcen who were more than ever in need of a leader heard of this victory they sent a delegation to him informing him of their Bai'a to Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman, ruler of Marrakesh and Fez, but said that they would like to recognize him and be under him as well. Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir answered them saying that he would accept their Bai'a although he was manifesting his obedience to Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman and having his name mentioned in the Khutba⁶ from the pulpits of Tlemcen and its vicinity. He appointed his Wazir, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Būhamidī al-Walhāṣī⁷ over Tlemcen and its environs and wrote to the Sultan informing him that he was one of his servants and a Qā'id in his Army. Hence the position of Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir prospered and became strong in the region of Tlemcen. However, the tribes of al-Zamāla and al-Dawā'ir, which we have already mentioned, turned from Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir for several reasons, one of them being that they were at enmity with the

Ḥasham and when Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir made use of this tribe and made them his soldiers the hostility of the Zamāla and Dawā'ir increased and they turned against him. They went to Oran and declared their submission to the French who accepted them and took them under their protection. This was to be the cause of terrible wars between the French and Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir.

The Amin, Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Ḥājj Ahmad al-Razīnī al-Tattāwanī,⁸ related to me the following tale:

I went to the city of Oran in the year 1347 (1831-32), shortly after the French occupied it, for the purpose of commerce. I was at that time /43/ a mere youth with my cheeks just beginning to show a trace of beard. I had lived there for a short period when Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Maḥyī al-Dīn concluded a truce with the French governor of Oran and Algiers. Both of them had established in the others territory their consuls and merchants as is customary during a truce. One day news came that the tribes of al-Zamāla and al-Dawā'ir, numbering approximately two thousand men from the province of Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir, had fled from him and encamped around the city of Oran asking protection from the French. They had already raised their flag and announced that they were under their authority and numbered among their subjects. The French sent word to them saying that they had been accepted and that no harm would befall them.

The next day Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir sent a letter to the French with an important member of his government, Al-Ḥājj al-Ḥabīb

Walad al-Muhr al-Ma'askarī,⁹ in which he said: "You know that these tribes which have fled to you are my subjects and from my province. You must return them to me or there shall be war between us." The French refused to return them and by so doing chose war. Both sides agreed to release the merchants established in their territory within a three-day period. They also agreed that the consuls would be the last to leave the other's territory and that only at a certain hour of the night so as to meet on the border between Muslim and Christian territory. This was done and both the consuls escaped to safety. When this period had passed they marched against each other to do battle on an appointed day and a war ensued between them that would cause an infant's hair to become white. Towards evening the people within the city walls heard an uproar, a great din and many shots. It was Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir who was inflicting a terrible defeat upon the unbelievers. They had sought refuge at the walls of the city and swarmed, one upon the other, about its gates. The cavalry came from their rear and rode over them crushing them under their horses. Nearly 4,000 Frenchmen met death in that throng not counting those who died outside the city: victims of bullets, shells, bayonets, and lances. The Muslims captured the Christians' camp with their cannons, carriages, tents, and goods.

Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm went on:

At this time I was living in the same house as one of the important French officers. /44/ Two or three days after the battle

I asked him how many men he estimated had perished during the battle. "Do you want an approximate answer or a large estimate?", he replied. When I replied that I wanted only an approximate answer he said: "I am a superior officer in charge of 1,800 men but now, after that battle, I have only eighteen men left."

Thus ends this report.

The Zamāla and the Dawā'ir continued to serve the French and carried out their orders. They chose as their leader a man called Mustafā b. Isma'il,¹⁰ who became the main cause of the French occupation of the Central Maghrib as well as for most of the wars which took place between Muslims and Christians during this period, until he was killed towards the middle of the year 1259 (1843). May God redouble His anger and vengeance against him!

When Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) heard of how Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir was fighting a Holy War against the enemies of the Religion and protecting the independence of Muslims he admired his conduct and his opinion of him was greatly raised, for he saw in him a champion of Islam at a time when the Religion was without defenders. Time after time the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) sent him arms, horses, and money by means of the Amin Al-Hājj al-Taiyib b. Jallūn al-Fāsī and others. The war between him and the French continued for a long time. During one of the attacks the French seized Tlemcen but Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir besieged them there and drove them out of that city only for them to retake it after violent attacks and difficult sieges. The purpose of the struggle for Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir with the French was to

kill and to plunder whereas for the French it was to harm the Muslims so as to take possession of their country and to progressively diminish it in size. And so it continued for sixteen years.

In short Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir was irreproachable at the beginning in his perseverance in the Holy War and in his warding off of the enemy but then his ambitions evolved in another direction and the region remained in French hands. God causes his orders to be victorious!

In the year 1250 (1834-1835) the author of this book was born, Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī. My mother, the lady Faṭīma, daughter of the Faqīh al-Saiyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Zarrūq al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī al-Jabbārī, told me that I was born /45/ at dawn on Saturday, 22 Dhū al-Hijja¹¹ of this year (April 20, 1835). In the month of Muḥarram 1251 (May 1835) the famous Wazir, al-Saiyid al-Mukhtār b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Jāma'i died in Marrakesh. After him the Sultan appointed as Wazir for a short time the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hāhī al-Naknāfī.¹² He was then dismissed and replaced by the former Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs. May God have mercy upon them all! During this year there was an epidemic in the Maghrib characterized by diarrhea, vomiting, hollowness of the eyes, and coldness of the limbs.

In the year 1252 (1837) the 'Ulamā' of Fez received the following questionnaire from Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥyī al-Dīn:

Praise be to God! Our learned masters, guides of the straight way and lamps burning in the shadows, the Faqīhs of the Idrisian capital, the goal of demands and stopping place of thoroughbred camels, doctors of the medicine of religion, who cause it to triumph and stamp out injustice and resolve difficult questions

even be they empty or sterile.

What is your answer (May God preserve you!) to the grave and cruelly saddening questions of Algeria, now divided into islands in the cribble of the unbelievers? The infidel enemy who wishes to become masters of Muslims, enslaving them by the sword or by the stratagems of their politicians. There are Muslims who assist them, swear fidelity to them and provide them with horses. These do not fail to show them the faults of the Muslims. And there are Arabs in the region who follow their example and who aid each other to deny and abjure their faith. What is God's judgment concerning these persons and their property? Should they be chastised or allowed to remain in their present state? And what is the judgment concerning those who refuse to defend women and children when the deputy of the Imam calls upon them to repel and combat the enemy? Should they be punished? And what sort of punishment should they receive when it is impossible to kill them? Should one take their wealth and their goods? How should one treat those who refuse to pay the Zakāt either in part or wholly when one is certain that they are able to pay it? Should one consider them as sincere in these days of little faith or should one wait to make the necessary effort? And how is one to support the army which defends Muslims and protects their cities against aggressors when there are no funds and the returns of the Zakāt, far from providing them with uniforms, arms, /46/ horses, and provisions, cannot even feed them. Must we abandon the fight

and let the infidel seize the fatherland or is what the army needs to be gotten from the community of Muslims? If it is to be thus then should we tax the entire population or only the rich? However, it is not possible to tax only the rich because of the vulgarity and ignorance of the Arabs. Should those who refuse to contribute be considered as criminals and if so what measures should be taken concerning the goods of these criminals? And is it permitted to take their goods? Answer our questions as well as those we have forgotten to ask but which the situation demands. Cure our evils (May God preserve you!) for these matters have diminished our forces and it lacks only for the one who commands the Muslims to abandon the power and to throw off the mantle of authority and its cuirass for various reasons.

Peace!

19 Dhū al-Hijja, 1252 (March 28, 1837).

Sent by order of Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Mahyī al-Dīn (May God preserve him!).

By the Sultan's order this questionnaire was answered by the learned Faqīh Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Salām Madīdash al-Tasūlī,¹³ in a very long response comprising five or more pamphlets which are found in the hands of the people. Because of like letters which the Sultan received from Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir he (May God have mercy upon him!) made a great effort to provide him with horses, arms, and goods. But only what God wills comes to pass!

On the afternoon of Saturday, 20 Rabī' I of the year 1253 (June 25, 1837),

the learned Faqīh well-versed in the Hadith, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad b. al-Hājj al-Malki al-Sadrātī al-Salāwī¹⁴ died. He was buried Monday morning on the plain near the tomb of the friend of the Most High God Sidi al-Hājj Ahmad b. 'Ashir. A great crowd was present at his funeral over which presided the learned Faqīh, the Qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Hāshimī Tūbī. The Faqīh Abū al-'Abbās was the author of a commentary on the Muwatta'¹⁵ of the Imam Malik (May God be pleased with him!) and which is found in all hands.

On the morning of Friday, 26 Ramadan 1254 (December 14, 1838) died the learned Faqīh, the Qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh Tūbī who was mentioned above. He (May God have mercy upon him!) was an honest Qādī and a well-versed man in the science of casuistry and jurisprudence. He is praised for his calm and dignified character.

/47/ In the year 1256, on the 7th of Jumāda I (July 7, 1841), the minaret of the Great Mosque at Sale¹⁶ was completed. The former minaret had been struck by lightning and its supports were threatened with ruin. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) ordered its destruction and then its reconstruction. Hence a new minaret was erected, more beautiful and larger than the former. They paid for it a sum of 3,424 mithqāls and 6-1/3 waqiyās, provided in part by the Umanā'¹⁷ of the port of al-'Adwatain (Sale and Rabat). The Riyāl at that time was worth 16 waqiyās. The larger part of the expense was paid by the treasury and a smaller part from the Habus¹⁸ fund. The administrator of this construction was the governor of Sale, the excellent Saiyid al-Hājj Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Hāshimī 'Awwād. In the year 1258 (1842) died the learned Faqīh, the brilliant verifier Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Tasūlī known as Madīdash, the author

of the great commentary on the Tahfa of Ibn 'Āsim¹⁹ on jurisprudence, a commentary on al-Shāmil, and marginal notes on Al-Hāshīya al-zaqāqiya²⁰ and other great works. May God cause us to profit from him!

In the middle of the year 1259 (1843) Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) raided the tribe of the Zammūr al-Shaluh,²¹ which had exceeded all limits in their excesses and in the terror which they had spread among the servants of God in the region. The Sultan completely crushed them!

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) wrote the following letter, revised by his Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, to his son and lieutenant Sidi Muhammad concerning this.

To our satisfying, pious, and just son, Sidi Muhammad
(May God make him perfect!).

Peace by upon you and the mercy and benediction of the Most
High God!

It had been our desire to spare the tribe of Zammūr by mercy and compassion and to lead them in the straight path by causing them to fear our severity in diverse matters and by treating them kindly. But God did not wish them well because of their perverse plots and evil sentiments and their confidence in their own power and might. The kinder we were the more corrupt and obstinate they became. If we gave them exhortations and guidance they manifested only arrogance and insubordination. When we delayed the departure of the victorious Mahalla against them so as to spare and convince them, they considered it weakness and their amazement blinded and deafened them. They did

not realize that God had already caused those before them to perish, /48/ those who surpassed them in force and in numbers.

"If you do good to a generous heart; you shall win it. If you do good to a perverse heart; it will revolt."

"To use generosity when you should use the sword is as wrong as using the sword when you should use generosity."

And when we saw that they persisted in their evil blindness and that they did not turn from their passion, in spite of the distance of their region, in spite of the evil wrought by the revolt upon them and their children, and in spite of the plunder of their crops, both harvested and unharvested and what had been taken from their provisions, we decided it was legal to combat them and that to lead a Holy War against them was to defend and protect the Religion. We relied upon the countenance and strength of God and ordered that their goods be seized and that they be harassed with a great vigor, plundered and burned with the utmost violence, and to block them in their mountain fastness and force them into their eagle nests, for prolonged action is more effective than a brief assault. Therefore, successive campaigns were directed against them and they were inflicted with continued losses until they no longer knew where to find haven. Wherever they were found they were taken and put to death and every day our lances gathered the heads of their chiefs and death struck those

responsible for their distress. The more they were searched out the more they retreated into the mountains, fleeing until the war consumed them and the powder and shot bit strongly into them. Their cattle and their money was lost and evil struck their children and women so that they went round to the neighboring tribes seeking the aid of their allies and their friends. Their misery reached its depths and God revealed to them the meaning of his verse. And during all this time, at every moment, they were asking pardon! They asked that their repentance be accepted and they gave testimony by their modesty. But we answered by a categorical refusal for we wished to settle the matter on a serious basis and to punish them for the violation of their engagements and duties. And when domination had settled their promise and when punishment had attained its extreme degree only then did we answer their offense with kindness and have regard for the unfortunates, the women, and the children. We appointed over them three governors taken from the tribes and we imposed upon them a contribution of 50,000 mithqāls. Furthermore we obliged them to furnish a contingent of 200 men as a Harka, as all subdued tribes, and to pledge themselves to act correctly and to serve well. This they executed to perfection and presented the money payment after several days. We accorded them the pardon of triumph and force. Often punishment precedes a sincere submission and a sincere repentance repairs past faults and losses.

There are people /49/ who must be treated severely to be good. Your Lord creates what he will and does what he pleases!

"Atīya came not back of her own accord; rather was it force which set her on the right path. We wanted to spare her but her infatuation increased so strictness, violence, and captivity corrected her."

Had they joined good deeds and gratefulness they would not have perished. If God wants a people to suffer evil no one can prevent it for only He is their protector!

Peace!

First sacred month of Rajab,²² 1259 (July 28, 1843). (End Sharifian letter.)

NOTES

1. Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhyī al-Dīn al-Mukhtārī was born in 1808 near Mascara where his family had lived since the 18th century. He accompanied his father to Arabia (1827-1829) and upon his return lived in retirement until 1832 when he was proclaimed Sultan. He became the symbol of Muslim resistance to France until his surrender to the French on December 23, 1847. EI 2, pp. 43-45.
2. The haḡar was the pure Berber element of the population.
3. Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mukhtār had been arrested by Hasan Bey of Oran for being the leader of the malcontents in the North of that province but nevertheless had obtained permission to travel to Arabia (1827-1829) with his son 'Abd al-Qādir. He was respected as a holy and learned man. EI 1, p. 43.
4. 'Ilm (plur. 'ulūm), the "Arab sciences," included exegesis of the Quran (tafsīr), tradition (hadīth), grammar (nahw), lexicography (luḡha), rhetoric (bayān) and literature (adab). Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 162.
5. The Banū 'Āmar was an Algerian tribe settled near the Moroccan border. In October 1846 large numbers of the Banū 'Āmar left Algeria for Morocco to join the troops of 'Abd al-Qādir but abandoned him the following April and made their way, with their families and flocks, to Fez where some were granted lands on the Wādī Sabu. However, the greater part of the tribe requested to return to Algeria. Caillé, p. 78.
6. The Khutba is the sermon given by the Khātīb during the Friday service. EI 2, p. 980.
7. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḡammad al-Būḡamīdī al-Walhāṣī was one of 'Abd al-Qādir's most active Khalīfas. In 1846 he began to reorganize troops near the Algerian border for raids into Algeria against the wishes of the Makhzen.
8. Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Ḥājj Aḡmad al-Razīnī al-Tattāwanī was a son of the principal administrator of customs at Tangier. Caillé, p. 48.
9. Al-Ḥājj al-Ḥabīb Walad al-Muḡr al-Ma'askarī, a close friend of 'Abd al-Qādir, was sent to Oran as his representative in August 1837. Cf. Emerit, p. 162.

10. Al-Mustafā b. Isma'īl, the leader of the Dawā'ir after they had joined forces with Bugeaud in Oran, was a main cause of concern to 'Abd al-Qādir who tried unsuccessfully to have him extradited. He was finally assassinated in 1843. Cf. Emerit, pp. 135-193.
11. The twelfth Arabic month.
12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Hāhī al-Naknāfī is not listed by Levi-Provençal as being one of 'Abd al-Rahman's Wazirs nor could I find any other reference to him in the Kitāb al-Istiḡsā.
13. Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Salām Madīdash al-Tasūlī died in 1258. Brockelmann S II, pp. 375-76.
14. Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b. al-Hājj al-Malki al-Sadrātī al-Salāwī is mentioned by Brockelmann but under the name "al-Sadrābī al-Salāwī". Brockelmann SI, p. 298.
15. Muwatta' of Imam Malik b. Anas al-Medina (713-795) was a partisan of the 'Alids. His Muwatta' is considered as the first great corpus of Muslim law. Nicholson, p. 337.
16. The Great Mosque of Salla (Sale) was constructed by Abu Yusuf (1163-1184).
17. Umanā' is plural of Amīn.
18. Hubus (sing. hubs, plur. ahbas), "endowments", is called in the East waqf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 143.
19. Tahfa al-hukkām fī al'uqūd wal-ahkām by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Āsim al-Maliki (1358-1426). Cf. Brockelmann II, p. 341.
20. Al-Shāmil fī al-fiqh and Al-Hāshīya al-zaqqāqiya by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Tujibi al-Zaqqāq (d. 1506). Cf. Brockelmann S II, p. 376.
21. The Zammūr al-Shaluḥ occupied, in the 19th century as they still do today, the territory between the Forest of Mamora in the N. and the Middle Atlas in the S. A powerful Berber confederation hostile to the Makhzen, they forced the Sultans to abandon the traditional North to South route between Fez and Marrakesh and obliged them to travel along the fortified coastal route.
22. Rajab - The seventh Arabic month.

CHAPTER XV

COLLAPSE OF THE TRUCE WITH THE FRENCH AND THE DEFEAT OF THE MUSLIMS AT ISLY¹ NEAR OUJDA; THE REASONS THEREOF

/49/ A truce had prevailed between the Sharifian Government and the French since the reign of the great Sultan Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh (May God have mercy upon him!). When trouble broke out between the Turks of Algeria and the French and the French seized their ports, the people of Tlemcen came to Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) desirous of pledging him their oath of fidelity and offering him their obedience. As we have seen he, after consideration and the advice of the 'Ulamā', accepted them. When the Army of the Sultan razed Tlemcen and the people of this region gathered under Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhyī al-Dīn, who was under the Sultan, he kept his word and was generous (to 'Abd al-Qādir) who violently opposed the French in this region. For him the purpose of the war was to kill and plunder; whereas for the French it was to gain land and to possess the country: there are great differences between these two views.

By the year 1259 (1843) the French had taken possession of all the Central Maghrib with Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir operating on the periphery, sometimes in the Sahara, sometimes in the territory of the Banū Yaznāsīn, and sometimes at Oujda and the Rif,² etc. It is said that in his campaigns he employed a large number of the Sultan's soldiers and subjects. The French

sent expeditions into the Sultan's territory (May God have mercy upon him!) and made war against the Banū Yaznāsin /50/ and upon Oujda and its environs time and again. Then they took Oujda by surprise and plundered the city and devastated the border. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) addressed a note to them concerning the violation of his territory. However, they replied that the truce had been broken by his supplying Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir with horses, arms, and money on several occasions; by the attacks of the Sultan's Army massed on the border; by the attacks of the Banū Yaznāsin with Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir; and other arguments which they put forward. The intentions of Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir relating to the Sultan and the Holy War had at this time become corrupt, for the Holy War was without fruitful results and he wanting independence, began to corrupt the tribes of that region. The Sultan ascertained this situation and as matters went from bad to worse, he (May God have mercy upon him!) declared war on the French. He notified the inhabitants of the border cities to be prepared and on their guard and to make ready for all eventualities. Then he placed his paternal cousin Mūlāi al-Ma'mūn b. al-Sharīf in command of a regiment of soldiers and sent them towards Oujda accompanied by the Faqīh Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Janāwī,³ one of the notables of Rabat. They had an encounter with the French outpost there after which the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) began preparations for the expedition with a complete thoroughness. He called together the soldiers, had the flags and standards taken, and convoked the tribes. The Wazir Ibn Idrīs wrote a poem about this to call the people of the Maghrib to war, to urge them to the Jihād, and awake their desire for it.⁴ This poem contained the famous verse of Ibn al-'Āsal.⁵

At this call approximately 3,000 horsemen gathered about the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!). /51/ They were well-armed and equipped, comprising regulars as well as tribesmen, but as the Wudāyā were out of favor with the Sultan they were ill-represented. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) appointed over these soldiers his son and Khalīfa Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman who went and established his camp at Wādī Isly in the environs of Oujda. Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir was still roaming about in this region with about 500 horsemen, all that remained of the troops of the Central Maghrib. His situation had begun to decline and he was no longer of any use there, for his former energy had become weakness and his party had lost heart because of the corruption of his intentions. He sought to corrupt the soldiers and subjects of the Sultan. When the Khalīfa Sidi Muhammad arrived at Wādī Isly and established his camp there, Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir came asking for an interview. The Khalīfa met him while on horseback. They spoke and among other things Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir said to him: "These rugs, goods, and things which you have brought here at the door of the enemy's army is an act without sense. Never forget that you must at no time place yourself in front of the enemy without having loaded and folded everything, leaving not a single tent on the terrain. If not, as soon as the enemy sees the tents, it will rush for them even if they must lose men by so doing."

He explained how he had fought them and he was right to speak thus; however, he produced no effect for their hearts were already spoiled. There is no force and no power but in God. It is said that one of the Khalīfa's entourage blamed 'Abd al-Qādir for having thus spoken in front of him (the Khalīfa) and before his advice had been asked, for Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir

returned and remained apart with his troops. During the night before the battle two Arabs of the region came to the camp and asked to see the Hājib,⁶ the Faqīh al-Saiyid al-Taiyib b. al-Yamānī,⁷ known as Abū 'Ishrīn. They went to him and said: "The enemy is preparing to surprise you tomorrow morning, if God will! Prepare yourselves for him and notify your commander." It is said that the Hājib replied, "The commander is sleeping now and it is not I who will wake him." Shortly thereafter four other men came with information about the enemy but with the same results as the first two.

When dawn came and the Khalīfa had said his morning prayers, ten horsemen, some say they were Arabs while others say they were a part of the /52/ Khalīfa's guard, came to announce that the enemy was advancing; they had left them as they were breaking camp. The Khalīfa (May God have mercy upon him!) gave the order to mount and to remain ready with no one staying in the Mahalla but the foot soldiers who amounted to less than 1,000 men. He sent the order to mount to the Banū Yaznāsīn who arrived on horseback by the thousands and who were almost as numerous as the Khalīfa's own troops. The cavalry, extending beyond eyesight and in battle formation, rode towards the enemy and with their standards waving overhead they were a surprising sight in their magnificent arrangement. In their midst rode the Khalīfa upon a white horse, he was dressed in a red cloak, and over his head was spread the parasol. His uniform and equipment distinguished him from the others. When the two Armies drew near to one another the cavalry rode out from the ranks as if to engage sooner in combat but the Khalīfa (May God have mercy upon him!) ordered a calm, dignified, and prudent advance. Then, when the two groups met and engaged in combat, the enemy observed the

Khalifa and directed their fire towards him several times until a bomb fell in front of his parasol bearer causing his horse to bolt and thus he almost fell. When the Khalifa saw this he changed his uniform, forsook the parasol, and had a bay horse brought to him. Thus he became anonymous. Up to this point the Muslims had brilliantly pushed back the enemy and inflicted heavy losses upon them. Their horses were frightened by the cannon fire, but they nevertheless plunged heedlessly into the enemy and held the line against them for about one hour. But when they looked in the Khalifa's direction and did not see him, because of his change of uniform, they became frightened and the alarmist among them cried out: "The Khalifa has perished." Disorder broke out in their ranks and the Sharārda rushed to the Mahalla and took possession of the tents which contained the treasure and, fighting with each other, plundered it. Those whose hearts were seized by fear followed them while the others slunk furtively away until the Army was defeated on every front. Some of the Khalifa's entourage came forward and said to him: "Oh our Lord the Army has fled and even now are they in the Mahalla where they are killing and robbing one another." "Glory be to God!", cried the Khalifa and turning he beheld the state of the Army and gave the order for retreat. Those who remained with him were defeated to the last man and were followed by the enemy who fired shells and bullets unceasingly after them. God fortified some of the artillery at the Mahalla but the river ran high and submerged the village. God's orders are carried out and as you have seen it was the Muslims who brought about their own defeat. When the enemy took possession of the Mahalla the marauders fled /53/ leaving it along with all its goods in the enemy's hands. It was a great disaster and a terrible calamity and such as the Sharifian

dynasty had never before suffered. This sad event took place at 10 P.M. on the 15th of Sha'bān in the year 1260 (August 13, 1844). As the defeated Jaish retreated they dispersed pell-mell and hunger and thirst caused many to perish. They were so fatigued that the women of the Angad Arabs plundered them at will. The Khalīfa reached Taza where he rested for four days to await the infantry and the remainder of the Jaish before proceeding to Fez.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) was at Rabat on his way to Fez from Marrakesh when he received word of this battle and he immediately departed for Fez. While on his way he learned of the two other battles,⁸ the French attacks upon Tangier and Mogador. They had fired upon these two cities thousands of bombs and shells with the attack on Mogador being especially serious. For the evil subjects of the city along with the neighboring Shiyādma when they saw the enemy taking the island and thinking that they would next take the city, began to plunder, first the Jews and then others. Things happened which I cannot mention. It was this which increased the anger and dejection of the Sultan and caused him to have a number of the Qā'ids of the Army taken and their beards cut off so as to punish them.

Manuel mentions this battle and claims that on that day the French force consisted of 10,000 soldiers, and their only purpose in the battle was to combat those who had been fighting them along the length of the country's border, for they were bound by treaty with the English not to take any of the territory of the Maghrib even if they fought and were victorious. This is the reason why, immediately after the defeat, they sent a messenger to Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman asking for peace. He, however, had shown no

sign of weakness and did not consider himself defeated and was seriously planning and regrouping his forces.

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) then concluded a truce with the French through the intermediary of the Faqīh Abū Salhām b. 'Alī Āzṭūt,⁹ the governor of Tangier and Larache. The treaty comprised eight articles, one of which stipulated that Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir be banished from this country because his presence there was a useless cause of difficulties between the two governments. The exigencies of the moment forced the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) to free Denmark and Sweden from the obligation of annual payment to the Sublime State of 25,000 Riyāls for the former and 20,000 Riyāls for the latter. /54/ He also abolished like obligations of various governments. All is in the hands of God! One asks not of Him what He does but rather are they asked!

In the year 1261 (1845) the coinage was inflated with the great Riyāl, (Dhū al-Madfa), at 16 Awqīyas; the small Riyāl, (the franc), at 15 Awqīyas; the Bundūqī at 30 Awqīyas; the small Dirham at 4 Muzunāt; and the great at 6 Muzunāt. Because of inflation the prices increased, whereupon the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) attempted to restrict their increase but without success. The cause for this (But God only knows the truth!) is that when he signed the peace treaty with the French and dismissed the obligation of tribute payed by foreign nations, the foreign merchants and travelers in the Maghrib's ports became more numerous and their relations and contacts with its people increased therewith. Their commerce in commodities, hitherto forbidden, was increased and hence a formerly closed door was opened for them. The effect of this was manifested in the money and commodities. As for their money it was more widespread and with a greater circulation

than the money of the Maghrib and it was inevitable that it should be preferred. The merchants valued it for its merits and for the profits which resulted from the difference in exchange rates and which the common people could not hope to receive. Hence the Muslim merchants followed their example.

As for the commodities, the Christian merchants sold them at a higher price than others, as far as it is proved. Then as the European countries progressed in civilization, organized themselves and attained a greater security and justice, our money and our prices continued to become proportionately more expensive in relation to the growth of relations and the extension of commerce. From God comes all assistance! During this year the people of Rabat revolted against their governor Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sūsī.¹⁰ The cause of this revolt was Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ṭāhir al-Zabdī,¹¹ one of the notables of Rabat, where his descendants are still to be found, who was often in the company of the governor and professed to be his loyal friend. It is said that one day he came to intercede with the governor on behalf of one of the townsmen but that his intercession was not accepted. Al-Zabdī was angered and saddened by this. The city folk were fed up with the rule of al-Sūsī and tired of obeying him for several causes which the subjects blamed on the governor. Al-Zabdī returned to his house and gathered together a group of the city notables whom he knew /55/ to be hostile to the governor. He gave them food and told them of his own hidden feelings towards the governor and, finding themselves in accord with him, they allied themselves and swore that he (Al-Sūsī) would remain their governor no longer. Thereupon they went to him and notified him of their decision and ordered him to remain

in his house. They agreed that Al-Zabdi was to take his place and to preside over the municipal administration. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) was in Fez when he received word of this and was greatly disturbed. He wrote them a letter of reproach and exhortation but they remained deaf to his entreaties and persisted in their evil attitudes. He then sent the Qā'id al-Ṭaiyib al-Wadīnī al-Bukhārī to govern them and to arrest the evildoers. He was received with insults and that very evening was chased from the city; whereupon he crossed over to Sale in a torrential rain and returned to the Sultan to inform him of what had taken place. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had recourse to a ruse and sent the Scribe, the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. al-Mukhtār al-Jāmi'i¹² to Rabat. When he arrived there he gathered together its notables and gave them the choice of who was to rule them. Their choice fell upon Al-Zabdi so the Sultan appointed him over them and he ruled admirably. After about six months the Sultan went to Rabat where he stayed long enough to find the leaders of the revolt. He had them arrested along with their leader Al-Zabdi and sent to Fez where they were imprisoned for a time but later released.

In 1262 (1845-1846) the Sultan departed from Fez at the same time that the Khalīfa left Marrakesh and they met at the ford of Abū al-'Awān¹³ in the Dukkāla where they celebrated the feast of the great Mulūd. Afterwards the Sultan continued on to Marrakesh while the Khalīfa made his way to Fez. Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs sent an ode to the Sultan on the occasion of this feast.

In 1263 (1846-1847) the great tower of Sale, known as Al-Ṣaqāla al-Jadīda,¹⁴ was completed. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had begun its

construction at the time of the breaking off of the truce with the French and during this period he had completed it in the most beautiful and perfect way.

NOTES

1. The battle of Isly was fought 8 kilometers west of Oujda on August 13, 1844. Bugeaud's forces numbered 10,500 while those of Sidi Muhammad numbered 30,000. As a result of this victory Bugeaud was granted the title of "Duc d'Isly". Terrasse 2, p. 323.
2. The Rif mountains, which run from Tetuan to Melilla, have always acted as an effective barrier between the Mediterranean world and Morocco. They are inhabited by Berbers. Cf. Terrasse I, p. 4.
3. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Janāwī was named Qā'id of Oujda at the beginning of 1844 then replaced by Ḥamīda b. 'Alī in July of that year and several days later arrested on the Sultan's orders. Caillé, p. 65.
4. Eight verses follow in text.
5. During the first half of the 13th century there took place a coptic renaissance in Egypt in which three brothers, the Awlād al-'Āssal were prominent. I could not identify the brother in question. EI 2, p. 364.
6. The hājib or chamberlain served as an intermediary between the prince and his subjects. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 110.
7. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭaiyib b. al-Yamānī (Abū Ishrīn) was first the tutor of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman's sons then Hājib and later Wazir of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman. He died on November 19, 1869 in Marrakesh and was buried in the Mausoleum of Sidi al-Ghazwānī. Levi-Provençal, p. 208.
8. The French fleet under the Prince of Joinville had previously debarked the Frenchmen from the Moroccan ports when Mūlāi Abd al-Raḥman declared the Holy War. France decided upon energetic action and on August 6, 1844 bombarded Tangier then, on August 15, 1844, Mogador. French forces occupied the island of Mogador. Terrasse 2, p. 322.
9. Abū Salḥām b. 'Alī Āzṭūt was the Qā'id of Larache, where he resided, as well as governor of the Gharb. He was charged by Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman with the duty of treating with the European consuls in Tangier. Caillé, p. 31.
10. Al-Hājj Muḥammad b. al-Hājj Muḥammad al-Sūsī's brother, 'Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad, later became governor of Rabat and was sent to Madrid by Mūlāi al-Ḥasan in 1877. Al-Nāṣirī 9, p. 164.

11. Al-Hājj Muḥammad b. al-Hājj al-Ṭāhir al-Zabḍī al-Ribāṭī was later sent by Sultan Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman to Tangier in 1860 to negotiate with the Spaniards of Cueta only to break off negotiations and declare a Holy War against Spain. The Spaniards took Tetuan. Al-Nāṣirī 9, pp. 84-86.
12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. al-Mukhtār al-Jāmi'i, who was Qā'id of the Sharāqa in Fez at the time of the advent of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman, dissuaded Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Sulaimān from attempting to have himself proclaimed Sultan, thus averting a war of succession. Al-Nāṣirī 9, p. 83.
13. Near the ford of Abū al-'Awān (Boulaouane) on the Wadi Umm al-Rabī' Mūlāi Isma'īl had constructed a Qaṣba in 1710 which became a stopping point on the route to Marrakesh.
14. Al-Ṣaqāla means in Morocco a fortified stairs i.e., "a canon platform". According to Dozy it comes from Italian Scala but Levi-Provençal more logically claims it to be from Spanish Escala. Dozy I, p. 839; Levi-Provençal, p. 158.

CHAPTER XVI

THE END OF THE STORY OF AL-ḤĀJJ 'ABD AL-QĀDIR, HIS DISAPPEARANCE AND FATE

/56/ We have already related something of the evil intentions of Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir; not only did he desire independence from the Sultan but sought also to take over possession of the Maghrib. The defeat at Isly only served to increase his avarice and he began calling upon the people of that region to strike his Bai'a and to obey him. It is said that he corresponded with the leading personalities of Fez and the Government. Then, having resort to a ruse, he sent a numerous group of his partisans, composed of men of al-Ḥasham and Banū 'Āmar, to the Sultan where they presented themselves as refugees and sought his protection. The Sultan accepted them and settled them on the banks of the Sabū River.¹ Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir then advanced until he came to al-Qa'da al-Hamrā', between al-Taṣūl² and al-Brānas.³ It was his intention to join his partisans there and then, united, to accomplish his designs. But when the Sultan heard of his plan he sent against them an Army of the Sharārda under the command of Qā'id Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad al-Ikhal which annihilated them after a great effort and violent struggle. They had sought refuge on a hillock and set about fighting for their womenfolk. They were marksmen whose every shot found its target. Every time a group of the Jaish marched against them it was decimated by their fire. They would pick up their dead and, holding them in front of themselves as shields, fire from behind. At last the Army,

tired by their resistance, directed a general assault against them and attacked them on their hillock refuge fighting with sword and lance. When they ran out of powder, they killed their children and women with their own hands so as to save them from captivity and shame and then began committing suicide when they saw that they would be taken captive.

After this the Sultan sent his son Sidi Muhammad with a large army to set aright Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir's evil deeds. The officer directly under the Khalīfa was Qā'id Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sharqī,⁴ also known as Abū Muhammad, and who was renowned for his bravery and ability. When the Khalīfa arrived at Salwān,⁵ Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir sent a delegation to him which included his Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Būhamīdī who claimed his master's innocence of the accusations brought against him and furthermore that he had never wavered in his obedience and service to the Sultan. The delegation brought gifts to the Khalīfa and it was decided that they were to go to the Sultan /57/ (May God have mercy upon him!), present the matter to him, and that the outcome depended upon his decision. The Khalīfa sent someone to accompany them to his father in Fez.

It is said that one night during this period Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir took a group of about 150 of his soldiers, all of them hand picked, and attacked the Jaish of the Khalīfa which was divided into two camps: one under his command and the other under the command of his brother Mūlāi Ahmad.⁶

It was a night in Jumāda⁷ and so foggy that even a dog could not make out a horse in the mist. This group of young warriors, insatiable for battle, firebrands of war, had long seen action and had plunged into the pangs of death against the French and others. They took a position between the two camps and showered shells upon them like rain, lancing fire plaster upon

the camels to frighten them. The soldiers panicked in that total darkness and were struck with a terror which the tongue cannot describe. The Khalifa rose and set about quieting the men himself and, fearing their flight, he forbade them to mount. He gave the order to the infantry and artillery to fire shells and bombs but they fired in the direction of the Mahalla of Mūlāi Ahmad, thinking them to be the enemy in front of them while the Mahalla of Mūlāi Ahmad fired for the same reason upon them. Because of this a large number from both camps perished while Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir escaped with his companions, carrying away his dead with him. Qā'id Muhammad distinguished himself that night.

When it became light and the soldiers could take stock of their situation they found nearly 1,000 wounded and an equal number of dead. They also found around the Mahalla about 50 of the dead of Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir who had been prevented from carrying them off because of the battle. Those who were taken alive showed a remarkable calm when they were killed. They all wore rich uniforms embroidered with silk or gold, for, as we shall see, that man took a great interest in his Army.

The Khalifa (May God have mercy upon him!) ordered the pursuit of Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir and entrusted specially chosen troops with this mission. The second encounter took place at the ford of al-Rahā'īl of the Wādī Moulouya⁸ near the sea not far from the mouth of the Moulouya. The Army inflicted another defeat upon him there in which he lost his warriors. With the loss of his men he despaired of improving his situation and so fled to the French seeking their protection and leaving behind his Mahalla and all therein to be taken by the Khalifa's Army.

/58/ One of those who were present told me that the cavalry charged a group

of Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Qādir's companions who were on foot with the purpose of taking them prisoner but only succeeded in capturing them after having pursued them a great distance. In brief the degree of this man's bravery is well-known and his knowledge of the tricks of war is famous, but unfortunately, as we have mentioned, he changed his course and desired independence and so threw off obedience to the rightful Imām to whom he had pledged his loyalty.

I know that some quarrelsome individual, after having read our report concerning the acts and facts of this man, will perhaps accuse us of bias and impropriety regarding him. We answer that we have reported only the truth and recall the following report of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khatīb⁹ (May God have mercy upon him!): "I was one day in the presence of Sultan Abū 'Inān¹⁰ on one of the missions which I was charged with to deliver to him correspondence. The conversation turned to one of his enemies and I told him what I thought of this enemy as well as what I knew of his merits. One of those present contradicted me, a man like those 'who only go into the forest with the ruler's rope'. I turned my face to him and said: 'May God assist you. But showing your disdain for the Sultan's enemy in the Sultan's presence is not a wise thing to do. Rather is the contrary advisable, for if the Sultan defeats his enemy he defeats someone who is not despicable, and it is for him to glorify him and brag of his bravery; if, on the other hand, it is the enemy who defeats the Sultan, it is not someone to be despised who has been victorious and he will only be sadder and more sensitive for the insult.' The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) was of my opinion, which he approved and spoke highly of. And thus he embarrassed the fellow."

The Sultan had the news of this victory forwarded to all regions of the country, while he had the market places embellished and acts of rejoicing were organized. Following is the text of the letter the Sultan wrote upon the victory:

The corrupt agitator, the lieutenant of Satan, had stretched his audacity to the furthest limits. He had bestridden the steed of his undoing, taken the road of revolt, and abandoned the one of good guidance. He was persuaded by his ego to take the title of 'Amir' and he wished to separate himself from Islam and divide the ranks of the faithful. He set about realizing shameful things, complicating the clearest of matters so as to hide his treason and treachery; and thereby was the evil which he had caused spread over the frontiers of the Kingdom. His secret ambitions were evil but he manifested such appearances as to gain him the support of the ignorant, the blind, and the misled. Despairing of his taking the straight path and knowing his secret desires, we organized an Army, /59/ under the assistance of God and with their standards on high, and put in command of it our pious son Sidi Muhammad (May God better him!) charging him with its direction. We had him promise to avoid shedding blood as much as possible; to try all means of putting right that Agitator; and to use all remedies to cure the evil he had brought about; to allow neither passion nor self-interest to guide him; and to have recourse to combat only as a last extreme, a peaceful struggle to be his dearest goal. The Enemy, seeing himself surrounded by troops, sent a delegation to claim his repentance

and his desire to abide by his duty. We answered that the words which please God are sincere words and that if their Master wished well-being for himself, wished to fortify himself in his religion, and work for the eternal rest of his soul, then he had to decide between remaining in our territory with his companions with full security for their persons and goods and with the same rights and duties as ourselves or else going into the Sahara. They then asked for a delay to send one of their group to him to report on the result of the interview and to repair the evil before it was too late. We allowed them this delay. But the delegates had no sooner reached him then he attacked the Mahalla by night. God repelled him with failure and inflicted upon him a shameful retreat. He abandoned his dead on the battlefield, although he carried away a great number of them so as to bury them in his place of refuge in an attempt to hide the bad luck that pursued him in his decline. The Mahalla, victorious in God, then engaged him in a combat wherein he was made to taste ruin and extinction. Conquered he was like a frightened ostrich and, turning his back to the battlefield, ran about in every direction. A great number of his faithful, his chiefs, and most vigorous and evil warriors perished. His troops beat a disorderly retreat and his armies were divided, killed, and imprisoned and have become an object of jokes: they who were so cocky. They have been defeated and have fled in humiliation. From God do I ask success and guidance in the straight path.

Peace!

22, Sacred Muharram, 1264 (December 31, 1847)

Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir fled to the French as we have related and stayed with them for a certain time. The author of the Qatf al-Zuhūr¹¹ relates: "When Al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir fled to the French he stayed with them for six years; then Napoleon III granted him his freedom and gave him an annual pension from the government treasury." According to information reaching us he is still alive at the present time. May the Most High God guide the Muslims and set right their evils by His clemency and generosity. Amen!

/60/ Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs reports that on Monday morning, 4th Muharram 1264 (December 12, 1847), the great Wazir, the illustrious and generous Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs died (May God grant him new attire every time a star shines!). He was the chief of those who work the reed, who embellished the government with necklaces of prose and poetry on its great occasions, and who by his extemporaneous, extraordinary, and admirable works completely discredited Badī' al-Zamān¹² and Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.¹³ The Sultan nominated to his place the noble Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. al-Mukhtār al-Jāmi'i, he of perfumed virtues and from whose fingers ran drops of rain, he of sound judgment whose orders are well thought out and whose pure heart is comparable only to the purity of golden ingots. The Sultan dismissed him later, however, when he arrived at Marrakesh at the time of his last voyage to that city in 1270 (1853) and replaced him by the honest Scribe, the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār al-Tattāwanī.¹⁴

During the first days of Ramaḍān of the year 1264 (1848) the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) left Fez to go to Oujda. He went as far as

'Ain Zūra¹⁵ and inspected this region taking measures to improve its condition. He then returned to Fez on the night before the feast of al-Adha. In the year 1265 (1848-1849) the revolt of the 'Āmar Arabs in the region of Sale and that of the Za'īr Arabs in the vicinity of Rabat took place. The two tribes violently attacked these cities; laid siege to them; and plundered them, giving themselves over to excesses of plunder and corruption on the roads and in the gardens. On several occasions they seized flocks, leaving the little lambs and their owners to perish of hunger and committed many other acts of this type. As they had surpassed the limits of audacity the Sultan sent after them his negro slave Wasīf Pasha Farjī, the governor of Fez al-Jadīd, who on the fourth day of the feast of the sacrifice inflicted a terrible defeat upon the 'Āmar and caused their retreat in spite of the strong position they had taken at al-Gharak between Sale and al-Mahdiya.¹⁶

That same year two sons of the Sultan, Mūlāi al-Rashīd and Mūlāi Sulaimān, made the pilgrimage. They returned the following year after having received most generous receptions from the rulers of Egypt and the Hijjaz. Also during that year the comet appeared. It appeared from the direction of the setting sun and disappeared /61/ after the 'Ishā'. It was visible for almost a month. The population was terrified by the comet as is said by Abū Tammām:¹⁷ "The population fear hidden misfortunes when the western comet appears."

In 1266 (1849-1850) the Sultan reestablished the Maks¹⁸ at Fez and the other large cities. He had it levied first on leather goods by means of Al-Mustafah al-Dukkālī b. al-Jilānī al-Ribāṭī¹⁹ and Al-Makkī al-Qabbāj al-Fāsī; then later it was levied on animals as well. However, the illegality

of that institution became clear during the reign of his son Sultan Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman (May God have mercy upon him!) and it has remained clear to this day.

During that year on the night of 26 Ramadān (August 5), the friend of God Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Alamī²⁰ passed away. He was a famous, blessed man, and the author of songs in the colloquial language. He died at Meknes al-Zaitūn and was buried in the quarter of Sidi Abū al-Ṭaiyib and over his tomb a magnificent edifice was constructed. May God have mercy upon him and be content with him!

Also during that year the Sultan sent his son Mūlāi 'Abd al-Qādir, then twelve years of age, to Sale for instruction. He was lodged at the home of the Qādī of the city, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Hassūn 'Awwād,²¹ who had received instructions from the Sultan that his son was to get used to common food and customs, being permitted to drink tea only one or two times a week.

This year was marked by the extreme expensiveness of prices and an excessive misery, especially among the tribes of Ḥawz such as the Banū Maskīn, 'Abda, Dukkāla, etc. who were forced to migrate to the regions of al-Gharb and al-Faḥṣ.²² The population was reduced to devouring carcasses, corpses, and plants. This year is called by the peasants the year of al-Khubīzī and the year of Irni. They ate without ever having enough and if one ate abundantly then he had intestinal pains of hunger. The Mudd, a very large measure, reached the price of 16 mithqāls at Rabat and Sale. This year serves as a date for the common people who say, "Such and such event took place during the year of the 18 mithqāls."

In the year 1267, during the night of Wednesday 23 Rabi' II (February 25,

1851), the learned Faqīh, the Qādi of Sale Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Hassūn 'Awwād passed away. He was buried in that city at the Zāwiya of Sheikh Sidi Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tastāwatī in the /62/ quarter of Bāb Ahsain. This man (May God have mercy upon him!) was well-versed in law, the Hadīth, and grammar. He had spent his life in gathering books and copying them and he had such an excellent handwriting that it was impossible for the reader to find a mistake. He was charitable towards the poor, the Sharifs, and the great families: to all was he generous. May God have mercy upon him!

On Wednesday, the first day of that year (November 10, 1850), the blessed and virtuous Sharīf Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi al-Ḥājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Wazzānī²³ died. This man, whose name is famous, enjoyed a high rank. May God cause us to benefit by his example and by that of his ancestors!

In the year of 1268 (1851-1852) the French attacked the port of Sale. The reason thereof was that two ships charged with wheat had arrived in the port of al-'Adwatain and anchored on the bank of Sale. As it was in a year of scarcity the inhabitants rushed to pillage them and went so far as to take even the planks and rigging of the ships which they divided among themselves. As the two ships belonged to French merchants the French Government complained to the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) who wrote to the governor of Sale, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī Zanībar²⁴ asking for an explanation of the matter. The governor completely denied these incriminating facts thinking that by so doing he would save the city. The French, however, seeing that their negotiations with the Sultan came to nothing, laid siege to Sale with five steamships and a large battleship, the Nabious, carrying almost 60 cannons. This was on Monday the first of

Safar in this year (November 29, 1851). The next morning they brought their ships to a position parallel to the city and at 10 P.M. began to shower it with shells and bombs. One ship only did not fire but remained apart to observe the battle; it is said that it was an English ship. Shells and bombs fell upon the city without interruption making a din as of thunder and which almost shook down mountains. The bombardment continued from the early morning, through the afternoon with a few exceptions, until the moment of sundown and even a half hour later. The attack had lasted for eight and a half hours with the inhabitants doing their best to shell the French but, towards the end of the day, were unable to continue resisting them who alone continued to fire. Approximately seven Muslims met their death in the service of God. A tremendous number of shells and bombs were fired on that day by the French, some say 7,000 while others say 12,000. The bombs did not explode at once but when they did they caused many deaths. Several shells fell on the Great Mosque and its minaret, /63/ making holes in its roof and walls, as well as on the houses of the inhabitants. The Sultan, however, granted them funds from the treasury to repair their homes. Manuel, reporting this battle, said that after the French had exhausted their provisions, that is their shells and powder, they weighed anchor during the night for fear that if they did not leave of their own accord they might be forced to leave.

When word of this reached the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) he wrote the following letter:

Praise be to God alone!

May God pray for our Lord Muhammad, his family, and companions.

'Abd al-Rahman b. Hishām, may God be his protector!

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When word of this reached the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) he wrote the following letter:

Praise be to God alone!

May God pray for our Lord Muhammad, his family, and companions.

'Abd al-Rahman b. Hishām, may God be his protector!

To our pleasing servant the Tālib Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī Zanībar. May God protect you!

Peace be upon you as well as the mercy and benediction of the Most High God!

We have received your letter in which you informed us that the ships of the French Enemy had bombed the city from morning until the 'Ishā',²⁵ then weighed anchor, deceived and humiliated, and that God repulsed both them and their fury without their having gained a useful result. You have added that God granted a patience, solidarity, and confidence to the Muslims which did honor to the religion and greatly distressed the unjust polytheists, and that several of the Warriors of the Faith met death in God's service which has assured them eternal happiness and life. Praise be to God for thus manifesting the force of His Religion and for thus fortifying the community of His Prophet. Praise be to God that the niches wherein burn the lights of Islam still burn with a most intense light for God grants to the light its brightness no matter what the infidels might say. Quranic verses and the Hadīth of the Prophet are not unknown to you to celebrate the merits of the Holy War in the service of God and of continued resistance so as to glorify the Word of God. You have done your duty in this respect; you have justified the confidence placed in you; and you have done that which was demanded of you. May God better you and be satisfied with you! God has granted to those who perished an infinite happiness and as for the goods which were lost He will replace them for He

takes it upon Himself to replace what has been lost for love of Him. Be more watchful and patient than ever and God will assist you.

We have given orders to our servants, the Umanā' of al-'Adwatain to send you the skillfulest workers to construct the gun carriages and, in accordance with your request, we have written to our servant Ibn al-Ḥafyān to arrange for tents where they can dwell. Nothing which you need will lack, if God will. You have also informed us of the meeting of the inhabitants of the city with the Qādī and Amīn requesting you to ask our Elevated in God Majesty to grant to them the funds necessary to repair their Ṣaqāla, mosques, houses, and walls. We have written to the Umanā' of al-'Adwatain to go with you to visit the demolished places /64/ and houses in your presence and along with the Qādī and the 'Adūl²⁶ so as to make an estimate of the funds needed for a proper reparation of each building. As for the Great Mosque and Sidi b. 'Āshir, they will make ready the desired materials and as soon as all is prepared they will begin the repairs. As for the new Ṣaqāla and the walls, they should begin repairs at once, making them as solid as possible with excellent bricks which will withstand shells and constructed in such a way that the gunners will be sheltered. Do not delay in this. We have also the intention to construct, if God will, a solid bastion at the end of the wall in the direction of the new Ṣaqāla.

You will find enclosed a letter to be read to our servants, the

inhabitants of Sale.

Peace!

18 Şafar, 1268 (December 3, 1851).

The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) constructed this bastion, a solid and beautiful work, which is a monument worthy of great dynasties.

In that year a letter from the Sultan concerning the inflation of the currency arrived in which he said:

For a long time now we have attempted to restrain the augmentation of the currency and have given warnings, advice, and even threatened punishment to those who would traffic or attempt to give to the currency a different value than that which we have established. But they have only manifested a greater greed and audacity. We have asked God to assist us in this matter and we have decided to establish the inflation once and for all and for everybody. From now on no excuse will be valid and let all consider themselves warned.

Those who will respect the limits we have set and will not attempt to get around that which we have decided will be acting in their own interest and in that of their goods; those, however, who will defy our orders and commit the least offense will be working for their downfall and will receive a punishment which will serve as an example and which will not be forgotten.

Hence we have fixed the value of the Bunduqī at 40 Awqīyas; the Dublin at 32 Mithqāls, the "Canon" Riyāl at 20 Awqīyas, and the other Riyāl at 19 Awqīyas; the Peseta with canon at 4 Awqīyas; the Dirham al-Rubati at $4\frac{1}{2}$ Muzūnāts and the Dirham

al-Sudāsī at 7 Muzūnāts; etc. Inform your administrators and government employees of this and ask them to conform strictly to it. You are to severely punish those who disobey and those of whom you "smell the scent" of disobedience and trickery, then inform us.

Peace!

14 Rabī' II, 1268 (February 7, 1852).

/65/ In the year 1269 (1852-1853) the Sultan raided the tribe of Al-Zammūr al-Shaluh. First he wrote from Meknes to his son and Khalīfa Sidi Muḥammad who was at Marrakesh. The latter left that city and, passing by Tadla, chastised the Banū Mūsa²⁷ who had killed their governor Abu al-'Abbās Ahmad b. Zidūh. He had approximately 64 heads cut off and 150 men imprisoned. From there he went on to Rabat, arriving Monday 11 Shawāl (July 19, 1853) and staying until Saturday the 16th. He then crossed the Wādī and made camp at Qarmīn in the environs of Sale. He left the next morning and spent the night at Sidi 'Allāl al-Bahrāwī where he stayed for two days, then made his way to Tīfalt²⁸ where he also camped for several days. After this he advanced to Dār Ibn al-Ghāzī. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) had already left Meknes and had encamped at al-Khamīsāt²⁹ where he led several attacks against the Zammūr who had fled to the mountains. He plundered their goods and laid waste to their crops and trees. From there he went on to Marrakesh whereas the Khalīfa made his way to Fez. This was on the 26th of Dhū al-Qa'da. (September 2, 1853). From this date on the Sultan and the Khalīfa (May God have mercy upon them!) raided the Zammūr every year. They met and had their soldiers lay waste to the crops and goods of the Zammūr until the latter, weakened and on the

point of perishing, submitted to the Sultan.

When the Sultan marched against them at this time he wrote the following letter:

The corruption of the Zammūr is well-known to all. It is as black as the night and as strong as a torrent. For long have we called them to their duty and exhorted them to do good. We have warned and menaced but all the while refrained from harming them, and have replied to their audacity with kindness and to their provocations with calmness. But their madness has emboldened them and increased their insolence while evil has closed their eyes and ears. He whom God wants to revolt is unable to resist. When we, on the morning of departure, saw that their evilness still persisted and that a destructive hand had seized hold of the rites of Islam, we led before them the victorious troops before whom, with God's assistance, always precede the standards of victory. We sent for our virtuous son Sidi Muhammad (May God protect him!) from Marrakesh who came at the head of an Army preceded by good fortune and glad prospects and impelled by happiness in their marches and halts. We ourselves left Meknes al-Zaitūn with an Army that filled the plains and charged the cantons and districts with its horsemen and foot soldiers, its light columns and its baggage. /66/ Until then we had always engaged in combat with these evil subjects at the place called al-Khamīṣāt; but because the columns were not at ease to kill, plunder, disperse, and strike the enemy we decided this time to take a position against them first at 'Ain al-'Arīma,³⁰ the place

which their revolts and depredations had invaded. We camped there for several days; then breaking camp we went to Mahsa and from there to al-Khamīsāt where we encamped. During these rests and moves our son Sidi Muḥammad (May God preserve him!) left Rabat and went to Tīfalt, which was the center of the revolts and the home base of these oppressors. The approach of the two Mahallas was an extreme surprise for these revolters. The columns undertook the devastation of their grain, casting it to the wind while taking from their hiding places their new and old provisions. They looked on bewildered and witnessed the calamity that befell them. Each time they sought to defend themselves they returned humiliated. Their leaders' heads, like the heads of birds of prey, were cut off; and as they could no longer resist they fled from their territory, persuaded that the calamity decreed for them included that they be banished from their land. There only remained the wild beasts and the camels for the inhabitants had fled to their hiding places in the heart of the mountains which are veiled in clouds and stretch out their hands almost to the stars. They were reduced to the most extreme misery and their women perished of hunger and thirst and their goods were lost while evil worked upon them as it willed. Although they were in their mountain retreats the troops wanted to follow them and to sacrifice their precious lives to take them. We, taken by an ennobling compassion and a dislike for vile animosity, gave orders that they were not to be attacked but rather left in their mountains until their refuges rejected

them and their fires burned them. They, however, losing patience and consumed by defeat, implored the protection of our son Sidi Muḥammad (May God preserve him!) who interceded with us on their behalf. We heard his plea with the reservation that certain conditions be accepted by them, that they subscribe to certain obligations and strong reproaches. We then granted them clemency and the pardon prescribed by God and left their fate in the hands of our son so as to cut short their excuses. We left (Praise be to God!) and asked him to settle their offenses. I ask God to protect all Muslims. Amen!

26 Sacred month of Dhū al-Qa'da, 1269 (September 1, 1853).

During this year the comet reappeared.

At the beginning of this year the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) appointed as Wazir the learned Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad /67/ al-Ṣaffār al-Tattāwanī shortly after his arrival in Marrakesh.

Also in this year the great Bastion of Sale was completed. It is located at the southern angle of that city on the sea. The cost of this Bastion, nearly 50,000 Mithqāls, was taken from the Habs fund of the Great Mosque in Rabat at the Sultan's order.

A very curious thing took place in Fez during this year. One Friday while the Imām was preaching in the Mosque of al-Qarwiyyīn³¹ a piece of plaster weighing nearly a quarter of a quintal became detached from the vault over the third row of the Faithful. Those in that row ran and those behind them, seeing them run, ran also, and so on until all the rows of the Mosque were broken. The crowd ran to the doors where a violent jam occurred. The first to escape fled towards the Sūq al-Shamā'īn losing their shoes, felt

carpets, and even their cowls. In this way a large number of Qurans, Quranic tracts, and Dalā'il al-Khairāt³² were lost. They had not realized what had happened and did not return until after some time.

NOTES

1. The Sabū is the second largest river in Morocco. It rises in the Middle Atlas, flows through the Gharb and empties into the Atlantic at Port-Lyautey.
2. Al-Tasūl - The territory of the Tasūl is between Fez and Taza near Jabal Bū Jarīd.
3. Al-Brānas - The territory of the Brānas is West of Jabal Bū Jarīd some 32 kilometers West of Taza.
4. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sharqī (Abū Muḥammad) was to be sent to Paris on a diplomatic mission in 1865 by Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman to request that the French consuls sent to Morocco be selected from among only the better aristocratic families. Al-Nāsiri 9, p. 116.
5. Salwān is a great plain, interspersed with mountain ranges, extending from the Southeast of the Jabala mountains to the Malūya River. Due to a lack of adequate rainfall these plains are more suited to a pastoral than an agricultural population.
6. Mūlāi Aḥmad, the third son of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman, had been his father's Khalīfa in Rabat in 1840. In 1860 he took part in the war against Spain but his camp was taken by the troops of Marchal O'Donnel. Afterwards he retired to Istanbul where he died. Caillé, p. 56.
7. Jumāda - The fifth Arabic month.
8. The Mulūya (Moulouya) rises in the High Atlas (Jabal al-Ayashi) and flows into the Mediterranean between Mellila and Nemours. The Mulūya has usually been considered as the Eastern limit of the Maghrib al-'Aqsā.
9. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb - Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'id b. al-Khatīb Lisān al-Dīn (1313-1374) was a Spanish poet who is known as well as an historian, stylist, mystic, philosopher, and physician. Brockelmann 2, pp. 337-40.
10. Abū Inān (1351-1358) was one of the last great Meranid Sultans of Morocco. Terrasse, pp. 62-66.
11. Qatf al-Zuhūr fī tā'rīkh al duhūr by Yuhanna Agha Abkarius, translator of the British Consul in Beirut. He died in Sūq al-Gharb, Lebanon, in 1889. Brockelmann S2, p. 768.

12. Badī' al-Zamān Alī b. al-Husain b. Yahya b. Sa'īd Abū al-Faḍl al-Hamadānī (969-1007). Cf. Brockelmann I, p. 93; SI, p. 150.
13. Abū Nasr al-Faḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Khāqān al-Qaisī (d. 1134). Cf. Brockelmann SI, p. 579.
14. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār al-Tattāwanī later became the Wazīr of Mūlāi al-Ḥasan.
15. 'Ain Zūra, 65 Kilometers N.E. of Taza, had been used by Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān as a center for raiding the tribes of that area in June, 1808. Burel, p. 42.
16. Al-Mahdiyya, 25 kilometers N. of Sale, had been called during the Middle Ages Al-Ma'mura or Halq Sbu. It was called Al-Mahdiyya by Mūlāi Isma'īl who reconstructed the port and built the Qaṣba where he quartered a contingent of his 'Abid. After it was closed to maritime commerce by Mūlāi Zidān in 1795 it lost all importance and most of its population.
17. Abū Tammān Ḥabīb b. Aws (766-843) was a Syrian poet and anthologist. EI 2, pp. 109-10.
18. Maks (plur. mukus) were those non-Quranic taxes, condemned as illegal, which were levied on travellers, mills, merchants, etc. They were of Byzantine origin. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 122.
19. Al-Mustafā al-Dukkālī b. al-Jilānī al-Ribātī was a rich Moroccan merchant who spoke fluent English and Spanish and who made several trips to Europe. Cf. Caillé, p. 65.
20. Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Alamī ('Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī al-'Alamī al-Hamdānī Sidi Qaddūr al-Talīti al-'Abd al-Salāmī (1741-1850) was the greatest poet in the colloquial language of his day. Some of his poetry has been translated into German and French. Brockelmann S II, p. 882.
21. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Hassūn 'Awwād's son, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Awwād, was later to become Qādī of Sale. This Abū Bakr was one of Al-Nāṣirī's main teachers. He died in Sale on February 3, 1879. Levi-Provençal, p. 352.
22. Al-Faḥṣ is the coastal area between Larache and Tangier.
23. Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi al-Ḥājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī al-Wazzānī had, along with Muḥammad al-Darqāwī, participated in the Bai'a of Mūlāi Ibrāhīm in Fez in 1818. He was later pardoned by Mūlāi Sulaimān at the sanctuary of Mūlāi Idrīs in Fez. Al-Nāṣirī 8, pp. 150, 158.
24. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī Zanībar had warmly received Léon Roches in 1844. He was still governor of Sale at the time of his death in 1855, a victim of the plague. Caillé, p. 77; Al-Nāṣirī 9, p. 70.

25. The 'ishā' prayer, consisting of four raka'āt, takes place between the end of the maghrib to the beginning of the subh, i.e., any hour of the night. Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 71.
26. 'Adūl; plural of 'Ādil "witness".
27. The Banū Mūsa of Tadla was one of the Berber tribes which had settled on the plains. They were often in rebellion against the Makhzen. Terrasse 2, p. 318.
28. Tīfalt, some 58 kilometers E. of Rabat on the road to Meknes, was a camp site on a plateau crossed on the E. by the Wādī Tīfalt.
29. Al-Khamīsāt is roughly 81 kilometers E. of Rabat on the way to Meknes in the heart of the territory of the Zemmour.
30. 'Ain al-'Arīma (today called 'Ain Lorma) is some 17 kilometers E. of Meknes.
31. The mosque of al-Qarwiyyīn dates from 862 and has become the cultural center of Morocco. It forms the basis of the Muslim University of Fez.
32. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. Abū Bakr al-Jazūlī al-Simlālī (d. 1472) was the author of the Dalā'il al-Khairāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-salāt 'ala al-nabī al-mukhtār. Cf. Brockelmann II, p. 327.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REVOLT OF IBRĀHĪM YASMŪR AL-YAZDAKĪ

IN THE SAHARA

/67/ Towards the middle of the year 1271 (1854-1855) Ibrāhīm Yasmūr al-Yazdakī made his appearance in the Sahara of Tafilaleet. The reason thereof was that at that time the Berbers were divided into two parties: the party of the Āit 'Aṭṭa,¹ which was the strongest and most populous of the region, and the Āit Yafalmān² which was weaker and less populous. The Āit 'Aṭṭa had been oppressing the Sharīfs of that region and their neighbors. This Ibrāhīm took over control of the Āit Yafalmān and went to the defense of the Sharīfs, granting them gifts and honoring them. He called upon his people to do good and to shun evil and, blessing the Sultan, he urged his people to obey him. Thus he became famous in that region and was greatly praised.

During this time it came to pass that a disagreement arose between them and the Āit 'Aṭṭa whereupon Ibrāhīm marched against them and inflicted a terrible defeat upon them. The love and joy of his people for him increased and the Sharīfs put all their hope in him, for in those days it was a rare thing to defeat the Āit 'Aṭṭa. Besides this he was generous with gifts for those both far and near and in this way news of him reached /68/ the Sultan. It was in the Sultan's nature (May God have mercy upon him!) to love and be kind to those who did good so he sent for him and, raising his rank, appointed him over that region. But as he became more

powerful and famous the flames of his desire for leadership were fanned until he wanted independence and so was he corrupted, going even so far as to return the Sultan's orders. Little by little, he drew near the frontier of the kingdom and his reputation became known in the Maghrib. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) wrote him several letters after which he sent a group to engage him in combat. The battle had raged for only a short time when God sent one of his own kin to assassinate him who, cutting off his head, came with it seeking a reward to the Sultan in Marrakesh.

The Sultan called for acts of rejoicing and invited all classes of Marrakesh's population to whom he gave many gifts and was extremely generous. A strange thing took place there. Among those invited by the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) to this feast was a group of Tulba³ from the schools, strangers to the city. They sat at the edge of the crowd and, therefore, when the food was brought out from the Sultan's palace for distribution among the different classes of people, they were among the last to receive their share. It came to pass that one of the Sultan's entourage asked one of the guards charged with carrying food who remained to be served. He answered that none remained save the Tulba and the millers, which was in fact the truth. But one of the Tulba heard him and said to his companions: "Have you not heard what that one has said?" They answered that they had not heard and asked him to repeat what had been said. He told them, saying: "He said that none remain save you and the millers and thus have you been placed in the same class as these people by his use of the conjunction "and". By God you shall not remain seated here." So they arose to depart while one of the Sultan's entourage followed them entreating

them to stay but to no avail. Word of this reached the Sultan who said: "Let them depart. I shall make good their matter." On the morning of the next day he called them into the garden of the Wazir Ibn Idris, which is inside the Bāb al-Rab⁴ in Marrakesh, where he honored them for three days and presented them with many gifts until finally they were satisfied. They then took for themselves the fruit of this park until not a one was left. This tale illustrates the noble nature of the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!), his largesse of character and the importance he attached to men of learning. This story has reminded me of the saying that goes:

Be not angered if placed upon the level of an inferior.

For from among all animals was Aristotle forced to associate with a biting dog.

The question of the aforementioned conjunction can be investigated in the chapter "Al-Faṣal wa al-Waṣal" in the science of al-Ma'ānī.

The park of Ibn Idrīs inspired a poem by Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs /69/ (May God have mercy upon him!).⁵

And in that year, 1271 (1854-1855) there was an epidemic in the Maghrib characterized by an excessive diarrhea, sharp pains in the stomach and the legs, followed by convulsions and chills with the patient's complexion becoming black. If the patient could survive 24 hours he was saved but if not it meant death. In this /70/ epidemic perished the Sheikh of the Tarīqa, Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi Muḥammad al-Harrāq al-Tattāwanī,⁶ and with his death the epidemic came to an end in that city. In Sale, in the middle of Dhū al-Qa'da of that year, 120 of its inhabitants perished as well as the governor of the city Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī Zanībar.

In 1272 (1855-1856) the Khalīfa Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman took over

the affairs of the Arabs of Khalt⁷ and employed them in the army even though they were among those tribes which had paid fines since the time of Al-Mansūr al-Sa'dī.⁸ The aforementioned Khalīfa looked after their interests and transferred them from the region of Safiyān, the Banū Mālik and the environs of Larache to the region of Zaqqūta⁹ and Wādī Mikkas¹⁰ in the environs of Meknes where, settling them, he gave them clothes and provisions. However, after two or three years, they became disorderly. In 1273 (1856-1857) a letter arrived from the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) in which he said, after the introduction:

To our pleasing servant the Tālib 'Abd al-Azīz Maḥbūba,¹¹ may God protect you. Peace be upon thee as well as the mercy and blessings of the Most High God.

When you receive this letter select 20 intelligent young men to study the science of artillery and find for them one or two clever instructors from among the artillery troops of your city to teach them. Let them begin their training at once. They are to begin with the preliminaries and practice until they are able to fire cannons and mortars and are thus to continue until they become skillful and are able to serve. We ask God to assist them and to grant us sufficient sums to meet their expenses. These twenty are to serve as a supplement to the artillery of your city. We order the Umanā' to grant to each of them 15 Awqīya per month with a special supplement for those who distinguish themselves and surpass their comrades. Also we order them to pay to the instructors the sum of 30 Awqīya per month in addition to their salary. Pay great attention to these

young men. We have written like letters to other ports and thus we appreciate those who show the greatest ambition and activity.

Peace!

20 Dhū al-Qa'lah, 1273 (July 13, 1857).

In this year a treaty was concluded between the Sultan and the English which consisted /71/ of two parts. The first part treated with commercial affairs and fixed the rights of imports and exports which were not to be paid on certain merchandise unless the merchant so willed. This part contained 15 articles. The second part treated with the truce and stipulated the security and respect of the subjects of both parties irrespective of where they might be. It contained 38 articles. The negotiator of this treaty was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Khatīb al-Tattāwani¹² in Tangier.

NOTES

1. The Āit 'Aṭṭa was a Berber tribe of Tafilalet which had supplied men for the fleets of Sidi Muḥammad in 1788. Terrasse 2, p. 294.
2. The Āit Yafalmān, a Berber tribe speaking the Tamazirt dialect, inhabited the area North of Qaṣr al-Sūq.
3. Tulba, plur. of Tālib.
4. Bāb alRab, in S.W. Marrakesh, was the exit for Taroudant. Levi-Provençal, p. 204.
5. Twenty-one verses follow in text.
6. Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi Muḥammad al-Harrāq al-Tattāwanī was one of the principal disciples of Al-Arabī al-Darqāwī and was the author of mystic poems in honor of the brotherhood which were published in Tunis and Fez. He died August 2, 1855. Levi-Provençal, p. 343.
7. Khalṭ - An Arab tribe living S. of Larache which furnished soldiers for the Jaish of the Gharb. Levi-Provençal, p. 175.
8. Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mansūr (1578-1603) was the greatest of the Sa'dien Sultans of Morocco. Cf. Terrasse 2, pp. 191-208.
9. The Seggota (Zaqqūta) Pass is 58 kilometers E. of Fez at 406 meters above sea level.
10. The Wādī Mikkas is a tributary of the Sabbu some 21 kilometers E. of Fez.
11. 'Abd al-Azīz Maḥbūba al-Salāwī was a noted teacher of Fez who was known for his knowledge of law and instrumental music. He died during a pilgrimage to Mekka in 1862. Levi-Provençal, p. 352.
12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Khatīb al-Tattāwanī was the Sultan's representative in Tangier. He attempted to evert the war with Spain in 1860 but due to the machinations of 'Abd al-Salām b. al-'Arabī al-Wazzānī failed. Al-Nāsiri 9, p. 84.

CHAPTER XVIII

SULTAN MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN SENDS HIS SONS

TO THE HIJĀZ AND THEIR EXPERIENCES

DURING THE VOYAGE

/71/ In the year 1274 (1857-1858) the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) sent his sons to the Hijaz for the fulfilment of the pilgrimage duty. They were his sons Mūlāi Ibrāhīm, Mūlāi 'Abd Allāh, Mūlāi 'Alī,¹ Mūlāi Ja'far and their paternal cousin Mūlāi Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. The Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) took greater pains in the preparation of their voyage with regard to money, men, materials, mounts and numerous companions than he had taken when their brothers had made the pilgrimage before them. He sent with them a great sum of money for the Sharīfs of the Two Sanctuaries and for the principal Faqīhs and inhabitants. He sent in their company the greatest merchants and Umanā' who knew the customs of these countries, regions, and peoples. Such were al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad al-Razīnī al-Tutāwanī² and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Janān al-Barūdī al-Tlamsānī. He also sent the learned Qādi of Meknes, the Faqīh al-Saiyid al-Mahdī b. al-Ṭālib b. Sūda al-Murī al-Fāsi³ and his brother, the learned Faqīh al-Saiyid Aḥmad b. Sūda⁴ accompanied by a group of Faqīhs who were to read to them the Quran. Al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad al-Razīnī, the brother of the aforementioned Ḥājj Muḥammad, has told me that the Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Raḥman (May God have mercy upon him!), when he decided to send his sons to the

Hijāz, called for the Amin Al-Hājǧ Muhammad. /72/ He came to him and was given considerable advice as well as being informed that the money he would receive to cover the expenses of the Sultan's sons had been collected in part from property at Tafilalet and in part from other legal sources. The Sultan said to him: "Watch over this money and spend it in the measure that you put salt in food." When his sons resolved upon departing for the pilgrimage the Sultan (May God have mercy upon him!) gave them the following advice:

Praise be to God alone! May God pray for our lord Muhammad, his family, and his companions. Oh! our sons, 'Abd Allāh, Ibrāhīm, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, and Ja'far, may God protect us and you so as always to act in His obedience and may He preserve you, direct you in the right path, guide you and be with you in every circumstance. Peace be upon you as well as the mercy and benediction of the Most High God.

And truly because our sons are portions of our souls, pillars of our appearance, fruit of our hearts, and lips of our breasts, a father should be unto them as the sky, granting shadows and clouds of well-being. The best of fathers for their sons are those who do not allow their affection to wrong their rights, and the best of sons for their fathers are those who do not let neglect lead them to disobedience and insubmission. The prophet of God (May God pray for him and grant him peace!) has said: "Children are the aromatic plants of paradise."

As the saying goes:

"Truly our sons, who are among us, are our souls walking

the earth.

When the wind blows upon one of them, the eye is unable to close."

This is the first thing a father should give unto a son, advice which he may take with him in his journey as a guide and a support. Know that we send you on a pilgrimage to the sacred house of God and to the tomb of his prophet (May God pray for him and grant him peace!). We commit you to God who never neglects his charges. Remember the cost of this journey which you undertake and know the value of this devotion which you propose. Go hither with pure intentions and with the desire that God (Be He praised!) realize your wishes and hopes. I recommend to you the piety of God both in private and public, for truly is the piety of God the best of provisions. I recommend also the advice of Abraham to his sons: "Oh sons, God has selected for you The Religion, die only as Muslims." as well as what Loqman said to his son while preaching: "Oh my son, associate no other with God, for it is the greatest sin. Repeat your prayers, act amicably and turn from evil, etc." Do good each unto the other and encourage each other to be patient and compassionate. Your brother 'Abd Allāh is the oldest, respect him and his advice for age has a right to priority. As in the noble Hadith:

"He who is older in years is older in wisdom."

Since the time we have decided to send you on this blessed journey we have searched our mind to find whom we should send with you. Our choice has fallen upon our servant Al-Hājj Muhammad al-Razīnī because he is an excellent man with all

the praiseworthy qualities absent in others. Be unto him as dutiful sons and may he be unto you as a beloved father. As the saying goes: "Abū Ḥasan 'Alī was unto her a virtuous father and we as sons unto him."

We are sending with him Al-Ḥājj Abū Janān al-Barūdī because of his respectability, good character, and good conduct.

There are none better to be found than these two and praise be to God! We have honored you also with the company of that incomparable scholar and great Faqīh, al-Saiyid al-Mahdī b. Sūda who will be accompanied by his brother so as to combine their knowledge. Discharge, each of you, your share and your due of what the prophet enjoined when he laid down the principles of refinement and politeness saying: "There are none among us who does not honor our aged ones, respect our young people, and recognize the merit of our scholars." Observe your religion and occupy yourselves with all that is meaningful while abandoning the meaningless. As it is said in the noble Hadith: "One of the beauties of Islam is that man abandons that which is without meaning." Be assiduous in your readings and do not waste your time in laziness especially when it concerns worship which is your goal. From now on spend yourselves in the study of the rites. Begin with the easiest which is the rite of al-Marshid al-Mu'īn⁵ and then proceed to the more profound and demanding. The aforementioned Faqīh al-Saiyid al-Mahdī must spare no efforts or advice for your instruction and in reading with you. Consecrate time as well to spend with

his brother, who is at present one of the greatest Ṭālib teaching. You will have no excuse for neglect or laziness. All the companions, attendants, and servants sent with you are under your guard.

As in the Hadīth: "You are all shepherds and all responsible for your flock." Teach them the matters of their religion and the rites of the pilgrimage and preach to them so that they may understand and so that your deeds be written on your pages (of the Heavenly Book). As it is said in the Hadīth: "The best of you is he who has learned and instructs." also "If God draws to himself one man through your efforts so is it better for you than all that the sun shines upon." May you be as those who are virtuous and perfect and always polite towards both the creator and his creatures. Perfect your virtues and be affable and amicable in your relations with people and do /74/ unto all as they merit. The people there, in those noble places, still mention your brother Mūlāi Sulaimān (May God preserve him!) and speak well of him for they remember his numerous qualities, his goodness, and his mildness. And we ask you not to forget us in your prayers at any of these holy places which you visit and especially at al-Multazim⁶ and al-Maqām⁷ among others where prayers are offered. Do acts of penitence for us by kissing the black stone and by visiting the tomb of the prophet (May God pray for him and grant him peace!) and by greeting him and his two companions Abu Bakr⁸ and 'Umar⁹ (May God be satisfied with them!). Be upright

in all your acts and practice harmony and friendship in your behavior. Avoid dispute and disagreement and combat passion and partiality, for Satan is an expert at paving the pathway of virtue with evil. Be on your guard against him for the Most High has said: "For you is Satan an enemy and to be treated as an enemy."

We ask God to preserve you and grant you health, peace and prosperity in your voyage, souls, religion and goods. We entrust your religion and faith to God and the ends of your work as well. Go forth under God's protection without haste until you arrive at al-Qaşar¹⁰ and rest there under the protection of Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ghālib; may God cause us and you to benefit from his blessings as have your brothers before you. Staying at al-Qaşar until the ship arrives is better than staying at Tangier. Al-Khatīb should write to you on time and then go there at once. We have already written to Talib Muḥammad al-Khatīb concerning this matter. Present our letter to Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Razīnī when you meet him, if God will. Know that we have set aside 20,000 riyāls for the purpose of purchasing Habs for the sake of God, 10,000 riyāls for the purpose of purchasing a habs at Mecca, and 10,000 riyāls for a Habs in the sake of God at Madina. This sum is among that held by Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Razīnī and his companions. May the reward of that good work be to our credit, if God will.

Peace!

6, Noble Ramaḍān, 1274 (April 21, 1858).

Akansus has said: They sailed from Tangier in an English ship and upon their arrival at Alexandria were received by the ruler of Egypt with a great joy and happiness that surpasses all description. He established them in the richest, most beautiful, most magnificent, and most agreeable /75/ of his palaces and in which he had prepared all that they needed in the way of silver and gold utensils, silk and satin rugs, and precious and strange objects. He presented to them magnificent quantities of all sorts of dishes and beverages in accordance with their rank. He granted them access to any place they wished to visit: buildings, factories, gardens, and royal parks which amaze the eye and which are famous in far places. They saw things which the tongue cannot express with certitude and that one would not have believed man capable of creating. They then crossed the Red Sea to Jidda and fulfilled the rites and executed the prescriptions of the pure law, al-Tawāf,¹¹ al-Sa'y,¹² and al-Waqūf¹³ and visited the sacred places. Then they left to fulfill the greatest and highest of acts, which is the greatest wish of all believing hearts, the visit of the interceder of mankind at the holiest of places. In Mecca they came upon sickness and unhealthy conditions which had caused many foreign pilgrims to perish, including some of the servants. Two of the Sultan's sons died: Mūlāi Ibrāhīm and Mūlāi Ja'far, the first in Mecca and the second in Medina. God saved the others and was generous to them and raised their standing.

When they went to visit the Lord of the heavens and the earth they were welcomed with joy in that place, in comparison to which the importance of all others dwindle. And there they realized their desire to kiss that most noble soil and that most generous rock. They bore testimony to a

generosity inspired by God and each received that which he had desired and hoped for.

They left Medina after that and returned with all goodness and while washing away with their tears the dust which had covered their faces in these holy places. But they had to face serious difficulties at the hands of the savage Arabs on the trip from Medina to Yanbu'¹⁴ for they had strayed from the caravan and if not for the grace of God would have perished unto the last man. Their salvation from that difficult situation was very strange indeed. And in their salvation is found an example for men of intelligence, for they were like those restored to life after death and burial and whose souls and memories would have disappeared. Praise be to God who does not abandon His charges and whose honor cannot be assailed! When they reached Yanbu' they found there awaiting them the ships which were to carry them homewards. They embarked and with favorable winds to drive them on were assured of the profits of commerce and happiness. When they reached Marrakesh, the capital, shaded from above by security, /76/ standards and pavilions of satisfaction they spent the night at the bridge of Tansift.¹⁵ At dawn the cavalry and infantry of the Sultan went out to greet them along with the inhabitants of Marrakesh who were dressed in their most beautiful attire. The day of their return was a famous day and was counted among the greatest of feasts.

The learned Faqih, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Filālī al-Fāsī¹⁶ passed away on Friday, the 27th of Muharram 1275 (August 28, 1858). He was the great scholar of Fez and the Maghrib and especially distinguished by his instruction and editing, above all of the Mukhtasar of Sheikh Khalīl.¹⁷ His death was a great loss for his students for he left behind

no one as able as himself in the science of editing and questions of jurisprudence. May God have mercy upon him and cause us to benefit from his example.

On the night of 6 Sha'bān (March 12, 1859), after the last 'Ishā', a brief earthquake took place. On the 4th of Shawwāl (May 8, 1859) of the same year the warrior of the faith Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī Fanīsh al-Salāwī¹⁸ arrived at Sale from London aboard a ship charged with 17 cannons, 2 great bronze mortars, and numerous instruments of war. He brought all this upon the orders of the Sultan Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman to arm the new bastion of Sale of which we have already spoken. The Most High God knows the truth. In this same year the comet appeared for the third time during this period.

NOTES

1. Mūlāi 'Alī was later given command of a Jaish by his brother Sidi Muḥammad to collect the taxes of the tribes in the area of Oujda. Al-Nāsiri 9, p. 145.
2. Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad al-Razīnī al-Tutāwanī was the principal administrator of customs at Tangier. Caillé, p. 48.
3. Saiyid al-Mahdī b. al-Ṭālib b. Sūda al-Murī al-Fāsī was renowned for his perfect diction. He died in Rabat on September 12, 1877. Al-Nāsiri 9, p. 163.
4. Saiyid Aḥmad b. Sūda al-Murī al-Fāsī is not otherwise mentioned in the Kitāb al-Istiḡsā.
5. Al-Marshid al-Mu'in 'ala al-Darūri min 'ulūm al-dīn by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Alī b. 'Ashir al-Ansarī al-Andalūsi al-Fāsī (d. 1631). Cf. Brockelmann S2, p. 699.
6. Al-Multaqim, an empty space lying between a corner of the hajar and the door of the Ka'ba, is a sacred place where prayers are reputed to be answered. Kitāb al-Istibsār, p. 17.
7. The Maqām Ibrāhīm is an old sacred stone upon which Abraham stood when constructing the Ka'ba and upon which his footprints are said to still be seen. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 85.
8. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthman was the first of the orthodox caliphs (632-634).
9. 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, the second of the orthodox caliphs, was caliph from 634 to 644.
10. Al-Qaṣr here probably refers to Al-Qaṣr al-Saghīr. Meakin reports that a Pasha of Larache had rebuilt a palace there between the years 1840-46 but that by the beginning of the 20th century it was completely deserted. Cf. LM, p. 339.
11. Al-Tawāf is the sevenfold circumambulation of the Ka'ba in Mecca. Hitti, p. 133.
12. Al-Sa'y is the course, seven times repeated, between the eminences of Al-Safa and Marwa in commemoration of the tradition that Hagar ran back and forth between these two mounds in search of a spring for her thirsty son. Hitti, p. 133.

13. Al-Waqūf are the halts which take place at the outlying sanctuaries of 'Arafa, i.e., Al-Muzdalifa and Mina. Hitti, p. 133.
14. Yanbu' is a port on the Red Sea roughly 130 miles W. of Medina.
15. The Tansift River empties into the Atlantic 16 miles S. of Safi. It rises in the Atlas mountains N.E. of Marrakesh. Jackson, p. 107.
16. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Filālī al-Fāsī is not listed by Brockelmann nor elsewhere in the Kitāb al-Istiqsā.
17. Al-Mukhtasar by Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsa Ghars al-Dīn Abū al-Safa' al-Jundi al-Maliki al-Misri, d. 767-1365. Brockelmann S II, pp. 96-97.
18. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Arabī Fanīsh al-Salāwī's father, a Pasha, had been killed during Mūlāi Sulaimān's siege of Fez. Al-Nāsiri 8, p. 156.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DEATH OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. HISHĀM

(MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM!)

/76/ The Commander of the Faithful Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman had gone to Marrakesh at the beginning of the year 1270 (1853). Upon his arrival he dismissed the Wazir Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jāmi'i and appointed in his place, for a few days, the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Gharīt.¹ Then he appointed as Wazir the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār al-Tattāwanī. He stayed in Marrakesh until the end of 1273 (1857). Then he, with the Khalīfa Sidi Muhammad, as usual, lanced an attack against the Zammūr al-Shaluh. Afterwards the Khalīfa went to Marrakesh while the Sultan made his way to Meknes /77/ where he established his residence going out only to wage war against the Zammūr al-Shaluh and then returning. It is said that he went once to Fez. Then, at the beginning of the year 1276 (1859), while he was engaged in combat with the Zammūr, the illness of his death came upon him. He went forth from there to Meknes where the sickness continued its course until he died on Friday, the 29th of Muḥarram in the year 1276 (August 29, 1859). He was buried between the two 'Ishā' on the first night of Ṣafar (August 30, 1859) in the tomb of the great Sultan Mūlāi Isma'īl (May God have mercy upon him!). I had lamented him in an elegy which, however, I have now forgotten. The Faqīh Abū 'Abd Allāh Akansūs also composed an elegy for him.²

NOTES

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Gharīf was in all probability an unimportant figure at Abd al-Raḥman's court. Al-Nāṣirī does not mention him again and he seems to have held no responsible position under either Mūlāi Sulaimān or Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman.
2. Twenty-seven verses follow in text.

CHAPTER XX

END OF THE STORY OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL

MŪLĀI 'ABD AL-RAHMAN, HIS REPUTATION

AND GREAT DEEDS

/78/ Let two of the personal traits of this glorious, magnanimous and noble Imām suffice for you, Oh Reader of this history. First: the testimony of his uncle Sultan Mūlāi Sulaimān concerning his piety, justice, and inclination for good and supererogatory acts which led him (Mūlāi Sulaimān) to appoint him in preference to his own sons; all of which we have already related in detail. Second: his restoration of this noble dynasty, which was sinking into ruins, and his returning it to its youth when it was approaching destruction and oblivion, as you have also seen. In fact Mūlāi 'Abd al-Rahman (May God have mercy upon him!) was a second Isma'il. I do not think that you can fail to recognize his virtues such as firmness, energy, perfect intelligence, wisdom in action, orderliness, ability to comprehend causes and their consequences, and governing in a legal way, after what we have related concerning him (May God have mercy upon him!). You have seen how he was a victim of circumstances and continually under pressure without an assistant worthy of mention or a Wazir worthy of consideration. Yet in spite of all this he rose to the situation (May God have mercy upon him!) and /79/ found solutions to the simplest and most difficult problems and in so doing reinstated the original royal principle and reestablished its power. As for his piety, patience, modesty and

abstinence from bloodshed, except in cases where the right therefor was clear and the law made it necessary, all this known to the world. The works he has left behind in the Maghrib are numerous, among them that which he began his reign, the reconstruction of the ruined part of the port of Tangier and for which he spent large sums of money before he restored it to its former beauty and strength. He also restored the Idrisī Sanctuary in Fez, enlarging and beautifying it to its former splendor and constructed its mosque. He had repaired the two great forts at Sale along with their redoubts which face towards the sea, the great Maristan of the tomb of Sheikh Ibn 'Āshir, the famous minaret of the great mosque, the powder rooms at al-Qalī'a among others and the redoubts of the fort at Rabat. He also had constructed in the environs of that city, for its protection and for the security of its roads, two great Qaşbas: the Qaşba of Al-Sakhīrāt¹ and the Qaşba of Abū Zanīqa.² The inhabitants had faith in them and free circulation was established between them. He restored the demolished parts of the forts of Mogador and, by taking great pains and spending considerable sums of money, he caused them to become as strong and solid as possible. Among his works in Marrakesh are the famous Ajdal, the renovation of the Al-Mansūr Mosque³ in the Qaşba after only the memory of its name remained and which he returned to its original condition with all its majesty, extent, and lofty constructions. Twice he restored the Mosque of Abū al-Kutubīn⁴ and renovated the Mausoleum of Sheikh Abū al-Abbās al-Sabtī⁵ (May God be satisfied with him!). He enlarged the Mosque of Sheikh Abū Ishāq al-Belfīqī in the market of al-Daqaqain and had the Mosque of al-Wustī demolished and then replaced by an edifice of striking appearance. He reconstructed the Mosque of Abū

Hasan where Friday prayers were reestablished as once long ago, as well as reconstructing and enlarging the Mosque of al-Qamariya.

In Fez he caused to be renovated the Park of Amīna al-Marīniya.⁶ Akansūs has said: This park had been abandoned and wild beasts made of it their home even though it was near the Sultan's gate and in the heart of the city. In the time of the Merinides it had been a superb park, a testimony to that dynasty's luxury and magnificence. There were found there terraces, lofty dwellings, and council places looking out over the gardens of al-Mustaqā. In short this courtyard was the realization of all the beauty to be found in this world, a terrestrial paradise which surpassed the limits of beauty. But the vicissitudes of time had gone hard with it and had "erased the letters from its book". /80/ The kings who had preceded our master, fortified in God, had looked upon them without compassion for their condition and had not saved them from their state of ruin, even though they were in the midst of their palaces. God inspired in this blessed Sultan compassion for them, and he restored them to their former beauty and caused them to come out from under the cloud of destruction.

NOTES

1. The Qaṣba of al-Sakhrāt was roughly 29 kilometers S. of Rabat on the road to Fedala.
2. The Qaṣba of Abū Zanīqa was 42 kilometers S. of Rabat on the coastal route to Safi. Its ruins are still to be seen.
3. The Mosque of al-Mansūr was constructed in 1197 by Yaqub al-Mansur. It was later restored by Abū 'Abd Allāh (1557-1574).
4. The Mosque al-Kutubīn (Kutubia) dates from 1153. It is thus named because at one time as many as 200 booksellers were installed around it. Cf. IM, p. 304.
5. The Mausoleum of al-Sabtī had been constructed by Mūlāi Isma'īl beside the older Mosque which dates from 1605. Sidi Abū al-'Abbās al-Sabtī (1130-1205) was born in Cueta and became a great Moroccan saint. EI 3, p. 298.
6. The garden of Lalla Amina is in Fās al-Jadīd. EI 2, p. 72.

APPENDIX

INDEX OF PERSONS

- 'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muhammad b. (Mūlāi); pp. 136, 137.
- 'Abd Allāh, Sidi Muhammad b.; pp. 18, 26, 29, 48, 96.
- 'Abd Allāh, Sidi Muhammad b. al-Ṭaiyib b. Muhammad b.; pp. 12, 25, 32, 70, 71.
- 'Abd al-Malik, Ahmad b. (Mūlāi); p. 4.
- 'Abd al-Qādir (Mūlāi); p. 116.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Abd Allāh (Mūlāi); pp. 136, 137.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Ahmad b. (Mūlāi); p. 110.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Alī b. (Mūlāi); pp. 136, 137.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Ibrāhīm b. (Mūlāi); pp. 132, 137, 142.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Ja'far b. (Mūlāi); pp. 136, 137, 142.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, al-Rashīd b. (Mūlāi); p. 115.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Sidi Muhammad; pp. 72, 77, 90, 98, 109, 116, 122, 123, 132, 147, 149.
- 'Abd al-Rahman, Sulaimān b. (Mūlāi); pp. 115, 140.
- al-Ahlāfī, Abū Ziyān b. al-Shāwī; p. 34.
- Ahmad Pasha; p. 52.
- al-'Alamī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi 'Abd al-Qādir; p. 116.
- al-'Aqilī, al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Tāhir al-Maghafī; pp. 64, 65, 66, 72, 73, 77.
- al-'Arwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Yushshu al-Malkī; p. 18.
- 'Āshir, Sidi al-Hājj Ahmad; pp. 72, 89, 150.

- 'Āsim Ibn; p. 90.
- al-'Āsal, Ibn; p. 97.
- 'Awwād, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥassūn; pp. 116, 117.
- 'Awwād, Saiyid al-Ḥājj Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāshimī; p. 89.
- 'Azīz, al-Ḥasan b. Hammū Wā; pp. 8, 66.
- Āztūt, Abū Salhām b. 'Alī; p. 102.
- Bakr, Abū; p. 140.
- al-Balfīqī, Abū Ishāq; p. 150.
- Barītal, al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rahman; p. 48.
- Bārkāsh, al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Rahman; p. 48.
- al-Bū'amrānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ā'jalī; p. 44.
- al-Bū'anānī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām; p. 61.
- al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. al-Shadid; p. 43.
- al-Bukhārī, al-Ṭaiyib al-Wadīnī; pp. 65, 104.
- al-Bulaghini, al-Ḥāshimī b. Mullūk (Mūlai); p. 14.
- al-Darqāwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Arabī b. Ahmad; pp. 8, 14, 22.
- Dawsir; p. 25.
- Farjī; pp. 77, 115.
- al-Fāsī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fīlālī; p. 143.
- al-Fāsī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs; pp. 5, 29, 33, 43, 57, 72, 86, 90, 114.
- al-Fāsī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭaiyib al-Biyāz; p. 19.
- al-Fāsī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Shaqshāq; p. 14.
- al-Fāsī, al-Ḥājj al-Ṭālib b. Jallūn; pp. 4, 71, 85.
- al-Fāsī, al-Makki al-Qabbāj; p. 115.
- al-Fāsī, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān; p. 19.
- al-Fāsī, Saiyid al-Mahdī b. al-Ṭālib b. Sūdā al-Murī; pp. 136, 139.

Fatima (Mulat); p. 70.

Ghālib, Abū al-Ḥasan b.; p. 141.

Gharrīt, Abū 'Abd Allāh; p. 147.

Ḥafyān, Ibn; p. 120.

al-Ḥassānī, al-Ṭāhir b. Mas'ūd al-Maghafri; pp. 64, 65, 66, 72, 73, 77.

Hishām, Abd al-Rahman b. (Mūlāi); pp. 1, 4, 7, 12, 13, 17, 22, 25, 28, 29, 32, 38, 48, 52, 60, 64, 82, 85, 90, 96, 101, 118, 144, 147.

Hishām, al-Ma'mūn b. al-Sharīf b. (Mūlāi); pp. 19, 35, 39, 42, 44, 97.

al-Ḥajjāj; p. 25.

Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b.; p. 4.

Idrīs (Mūlāi); p. 14.

al-Ikhal, Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad; p. 108.

'Inān, Abū; p. 111.

Isma'īl (Mūlāi); pp. 59, 147, 149.

Isma'īl, Mustafā; p. 85.

al-Jabbārī, Saiyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Zarrūq al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī; p. 86.

al-Jāma'ī, Saiyid al-Mukhtār b. 'Abd al-Malik; pp. 72, 86.

Jāmi'a, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Abū; p. 58.

al-Jāmi'ī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. al-Mukhtār; pp. 104, 114, 147.

al-Janāwī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b.; p. 97.

al-Jarrārī, Abū al-'Alā Idrīs b. Hummān; pp. 32, 34, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73.

al-Jarrārī, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Farhūn; pp. 64, 67, 73, 77.

al-Khadir, Qaddūr b.; p. 75.

Mahbūba, 'Abd al-'Azīz; p. 133.

Mahmūd; p. 52.

Manuel; pp. 49, 118.

al-Marrākushī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Akansūs; pp. 12, 13, 22, 29, 44, 114, 132, 147.

al-Marrākushī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Murābit; p. 42.

al-Ma'askarī, al-Hājj al-Ḥabīb Walad al-Muhr; p. 84.

Muḥammad, al-Hājj; p. 137.

Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan b. (Mūlāi); p. 44.

Muḥammad, Mubārak b. 'Alī b. (Mūlāi); pp. 13, 17, 19.

Muḥammad, Mūsa b. (Mūlāi); p. 13.

Muhāwish, Abū Bakr; p. 7.

al-Mukhtārī, al-Hājj 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muhyī al-Dīn; pp. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 96, 97, 98, 102, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114.

al-Mukhtārī, Muhyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir; p. 81.

Murzaq, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b.; p. 34.

al-Naknāfī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hāhī; p. 86.

al-Ribātī, al-Mustafā al-Dukkālī b. al-Jilānī; p. 115.

al-Riyāhī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Qādir; p. 5.

al-Sabtī, Abū al-'Abbās; p. 150.

al-Sa'dī, al-Mansūr; p. 133.

al-Salāwī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Hājj al-Malkī al-Sadrātī; p. 89.

al-Salāwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Mallāh; p. 41.

al-Salāwī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī Fannīsh; p. 144.

al-Salāwī, Aḥmad b. Khālīd al-Nāsirī; p. 86.

Sālih, Abū Muḥammad; p. 40.

Sālim, Abū Jum'a b.; p. 12.

al-Sharqī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm; pp. 109, 110.

Sitta, 'Amr b. Abū; p. 9.

- Sūda, al-Saiyid Ahmad b.; p. 136.
- Sulaimān (Mūlāi); pp. 1, 2, 4, 7, 18, 22, 38, 40, 41, 43, 48, 64, 149.
- Sulaimān, 'Abd al-Salām b. (Mūlāi); pp. 12, 13.
- Sulaimān, 'Abd al-Wāhid b. (Mūlāi); pp. 12, 13.
- Sulaimān, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. (Mūlāi); pp. 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 81.
- al-Sūsī, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad; p. 103.
- Tammām, Abū; p. 115.
- al-Tastāwatī, Sidi Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir; p. 117.
- al-Tasūlī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Salām Madīdash; pp. 88, 89.
- al-Tattāwanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār; p. 114.
- al-Tattāwanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Khātib; pp. 134, 141.
- al-Tattāwanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār; pp. 125, 147.
- al-Tattāwanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi Muḥammad al-Harrāq; p. 132.
- al-Tattāwanī, al-Ḥājj, 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Ḥājj Ahmad al-Razīnī;
pp. 83, 84, 136.
- al-Tattāwanī, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Ahmad al-Razīnī; pp. 136,
137, 141.
- al-Tlamsānī, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Janān al-Barūdī; pp. 136, 137.
- Tūbī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Hashimī; p. 89.
- al-Ubbī; p. 55.
- al-Walhāsī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bū Ḥamīdī; pp. 82, 109.
- al-Wazzānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Sidi al-Ḥājj al-'Arabī b. 'Alī; pp. 60, 61,
117.
- al-Wudāyā, Idrīs; p. 66.
- al-Wurāwī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm; p. 19.
- al-Yamānī, Saiyid al-Ṭaiyib b. (Abū 'Ishrīn); p. 99.
- Yazdaki, Ibrāhīm Yasmūr; p. 130.
- Yazīd, Ibrāhīm b. (Mūlāi); pp. 7, 19.

al-Zabdi, al-Hājj Muhammad b. al-Hājj al-Tāhir; pp. 103, 104.

al-Zammūrī, al-Hājj Muhammad al-Ghāzī; pp. 7, 8, 9, 22.

Zanībar, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī; pp. 117, 119, 132.

Zidūh, Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad b.; p. 122.

al-Zirrārī, al-Mahdī b. Muhammad al-Sharrādī; pp. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.

al-Ziyānī, al-Hashimī b. al-'Abbās; p. 19.

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