



Social Transformations in Tetuan at the End of 19th Century

التحولات الاجتماعية بمدينة تطوان في نهاية القرن 19م

Elassaoui Abderrazzak

Professor of History in secondary education(Morocco) ,
assaoui86@gmail.com

Received: 25/ 02/ 2021

Accepted: 27/ 06/ 2022

Abstract:

This article throws light on the structure of notables (A'ayan) and manifestations of notoriety founding in Tetuan society during the second half of the nineteenth century, I used the local writings such as Mufaddal afayal's manuscript "al-kounash", Tetuan's manuscript that was written by an unknown author, Ahmed R'honi's massive historical work, and Mohamed Daoud's seminal book entitled "History of Tetuan". For the Spanish perspective, I substantially depended on a Diary of a Witness that was written by Pedro Antonio de Alarcon. Generally, this article shows that the traditional notables gradually lost their notoriety. By contrast, a new social category acquired a prominent social place in Tetuan society.

Keywords: Notables, Tetuan, Pre-colonial period , Social history, Notoriety

ملخص:

يسلط هذا المقال الضوء على بنية أعيان مدينة تطوان ومظاهر وجاهتهم خلال النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر. استند إلى الكتابات المحلية، مثل كناشة المفضل أفيال ومخطوط تطوان للمؤلف المجهول، وكتاب أحمد الرهوني المعنون ب عمدة الراوين في تاريخ تطاوين، بالإضافة إلى كتاب بيدرو أنطونيو دي ألكاركون المعنون ب حرف



أفريقيا. على كل حال، يبرز هذا المقال التراجع الكبير لوجاهة أعيان مدينة تطوان خلال النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر، بالمقابل عرفت هذه الحقبة بروز عناصر اجتماعية جديدة، هي في الغالب عناصر تنحدر من عائلات قبلية غير معروفة، مفتقرة لمحددات الوجاهة التقليدية، غير أنها نجحت في تحقيق الصعود الاجتماعي بفضل علاقتها الوثيقة بالقوى الأجنبية، بحيث كانت هذه العناصر أداة رئيسة في يد الأوروبيين لإخضاع المدينة وإضعاف المخزن بصورة عامة. وهكذا فقد استفادت من مجموعة من الامتيازات، مثل الإعفاء من الضرائب والاحتكارات التجارية، مما مكنها من تحقيق ثروات هائلة، وبالتالي اكتساب وجاهة ونفوذ كبيرين داخل المجتمع التطواني خلال النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر.

الكلمات الدالة: الأعيان، تطوان، حقبة ما قبل الاستعمار، التاريخ الاجتماعي، الوجاهة

Introduction

This article deals with the social changes in Tetuan during the second half of the nineteenth century, with emphasis on the structure of notables (*A'ayan*) and manifestations of notoriety founding. One of the main factors responsible for these changes resides in the European penetration, which gave rise to an emergence of new social actors in Tetuan society like protected persons. On the contrary, the traditional notables were unable to keep up with these changes through strengthening their relations with foreign powers in the same way as the new social actors of Tetuan society.

The above mentioned social changes, are not only limited to Tetuan society, but they simultaneously extended to different regions of



Morocco. Put differently, the European penetration became an inevitable reality in all regions of Morocco, which consequently brings us to excavate the particularities of social changes in Tetuan. It is well known that Tetuan, or more broadly, the Northern region of Morocco was occupied by Spain, while the other regions were occupied by France. Taking this into consideration, I am going to examine the manifestations of social changes in Tetuan after the Spanish occupation (1859 – 1861). I had originally intended to treat the cities of French regions as well, but reluctantly will have to remain content with mentioning them only episodically. In order to prevent any confusion, this article attempts to answer the following questions: What are the general changes in Tetuan after the Spanish occupation? How these changes affected the notoriety of notables? What are the characteristics of the new social actors in Tetuan society after the Spanish occupation?

This article is based on the various historical sources in order to explain the social changes in Tetuan from different perspectives. Thus, I used the local writings such as Mufaddal afayal's manuscript "al-kounash"¹, Tetuan's manuscript that was written by an unknown author², Ahmed R'honi's massive historical work³, and Mohamed Daoud's seminal book entitled "History of Tetuan". For the Spanish



perspective, I ~~substantially depended on a~~ Diary of a Witness that was written by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón⁴. Though there is considerable historical distortion, this book is worthy of attention since it is a detailed report on Tetuan during the Spanish occupation (1859-1861).

I. 1- Tetuan during the Spanish occupation (1859-1861)

1-1- Images of the occupation

1859 was an epoch-making for Tetuan, and indeed for Morocco, being the year Spain organized the military campaign against Tetuan. It is well known that Tetuan was the main city of the North Moroccan, not only in cultural, but in economic terms also⁵. Many historical sources dealt with this crucial event for example, Ahmed ibn Khalid al-Nasiri described the Spanish occupation with an emphasis on its military and political dimensions. His descriptions were very brief and moderate⁶. They reflect the central power's view because al-Nasiri carefully selected his words, avoiding the emotional discourse⁷. On the contrary, A. Afaylal's manuscript and the author of Madrid manuscript combined personal impressions with an elegy, expressing the great mental shock and the deep wound in Tetuan society, due to the Spanish occupation. These descriptions show that the two authors were eyewitnesses to the occupation, as they gave a detailed



report of the Spanish penetration of Tetuan. These descriptions are based on specific words and particular phrases, which reflect sadness, loss, and deep antipathy towards Spanish. In this way, A. Afaylal dramatically threw light on humiliation of the population of Tetuan during the Spanish occupation. He described The Spanish campaign in Morocco as an extension of the medieval Christian reconquest of al-Andalus. Furthermore, he sharply criticized those who refused to leave Tetuan after the Spanish penetration, such as Ahmed Abair who was attached to the Austrian consulate. It is noteworthy that Ahmed Abair played a major role in negotiations between Spaniards and Muslim of Tetuan, namely who did not emigrate from Tetuan. Subsequently, he succeeded to avoid any direct military confrontation between the two parties. Ultimately, Spain assigned him as the spokesman for Muslims in Tetuan.

In the same context, the author of Tetuan manuscript gave detailed information about Tetuan's Jews. He stated that they welcomed the Spaniards and sheltered them. As a result, they controlled the business exchanges in Tetuan during this period. So, they amassed great fortunes. It is true that there are many gaps in these descriptions, but we could say that they reflect the prevailing view of the Jews in Tetuan society during the second half of the nineteenth century, they were viewed as betrayers and opportunists.



~~As above mentioned above,~~ the P. A. de Alarcón's book entitled "Diary of an Eyewitness to the War of Africa" (1860) is one of the most famous historical sources in Spain during this period for the wealth of detail it includes about urban society of Tetuan. It is worth mentioning that P. A. de Alarcon witnessed and participated in the Spanish campaign, initially as a journalist, then as a soldier. In general terms, This book revived the historical memory of al-Andalus in order to legitimize Spain's historical connection to North Africa. Alarcon affirmatively praised the occupation, justifying the rationality of the Spanish colonial control as the herald of civilization. Needless to say, This book was encouraged by the colonial administration in order to achieve its colonial objectives.

1-2- Urban changes

During the Spanish occupation, Tetuan witnessed many urban modifications since the Spaniards destroyed some buildings especially those that were not compatible with their urban architecture. In this regard, Mohammed al-khatib sent a letter to the vizier Tayeb ben al-Yamani (1859-1869) emphasizing that when he arrived in Tetuan to sign the peace agreement with Spaniards, he noticed that the Spanish occupation caused tremendous damage to properties, stores



and residential buildings, etc. these urban changes aimed to control the city and to facilitate the transportation between its different sides⁸.

Mohammed Daoud also provided us with ample information about urban changes in Tetuan. He noted, based on a vivid eyewitness account of an old man, that there was a long street between Bab al- Aqla and al- Faddan, which was established by Spaniards during the occupation period at the expense of the private properties and endowments (waqf). In addition, he mentioned that a number of residential buildings became headquarters for the Spanish military and dwellings for its officers. Meanwhile, the Bendelac's dwelling became a telegraph center, and the Ashaash's dwelling at al-Faddan turned to a casino. Furthermore, Daoud threw light on the Spanish violations of the sanctity of some Zawiyas, for example the Zawiya of Mohammed ben al-Fakkih changed to a hospital, the Zawiya of Shaykh Abdallah al-Bakkal became a catholic church, and the Zawiya al-Fassia in Trankkat turned into a tavern.

In this way, Mohammed al-khatib, The representative (*naib*) of Sultan Mawlay 'Abd al- Rahmān (1822-1859) in Tangier, sent a letter to the vizier Tayeb ben el-Yamani, in which he stated that a number of mosques were locked, while only four of them remained open, but he did not mention their names. At the same time, he dealt with many abuses against the sanctity of the buried marabouts. For



instance, ~~they destroyed the wooden dome of tombs,~~ such as Sidi Saidi, Sidi Ali Baraka, and Sidi Abd el-kader Tibbin, etc. Moreover, he referred to several buried marabouts were dug up by the Spaniards⁹.

II. 2- The Political impact of the Spanish occupation

2-1- Increasing the Consular representation

In 1777, The sultan Mohammed ben Abdallah (1757-1790) issued a decree to assign the city of Tangier as a place of consuls in order to control foreign presence in Morocco¹⁰. But this decision was rejected by the European countries, notably Great Britain. By 1827, Great Britain urged the Makhzan (as the Moroccan government was called) to approve the British proposal for appointment of a British consul in Tetuan. Nevertheless, the Sultan Mohammed ben Abderrahman (1822-1859) refused this proposal. In his letter to the commander (*qā'id*) Mohammed Ashaash Tetuani. He said: “this is unusual, you must not accept it, the place of consuls is Tangier (...)”¹¹. As a result of foreign pressure, the Makhzan was coerced to accept the British proposal¹². Thus, the Sultan authorized Great Britain to appoint another consul in Tetuan. Likewise, the other European consuls came back to Tetuan, taking advantage of the Moroccan crisis after the Tetuan war. For example, the Hispano -



Moroccan Treaty of 1861 obviously strengthened the Spanish consular presence in Tetuan. It is worth mentioning that Pedro Fantun was the first Spanish consul appointed in Tetuan during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1866, He was succeeded in this position by Ramon Jexnaver de la Requena who had a dispute with The commander Mohammed Ashaash Tetouani. France also returned its consulate to Tetuan, based on the protected Jews and the Algerians settled in Tetuan. In 1862, France appointed the Jewish Menahem Nahon as a consul in Tetuan. by 1891, the consul of France in Tetuan was the Algerian merchant Mohammed ben Abdallatif. Then, he was succeeded in this position by Allal al-Abddi. It is noted that the other European countries followed the same way to assign its consular representatives, for example Italy assigned Mohammed al-khatib as representative consul in 1886. Meanwhile, Portugal was represented by Jewish merchants in Tetuan such as Abraham Hassan and Salvador Hassan¹³. Unlike the above mentioned European countries, the united state of America didn't have a consulate in Tetuan until 1880. The Jewish merchant Abraham Pariente was the first consular representative of the United State of America. He was replaced by Isaac Cohen in 1888, and the latter was succeeded by Saul Tuilom in 1893¹⁴.

2.2. The spread of the consular protection system



Undoubtedly, the Spaniards-occupation triggered a series of rapid and far-reaching social changes in Tetuan. One of the most obvious manifestations of these changes resides in the System of foreign protection¹⁵. It refers to the practice whereby, especially from 1860 onward, foreign residents granted extraterritorial rights to their local employees and business agents that conferred legal and fiscal immunities on Moroccan subjects under the protection of European consulates.

The expansion of the consular protection was an exceptionally vexing problem for the Makhzan, as it was regarded as an erosion of the Makhzan's effective sovereignty. Indeed, the correspondences between the Sultan and the Commander of Tetuan are emblems and witnesses that these protected persons were very strong in this period. For example, it mentioned that the Commander of Tetuan was dismissed in 1864 because he slapped a Jewish protected attached to French consulate in Tetuan¹⁶. It also dealt with the incident that occurred in 1866 between the Commander of Tetuan, Mohammed ben Mansour al-Mahdaoui and the Spanish consul Ramón Jexnaver de la Requena. Thus, the Spanish consul requested an immediate interference of the Commander for ending the repeated violations of the laws by the protected Jewish Jacob Cohen¹⁷.



Consequently, the Commander arrested J. Cohen and put him in prison. Nevertheless, the consular representative of the United State of America in Tetuan strongly protested against the conduct of the Commander, asking him to release j. Cohen under the pretext that he was a protected American. Ultimately, the Commander acquiesced to strong pressures of the American representative. In this way, we also refer to abuses or illegal acts of the French protected Mohammed Tounsi in 1897 who built a dilapidated dwelling in the middle of the road, thereby preventing the main road traffic between the anchor of *Martil* and *Diwana* (the customs area). In spite of the vigorous merchants protest, the French protected obstinately persisted in violation of the law, with support from the French consul¹⁸. Another important example of these abuses is the conduct of a protected Portuguese who was descended from the tribe of Beni Saad who insulted and humiliated many people, including local notables. Moreover, he consistently attacked the property of others in order to expand his agricultural land. Similar to the preceding examples, the Makhzan was unable to take any action against this French protected person¹⁹.

As a result of the growth of the protected persons abuses, the Sultan Moulay el-Hassan (1874-1894) sent a letter to the Commander of Tetuan in 1877, which contained many instructions such as the



necessity of restricting the protected persons' list, controlling the notaries, and requesting the foreign consuls for preventing their scribes from drafting contracts²⁰. However, these procedures did not stop the arrogance of the protected persons, but rather they continued their provocations and breaching the rules of the Makhzan with support from the European powers. Then, at the request of the Sultan Moulay el-Hassan, the Madrid treaty was drafted in 1880 during an international conference held in Madrid. This treaty, which consisted of 18 articles, served to regulate the foreign protection in Morocco. These articles stated that agreements signed previously, with Britain (1856), Spain (1861) and France (1863), remained in force, with modifications set out in this treaty. Thus, it may be said that it was a continuity of its predecessors. Very importantly, this Treaty contains some points in favour of the Makhzan, for example it indicated that any who protected owned farmed land or were farmers had to pay agricultural tax, and any who owned and used pack animals or load carrying had to pay 'gate tax'. But at the same time they were exempted from other taxes. In general terms, we can consider this treaty as a tool to legalize the foreign protection. Moreover, foreign officials residing in Morocco were given right to the acquisition of real estate with the prior permission of the Moroccan



Government. In addition, the foreign countries in Morocco could choose any 12 Moroccans to be protected for whatever reason they desired without permission of the Moroccan Government, but had to seek permission if they wanted to protect any more.

It seems clear that the protected persons became the main social component in Tetuan, whereby they dominated the economic and political life. So, they expressed their rejection of all rules and customs in Tetuan. Moreover, they didn't hesitate to insult the representatives of the Makhzan and the traditional notables as well. So, it was reasonable that the representatives of the Makhzan feared being opposed to their interests, attempting to avoid direct conflict with their assistants.

In order to alleviate the problems caused by the protected persons, the Makhzan used the ullamas (theologians), who vigorously opposed this social ascent of the protected persons, such as al-Arbi al-Mashrafi, Mohamed ben al-Mamoun el-kettani and Allal ben Abdesalam el-Fahri²¹. In this sense, they wrote many books in order to mobilise people and to raise the national consciousness of Moroccan and to make them aware of the danger of cooperating with the coloniser. Furthermore, it described the protected persons as lechers, corrupters, and betrayers. In spite of huge efforts of the Makhzan for defending the rights of the Cherifian Sultan and the



interests of the Nation, ~~but it appears that these efforts were~~ unable to put an end to the consular protection problems, due to an absence of practical ways. So, reluctantly the Makhzan remained content with moral sovereignty, through urging the ullamas to issue religious rulings (Fatawa).

What is surprising is the fact that the discourse of ullamas' writings was very confusing, since it didn't tell us about the nature of the protected persons both in terms of social category and beneficial way. Viewed in this light, it may be said that this confused sight reflects the grave concern of the Makhzan regarding any direct confrontation with the traditional notables who were protected by the European powers. Thus, the ullamas found themselves in an ambivalent position, on the one hand they tried to defend the Makhzan by strong condemnation of the foreign protected system, but on the other hand they were very keen to maintain their close familial ties with the protected persons²².

3- The Social impact of the Spanish occupation

3-1- The social decline of the traditional notables

The persons enjoying consular protection are descended from Tetuani wealthy trading families such as Lebbadi and Erzini, besides



individuals, with no social anchorage. This is due mainly to the policy of the European countries, it initially distributed the cards of protection among Moroccans working in consulates as interpreters, guards, homeworkers, etc. then, it moved to diffuse these cards among the Moroccan merchants associated with foreign trading. It is noteworthy that a number of Tetuani notables families previously gained many financial and political prerogatives such as exemption from taxation due to their close ties with the Makhzan²³. Nevertheless, the changes of the second half of the nineteenth century involved an explicit threat against the notoriety of the traditional notables in Tetuan, for which reason they became more and more anxious to find a way out of this dilemma through the foreign protection with the belief that it could protect their notoriety. But in fact, the foreign protection didn't prevent the gradual decay of the notables' notoriety. It is further noticed that these notables lost their value both in terms of social and economic sides. Ultimately, they couldn't compete with the Jewish and European merchants who dominated commercial exchanges during this period. Moreover, they seemed to lack of vividness, in comparison with the other protected, notably those who had no social anchorage. What is surprising is the fact that the large profits and the filthy rich of protected persons triggered the rise of apprehensions among the imperialist countries themselves,



they significantly expressed their reticence towards their endless ambitions. In this sense, several European chambers of commerce strove to control the behaviour of their protected persons.

3-2- The increasing tension between Muslims and Jews

The above mentioned table also shows the spread of the foreign protection among the Jewish community during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Jews didn't hesitate to request foreign protection in order to obtain the benefits that would strengthen their social and economic position in Tetuan.

It is apparent that the Jews of Tetuan were the main tool used for penetrating the Tetuan society. In this regard, the Rothschild family, the most famous of all European Jewish families, sent physicians like Dr. Philip Hauser in order to cure the Tetuani Jews²⁴. There are several examples of those protected Jewish families in Tetuan such as Bendelac. It is worth mentioning that Jean-Louis Miège dealt with this family, based on a manuscript in the Dutch archive, it is a daily record of Abraham Bendelac, consisting of 350-pages, which contains very important historical information related to the history of Tetuan, or more broadly, the history of Morocco from 1821 to 1828.



As a result, the tension concretely increased between the Jews and the general populace and the Sultan's administrators. The contemporary observers especially the author of Madrid's Manuscript and A. Afyalal threw a new light on this hostility between the Jews and Muslims in Tetuan after the Spanish occupation, they mentioned that the behaviour of the Jews witnessed great changes, whereby their arrogance and recklessness were much in evidence, They sought to be above the law. In this way John Drummond Hay (envoy extraordinary to the court of Morocco from 1846 to 1886) wrote to the representative of the Sultan al-khatib in august 1860, requesting him in the name of the British Government and on the advice of the Jewish communities in Europe to urge the Sultan to issue orders to the Commanders warning them not to take reprisals against the Jews after the Spanish occupation of Tetuan²⁵. In spite of John Drummond Hay's efforts, the gap between the Jews and the Sultan's administrators became more and more extensive.

We have to remember here that there is continuity of anti-Jewish stereotypes in the Tetuani populace's collective memory. Here, we should note that these stereotypes significantly strengthened during the period of fragility and instability of the central power, whereby the relations between the Jews and the Populace became much more tense. This was often accompanied by excessive violence,



which takes the extreme form of physical assault. In this regard we mention the criminal activities of 'Isa al-Rifi in Tetuan from 1867 to 1869 who, aided by Lahsen Lamteyel and al-Masmoudi, killed many Jews for allegedly being betrayers who obtained many privileges, including the opportunity to make ties with the European trading houses. So they could amass a vast amount of wealth over the years, at the expense of the stability and security of Tetuani society.

It is worth mentioning that 'Isa al-Rifi gained a huge popularity in Tetuan and its surrounding tribes. On the other hand, the correspondences between the Makhzan and the foreign consuls show the great resonance of 'Isa al-Rifi's issue²⁶. Very importantly, the fact that The representatives of the Makhzan found themselves in a very difficult position due to the foreign pressure. Thus, the Sultan appointed a new Commander of Tetuan, and he dispatched military reinforcements to the region, which led to the murder of 'Isa al-Rifi, and arresting his followers.

III. 4- Concluding Remarks: Characteristics of Tetuan in the pre-colonial period

What can be inferred here is that Tetuan constantly provided a window through which today's historians viewed social changes in Morocco as a whole during the pre-colonial period. It would be



quite correct to say that the traditional notables gradually lost their notoriety. By contrast, a new social category acquired a prominent social place in Tetuan society. The foreign protection system became a tool to achieve social ascent and to accumulate profits. This coincided with a decline of the traditional institutions in Tetuan such as the Zawiyas, while the new institutions increasingly became more and more important, I would like to mention, in particular the Franciscan mission, and the school of the Alliance Israelite. Here, we come to a keen problem: to what extent did the European penetration affect the social structure in Tetuan, in comparison with the other traditional Moroccan cities like Rabat?

As discussed above , the city of Tetuan is characterized by its Andalusian origins²⁷. The study of Mohammed Daoud lists over one hundred names of Tetuani families of Spanish Andalusian origin, from al-Andalusi, Cortobí, and Garnatí to Ramos, Salas, Vargas (Bargach), and Torres²⁸. Furthermore, Tetuan was rebuilt by the end of the 15th century by refugees from Andalusia expelled from Al-Andalus by the Spaniards. So, the Tetuani notables were affected by the fortunes of history with Spain; their ancestral land and the close neighbor across the Mediterranean Sea. But, unfortunately, a burning hatred rooted in collective memories of both parties. The above mentioned Tetuan's local writings, described the Spanish occupation



as reopening old wounds. On the other hand, the Spanish writings such as Alarcon's Book considered the occupation of Tetuan as a continuity of the reconquista. Indeed, as soon as the Spaniards entered Tetuan, they started to make lists of the most famous Tetuani families. In that context, we may refer to a report entitled "*the Noble Families of Tetuan*" that was written by Isidro de las Cagigas in 1860, based on historical documents of the Spanish authorities. The purpose of this work was to facilitate easy understanding of Tetuan society, then striving to weaken and even destroy the traditional families, especially the wealthy Trading families such as Erzini, Essaffar, and al-khatib. At the same time, the Spaniards encouraged new social actors to gain a prominence place in Tetuan society. It is worth noting that most of those new actors were descended from unknown families.

With respect to other cities, especially those located in the French region like Fes and Rabat, we notice that the negative impact on its traditional notables after European penetration was relatively less severe in comparison with the case of the Tetuani notables. In this way, I would refer to the outstanding work "*the notables of Rabat*" that was written by Abdalillah al-Fassi, in which he examined the notables of Rabat in the nineteenth century and the



beginning of the twentieth century. He emphasized the negative impact of foreign penetration on traditional notables in Rabat. But also simultaneously, it should be noted that this negative impact was largely restricted to the trading families. By contrast, an important number of traditional notables succeeded in maintaining their notoriety by strengthening their relations with European powers, including leaders of Zawiyas, ullamas, Shorfas and Makhzan officials. This may be due to the nature of the French colonial policy in North Africa after the French colonization of Algeria in 1830. Contrary to Spanish colonial policy in Tetuan, France depended on traditional notables to pave the way for colonisation of Morocco. This policy continued after protectorate treaty of 1912. Here, I want to single out the Native Policy applied by Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey (the first French Resident-General in Morocco from 1912 to 1925) which urged the participation of the natives in public affairs in order to bridge the gap between the two cultures. However, I think it remained, in essence, a colonial policy.

¹ This manuscript is available at the Daoudia library in Tetuan, N° 21500.

² Mohammed Daoud extracted some texts from this manuscript. See, Mohammad Daoud (1959-2010), *Tarikh Tituan*, Tetuan: 1959 - 2010, vol.5, p. 277.

³ Ahmed R'honi (1998-2012), *'Omdat Rawin fi Tarikh Titawin*, 10 vols, Tetuan-Asmir Association, Tetuan. 1998 - 2012.



⁴ Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1959), *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África*, Gaspar y Roig, Madrid.

⁵ J. L. Miége (1989), *Le Maroc et L'Europe (1822 - 1906)*, vol.1, Ed. la Porte 1989, Rabat, p.418.

⁶ Ahmed ibn Khalid al- Nassiri (1956), *al-Istiqsa li-Akhbari Duwal al-Maghrib al-Qssa*, Dar al-kitab, Casablanca, 1956, v.4, p. 217.

⁷ Mohammed al-Nasiri (2019), "Shahadat Sahib al-Istiqsa 'la Harb Titwan", In Paper Presented at the Tetuan War Conference, The High Commission for Former Resistance Fighters and Former Members of the Liberation Army, Rabat, pp. 77-88.

⁸ See Daoud, *Tarikh Tetuan*, v.5, p.324.

⁹ Ibid., p.327.

¹⁰ Romion Lourido Diaz (1991), "Le sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah et l'institution de la représentation consulaire à Tanger", in *Tanger 1800-1956: Contribution à l'histoire récente du Maroc*, Rabat, pp.11-13.

¹¹ See Daoud, *Tarikh Tetuan*, v.8, p.113.

¹² Ibid., p.134.

¹³ Mustapha Bouchara (1987), *AlIstitan wa al-Himaya bil AlMaghreb 1863-1894*, v. 2, the Royal Printing, Rabat, p. 663.

¹⁴ Abdelaziz Saoud (1996), *Tituan fi al-Qarn Tasi''char: Mosahama fi Dirasat al-Moujtama' al-Marghrebi*, Tetuan-Asmir Association, Tetuan, p. 161.

¹⁵ See Mohammed Kenbib (2011), *al-Mahmiyoun*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines, pp. 240-251.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁷ Abdelaziz Saoud, *Tituan fi al-Qarn Tasi' 'Achar*, p. 161.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁹ Mudiriyyat al-Watha'iq al-Malikiyya (1977), *al-Watha'iq*, série 4, the Printing Royal, Rabat, p. 317.

²⁰ Abdelaziz Saoud, *Tituan fi al-Qarn Tasi' 'Achar*, p. 173.

²¹ Mohamed ben al-Mamoun el-kettani's work is *Hedayat al-dal-Moshtaghil Belqil wa Alqal* (1892). Al-Arbi al-Mashrafi entitled his work *Resala fi Ahl*



Passport al-Hothala (1895). Allal ben Abdesalam el-Fahri entitled his work *Iqad el-Sakara al-Mohtamin bi Nasara* (1896).

²² For example the Shaykh of the Zawiya el-Ouazzania enjoyed the French consular protection in 1884. We also mention the Shaykh of the Zawiya Tamesloht who enjoyed the British consular protection in 1892.

²³ For further details see Daniel Schroeter (1988), *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Sout-Western Morocco 1844-1886*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

²⁴ Sarah Leibovici (1984), *Chronique des juifs de Tétouan (1860 -1896)*, Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris, pp. 55-61.

You can also see: Khalid Ben-Srhir (1865), *Morocco in The British Archives: The Correspondence of John Drummond Hay 1846-1886*, Wallad, Casablanca, p. 248.

²⁵ Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Morocco in The British Archives*, p. 93.

²⁶ Concerning the issue of Isa al-Rifi, see Khalid Ben-Srhir (2005), *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay 1845-1886*, Translated by Malcolm Williams and Gavin Waterson, Routledge Curzon, London, pp. 164-166.

²⁷ For further details, See the following works:

Abderrahim Yabbour Oddi (1948), *Una ojeada sobre la historia de Tétouan y sus familias oriundas del Andalus*, Tetuan.

J.L.Miège, M'hammed Benaboud and Nadia Erzini (1996), *Tétouan: ville andalouse marocaine*, CNRS, Paris, 1996.

Jonathan Holt Shannon (2015), *Performing AL-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia Across the Mediterranean*, Indiana University press, Bloomington.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 92.

Bibliography



- Alarcón, Pedro Antonio de (1859), *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África*, Gaspar y Roig, Madrid.
- Brown, Kenneth L (1976), *People of Sale: Tradition and Change in a Moroccan City, 1830-1930*, Harvard Univ Press, Harvard.
- Ben-Srhir, Khalid (2005), *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay 1845-1886*, Translated by Malcolm Williams and Gavin Waterson Routledge Curzon, London.
- Ben-Srhir, Khalid (1992), *Morocco in The British Archives: The Correspondence of John Drummond Hay 1846-1886*, Wallada, Casablanca.
- Bouchara, Mustapha (1987), *Al-Listitan wa al-Himaya bil AlMaghreb 1863-1894, Rabat: the Royal Printing, Rabat, 1987.*
- Diaz, Romion Lourido (1991), “Le sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah et l’institution de la représentation consulaire à Tanger”, in *Tanger 1800-1956: Contribution à l’histoire récente du Maroc*, Rabat.
- Daoud, Mohammad (1959-2010), *Tarikh Tituan*, 12 vols, Tetuan.
- Al-Fasi, Abdalillah (1996), *Madinat Ribat wa A’ayanoha fi Al-Qarn Tasi’ wa Bidayat al-Qarn al-‘Ichrin 1830-1912*, *Association Ribat Al-Fath, Rabat.*
- Kenbib, Mohammed (2011), *al-Mahmiyoun*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines, Rabat.
- _____ (1986), “Les Juifs de Tétouan entre la chronique et l’histoire”, *Hespéris Tamuda*, Rabat, vol. XXIV.
- _____ (2006), “Les notabilités juives marocaines au XIXe siècle”, in *être notable au Maghreb: dynamique des configurations notabiliaires*, Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris, pp. 235-244.
- Leibovici, Sarah (1984), *Chronique des juifs de Tétouan (1860 -1896)*, Maisonneuve et Larose , Paris.



- Miège, Jean-Louis, Benaboud, M'hammed, and Erzini, Nadia (1996), *Tétouan: ville andalouse marocaine*, CNRS, Paris.
- Miège, Jean-Louis, ed (1995), *Chronique de Tanger 1820-1830: journal de Bendelac*, édition la porte, Rabat.
- _____ (1989), *Le Maroc et L'Europe (1822 - 1906)*, 2 vols, Ed. la Porte, Rabat.
- Mudiriyyat al-Watha'iq al-Malikiyya (1977), *al-Watha'iq*, série 4, the Printing Royal, Rabat.
- *al- Nassiri, Ahmed ibn Khalid (1956), al-Istiqsa li-Akhbari Duwal al-Maghrib al-Qssa*, 9 vol, Dar al-kitab, Casablanca.
- al-Nasiri, Mohammed (2010), "Shahadat Sahib *al-Istiqsa 'la Harb Titwan*", Paper Presented at the Tetuan War Conference, The *High Commission for Former Resistance Fighters and Former Members of the Liberation Army*, Rabat.
- R'honi, Ahmed (1998-2012), *'Omdat Rawin fi Tarikh Titawin*, 10 vols, *Tetuan-Asmir Association, Tetuan*.
- Shannon, Jonathan Holt (2015), *Performing AL-Andalus: Music and Nostalgia Across the Mediterranean*, Indiana University press, Bloomington.
- Saoud, Abdalaziz (1996), *Tituan fi al-Qarn Tasi''char: Mosahama fi Dirasat al-Moujtama' al-Marghrebi*, Tetuan-Asmir Association, Tetuan.
- Sebti, Abdelahad (1984), *Aristocratie citadine, pouvoir et discours savant au Maroc précolonial*, thèse inédite, Université de Paris 7.