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Muhammad al-Qadiri's *Nashr al-mathani*: The Chronicles

EDITED BY
NORMAN CIGAR

PUBLISHED FOR THE BRITISH ACADEMY
BY THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

The edition and translation of this text were originally presented as part of my D.Phil. thesis at Oxford University in 1976. Most of the research for this was done in Morocco from March to December 1974; a delay in its publication, however, permitted me to make minor revisions to the Introduction and Bibliography after another research trip to Morocco in the summer of 1979.

The successful completion of this work and its subsequent publication owe a great deal to the interest and generous efforts of numerous individuals at all stages of the project. First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. J.D. Latham of the University of Manchester, without whose unflagging interest, patience and unselfish help the present work might not have seen fruition; likewise, his learned advice during the actual writing was of immeasurable value. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Kenneth Brown, also of the University of Manchester, for his kind help and encouragement from the very first phases of my work; Professor A.F.L. Beeston of St. John's College, Oxford, the internal supervisor for my thesis; Mr. Said Nejjar of Rabat for his generous aid with the translation of numerous passages of the text; Mr. Albert Hourani of St. Antony's College, Oxford, for his interest and guidance throughout my graduate studies at Oxford; Mr. Abd al-Salam Ben Suda for allowing me to view a manuscript from his private library in Fez; Messrs. Ibrahim El Kettani and Abdel Rahman El Fasi for graciously placing at my disposal the manuscript collections then under their care, at the General Library and the Royal Palace Library, respectively; the staffs of those libraries and of the Oriental Section of the Bodleian Library Oxford; Profs. Daniel Eustache, Husain Mones, and Jeanette Wakin for their expert advice on certain passages dealing with coinage and legal matters; Dr. J.O. Hunwick for his aid with the

technical facet of publication; Mr. Vernon Daykin for his skilled typing of a difficult text; finally to the International Academic Union, Brussels, for a generous grant toward the publication costs, and the British Academy, under whose auspices this work is appearing.

N.C.

TO MY PARENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Morocco, as well as Africa as a whole, is frequently difficult to write, because of the absence of organized national archives, and the unavailability of a sufficient number of published historical sources. It is with this in mind that the present edition and translation of the chronicle portion of Muḥammad al-Qādirī' Nashr al-mathānī, one of the most significant sources for north-west Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are presented here. Surprisingly, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Qādirī al-Ḥasanī is one of those Moroccan historians whose work is relatively little known in the West. Professor E. Lévi-Provençal, in his outstanding study of Moroccan historiography during the Saʿdī and the ʿAlawī periods, Les Historiens des Chorfa, was in fact the first to analyze the author and his works critically, although very briefly, and to note his importance.[1]

Most of the information we have on the life of al-Qādirī comes from a single source, the Salwat al-anfās of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kattānī, one of the most complete and most reliable of Moroccan biographical dictionaries from the nineteenth century.[2] The latter, in turn, compiled his data on this author from such earlier biographical works as Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt's Thamarat unsī fī al-taʿrīf bi-nafsī and Al-Sirr al-ẓāhir (Chorfa, pp. 336-40), the Sulūk al-ṭarīq al-wāriya by Maḥammad al-Manālī al-Zabādī (ibid., pp. 334-5), and Al-Mawrid al-hanī by Maḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī (ibid., pp. 318-19), all of which were unfortunately inaccessbile to me during my stay in Morocco.

He was born on 7 Rabīʿ I 1124 (14 Apr. 1712) into a Fasi family of Andalusian origin, which had produced such historians as Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Qādirī and his brother ʿAbd al-Salām, respectively the great-uncle and paternal grandfather of Muḥammad al-Qādirī (ibid., pp. 275-80). The latter was to die in his native city on 25 Shaʿbān 1187 (11 Nov.

1773), and was buried in the family cemetery in the Jinān Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh. He received his education in Fez, and could count among his teachers such men as Aḥmad al-Sijilmāsī (ibid., pp. 316-17 and Lakhdar, pp. 221-4), Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām Bannānī (Chorfa, pp. 213-13, and Lakhdar pp. 197-200), Muḥammad al-Kabīr al-Sarghīnī (Chorfa, p. 317), Muḥammad al-Gandūz (ibid.), and Maḥammad Gassūs (ibid., p. 320), who all gave him written or oral ijāza-s. He also sought and received a general one from the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad al-Ḥafnāwī.

Muḥammad al-Qādirī seems to have been widely respected for his personal life as well as for his literary work by both his contemporaries and successors. Al-Kattānī, for example, is full of praise for him in his biography. He classifies him as 'a universal scholar (mushārik), a man of letters, a historian . . . a genealogist . . . a ṣūfī . . . a saint (al-ṣāliḥ al-baraka)', and singles out not only his depth of knowledge in all fields, but also his patience, self-control, and piety, noting that he fasted frequently in the daytime and prayed at night. He was an ascetic, caring little for worldly goods, shunned people, and was satisfied with his simple life, a model existence which earned him a great reputation. He held no public office until late in his life, when he was forced by the Sultan to accept for a short time an appointment as imām and khāṭib of Jāmiʿ al-Andalus, while for the remainder of his life he again worked as a notary. When engaged in this profession, he would sit in one of the notaries' offices (simāṭ al-ʿudūl) and as soon as he had earned an ūqiyya from his labours, he would leave, saying: 'This is sufficient for me.'

A picture of the author, although a vague one admittedly, emerges from these few facts. He seems to have been a man detached from the world, of a contemplative rather than active disposition, able to be an outside observer, not directly involved in, nor compromised by, the political events of his times. Despite his reluctance to become involved in the agitated political life of the times, he was nevertheless well-informed about events at both the local and national

levels, as evidenced by the contents of his works. These events, however, seem to have interested him mostly on an 'academic' level. One can, indeed, well imagine this lover of solitude and would-be recluse, whom al-Kattānī notes was 'more eloquent of pen than of tongue', retreating from the company of his fellow-men and worldly cares to the confines of his home as soon as possible every day to resume his scholarly pursuits and to record what he had heard that day.

A scion of a family already noted for its contributions to learning, it was not surprising that he too should devote his life to such ends, and the substantial number of works produced from his pen is eloquent evidence of his application. While many of them deal with questions of theology, others are of considerable interest to the historian.[3]

Al-Qādirī's most noteworthy work is, without a doubt, the one presented here, entitled Nashr al-mathānī bi-ahl al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa-l-thānī (The Diffusion of Praises of the People of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries).[4] It is a hybrid, consisting of biographical notices arranged by year of death and of chronicles relating the most notable events of the same year, following each set of obituaries, and in this respect the work seems to be an exception in Morocco, as noted by Professor Lévi-Provençal (Chorfa, p. 73). According to the author, it was written as a continuation of a work barely begun by his grandfather, entitled Nuzhat al-nādī.

A lithographed edition of a much-condensed version of this work appeared in two volumes in Fez in 1310/1893, and it was from this edition that a partial translation (limited to the part up to the year 1100/1688-9) was made and appeared in the Archives Marocaines.[5] The bulk of this work remains, therefore, untranslated and indeed still unedited, a void which I hope to fill in part with the present edition. In part, that is, for here I will edit and translate only the chronicle portion of the Nashr (beginning with the advent of Mawlāy Rashīd), amounting to perhaps one quarter of the entire work. For one reason, it is this part of the work which is the more relevant for historical research. It is, moreover, fairly

easy to separate the Nashr into its two distinct constituent parts, as the author himself has kept them separate throughout the work. Finally it is this part which is the more drastically condensed in the lithographed edition. I will, moreover, translate only the chronicles beginning with Mawlāy Rashīd's establishment in the capital, Fez, for those before that date are scanty, and basically the same as those in the portion of the lithographed edition already translated in the Archives Marocaines. It is indeed to be hoped that someone will eventually provide an edition and translation of the entire biographical portion of this work, which is perhaps three times as extensive as the chronicles. This would be, in itself, a valuable contribution to scholars of Moroccan and African history, as a substantial amount of historical material is also found scattered among the biographies.

Even a brief survey of the contents of the chronicle portion of the Nashr should be sufficient to give an idea of the variety and importance of the material offered by al-Qādirī. Much of the latter's interest is, understandably, devoted to what one can term dynastic history, as the turbulent times in which he lived and wrote about provided ample material for this. In effect, in the Nashr we find detailed reports of the many civil wars, rivals for the throne, forced abdications, etc. which abound in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Morocco, as well as one of the earliest and most complete accounts of the establishment of the ʿAlawī dynasty in Fez and the rest of the country. Royal campaigns, whether against rebel tribes or pretenders, are recorded here, and a tight chronology is provided; al-Qādirī (unlike many other Moroccan historians) gives not only the year of the event, but frequently the month and day as well. Substantial information is also provided about the closely related question of the development, military and political role of the ʿabīd or black slave army from the days of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl until the middle of the eighteenth century, and of its connection with the fortunes of the dynasty during that period.

Similarly, other episodes, such as the rebellion in the

1150s/1740s of the pāshā of Tangier, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī, are also treated exhaustively, at least when compared to the accounts of other Moroccan historians. Royal officials (such as governors, qāḍī-s, ministers, etc.) from the capital and Fez, Marrakesh, and the provinces also appear in these chronicles, and much of the information about them is unique. In addition to such 'political' history, there is also a considerable amount of information on a whole range of other, varied topics. The numerous epidemics which struck Morocco during al-Qādirī's lifetime are thus recorded here, and detailed accounts are given about a number of them. Famines similarly frequently merit the author's attention, as do meteorological phenomena such as earthquakes, floods, storms, droughts, eclipses, comets, etc. One might also note here the information given on some of the buildings constructed by the various Sultans in Fez, Meknes, Tangier, and elsewhere. Some areas of economics, such as food prices and sources of supply are also mentioned at least, if not dealt with at great length, and some invaluable quantitative data can be gleaned. Moreover, even topics of social interest sometimes appear in his work, as for example the account of the change from black to yellow footwear after the recapture of Larache from the Spaniards, or of the shrine of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and the folk practices surrounding it, or the details on Moroccan coinage.

As is true of most Moroccan chronicles of any period, one does not find much in the Nashr on Morocco's relations with Europe, which we know from European sources to have been quite active during the ʿAlawī period. Moroccan authors were not, first of all, interested in things Christian and, secondly, as Professor Lévi-Provençal points out, would not have had the necessary documentary sources available unless they had access to the archives (Chorfa, p. 66). Nevertheless, in the Nashr one does find some details on this topic, mainly on operations surrounding the jihād against the European enclaves such as Ceuta, Tangier, Larache, and al-Maʿmūra, but also on some embassies, treaties, and trade relations. Information about

the Ottomans in Algeria is, on the other hand, somewhat more abundant. This interest is not surprising, for news from Ottoman Algeria was not only readily available to Moroccan travellers, but events there often also had an impact on Morocco itself. Ottoman support for the anti-ʿAlawī condottiero Ghaylān (Nashr, year 1083/1672-3), Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's rebellious nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥraz (Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya, p. 105), friction over the delimitation of frontiers and control of border tribes, as well as Algerian trade with Ceuta while the latter was under Moroccan siege[6] provided ample cause for armed conflict between the two empires, especially during Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's reign. In effect, the Nashr records a number of campaigns directed against Algeria during this period.

One finds, moreover, isolated bits of news from the East: Istanbul, Cairo, Mecca - no doubt conveyed to Fez by the Moroccan Pilgrimage Caravan - as well as from other parts of Morocco: Meknes, Marrakesh, the Rīf, Rabat, Salé, and from the Sahara - again probably conveyed by merchants.

The only complete copy of the Nashr to which I had access in Morocco, and the one which has been used as the basis for the present edition, is the one found in the General Library in Rabat (MS. K2253, I-II). It is part of the collection which formerly belonged to ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, and was confiscated from him after Morocco had gained its independence, as punishment for his political activities under the French Protectorate. The work is composed of two volumes (150 and 153 folios, respectively), the first containing material from the year 1001/1591-2 to 1090/1679-80, the second from 1091/1680-1 to 1187/1774-5, and is written in a small, fairly elegant Maghribi script and, thanks to a marginal note by the copyist, we are able to ascertain the latter's identity. In effect, in the margin of a biography for 1148/1736-7 (v. II, fol. 97), we find a reference to al-Khayyāṭ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAllāl al-Qādirī al-Ḥasanī, who is indicated as the copyist's father, while he also mentions his paternal grandmother, Fāṭima, as being the daughter of the author of

the Nashr. This would make the copyist a great-grandson of the author; unfortunately, that is all the information we have on his identity.

Other complete copies of this work, found in more than one private library in Morocco were, unfortunately, inaccessible for detailed study. The only exception to this was the copy in the Aḥmadiyya library owned by M. ʿAbd al-Salām Ben Sūda of Fez, which I was able to peruse on a couple of occasions with, however, sufficient time only to check on some errors and illegible passages in the Rabat manuscript. It is, however, shorter than the latter text, lacking many of its passages from the chronicle portion.

The incomplete copies of the 'long' version to which I had access and which I used in collating the text were the following:[7]

1. Royal Palace Library, Rabat, MS Collection 9837, 2 vols. which carries the alternative title Al-Azhār al-nādiyya. This is a very rough work copy, part of which is in the author's own hand. The margins are full of insertions and corrections. Vol. I (79 folios) goes from 1001/1591-2 to 1081/1670-1; vol. II (55 folios), from 1101/1690-1 to approximately 1108/1696-7. The pages in the latter are not always arranged in order, but are bound haphazardly, with many pages missing, while material from various years may be found in the margins of a single page (hereafter Royal 9837).
2. Rabat General Library MS. D1453 is virtually the same as the main text, and is useful for providing words in a few instances where the latter presents a blank text. Only part II (from 1002/1691-2 on) is available. It was copied in 1199/1785 (D1453).
3. Royal Palace Library, Rabat, MS. 906, 2 vols., but only up to the year 1100/1688-9. Vol. I, 194 folios; vol. II, 167 folios (Royal 906).
4. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Collection Arab.c.79 (pp. 124-139). This is a fragment ending with the year 1091/1680. It consists solely of the chronicle portion, woven into a continuous text, minus the biographies, and bears the title Dhikr

muqaddamāt dawlat mulūk waqtinā al-shurafā' al-sijilmāsiyyīn al-akābir ahl al-nasab al-nabawī al-ṣamīm al-ṭāhir al-yanbū'-iyyīn al-mashāhir (Bodley Q).

The lithographed Nashr is, on the other hand, based on a condensed version of the preceding manuscripts. This is especially apparent in the yearly chronicle portion, which in the lithographed version is usually considerably shorter than in the above-mentioned main manuscript. The published Nashr contains some variants, and has itself been used in this collation, along with two manuscripts of this 'short' version:

1. Royal Palace Library, Rabat, MS. 959; no page numbers. A marginal note is inserted and signed by the noted Moroccan historian Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayānī (Royal 959).
2. Royal Palace Library, Rabat, MS. 972; 2 vols., vol. I copied 1286/1870, vol. II 1285 (sic)/1869; vol. I to 1100/1688-9, vol. II 1101/1690-1 to 1170/1757; no page numbers (Royal 972).

There exists, moreover, yet another version or edition of the Nashr, one still almost unknown, the only copy of which is found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in a collection catalogued simply as 'MS. Arab. c. 79; Anon.; A Collection of Maghribi historical documents' (pp. 42-97). It is acephalous and bears no title nor the author's name, yet I believe it to be a unique version of the Nashr, unlike any of the Rabat manuscripts or the lithographed edition.[8]

The first century or so of the 'Alawī dynasty saw the production of relatively little historical writing in Morocco. It is, in fact, only in the nineteenth century that we get any quantity of works dealing with that period, with such works as those of al-Zayānī (his Al-Turjumān al-mu'rib and Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf, notably) (Chorfa, pp. 142-185), Al-Durr al-muntakhab of Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥājj (Dalīl, I, 148), Al-Jaysh al-'aramram of Akansūs (Chorfa, pp. 200-13); Kitāb al-istiqṣā of al-Nāṣirī (ibid., pp. 350-1); and the History of al-Ḍu'ayyif (ibid., pp. 213-15; Dalīl, I, 137-8). From the eighteenth century itself, however, apart from the invaluable chronicles of al-Dukkālī (Cigar, ROMM), we have as yet

available only such works as al-Īfrānī's Nuzhat al-ḥādī (Chorfa, pp. 112-31), and al-Miknāsī's Zahr al-bustān (Dalīl, I, 104) (which deal briefly with limited portions of that period), short historical notes, and scattered historical information in other types of works. As such, the Nashr stands out as one of the very few contemporary works of any length on that period. When the Bodley text and that in Rabat (including the biographical portion, for that contains many points of historical interest as well) are combined, we have by far the best single primary source for the study of an entire century of Moroccan history.

In the Nashr we find, in effect, the first independent detailed account of a somewhat confused era, and al-Qādirī's tight chronology enables us to establish exact dates for many events which were previously only approximate. His work also enables us to form a fuller, clearer view of many topics in the history of this period which have up to now been neglected or studied only superficially. It is now possible to understand and appreciate more fully such questions as the real achievements of the reign of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, the nature and methods of central authority over the country as a whole, the development and political role of the 'abīd army, the history of tribal conflicts, and the nature of the succession struggle from 1727 to 1757. Individual figures, such as the various Sultans, ministers, tribal leaders, or 'ulamā' similarly gain a new dimension thanks to the details supplied by al-Qādirī. Moreover, the absence of extant national archives for that period, the inaccessibility of works in private libraries and in some of the royal palaces, and the fact that even those collections open to the public in the General Library and the Royal Palace Library in Rabat are not yet fully catalogued, make chronicles such as the Nashr even more valuable than might overwise be the case.[9]

*

Although there have been a small number of interesting studies published recently on various aspects of the first century of 'Alawī rule in Morocco, none is very extensive, nor

does any cover this entire period.[10] Moreover, the Arabic sources have not yet been exploited adequately, apart from those in translation. The period dealt with in this chronicle is an important one for Moroccan history, as it witnessed the establishment of the present 'Alawī dynasty and of many of the features of the socio-political system which survived until the advent of the Protectorate in 1912, and beyond. It is, of course, impossible to give here a comprehensive or original study of this period. However, it was felt that at least some notions of the political background in Morocco should be included in this introduction in order to place the text presented here in its proper historical context and to enrich its reading.[11]

The establishment of the 'Alawī dynasty in Morocco had come on the heels of a process of national disintegration during the seventeenth century, at which time a number of independent entities had emerged from the ruins of the decaying Sa'dī state. While this situation clearly had a deleterious effect on the unity of the country, the closer connection of the new regional rulers to their local society, which served as their base of power, and the rational economic and geographical units which they often constituted, lent a certain degree of stability to these newly-emerging states. Indeed, the problem of centrifugal forces opposed to a centralized state was to be one of the principal difficulties for the new 'Alawī dynasty as well.

One of the several heirs to the collapsing Sa'dī state was the one centred around the zāwiya of Dilā' in an enviable geo-political location in the Middle Atlas. Founded and controlled by a family reputed to have baraka , or supernatural grace, and supported by the Ṣanhāja confederation, this religious lodge had soon expanded its political control over a substantial area of central Morocco, including such commercial centres as Fez, Salé, and Meknes. The director of the zāwiya, in fact, eventually had laid claim to the title of Sultan, and espoused the accompanying ambition of assuming control of the entire al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā. Whether this goal could have been

realized is an open question, as even areas nominally under Dilā'ī suzerainty, such as Fez and Salé, were never brought completely under control. In any event, the appearance of a new political force in the desert area of Tāfīlālt, consisting of a sharifian family known as the 'Alawīs, was to create a new situation and ultimately put an end to the Dilā'ī ambitions.

The first 'Alawī to live in Morocco was reputed to have been an immigrant from Yanbū', in the Ḥijāz, in the seventh/thirteenth century, named al-Ḥasan al-Dākhil ('the newcomer'). His descendants seem to have lived their role of local holy men quietly in successive centuries and only with the political vacuum coming in the wake of the Sa'dī decline were they to attempt to obtain political power. The first intervention in this field was at the hand of Mawlāy al-Sharīf, who sought to counter in 1043/1633-4 the domination of the Tāfīlālt region by the zāwiya of Ilīgh under the control of Bū Ḥassūn. Despite his failure, one of his sons, Mawlāy Maḥammad, was to receive the bay'a as Sultan in Sijilmāsa in 1050/1640-1 and expanded northward, despite some setbacks, so that even Fez recognized him briefly in 1060/1650. It was only with the entry into the political arena of his Brother Mawlāy Rashīd in 1069/1659, after the death of their father Mawlāy al-Sharīf, however, that the 'Alawī family's fortunes were to rise permanently. In a series of military campaigns, Rashīd was able not only to eliminate his own brother, but also to establish a corridor to the Mediterranean and European trade (Laroui, p. 49) and to gain control of a number of strategic areas, including Taza and Fez in 1076/1666, capitalizing on a combination of his sharifian prestige, the weakness of his most formidable opponents (the Dilā'ī zāwiya), the support of the Sharāga tribes, his own skilful generalship, and sheer daring. The rest of Morocco, within the frontiers which had existed under the Sa'dīs, remained beyond his control, but the arduous process of conquering the various statelets and tribes was at least begun with vigour by the new Sultan, and pursued by his brother and successor Mawlāy Ismā'īl.

The new dynasty, despite the seeming ease of its establishment, was to face several persistent problems in its attempt to rule over a mosaic of regionally and socially distinct entities. In effect, Moroccan society during that period was a pluralistic one, composed of semi-autonomous socio-political groups - tribes, regions, urban groups, shurafā', ʿabīd, Jews, etc. Conflicts were primarily horizontal rather than vertical, that is among vertically-organized groups and sub-groups containing various socio-economic strata whose primary loyalty was to their own vertical group rather than to members of corresponding socio-economic strata in other groups. There was no single socio-economic hierarchy or a single overarching elite in the country as a whole, a situation of 'cumulative inequality' where a single stratum would hold a predominant position in wealth, military force, education, prestige, legitimacy, etc., as is the case in many pre-industrial societies.[12] Rather there was a marked dispersion of these resources, and even the control of the economy was quite decentralized. Each group had its own internal social structure and elite, goals, and ideology which were not necessarily created by the makhzan for administrative purposes. Coalitions of these groups, or of their elites to be more precise, were quite fluid and their composition depended on the specific issue involved.[13] Bargaining among the various elites, or among the elites and the makhzan, was the usual mode of resolving conflict, though of course any group or coalition might use force if bargaining failed and if it thought itself more powerful than its adversary.[14] In the absence of a fully-articulated bureaucracy on the Ottoman or Moghul models, the Sultans found themselves obliged to work through the elites of each group, which put a check on the Sultan's will, as was evident from the difficulties the Sultans had in institutionalizing a national system of taxation.[15] Moreover, the existence of this diverse and decentralized socio-political system militated against the introduction of far-reaching and rapid change from above; the protracted conquest of Morocco, by the first ʿAlawīs is

eloquent proof of this. Unable to change this sytem quickly or drastically, the Sultans were obliged, therefore, to work within it to achieve their goals, and to use it to their advantage if possible.

The goals of the ʿAlawī dynasty were, in general, those of states in most other societies: the recognition of its legitimacy and the ability to exercise its will in society. In the Moroccan context, the practical application of these goals could be reduced to a limited number: first of all, recognition of the Sultan's authority, the payment of some form of taxes in cash or kind and, in some cases, the provision of a military force for certain campaigns or garrison duty.

To achieve these goals the makhzan had, in effect, quite limited resources, considering the difficulties faced. The threat of military force was certainly present and used often, as is clear from the numerous campaigns recorded in the Nashr. However, this resource was by no means a monopoly of the central government. The maintenance of a sufficiently large army was problematic from the early days of the new dynasty, as the supply of manpower depended to a large extent on entities - cities such as Fez, or tribes - which could be successfully recalcitrant at times or, at best, unreliable.[16] Indeed, the Ūdāya and other gīsh tribes were often themselves uncontrollable. The alternative chosen by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, that is the establishment of a permanent black slave army, the ʿabīd, while providing the ruler a certain degree of independence from a society which could be dominated only in part, caused such resistance and bitterness in society - in Fez and elsewhere (Durr muntakhab, VII, 390-1) - that the results might actually be viewed as having been negative in the long run. Moreover, the ʿabīd themselves could pose a threat to the ruler and, indeed, in the absence of any balancing government institutions, this professional military force began to act of its own accord even during Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's own lifetime.[17] After the latter's death, the ʿabīd wielded their considerable power to help make and unmake Sultans during the thirty-year period of anarchy from 1727 to 1757.[18]

This is not surprising, under the circumstances, as the ʿabīd constituted one of the few cohesive, armed, and trained military forces in the country, and probably one of the largest as well. Its power, however, was to decline fairly rapidly due to the human losses suffered due to battle casualties, famines, epidemics, and desertions. As fresh supplies of manpower were not available to replace the losses in manpower, the ʿabīd army seems to have lost its preeminent military capability by the end of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's last reign, and most of the ʿabīd seem to have been dispersed fairly easily by his successor in 1193/1779-80, or thereabouts (Ḍuʿayyif, fol. 183-185; Istiqṣā, VIII, 47-9).

As a result of the threat posed by a preponderant praetorian army, the Sultans were never to find it in their interest to eliminate totally the existing tribal and urban military forces, even had they been able to do so, for they could and did continue to rely on the latter as a counterbalance to the influence of the ʿabīd.[19]

An expensive and frequently unreliable military force as a means of governing Morocco had to be complemented, of necessity, by diplomacy and statecraft. In the absence of a bureaucracy of the type found in the Mashriq, as was mentioned already, the Moroccan Sultan had to rely on coalition-building based on the personal loyalty of the elites of various groups in society. Essential to the proper functioning of such a system was the co-operation of key tribal leaders, co-opted through marriage or the granting of a government post.[20] Mawlāy Ismāʿīl seems to have been quite successful in this respect, governing the Jibālī tribes of the north through a single tribal leader, and 'pillar of the state', Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Yāzighī (Durr muntakhab, VIII, 102) while the ''āmil of the Berbers' ʿAlī Ū Īshshī governed another part of the tribal element (ibid.), both residing at court.[21]

All subsequent sultans relied on this system of government as well, to some degree, though with varying results. With the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in 1139/1727 and the accompanying removal by the ʿabīd of his small number of officials and

financial experts, both the personal link to the tribes and the fiscal system which it served were disrupted (Durr muntakhab, VIII, 103, 105). The almost continuous insubordination of the ʿabīd also weakened the military force necessary to buttress the Sultan's diplomacy. The cities were similarly brought into such coalitions, or only certain groups within the cities. Of course, rivals of the Sultans - rebellious cities, tribes, or pretenders - themselves used this process of forming coalitions to oppose the Sultans. Both sides thus sought not only to build up their own forces but also to undermine their opponent's unstable coalition. Thus the ambitious pāshā al-Rīfī sought to induce the ʿabīd to desert Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and join him instead (Nashr, 1154/1741-2) and it was even claimed that Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's army was able to overpower his rebellious son, Maḥammad al-ʿĀlim in 1118/1706, thanks to the successful attempt by the makhzan to convince the Majāṭ, a tribe in the rebel army, to betray him (Durr munaḍḍad, fol. 168).

A third resource of the Sultan, complementing the military and diplomatic means available, was his legitimacy and the religious sanction upon which it was based. Although the dynasty's establishment could not be traced to any spiritual movement as such, the aura of descent from Muḥammad, and the special intercessory role assigned to the shurafā' in Moroccan society since Merinid times were exploited with considerable success. Protocol, titles, literature, all stressed this trait, as did close ties with shurafā' throughout the country. This was complemented by the self-proclaimed role of champions of the jihād against the Christians (directed against the European enclaves on the Moroccan coast in this case) and the exploits of a fifteenth century mujāhid ancestor, Mawlāy ʿAlī al-Sharīf, were extolled. Indeed, as self-styled Commander of the Faithful (amīr al-mu'minīn), Caliph, and imām, the Sultan claimed to be not only political, but religious head of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā as well.[22] One of the duties of the Sultan, the enforcement of the sharīʿa, both lent further legitimacy to the ruler and won the support of the orthodox ʿulamā',

whose influence in society was considerable.

In addition, the support of the directors of religious brotherhoods or lodges (zāwiya-s) was also courted. These were at times co-opted, their influence harnessed to the dynasty's benefit, in return for a grant of autonomy and other favours. Some, like the al-Fāsī zāwiya in Fez, formed a working alliance with the dynasty. Both Mawlāy Rashīd and Mawlāy Ismā'īl had entered Fez originally with the help of this zāwiya (Tuḥfa qādiriyya, II, 327-9, 332-3; Iltiqāṭ, p. 61; Khayyāṭ, p.15), and it continued to support royal policy in the city (Tuḥfa qādiriyya, II, 330); it also served as an administrative adjunct of the Sultan, serving as a distribution point for royal food (Nashr, 1094/1682-3), while its director was asked to help the Sultan choose a qāḍī (Fasi Letters, p. 84), to review the aḥbās rents (ibid., pp. 47-8), etc. In return, the Sultans recognized the zāwiya's right of sanctuary (Nashr, 1091/1680-1), gave it control of a lucrative source of ṣadaqa (Khayyāṭ, p. 15), and various aḥbās properties (Nashr biographical section, vol. II, fol. 52), endowed it with new buildings (Nashr, 1091/1680-1), extended to its disciples an exemption from military service (Fasi Letters, p. 49), etc. Similar relationships were developed with other zāwiya-s. However, as zāwiya-s often had an independent economic and human base, these institutions could serve as rallying points for opposition to the Sultan, and could often detach substantial parts of territory from his control. Thus in the Nashr we find the Aḥanṣāl zāwiya playing a role in national politics, in opposition to some of the Sultans (1140/1727-8, 1144/1731-2), or the Nāṣiriyya zāwiya of Tamgrūt which refused to recognize Mawlāy Ismā'īl.[23] In either case, that is whether a zāwiya was in favour of or opposed to the Sultan, the existence of such zāwiya-s in the city and countryside meant that another sector of society escaped the Sultan's direct authority.

During this period, one cannot really point to an ideology of nationalism, or even a national consensus, in Morocco which could be used to bridge the cleavages among the various groups

and weld them into an integrated society. The only common ideology on which the Sultan could rely was, in effect, that of Islam. In most instances, he could appeal to all the various groups and, indeed, to the individual only as a religious figure and, as already mentioned, there was considerable emphasis on the religious attributes of the 'Alawīs. Moreover, in order to elicit maximum support for certain policies, these were formulated in religious terms, such as justifying the 'abīd army by referring to the needs of the jihād,[24] or equating rebellion against the Sultan to a betrayal of Islam, as Mawlāy 'Abd al-Malik maintained (Nashr, 1140/1728-9).[25] The enforcement of the sharī'a, also, could serve as one of the few forces of standardization in the country which the government could hope to impose effectively.

The close identification of the makhzan and religion, necessary though it might be at times, was a two-edged sword which could cause considerable difficulties for the Sultan. The religious image the ruler had to project was at times difficult to maintain when it conflicted with practical needs. For example, in the area of finances, the taxes allowed by the Qur'ān (zakāt, 'ushr) were consistently insufficient to meet the needs of the state. Though the Sultans usually did not have qualms about imposing arbitrary extra-legal taxes (such as the market duty - the maks - or the kharāj), the 'ulamā' could question their legality and thus legitimate opposition to these unpopular taxes.[26] The pious Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad even went to considerable lengths to obtain the 'ulamā''s opinion on the religious legality of various taxes (Bodley Nashr, p. 84). Similarly, trade with Europe, a necessary source of income and military supplies independent from the influence of local forces, was sought by most of the 'Alawī rulers (Laroui, II, 49, 52-53). At times, indeed, this source, along with taxation of the hapless Jewish community, provided the only revenue available, as during the reign of the Sultan Muḥammad b. 'Arība (Nashr, 1151/1738-9). Despite the importance of this policy for the Sultans' finances, there was always the inconvenience of criticism by men of religion

on this issue. Even Sīdī Muḥammad, noted above for his punctilious regard for the sharī'a, was rebuked publicly by a holy man from Tetuan for allowing Christian merchants to settle in Morocco for trading purposes (Ḍu'ayyif, fol. 169) and al-Qādirī himself felt uneasy about this and criticized sharply the Sultan's policy in this respect, noting the dangers it implied for the Muslims (Bodley Nashr, pp. 97-8). The apparently close links between the first two 'Alawī Sultans and the Jews aided their bid for power (Nashr, 1076/1665-6; Windus, p. 117; Mercer, p. 547), and this dependence on the Jews in economic matters continued once in power (Mercer, pp. 535, 537-8). Perhaps this also caused murmurings among some sectors of the Muslim population, or at least brought into question the 'Alawī claim of being champions of Islam,[27] for we soon see the propagation of an official myth of anti-Jewishness on the part of the dynasty's founder, Mawlāy Rashīd (Mojuetan).[28] Thus, while most of the Sultans felt compelled to let practical needs override ideological considerations at times, their reliance on religious legitimacy ultimately gave them less latitude in formulating their policies than would otherwise have been the case, and left them open to criticism from the more religiously-inclined. The 'Alawī dynasty's sharifian pedigree, important as it was, did not however confer upon it a monopoly of religious legitimacy, as the baraka of the holy men (murābiṭīn) directing the zāwiya-s enabled the latter also to claim religious sanction for their own actions. A holy man's baraka might be harnessed to the Sultan's support, but it could just as easily be used against him and a Sultan had to avoid providing any religious failing as propaganda material to a rebel.[29]

The close interconnection between religion and politics, indeed, could pose a serious threat to the Sultan. As has been true at various times elsewhere in the Islamic world, an opposition movement with socio-political origins would often take on a religious hue as well, and rejection of political authority at times entailed rejection of religious authority as well. In fact, much of the resistance to the early 'Alawī

Sultans came in the form of mahdist or other religiously-inspired movements.[30] Offering a religious alternative to the very concept of sharaf, and the sharī'a, as well as to the existing dynasty and its socio-political system, such movements (which provided their own religious legitimacy) could threaten to involve groups beyond the confines of a tribal, regional, or class scope that a revolt might have were it based solely on non-religious appeals.[31]

The territorial extent of the Sultan's influence in Morocco has generated considerable debate at times, and various claims have been put forward as to the nature of the relationship between 'government' lands (bilād makhzan) and 'dissident' (or 'errant') lands (bilād sība). Although a complete discussion of this question will have to be left for another occasion, at least some points about it should be included in this introduction. While it is true that al-Qādirī does not deal at all with this problem, which is usually left aside by urban writers, to be dealt with as an unpleasant necessity in some legal texts, it is difficult to avoid it if one wants to understand Moroccan history during this period. It is clear, to begin with, that the Sultans from 1727 to 1757, for example, never controlled the entire territory of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā. Indeed, the various pretenders and Sultans were often little more than façades for different regional, urban, or tribal interests and at times controlled little more than the capital, if that. However, even a Sultan such as Mawlāy Ismā'īl, generally agreed to have been the most powerful Sultan of that period, seldom if ever controlled the entire country. Even when the latter was supposed to have been in its most submissive state, towards the end of his reign, a sizeable area comprising Sijilmāsa, Taroudant and the Sūs seems to have escaped his control, as one of his sons, 'Abd al-Malik, had already received the bay'a there (Nashr, 1140/1727-8). That the dichotomy between government and sība lands existed in the mind and works of contemporary legists is beyond debate. This is not to imply, on the other hand, a rigid, permanent, ethnically-based

division either, as some of the early Western literature had assumed. More recent discussions have centred on differentiating between recognition of the Sultan as a temporal figure and as a religious one, reducing sība to a state of political dissidence accompanied, however, by continued loyalty to the Sultan as supreme head of the Muslim umma. This too, I believe, is not a satisfactory explanation. As seen already, there was a close connection between politics and religion (including its legalist facet), and the rejection of one type of authority often implied rejection of the other as well, specifically the orthodoxy propagated by the makhzan, its legal-administrative code of the sharī'a, and the latter's officials (qāḍī-s and others). Thus, a distinction is made in the law of property between the situation in force in 'the area of the Sultan and [legal] judgment' (bilād al-Sulṭān wa-l-ḥukm) and that in 'the sā'iba area in which there is no Sultan' (al-bilād al-sāyiba al-lātī lā Sulṭān fīhā).[32] Indeed the makhzan/sība dichotomy is met most often in the legal field, with the latter term denoting a rejection of both aspects of a Sultan's authority in local affairs.

The rejection of the sharī'a could involve, in fact, an explicit and formalized act, as when the Banī Muḥy tribe of the Āyt Yūsuf dug a hole, filled it with dirt and announced: 'We have buried the sharī'a here, and let no one in our country ask for it!'[33] The absence of the orthodox legal system did not necessarily entail a lapse into 'disorder', as orthodox urban legal scholars would imply,[34] but in reality merely the substitution of one order for another. Indeed, it is assumed that in the bilād sā'iba, jurisdiction over matters ordinarily handled by a qāḍī would fall to a traditional tribal council (jamā'a), since there was no longer a qāḍī (Wazzānī, VIII, 437). This, however, was not inevitable, as even an area having a jamā'a could revolt against the Sultan without at the same time rejecting his religious system,[35] although this seems to have been an unusual situation, necessitating such an explanation.

The traditional view that the sība involved the Berber

population is not without foundation. First of all, it is not a state attributed to every rebellious area; a city such as Fez which had revolted against the Sultan would not usually be thought of as sība.[36] Rather, it is a term limited to the countryside (al-bādiya), which is often used as a disparaging general synonym for sība[37] and, indeed, the overwhelming majority of the rural population in eighteenth century Morocco was Berber. Similarly, the existence of the jamā'a, seen as usual in sība areas, is a Berber institution. However, by the same token, one cannot conclude that all Berber areas belonged to the sība and not, a fortiori, permanently. The system seems to have been rather less rigid; some areas might be always sība, some never, others only at times.[38]

The general impression that emerges of the political system in Morocco during the period is, in sum, one of a fragile and constantly shifting balance, whose successful (from the makhzan's point of view) maintenance depended to a considerable degree on the personal skill of the Sultan. That it was often the individual Sultan's reputation as much as anything else which made central control function is illustrated by the case of Mawlāy Ismā'īl's illness in 1128/1715 or 1716, when one of his wives, Khunātha, pretended that he had recovered, while she issued orders and wrote letters in his name warning against revolts, thus recognizing that it was his personal prestige which held the situation under control (Durr muntakhab, VII, 360). Loyalty was also to the person of the Sultan, rather than to an institution as such, and each new Sultan had to rebuild his coalition anew through a bay'a given to him, rendering the maintenance of continuity more difficult. The personal input of the Sultan, whether as superior arbiter or independent political actor not always more powerful than the others, was always important and, indeed, the course of Morocco's history could at times be quite dependent on this personal factor. For example, had Aḥmad b. Muḥraz been victorious over his uncle Mawlāy Ismā'īl, the course of the country's history might have been considerably different. The political predominance of the Sūs, Aḥmad b.

Muḥraz's principal base of power, might have resulted and the autonomy of Fez (with which he enjoyed excellent relations) might have become established, to name but two probable different results.[39]

The Sultans, as has been noted already, were never able to establish complete control over Morocco either horizontally, over all the territory within the traditional frontiers, nor vertically, at all levels of society. Nevertheless, it is still possible to differentiate among various degrees of central control, as not all Sultans displayed a uniform degree of power, or weakness, depending on one's viewpoint. While it is true, for example, that later Moroccans' view of Mawlāy Ismā'īl's reign as a period of complete government control by an all-powerful Sultan is certainly overdrawn (Mercer), and often described in stylized terms, the fact that most people believed this indicates that at least by comparison with the later state of affairs there was some factual basis for the rise of the idealization of Mawlāy Ismā'īl's reign. Indeed, within the Moroccan context, he was a powerful ruler, and clearly more successful in dominating the country than most of his successors. The tribes outside government service, those in the north at least, seem to have been held obedient once conquered, as their firearms and horses were confiscated by the government, as were those of the cities.[40] His ability to affect successfully population transfers from one part of Morocco to another,[41] his success in organizing the 'abīd army despite deeply-entrenched opposition and his ability to control them effectively, at least until the very last years of his reign when senility had set in, are also indicative of his power.

Indeed, later Sultans, such as Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh (Nashr, 1141/1728-9) and Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' (ibid., 1151/1738-9), continued to demand from the tribes that they surrender their horses, though judging from the military activities the tribes continued to be engaged in, it does not seem they were very successful in that respect. There is little doubt that the Sultans from 1727 to 1757 were considerably weaker than Mawlāy

Ismā'īl had been (though even here there were noticeable fluctuations, depending on a combination of personality, the constellation of coalitions, etc.), and it would be difficult to view them as the absolute rulers in the manner that popular opinion has portrayed them.[42]

The future of the dynasty itself looked doubtful at times, and its survival was perhaps due as much as anything to the fact that being a sharīf had become almost a sine qua non for rule among a substantial segment of the population,[43] the continued support of the 'ulamā', and the lack of any European offensive likely to discredit the dynasty's ability to defend the country against the Infidel, which would have created the possibility for other forces to ride to power on the coat-tails of anti-Christian fervour. This said, one should be wary of going to the other extreme and imagine that all the 'Alawī Sultans were in the same position of impotence as, for example, the later 'Abbāsid Caliphs, nonentities relegated to the harem. In effect, even the weakest Moroccan Sultans could find among the numerous forces in the country one or more that would support them. One might find the Sultans' power over human lives as quite striking, with large-scale executions undertaken after the crushing of a revolt or simply to instil fear and keep a tribe or city submissive,[44] though this in itself was a tacit admission of the Sultan's lack of less costly and more effective administrative means to govern the country.

The ultimate lack of success of any attempt by the Sultans to initiate a process of centralization and their transformation into an absolute ruler should not necessarily be viewed as a failure in the political system in Morocco, however. This was true only from the makhzan's perspective, as the failure of the state to subjugate local society often enabled the latter to live an autonomous and vibrant life of its own. Indeed, in a way, the Sultan's ideal state of affairs leaned more toward a weak society than a strong one, as his principal military base - mercenary gīsh tribes, 'abīd, renegades - was, as Laroui points out (II, 49-50), to a large extent

independent from and opposed to the rest of society.[45] The autonomous institutions upon which local society was based, on the other hand, could fulfil certain of its spiritual and material needs which the Sultan and his makhzan could not, and the continued viability and vitality of these institutions benefited from the weaknesses of the Sultan and his continued need of them to administer the country, however indirectly.

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Not surprisingly, Fez seems to have been at the centre of al-Qādirī's universe. Al-Qādirī was, above all, a Fasi, and his Nashr contains a considerable amount of information on his native city, including unique accounts of local conflicts, factions and issues, vignettes of local figures, anecdotes, topographical details, etc. To be sure, this was the milieu about which information was most easily accessible to him but, beyond that, it was clearly his native city which interested him most. Frequently, events occurring in other parts of Morocco are reported in relation to their effect on Fez, such as a royal campaign or tribal rebellion which could influence the balance of power between the Sultan and Fez, or entail the mobilization of a contingent of the Fasi militia, the rumāt, to serve in the royal army. Events in other cities and tribal areas are usually also reported only when they directly affect the central government and thus, indirectly, Fez itself. To find accounts of events from other parts of the country with only a local intrinsic value, these must be of an exceptional nature, or a quaint oddity, such as an unusual meteorological phenomenon. Indeed al-Qādirī's account of Morocco's history is by and large one as seen from the vantage point of Fez. Perhaps part of this parochialism may be attributed to the fact that al-Qādirī does not seem to have ever left Fez during his lifetime, but that does not explain it entirely. It is unlikely that al-Qādirī recorded all the information that was available to him in Fez from the merchants, rumāt, pilgrims, and scholars who visited, or were originally from, other parts of Morocco. Rather, a conscious, or subconscious, selection evidently was made by the author in compiling his chronicle,

indicative of his scale of values and interest, as well as that of his intended audience. Indeed, it is perhaps in his emphasis on his native city that his work is of greatest interest.

There is, in effect, a substantial gap in the Western historiography of Fez for the period of which al-Qādirī wrote, even though it was then still the largest city in Morocco and one of the largest on the African continent and in the Islamic world. While there have been, for example, detailed studies of this city during the Merinid era[46] and the early twentieth century,[47] and a more limited one on the role of Fez in national politics during the Sa'dī era,[48] no one has yet attempted to analyze the political, social, and economic life of the city under the first 'Alawī monarchs. Furthermore, even the above-mentioned studies avoid to a large extent the political structures and processes in the city. Yet this is one of the most interesting areas of investigation and merits more attention than it has received in the past. To be sure, much of this neglect can be attributed to the paucity of previously available sources, both in Arabic and the European languages. There is, for example, no single methodic, detailed, and authoritative description of the city from this period by a Moroccan author, such as is found in the work of Leo Africanus for the early sixteenth century, nor even an extensive history of the city in Arabic, such as is found in the fourteenth century Rawḍ al-qirṭās of Ibn Abī Zar'. Fez, moreover, unlike some other Moroccan cities, had then neither foreign consulates nor permanent foreign residents, and only infrequent European visitors, so that European sources on Fez for this period are marginal. Now, thanks to the Nashr, as well as to information found recently in other chronicles, literary works, and documents, we can attempt to piece together a picture of eighteenth century Fez and to identify and analyze at least the main lines of political and social life in the city.[49]

An insight into these questions is particularly interesting in the case of Fez during this period because we have here one

of the last opportunities to observe an urban society in the Maghrib before the advent of massive European influence, either military or economic, that is to see how a 'traditional' urban society functioned. We have before us, moreover, an urban social and political system in flux, challenged by new forces and problems accompanying the establishment of a new national balance of power with the advent of the new dynasty. The effort to arrive at a viable working relationship with the 'Alawīs and their makhzan, as well as the related need to establish a stable urban society out of a number of heterogeneous human groups with differing interests in a small area are, indeed, problems which are related to the wider scope of national social structures and their observation clarifies certain general aspects of the country's historical development. The nature of relations between the Sultans and Fez, for example, has influenced both the development of cities as well as that of the central government in a manner unlike what occurred in the European case in the struggle between urban autonomy and centralization. As is clear from the Nashr itself, a state of tension between most of the Sultans and Fez (or at least some of the groups in the city) was the usual condition. Attempts by Sultans to extract taxes such as the gharāma (or kharāj) and maks, to levy a contingent of musketeers, and to appoint city officials drawn from among outsiders or royal clients were seen by Fasis as threats to the city's well-being and were resisted, either through outright revolt or covertly, if the balance of power was too clearly in the Sultan's favour. In effect, with control of the fortifications surrounding the city, the gīsh garrison of the Ūdāyā tribe in the neighbouring administrative complex of New Fez, and the 'abīd army and other tribal auxiliaries, the Sultan could put considerable pressure on the city, provided of course that his country-wide position was sufficiently stable to permit him to concentrate his military power on Fez if the need arose. As was true of the rest of the country, however, the Sultan combined military threats with the prestige of his own authority inherent in his religious role and

sharifian origin. In addition, Fasi society itself was by no means monolithic, and there was ample room for the Sultan to manoeuvre among the various groups and interests, by encouraging those favourable to the makhzan while weakening those opposed.

In effect, Fasi society and political life during this period revolved around several groups already in existence before the advent of the 'Alawīs: the shurafā', the Bildiyyīn (Muslim Fasis of Jewish origin), and the 'Common People' (al-'āmma) composed of Lamṭiyyīn and Andalusians (the latter themselves divided into two geographical sections - al-Andalus and al-'Adwa). While such groups had an 'ethnic' or hereditary basis, their unity and continuity were also reinforced by very real interests, especially those of each group's elite. In addition, the religiously-based zāwiya-s provided nuclei for the development of other entities whose functions resembled those of the above-mentioned groups, and which could often grow into entities with a material and human base making them a force to be reckoned with.

The product of traumas experienced by the city in earlier times - such as the large-scale conversion of Jews (probably) in the fifteenth century, the Andalusian immigration of the seventeenth century, the 'power vacuum' in legitimacy and control by the central power in the city since the decline of the Merinids, and particularly after the disintegration of the Sa'dīs in the seventeenth century - the divided nature of the Fasi polity is reflected in the numerous instances of conflict chronicled in the Nashr. Usually, these conflicts are expressed in terms of these groups, 'shurafā'' versus 'Common People', or 'Andalusians' versus 'Lamṭiyyīn', or any number of other combinations. As a result of the semi-autonomous nature of these groups (as was true in the country as a whole), there was no single city-wide political, economic and social elite as such, which afforded a certain flexibility to Fasi society permitting it to absorb political or natural disasters with less disruption than would have been the case had there been a single pyramid-like distribution of power in

the city or a collection of individuals with no ties to more cohesive intermediary groups and personal leaders. Moreover, the permanent, quasi-corporate, nature of the existing groups in Fez enabled the Sultan to govern Fez with a very small staff of officials, relying on the internal elite of each group to perform many of the administrative functions in the city. As was true elsewhere in the country, in Fez the Sultan could co-opt certain 'leaders', resulting in indirect government control over the city, but in many circumstances this was the only solution possible for a Sultan whose country-wide position was itself unstable. Thus, the urban administrative body - governor, qāḍī, muḥtasib, etc. - was often chosen by the Sultan after negotiations with various groups in the city and, at times, consisted of leaders themselves from these groups. A Sultan who felt surer of his ability to impose his will more directly might impose officials of his own choice (often outsiders), but these might be removed violently when the Sultan's power waned, or upon his death, as was the case with Mawlāy Ismā'īl's appointees (Nashr, 1113/1726-7). As mentioned already, the formation of alliances by the Sultan with certain groups, e.g. the shurafā' or certain zāwiya-s, to prevent a hostile united front,[50] and the granting to his allies of certain privileges in the form of aḥbās grants, commercial privileges, or exemptions from taxes and military service shifted these burdens onto other groups, alienating the latter and increasing tension, which often led to open conflict. When those groups favouring greater urban autonomy became ascendant, there was usually an attempt to reduce the Sultan's influence in the city by means of a revolt or by supporting a mealleable candidate as Sultan, especially as there were so many available following Mawlāy Ismā'īl's death. Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Arība, first proclaimed in Fez in 1149/1736 and supported most staunchly by the Fasis, for example, expectedly, was to abolish non-religious taxes (Nashr, 1149/1736-7, 1151/1738-9; Bodley Nashr, p. 42).

By and large, the city's need for a Sultan could be reduced to his role of providing security along the trade routes and

protection against the Christians. While in the latter instance the 'Alawīs were perceived to be successful, as far as security was concerned there was less success, especially ater Mawlāy Ismā'īl's death. During the first century of 'Alawī rule, with the encouragement - direct or indirect - of the government and a continuing need for it, group politics prospered in Fez, and the transformation of society into a more individualistic one was retarded.

The balance of forces between the central government and the city of Fez - or at least those elements within it most interested in urban autonomy - seems to have been a fairly even one during this period. In effect, neither side could gain a permanent,complete victory, that is, on the one hand the Sultans were not able to build a strong centralized state while, on the other, Fez (like other Moroccan cities) was not sufficiently powerful, and was not able to find in the country a sufficient number of allies with similar interests, to establish the principle of urban autonomy on a permanent and formalized basis. The frequent alternation of revolts and attempts to impose tighter central control, removal and reimposition of taxes, etc. attests to this precarious balance, though at the time the ultimate outcome was still in doubt.

The first century of 'Alawī rule was not a very felicitous period, in general, for Fez. Human and material losses due to fighting against the Sultan, casualties from service in the royal army, and from internecine urban strife and tribal raids were complemented by even greater losses due to natural calamities, such as epidemics and famines. The epidemic and accompanying famine of 1150-1/1737-9 in Fez, for example, seem to have been particularly severe. Instances of eating carrion (Dukkālī, p. 151) and even of cannibalism occurred (Bodley Nashr, p. 52), while it is reported that two-thirds of the city became deserted due to death and flight (Nashr, 1150/1737-8). This was compounded by a central government too weak to control the tribes or to provide any effective security within Fez itself and it seemed at times that the social fabric of the city might be torn beyond repair. It was perhaps

thanks to the flexible social system, with its diffuse power structure, in the city that it was able to survive these heavy blows and, indeed, that a resurgence of the city's prosperity was possible in a relatively short time.

Moreover, internal conflicts notwithstanding, the Fasis were able to live in proximity to each other and could even act as a united entity at times. If these cleavages could be bridged at times, much of the credit must be given to the factor of religion in its varied expressions. As is evident from the Nashr, public prayers and celebrations, the special integrative role of the 'ulamā' (drawn from all groups), the role of zāwiya-s such as that of the al-Fāsī family, as well as the respect shown for the central shrine of the mausoleum of Mawlāy Idrīs (reputedly the founder of Fez), all served to bind Fasis both vertically - among different socio-economic strata - and horizontally - among different groups. Moreover, the pride in their native city felt by Fasis in general (and al-Qādirī is no exception in this as was mentioned already) served to weld a divided society into a city and a community.

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In general, the chronicles of the Nashr present the same drawbacks as do other works of the same genre, both in content and treatment of matter. We are, for example, faced with strict chronological periodization, where one event follows the other, arranged only in order of occurrence, and each is presented in a descriptive, rather than analytical, fashion. Moreover, even a casual perusal of the Nashr reveals a striking imbalance in the amount of material given from year to year. Some years are dismissed with a paragraph or two, even skipped altogether, while for others there are accounts two or three pages long. Admittedly, more notable events occurred during some years than during others, yet this is not a sufficient explanation, for we know from other sources, at times, of the occurrence of important events which are not mentioned in the Nashr, and indeed, the author himself sometimes notes that certain events would take 'too long to relate' (Nashr, 1113/17012 and 1143/1730-1) or that an account

of these events would be outside the scope of his work (Nashr, 1161/1747-8). On the other hand, some topics which we might consider unimportant are dealt with in great detail. Thus, we find complete lists of times, places, and persons officiating at prayers during droughts (e.g. Nashr, 1094/1682-3), while events such as the dispute surrounding the exactness of the miḥrāb of the Qarawiyyīn are treated exhaustively (Nashr, 1131/1718-19). Other topics, which would interest us more today, such as economic questions or information about social groups such as the Ḥarrāṭīn, artisans or merchants are, unfortunately, totally ignored or only very briefly mentioned.

We would look in vain for a detailed description of the political, economic, and social life of Morocco or of Fez in these chronicles. One would, indeed, have been surprised, under the circumstances, if al-Qādirī had given us that, for had he written in great detail about contemporary, everyday, things known to all, he would no doubt have been laughed at by his fellow-citizens, a point brought to my attention by Mr. Ibrahim al-Kattani. As a corollary, the fact that al-Qādirī was writing for a small, culturally homogeneous society, meant that it was not necessary for him to place everything he recorded within an explicit context. That is, a line or two about a contemporary incident with which most of his readers would already be familiar would be sufficient to evoke the background information necessary to appreciate the account. Names or topographical details would likewise be familiar to his readers and thus, often, required no elucidating explanation. A native Fasi, for example, would have had no need to be reminded that a certain family name was of Andalusian, sharifian, or Jewish origin, with all the connotations that carried with it for a Fasi of the eighteenth century. The use of such texts, moreover, is further complicated by the problem of translating even some basic terms, the meaning of which, in the author's mind, can only be guessed at. This meaning may vary from author to author, and indeed, within a single text. It is, for example, difficult at times to be certain what idea al-Qādirī wishes to convey in

reference to certain social groups. When he says 'al-nās', he may at one time intend it in the sense of 'upper classes' (e.g. Royal 972 and Royal 959 have 'al-nās' where the main Nashr text has 'al-shurafā', al-fuqahā', wa-l-aʿyān', year 1088), at others simply 'people' in general. Others such basic terms include 'al-ruʾasā'', 'al-ʿāmma', 'al-ḍuʿafā'', and 'al-masākīn'. The misunderstanding of these and other similar terms and concepts can, indeed, be very easy, and also destructive of the idea which al-Qādirī seeks to convey. Our lack of familiarity with the society in which the author lived and for which he wrote, moreover, often make such pitfalls unavoidable. Indeed, in order to understand fully some events summarily noted in the Nashr, one must at times have recourse to another source which may also deal with the same event in either greater detail or from a different perspective. Many royal campaigns, offices, and even individual figures must, nevertheless, remain mere names to us in the absence of such elucidating material in other sources.

One can, therefore, conclude that al-Qādirī's originality lies not so much in the way he views his material, in which respect he differs little from other Moroccan historians, as in the fact that he deals with a neglected period of history, and records events not chronicled elsewhere.

In using the Nashr for historical research, one should, as with all such works, also take into account the personal position and biases of the author. Unlike many of his contemporaries in a similar position, al-Qādirī shunned all public offices offered to him, at least until very late in his life, and thereby avoided being drawn into the maelstrom of Fasi politics, as well as the pressures and responsibilities which accompanied a public career. He seems thus to have escaped to some extent the traditional role of what E. Lévi-Provençal calls 'semi-official historians' in Morocco, that is dynastic historians who, in order to please the Sultan and obtain favours, money, or honours, would distort history and their account of the dynasty and place their subject in as favourable a light as possible (Chorfa, p. 35). Al-Qādirī,

on the contrary, seems to have been quite free with his opinions at times. In his thrusts of criticism for example, he seldom spares the powerful political leaders in Fez, as one finds him time and again condemning the ruʾasā' (leaders) of Fez for their policies, whether they acted against the Sultan, the shurafā', or other groups in the city.

Despite the fact that al-Qādirī did not participate actively in politics, he had, nevertheless, some definite political views. Being himself a man of religious training and spiritual aspirations, it is not surprising that in his view those who mattered, those who merited respect (al-jānib al-muʿaẓẓam), were men by and large like himself, that is 'the ashrāf, ʿulamā', memorisers of Qur'ān, people of piety and religion' (Bodley Nashr, p. 56). As a sharīf, he naturally reaffirms the validity of the concept and the nobility of sharaf, and of the special position of the shurafā',[51] and anyone, whether Commoner or Sultan, who causes them harm is automatically viewed unfavourably by the author. Thus, for example, the Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿArība, who persecuted the shurafā', is condemned for this policy, and the author notes that 'the Muslims rejoiced . . . at his deposition' (Nashr, 1151/1738-9). This does not, of course, prevent him from criticizing individual shurafā', as is evidenced by the fact that one of the most notorious of them, and a bandit to boot, Muḥammad al-Ghālī al-Idrīsī, is presented in a very negative light indeed in several episodes in the Nashr.

Again, as a man of religion, al-Qādirī does not approve of the political disorder rampant in Fez and in Morocco in general after the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl in 1139/1727, and of the frequent attempts to overthrow reigning Sultans, and views his times as a 'corrupt age' (al-zamān al-fāsid).[52] Indeed, elsewhere he views the famine and deaths of 1150/1737-8 as a direct result of the chaos and collapse of law and order brought about by 'rebellion against the ruler' (Bodley Nashr, p. 66). In fact, one of the main reasons for his favourable view of the first ʿAlawī Sultan, Rashīd, is that he stood against the 'fires of disorder' (nīrān al-fitan) until he

extinguished them,[53] as the period preceding his establishment in Fez was seen as one of political chaos in the whole country.

Despite his criticism of the revolts by Fez against the Sultans,[54] one nevertheless notes a definite element of pride in his native city emerging from the pages of the Nashr. In relating the fighting between Fez and the royal army during the two rebellions (one against Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī and the other against his successor ʿAbd Allāh), for example, al-Qādirī cannot help but boast openly and in great detail about the military successes of his fellow-citizens, or of the participation of Fasi musketeers in the Sultans' various campaigns, and of their valour in battle (Bodley Nashr, pp. 33-4; Nashr, 1097/1685-6, 1098/1686-7, 1141/1728-9). His opinion of some of the Sultans is also coloured by their treatment of Fez. For example, he views favourably Maḥammad al-ʿĀlim's revolt against Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (Bodley Nashr, p. 48) possibly because of the the latter's harshness to Fez. Similarly, he is critical of Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, who also disliked Fez (Nashr, 1140/1727-8); Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, a friend of Fez, on the contrary, is treated, in general, much more favourably, yet al-Qādirī the moralist can criticize even this Sultan for his projected execution of his own deposed brother (ibid.).

Finally one should note here al-Qādirī's view of the Sultan's policy towards the Christian powers. Indeed, some of the most lavish praise awarded to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and Sīdī Muḥammad is reserved precisely for their successes against the European enclaves on the Moroccan coast.

One should, in sum, keep in mind the sharifian origin, religious training, and place of birth of al-Qādirī when reading his Nashr.

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In examining the written sources used by al-Qādirī for his chronicles, one notes their restricted number and importance. They can, in fact, be reduced to a handful, none of which is used extensively.[55] Even an important work such as the Nuzhat al-ḥādī of al-Īfrānī, of which al-Qādirī saw only

extracts it is true, is, for example, apparently not used for the chronicle portion. Al-Durr al-sanī, written by the author's grandfather, is used for the early years of the ʿAlawī family's rise in the south. Al-Yūsī's Al-Muḥāḍarāt (Chorfa, pp. 269-72) is similarly quoted and acknowledged several times, notably when dealing with the fall of the Dilāʾī zāwiya and in discussing various shrines in Morocco. Two other works mentioned by al-Qādirī, the Maṭmaḥ al-naẓar of Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Fāsī,[56] and some Notes of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (Chorfa, pp. 266-9), which I was not able to track down in Morocco, have probably provided somewhat more material, though the exact amount cannot be determined without a textual comparison. Al-Qādirī obviously must have relied on sources other than first-hand knowledge for information about events from the early period covered by his chronicle. As he admits in the 'short' version of the Nashr (e.g. MS. 972 and MS. 969, RPLR), when discussing the political upheavals in the year 1140/1727-8, he did not know the details about these events 'due to my youth and lack of interest in recording that' (see below, text of Nashr, 1140/1727-8, p. 63, n. 4); he would have been about sixteen years old then. Logically, anything for an earlier period would also have had to be drawn from other sources. For the year 1129/1726-7, indeed, al-Qādirī acknowledges, in a note found, again, in the 'short' Nashr (also in Bodley Q), that 'I have found all that I have recorded here in this biography, and the other events and accounts, recorded in the hand of one worthy of trust' (see below, text of Nashr, 1139/1726-7, p. 55, n. 1). That all the material for the earlier period is drawn from another source or sources does not detract substantially from the value of the Nashr, for these sources do not seem to be extant, and al-Qādirī has preserved important extracts from them for posterity. In addition, however, he could, and probably did, also rely on sources other than written ones, as he was writing mostly about events which had occurred during his own lifetime or that of his father or grandfather. Oral accounts would no doubt have been readily available even for

the earlier periods of the chronicle. Indeed, phrases such as 'according to reports' and 'I was informed of that' (ʿalā mā qīla and akhbaranī bi-dhālik) are common throughout the work. This does not, of course, mean that unlike other Moroccan historians, al-Qādirī had much respect for or gave credence to hearsay or the opinion of the man in the street. He is, in fact, at times disparaging of what is 'on the tongue of the masses' (ʿalā lisān al-ʿāmma), as in the incident over ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's shrine in 1104/1692-3. The oral sources he does accept are, rather, those involving people 'who can be relied upon' (man yūthaq bih), that is responsible men of religion, commerce, or government officials. For the events which occurred when al-Qādirī was already an adult he had, of course, the advantage of being himself an eyewitness or in a position to collect first-hand information from others. The very lack of many written sources used for the Nashr for this period is, in itself, a good indication of the originality of al-Qādirī's work.

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Western scholars have made surprisingly little use of al-Qādirī's chronicles, although his biographical endeavours are somewhat better known and have been used more frequently. Even those European historians, such as Auguste Cour,[57] who have explored al-Qādirī have used his works to a very limited extent, and always from the lithographed, or condensed, version. Some historians, it is true, have benefited from al-Qādirī, wittingly or unwittingly, second-hand, through quotes found in later published works such as the Kitāb al-istiqṣā of al-Nāṣirī. The lack of a translation for the portion after the year 1100/1688-9 can of course explain to some extent this neglect. The unavailability until recently of the 'long' Nashr even in manuscript form has made it even more unlikely that al-Qādirī be known widely or fully appreciated by Orientalists. E. Lévi-Provencal, it is true, places al-Qādirī among the five Moroccans from the period he studied who could be ranged with the great Muslim historians, but here again this is mainly thanks to his biographical work

(Chorfa, p. 387).

Among traditional Moroccan scholars, on the other hand, al-Qādirī's place in their country's historiography has long been recognized. Suffice it to say that all subsequent chroniclers who have written on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Moroccan history are indebted to his chronicles to a greater or less extent. Whether they acknowledge it or not, isolated phrases or indeed entire passages from his work stud all his successors' histories.[58] The list of historians influenced by al-Qādirī includes even al-Zayānī, a younger contemporary of his, who is perhaps the greatest historian ever produced by Morocco. One has only to glance superficially at his Turjumān,[59] most of which was composed in 1207-08/1792-3, to notice the factual borrowings and even literal copying from the Nashr.[60] Hardly a page is free of this, most of which, incidentally, he does not acknowledge. E. Lévi-Provençal erroneously attributes this lack of sources quoted to the fact that al-Zayānī, writing of relatively recent events, was able to gather eyewitness acounts from his elders (Chorfa, p. 191). In his praise for al-Zayānī he rightly includes such elements as his exact chronology, information on topography, and his inclusion of social innovations and reforms (ibid., p. .93). Most of this is, however, borrowed from al-Qādirī and, significantly, the examples chosen by Professor Lévi-Provençal to illustrate these points are all also found in the Nashr. This is not to imply, of course, that his evaluation of al-Zayānī is faulty, for al-Zayānī alone among his contemporaries is able, at times, to rise above the level of simple chronicler to that of historian. Rather, the intent here is simply to note his undeniable debt to al-Qādirī.

A list of all the Moroccans influenced by al-Qādirī would be superfluous here, although one should perhaps note at least the more important historians who have borrowed from him, usually by incorporating long quotes directly into their own works. Among these, one can begin with al-Ḥawwāt in his Al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda (Chorfa, p. 338), followed by the

nineteenth-century chroniclers Akansūs in his Al-Jaysh al-ʿaramram, and Muḥammad al-Ḍuʿayyif in his History. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥājj in his Al-Durr al-muntakhab, and Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī in his still widely-read and often-quoted Kitāb al-istiqṣā both use al-Qādirī frequently, and usually acknowledge their source. Even twentieth-century historians of the traditional school such as Ibn Zaydān in his Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās or Al-Manzaʿ al-laṭīf (Dalīl, I, 27, 162), al-Kattānī in his Salwat al-anfās, and Muḥammad Dāwūd in his Tārīkh Tiṭwān (ibid., I, 39) all make use of the Nashr as well.

In sum, al-Qādirī's popularity in learned circles in Morocco has remained quite high throughout the period after his death, and one cannot underestimate the debt owed to him by those historians who followed him.

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When viewed from a literary perspective, al-Qādirī's chronicles do not, admittedly, reach a very high artistic level. The sections with the yearly events, moreover, seem to be more unpolished than the biographical portion of the same work. One is inclined to think that the author himself saw the chronicles as secondary to the biographies, and does not seem to have taken the same care in putting the 'finishing touches' on the former. The chronicles, indeed, at times give the impression of being not far removed from a rough draft, containing as they do numerous inconsistencies in style and composition which could have probably been easily eliminated had the author taken more care or reworked his copy. In the main manuscript of this 'long' version, one finds, for example, numerous instances of events related under one year being discussed again under the following year with perhaps more details (e.g. at the end of 1140 and beginning of 1141) and, conversely, the unfulfilled promise to discuss some topic at a later stage. At times, a section of a single topic is interrupted by a sentence on another matter, after which the original topic is resumed, a situation which can sometimes lead to confusion. Indeed, E. Lévi-Provençal notes that al-Qādirī's frequent digressions 'tire the reader' (Chorfa,

p. 325), which is quite true. Furthermore, al-Qādirī's writing style can at times be unclear, his sentences long and tortuous, complicated in some cases by a series of epithets strung after proper names. One has but to take a passage such as the opening sentence for the events of the year 1094/1682-3 in the Nashr, which is not atypical of the author's general style, to be convinced of this. There, for example, a very long sentence, punctuated by unrelated subordinate clauses and complicated by a chain of personal epithets, necessitates at least a second reading to comprehend the author's meaning. This is, moreover, a fairly common occurrence, and would make Muhammad Lakhdar's opinion that 'al-Qādirī s'exprime dans une langue claire et précise' (p. 241) seem somewhat generous. Furthermore, the numerous lacunae and frequent errors in grammar encountered in the text sometimes make an understanding of the author's intent, and a positive translation, difficult. The profusion of pronouns and the lack of punctuation, as in all pre-modern Arabic works, further complicates matters and frequently names or phrases have had to be inserted in brackets in the translation to facilitate the reading of the text. Moreover, at least some of the stiffness in the translation of certain passages may be attibuted justifiably to the author's style; this is especially true in the cases where short sentences containing unrelated information succeed each other.

Yet, despite the difficulties encountered with the prose of the Nashr, which are attributable as much to sloppiness in composition as to anything else, al-Qādirī's style can nevertheless be classified as relatively simple. That is, he does not make use of ornate, embellished, or rhymed prose such as one finds popular with other Moroccan historians such as al-Īfrānī or Akansūs. Indeed, one feels the influence of the colloquial language to be quite marked on the Nashr. The very structure of many phrases, which sometimes begin with a plural form of the verb, is colloquial, with the use of classical vocabulary, and, indeed, the simple train of the narrative of events is not too far removed from a conversational tone.[61]

One can also detect a marked colloquial influence on al-Qādirī's choice of words. Some of these vocabulary items, such as بستيون bastiyūn (bastion), بومبة būmba (bomb), or مينة mīna (mine) are loan-words from European languages. Contact with Christians (mostly in the Moroccan ports and Gibraltar) was still, however, relatively limited, and the real flood of loan-words from this source was not to begin until the nineteenth century. Others are those words originating from the North African, and sometimes specifically Moroccan, dialect. This borrowing is not restricted to nouns, but extends to verbs and idiomatic expressions as well. We find, for instance, كشّط kashshaṭ (to plunder, despoil), or افتدوا iftadaw (they got even) from the colloquial تفدينا tfadīnā, and عمل عرس ʿamal ʿurs (to have a wedding), all having a strong colloquial flavour.

The colloquial influence on the orthography of certain words can, more realistically, be attributed to the copyists rather than to the author himself, although it should be pointed out that a fragment in al-Qādirī's own hand contains the same orthographic errors as were common in other copies of the Nashr as well as in most contemporary texts. The majority of these involve a confusion between various letters, especially between emphatics and their non-emphatic equivalents. One thus finds تدرّع tadarruʿ instead of تضرّع taḍarruʿ (prayer), or vice-versa صور ṣūr instead of سور sūr (wall), as in the Moroccan dialect letters which in the classical are emphatic are often de-emphasized, while the converse also holds true; one also finds a confusion between letters such as ض and ظ, which in Morocco tend to have the same sound; we have thus وضيفة waḍīfa for وظيفة waẓīfa (levy). One likewise notices a frequent confusion between the pairs of dentals ت/ث and د/ذ; thus اتخن atkhan for اثخن athkhan (to bear down on), or اديّة adiyya for اذيّة adhiyya (harm). This too is attributable to the Moroccan colloquial pronunciation. In the texts edited here, the original orthography has been retained, and the correct form has been put in a footnote, except where the error is clearly a 'slip of the pen', in which case it has been corrected in the text.

A second type of orthographical variant found in the Nashr is the plural of nouns of the form رامٍ rāmin (pl. رماة, rumāt) which is almost always given with a ت rather than the with the correct tā marbūṭa. I have corrected this throughout the text.

Finally, there is the question of the hamza-s. These are often replaced in the text by a vowel (e.g. قايم qāyim for قائم qā'im) and its orthography is at best inconsistent, at worst confusing. I have left the original orthography in the text, inserting hamza-s only in cases where their omission might cause misunderstandings.

Some Notes on the Edition and Translation

In the translation, certain terms from the Arabic have been retained in transliteration. When necessary, the plural has been given by simply adding '-s' to the singular (e.g. dirham-s instead of darāhim). For terms which are commonly known in the West in their plural form, however (such as ʿulamā' or ashrāf), this form has been retained. Similarly, terms which are found only in the plural form in the text (e.g. wattādīn, mufarradīn) have also been kept as such.

In collating these texts, syntactic variants have usually been ignored, as have other minor points, such as variants of ثمّ or و, etc. When a variant from another manuscript is given in a footnote, it is understood to mean that the variant in the footnote replaces the equivalent number of words in the main text, unless otherwise indicated. The chronicles have been divided by year, as they are found in the 'long' and 'short' Nashr manuscripts and the folio numbers will be given at the end of each year's text.

Only the copyist's marginal notes will be translated, not the numerous variants and additions found in the other manuscripts which will, however, appear in the footnotes of the textual edition.

We must now also turn to the thorny question of the transliteration of proper and place names. Personal names

have all been translitered according to the rules of classical Arabic rather than those of the colloquial or the usual French forms (thus al-ʿArabī and not L'arbī or Larbi). Tribal names have been dealt with in a similar fashion. With place names, however, it was felt that giving the Arabic form for some well-known place names would be confusing since the French orthography for many places has become familiar and accepted, even in non-French-speaking countries,due to the lengthy French presence in North Africa. As a general rule, here, however, for the name of cities first priority will be given to the English form, if an accepted one exists (e.g. Fez, Marrakesh), second priority to French forms long-established in the English-speaking world (e.g. Salé) while for the rest, mostly towns of lesser importance and rivers etc. of lesser fame among Europeans, the Arabic name is given. For the latter, moreover, the classical rather than the colloquial form is given, in order to avoid confusion. It should, indeed, be noted that even in a single copy of the Nashr, the orthography for some place-name varies. We thus find تازى, and تازه for Tāzā, and تافيلالت, تافلات, and تافلالت for Tāfīlālt. A list of the main place-names found in the text follows, with an asterisk used to indicate the form used here in each case. As for the ubiquitous Moroccan titles Mawlāy(ā) (classical) or Mūlāy (colloquial)(my lord), and Sayyidī (classical) or Sīdī (colloquial) (my master), I have made an arbitrary choice of Mawlāy (Mawlānā) and Sīdī respectively. A note should also be made about the usual nisba-s of the dynasty which abound in the text, i.e. al-Ḥasanī, al-Sijilmāsī, al-Filālī, and al-ʿAlawī. The first denotes the family's descent (like most of the shurafā' in Morocco) from Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad and son of the latter's daughter Fāṭima and her husband ʿAlī, as opposed to the other son, Ḥusayn. The geographical nisba-s 'from Sijilmāsa' and 'from Tāfīlālt' indicate the family's original home in Morocco after their immigration. As for the accompanying 'al-ʿAlawī', I do not think it refers to Fāṭima's husband ʿAlī, as most Orientalists have assumed. After all, almost all or, according to some traditions, all shurafā' are

descendants of this ʿAlī and, therefore, ʿAlawī, so that this term could not be used to differentiate this particular branch from the others. Rather, it refers, more likely, to a fifteenth century family hero, the already-mentioned ʿAlī al-Sharīf. Indeed, descent from him is the point of reference ordinarily used to prove one's own belonging to this family and, moreover, an eighteenth century genealogist, al-ʿArabī b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Filālī (himself an ʿAlawī), known as Ibn Dafīn Ṭayba, states clearly that 'our lords and masters the shurafā' in Sijilmāsa are of the line of . . . Abū al-Ḥasan Mawlānā ʿAli al-Sharīf b. Mawlānā al-Ḥasan etc.'[62]

Finally, the Maghribi fā' and qāf, written ڢ and ڧ in the text, have been rendered by their eastern equivalents.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1] (Paris, 1922), pp. 319-26.

[2] In full, Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbir min al-'ulamā' wa-l-ṣulaḥā' bi-Fās, 3 vols. (lithographed, Fez, 1316/1898). See II, 351-2.

[3] A list of his works appears in one of them, Iltiqāṭ al-durar wa-mustafād al-mawā'iẓ wa-l-'ibar min akhbār a'yān al-mi'a al-thāniya wa-l-ḥādiya 'ashar (Rabat General Library, MSS. D184 and D676, among others), and this is reproduced in Chorfa (pp. 321-2), while some additions to this are made in Lakhdar (pp. 240-1). Among the extant works from this historical category are: the above-mentioned Iltiqāṭ; Kunnāsha (Commonplace Book), in MS Collection K1574, RGL, fols. 1-358; Al-Iklīl wa-l-tāj fī tadhyīl Kifāyat al-muḥtāj, MS. 1897, RGL.

[4] It also bears the alternate title Al-Azhār al-nādiyya.

[5] Vol. XXI (1913), translated by A. Graulle and P. Maillard, and vol. XXIV (1917), trans. Ed. Michaux-Bellaire.

[6] See the copy of a letter sent by Mawlāy Ismā'īl to the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmad III, in MS Arab.c.79, Bodleian, pp. 18-21; no date but most probably 1139/1727.

[7] Perhaps this would be the right place to mention again al-Qādirī's Iltiqāṭ al-durar. Finished before the Nashr, in 1170/1756-7 (see Chorfa, p. 323), it consists solely of chronicles with some biographies woven into the main text, and can indeed be viewed as another edition of the Nashr, differing from the latter in wording and frequently in content as well.

[8] For a description of this version, see N. Cigar, 'Recently discovered Moroccan chronicles in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', ROMM, 1977, pp. 111-23. It differs substantially in both wording and content from the previously known manuscripts of the Nashr, and a collation with these other manuscripts would have resulted in considerable losses in many of the variants or in an unwieldy and confusing text. A separate edition of the Bodleian text was prepared, therefore: N. Cigar, ed., The Bodleian Version of al-Qādirī's Nashr al-mathānī; The Chronicles, Rabat [1978].

[9] Professor Lévi-Provençal's dictum to the effect that 'pour le bibliophile, le Maroc est une terre fertile et riche en promesses, mais terriblement caillouteuse' (Chorfa, p. 4), retains as much validity today as when he wrote it more than fifty years ago.

[10] Among these are two overviews: Abun-Nasr, pp. 224-34; Guy Martinet, in J. Brignon et al, Histoire du Maroc (Casablanca, 1967), pp. 235-62; Laroui, pp. 47-53. Mercer's

article deals with Mawlāy Ismā'īl's reign, Mojuetan's with the rise of the 'Alawī dynasty, Magali Morsy's article, 'Réflexions sur le discours historique à travers l'examen d'un document sur le Maroc au milieu du XVIIIe siècle', ROMM, XX, 1976, pp. 67-102, with contemporary conceptions of Moroccan events.

[11] For accounts of the early history of the 'Alawīs, see Mojuetan; Abun-Nasr, pp. 224-6.

[12] Although some zāwiya-s served to overlap some of these groups, drawing members from various tribes and urban groups, other zāwiya-s' members were concentrated in a single group and so reinforced group exclusivity. In any case, there was no single brotherhood or zāwiya which managed to enlist a majority of the country's population.

[13] Important decisions, like the choice of a Sultan, brought together varying coalitions. In 1154/1741, for example, Fez, the Ūdāyā of New Fez, the Ayt Yadrāsan, Awlād Jāmi', Ḫayāyina, and Garwān (among others) backed 'Abd Allāh, while the 'abīd, Meknes, and the Zammūr backed his brother Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and the pāshā al-Rīfī and the tribes he controlled, along with Marrakesh, backed another brother, al-Mustaḍī' (Nashr, 1154/1741-2). A few years earlier, in 1149/1736, on the other hand, some groups in Fez had supported another brother, Muḥammad b. 'Arība, while it was the 'abīd who supported 'Abd Allāh initially, as did the Ūdāyā and other tribes (Nashr, 1149/1736-7).

[14] There are, in effect, numerous examples of negotiations between the Sultans and various tribes, zāwiya-s, urban groups, 'abīd, etc., as well as negotiations between Fez and the Ūdāyā, Fez and other tribes, various urban groups in Fez, the pāshā al-Rīfī and the 'abīd, etc., recorded in the Nashr, as well as examples of armed conflict.

[15] Even Mawlāy Ismā'īl, regarded as the strongest of the early 'Alawīs, had difficulty in forcing certain groups in Fez to pay government taxes on a regular basis; see N. Cigar, 'Une lettre inédite de Moulay Isma'il aux Gens de Fès', Hespéris-Tamuda, 1974, pp. 105-18. This was true even of religious duties, such as the zakāt and a'shār, payment of which was avoided by the Ma'n zāwiya in Fez, for example (Maqṣad, p. 215 and passim). These difficulties were to increase dramatically after this Sultan's death, as his successors had little success in collecting taxes from either cities or tribes.

[16] Mawlāy Ismā'īl, in a letter to the director of the al-Fāsī zāwiya in Fez, dated 1110/1698, justifying his institution of a slave army, noted that his brother Mawlāy Rashīd only had a force of 1,800 black slaves, and that no one was reliable for military service except the Fasis and the Rīfīs (copy in MS. 4490, RPLR). The Fasis, indeed, revolted in 1083/1672, upon the accession to power of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, over the question of military service (ibid.).

[17] According to the Nashr, for example, during one of

Mawlāy Ismā'īl's illnesses (perhaps the one of 1128/1715-16), the 'abīd had attacked, on their own initiative, the Sufyān tribe (Nashr, 1140/1727-8).

[18] Indeed, the Nashr claims that Mawlāy Ismā'īl's successor, Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, held power in name only and that the final say lay with the 'abīd (Nashr, 1141/1728-9).

[19] The Sultans in this period often relied on tribal forces, Berber and Arab, as well as the Fasi rumāt to counter insubordinate 'abīd (Nashr, 1149/1736-7; 1150/1737-8; etc.). Indeed, Mawlāy 'Abd al-Malik, according to a contemporary observer, had carried out consciously a policy of inciting both the 'abīd and the tribes to fight each other (Mashshāṭ, unnumbered pages). The danger of basing one's power on a single source was illustrated to Sīdī Muḥammad already when, as his father's viceroy in Marrakesh, he had wanted to punish some Raḥāmina tribesmen in 1167/1753-4 for entering the women's baths in that city. He had been reminded, however, that this tribe was his main source of support, and he had to forego the intended punishment to avoid alienating them (Ḍu'ayyif, fol. 146).

[20] The system of tribal marriage alliances is illustrated by the fact that the three principal Arab tribes of Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh's gīsh had become related to the dynasty by marriage: the Ūdāyā being his father's maternal uncles, the Maghāfira his own maternal uncles, and the Sharāga those of one of his sons (Nashr, 1159/1746-7). Similarly, Mawlāy 'Alī, after being deposed, took refuge with the Cherg Arabs (Nashr, 1148/1735-6), as he was married to a woman of one of their tribes, the Aḥlāf (Ḍu'ayyif, fol. 101), while Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' formed an alliance by marriage with the Masfīwa (Ḍu'ayyif, fol. 166). Sultans also found it in their interest to confirm existing tribal chiefs to govern their own tribal area, as was the case of Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and the chiefs of the Banī Mālik and the Sufyān (Nashr, 1161/1747-8).

[21] Indeed, Mawlāy Ismā'īl apparently had been able to establish himself originally in some of the tribal areas thanks to the good offices of the leaders of these tribes (Tuḥfa qādiriyya, II, 331). The appointment of clients to an official post over a tribe in return for a cash payment also seems to have been a common practice under the first 'Alawīs (Abū Sālim al-'Ayyāshī (1037/1628-1090/1679), Al-Nawāzil, MS. K896, RGL, p. 74 and marginal note p. 74). In either case, the tribal leaders retained a certain autonomy.

[22] Even acceptance of the dynasty's legitimacy as such did not necessarily ensure a peaceful political life, however, as there was nothing to prevent the appearance of rivals from within the family itself, backed by different interests, and all equally legitimate, in the absence of the principle of primogeniture. During the first years of Mawlāy Ismā'īl's reign, for example, his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥraz was able to gain control over Fez itself and numerous other regions, while his legitimacy was seen as equal to that of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, as both are called 'Sultan' and even 'imām' (Nashr, 1086/1675-6;

1087/1676-7; Khayyāṭ, pp. 14, 15).

[23] This was made evident by the fact that his name was not included in the khuṭba pronounced by the director; Muḥammad al-Makkī Ibn Nāṣir (d. after 1170/1756), Al-Durar al-muraṣṣa'a fī akhbār a'yān Dar'a, MS. K265, RGL, p. 64.

[24] Letter, Mawlāy Ismā'īl to Maḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, 1110/1698, MS. 4490, RPLR, unnumbered pages.

[25] Indeed, religious exhortations were at times combined with more practical appeals; thus Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh, in rallying some Berber tribes to aid him against the pāshā of Tangier, Aḥmad al-Rīfī in 1155/1742-3, roused them by saying, 'This is your land and country, and you are its masters, and his only goal is your land; you are the most worthy ones to support the Prophet's family' (Durr muntakhab, IX, 12).

[26] The influential and respected legal scholar 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (1040/1631-1096/1685), for example, severely chastized in a fatwā those who called the maks a 'right of the Sultan' (ḥaqq al-Sulṭān) or 'obligatory' (lāzim) (copy in MS. D283, RGL, fol. 27).

[27] Indeed, a pious 'Alawī sharīf living in Fez during the reign of the Sa'dī Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (1578-1603), had repeatedly rebuked the latter publicly for allowing a Jew considerable influence at court, forcing the Sultan to execute the unlucky Jew (Durar bahiyya, I, 264).

[28] All this notwithstanding, again, even Sīdī Muḥammad relied on Jews for economic dealings due to practical needs, a Jewish merchant holding the national monopoly on cochineal, for example (Dukkālī, p. 193).

[29] Thus, the anti-'Alawī Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Dilā'ī justified his opposition to Mawlāy Ismā'īl by alleging that the latter had used the Muslims' money and women in illegal ways (letter dated 1089/1678, in Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tāsattāwatī, Nuzhat al-nāẓir wa-bahjat al-ghuṣn al-nāḍir, MS. D1302, RGL, fol. 46).

[30] Among the mahdī-s recorded (probably only a portion of the total) are the one who arose in the Sūs in 1127/1715, significantly during a time of economic depression and famine there (Durr muntakhab, VII, 339-343); another Sūsī, Muḥammad Ū 'Alī Baṭagla, in the early 1160s/late 1740s (Ḍu'ayyif, pp. 146-7); the individuals who claimed to be the representatives of the executed Sultan 'Abd al-Malik, or even this Sultan himself who had supposedly escaped death and would now fill the country with justice (Nashr, biographical section, MS. K2253, II, fol. 137; Dukkālī, p. 194) in the 1140s and 1150s/late 1730s-early 1740s and again in 1177/1763-4; the Sūsī mahdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, killed in 1150/1738 (Nashr, 1150/1737-8), and the three mahdī-s from the last half of the eighteenth century mentioned by Zayānī (pp. 140, 142, 152). Other opponents, such as Aḥmad al-Dilā'ī, member of the ousted zāwiya family of that name, who died in 1091/1680-1 (Nashr, biographical section, MS. K2253, II, fol. 1), and the murābiṭ al-'Arabī Abū al-Duhūr, who 'predicted' that the

newly-installed Sīdī Muḥammad would not retain power for long (Dukkālī, p. 187), while not mahdist nevertheless also used their religious aura to challenge the Sultan's legitimacy.

[31] For example, the 'Agāgiza, a movement accused of being the spiritual heirs of the madhī Ibn Tūmart, by the end of the seventeenth century had expanded to include disciples in Sijilmāsa (fatwā by the qāḍī al-'Umayrī, apud Wazzānī, IX, 73) and the Banī Ḥasan, the tribes of the Tadla and the Atlas Mountains, and Meknes (Muḥammad al-Majjāṣī, Ajwiba, MS. 3310, RPLR, fol. 36).

[32] Anonymous, Nawāzil fiqhiyya, MS. 1447, fol. 17-26; Qarawiyyīn Library, Fez; intermediary pages unnumbered. One also finds this opposition expressed in terms of a 'sāyiba area' (al-balad al-sāyiba) and 'an area known for obedience' (balad ma'lūm bi-l-ṭā'a), Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī (d. 427/1035), Masā'il al-Mudawwana (MS. D1839, RGL, pp. 32-102), p. 36.

[33] Fatwā by Ibn Nāṣir (Maḥammad (d. 1085/1674) or his son Aḥmad (1057/1647-1129/1717) apud Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Wazzānī, Tajzi'at arba' ajzā' min nawāzil . . ., lithographed Fez, 1319/1901, IV, 273.

[34] For example, sā'iba areas are seen as being at the same time, areas of aggression (arḍ al-sāyiba wa-l-mughāwara, Anon., Nawāzil fiqhiyya, MS. 1447, Qarawiyyīn Library, Fez) or of 'injustice', 'illegality', and 'unlawful arbitrariness' (al-balad al-sāyiba wa-l-ẓulm wa-l-ta'addī and al-arḍ al-sāyiba wa-l-ghaṣb, Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, Masā'il al-Mudawwana, MS. D1839, RGL, p. 63).

[35] Abū Muḥammad 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ragrāgī (d. 1062/1651), Al-Ajwiba, MS. G1257, RGL, p. 162, mentions among the Ahl Sūs ' a qāḍī, who was appointed by a jamā'a which was in revolt against the Sultan without, however, revolting against his [legal] ruling' (qāḍī aqāmathu jamā'a khārija 'an al-Sulṭān dūn an yakhrujū min ḥukmih); later, the same author places this situation in the countryside (bādiya) which had not submitted to the imām's (i.e. the Sultan's) control (amr), p. 163.

[36] Although it is true that the general term for bandits, urban or rural, in eighteenth century Morocco is suyyāb.

[37] The above-mentioned dichotomy on the legal question of property, for example, is also rendered by the antithesis 'area of laws' (mawḍi' al-aḥkām) and 'area of the countryside' (mawḍi' al-bādiya); fatwā by Aḥmad al-Hilālī (1113/1701-1175/1761), apud Wazzānī, IX, 366.

[38] Khayyāṭ, p. 17, notes that during the reign of Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī many of Morocco's areas had become sība (sābat bilād al-Maghrib), implying that this was not a static state.

[39] That the attachment shown by the Sūsīs to Mawlāy Aḥmad was not merely opportunism, but was also due to personal devotion to him is indicated by the fact that after his assassination and burial, his supporters from Taroudant came

by night, disinterred him, and buried him again in Taroudant, where his tomb remained revered for several generations thereafter (Nashr, biographical section MS. K2253, II, fol. 8).

[40] Istiqṣā, VII, 81, records the process of disarming the tribes, which is confirmed by the fact that towards the end of Mawlāy Ismā'īl's reign, the Sufyān and the Banī Mālik had to rearm to be prepared for the eventual power struggle after his death (Nashr, 1140/1727-8). So fearful were these two tribes of the Sultan's punishment, however, that when the 'abīd attacked them, they did not even resist, thinking that this had been ordered by the Sultan (ibid.). The disarming of Fez, at least temporarily, is attested to by Chénier (III, 369), that of Taroudant by a Christian captive, Francis Brooks, Barbarian Cruelty (London, 1693), p. 20, while the scholar al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī was to scold the Sultan for disarming the Tetuanis so thoroughly that they were restricted to fighting the Christians with only sticks and sling shots (copy of letter, MS. 9249, RPLR, fol. 5-7), fol. 6.

[41] Not only was he able to deal high-handedly with tens of thousands of 'abīd, which is perhaps understandable, but he was also able to resettle free men such as the Shabānāt from New Fez to Oujda in 1090/1679-80 (Durr muntakhab, VI, 109), the inhabitants of the conquered city of Taroudant to Meknes (Brooks, op. cit., p. 20), replacing them by the Rīfīs living in Fez in1099/1687-8 (Durr muntakhab, VI, 243), and ordered a group of people from Tāfīlālt to settle in Meknes in 1093/1682 (Nashr).

[42] Indeed, according to the Nashr (1151/1738-9), during the period following Mawlāy Ismā'īl's death, the principal men of state (al-ru'asā') had sought to relegate the Sultan to a purely ceremonial role, while wielding the real power themselves or, as al-Qādirī puts it, to bring about the same situation as existed in the contemporary Ottoman Empire, though this does not seem to have been implemented successfully.

[43] The Berber pāshā of Tangier, Aḥmad al-Rīfī, for example, had failed in his bid to replace Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh as Sultan because, according to a contemporary Algerian traveller to Morocco, 'The Moroccans will not submit to anyone who is not a sharīf', 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Ḥamādūsh, Lisān al-maqāl fī al-naba' 'an al-nisba wa-l-ḥasab wa-l-'āl, MS. K463, RGL, p. 43.

[44] Even a relatively weak Sultan like 'Abd Allāh, who had been deposed five times had reportedly executed some 70,000 during all his reigns (Ḍu'ayyif, fol. 151), 30,000 of those during the first seven years alone (Nashr, K2253, biographical section, marginal note, II, fol. 91).

[45] In effect, the ideal situation for the makhzan continued to be the existence of subjects 'like grazing livestock, obedient to their shepherd', without arms or horses, as they were reputed to have been under Mawlāy Ismā'īl, according to a later Sultan, Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822) in a letter to one of his governors, his uncle 'Iyād apud Muḥammad Gharrīṭ (d. 1346/1945), Fawāṣil al-jumān fī anbā' wuzarā' wa-kuttāb al-zamān (Fez, 1346/1945), ed. A. Bū Ṭālib, pp. 8-9.

[46] Roger Le Tourneau, Fez in the Age of the Merinids, tr. Besse Alberta Clement (Norman, Oklahoma, 1961).

[47] Roger Le Tourneau, Fès avant le Protectorat; Étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident musulman (Casablanca, 1949).

[48] Roger le Tourneau, 'Fès et la naissance du pouvoir sa'dien', in Al-Andalus, XVIII (1953), 271-94.

[49] See N. Cigar, 'Conflict and Community in an Urban Milieu: Fez under the 'Alawīs (ca. 1666-1830)', The Maghreb Review, Oct.-Dec. 1978, pp. 3-13, and the author's forthcoming monograph on Fez in the 1666-1912 period.

[50] Indeed, the initial establishment of the 'Alawīs in Fez had come about, to a large extent, thanks to the exploitation of the internal divisions in the city (Nashr, 1076/1665-6).

[51] See the biography in the lithograph version, II, 99, and the passage in the main Nashr text for 1141/1728-9, for example.

[52] He repeats this often - Nashr biographies, II, folios 123 and 131, for example. While this is the traditional Islamic historical view, common to most Muslim historians, it is nevertheless also indicative of al-Qādirī's own historical outlook.

[53] See Mawlāy Rashīd's biography, lithograph Nashr, II, 4.

[54] In the Nashr for the year 1161/1747-8, for example, al-Qādirī expresses quite bluntly his opposition to the revolt against Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh which had just ended, and calls upon God to reward the latter for pardoning the city.

[55] This is especially true if one excludes marginal sources quoted merely for digressions (such as the ones used for the biography of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī) not germane to Moroccan history.

[56] Ibid., pp. 283-4. As pointed out to me by Dr. Michael Brett, this work by al-Fāsī (d. 1702) might account for the abundance of historical material found in the Nashr before that date, and the subsequent dearth of material until the beginning of al-Qādirī's own observations, after Mawlāy Ismā'īl's death in 1139/1727, when we once again have fairly extensive chronicles.

[57] L'établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger 1509-1830 (Paris, 1904).

[58] Among his contemporaries one must also note, in this context, the historian Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī (d. 1184/1770), the author of a work entitled Historical Notes (Taqāyīd

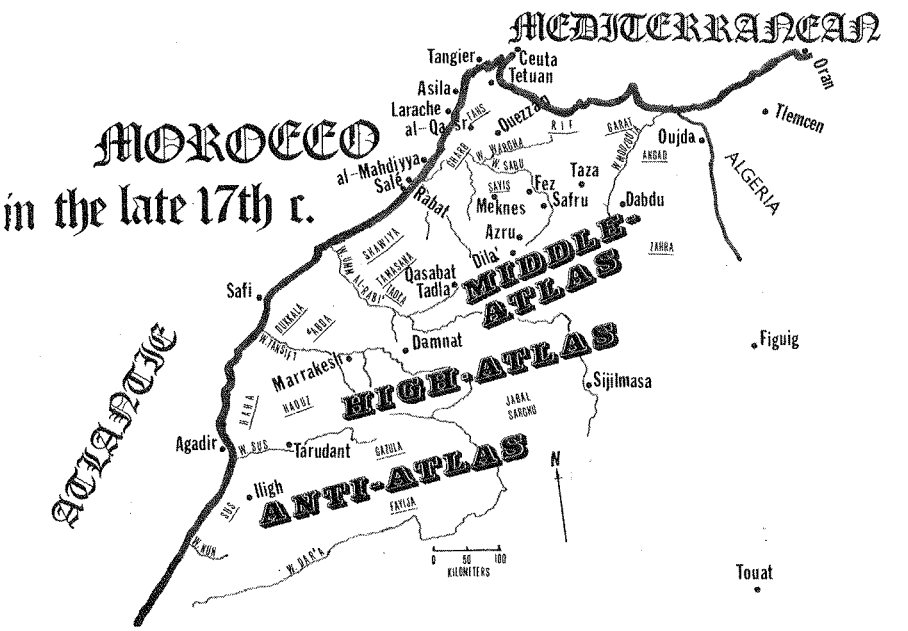
tārīkhiyya). There are several isolated instances of similarity in content and wording to be found towards the end of the Nashr and al-Dukkālī's Notes, indicating that the author of one work had probably read the other. It is not possible, however, to determine which work was presented to the public first, and so know who influenced whom in this case.

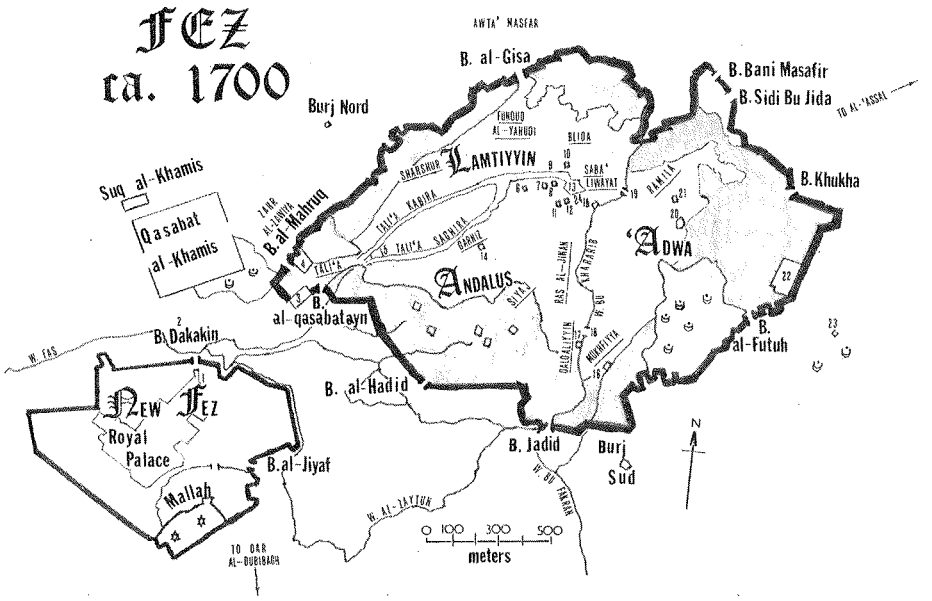
[59] Edited and translated by Octave V. Houdas, Le Maroc de 1613 à 1812 (Paris, 1886; reprinted Amsterdam, 1969)

[60] A manuscript of the 'short' version of the Nashr (Royal 959), indeed, carries a signed marginal note made by al-Zayānī.

[61] This aspect can be fully appreciated only by a native speaker of Arabic, and I am indebted to Mr. Said Nejjar for reading parts of this text and pointing out to me various elements of this question.

[62] Shajarat al-jawhar al-shaffāf fī dhikr nasab man bi-Sijilmāsa min al-dharriyya al-ashrāf, pp. 1-10 in MS. Arab. c.79, Bodleian Library, Oxford, p. 1. Also, in referring to the Sijilmāsī shurafā', al-Zayānī calls them 'the shurafā' [who are] the descendants of Mawlāy 'Alī al-Sharīf', Tuḥfat al-nubahā' fī al-tafriqa bayn al-fuqahā' wa-l-sufahā', in MS K241, RGL, pp. 147 ff., 255.





KEY TO THE MAP OF FEZ

W = Wādī B = Bāb ☪ = Muslim cemetery ✡ = Jewish cemetery

Key to map numbers

1. Madrasa of New Fez
2. Mashwar
3. Old Qaṣaba
4. New Qaṣaba
5. Madrasa Būʿināniyya
6. Funduq al-Najjārīn
7. Mausoleum of Mawlāy Idrīs
8. Qaysariyya
9. Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn
10. Madrasat al-ʿAṭṭārīn
11. Madrasat al-Sharrāṭīn
12. Sūq al-Shammāʿīn
13. Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyyīn
14. Jāmiʿ al-Zallīj
15. Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn
16. Maʿn Zāwiya (approx.location)
17. Fāsī Zāwiya
18. Al-Raṣīf bridge
19. Bayn al-Mudun bridge
20. Jāmiʿ al-Andalus
21. Jāmiʿ al-Ashyākh
22. Qaṣabat Tamdart
23. Mausoleum of Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim
24. Al-Ṣaffārīn square

Underlined names denote those of quarters (ḥawma); some of these have alternate names, taken from different constituent parts. Among them are:

Funduq al-Yahūdī = al-Ḥaffārīn
Al-Siyāj = al-Dūḥ = al-Jurf = al-ʿUyūn
al-Qalqaliyyīn = al-Raṣīf
Raʾs al-Jinān = Raḥbat al-Zabīb
Garnīz = al-Najjārīn
Sharshūr = al-Sharābiliyyīn
Al-Blīda = Darb al-Ṭawīl
Al-Mukhfiyya = Agzām Ibn Barqūqa
Al-Ṣāgha = Bāb al-Nuqba = Sabaʿ Liwayāt
Al-Ramīla = al-Kaddān

Note: Shaded areas denote planted zones, but these are only suggestive, as the exact extent and location of all such areas during this period are indeterminable and, in any event, varied with temporary circumstances such as the abandonment of built-up areas (especially along the periphery) due to insecurity, famines or epidemics. This occurred, for example, during the famines of 1150/1737-8 (Bodley Nashr, p. 52) and 1073/1662-3 (Bodley Q, marginal note, p. 126). The earthquake of 1074/1664, moreover, destroyed another such area in the Ṭāliʿa, which was subsequently covered by trees (ibid., marginal note, p. 127). An Algerian visitor to Fez in 1156/1743 noted that approximately one-fourth of the city was composed of gardens at that time (ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Ḥamādūsh, Lisān al-maqāl fī al-naba' ʿan al-nisba wa-l-ḥasab wa-l-ʾāl, MS. K463, RGL, p. 59).

The thick outline denotes the city wall. Here again, the precise contours are not known, but a European who visited Fez in 1828, that is before the last major revision of the city walls undertaken by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1873-94) who unified

Old and New Fez behind a single wall, estimated its perimeter as 'about four miles' ([R.] Caillié, 'Voyage à Temboctou, Afrique Centrale', pp. 371-434, in M. Albert-Montémont, ed., Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages (Paris, 1835), vol. 29, p. 426).

LIST OF PLACE NAMES

* denotes form used in translation

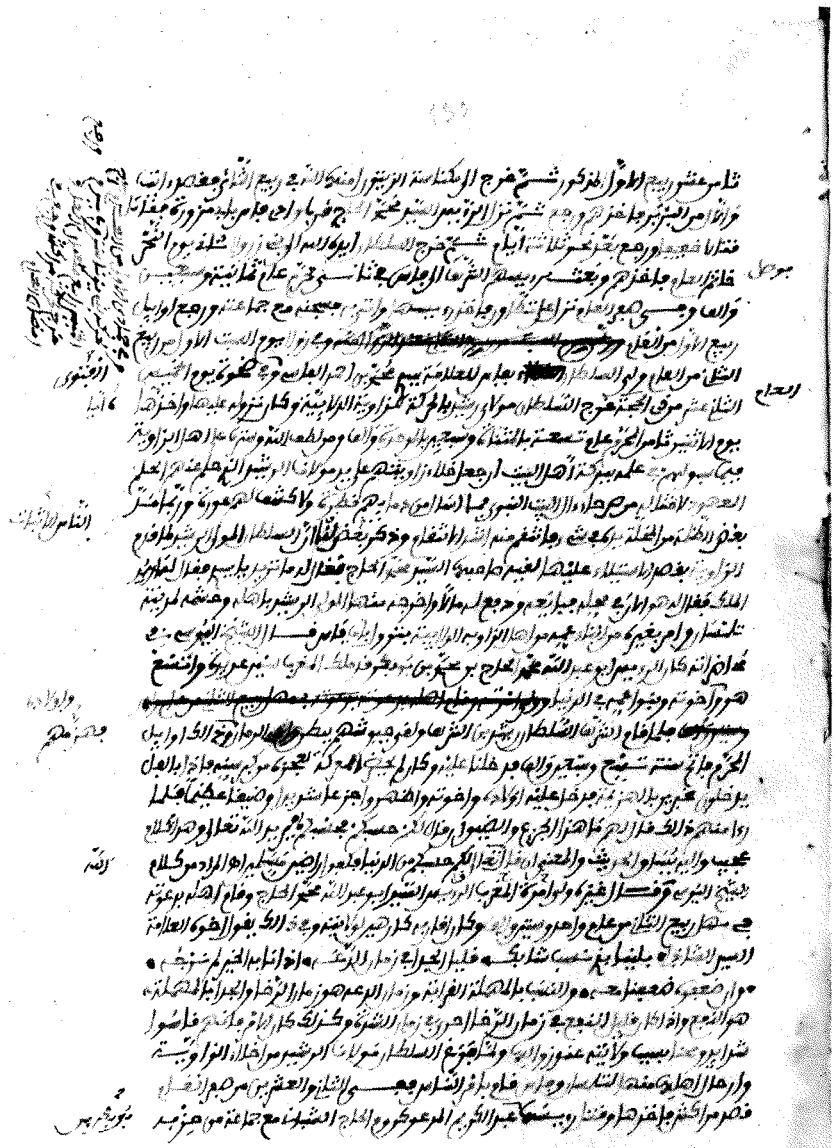
Usual European Form(s)	Transliteration	Arabic Form(s)
Towns:		
*Agadir	Agādīr	أگادير
*Algiers	al-Jazā'ir	الجزائر
Arzila, *Asila (Fr.)	Aşīla, Azīla	اصيلة، ازيلة
Azrou	*Āzrū	آزروا
*Ceuta	Sabta	سبتة
Chefchaouen, Chéchaouen, Chaouen (Fr.), Xauen (Sp.)	*Shafshāwan, Shāshāwan, and others	شفشاون شاشاون
*Cherchell	Sharshāl	شرشال
Debdou	*Dabdū	دبدو
*Fez (Eng.), Fès (Fr.)	Fās	فاس
New Fez (Eng.), Fès la Neuve (Fr.)	Fās al-Jadīd	فاس الجديد
*Figuig	Fīgīg	فيچيچ
Kasba Tadla	*Qaşabat Tādlā	قصبة تادلا
*Larache	al-'Arā'ish	العرائش
Mamora	*al-Ma'mūra	المعمورة
*Meknes (Eng.), Meknès (Fr.)	Miknās(a)	مكناس
*Marrakesh (Eng.), Marrakech (Fr.)	Murrākish	مرّاكش
*Mogador	al-Şawīra, al-Şuwayra	الصويرة
*Oran	Wahrān	وهران
*Ouezzan	Wazzān, Wāzzān	وزّان، وازّان
El Ksar el Kebir (Fr.), Alcazarquivir (Sp.)	*al-Qaşr al-Kabīr	القصر الكبير
*Rabat	al-Ribāṭ	الرباط (رباط الفتح)
*Salé	Salā	سلا
*Safi	Āsfī	آسفي
Sefrou	*Şafrū	صفروا
Sijilmassa	*Sijilmāsa	سجلماسة
Tafilelt	*Tāfīlālt and others	تافيلالت، تافلالت

Usual European Form(s)	Transliteration	Arabic Form(s)
*Taroudant	Tārūdānt, Rūdāna	تارودانت، رودانة
*Tangier (Eng.) Tanger (Fr.)	Ṭanja and others	طنجة
*Taza	Tāzā and others	تازى، تازا، تازة
*Tetuan (Eng.), Tetuàn (Sp.), Tétouan (Fr.)	Tiṭwān, Tiṭṭāwun and others	تطوان، تطّاون
*Tlemcen	Tilimsān	تلمسان
Rivers:		
Bou Laouane	*Nahr Abū al-A'wān	نهر ابي الاعوان
*Moulouya	al-Malwiyya	الملوية
Oued El Abid	*Wād al-'Abīd	واد العبيد
Oued Bou Fekran	*Wādī Bū Fakrān	وادي ابي فكران
Oued Dra	*Wādī Dar'a	وادي درعة
Oued Fès	*Wādī Fās	وادي فاس
	*Wādī Ḥabūqā	وادي حبوقى
	*Wādī Karkara	وادي كركرة
	*Wādī al-Makhāzin	وادي المخازن
Oued Mellah	*Wādī al-Māliḥ	وادي المالح
Oued Nfis	*Wādī al-Nafīs	وادي النفيس
Oued Nja	*Wādī al-Najāt	وادي النجاة
Oued Noun	*Wādī Nūn	وادي نون
Oum er-Rbia	*Umm al-Rabī'	امّ الربيع
Sebou	*Sabū	سبوا
Regions:		
Angad	*Angād	انكاد
Chaouia	*Shāwiya	الشاوية
Doukkala	*Dukkāla	دكّالة
Garet	*Gārat	چارت
Gharb	*Gharb	الغرب
Ghomara	*Ghumāra	الغمارة
Haha	*Ḥāḥa	حاحة
*Haouz	Ḥawz	الحوز
Ouargha	*Wargha	ورغة
Rif	*Rīf	الريف
*Sahara	Saḥrā'	الصحراء

Usual European Form(s)	Transliteration	Arabic Form(s)
Sais	*Sāyis	سايس، اسائس
Sous	*Sūs	السوس
*Tadla	Tādlā	تادلا
Temesna	*Tāmasanā	تامسنا
*Touat	Tuwāt	توات

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC WORDS

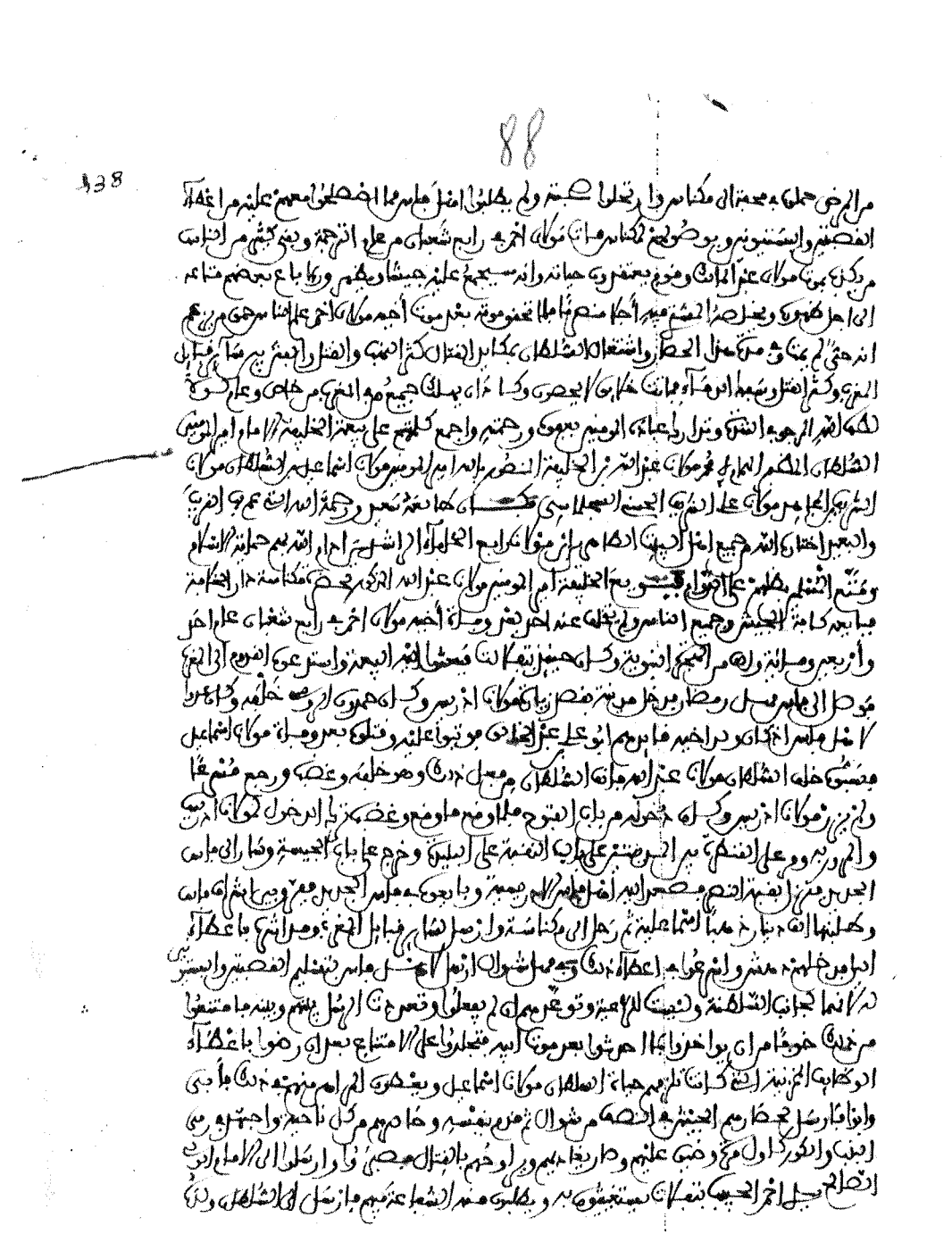
ا	a
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	l
ل	m
م	n
ن	h
ه	w
و	y
ى	y
ء	hamza '
ق چ ڜ ڭ	'hard' g
ڤ ڀ	



MS. Arab. c. 79, p. 130.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

Ms. Arab. c. 79, p. 130. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Ms. K 2253, vol. II, fol. 88. Reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat.

TEXT

1076/1665-1666

ومن حوادث هذه السنة نزول مولانا الرشيد على فاس.[1] فقاتل ثلاثة ايّام وجرح برصاصة في اذنه فرجع.[2] ثمّ عاد مرّة اخرى في ثالث[3] ربيع الاوّل، فاوقع بهم القتل والجرح ما يقرب من سبعين رقبة، ورجع لانّه لم يكن اتى معتدّا. ثمّ سار الى الريف فحاصر اعرّاس[4] واخذه في رمضان بعد منازلات. وفي ضحوة الثلاثاء ثامن وعشرين من ذي القعدة نزل مولانا رشيد ايضا على فاس فحاصرها الى يوم الخميس [و][5] امر جيشه بالقتال[6] الى يوم الاثنين ثالث ذي الحجّة. فاصبح بفاس الجديد وقد دخل من اعلى السور ليلا من جهة الملّاح وفرّ رئيسهم الدريديّ. ثم نزل عشيّة الى فاس القرويّين ففرّ ابن الصغيّر[7] ليلا الى بستيون[8] باب الجيسة، وفرّ احمد بن صالح، رئيس الاندلس، صبيحة غده. وطلع اهل فاس، فبايعوا مولانا الرشيد ونصروه. وقبض ابن صالح قبل الزوال بحوز البلد وقُتِل جماعة من اصحابه وسُجِن بباب دار بن شكره[9] بفاس الجديد. وولّى القضاء

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[1] Bodley Q adds date, 15 Muḥarram (28 July 1665).

[2] Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q, and litho. add سالما.

[3] Bodley Q date ثالث عشر.

[4] Royal 972, Bodley Q orthography اعراص. Proper names have not been vocalized in this edition, apart from shadda-s and those vowels which appear in the manuscript.

[5] Insert for better reading.

[6] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. replace three preceding words by وبقي جيشه مقاتلا. Bodley Q replaces three preceding words by وبقي جيشه محاصرا لها ومقاتلا.

[7] Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q, and litho. add رئيس اللمطيّين.

[8] Note Spanish bastión or Portuguese bastião.

[9] Royal 972, Royal 906, and Bodley Q give name as شكْرة. Royal 959 and Royal 9837 شقراء. All are to be pronounced 'Shagra'. The hard 'g' sound common in the Moroccan colloquial is usually represented by ق in K2253, while we also find ڭ, چ, and ڤ in other contemporary texts.

سيدي حمدون المزوار يوم الخميس سادس ذي الحجّة · وفي يوم الخميس الذي بعده قتل ابن صالح وابن الصغيّر، ثمّ ولديه · ثمّ خرج مولانا الرشيد بحركة للغرب[1] فانهزم الخضر[2] غيلان ومن معه وتبعهم، فدخل القصر، وخرج غيلان من القصر الى اصيلا، فرجع مولاي الرشيد من القصر بعد · ثمّ عاد الى القصر فحصره · ومن المحكيّ انّ ابن صالح والدريديّ[3] لمّا احسّا من الناس الضجر منهما و[كثر][4] ذكر مولاي الرشيد على الالسنة والتشوّق اليه لما اشتدّ بهم من النهب[5] والفتن،[6] فطمع الناس فيه ان ينقذهم من ذلك · ولمّا حاصرهم كثر ذلك على السنة الناس واعلنوا به وشافهوهم به الشرفاء · فلمّا خافا[7] ان يقع بهما اظهرا[8] بينهما[9] على سبيل المكيدة، فاختصم الدريديّ مع ابن صالح واظهرا المقاطعات بينهما ·[10] فجاء [اشياعهم][11] لكلّ من يعرفونه من الشرفاء[12] يحبّ مولانا الرشيد وطلبوا منهم ان يصلحوا بين الرئيسين بدليلين[13] بانّ هذه وضيفة[14] الاشراف[15] ولا

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1 Royal 9837 المغرب. In this text and generally in texts of this period, المغرب is sometimes used to designate 'Northern Morocco', as opposed to the South.

2 Royal 959 precedes by الرئيس.

3 Royal 972 and litho. add واشياعهم.

4 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972. Bodley Q has كثرة.

5 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q replace two preceding words by الحال من الحصار.

6 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q add وكان اغلب شرفاء فاس. Royal 959 and Bodley Q add في ذلك between the first two words. Royal 9837 also adds this phrase, less the word فاس.

7 For incorrect plural form of verb, خافوا.

8 Royal 972 adds مشاحنة ; Royal 9837 has فاظهروا مشاحنة بينهم.

9 For incorrect plural form of preceding pronoun and verb.

10 For incorrect plural form بينهم.

11 Blank in text; Royal 972 has شيعهم; Royal 959 and litho. have اشياعهم.

12 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add والفقهاء.

13 For classical orthography بذيلين ; Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 مدليين.

14 For classical orthography وظيفة.

15 Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q add: ومن جملة من كان فيهم العلّامة سيدي حمدون المزوار وسيدي محمّد ابو* عنان الشريف وآخر من اقاربه فامتنعوا اولّا كراهية الدخول في امر الولاة · فاعتلّ اهل فاس بانّ لا

*Royal 972 errs بن.

ملجأ في مثل هذا الّا لهم · ومن تغيّب من الاشراف[1] ممّن عزموا عليه تبعوه[2] حتى حضر، ومن تمرّض[3] كلّفوه المشقّة حتّى حضر · وبعضهم ممّن اُخبر بالمكيدة من بعض الاصدقاء[4] اختفى كلّ الاختفاء حتّى جمعوا[5] جميع ممّن يظنّون به الميل الى السلطان · ووجّههم الدريديّ[6] شفعاء في ان يصطلح مع ابن صالح · فلمّا اقبلوا عليه رحّب بهم وادخلهم مصريّة وانزل لهم مائدة بطعام[7] يُعرَف بطبخ الدار وقال "هذا[8] عشاؤكم؛ من اسبوع بنيّة ازدادت عندي وخروجكم من هذه المصريّة يوم زفافها · " فعلموا انّهم مسجونون[9] وانّ توجّههم[10] مكيدة واحتيال [و]انّه[11] لو سجنهم جهرا لقام[12] من العامّة من انتصر لهم ومنعهم من الاستيلاء عليهم بعض العوامّ للرؤساء[13] لما سمعوا من حسن سيرة مولانا الرشيد · فاسفوا على ذلك وبقي الطعام بينهم لم يتناول احد منهم شيئا منه، فقدّر الله تعلى[14] بتسريحهم بلطفه المرجوّ منه بعد الشدّة · فدخل مولاي الرشيد في تلك الليلة فاس الجديد وبايعوه سكّانها والمائدة منزلة[15] بموضعها[16] لم يُوكَل منها شيء · فاذا هم يسمعون

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1 Royal 972 and litho. add وغيرهم.

2 Royal 972 and litho. add وحتّموا عليهم. Bodley Q adds إحتجّوا عليهم.

3 Equivalent of تمارض. See Marcelin Beaussier, Dictionnaire pratique Arabe-Français, Algiers, 1871, p. 635.

4 For incorrect الاصدقة of text.

5 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972, Bodley Q and litho. Royal 959 adds من قدروا عليه.

6 Royal 9837 ووجّههم للدريديّ. Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q have ووجّههم الى الدريدي and add بفاس الجديد على حالة الشفعاء.

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, Royal 9837, and Bodley Q add ملوّن.

8 For incorrect feminine demonstrative pronoun of text.

9 Royal 959, and Bodley Q add وانّه توعّدهم بتطويل سجنهم جدّا.

10 Royal 972, Bodley Q, and litho. add له من اهله انّما هو.

11 Necessary insert.

12 For text's incorrect لا قام. Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho. replace the following phrase by لما امنوا من انتصار بعض العامّة. Royal 972 also adds اوشبه ذالك.

13 Corrupt text; makes little sense as it is originally لبعض العوام الرؤساء فساء; it might perhaps be read as suggested.

14 Royal 9837 replaces rest of sentence by نصر مولاي رشيد. Royal 972, Bodley Q, and litho. replace this sentence and the first word in next by ظهور.

15 Royal 972 and Royal 959 ما زالت.

16 Royal 959 adds بطعامها.

الصياح والاعلان بنصر مولانا الرشيد من كلّ جهة وفرّج الله تعلى عنهم من اهانة اهل الفساد. فمنهم من اكل ومنهم من تزوّد من تلك المائدة وحمل الطعام الى داره فرحا.[10] ودخل مولانا الرشيد المدينة وسرّحهم ورجعوا الى فاس الادريسيّة صباح الليلة المذكورة. وفي رجب كانت زلزلة بفاس.[2]

*

1077/1666-1667

ومن حوادث هذه السنة انّه رجع امير المؤمنين مولانا الخليفة الرشيد من الغزو[3] الذي فتح فيه الغرب[4] وهزم فيه رأس الفئة الباغية الخضر[5] اغيلان في اوائل ربيع الثاني. وكان امر الشرفاء والعلماء والاعيان ان يكتبوا له البيعة عنهم، فكتبوها له وقُرِئت بين يديه قبل زوال يوم السبت ثامن عشر ربيع الاوّل. ثمّ خرج في اواخر ربيع الثاني بعد رجوعه من الغرب الى مكناسة. ثمّ قصد آيت ولّال من البربر، فاخذهم ورجع الى فاس حيث وصله خبر خروج السيّد محمّد الحاجّ بن الدلائيّ من الدلاء. وقصد فاسا ونزل بقرية بني[6] مزورة التي[7] على احد الانهار المادّة[8] لواد فاس، فقاتلا قتالا خفيفا نحو ثلاثة ايّام، ثم رجع محمّد الحاجّ الى

[1] Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q add:
ومنهم من بقي ثمّة حتّى دخل عليه السلطان مولاي رشيد ومنهم* البوعنانيّون المذكورون.** فسرّ بهم وبقي يرعاهم. قيلَ وهذا من اسباب تولية احفادهم القضاء من قبل مولانا اسماعيل لِمَا يعلم فيهم من تقرّر محبّة الامارة. وكان فحص عن احوالهم. وممّن كان حاضرا لهذه القضيّة سيدي محمّد بن احمد الشريف العراقيّ الحسينيّ. سمعتُ هذه الحكاية من بعض احفاده لبنته وعن شائعة عنه وعن غيره ويذكرونها بزيادات لم اذكرها لانّ هذا الذي حقّقتُ منها. للّه الامر من قبل ومن بعد.
* Bodley وهم.
** As in Bodley Q, for incorrect البوعنانيّين المذكورين.
[2] Vol. I, fol. 122.
[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 الحركة.
[4] Royal 906 المغرب.
[5] Royal 906 الخدير.
[6] Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho. ابي.
[7] For incorrect masculine relative pronoun الذي.
[8] For the erroneous المادّين of the text.

الدلاء. ثمّ خرج مولانا الرشيد حادي عشر رجب الى تازه فنزع اميرها وولّى آخر ورجع الى فاس في شوّال ثمّ خرج الى مكناسة الزيتون فعزل قائدها[1] وولّى غيره ورجع الى فاس. ثمّ حرّك[2] مولانا الرشيد الى جبل بني زروال وما والاه من الاجبال في يوم السبت ثاني يوم النحر، فاخذهم وقبض[3] اميرهم الرئيس الشريف [وبعثه][4] الى فاس ثاني محرّم عام ثمانية وسبعين. ثمّ في صفر سافر الى غزو تطّاون وما والاها من البلدان، فاخذ رئيسهم مع جماعة من الرؤساء البغاة الذين كانوا يضامرونه فسجنهم وبعث بهم الى فاس. وفي اوائل ربيع الاوّل رجع الى فاس.[5]

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1078/1667-1668

ومن حوادث العام: ففي زوال يوم السبت من ربيع الثاني ولي الفتوى بفاس العلّامة سيدي محمّد بن احمد الفاسيّ وفي ضحوة الخميس الثاني عشر من ذي الحجّة خرج امير المؤمنين الخليفة مولانا الرشيد لحركة الزاوية الدلائيّة، ففتحها واستنزل رئيسها واهلها وهدمها.[6]

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1079/1668-1669

ومن حوادث هذه السنة اخذ الزاوية الدلائيّة. قال الشيخ ابوعليّ اليوسي في محاضرته[7]

[1] Royal 9837 replaces two preceding words by ونزع رئيسها العقيد; Royal 972 and Royal 959 orthography العقيد.
[2] Royal 972 خرج.
[3] Litho. بعث.
[4] Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho.
[5] Vol. I, fol. 124.
[6] Vol. I, fol. 126.
[7] Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt, lithographed Fez, 1317/1899. Quote from pp. 86-87.

"كان الرئيس ابو عبد الله محمّد الحاجّ بن ابي بكر الدلائيّ قد ملك المغرب[1] سنين عديدة واتّسع هو واولاده واخوته وبنو عمّه في الدنيا. فلمّا قام الشريف السلطان رشيد بن الشريف ولقي جيوشهم ببطن الرمّان فهزمهم، وذلك اوائل المحرّم الحرام فاتح سنة تسع وسبعين والف، فدخلنا عليه وكان لم يحضر في المعركة لعجزه من كبر سنّه. فاذا [بالفلّ][2] يدخلون، فدخل عليه اولاده واخوته واظهروا جزعا شديدا وضيقا عظيما فلمّا رأى منهم ذلك قال لهم "ما هذا؟ إن قال لكم[3] حسبكم فحسبكم (يريد الله تعالى) وهذا كلام عجيب واليه يساق الحديث والمعنى ان قال الله تعلى لكم حسبكم من الدنيا فكفوا راضين مسلمين." المراد منه.[4] فكان اخذ الزاوية يوم الاثنين ثامن المحرّم وقد منّ الله على اهل الزاوية[5] ببركة جدّهم انّه لمّا دخل عليهم[6] مولانا الرشيد حلم عليهم حلما عظيما[7] فما سأل منهم من دمائهم قطرة ولا كشف لهم عورة، وربّما مدّ بعض الظلمة[8] فانتقم منه اشدّ الانتقام.[9] ثمّ بعد فراغ المولى الرشيد من الاستيلاء على الزاوية وتخريبها واخراج اهلها منها واستيلائه على اعمالها[10] قصد فتح مرّاكش. فخرج اليها من الدلاء ولقيه اميرها ابو بكر بن عبد الكريم الشبانيّ بجموعه في حوزها، فهزمه مولانا الرشيد وقبض على الرئيس عبد الكريم المذكور

1 Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt الغرب.

2 Blank in text; Royal 9837, litho., and Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt (p. 87) بالفلّ.

3 For incorrect لهم of text, as found in Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt.

4 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add كلام الشيخ اليوسي.

5 Royal 972, Bodley Q, and litho. add فيما سبق لهم في علمه.

6 Bodley Q and litho. replace four preceding words by ومحبتهم في اهل البيت ان جعل خلاء زاويتهم على يد. Royal 972 replaces phrase after منّ by اخلاء الزاوية.

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q, and litho. replace two preceding words by الحلم المعهود لأمثاله من صرحاء اهل البيت; Bodley Q also adds النبوي.

8 Bodley Q adds من المحلّة يدا في شيء.

9 Bodley Q adds: ذكر بعض الناس الاثبات لنا انّ السلطان المولى الرشيد لمّا قدم الزاوية بقصد الاستيلاء عليها لقيه صاحبها السيّد محمّد الحاجّ فقال له "ما تريد يا سيدي؟" فقال له "اريد الملك." فقال له "هو الآن في محلّه." فبايعه ودفع له مالا. واخرجه منها المولى الرشيد باهلها وحشمه لمدينة تلمسان وامر بغيره من ابناء عمّه من اهل الزاوية الدلائيّة بنزول باب فاس.

10 Royal 972 and litho. add date في الثاني والعشرين من صفر.

ونزل على مدينة مرّاكش. فخرج اليه اهلها تائبين وامامهم الشرفاء والعلماء واطفال المحاضر. فسمحهم وعفا عنهم وبايعوه فدخلها وقتل رئيسها ابا بكر بن عبد الكريم الشبانيّ المذكور[1] مع جماعة من قرابته وحزبه وشيعته. واخرج والده من قبره واحرقه بالنار[2] وذلك ثامن وعشرين صفر. واقام بها نحو شهر لتمهيد بلادها وحوزها واعمالها. ثمّ سار الى تفلات لاخراج اميرها القائم عليه، ابن اخيه، الامام مولاي محمّد بن امير المؤمنين، مولاي محمّد بن السلطان الامام مولاي الشريف الحسنيّ. فاخرجه من تفلات، هو واتباعه، بعد ان منّه وسامحه ولم يلحقه من المولى الرشيد هو ولا اتباعه سوء.[3] ثمّ كان رجوع مولانا الرشيد الى فاس من حركته هذه يوم الجمعة سابع وعشرين من ربيع الثاني. ثمّ سار الى رئيس الساحل الخضر اغيلان المتحصّن بمدينة اصيلا، فهرب اغيلان في البحر الى الجزائر وتخلّى عن البلاد. ثمّ رجع الى فاس فعزل قاضيها المزوار والمفتي الخطيب بجامع القرويّين سيدي محمّد بن احمد الفاسيّ في زوال يوم الاربعاء تاسع وعشرين من جمادى الثانية وولّى سيدي محمّد المجاطيّ[4] القضاء يوم الجمعة بعد الزوال والفقيه سيدي محمّد البوعنانيّ خطبة القرويّين.[5] ثمّ خرج المولى الرشيد لغزو الشاوية عصر يوم السبت سابع عشر رجب فغزاهم وهزمهم وفتح بلادهم وكفّ اديّتهم[6] عمّن جاورهم، فمُهّدت البلاد وتمنّوا العباد ورجع الى فاس سابع رمضان. ثمّ امر باخراج اهل الزاوية من فاس، فاخرج بعضهم الى ضريح سيدي عليّ بن حرازم وترك بعضهم بفاس. ثمّ في آخر العام سمح[7] من اخرج منهم الى

1 Marginal note in Royal 959 by Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayānī: كروم الحاجّ مات، خنق انفه قبل دخول الرشيد لمرّاكش. وتولّى ولده ابو بكر ابن الحاجّ وهو الذي مسك الرشيد وجماعة من حزبه. كتب بلقاسم بن احمد الزيانيّ.

2 Royal 9837 adds بعد موته بنحو شهر.

3 Bodley Q adds in margin: وفي جمادى الاولى من العام خرج لحركة بني يزناسن ورجع. وفي يوم الخميس رابع شعبان العام خرج لحركة مرّاكش ورجع في رمضان العام.

4 Royal 959 المجاضي.

5 Royal 9837 adds: بعد سيدي محمّد الفاسيّ. Litho. adds بعد عزل سيدي محمّد بن احمد الفاسيّ.

6 For classical orthography اديّتهم.

7 Note the colloquial influence in the use of the first form of the verb rather than the more literary third, found in the following sentence.

ضريح سيدي عليّ بن حرازم وردّهم الى فاس جميعا . وفي ظهر يوم السبت سابع عشر ذي الحجّة خرج مولانا الرشيد لحركة آيت عيّاش ، فغزاهم ورجعوا عن الخروج عليه ، فسامحهم ورجع الى فاس . وفي ثاني عشرين من ذي الحجّة امر مولانا الرشيد بتبديل السكّة وتصفيتها عمّا كانت عليه من التنحّس ، فضُربت الدراهم في غاية الصفاء والجود وكذلك الدنانير . فكان في الدراهم اثنا عشر اوقيّة في المثقال بالوزن ، وامر ان يكتب عليها في احد الوجهين "الله ربّنا والرشيد امامنا" وفي الوجه الآخر موضع ضربه وتاريخ عامه . ثمّ سلّف[1] للتجّار[2] منها اثنين وخمسين الف مثقال عدّة مدّة من عام حتّى كثرت الدراهم .[3] ثمّ امرهم ان يودّوها الى عامله بفاس ليبني بها قنطرة اسبوا ، فبنى بها قنطرة اسبوا في يوم السبت رابع عشر ذي القعدة ، فبنيت في غاية الاتقان .[4]

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1080/1669-1670

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ففي يوم الاحد حادي عشر ربيع الثاني بُدِئ بناء اساس[5] قنطرة اسبوا ، وفي خامس عشر جمادى الثانية بُدِئ بالبناء فيها بالاجر . وفي يوم الاثنين الثاني والعشرين من رجب خرج المولى الرشيد لحركة الابيض ورجع يوم الخميس ثامن رمضان ومات اولاد اخي [الابيض][6] من الغد [بعد][7] قبضهم هنالك . وقُتلوا بعد وصولهم تازه . ثمّ مرض امير المؤمنين مولانا الرشيد مرضا شديدا اشرف فيه على الهلاك ، وامر باخراج جميع من كان في السجن يوم السبت السابع عشر . ومن الغد شفاه الله فبرئ . وفي يوم الاحد

1 Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho. أُقرِض.

2 Royal 972, Royal 9837, and litho. add: من فاس وغيرها .

3 Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho. replace two preceding words by ردوها .

4 Vol. I, fol. 127-128.

5 Royal 906 replaces three preceding words by بدء الناس .

6 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho.

7 Necessary insert.

خامس عشر ذي الحجّة عمل عرس مولانا اسماعيل . وفي شوّال امر ببناء[1] قنطرة الرصيف[2]

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1081/1670-1671

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : خرج امير المؤمنين الى حركة سوس ، فلقيه جموعهم مع رئيسهم الامير المرابط سيدي عليّ بن حسّون من عقب سيدي احمد بن موسى . فهزمهم المولى الرشيد وحاصر[3] مدينة تردانت[4] رابع صفر . وهي مدينة في اقصا سوس ، بها انهار جارية وبساتين مشتبكة وفواكه مختلفة واسعارها رخيصة والطريق منها الى اغمات وريكة في اسفل جبل ليس في الارض مثله الّا القليل في العلوّ وطول المسافة واتّصال العمارة وكثرة الانهار والفواكه . وبا على هذا الجبل اكثر من سبعين[5] حصنا وقلعة بها حصن منيع ، هو عمارة محمّد بن تومرت ملك المغرب ، اذ اراد اربعة من الناس ان يحفظوه من اهل الدنيا حفظوه لحصانته .[6] وفي يوم الاحد ثامن عشر صفر اخذ[7] هشتوكة وقتل منهم نحو الف ونصفا[8] فيما قِيلَ . ثمّ اخذ[9] اهل الساحل ومات منهم ازيد من اربعة آلاف على ما قِيلَ يوم الاحد خامس عشر رجب .[10] وفي مهلّ ربيع الاوّل اخذ ايليغ[11] دار ملك سيدي عليّ بن حسّون ، ومات منهم بسفح الجبل نحو الفين على ما قِيلَ .[12] وفي سابع ربيع الاوّل قتل خليفته بفاس نحو ستّين

1 Royal 972, Royal 9837, and Bodley Q replace three preceeding words by جُدِدت.

2 Vol. I, fol. 128.

3 Royal 972 and Royal 959 استولى على.

4 Bodley Q adds ويُقال لها رودانة .

5 Royal 906 and litho. عشرين .

6 Royal 959 and Bodley Q منعته.

7 As footnote 3 above.

8 Bodley Q and litho. give number as ازيد من اربعة آلاف.

9 As footnote 3 above.

10 Royal 972 and Royal 959 صفر .

11 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. have erroneous form أبليغ.

12 Bodley Q adds in margin:
وفي سابع ربيع الاوّل من العام ورد عليه صاحب اكادير اغيل بهديّة طيّبة .

من اولاد جامع وعُلِّقوا بالبرج الجديد لاجل قطع الطريق . وفي جمادى الاخير خرجت سكّة الفلوس الجديدة المدوّرة وجُعِل اربعة وعشرون [1] في الموزونة الرشيديّة بعد ان كان في كلّ موزونة ثمانية واربعون [2] وبطلت الفلوس الاشقوفيّة [3] المربّعة . وفي يوم الاثنين ، ثالث رجب، رجع مولانا الرشيد من حركة سوس ، وفي اوائل شعبان ابتدأ بناء المدرسة [التى][4] بدار عزّوز من الشرّاطين . [5] وفي اواسط شعبان امر ببناء قصبة بالجراء بعرصة [6] ابن صالح وديار لمتونة والدكّاكين ، واعطى الف مثقال لبناء سورها . [7] وفي رابع رمضان خرج لزيارة سيدي ابن يعزى (نفّعنا الله به) . ثمّ سار منه الى سلا يوم الجمعة ثاني عشر منه ، ثمّ رجع لفاس عشيّة الاحد ثامن وعشرين من رمضان المعظّم . [8]

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1082/1671-1672

ومن حوادث هذه السنة ان بعث امير المؤمنين ، المجاهد في سبيل ربّ العالمين ، الخليفة مولانا الرشيد خيلا للجهاد نحو طنجة اوّل صفر؛ وبعث خيلا للجهاد بسوس ، وقائدها عبد الله اعرّاص ، [9] وذلك يوم الثلاثاء سابع عشر جمادى الاولى . وسافر لتافْراطة للصيد يوم الاثنين قرب الزوال فسمع قيام ابن اخيه بمرّاكش فرجع ودخل فاسا ضحوة يوم السبت حادي عشر

1 For text's erroneous oblique form عشرين.

2 For text's erroneous oblique form اربعين.

3 Royal 959 الاشقوبيّة ; Royal 906 الاسعوبيّة.

4 Necessary insert.

5 Royal 972 and litho. add من فاس ; Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. also add المنسوبة لمولانا الرشيد.

6 Or sometimes عرسة, probably from غرس 'to plant'. Louis Brunot, Textes Arabes de Rabat, II, Glossaire, Paris, 1952, p. 313: 'A Fès le mot désigne tout jardin situé à l'intérieur des remparts.'

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, Royal 9837, Bodley Q, and litho. add وامر قوّاده ببناء الدور فيها * وامر شراقة ببناء قصبة الخميس واعطى الف دينار لبناء سورها . *Royal 9837 here also adds: وفي يوم الاحد .

8 Vol. I, fol. 128.

9 Bodley Q adds الريفي.

رمضان ، وخرج من يومه عصرا . فقبضه خدّامه والتقى به محبوسا بايديهم عند فنزارة . فبعثه الى تافلات، وسار الى مرّاكش وبعث قائده زيدان لفاس يوم الاربعاء تاسع ذي القعدة ليأتي بالجيش ، ثمّ اتاه اهل سوس وغيرهم طائعين ولم يبق للحركة موقع بعد ان خرجت الاخبية لوادي فاس، فمكثوا به ينتظرون امره الى ان وصلهم خبر وفاته . فرجعوا الى فاس آخر ليلة الاربعاء خامس عشر من ذي الحجّة ، وفجر صبح يومه وهو يوم الاربعاء المذكور. وانعقدت البيعة لاخيه الخليفة بعده مولانا امير المؤمنين ، المجاهد في سبيل ربّ العالمين، ابو النصر المنصور بالله اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف المحمّديّ الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ . [1]

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1083/1672-1673

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : انّه لمّا بُويع مولانا اسماعيل في اليوم الذي وصل الى فاس خبر موت اخيه ، وهو يوم الاربعاء خامس عشر ذي الحجّة متمّ عام اثنين وثمانين والف، وجّه الجيش لسائر اقطار المغرب يأخذون له النصر والبيعة على سائر القبائل والخاصّ والعامّ . ثمّ وصله بعد بيعته بفاس خبر، وهو انّ ولد اخيه مولاي احمد بن اخيه مولانا محرز يريد التحرّك الى مرّاكش يطلب من اهلها ان يبايعوه مقام عمّه مولانا الرشيد . فلمّا سمع بذلك الخليفة المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل اسرع النهوض وخرج الى مرّاكش يوم الخميس آخر ذي الحجّة متمّ عام اثنين وثمانين والف. فوصل مرّاكش فخرج اهلها الى قتاله ، فالتقى الجمعان بها يوم الخميس سادس المحرّم ، [2] فهزم اهلها . وفي غده وهو يوم الجمعة سامح اهلها ودخلها وبايعوه . ثمّ نقل اخاه مولانا الرشيد الى فاس في تابوت، فوصلها

1 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add
ثمّ في آخر الحجّة سمع بتحرّك ولد اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز بمرّاكش فخرج قاصدا له. Vol. I, fol. 129.

2 Royal 972 صفر .

يوم الاثنين سابع[1] صفر ودُفِن بروضة سيدي عليّ بن حرازم.[2] وفي منسلخ ربيع الاوّل قدم مولانا اسماعيل ووصيفه.[3] ثمّ دفع المرتّب وعزم على الحركة للصحراء وغيره [وصرح][4] انّه يخرج بعد صلاة الجمعة، فغدر اهل فاس قائد المحلّة زيدان بن عبيد المالكيّ العامريّ التونسيّ عند مغرب ليلة الجمعة ثاني جمادى الاولى.[5] واستمرّت[6] الحرب بين مولانا المنصور بالله وبين اهل فاس. ثمّ بعثوا[7] الى ابن اخيه مولانا احمد بن محرز للصحراء، فاجابهم بذلك.[8] وتوجّه نحوهم فنزل بدبدوا[9] على وادي ملوية. فنادوا بنصره في الاسواق وغيرها عند الزوال يوم الخميس موفّي عشرين من جمادى الثانية. وفي ليلة الاثنين رابع وعشرين من الشهر قُتِل اولاد مولاي سليمان[10] بالسجن على يد مولاي احمد بن ادريس.[11] وقِيلَ اخوه مولاي محمّد الحفيد غدرا، قِيلَ من جانب المقتولين وقِيلَ خطأ من اصحابه. وفي مغرب يوم الاحد منسلخ جمادى الثانية خرج عشرة من الخيل للقاء مولاي احمد بن محرز لتازه، منهم اولاد الطويريّات[12] وغيرهم، بعد ورود رقّاصه. وفي يوم الثلاثاء ثاني رجب اصبح رقّاص الخضر[13] اغيلان[14] لفاس بأنّه وصل تطّاون ودخلها مع اولاد النقصيص[15] في بعض السفن من الجزائر. وخرج المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل بجيشه نحو تازه بقصد ولد اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز بعد صلاة الجمعة خامس رجب. ثمّ خرج الخيل والرماة من اهل

1 Royal 972 سابع عشر.
2 Royal 972 and Royal 959 حرزهم; litho. حرزم.
3 Royal 972 بعض وصفانه; litho. بعض وصفاته.
4 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972 and litho.
5 Bodley Q adds فقتلوه.
6 For erroneous masculine verb form of text, preceding a feminine noun.
7 Royal 906 adds ببيعتهم.
8 Royal 972 replaces two preceding words by فورد كتابه, while Royal 9837 simply adds this to what is in the text.
9 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 دبدوب.
10 Royal 959 adds الثائر; Royal 972 adds الثائر، تقدّم ذكر والدهم.
11 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q add من شرفاء دار القيطون.
12 Royal 972 and Royal 959 الضوريات.
13 Royal 906 الخضير.
14 Royal 972 and litho. غيلان.
15 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 النقسيس.

فاس باثره عشيّة اليوم المذكور لنصر ابن اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز المذكور. وأسروا في الليل على بني ورثى، ثمّ على غياثة، فوصلوا الى تازه قبل مولانا اسماعيل.[1] وطال الحرب بينهما بتازه نحو شهر، والحرب سجال. ثمّ بلغ مولاي اسماعيل انّ الخضر اغيلان غلب على تطّاون واصيلا والقصر الكبير وازجن وعزم على غزو بلاد ورغة. فلمّا وصله خبره ترك حرب ابن اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز وسار نحو الغرب، وطال القتال بين مولاي اسماعيل وبين اغيلان الى يوم الاحد عاشر جماد الاولى من سنة اربع وثمانين والف [و][2] قُتِل اغيلان ورجع ما كان قد غلب عليه الى طاعة مولانا اسماعيل كما كانوا عليه. فسامحهم وارتحل عنهم الى فاس، الى حرب ابن اخيه. ولمّا كفّ الله مولانا اسماعيل عن قتال ابن اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز وسار الى حرب اغيلان، سار مولاي احمد بن محرز الى فاس مع من كان معه من اهلها بتازه. فدخل مدينة فاس الادريسيّة وبايعوه اهلها وخُطِب به على منابرها ومضت اوامره واحكامه بها، واستوطن دار الملك من فاس المرينيّة العليا الى ان غلب عليه عمّه مولاي اسماعيل، فتخلّى له عنها. وبلغ القمح اربعين اوقيّة للوسق على حسب صاع ونصف في مدّ ذلك الوقت،[3] وبلغ الصابون اربع موزونات[4] للرطل، ولم يظهر، والسمن ثلاث اواقيّ والزيت كذلك، واللّحم لم يُوكَل الّا البقريّ. ولم يذبح الناس في العيد ضحيّة، انّما عمل عيدهم كعيد الفطر والنادر ذبح عجلا او نحوه. وبلغ ثمن الكبش[5] عشرة مثاقيل بما دون. حكايته من اخبار الكشف من الصوفيّة ومصداقهم في ذلك: قال سيدي المهديّ الفاسيّ [في كتابه][6] "الالماع": "ولمّا ثار اهل فاس على مولانا اسماعيل كان سيدي احمد[7] يقول لهم إنّ امرهم على غير شريعة وقيامهم على غير جائز وانّه سيظفر بهم والى يده يرجعون، ويكون اللطف ولا يُعمَل الّا لمن عمل، ولا يدخلها عنوة بل بصلح، ولا يكون البلاء عامّا، فكان كذلك. وبعد

1 Royal 906 adds واجتمعوا مع مولاي احمد بن محرز فقدم عليه مولاي اسماعيل.
2 Necessary insert.
3 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace preceding two words by حينئذٍ; Royal 9837 replaces them by الزمن.
4 For text's erroneous مزونات.
5 Moroccan colloquial 'ram'.
6 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q, and litho.
7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 give name as احمد بن عبد الله.

الثورة بشهرين جاء غيلان من الجزائر الى تطّاون واصيلا وبلاد القصر الكبير، وجاء مولاي احمد بن محرز الى تازه، فذهب مولاي اسماعيل الى محاصرة ابن اخيه بتازه، فبقي هنالك اشهرا. فقال سيدي احمد لبعض الناس "إنّ السلطان سيذهب من تازه الى غيلان، يسلك الدير فالدير ليقضي حاجة ويأتي." فعجب الرجل من ذلك لكون الوقت وقت مطر اذ لا يمكن السلطان الالتفات عن تازه، فاذا بذلك قد وقع في الغرب! ولمّا قرب ابّان نزول العافية خرج من البلاد بعد ان اخبر بعض اصحابنا بانّ الامر قد انقضى وانّ المدينة تُفتَح بعد خروجه للغرب فكان[1] كذلك. فانّ اهل المدينة ومن له الكلام منهم يوم خروج سيدي احمد رُعِبوا وفُتّ في اعضادهم وسُقِط في ايديهم، وجعلوا ينظرون من يجيء لهم في العافية والصلح من ذلك اليوم والتفتوا الى ذلك واشتغلوا به الى أن نتج لهم وحصلت العافية. وكان ذلك عندهم من[2] المحال ولا يستطيع من يذكره،[3] وإن ذكره احد، تهدّدوه وتوعّدوه وقعدوا له كلّ مرصد حتّى لا ينجو[4] منهم الّا بطول عمره، مع كلّ من يُعرَف من فقراء المغرب ممّن يدّعي ويُدّعى فيه الحال واليد مع الله يزعم انّ مولاي اسماعيل لا يتولّى فاسا ولا يقوم له ملك ابدا.[5] ولمّا خرج، اخبرنا الذين كانوا معه انّه كان مهتمّا بأمر فاس جدّا الى ان اصبح اليوم الذي طلع اهل [فاس][6] الى السلطان ودخلوا يده، وسيدي احمد ناء ببعض بلاد سائس. فذكروا لنا انّه اصبح في بسط عظيم وضحك وسرور قبل ان يأتيهم خبر الصلح والعافية، فعجبوا من امره. ثمّ اتاهم الخبر بعد ذلك، وقال لبعض اصحابنا "إنّي اعطيت المفتاح فوجدت بعض اسنانه معوّجة، فقوّمتها وفتحت الباب، يعني باب فاس، بيدي؛ ومن قدر علي ان يسدّه فليعمل."[7]

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1 Royal 972 adds الامر.

2 Royal 972 and Royal 9837 add قبل اليوم من حيز.

3 Royal 972 adds لهم.

4 For the text's erroneous orthography ينجوا.

5 Copyist's marginal note: قوله "لمّا قرب (اي مولاي اسماعيل) من فاس ابان مولانا اسماعيل الناس انّه يريد السمح لهم والعافية ولا يعاقب احدا بما صدر منه." وقوله "خرج من البلاد (يعني سيدي احمد بن عبد الله هو الذي خرج من فاس) الى تلامذته من عمره ليكون ناجيا ممّا فعلوا اهل فاس من الثورة. فلمّا بلغ فاسا مولانا اسماعيل لقيه سيدي احمد بن عبد الله واعلمه بخروجه من فاس. فبسبب ذلك عظم مثواه ووقّره هو واتباعه له والله عالم."

6 Necessary insert.

7 Vol. I, fol. 130.

1084/1673-1674

ومن حوادث هذه السنة انقطاع ماء القرويّين، وكان انقطع قبله ورجع. وفي اليوم الحادي والعشرين من جمادى الاولى قُتِل غيلان المذكور في الحكاية المقدّمة في العام قبله.[1] وفي عشيّة الاثنين، سابع عشر او عشرين من جمادى الثانية، نزل مولانا اسماعيل بالمحلّة، والمحلّة براس الماء، ودخل فاس الجديد بعد ان تخلّى له عنها ابن اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز ورجع الى الصحراء لافتقاره الى الاموال الذي[2] بها يقوّم علل الجيوش؛ فعجز عن عدم وجوده عن مقاومة حرب عمّه ورجع الى الصحراء. ولمّا سُقِط ما اراده اهل فاس بين ايديهم وندموا على ما فعلوا رغبوا في الطاعة، فدخلوا افواجا فبايعه اهل فاس المرينيّة الجديدة. فدخل مولانا المنصور بالله فاس الجديد لدار الملك واستقرّ بها وترك قتال اهل فاس الادريسيّة، فكانوا يهربون اليه شيئا فشيئا. وفي يوم الاثنين يلي ما قبله[3] طلع فقهاء فاس وشرفاؤها الى فاس الجديد للصلح مع مولانا اسماعيل، وفي غده طلع الجميع، وهو ضحوة يوم الثلاثاء ثالث عشر رجب.[4] وكانت الثورة[5] بين عشاء يوم الخميس اوّل يوم من جمادى الولى في العام الذي قبل هذا، وهو عام ثلاثة وثمانين كما تقدّم. فكانت مدّة الحرب والحصار بين مولانا المنصور بالله اسماعيل وبين اهل فاس سنة كاملة[6] وشهرين وثمانية وعشرين[7] يوما. وفي الجمعة ثاني[8] وعشرين رجب عُزِل سيدي محمّد البوعنانيّ[9] من خطبة القرويّين وولّي الخطبة

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1 Royal 972 replaces all preceding by: وفي سادس او سابع وعشرين من ربيع الثاني منه رحل مولاي اسماعيل عن تازا وصار الى الغرب ونزل بالقصر. وفي عشرين من جمادى الاولى كانت واقعة، قُبِض فيها غيلان او اتى جريحا لمولاي اسماعيل فقتله.

2 The text has the erroneous masculine relative pronoun الذي instead of the correct feminine التي; this is probably due to the influence of the colloquial.

3 Royal adds date سابع عشر رجب; Iltiqāṭ date ثامن وعشرين رجب (8 November 1665).

4 Bodley Q adds "وقال لهم "خيرا; Royal 906 gives date as التاسع عشر.

5 For classical orthography الثورة.

6 Royal 906 واحدة.

7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 ثمانية عشر.

8 Royal 972 and Royal 959 ثمان.

9 Royal 972 adds الشريف.

بها القاضي ابوعبد الله محمّد بن الحسن المجّاصيّ.[1] وفي ايّام عيد الاضحى حرّك لمكناسة ورجع بعد ان استخلف على فاس[2] عبد الرحمان بن محمّد بن عبد العزيز المغراويّ وقيّد على فاس احمد التلمسانيّ فتصرّفا[3] في المدينة ونهبا وسجنا واخرجا [منها][4] رحائل.[5]

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1085/1674-1675

ومن حوادث هذه السنة: انّه وقع بفاس احراق سبععشرة حانوتا من سوق العطّارين الكبرى[6] وسقطت حيطانها وضاعت اموال بذلك، ولم ادر ما سببه[7] ووقع قرب هذه الازمنة مثله بموضع الاحراق نفسه، وحُرِق من الحوانيت أكثر من ذلك. وسببه انّ بعضهم ممّن كان يضع المرآت[8] ترك نار المجمر[9] بحانوته وكان بها كبريت. فنشبت به النار،[10] فوقع الاحراق ليلا.[11]

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1 Royal 906 adds وفي يوم الخميس اخذت المحلّة في الرحيل الى سبوا

2 Royal 972 and Royal 906 replace three preceding words by وولي امر الناس.

3 For the erroneous plural form of the verb تصرّفوا; the same is true as well of the following three verbs in this sentence.

4 Inserted for preferable reading, as is found in Bodley D.

5 Vol. I, fol. 131.

6 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho.add: من بابها المقابل لباب مدرستها هوكان باحدى الحوانيت بارود، كان صاحب الدكّان شرب طابه * فاندفقت نار ذو طابه من دواتها، وهي في فمه، على البارود. فقامت النار في الحانوت منارا والله اعلم.

* طابه l. "tabac" d'une façon générale . . . le môt ṭâba ne prend jamais l'article. Il semble emprunté au français.' Brunot, p. 463.

8 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: في بعض تلك الحوانيت

9 Royal 959 المجمار.

10 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace three preceding words by فوقع شيء من الكبريت او غيرها بالمجمر.

11 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: فلم يتفطّن الّا بعد ان اشتدّ، ولم يقدر على اطفائه احد.

وفي ضحوة يوم السبت رابع عشر رجب قُتِل بفاس اولاد يفرح وطُوِّف بهم مقتولين بازقّة فاس لكونهم كانوا سعوا في ثورة فاس على مولاي اسماعيل. فلمّا فُتِحت فاس هربوا لبعض الجبال، فظفر بهم فقتلهم. واصلهم من اهل فجيج الذين دخلوا الاندلس، ثمّ خرجوا منها عند الحدث واستوطنوا حومة راس الجنان من فاس القرويّين. وتولّى سيدي عبد الواحد الكاتب الموارثة.[1] وفي رجب غار اهل تلمسان على ولاتها من الاتراك، وقعت الفتنة بينهم، وجاءت الاتراك عن الجزائر اغاثة لاخوانهم. فعتوا[2] بها وسفكوا الدماء الكثيرة[3] ووثبوا بالنهب والوطء واخرجوا من بحرم سيدي ابي مدين كما اخرجوا اهل تلمسان من بلادهم وخربوا الزاوية. ومن لطف[4] الله باهل الدلاء، اولاد سيدي ابي بكر،[5] انّ مولاي اسماعيل[6] كتب لهم بالرجوع الى المغرب[7] فرجعوا الى فاس ولم يحضروا الوقعة. وكان اداهم[8] بعض سفهاء تلمسان، فوصل خبرهم الى مولانا اسماعيل، فكتب اليهم بالرجوع. ولمّا حصل لهم الاداء[9] من اهل تلمسان، رأى بعض الفضلاء منهم جدّهم سيدي ابا بكر في المنام، ورد على سيدي ابي مدين وتلقّوه قرب روضته بموضع يُسمّى باب المعراط.[10] فجعل سيدي ابو بكر يلومه ويشدّد عليه في القول[11] ويقول له "بعثتُ لك اولادي فأهنْتَهم" وسيدي

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1 Copyist's marginal note:
سيدي عبد الواحد هذا شريف الادارسة دفين تلمسان ينتسب الى مولاي عبد . . . * . (دفين آيت عتّاب) بن مولاي ادريس باني فاس . . . * التادليّ في التشوّف. وكان له ولد اسمه عبد العزيز من عدول فاس احتزّ رأسه سيدي محمّد المدعوّ بن عريبة بن مولانا اسماعيل في ايّام خلافته على المغرب وعلّق رأسه على باب الفتوح.

*margin cut.

2 For classical orthography عثوا.

3 For text's incorrect الكثير.

4 Royal 972 and litho صنع.

5 Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley D, and litho. add: الذين امرهم بالمقام بها مولانا الرشيد حين استولى على زاويتهم

6 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: اخوه المبايع بعد موتــه

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: لولا يته، فكان خروجهم من تلمسان قبل الوقعة بقليل.

8 For classical orthography اذاهم.

9 For classical orthography الاذاء.

10 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. المعرط.

11 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. اللوم.

ابو مدين يلين له القول · فكان آخر ما انفصلا عليه ان قال سيدي ابو مدين "انا ابلغهم الى سيدي عليّ بن حرازم بفاس" · فلم يلبثوا الّا قليلا اذ ورد عليهم كتاب مولاي اسماعيل بالرجوع فلمّا رجعوا كان نزولهم عند سيدي عليّ بن حرازم مع اهل العمارة التي كانت هنالك بالحرم خارج المدينة · ثمّ بعد مدّة اذن لهم في الدخول الى مدينة فاس واكرم مثواهم واحترمهم ولم يزالوا بها محترمين معظّمين موقّرين عند اهلها وامرائها الى الآن ، وليس لهم بها سوى طلب العلم وبثّه ·[1]

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1086/1675-1676

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : وقعت اللطمة بواد العبيد بين امير المؤمنين الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل وجيش ابن اخيه الامام السلطان مولاي احمد بن محرز ، مات فيها قائد جيش ابن اخيه القائد عمر بن محمّد الطويريّ الفاسيّ الاندلسيّ ، وذلك في عشيّة الاربعاء سابع ربيع الاوّل · وانهزم عسكر مولانا احمد بن محرز لموت قائدهم ·[2]

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1087/1676-1677

ومن حوادث العام : انّ في ليلة الاحد تاسع عشر جمادى الثانية انفجر نور عظيم عن يمين القبلة ، ثمّ سقط قبل الفجر · وفي منتصف ربيع الثاني وقعت مقتلة عظيمة بين الامامين مولاي الخليفة المنصور بالله امير المؤمنين اسماعيل وابن اخيه السلطان الامام مولاي احمد بن محرز[3] على مدينة مرّاكش ، يطول شرح ذلك ·[4]

1 Vol. I, fol. 133.

2 Vol. I, fol. 134.

3 Royal 972 and litho. replace phrase after بين by السلطان ومن اقام عليه من اقاربه .

4 Vol. I, fol. 135.

1088/1677-1678

ومن حوادث هذه السنة حركة مولانا اسماعيل الى مولانا احمد بن محرز · فكانت بينهما حروب بحوز مرّاكش الى ان تخلّى له عن مرّاكش وحوزها مولاي احمد بن محرز السلطان المذكور اواخر ربيع الاوّل · فصالح اهل مرّاكش مولاي اسماعيل ودخلها وسمح اهلها واصلح احوالها وامّن بلادها وقتل سبعة من رؤسائها وكحّل عيون ثلاثين من رؤسائها الذين قالوا "لم تروه[1] ابدا ·" وفي نصف ربيع الاوّل تار[2] قبائل بلاد ملوية من البربر واجتمعوا على الرئيس السيّد احمد بن عبد الله بن محمّد الحاجّ الدلاءي ونصروه وسنّوا[3] الغارة على من لم ينقد اليهم من اهل البلاد المجاورة اليهم ، الى فاس ومكناسة الزيتون ·[4] ووقعت حروب بينهم وبين عرب تادلاء فغلبوا عليهم وملكوا تلك البلاد وحوزها واخذوا قصبتها واخرجوا المخازنيّة ، وذلك في يوم الاحد او الاثنين مهلّ جمادى الثانية · ثمّ وجّه مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل الفين من المخازنيّة[5] وجمعوا عليهم عرب تادلاء مع القبائل المجاورة للبرابر من بلاد ملوية ومعهم قائده يخلف · ووقعت بينهما معركة عظيمة قُتِل [فيها][6] يخلف ، قائد الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل ، وانهزم جيشه ولم ينج من الالفين الّا القليل · ثمّ وجّه اليهم جيشا آخر فهُزِم · ثمّ وجّه التائر[7] احمد بن عبد الله بن الحاجّ مع البرابر الى فاس ومكناس وما بينهما من القبائل · فاجتمع قبائل حوزها مع المخازنيّة واقتتلوا قتالا عظيما انهزم جيش فاس ومكناس ومات جماعة من كبار الجيش ولجئوا الى مكناسة فتحصّنوا فيها ، وذلك ثالث عشر رجب · واختفى اهل الزاوية الذين بفاس ممّن سبق له[8] نصره بهم في الحروب بحرم مولانا ادريس وسيدي احمد الشاوي · واشتدّ الحصار عليهم والتضييق بهم وبأهلهم · وعزل امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل رئيس فاس عليّ بن عيّاد لعجزه عن مقاومتها وضبط الافراط ، وولّى عليها القائد

1 Note the colloquial structure, لم plus the jussive to indicate the future negative.

2 For classical orthography ثار.

3 The dots are missing from the ش , either an oversight by the copyist or a colloquial variant for the classical سن .

4 Iltiqāṭ adds الى اساس .

5 Royal 9837 الخيل .

6 Necessary insert.

7 As footnote 2, above.

8 A superfluous معهم has been omitted from the text here.

حمدون ، والد الوزير القائد عبد الله الروسي ، والوالد المذكور نائب عن [ولده][1] المذكور واخرج من مرّاكش قاضيها سيدي محمّد بن ابراهيم الهشتوكيّ واشخصه الى فاس، فأُسكِن بدار بحرم[2] مولانا ادريس . وفي خامس صفر توجّه امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل من مرّاكش لقتال الرئيس الدلائيّ ومن معه من البربر وقطع وادي العبيد . ووجّه القائد الروسي الى مولاي اسماعيل من فاس مائتين [من][3] الرماة، وذلك اواسط شعبان . وفيه وقعت لطمة مولانا اسماعيل مع البربر وتائرهم[4] الدلائيّ ، فهزم مولاي اسماعيل البربر وقُتِلت من رماتهم في المعركة ثلاثة آلاف. وبعث بخبر الهزيمة الى فاس القائد عبد الله الروسي وامر ان تُضرَب النفوط وتُعمَل المهرجات، فامتثل امره في ذلك.[5] وبعث مولانا اسماعيل سبعين رأسا من رؤسائهم الى فاس فعُلِّقت. ثمّ اقتتل مولاي اسماعيل مع مولاي الحرّان بملوية وهزم جيشه شيعة مولاي احمد بن محرز وقبض على مولاي الحرّان وقيّده. ثمّ فرّ الى الصحراء ورجع مولاي اسماعيل الى مكناسة.[6] ثمّ شكى اهل فاس الى مولاي اسماعيل من شدّة الوظائف التي تُضرَب عليهم فردّ الرماة الحاركين معه ومعهم القائد عبد الله الروسي فاستقلّ هو بقيادة فاس وولي ابوه الورثة. وثار باتوات مولاي حمّاد بن مولاي الشريف عامل مولاي احمد بن محرز على اتوات. ثمّ سمّوه ومات مسموما . وفي اواسط شوّال عزل مولاي اسماعيل قاضي مكناسة سيدي محمّد بو مدين وولّى مكانه سيدي احمد بن سعيد.[7] وفي رابع[8] ذي القعدة عزل سيدي محمّد بن الحسن المجّاصيّ عن قضاء فاس وولّى مكانه سيدي العربيّ بردلّة. وقُتِل بامر السلطان نحو عشرين من مساجين اهل تطّاون كانوا بسجن فاس الجديد. وولي سيدي احمد بن حمدان خطبة فاس الجديد . وفي تاسع ذي القعدة خرج الشرفاء

[1] Hole in manuscript, probable reading, as also found in Bodley Q.

[2] Royal 959 and Royal 9837 مسجد .

[3] Necessary insert.

[4] As footnote 2 p. 19 above.

[5] Royal 972 and Royal add
ودخل السلطان مكناسة وضُربت الانفاض استبسارا .

[6] Royal 959 combines this battle with the preceding one and treats the two events as one. Royal 972 and Royal 959 also add وخرج مولاي احمد بن محرز من حصار مرّاكش يوم الخميس ربيع الثاني ودخلها مولاي اسماعيل

[7] Royal 959 adds المجلديّ ; Bodley Q adds المجيلديّ .

[8] Bodley Q date رابع عشر.

والاعيان[1] لتهنية مولانا المنصور بالله بالقدوم[2] الى مكناسة . وجِيءَ بمولاي الحرّان مقبوضا من تافلات مع اشراف كانوا معه، ودخلوا به لفاس ومن الغد خرجوا به لمكناسة . ثمّ منّ الله عليه وعليهم بخاطر مولاي اسماعيل فاطلقهم،[3] وما زال الحلم معه في قضايا كثرت مثلها . وأعطى لمولاي الحرّان خيلا[4] ومداشر[5] بالصحراء يعيش بها[6] فسار بالقرب اليه . وفي ثالث عشرين[7] من ذي القعدة قدم ابوعبد الله سيدي محمّد بن الحسن المجّاصيّ على فاس وطلب من قاضي فاس ابي عبد الله العربيّ بردلّة ان يشارك[8] معه في الفتوى والخطبة فامتنع شمّا على الاوقاف التي على ذلك . وعزل السلطان مولاي اسماعيل خطيب المدرسة المتوكّليّة، سيدي العربيّ بن ناصر، وولّى مكانه سيدي محمّد المرابط الدلائيّ . واخذ ابوعبد الله المجّاصيّ في التدريس بالقرويّين في بعض الكراسي دون تولية . وفي سادس ذي الحجّة قدم السلطان مولاي اسماعيل من مكناس الى فاس ولقيه الاعيان والكافّة بوادي فاس، ودخل مدينة فاس الجديد . ثمّ وقع العيد ، حضره الاعيان وخطب القاضي بردلّة وصلّى . وفي رجب بلغ القمح اثنين وعشرين اوقيّة للوسق على حسب صاع ونصف شرعيّ في مدّ ذلك الزمن او وسق ونصفه شرعيّ.[9] وغلت[10] الضحايا وقلّ لحمها حتّى بلغت الشاة ثمنا لم يُعهَد اصلا ، وعدمت الغنم وبقي الكثير من غير اضحيّة وكثير من

[1] Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q replace the three preceding groups by الناس.

[2] Royal adds مع سيدي الفاسيّ; Royal 959 and Bodley Q add that and also من زاويتهم التي بالقلقليين من عدوة فاس القرويين.

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 فسرحه; Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q add ولم يعامله بمقتضى الخروج عليه .

[4] Royal 906 نخيلا; Royal 972 has خيلا in the text and نخيلا in the margin.

[5] دَشْرَة (Sing. مدشر), Dozy gives this as the usual plural of دُشُر 'métairie, hameau, village', along with (I, 443). On this term see Jaime Oliver Asîn, 'Mayšar-Cortijo', Al-Andalus, X (1945), 109-111.

[6] For text's masculine به modifying a feminine noun الصحراء.

[7] Royal 959 gives date as ثالث عشر .

[8] For text's incorrect يشاركه .

[9] Royal adds نحو الموزونة ونصف للصاع النبويّ .

[10] For text's erroneous masculine verb form غلا.

الناس من ضحّى ثاني العيد.[1] ومن اعجب ما يُحكَى في هذه [السنة][2] انّ لحم العيد، السمين والهزيل، لم ينضج. وفي اوائل العام ظهر طاعون بتطّاون في حوز بني زيّات، ثمّ فشا في البلد ووقع[3] الموت. وكان[4] الشتاء في هذا العام دافيا وغلب نزول المطر في الصيف وبرد الجوّ ووقع[5] بفاس ريح وسعال.[6] وظهر الجراد بحوز مرّاكش الى سلا الى تفلالت، فافسد الجريد واشتدّ الغلاء، وسلّم الله فاسا وحوزها. وفي قبل نصف اليل من ليلة الخميس عاشر شعبان وقعت زلزلة فطن لها كثير من الناس ولم يشعر بها البعض. ثمّ في يوم الجمعة سابع عشر شعبان وقعت زلزلة اخرى، ثمّ وقعت اخرى في سابع عشرين[7] من الشهر.[8]

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1089/1678-1679

وفي حوادث هذه السنة: ظهر الطاعون اوّلا قليلا ظهر بتطّاون الى ان بلغ الموتى بها خمسين نفسا في اليوم الواحد، وظهر بالقصر الى ان بلغ موتاهم مائة وخمسين في اليوم الواحد. وبلغ خبره الى مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل الحسنيّ فوجّه عبيده الى وادي سبو[9] وامرهم ان لا يُترك احد يعدوه. وخرج امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل من مكناسة الى الحركة، وخرجت المحلّة من فاس في رابع عشر ربيع الاوّل فقدمت عليه. وظهر الطاعون

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1 Royal 959 replaces two preceding words by في اليوم الثاني من ايّام النحر

2 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 906.

3 Royal 959 adds في الناس.

4 For text's incorrect feminine form of the verb كانت; the feminine predicate دافية, modifying a masculine noun, الشتاء, is also erroneous.

5 Royal 959 adds في الناس.

6 Royal 959 adds حتّى في الصيف.

7 Royal 9837 gives date as سابع عشر.

8 Vol. I, fol. 136.

9 Bodley Q مشرع.

بفاس الجديد المرينيّة، فصُلّي بها ليلة المولد على عشرين، وكثر بها وخلت مدرستها وسُدّت ثامن ربيع الاوّل. وكثر بالقرى المجاورة[1] لها بعين الخميس وبموضع[2] الخميس اليوم، وبتلك القصابي وافركّان[3] حتّى خليت. فوجّه السلطان مولانا اسماعيل عبيده الى احراق تلك القرى التي خلاها الطاعون فاحرقوها عن آخرها وخربوها وتركوها خرابا في خامس عشر ربيع الاوّل. وامر عبيده ألّا يتركوا من يريد المرور من فاس الى مكناسة الزيتون،[4] فكانوا يحرسون الطرق ليلا ونهارا ومن لم يسعفهم في الرجوع عن المسير الى مكناسة قتلوه. وظهر الطاعون بفاس وكثر الى ان بلغ الموتى في اليوم الواحد من اربعمائة الى ثمانمائة الى الف وازيد الى ان ضعف في منسلخ رمضان، فبلغ الموتى في اليوم الواحد عشرة.[5] ثمّ ظهر الطاعون بمكناسة الزيتون دار الملك الى ان بلغ الموتى بها ثلاثمائة الى ان ضعف، فبلغ الموتى في اليوم الواحد خمسين. وظهر بمرّاكش، فبلغ الموتى بها في اليوم الواحد [نحو الفين][6] واكثر[7] ومات[8] بمدغرة وتافلات وتوات وسائر بلاد الصحراء ما لا يُحصَى.[9]

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1 For text's erroneous oblique form plural المجاورين.

2 Royal 972 and Royal 959 بسوق.

3 See translation for 1089, below, p. 131.

4 Bodley Q adds وعلى دائرة الملك.

5 Royal 972, Royal 959 add وكان سيدي احمد بن ادريس من شرفاء دار القيطون في محلّة السلطان وطلب منه ان يتركه يسافر للمشرق. فاذن له، فرجع لفاس بقصد ذلك فطُعِن ومات. وفي رابع عشر جمادى الثانية تُوفّي الاستاذ* سيدي سعيد السوسيّ بالمدرسة المصباحيّة والاستاذ سيدي عبد الرحمن بن محمّد الصدراتيّ والاستاذ سيدي عبد الملك الدراويّ والاستاذ سيدي محمّد بن ناجم، كلاهما بفاس الجديد.

*Royal 959 has the orthography الاستاد throughout. Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. also add وخرج السلطان تابعا للمحلّة من مكناسة ثاني * عشر ربيع الاوّل.

*Royal 972 has ثامن.

6 The copyist has evidently omitted the number, which, however, appears in Royal 959, and has been inserted here.

7 Royal 959 adds وفي اوّل ذي الحجّة تُوفّي الشابّ سيدي ابو مدين بن الشيخ سيدي محمّد بن الامام سيدي عبد القادر الفاسيّ من نحو سبعة عشر عاما.

8 Royal 959 replaces preceding word by افنِي بالطاعون.

9 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add وتُوفّي الطالب محمّد بن احمد بن عليّ الشاميّ الملقّب علوج بصيغة جمع علج والقادريّ المهديّ الايرنيّ والقائد المهديّ. Royal 972 and Royal 959 also add at end

وفي ثامن ربيع الاوّل قدم فاس العلّامة سيدي محمّد المجّاصيّ بتولية الامامة والفتيا بالقرويّين ، فوليها الى آخر رجب فاخّره مولانا اسماعيل عن ذلك وولّى مكانه السيّد العربيّ بردلّة ، ووجّه مولاي اسماعيل المجّاصيّ المذكور قاضيا الى مكناسة الزيتون . وفي مهلّ شعبان ولي قضاء فاس الجديد سيدي احمد بن سعيد . وفي هذه السنة اصلح الوزير القائد عبد الله الروسي جامع الاندلس مع مدارسها وبدأ بتزليج صحنها ، وكان غير مزلّج ، مغروس به اشجار النرنج ، فحفروا عروقهم . وكان الطيور يهولون المسجد بصوتهم [1] ويزبلونه بارواثهم ، فاشار عليه الناس بقطع الاشجار وتزليج الصحن حيث كان يصلح المسجد . فلمّا فرغ من اصلاحه قطع الاشجار وزلّج الصحن .[2] وفي هذه السنة جُلِب الماء لزاوية سيدي عبد الرحمان الفاسيّ التي بالقلقليّين وذلك تقول زاوية سيدي عبد القادر الفاسيّ لأنّ الزيادة فيها التي زادها مولانا اسماعيل كانت لأجل سيدي عبد القادر، وهي من محرابها اليوم الى محراب صحنها وهو النصف الايسر للمستقبل مع جميع الصحن والميضة [3] والسقالب والصمعة .[4] وفي تاسع عشر رمضان ورد الى فاس خبر خروج اخوان مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل بن السلطان مولاي الشريف الحسنيّ عليه ، وهم مولاي الحرّان ومولاي هاشم ومولاي احمد ، ثلاثة ، وفي ظهرهم بعض عمّهم .[5] وساروا الى آيت عطّة من البربر ونادوا في البربر بالحركة واعطاء الراتب والاخبية وآلات [6] الحروب .[7] فوجّه اليهم مولانا اسماعيل المحلّة وخرجت من فاس في سادس شوّال . فالتقى الجمعان [8] بموضع يُعرَف بغيظة من بلاد آيت عطّة فوقع القتال بينهما ، مات فيه من رماة [9] فاس نحو اربعمائة

1 Royal 906 نطقهم.

2 Royal 906 المسجد.

3 For more usual classical orthography ميضأة.

4 R.P.A. Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, 2 vols. Leiden, 1927, gives ضُمْعَة as a variant for the more usual صومعة, North African for 'minaret' (I, 845).

5 Royal 972, Bodley Q, and Iltiqāṭ replace two preceding words by ثلاثة بني عمهم. Royal 959 has ثلاثة من بني عمّهم.

6 For text's incorrect orthography for the plural آلاة.

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add ولم يزل الطاعون يظهر في افراد . فكان يموت العشر في اليوم في منسلخ رمضان .

8 Royal 959 adds date حادي وعشرين من ذي الحجّة.

9 Royal 959 اهل.

وقُتِل قائد رماة فاس موسى بن احمد من بني يوسف الاندلسيّين ملوك الاندلس الذين ألّف ابن الخطيب السلمانيّ في التعريف بدولهم كتابه "طرفة العصر في دول ملوك بني نصر." [1]

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1090/1679-1680

ومن حوادث هذه السنة تفاقم الوباء [2] وتوالى وتهدّمت الدور به بفاس ومات به اقوام . واجتهد الحاكم باخراج الرماة عن ستّمائة من فاس وبعث بهم [3] الى السلطان . وفي رابع وعشرين [4] من المحرّم وقعت غزوة بطنجة ، مات من المسلمين خمسون ومن النصارى ثلاثمائة وخمسون وأُخِذت قصبة لهم باربعة ابراج . وفي يوم الثلاثاء سابع ربيع الاوّل ورد خبر . . . وقعة . . .[5] بالمحلّة الى فاس فأخبر بها قاسى السلطان والناس [6] مع الثلج والوعر، وهلك نحو الف من الخيل وطوى الناس على الجوع أيّاما وتقطّعت الاخبية وبقيت الاموال وغيرها وانّه خرج الى الوطاء بعد شدّة ولم يخرج معه الّا مائتان من الخيل ،فنزل نحو سيدي رحّال .[7] وفي يوم الاربعاء خامس عشر ربيع الاوّل خرج ستّمائة من الرماة من فاس مع القائد الروسي وجاء الخبر بهزم القائد الكوش بمحلّته . فاطلق السلطان [8] السبيل فيهم لكونهم خرجوا جائعين ، فانطلقوا في اموال الناس [في][9] حوز مرّاكش ، فمات منهم ثلاثمائة وجُرِح البعض فقط . ثمّ ورد القائد الروسي مع الرماة الغائبين وعزل وكلاء القاضي .

1 Vol. I, fol. 141.

2 Bodley Q الطاعون.

3 For text's incorrect feminine pronominal suffix بها.

4 Bodley Q and Iltiqāṭ have just رابع.

5 Lacunae in text as indicated. This passage is not found in the Ben Sūda copy and therefore the latter cannot be used to correct the text.

6 Bodley Q adds بتنية الكلاوي.

7 Bodley Q adds: وكان قبله ولم يمت، حتّى لم يبق من يصلّي معه الجمعة . بزاويته السبعين رجلا فبقي منهم تسعة ، والامر لله من قبل ومن بعد .

8 Bodley Q adds date يوم سابع المولد.

9 Necessary insert.

وفي سابع عشر جمادى الاولى [1] ورد الخبر بنصارى ظهروا في البحر وجه العرائش بسفن كثيرة ، ثمّ كفى الله امرهم . وفي جمادى الآخرة كمل بناء ميضاة جامع الزلّيج على يد القائد الحاجّ حمدون الروسي وبنى [2] ايضا سيدي ابا غالب الصاريوي [3] نفّعنا الله به وزاد فيه بشراء واعانه على ذلك رجل بدراهم على يد القائد حمدون الروسي المذكور وبنى قبل ذلك روضة سيدي الحاجّ ابي درهم . وفي مهلّ رمضان تُوفّي القائد حمدون الروسي المذكور ودُفن بروضتهم بجوار سيدي ابي غالب . وفي هذا اليوم قُتل الوزير المتواري واصحابه بالرصاص واُتي به على ابغال فجُرّ بمكناسة وفاس ، ثمّ اُلقي على مزبلة . وكان على سلا واحوازها ومكناسة وكان يكلّف تجّار فاس بنفقة اسرى النصارى يطعمونهم ، فانتقمهم الله منه . وقُبض العربيّ الغشّام قائد فاس الجديد المرينيّة مع جماعة من رؤسائها وسُلسِلوا وأمر برحيل الباقي ونُهبت ديارهم ، فنزلوا بفاس البالي بعد ان أُمّن رقابهم واُسكن فيها العلوج . وورد الأمر من السلطان [بتولية] [4] العربيّ بردلّة على القضاء . وفي آخر رمضان اُخليت دار المرابط سيدي عليّ بن عبد الرحمان وجيء به للمحلّة ، فأُخرج ما عنده من الامانات . وثُقّف القاضي مومن بسلا بسبب ذكر بعض الوشاة فيه بسوء السيرة . وشدّوا عليه فكان يخرج ليصلّي بهم الجمعة ويخطب ثمّ يُرَدّ الى سجنه . وفي ثامن وعشرين من شوّال قبض ثوّار فاس ، اولاد الاندلسيّ بفاس ، الروسي وسجنهم باولادهم . وثُقّفت دارهم ومتاعهم ومنع من زيارتهم الى ان ورد كتاب السلطان صبيحة سابع وعشرين بالامر بقتل ثلاثة منهم فقُتلوا ، وبقي الباقي مع اولادهم الصغار مسجونين . وفي مهلّ ذي القعدة تمّت قنطرة وادي النجاة بالبناء . وفي ثاني عيد الاضحى اختفى الخطيب من ثوّار فاس هو واولاده ، بزاوية سيدي عبد الرحمان بن محمّد الفاسيّ الكائنة بحومة القلقليّين من فاس القرويّين ، فبالغ الروسي في البحث عنه في حرم مولاي ادريس وسيدي احمد الشاوي . ثمّ رجع السلطان لمكناسة فخرج الناس للقائه فتلقّوه بعد صلاة الجمعة وبعث بالآمان للخطيب يخرج باولاده لمكناسة الزيتون فخرج الى مكناسة . ثمّ منّ عليه وردّه الى فاس خليفة عليها .

وَلِلّٰهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ . يُعِزُّ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُذِلُّ مَنْ يَشَاءُ . وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ .

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1 Iltiqāṭ gives month as جمادى الاخيرة.

2 For text's orthography بنا.

3 Iltiqāṭ gives name as الصريغي.

4 Blank in text; possible insert in this context.

إِنَّ الْأَرْضَ لِلّٰهِ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ . [1]

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1091/1680-1681

ومن حوادث هذه السنة حدوث غلاء بسبب تأخير المطر فبلغ القمح اربعين اوقيّة للوسق ، والمدّ صاع ونصفه في المدّ . وصلّى الناس الاستسقاء مرارا والامام والخطيب امام القرويّين محمّد [2] العربيّ ، وكرّر الصلاة ثلاث مرّات فنزل بخاخ لم يبلّ الارض . [3] ثمّ صلّى بالناس وخطب سيدي محمّد البوعنانيّ ، ثمّ عاد بردلّة المذكور ، ثمّ صلّى بالناس سيدي محمّد المرابط بن محمّد الدلائيّ ، ثمّ اعاد البوعنان المذكور ، وصلّى بالناس وخطب سيدي محمّد العربيّ الفشتاليّ . ومن الغد نزل المطر ومعه رعد وبرق ورويت الناس وفرحوا وحمدوا الله على ذلك بعد ان بلغ القمح ستّين اوقيّة . ثمّ احتاج الناس الى المطر ايضا فصلّوا صلاة الاستسقاء ايضا والامام والخطيب بردلّة . وخرج مع الناس الشيخ البركة ابو محمّد عبد القادر [4] بن عليّ الفاسيّ [5] راكبا على حمار وقدم بين يديه الاشراف ، اهل البيت ، متوسّلا ومستشفعا بهم الى الله تعلى ، فنزل غد رجوعهم مطر قليل . ثمّ من الغد نزل المطر من عند اذان الصبح الى طلوع الشمس المطر الغزير المقنع الكثير ، فانحطّت الاسعار ونزل القمح الى خمس وثلاثين اوقيّة للوسق . فكانت هذه الصلاة تاسعة الصلوات واوّل صلاة كانت يوم

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1 Vol. I, fol. 145.

2 Royal 972 and Royal 959 have the kunya ابوعبد الله.

3 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the four preceding words by قليلا من المطر ما لا يكفي

4 The 'ر' is missing from the text.

5 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add بن يوسف. Copyist's marginal note: وما خرج حتّى تصدّق بجميع ما يملكه في داره من قوت وكسوة وغير ذلك وما ترك لداره التي هي مثل سترته باللباس اوكتبه الذين المرجوع اليهم (sic) مثل حرفة يحترفونها يطلب كسب ما يتقوّت به وخرج مفتقرا الى الله تعلى . اخبرنا بهذا والدي الخيّاط عن عمّه ادريس تلميذ سيدي عبد القادر

الاثنين خامس المحرّم. ثمّ بعد ذلك تُوفّي سيدي عبد [القادر][1] الفاسيّ في رمضان من هذا العام كما تقدّم. وفي ذلك اليوم دفع مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل الحسنيّ الى التجّار فضّة قبضها من النصارى في فداء اسرى منهم في كلّ مثقال سبع مثاقيل.[2] فزعموا انّهم ينقصون لمن يسبكها دراهم الوقت في التصفية، واجرة الضرب مثقال ونصف. ثمّ ورد الامر بخروج سيدي عبد القادر الفاسيّ للقاء مولانا الخليفة بمكناسة الزيتون فركب في[3] محفّة لكبر سنّه وعجزه على الركوب. فخرج بكرة يوم الاربعاء[4] ولقيه عند الزوال غد الخميس[5] بروضة سيدي عبد الرحمان المجذوب وانزله بداره الجديدة بالقصبة، وسرّح المساجين الذين في طاعته كافّة فرحا به.[6] وصرفه يوم السبت ثالث ربيع الاوّل، ووصل فاسا من الغد يوم الاحد وفي عشرين من ربيع الاوّل شرع في توسّع زاوية عمّ ابيه العارف بالله سيدي عبد الرحمان بن محمّد الفاسيّ الكائنة بحومة القلقليّين من فاس القرويّين اذ كان اصلها له. فأمر الخليفة مولانا المنصور بالله اسماعيل بن مولانا الشريف الحسنيّ المذكور ان يُزاد فيها فاشترى نائب الخليفة المذكور بعض الدور المجاورة[7] لها وهُدِمت وبُنِيت على الكيفيّة التي هي الآن عليها، ومقدار ما زِيدَ فيها نصف البلاطين الذي من جهة يسار المستقبل من محرابها والصحن والميضة. وجعلوا السقّلابيّتين على الصيف على المحجّ والصمعة، ولم تكن بها قبل ذلك. ولمّا تُوفّي سيدي عبد القادر اوصى بأن يُدفَن بها فدُفِن بها هو واولاده.[8] فنُسِبت اليه، واصل وضعها الاوّل كان لعمّ والده سيدي عبد الرحمان بن محمّد الفاسيّ والزيادة وبناء الجميع على الهيئة التي هي الآن باقية عليها لأمير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ. ثمّ لمّا رأى القايم عبد الكريم اللمانوا اعتناء السلطان ببنائها خرج من حرم سيدي احمد الشاوي خفية واحترم بها. ثمّ سار الى الخليفة منها. فسمح له ورجع من

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For text's incorrect مثاقل.

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the two preceding words by استُعمِلت.

[4] Bodley Q adds عاشر ربيع الاوّل العام.

[5] Garbled text: عند الزوال غد الحميس غدوة. Either the first or, as here, the second adverb غدوة must be omitted for a correct reading.

[6] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add واكراما له.

[7] For text's incorrect plural adjective المجاورين modifying a feminine plural noun الدور.

[8] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add واصحابه واجنبيّين.

الغد الى فاس. فعظم حينئذ حرمها واشتهر امر اهلها لما رُؤي من تعظيم مولانا المنصور [بالله][1] لها ببنائها. ثمّ انّ عامل السلطان رصد اللمانوا المذكور وقبضه وهو خارج من داره برحبة الزبيب، واختزّ رأسه وعلّقه على باب داره، وسجن ابنه وابن اخيه، ثمّ بعد يومين صالحوا العامل على مال يؤدّونه له وهم يبيعون اصولهم واموالهم في امن من النهب فاعطوه ضمانا في الاموال التي صالحوه بها وسُرِّحوا. وفي اواسط ربيع الثاني وصل لفاس خبر اخذ المسلمين طنجة على يد قائد القصر عمر بن حدّ البطّيوي ثمّ في[2] جمادى الاولى اصطلح البطّيوي مع النصارى ووقعت المهادنة. واستمرّ الطاعون بفاس الادريسيّة والمرينيّة وبمكناسة الزيتون. وفي نصف جمادى الثانية حرّك مولانا اسماعيل لجهة الظهرا. ثمّ وقع البريح بخروج المحرّرين من شرفاء وفقهاء[3] الى الجهاد مع القائد عمر بن حدّ، ثمّ جاء العفو من الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل ثامن يوم البريح.[4] وغلا القمح ولم يُوجَد عند البريح بالجهاد[5] فبِيعَ سرّا بدرهمين شرعيّين[6] للصاع النبويّ. ثمّ ورد خبر انهزام[7] محلّة السلطان في ناحية تلمسان. وفي عشيّة الاحد رابع وعشرين من جمادى الثانية كان ريح عظيم هدم الحيطان واقلع الاشجار وغير ذلك.[8] ثمّ وقع الصلح بين مولانا اسماعيل وصاحب تلمسان بعد ان وصل الى باب تلمسان ورجع الى المغرب، فوصل الى فاس في[9] شعبان

[1] Inserted to complete the usual form of this epitaph.

[2] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add اوائل.

[3] Royal 972, Royal 959, Royal 906, and litho. add وفقراء.

[4] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add فرجعوا. The word بريح is derived from the verb برح, which according to Brunot means 'informer le public par annonce verbal' (p. 100). Indeed, Ibn Zaydān's al-Manzaʿ al-Laṭīf (MS. J595, General Library, Rabat) carries the synonymous نداء in this passage.

[5] Royal 972 adds ولم يزل الصاع بنحو درهم. Royal 959 summarizes thus: ولم يزل الطاعون والقحط بنحو درهم شرعيّ للصاع النبويّ.

[6] For test's singular adjective شرعي.

[7] Royal 972, Royal 959, and Bodley Q replace the four preceding words by بسبب خبر تأخّر محلّة السلطان.

[8] Note that the author treats ريح as a masculine noun, as in colloquial Moroccan. Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace عظيم by قوي جدا.

[9] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. ثالث.

ودخل فس الجديد في تلك الليلة. ثمّ من الغد[1] سار الى داره بمكناسة. وفي واحد وعشرين خرج من فاس الشرفاء والعلماء واعيان فاس مع ولد مولاي اسماعيل، وهو مولاي محرز، يستشفعون فيه بان يبقيه بفاس الجديد لأنّ والده اشخصه الى تافلالت مع اولاد مولانا الرشيد. فاعتذر لهم وساروا الى تافلات وبعث عوضا منه خليفة الى فاس المرينيّة ولده مُحمّد. وفي منتصف رمضان ورد خبر خروج نصارى من طنجة وقاتلوا مع المسلمين، فمات من المسلمين ازيد من مائة. وفي ضحوة خامس عشر شهر رمضان وقعت زلزلة. وخرج من فاس رماة الى طنجة بقصد الجهاد. ثمّ ورد خبر موت في قتال في الجهاد، ثمّ ورد خبر قتال آخر فيه. ثمّ ورد خبر قتال آخر كبير مات فيه كثير من المسلمين. وفي آخر رمضان ظهر في الافق مثل العلم مستطيل بالمشرق آخر اليل، ثمّ ظهر بالعشيّ وتمادى مدّة[2] من اليل في آخر الحجّة.[3]

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1092/1681-1682

ومن حوادث هذه السنة: وفي خامس ربيع الثاني دخل مولانا المنصور بالله فاس الجديد المرينيّة، فصار منها فنزل على قلعة المعمورة[4] الكائنة على حلق وادي سبو حيث يجتمع مع البحر اقصى المغرب. فحاصرها واخذها عنوة عند صلاة الجمعة ثالث عشر ربيع الثاني، قيلَ قطع الماء عنهم واخذها عنوة بغير قتال، وقيلَ قاتلهم بعد قطع الماء عنهم واخذها عنوة، ولم يمت احد من المسلمين في اخذها، فلذلك قيلَ بغير قتال. وغنم جميع النصارى الذين كانوا بها واموالهم وسلاحهم وآلات حربهم وأُتي بجميع ذلك الى مكناس. وورد الخبر بانّ صاحب سوس السلطان مولاي احمد بن مولاي محرز بن السلطان مولاي الشريف الحسنيّ

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[1] Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the three preceding words by ولم يلبث الّا ساعة من اليل.

[2] Royal 959 هدأة.

[3] Vol. II, fol. 1-3.

[4] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: وفي المسمّاة بالمهديّة لأنّ اختطّها المهديّ الشيعيّ على يد بعض عمّاله.

السجلماسيّ، ابن اخ مولانا المنصور بالله الخليفة امير المؤمنين اسماعيل بن السلطان مولاي الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ، وقد تكرّر ذكره في الاحداث في هذه المنظوم[1] مرارا، فورد الخبر بانّه اخذ بعض البلاد التي كانت لنظر مولانا اسماعيل وعظمت شوكته وعزم على الاستيلاء على غيرها. فوجّه له مولانا اسماعيل جيشا وفيه رماة من فاس.[2] وكانت هذه السنة كثيرة المطر الغزير والغلاء والوباء، نسأل الله السلامة. وفي رابع شوّال تولّى الفقيه سيدي محمّد ابوعنان الفتيا بالقرويّين من قبل السلطان، ولمّا ورد فاسا تنازع مع القاضي سيدي محمّد بن[3] عبد الله العربيّ بردلّة على الإمامة بالقرويّين. ومنعه بردلّة من الامامة وقال له "انّما وليت الفتوى فقط." وبقي في ولاية القضاء والخطبة والامامة. ثمّ تنازعا على مقصورة المفتي وقال له ابوعنان "إنّ مقصورة الخطيب والامام هي التي أمام المحراب والمنبر، التي منها يُدخَل لخزانة الكتب. وللخزانة التي بها الكتب مدخل آخر عن يسار المدخل[4] الذي عن يسار المحراب والمقصورة التي على هيئة الدار التي مدخلها عن يسار مدخل خزانة الكتب انّما هي موقوفة على المفتي فقط ولا حظّ للقاضي والخطيب والامام في ذلك. فتبيّن انّ المقصورة انّما هي وقف للمفتي فقط، فطلب منه القاضي ان يبقيها بيده الى اجل فمنّ عليه بها الى الاجل المطلوب منه.[5]

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1093/1682

ومن حوادث هذه السنة: وُصِفوا قضاة اقطار المغرب بالجهل ومُحِنوا وسُجِنوا ايّاما بمشور فاس الجديد على ان يتعلّموا. ثمّ خرجوا ايّام المولد لمكناسة فهُدِّدوا ايضا حتى أُمِر على بعضهم بالحبس وبعضهم بالقتل حتّى شُفِع فيهم وعُفِي عنهم وأُطلِقوا معزولين. وجاء الخبر

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[1] Royal 906 مسطور.

[2] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. give this phrase as: وفي ثامن ربيع الاوّل خرجت الحركة من الرماة من فاس.

[3] Royal 972 ابي; Royal 959 gives name only as ابي عبد الله.

[4] For text's incorrect plural المداخل.

[5] Vol. II, fol. 3.

بانّ النصارى (دمّرهم الله) اخذوا شرشال[1] عمل[2] الجزائر، ثمّ اغاثهم[3] المسلمون اهل الجزائر فاخرجوا النصارى منها واستمرّت لاهلها بعد ان مات في القتال عليها نحو سبعمائة. واخرج السلطان مولانا اسماعيل اليهود من مكناسة ليبني لهم بخارجها، فبنى لهم الملّاح الذي بخارجها اليوم واخليت ديارهم وطُلِبَ[4] اهل تافلات الذين بفاس ممّن كان ساكنا[5] بفاس الجديد وغيرهم [بسكناها][6] فلم يزالوا يخرجون، فيسكنون[7] بالكراء وضاقت عليهم المنازل. وفيها ظهر طلوع نجم بذنب في جهة المشرق بالليل ولم يُعرَف له طلوع قبل ذلك.[8]

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1094/1682-1683

ومن حوادث هذه السنة: وقع للامام السلطان ابو العبّاس مولاي احمد بن مولاي محرز بن السلطان مولاي عليّ بن مولانا الشريف المحمّديّ الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ كان استعمله عمّه الخليفة امير المؤمنين مولانا الرشيد على وادي درعة وبلاد سجلماسة وما في سمتها من بلاد الصحراء وتوات وما يتّصل بذلك من بلاد القبلة وبلاد انكاد. فلمّا تُوفّي الخليفة المذكور نهض لطلب السلطنة وملك جميع ما كان عاملا لعمّه عليه، ثمّ ترامى على جبل بني زناتى ودسول[9] وملوية وأكّارت والريف وتازه. فاستولى على ذلك وملك مدينة فاس الى ان طرده

1 For text's incorrect شرشمال.

2 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. قرب.

3 Final هم inserted.

4 For text's incorrect plural form of the verb طلبوا. Both Royal 972 and Royal 959 have the correct singular, although it is taken from the third form of the verb, طُولِب, rather than from the first.

5 For text's incorrect ساكن.

6 Necessary insert, as found in Royal 972 and litho.

7 For text's incorrect oblique form فيسكنوا.

8 Vol. II, fol. 4.

9 Royal 906 ومسول or ومهول.

عن ذلك الخليفة، امير المؤمنين، مولانا المنصور بالله اسماعيل بن مولاي الشريف فتحلّى له عن فاس والريف ودسول وملوية وزناتة وانكاد وبلاد القبلة واتوات والصحراء وسجلماسة وبقي بيده واد درعة. وغلب على الفايجة وبلاد لمطة من ناحية سوس وجبل درن والمصامدة وجزولة[1] وسوس الاقصا وواد نون وسواحله. ثمّ ملك مدينة مرّاكش وجبل مسفيوة وآيت عتّاب وواد النفيس. فقصده عمّه الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل المذكور وطرده عن مرّاكش واحوازها، فاستقرّ مولاي احمد بن محرز المذكور بمدينة تاردانت. فلمّا اشتدّت شوكته وعزم على الاستيلاء على ميلية من البلاد وبلغ خبره الى مولانا الخليفة المذكور سار اليه الى سوس؛ فالتقى الجمعان وكانت بينهما حروب ومات كثير من الجيش والمنهزم مولاي احمد بن محرز وجيشه، ورجع الى تاردانت في تاسع عشر جمادى الاولى. ثمّ سار اليه ايضا مولانا اسماعيل الى تاردانت في اواسط جمادى الثانية ووقع القتال بينهما مات فيه خلق كثير وأُحصِي عدد من مات فيه من جيش الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل ممّن حُمِل على النعش او الاعواد سوى ممّن أُتخِن[2] بالجرح والتمثّل ولم يُحمَل وبقي في المعركة، فكان مبلغ عدد ذلك سبع عشر مائة رجل. وجُرِح الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل ومولاي احمد بن محرز معا ثمّ تحصّن مولاي احمد بن محرز المذكور بمدينة تاردانت وهو جريح ومعه جيشه. واستمرّ القتال والحصار وفرّ كثير من جيش الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل وضاق باهل المحلّة الامر فاكثروا الهروب منها واكثروا[3] قوّاد بلادهم فيمن يأتي منهم فارّا عليهم الضرب والسجن والردّ اليها. وفي منتصف رمضان ورد الخبر بالصلح بين الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل مع ابن اخيه مولاي احمد بن محرز واستعمله على مدينة تاردانت وحوزها وسوس الاقصا. وارتحل عن حصاره ورجع مولانا الخليفة من الحركة الى مكناسة، فدخل داره بها يوم الجمعة الثاني والعشرين من ذي القعدة. وتأخّر في الخروج اعيان اهل فاس الى التسليم عليه الى يوم الثلاثاء، فخرجوا من فاس اليه الى مكناسة فلم يلقهم ورجعوا من غير ملاقاة معه. ثمّ ورد الخبر بانّ السلطان العثمانيّ هزم من حربه من الروم واخذ ثمان عشر مدينة من مدن[4] النصارى وقتل منهم بين القتال والاستيلاء

1 Royal 906 جزولة.

2 For classical orthography اثخن.

3 Note the plural verb preceding the subject.

4 For text's incorrect plural مدون, which may be an influence of the colloquial.

عليهم نحو سبعين الفا ، وتوجّه الى قتال الافرنج · وتأخّر المطر في هذه السنة فبلغ القمح درهما شرعيّا للصاع وصلّى سيدي محمّد[1] البوعنانيّ صلاة الاستسقاء خارج باب الجيسة ، ثمّ صلّى قاضي فاس[2] خارج باب الفتوح خامس عشر صفر· ثمّ صلّى الاستسقاء سيدي محمد بن محمّد المرابط الدلائيّ[3] بباب الفتوح ايضا · ثمّ اعادها بمصلّى وادي فاس ورشّ مطر خفيف فورا ، ثمّ نزل المطر وتتابع ثلاثة ايّام · واطعم الطعام مولاي محمّد بن الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل بزاوية[4] سيدي عبد الرحمان بن محمّد[5] الفاسيّ الكائنة بالقلقليّين بقصد الصدقة والشفاعة[6] في نزول المطر· ثمّ ارتفع المطر واحتاج الناس الى نزوله فصلّى الاستسقاء سيدي محمّد المرابط الدلائيّ ايضا بباب الفتوح ثالث ربيع الثاني ، ثمّ اعاد قاضي فاس صلاة الاستسقاء بباب الجيسة · وطال ارتفاع المطر وارتفعت الاسعار ، فبلغ القمح درهما ونصفا[7] للصاع[8] واشتدّ الامر على الناس · فلجؤوا الى الله بالتدرّع[9] اليه فداركهم بلطفه فنزل المطر من رجب الى ذي القعدة[10] وكثر ، وحملت الانهار · وحمل وادي ورغة على سواحله ، فاخذ من كان قريبا منه قبل ، حمل منهم نحو ستّة آلاف نفس · وفي آخر شعبان عُزِل سيدي العربيّ بن عبد السلام بن ابراهيم بردلّة[11] عن الامامة والخطبة بمسجد القرويّين[12]

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1 Royal 959 adds الشريف.

2 Royal 972 and Royal 959 القاضي بردلّة.

3 Royal 972 and Royal 959 omit the preceding six words, implying the same imām as in the previous sentence.

4 Text repeats زاوية twice.

5 Royal 972 and Royal 959 give the name as simply عبد القادر.

6 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the two preceding words by الاستغاثة.

7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add شرعيّ.

8 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add النبويّ.

9 For classical orthography التضرّع.

10 Royal 906 gives month as ذي الحجّة.

11 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the family name by الدكّاليّ.

12 Copyist's marginal note: وسبب عزله عن الامامة كانت سارية من رخام في باب السبوع الذي عن يسار الداخل لمسجد القرويّين من الباب المدرّج الذي فوق السبع لويات· وفي باب السبوع المذكور شبّاك من خشب وفي وسطه منه السارية · ويزعم العوامّ انّ [باب] السبوع المذكور يُرى به الشيخ عبد القادر بن موسى الحسنيّ الجيلانيّ متّكئا على تلك السارية · ويأتون العوامّ الى تلك السارية لما يوعّدون به الشيخ المذكور· فنُقِد *

ووليها سيدي محمّد بن عبد الواحد بن ابي عنان ، وكان ولي قضاء فاس الجديد وخطبتها بعد موت سيدي احمد بن سعيد · [1]

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1095/1683-1684

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ففي اوّل ربيع الاوّل إشتدّ الحصار على النصارى ، فتركوها بعد ان هدموا دورها وجميع ما هو داخل سورها وهربوا عنها ، فاخذها المسلمون ، والحمد لله ، وشرع المسلمون في بناء سورها اوّل جمادى الاولى · وجاء الخبر بأنّ سفينة عظيمة حرّثت بساحل سبتة وفيها دخائر[2] عظيمة وانفاض عظيمة ، امر السلطان مولانا اسماعيل اهل

بعض اهلنا ما يُوتى به الى الخلوة فحسدهم في ذلك القاضي المذكور ولم يقدر على منعهم من ذلك خوفا من السلطان الذي نقّد* لهم ذلك وقال "اخاف إن طال الزمان ينسبون الجهلة من العوامّ الى هذه السارية شيئا اعظم من هذا · " ووافق ذلك انّ ميضة** جامع اللبّادين كان بها قوسان على سارية واحدة تشبه ذلك ، واشار المعلّمون على ناظر الاحباس ان يجعل القوسين ثلاثا على ساريتين فلا يعب لأنّه كان بُني وعاب ثمّ بُني وعاب وتكسّر ذلك ، فيكون اوثق واحسن · فامر القاضي بردلّة الناظر ان يأخذ السارية التي بباب السبوع ويجعلها مع الاخرى التي تليها فاخذها وجعل على باب السبوع شبّاكا من خشب من غير سارية ، وجعل السارية مع الاخرى في باب الميضة عليهما ثلاثة اقواس · فقال القاضي بردلّة "لو جعلناها في موضع آخر لما صرتم اليها وزرتموها وحيث جعلناها في الميضة تركتموها · ولما لم تروا الشيخ الجيلانيّ بها اليوم ؟ " فسلّط الله عليه نوعا من انواع مرض الاستسقاء يمنعه من حسن الاستبراء · واطلق العوامّ السنتهم فيه بذلك ، وشهدوا فيه بذلك الحكماء وغيرهم بيّنة فيها خمس وسبعون رجلا · واخذها ابوعنان وسار بها الى مولانا اسماعيل فعزله عن الخطبة والامامة وولّاه مكانه · وكان ابوعنان المذكور بلغه انّ مولانا اسماعيل يبني على سيدي رضوان الجنوّي دفين خارج باب الفتوح ، احد شيوخ القصّار ، ويعظّمه السلطان من اجل الدين والورع ، فاخذ ابوعنان الحجرة التي كان يتيمّم عليها سيدي رضوان من عند حفدة ابنته اولاد بن مبارك واهداها الى مولاي اسماعيل مع البيّنة · فولّاه الخطبة والامامة بالقرويّين بسبب تلك الهديّة ·

* For classical نقّد.
** For more common form ميضأة.

1 Vol. II, fol. 5.

2 For classical orthography ذخائر.

تطّاون يحرسونها [1] ويقاتلون مع النصارى عليها وقبيلة غمارى ينقلون ما فيها ، فلم يزل اهل تطّاون يحرسونها ويقاتلون عليها النصارى الى ان اُفرِغت. وفي رجب خرج رماة فاس لجلب انفاضها [2] من ناحية تطّاون الى مكناسة ، فوصلوا بعد اربعين يوما ومات بعضهم وانكسر وانجرح بعضهم وعدّة الانفاض مائة وخمسون . وامر السلطان قائد تطّاون ببناء الجامع بطنجة وقائد قبيلة غمارة ببناء سور طنجة. وفي سابع وعشرين من رجب [3] كسفت الشمس ثمّ كسف القمر. وفي ليلة الخميس ثامن عشر شعبان بعد تسع ساعات من اليل وقعت زلزلة ، ثمّ اخرى عند طلوع الشمس من بعد يوم ، ثمّ اخرى بعد ذلك . وامّا الصغيرة [4] التي لم يشعر بها [5] الّا البعض فكثيرة. [6] ثمّ في الساعة [7] الرابعة تاسع رمضان وقعت زلزلة اخرى. [8]

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1096/1684-1685

ومن حوادث هذا العام نزول مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل على تاردانت وحصار مولاي الحرّان واهلها بها . وبعد العشاء رابع عشر ربيع الاوّل وقعت زلزلة بفاس . وفي هذا العام ظهر الوباء في اكثر بلاد المغرب. [9]

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[1] Note the influence of the colloquial in the syntax of this phrase.

[2] Initial 'أ' missing in text.

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 give date as سادس وعشرين صفر.

[4] For text's incorrect masculine plural form of the adjective صغار, modifying the implied plural of an inanimate feminine noun زلزلة.

[5] For text's بهم, see note 4 above.

[6] For text's فكثيرون, see note 4 above.

[7] For text's incorrect السعة.

[8] Vol. II, fol. 5.

[9] Vol. II, fol. 6.

1097/1685-1685

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : استمرّ الحصار على اهل تاردانت، ورئيسهم مولاي الحرّان ، ودامت الحروب والوقائع والفتوكات والمواقف، ومات من رماة فاس ستّمائة والباشا حمدان والقائد الزيتونيّ وغيرهما والجرحى كثيرون . [1]

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1098/1686-1687

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : اشتدّ الحصار على اهل تاردانت من السلطان بنفسه وجيوشه الى ان دخلها عنوة [2] ليلا على اهلها قائده عبد الله الروسي ، معه خمس عشرة مائة من رماة فاس . ومات من جيش مولاي اسماعيل في القتال عند الدخول عليها مائتان [3] ودخلوا قصبتها رغما على من بها واخرجوا من القصبة رئيسهم مولاي الحرّان و[من] [4] معه من الجيش. ولم يترك السلطان بالمدينة من الجيش احدا الّا الرعيّة فامّنهم ولم ينهبهم ومنّ عليهم وامّنهم . فالله يجازيه على ذلك خيرا واحسانا . [5]

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1100/1688-1689

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ورود الخبر بخسف ثلاث مدن في الترك . وفي منتصف ربيع

[1] Vol. II, fol. 8.

[2] Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. replace the preceding word by رغما على انوف اهلها.

[3] For text's incorrect oblique form مائتين.

[4] Necessary insert.

[5] Vol. II, fol. 9. Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: في اواخر رجب توفّي قاضي مرّاكش ، ابو عبد الله محمّد الهستوكيّ . وفي اوائل شعبان منه وقع البريح بان لا يضع احد كتابا بالارض وهاذا احسن ما يكون من الادب.

الاوّل عُزِل قاضي فاس الجديد وولي مكانه العلّامة سيدي سعيد العميريّ . وفي يوم السبت خامس جمادى الاولى ورد الامر من السلطان مولانا اسماعيل بن الشريف الحسنيّ باشخاص الفقهاء لحضورهم ختم التفسير عند القاضي ابي عبد الله محمّد بن الحسن المجّاصيّ ، فخرجوا من فاس الى مكناسة . وحضروا الختم يوم الاربعاء تاسع الشهر المذكور في قبّة من دار السلطان وهيّأها لهم بالبساط والفراش الرفيع واطعم طعاما كثيرا ففرّق[1] الدراهم ، فكان من مشاهده الجليلة وصنائعه الجميلة . وفي آخر شوّال امر مولانا الخليفة اسماعيل المسلمين بالنزول على ثغر العرايش[2] وحصروها . واستمرّ حصارهم لها الى ان فتحها الله عليهم كما سنذكره ان شاء الله في محلّه . وفي يوم الاثنين الموفّي عشرين من جمادى الاخيرة سنة مائة والف بموافقة اوّل يوم من ابريل[3] خرج الركب النبويّ الى الحجّ وفيهم سيدي احمد بن عبد الله معن في جمع من اصحابه .[4]

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1101/1689-1690

ومن حوادث هذا العام :[5] امر امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ الناس بلبس السبّاط الاصفر وترك لبس السبّاط الاسود[6] فتركوه . وامّا ما يزعم بعض الناس انّه انّما حدث لبس السبّاط من زمن استيلاء النصارى[7] على العرايش فلمّا أُخِذت احدثوا السبّاط الاســـود

1 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. واوساهم.

2 Copyist's marginal note: وذلك القبائل التي بين سلا وفاس وما بين وادي سبو الى الجبل المعروف بكندر ويُعرَف ايضا بالحاجب مع اهل فاس وسلا . Royal 972 places the following events under the year 1101, while Royal 959 places them under 1100, as here.

3 Note the Latin month 'Aprilis'.

4 Vol. II, fol. 12. The text of a letter, which is reproduced in Appendix A, is found in the margin here. It is dated 13 Dhū al-qa'da 1100 (29 August 1689) and was sent by Mawlāy Ismā'īl to the qā'id 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī.

5 Royal 972 and Royal 959 insert: ما قيّده بعضهم في ثاني وعشرين من ربيع الاوّل.

6 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add في سائر اقطار المغرب.

7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 العدوّ.

حزنا[1] عليها ، والذي احدثه هم اهلها الذين خرجوا منها وتبعهم الناس في ذلك ، فليس[2] بصحيح . وممّا يجزم ببطلانه انّي رأيت سبّاط الوليّ الصالح سيدي عليّ الصنهاجيّ الشيخ المجذوب ، وزمنه اقدم من استيلاء العدوّ على العرايش بكثير ، وهو اسود ، عند قوم يتبرّكون به مدّخرا[3] عندهم .[4] وفي عشرين من جمادى الثانية خرج ركب الحجّ ومعه سيدي الحسن بن مسعود اليوسي بقصد وجّهه اليه امير المؤمنين .[5] وفي يوم الجمعة عاشر شعبان عُزِل القاضي سيدي سعيد العميريّ عن قضاء فاس العليا وولي مكانه[6] سيدي عبد الله[7] البوعنانيّ . ومن العجب[8] انّ امرأة جسيمة بمكناسة شُقّ جوفها ، فعالجها بعض الاطبّاء واخرج منه علّة ووزن فيها خمس وثلاثون[9] رطلا ، وعاشت المرأة بعد ذلك وشفيت من علّتها ، وكان ذلك في هذا العام . هـ[10]

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1102/1690-1691

ومن حوادث هذا العام فتح مدينة العرايش ، وذلك انّ امير المؤمنين ، المجاهد في سبيل

1 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 اسفا.

2 The necessary ف is missing from the text.

3 For classical orthography مذخّرا.

4 The syntax of this passage in Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. varies considerably from this text.

5 Royal 9837 replaces the four preceding words by الحجّ.

6 For the copyist's erroneous مكناسة in the text.

7 The name should be عبد الواحد rather than عبد الله as in the text. Royal 9837 gives the correct name عبد الواحد البوعنانـــــي الشريف.

8 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: ما رأيته مقيّدا بخطّ بعضهم والله اعلم بحقيقته وهو . . .

9 Royal 972 and Royal 959 give the weight as ستّة وثلاثون رطلا .

10 Royal 959 adds كذا رأيته مقيّدا والله اعلم. At the end of the chronicles for this year, note the هـ, which also appears as اهـ elsewhere, in the text. This is the abbreviation for 'the end', and is the Arabic equivalent of quotation marks. Vol. II, fol. 24.

رب العالمين ، الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل بن مولانا الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ وجّه اليها الجيوش مع وزيره القائد عبد الله الروسي ، واكثر من الامر بالقتال ونُسِب اليهم عدم النصح ، فاثخنوا بالقتال على من بها من الروم الى ان فتحوها عنوة وفتحوها وغنموا اهلها . فجِيءَ اوّلا بمن كان بها من المقاتلة ادالة سوى من هو ساكن بها وممّن هرب في البحر ، فبلغ عدّتهم الى الف وسبعمائة . فمنّ مولانا اسماعيل على طغيتهم واطلقه فقط وارسله الى بلاده ، قصده بذلك ايصال الخبر . ثمّ امر بمجيء من بقي من سكّانها من الروم فجِيءَ بهم عن آخرهم الى مكناس بنسائهم ودراريهم[1] ولم يحضرني الآن تحقيق عددهم . وامّا الاموال والاقوات والسلاح فبدا للمجاهدين في ذلك ونهبوه ، ولم يتأتّ[2] الى امير المؤمنين جمعه وتخميسه لعدم الحصر فيه . فعفى بمن فعل ذلك ووكّل امره الى الله ولم يحصل له منه الّا المدافع والمهاريز والكتفى بفوز الفتح والاسرى . وقيلَ في فتحها قصائد وانظام ، فمن ذلك قول جدّنا

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ثمّ بعد فتح العرايش غزى مولانا اسماعيل الطائفة المبتدعة المعروفة بالعكّاكْزة المجتمعين من قبائل بلاد تادلاء ونواحيها ، ورئيسهم الداعي الى بدعتهم الذي اجتمعوا عليه يُعرَف بالحطّاب . وتقدّم التنبيه على التقييد الذي الّفه سيدي الحسن اليوسي في بيان بدعتهم وضلالهم ، فراجعه لأنّ بيان ذلك هنا يستدعي طولا . ولمّا غزاهم[4] مولانا اسماعيل قتل ممّن لم يستتب[5] ويرجع عن بدعتهم ثلاثة وستّين ، وذلك في اوائل ذي الحجّة . وفي سابع عشر جمادى الثانية عُزِل سيدي عبد الواحد ابوعنان[6] عن قضاء فاس الجديد وتولّى مكانه[7] الفقيه ابن رضوان الفلاليّ وكان سيدي عبد الواحد المذكور تولّى الفتوى بفاس الادريسيّة قبل عزله عن القضاء بيومين . وفي ثامن عشرين رمضان نزلت رعدة ، نزل فيها حجر مثل

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1 Note the colloquial دراري (sing. درّي, from the classical ذرّيّة 'progeny') for 'children'.

2 For the text's incorrect form for the jussive, يتأتّى.

3 His grandfather's long qaṣīda, which follows in the manuscript, has been deleted here.

4 Royal 972 and Royal 959 قتلهم.

5 For test's ينتسب, which makes no sense in this context.

6 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 add: الشريف.

7 For text's erroneous مكناسة.

الرمّان اذ هرس وُجِد في بطنه دم ، واصابت بعض الزروع فاهلكته ، ويُقال انّه نزل معها حيّات "وَيَخْلُقُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ." [1]

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1104/1692-1693

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ففي عشرين من جمادى الثانية أُزِيلت السارية التي كانوا ينسبونها لمولاي[2] عبد القادر الجيلانيّ[3] وكانت بالصفّ الاوّل من مسجد القرويّين قرب الخلوة المنسوبة للشيخ المذكور بامر من ناضر[4] الوقت[5] ابي عبد الله بردلّة .[6] وهذه النسبة في السارية والخلوة وغيرهما جارية منذ قديم على لسان عامّة اهل فاس وهي من الكذب المحض بحسب ظاهر اللفظ . فانّهم يقولون خلوة مولانا عبد القادر الجيلانيّ فظاهره انّها محلّ متعبّده اذ ذاك هو مدلول الخلوة وهو من الكذب الصراح . فانّ الشيخ مولاي عبد القادر الجيلانيّ لم يدخل للمغرب اصلا بل ولا خرج من مكّة لناحية ، وانّما محلّ استقراره بغداد وما والاها وانّما خرج للحج ورجع من عامه . وهذا لا شكّ فيه ومن اراد الوقوف عليه فليطالع محلّه من "بهجة"[7] الشيخ الشطّنوفيّ "والروض الناظر" لأمير الدين الهاشميّ "وغبطة الناظر" للحافظ ابن حجر وغير ذلك فضلا عن ان يبلغ مدينة فاس حتّى ان يتعبّد في

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1 Vol. II, fol. 32-33.

2 Royal 9837 throughout this passage replaces مولاي by سيدي.

3 Perhaps the marginal note found above, p. 34, n. 12, belongs here; also the following note, whose exact placement cannot be determined: قوله "القطبانية اذا كان المراد بها الصغرى ، يعني احد الاقطاب الاربعة ، يكون صادقا في دعواه . امّا القطبانيّة الكبرى التي يعبّر عن صاحبها بالقطب الجامع ، فلا يكون قطبا جامعا الّا من كان من آله (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) من بني الحسن بن عليّ ، لا من بني الحسين . انظر الغيطيّ على الهمزيّة .

4 For classical orthography ناظر.

5 Royal 9837 replaces title by قاضي الوقت.

6 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add قال مؤلّفه محمّد بن الطيّب القادريّ الحسنيّ. Royal 9837 also adds this, but replaces مؤلّفه by مقيّده.

7 Royal 972, Royal 959, and Royal 9837 give title as بهجة الاسرار.

القرويّين . ولاكنّهم يزعمون انّ بعضهم رأى الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلانيّ مناما في الموضع الذي سمّوه الخلوة .[1] فصاروا يتبرّكون به لأجل ذلك . ومنهم من يزيد التبرّك بمعدة من ماء بالمحجّة التي تحتها لقسم ماء يمرّ لدور[2] متعدّدة ويدخل يده فيها و يمرّ به على وجهه . وهذا بعد ولا شيء من ذلك يفيد بركة الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلانيّ ، وانّما تنال بركته بالدعاء له والهداء والصدقة له وتلاوة القرآن على القول بوصوله للميّت . نعم يتبرّك بذلك الموضع من حيث كونه من المسجد الاعظم بفاس ومحلّ تلاوة القرآن لأنّ له وقفا على حزّابين يقرؤون احزابا من القرآن به مع الصلاة على النبّي (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) قبل الصلوات [الخمس][3]وبعد الصبح كمـــا هو مشروط في اصل وصيّة الوقف . ومطلق التبرّك في مثل هذا قريب وأمّا تبعه وتأكيده كما عليه كثير من عامّة فاس فلا شكّ انّه منكر لأنّ ذلك الموضع انّما له من الحرمة ما لسائر المسجد وتصلح فيه العادات التي تصحّ في المسجد ان لم يمنع ذلك العمل الموقوف له يقرؤون فيه . ومن هذا المعنى انس الصحابة (رضوان الله عليهم) موضع شجرة بيعة الرضوان مع عظم شأنها التي جلس النبّي (صلّى الله عليه وسـلّم) تحتها وبايعه اهل الحديبيّة الذين هم افضل الصحابة وبُويع باحدى يديه للآخر عمّن غاب ممّن كان خرج معهم . وذكرها الله في كتابه اذ قال تعلى لَقَدْ رَضِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ الآية . فلم يثبتوا على موضعها الصحابة الذين بايعوا تحتها فضلا عن غيرهم .[4] وفي "محاضرات" الشيخ اليوسي عن الشيخ ابي القاسم الغازي "انّه كان يقول ' نزلت على القضبانيّة تحت شجرة ' فيقول اصحابه ' لِمَ لم ترنا تلك الشجرة ؟ ' فيقول ' خفت ان تتركوا السبع وتعبدوا الصورة ،[5] اي يتركونه ويشتغلون بالشجرة .' " قال الشيخ اليوسي "نعم التبرّك بآثار الصالحين مع صحّة العقيدة لا بأس به وله اصل في فعل الصحابة ، فقد كان ابن عمر يمرّ[6] براحلته حيث رأى النبيّ (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) يتحرّى الاماكن التي صلّى فيها

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[1] Copyist's marginal note: فلو قال "رأيته مناما يصلّي فيها" وكان ممّن لا يتّهم بالكذب لكان صادقا ، قياسا على حديث " رَأَيْتُ مُوسَى يُصَلِّي فِي قَبْرِهِ. "

[2] For text's incorrect definite للدور.

[3] Necessary insert.

[4] Royal 9837 adds مخافة ان يتطرّق امر لا يليق .

[5] Royal 9837 البقورة. This is probably a variant of باقورة, defined by Dozy as 'troupeau' (I, 102).

[6] Royal 9837 يدير, al-Yūsī, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

(صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) وذلك موكود في الصحيح ." وقلت ويمكن البحث فيه بانّ فعل ابن عمر من الحرص على السنّة والمحافظة على الاقتداء به (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) لصحّة العبادة ولما في فعله (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) من الاسرار التي لا يُحاط بها ، والله اعلم . قال الشيخ "وفي بلاد المغرب مواضع اشتهرت بمآثر[1] الصالحين ووقع التغالي فيها . منها شالّة في رباط سلا ، فلا يُعرَف لها اصل الّا انّها مزارة يزورها الناس ويتبرّكون بها[2] ولم يظهر فيها بهذا الصدد[3] الّا يحيى بن يوسف ،"[4] وهو معروف بها[5] ولا تُعرَف له ترجمة ، وملوك بني عبد الحقّ وهم معروفون ولا بأس بهم[6] وكلّ ما يُذكَر فيها سوى ذلك ويُوجَد في بعض الاوراق المجهولة من الاخبار ، فلا يُعرَف له اصل ولا يُعوَّل عليه .[7] ومنها ميسرة من بلاد ميسور[8] حيث مدفن الشيخ ابي الطيّب بن[9] الميسوريّ ويُقال لها تامغروت .[10] قال بعض اولاد ابي الطيّب "ما ثبت فيه شيء الّا كان متعبّدا[11] لأسلافنا ." قال "ومنها رباط شاكر بدكّالة[12] وهو مشهور وكان مجمعا للصالحين من قديم ." وفي التشوّف "انّ شاكرا ذكر انّه من اصحاب عقبة بن نافع الفهريّ .[13] انّما هي زاوية بُنيت لقراءة حزب القرآن ، امر ببنائها الأمير المستعين بالله ابو سالم ابراهيم بن ابي الحسن المرينيّ وكان انتهاء بنائها في اواخر رمضان علم اثنين وستّين بمئّاة وسبعمائة بموحّدة ورتّب فيها طلبة يقرؤون

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[1] Al-Yūsī, p. 37 بآثار .

[2] Ibid. بمن فيها .

[3] Ibid. and Royal 9837 العهد.

[4] Al-Yūsī يونس.

[5] Ibid. replaces two preceding words by مشهور عند الناس.

[6] Copyist's marginal note: بـل هم رؤساء البأس واصل كلّ سوء .

[7] Copyist's marginal note: بل عليه المعوّل عند اهل هذا الفيء من المغاربة وبه العمل وبه يحتجّون ، بل كتبهم فيها "وجدتُ مقيّدا كذا" و"كُتِب على كلام فلان بكذا" و"رأيتُ طرّة فيها كذا" . و"في تقييد كذا" . واليوسي جهل هذا الامر ومن جهل شيئا عداه .

[8] Al-Yūsī, p. 38 ملوية.

[9] Ibid. and Royal 9837 add name يحيى.

[10] Al-Yūsī تمغراوت.

[11] Ibid. رابطة ; the preceding sentence in the published text contains a number of variants in the syntax.

[12] The last word is not found in the published text.

[13] Royal 9837 adds هذه الزاوية التي يسمّونها بالخلوة.

القرآن ويختمونه بطول سبعة ايّام واجرى لهم جرايات في كلّ شهر ينتفعون بها ، وقد غيّروا اليوم ذلك الختم بما هم عليه اليوم . فهذه حقيقة امرها والله اعلم [1]

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1105/1693-1694

[ومن حوادثه انّ في عاشر ربيع الاوّل هبّت ريح جنوبيّة عظيمة ، واسترسلت نحو ساعة ،[2] والعياذ بالله . فاسقطت دورا واقلعت اشجارا كثيرة ومات بالردم[3] سيدي ادريس المدعوّ ابن ادريس الجوطيّ ، ودُفِن بحانوت بظهر الحائط الشرقيّ من مسجد الشرفاء ، وجُعِلت بعد ذلك مزارة للحرم المذكور ، وأُدخِلت في المسجد في بنائه الحادث في حدود اثنين وثلاثين ومائة والف . وفي المحرّم من العام ولي العلّامة البركة سيدي احمد بن الحاجّ قضاء فاس الجديد . وفي يوم المولد مات[4] سيدي محمّد (المدعوّ حمّ) بن احمد طاهر الصقلّيّ الحسنيّ . وفي اواخر رمضان مات الاستاذ الهواري والمرابط سيدي احمد المدين بتازى .][5]

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1106/1694-1695

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ففي خامس عشر ربيع الثاني ورابع عشر[6] نونبر هبّت ريح عظيمة وطالت نحو الثلثين[7] من اليل سقطت بها جدرات كثيرة ، مات بها ازيد من مائة وثلاثين نفسا .

1 Vol. II, fol. 34-35.

2 Royal 959 and Royal 9837 ساعتين.

3 Royal 9837 adds الشريف.

4 As note 3 above.

5 The entire passage for this year is not found in the main text (K2253), and has therefore been taken from Royal 972. It also appears in Royal 959 and Royal 9837.

6 Royal 972 and Royal 959 give date as بموافقة خامس عشر.

7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add:
الاثنين ، نسأل الله العافية بل ازيد من ذالك

وفي ثاني عشر جمادى الثانية نزل ثلج عظيم والهى الناس عن معائشهم ايّاما . ثمّ ورد[1] الخبر من توات ان نزل بهم ظلمة عظيمة من اوّل النهار الى الزوال وكان لا يعرف احد منهم الآخر الّا بكلامه ، فقطعوا الخروج من[2] منازلهم واسرعوا لطلب العفو من الله ، فتداركهم الله بلطفه المرجوّ منه وكشف عنهم ذلك . وفي آخر ذي الحجّة وُضِعت المكوس في جميع البلدان المغربيّة بطلبها من بعض العمّال عليها لها واللحّة منه على السلطان في ذلك .

وفي تاسع وعشرين من صفر امر امير المؤمنين المجاهد في سبيل ربّ العالمين ، مولانا اسماعيل بن الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ ، المسلمين ان ينزلوا على سبتة مرابطين الى ان يفتحها الله عليهم وعيّن ذلك على بعض قبائل المغرب ، وولّى على القتال عامله على طنجة القائد عبد الله من بني حمّادة اهل جبل تمسمان من بلاد الريف ، وهم في هذا التاريخ ادالة في طنجة . وولّى على آلات الحرب الجرّيّة[3] من النفوط والمهارز اولاد الفنّيش (بكسر النون) الاندلسيّين من سكّان ثغر سلا ، فنزلوا عليها ورموها بالآلات العظمى واستمرّوا كذلك .[4]

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1107/1695-1696

ومن حوادث هذه السنة ريح عظيم لم يضرّ شيئا .[5]

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1108/1696-1697

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : إنّ في ثاني جمادى الاولى أُمتحِن شهود فاس حتّى طِيفَ

1 Royal 972 and Royal 959 جاء.

2 Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the three preceding words by فلازموا.

3 Uncertain reading.

4 Vol. II, fol. 37.

5 Vol. II, fol. 37.

ببعضهم [1] في الاسواق وطُبِعت حوانيتهم . ومن الغد خرج [2] جماعة منهم شكاة الى القائد عبد الله بن حمدون الروصي [3] وكتب الى عامل فاس ان يعفو عنهم . فكفّ العمّال عنهم واطلقوا عليهم الشهادة . وحدثت غريبة وهي انّ شخصا كان يدخل الديار في حالة امرأة امة ، وكان يخدم النساء في الحمّامات وغيرهم وكانت تلازم ضريح سيدي ابي غالب دفين سريوة عدوة فاس الاندلس ، ودام على حالته ثلاث سنين فاذا بها وُجِدت رجلا .[4] وفي يوم عرفة قدم على امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل عشرة رجال من اصطنبول بهم كتاب من سلطانهم يطلب من الخليفة امير المؤمنين اسماعيل[5] الصلح من اهل الحزائر . فاكرم الوفود واسرع الى الصلح الذي هو خير ، فتحادوا في البلاد وتعاقدوا على تهنئة العباد .[6]

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1113/1701-1702

ومن حوادث هذه السنه : انّ في سادس المحرّم قُتِل البطل الرئيس القائد عبد الخالق بن الوزير الرئيس عبد الله الروسي بمكناسة بأمر مولانا حفيد بن امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل . وكان استخلفه والده بفاس الجديد ، فنشأت الوحشة بينهما بسبب ذلك .[7] وفي يوم المولد ثاني عشر ربيع الاوّل قام مولاي محمّد بن امير المؤمنين على والده ودعا لنفسه . فبايعه اهل سوس الاقصى والاوسط الى واد امّ الربيع وعظمت شوكته في تلك البلاد . وعُزِل الشيخ الحسين

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1 Royal 9837 بهم .

2 Preferable to text's اخرج.

3 Note the orthography of this name, usually written الروسي. As pointed out to me by Dr. Latham, this name comes from the colloquial Moroccan for 'intractable, obdurate, wild', and has nothing to do with Russia.

4 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add رأيت ذالك مقيّدا بخطّ بعض الفقهاء الاثبات. Royal 9837 adds:
حكاه الشيخ المؤرّخ الصوفي ابو عبد الله محمّد بن عبد الرحمن الفاسي في بعض مقيّداته .

5 Royal 9837 replaces the six preceding words by يأمر سلطان المغرب .

6 Vol. II, fol. 38.

7 Iltiqāṭ adds a clarifying note:
معاقبة له لبطشه ببعض حواشي السلطان بعد ان رام التمنّع فلم يقدر .

وولّي الحاجّ علّي جسّوس ، وخرج امير الركب ، وهذا اوّل مارته ، في قصّة يطول ايرادها .[1]

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1114/1702-1703

ومن حوادث هذا العام خروج اهل فاس بالنعل النبويّ الذي تحت يد الشرفاء الطاهريّين المرّاكشيّين الصقلّيّين الحسينيّين القاطنين بمصمودة من عدوة فاس الاندلس مستشفعين في شدّة المغرم وغير ذلك . فقبل شفاعتهم وترك النعال عنده بداره[2] . . . لأنّ النبيّ (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) لم يورّث وما تركه تصدّق به خليفته ابو بكر الصدّيق (رضي الله عنه) . وزعم بعضهم انّ النعال أُهدِيت لبني عبد المومن من ابن كوميّ ، ملوك الموحّدين ، وكان حينئذ من الشرفاء الطاهريّين قاضي القضاة وقاضي الدولة ، يعني الجيش والكتّاب وغيرهم من خدّام الدولة ، فلمّا دخل ابو يوسف بن عبد الحقّ المرينيّ مرّاكش وخرج منها من بقي بها من شيعة بني عبد المومن الموحّدين وغيرهم اخلعوا لهم النعال وقدموا بها على المغرب . ووجّه امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل جيوش المغرب مع ولده مولاي زيدان الاكبر فنزل وادي امّ الربيع ، وزحف مولاي محمّد بجيوش سوس الى مرّاكش فنزلها . ووجّه خليفته اخاه[3] مولاي بنّاصر بن مولاي اسماعيل الى حرب مولاي زيدان ، فالتقى الجمعان وكانت بينهما حروب انهزم فيها مولاي بنّاصر وجيشه ورجع الى مرّاكش مهزوما ، وقُتِل بينهما نحو ثمانية آلاف . ثمّ زحف مولاي زيدان الى مرّاكش فالتقى الجيشان بمرّاكش وكانت بينهما [حروب][4] ففني فيها من مخلوقات الله لا يعلم عددها الّا الله تعلى . ثمّ تكاثرت على مولاي محمّد جيوش المغرب ممّا لا طاقة له بهم . فانهزم عن مرّاكش ودخلها مولاي زيدان واستباحها ونُهِبت عن آخرها ووتبوا[5] على النساء بالوطء واستباحوا الفروج ولم يردّوا السيف الّا عن النساء

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1 Vol. II, fol. 51.

2 The necessary pronoun 'ه' is missing from the text, but is supplied in the Ben Sūda copy. There seems to be a lacuna in the text here as well.

3 For the text's incorrect nominative اخوه, in apposition to the accusative خليفته.

4 Necessary insert.

5 For classical orthography وثبوا .

والصبيان والبهائم في حيز لم يُسمَع بالمغرب مثله مثل ما فعل الموحّدون بوهران وغيرها او قوّاد الشيعيّ بالمغرب. ولمّا وصل الخبر الى مولاي اسماعيل تغيّر على الجيوش لفعلهم ذلك غاية الغيار، ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله هـ.[1]

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1115/1703-1704

ومن حوادث العام تجديد قنطرة الرصيف التي بين العدوتين عند الداخل لأكْزى[2] ابن برقوقة بامر الرئيس القائد عبد الله الروسي. وعُزِل القاضي محمّد العربيّ بردلّة عن قضاء مدينة فاس وولي مكانه احمد الجرندي، فلم يقبل فاستعفى مولاي اسماعيل فعفاه، وقيلَ إنّه جعل يفعل بنفسه فعل من لا عقل له. فتركه السلطان وردّ بردلّة للقضاء والخطبة والامامة كما كان عليه.[3]

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1116/1704-1705

ومن حوادث العام: عُزِل عن القضاء سيدي العربيّ بردلّة بأمر من السلطان مولاي اسماعيل وولي مكانه سيدي الكبير بن سودة في ثامن وعشرين من المحرّم.[4] ثمّ شفع للسلطان فيه الرئيس عبد الله الروسي فعزل سيدي الكبير ابن سودة في حادي وعشرين من ربيع الاوّل وأُعيد للقضاء سيدي العربيّ بردلّة. واحرقت النار بتا مسنا نحو الفين. وجعل على القبائل

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1 Vol. II, fol. 51.

2 Necessary 'ل' inserted.

3 Vol. II, fol. 52.

4 Marginal note in a hand other than the copyist's:

سيدي الكبير بن سودة ولي خطّة القضاء بفاس وهو الخطيب بمسجد الاندلس وكانت به مصاهرة مع الواقفين، رحم الله الجميع.

المجاورة[1] لسوس الاقصا المضروب لكلّ قبيلة منهم لسكوتهم على قيام مولاي محمد بن مولانا اسماعيل.[2]

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1117/1705-1706

ومن حوادث العام: نزل سيل عظيم حملت به الانهار، وذهب بموضع يُقال له تفرسس باربعة دواوير بما اشتملت عليه من آدميّ ودوابّ وماشية. ووقع شرّ بمكّة قُتِل ازيد من ستّمائة، وهم متعلّقون بستار الكعبة. نعوذ بالله من سماع مثل هذا.[3]

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1118/1706-1707

ومن حوادث العام: ففي التاسع والعشرين[4] من المحرّم كسفت الشمس كسوفا بيّنا، فاسودّ جرمها واظلمت الدنيا حتّى بدت النجوم ومكثت كذلك زمانا[5] وخرج القاضي ابو عبد الله بردلّة الى مسجد القرويّين فافتتح بالناس صلاة الخسوف وصلّوا وانجلت الشمس. واطلق العامل السبيل لقبيلة بني احمد فقُتِل الرجال والنساء والصبيان . . .[6] والنهب والسبي.[7]

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1 For the text's incorrect masculine plural adjective form المجاورين modifying a feminine plural.

2 Vol. II, fol. 53.

3 Vol. II, fol. 53.

4 Royal 972 and Royal 959 give date as تاسع عشر.

5 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add من النهار.

6 Probable lacuna in text.

7 Vol. II, fol. 56.

1119/1707-1708

ومن حوادث العام : ففي يوم الخميس ثالث عشر ذي القعدة وقعت زلزلة عند اذان الصبح ، فمن المؤذّنين من قطع الاذان ومنهم من صاح دهشا . وسقطت دور كثيرة وتعيّبت ومات بهدمها قوم كثير فكانت من اشدّ الامور .[1]

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1120/1708-1709

ومن حوادث هذه السنة إحداث قراءة الحديث المتضمّن امر الناس بالانصات بالسماع عند خروج الامام يوم الجمعة من المقصورة الى المنبر ليخطب ويصلّي بالناس . وورد الخبر الى فاس بانّ الترك فتحوا وهران . وورد الخبر بانّ بنت عظيم الروم اوصت بدفنها في المدينة المنوّرة (على دفينها افضل الصلاة والسلام) ، فاحتال الروم في ذلك فاحرقوها ومزجوا رمادها بعنبر وطيب وجعلوه في عنبرة من الذهب ورُصّعت بالياقوت والجوهر وبعثوا بها الى الحرم الشريف لتُعلّق به كالمنارة . فتردّد ولاة الحرم في ذلك حتّى بحثوا عنه ، فأُخبِروا بحقيقة الامر فرموا بذلك الرماد والطيب في البحر لئلّا يُدرَى منه شيء بقرب المدينة ، ودفع الله تعلى تلك النجاسة عن الحرم الشريف هـ .[2]

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1131/1718-1719

ومن حوادث السنة :[3] امر الخليفة امير المؤمنين ، وظلّ الله على المسلمين ، السلطان ابو

[1] Vol. II, fol. 57.

[2] Vol. II, fol. 64-65.

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 place the following events under 1132.

النصر المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف السجلماسيّ الحسنيّ بتجديد المسجد المعروف في القديم بمسجد الشرفاء ، وهو المدفون فيه الامام مولانا ادريس بن مولانا ادريس دفين زرهون بن عبد الله الكامل بن الحسن المثنّى بن امير المؤمنين الحسن السبط بن امير المؤمنين ، واحد الخلفاء الاربعة الراشدين عليّ بن ابي طالب (رضي الله عنهم) وفاطمة بنت مولانا رسول الله وبضعته (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) في فاس القرويّين . فبُني المسجد والقبّة والصومعة على الهيئة التي استمرّ عليها الى الآن . وبُنيت القبّة وتمّ تسقيفها في آخر ذي الحجّة من عام الترجمة . وامر السلطان باقامة الجمعة فيه فاستمرّت اقامتها الى الآن ، وقد كانت تُقام بمسجد الأشياخ من عدوة فاس الاندلس وبمسجد الشرفاء هذا من فاس القرويّين قديما ، وبناء مسجد الاشياخ قبل مسجد الشرفاء بعام ، فهو العتيق . ثمّ نُقلت من مسجد الاشياخ الى مسجد الاندلس ومن مسجد الشرفاء الى مسجد القرويّين ، فأُعطي كلّ من المنقول حكم المنقول منه فكان على هذا مسجد الاندلس هو العتيق . واذا لم يُعتَبر المنقول منه الى المنقول اليه فعتيق من تُقام فيهم الجمعة اليوم هو مسجد مولانا ادريس . وجُعِل عرضها كطولها ستّين ذراعا في كلّ وجه . وبعد الفراغ من بنائها بحث في قبلتها الموقّت سيدي العربيّ بن احمد الفاسيّ واستدلّ بما هو مذكور في تأليف له في ذلك . ولمّا بلغ خبره للسلطان امر بتجديدها ثانيا إن صحّ كلام سيدي العربيّ المذكور . فاجتمع لذلك ائمّة الوقت ، منهم شيخ الجماعة ابو عبد الله المسناويّ وابو عليّ الحسن بن رحّال المعدانيّ وابو عبد الله محمّد ميّارة الحفيد وابو عبد الله محمّد بن حمدون بنّاني[1] وابو عبد الله محمّد بن عبد السلام بنّاني وابو الحسن عليّ الشدّاديّ ومن الموقّتين رئيسهم العيّاشيّ الخلطيّ واحمد بن سنوف[2] والعربيّ قصّارة موقّت القرويّين . واجتمعوا بمجلس الاحكام الشرعيّة لدى القاضي ابن ابي عنان ومعهم من له الاحكام المخزنيّة الرئيس ابو عليّ[3] الروسي واتّفق رأيهم على انّ [بحث][4] الباحث المذكور لا يوجب هدمها وبناءها وإن كان البحث صحيحا ، لاكن يمكن التفصّي عنه بانحراف المصلّى . وقد جرى العمل في القرويّين بالشبيه على ذلك ، فيقول المؤذّن بارفع صوته بعد فراغه من

[1] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add وولد عمّه .

[2] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add الموقّت .

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add بن عبد الخالق .

[4] Necessary insert.

الاقامة "حرّفوا بتحريف الامام، يرحمكم الله." فقبلة القرويّين تقرب من قبلة جامع الشرفاء المذكور وكثير من جوامع فاس كذلك. واتّفق رأيهم على ذلك لمصلحة، ووافقهم عليه شيخ الجماعة المسناويّ اذ اليه كان المشار في ذلك الوقت في المهمّات من المسائل العلميّة، وكتبوا للسلطان انّه لا موجب لهدمها. فلمّا رأى الباحث على ذلك رجع وكتب بخطّ يده انّه اخطأ في البحث المذكور وخطأه لا لعدم صحّة بحثه بل لعدم اعتبار ما ذكروا[1] فالبحث في قبلة القرويّين وما على سمتها كقبلة مسجد الشرفاء المذكور قديم. وممّن صرح بذلك الشيخ القبّاب ونصّه: "تقليد المحارب التي بالأمصار التي نصبها الأئمّة . . .[2] اذا لم تكن مختلفة ولا مطعونا عليها من اهل العلم، فانّها اذ كانت مختلفة فلا شكّ انّ بعضها خطأ لانّ مكّة لا تكون في جهتين ولا يُعلَم خطأها من صوابها الّا بالنظر في الادلّة، مثل مساجد بلد فاس: فانّ قبلة القرويّين مختلفة لقبلة الاندلس وقبلة الاندلس اقرب الى الصواب بالنظر الى الادلّة هـ."[3] وحكى الامام سيدي احمد بن عليّ السوسيّ عن سيدي عليّ بن ابي القاسم البطّيوي "انّ سيدي احمد زرّوق كان يجلس بالقرويّين والناس يصلّون ورأى انّ ذلك حدّ لا يسلم له فيها لانّ ذلك لا يجوز من اجل الامام". قال سيدي احمد "والذي يظهر لي انّ ذلك بالقصد منه لأجل التعليم وانّه لا تصحّ الصلاة فيه" لاكنّ اشياخه لم يوافقوه[4] سيّما كبيرهم الامام الغوريّ، فهو يشدّد على من خالف محارب المسلمين واوجب عليه تجديد التوبة والشيخ زرّوق لم يقلّدهم في ذلك، اي في هذه النازلة لكونه جال البلاد المشرقيّة فتكرّر وعلم[5] بالجهة. وكلام الائمّة في هذه المسألة عويص طويل معروف. ثمّ وُسّع المسجد الخارج عن القبّة وادخل العامل فيه حوانيت ودورا[6] جبرا على اربابها. ثمّ اُقيمت فيه الجمعة وكان امامها به شيخ الجماعة ابوعبد الله المسناويّ. ثمّ بُنيت صومعته. وقد كان قبر الامام ادريس غير ظاهر ولا معروف، اي هو في ايّ جهة من مسجد الشرفاء؛

[1] Corrupt text; the succeeding لا has been deleted here.

[2] Lacuna in text.

[3] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: وبفاس بعض المحاريب مستقيمة قبلتها جدّا ولاكنّ قليلة والذي اعرفه منها محراب مسجد سيدي درّاس بن اسماعيل الذي بمصمودة من فاس، فانّه مستقيم جدّا وكذالك محراب مسجد مدرسة الصفّارين بفاس ايضا. واما غالبها فمنحرف والله تعلى اعلم.

[4] For text's incorrects singular يوافقه.

[5] For text's incorrect اوعلم.

[6] The 'ا' is missing in the text.

وسبب اخفائه عدم اعتناء البربر به لمّا غُلِبعلى ولاة فاس من بنيه وعقبه كبني ابي العافية المكناسيّين ومغراوة وبني يفران. فلمّا ضيّقوا على الادارسة وحيّلوهم[1] عمّا قرب من فاس من البلد وشُدِّد على شيعتهم واتباعهم بالاذى والاهانة حتّى لم يبق منهم احد بقرب فاس واهملوا القبر الكريم ولم يجيروا من استجار به واذا ظهروا على احد قام ببعض احترامه بلغوا في اذايته. واستمرّ فعلهم لذلك حتّى تلف القبر ولم يبق من يعرف اين هو من المسجد المذكور. والقى الله العداوة والبغضاء بين رؤسائهم واستمرّ القتال بينهم وكثر النهب والخوف والجوع وخليت البلاد الى ان طهّر الله تعلى البلاد منهم باللمتونة المرابطين. وَلِلَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ ٱلْأُمُورِ. وَتِلْكَ ٱلْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ ٱلنَّاسِ إِنَّ ٱلْأَرْضَ لِلَّهِ يُورِثُهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَٱلْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ. ولمّا اراد الله تعلى اظهار قبر هذه البضعة النبويّة، الذي صاحبه آمن لهذه المدينة التي هي حسنة من حسناته كالنجوم آمان لأهل السماء، فكان السبب لإظهاره كما هو مكتوب في المرمرة التي موالية له في الحائط. ونصّ المراد منها: "وممّا قضى نحبه (اي الامام ادريس، باني فاس) دُفِن بازاء بلدهم الكبيرة الحرمة الشهيرة بمسجد الشرفاء ولم يعيّنوا موضع قبره الى ان اراد الله تعلى اظهاره رحمة ولطفا خصّ به هذه الامّة. فاتّفق ان اُختبر اساس حائط القبلة من الجانب الايسر لما عسى ان يصلح فيه او يُخبَر، فعُثِر على القبر الكريم الاطهر ووُجِد اللحد قد ابليت الليالي رسمه فلم يبق منه الّاقليل والعظم المرحوم باق بحاله لم يكن للارض عليه سبيل. فحضر اذ ذلك سليله الاكرم ووليّه الذي لا يخفى فيه عهد ولا يُجزَم، السيّد الشريف الرفيع القدر والشأن ابو الحسن عليّ بن محمّد بن عمران والوزير لودّهم القائم باظهار عزّهم واثبات مجدهم الراغب في احياء سنّة جدّهم الماجد المجاهد ابو زكريّاء يحيى بن زيّان. وحضر معهما امام الفتيا الفقيه والرتبة العليا ابو محمّد عبد الله العبدوسيّ واستشاره فيما ينبغي ان يُقام فيه لحقّ ذلك الضريح الكريم. فاشاره ان يُعلَم بتسنيم وان يعتمد في اجتناب وقع النعال عليه واجب . . .[2] ووقع الوفق على كتب هذه الاسطور في الحائط المذكور موازيا للضريح المبرور وان يكون علامة عليه وبرهانا وليعود الخبر عيانا. وكان هذا فضلا من الله واحسانا وطولا على اهل هذا العصر وامتنانا حيث ابقى ببقاء الاثارة من البيت الكريم امانا حسبما جاء عن سيّد

[1] Note the unusual second form of the verb حال, which is usually حول.

[2] Blank in text.

المرسلين : "أَهْلُ ٱلْبَيْتِ[1] آمَانٌ لِأَهلِ ٱلْأَرْضِ" (الحديث) · لا يجهله من اعتنى بالرواية حفظا واتقانا · وكان وُجِد القبر المذكور ووقت كتب هذه الاسطور في شهر رجب المبارك عام واحد واربعين وثمانمائة · " هذا لفظه هـ ·[2]

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1133/1720-1721

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : ففي فاتح المحرّم عام ثلاثة وثلاثين ومائة والف ورد الخبر بالملحمة العظمى مع النصارى المتغلّبين على سبتة ، وغلبوا على المسلمين ونهبوا محلّتهم ومات من المسلمين نحو الف · وبقي قتلى النصارى وقتلى المسلمين مسلوبي الثياب[3] فالمسلمون سلبوا النصارى والنصارى سلبوا المسلمين · فلمّا افترق القتال اراد المسلمون دفن موتاهم فكان المسلمون يعرفون موتاهم بالضحك على وجوههم ضحكا بيّنا ونظره الى السماء والكافر معبّس ونظره منحدر الى اسفل رجله · ثمّ وجّه اليهم جيشا اعانة لهم على العدوّ الكافر امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ وامر القبائل[4] بمددهم ايضا · فكرّوا عليهم واخرجوهم من شبارات المسلمين ورجعوا الى سبتة[5] وبقي من قتلى النصارى بايدي المسلمين نحو ثلاثة آلاف ·[6] فانحصر النصارى بمدينة سبتة فكانوا لا يخرجون عنها · وفي هذه السنة كان ابتداء[7] الغلاء ليس الزرع هاذا العام[8] وكثر في الناس الموت والمرض فمات بالغلاء خلق كثير · واستمرّ الغلاء الى ان دخل عام سبع وثلاثين ومائة والف ·[9]

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[1] Necessary article inserted.

[2] Vol. II, fol. 70-71.

[3] For text's مسلوبين الثياب, a recurrent form in the text.

[4] Royal 972 adds الغربيّة; litho. adds المغربيّة.

[5] Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the preceding nine words by واثخنوا القتل فيهم.

[6] Royal 972 and litho. add اخبرني بذالك من حضرها.

[7] Royal 972 and Royal 959 replace the two preceding words by ظهر.

[8] Royal 972 and Royal 959 add وارتفعت الاسعار.

[9] Vol. II, fol. 72. Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add:

1139/1726-1727

ومن حوادث هذه السنة :[1] ففي صبيحة اليوم الذي ورد فيه الخبر على فاس بموت السلطان صاحب الترجمة[2] قتل اهل فاس قائدها بها الرئيس ابا عليّ بن عبد الخالق بن عبد الله

فلقد رأيتُ في المارستان بفاس الذي كانوا يجمعون فيه الاموات ليجهّزوهم جماعات متراكم بعضهم على بعض · شاهدتُ ذالك وانا صبيّ في حال التمييز · نعوذ بالله من ذالك ادام الله علينا نعمة لا تزول بمنّه وفضله آمين ·

Copyist's marginal note; the extreme right of the margin is blotted out: [يُد]عى هذا العام بعام خير والكثرة ···عها في هذه السنة ويُدّعى ايضا ··· يلوا لأنّ الناس كانوا اذا رأوا احدا [بخب]ز في الطريق نهبوه له · فكانوا يجعلون [الخبز] في الصندوق حيث يمرّون به الى الفرن* ··· من النهب ويبلغ الزرع فيه لمدّ [الو]قت اذا رخص ثمانية موزونات واذا [كان ؟] الغلاء اربعة عشر موزونة ·**

* Note the Latin furnus. ** For text's incorrect مزونة.

[1] Royal 972, Royal 959, Bodley Q, and litho. add the following, after Mawlāy Ismā'īl's obituary, not reproduced here: وكلّ ما قيّدتُه هنا في هذه الترجمة وفي غيرها من الحوادث والتواريخ ، كلّه وجدتُه مقيّدا بخطّ من يُظَنّ به الثقة والعلم عند الله تعلى في كلّ شيء ·

[2] Copyist's marginal note, fol. 74 (under 1134), but belongs to this year: حدّثني والدي ، قال "لمّا مات السلطان مولانا اسماعيل بن مولانا الشريف السجلماسيّ الحسنيّ تارت *عامّة اهل فاس على قائدها ابي عليّ الروسي وقتلوه · وبعد خمود الفتنة بايعوا مولاي احمد المدعوّ الذهبيّ بن مولاي اسماعيل المذكور وسرنا بالبيعة ، العوامّ والفقراء والشرفاء ، ودفعناها له بمكناسة · فلمّا اراد ان يرسلنا الى بلادنا قال للشرفاء "هل فيكم احد من الشرفاء الطاهريّين ؟" فكان منهم فينا كاتب البيعة بيده وهو مولاي حمدون محمّد طاهر وابن عمّه مولاي عبد الرحمان · فقلنا "معنا منهم اثنان" · فخرجا** من الصفّ امامنا · فقال لهما "وجدتُ بدار والدي النعل الذي اتيتم به مستشفعين به · وخشيت عليه ان يتلف والآن خذوه** واخصّوه انتم ·" فقالا "ليس نحن اربابه ونحن الشرفاء الطاهريّون الحسنيّون الجوطيّون اصل الحسينيّين ، واربابه الطاهريّين الصقلّيّين الحسينيّين ·" قال والدي "فانصرفنا عنه ولم يعطهم شيئا ·" وحدّثني بهذا المحضر مولاي حمدون ومولاي عبد الرحمان ·

ثمّ تار***العبيد على مولاي احمد الذهبيّ وبايعوا اخاه مولاي عبد المالك · ثمّ خلعوه وردّوا البيعة لمولاي احمد الذهبيّ المذكور ونهبوا دار مولاي اسماعيل وفُقِد النعل ولم يُعرَف اين ذهب · وزعم الشرفاء الطاهريّون الصقلّيّون انّ مَن نهبه اتى**** به لهم وافتدوه منهم ، وهو عندهم الى الآن · والله اعلم بالصدق في ذلك بعد قول الكذب في خبره ·

* For classical orthography ثار. ** For incorrect singular خرج of text. *** For incorrect singular خذه of text, **** For classical orthography ثار. ***** For text's incorrect orthography اتا.

الروسي عامل السلطان على فاس بما ضمّروا له من الحقد لتصرّفه فيهم بالمغارم واخذ الحقّ من الظالم للمظلوم وزجر السفهاء عن اهل المروءة ولعدم اتّخاذه منهم العمّال والوتّادين والمفرّدين واهل الضرب والتجريد بعد ان حاول مدافعتهم وقتالهم وتحصينه بالدار المقابلة لباب حفاء مسجد الاندلس. وجمع الوتّادين اصحابه بالعدّة فلم يغنه شيء من ذلك فدخل عليه في داره وقتلوه ومُثّل به بين الازقّة وقتلوا من اصحابه من ظفروا به ولم يفلت منهم الّا من تحصّن بالحرمات والاختفاء في الدور ونحوها، وعددهم نحو اربعة وعشرين. ثمّ اجتمع اهل فاس على ان يوجّهوا اثنين من كلّ قبيلة من مشاهر الاشراف للسلطان الذي بُويع بمكناسة، وهو مولاي احمد بن مولاي اسماعيل، بفضل الاعتذار. فتخيّظ اوّلا ثمّ لمّا أعلم بانّ الموجّهين له من كبار الاشراف فرح بهم وقبل اعتذارهم وشفاعتهم وبالغ في تعظيمهم واحترامهم، ورجعوا لفاس فرحين. ووقعت هدنة بين الناس عن الحرب، الّا انّهم رفضوا جميع ما كان يُجرَى عليهم من الوظائف السلطانيّة وحملوا الاسلحة وركبوا الخيل وضجّ الناس بالفرح والسرور واشتغلوا بالملاهي في النزاهات والتنقّي في اللباس، والجلوس افواجا مقبلين على اللهو واللعب والهديان في كلّ متّسع من أزقّة فاس. ولم يكن للاحكام السلطانيّة نفوذ فيها، في سائر المغرب، وليس للسلطان سوى الدعاء على المنابر والاسم، وكمل العام كلّه على هذه الحالة وكثر في المغرب الفتن والاهوال. فكان هذا هو الاصل للفتن التي اتت بعده.[1]

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1140/1727-1728

ومن حوادث هذه السنة وقعة الخميس بين المدينتين، فاس الادريسيّة وفاس العليا المرينيّة. وسبب ذلك اللعب بضرب الحجر بين الاحداث من كلا المدينتين بموضع يُعرَف بسوق السمن عند باب السبع، يُباع فيه يوم الخميس، فنشب الحرب بين المدينتين. وكان كثير من بفاس الادريسيّة خرج لسوق الخميس على العادة بأحسن لباسه وكان ثالث يوم المولد الخامس عشر من ربيع النبويّ، فكسر السوق الاوداية ونهبوه وسلبوا الناس من الثياب،

[1] Vol. II, fol. 79-80.

وضربوا الرقاب. وقبضوا جميع من خرج للسوق من فاس الادريسيّة وسُجن بفاس الجديد الّا من وجد مخرجا للفرار فنجا. ومن الغد جاء اخوان الاوداية الذين مستقرّهم الرياض من مكناسة الزيتون عونا لهم. ثمّ يوم الاحد وقع الصلح بين المدينتين وسرّحوا من سُجن من اهل [فاس][1] الادريسيّة بفاس الجديد. فرجعوا لفاس الادريسيّة ورجع اعوانهم الذين اتوا من مكناس وغيرها لمحلّهم. ثمّ بعد ذلك بيوم كلّف السلطان اهل فاس الادريسيّة بدفع ما كانوا يدفعونه لأبيه من الهدايا والوظائف في كلّ شهر، وهو الشريف مولاي احمد الذهبيّ بن مولاي اسماعيل الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ. فامتنع اهل فاس الادريسيّة من دفع شيء من ذلك، قلّ او جلّ. وكان ذلك حيلة من الاوداية لعداوتهم لأهل فاس، فدسّوا له من خدله[2] بذلك، فشُعّلت نار الفتنة. وتعاهد اهل فاس الادريسيّة مع بني حسن الساكنين باسايس، وقد كانوا بفاس الجديد قبل الاوداية، فحقد الاوداية على اهل فاس في الصلح المذكور ونشب الحرب بين المدينتين. ووجّه السلطان الى الاوداية[3] الانفاض والمهارس وامرهم ان يرموا فاس بالكور والبنب، فرموا فاس بذلك. ثمّ حدث من رغب السلطان فسمح وبعث الى فاس الادريسيّة مولانا المستضيء بالله، فقدم لفاس ولم يقل الّا "خيرا". ثمّ وجّهوا معه للسلطان جماعة من الاشراف وغيرهم بقصد طلب السمح وصالح بينهم وبين الاوداية على شرط ان يرسل معهم ولده مولانا ابا فارس بقصد التولية عليهم والسكنى بالقصبة الجديدة وقبض البساتين[4] على انفسهم فقالوا "لا نفعل هذا الّا اذا رحلت المحلّة عنّا بجميع جيوشها". فارسل السلطان اليها فرحلت، فلم يفعلوا. فخرج مولاي ابو فارس من عندهم في يوم شديد المطر مغضبا عليهم فوقع في ذلك اليوم حرب مع الاوداية، فمات من ناحية الاوداية نحو اربعين رجلا. ثمّ بعد ذلك رام اهل فاس الادريسيّة الهجم على فاس المرينيّة واخذها من يد الاوداية واجتمع رأي رؤسائها على الخروج لذلك. فخرج الاندلس بجمع عظيم على باب فتوح وقصدوا فاس العليا من جهة الملّاح وباب الجيف لانّ سورها مهتوك واللمطيّون يخرجون من باب الجيسة اليها من الجهة الاخرى. فلم يخرجوا وتربّصوا فهمّت الاوداية لذلك واخلوا قصبة شراقة خوفا على الاستيلاء على من بها وعدم مقاومتهم للحرب عنها،

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For classical orthography خذله.

[3] For text's erroneous الاوادية.

[4] Note that the plural of بُسْتيون is the same as that of بُسْتان.

لأنّ كثيرا منهم غائب في الضياع لجمع اموالهم خوفا عليها من النهب. ودخلهم من ذلك الدهش والرعب وعاينوا من ذلك شدّة عظيمة ما أُوهِي به[1] أهل فاس الادريسيّة؛ وتركوا الحزم والضبط وظنّوا انّ لا محالة في اخذها. فتأخّر اهل النجدة والحزم والحرب المستمرّين على الحرب في الحروك، وكان اكثر من حمل السلاح من اهل فاس الادريسيّة وتصدّره للحرب وخرج اليه الاحداث لا معرفة لهم به واذا خرّج المكحلة يفزع لخروجها، اكرههم على ذلك رؤساؤهم. وتأخّروا عن الخروج معهم وتركوا بعضهم يموج في بعض، فساروا الى باب الجيف فلمّا رأى الاوداية اكثر عددهم وقلّة نجدتهم ولا رئيس لهم على الحرب بل امره باد بينهم اختاروا من صناديدهم نحو العشرين وخرجوا على باب الجيف. فلمّا ابصرهم اهل فاس هربوا من غير قتال لمعرفتهم بهم بانّهم من اهل النجدة وظنّوا انّهم يتبعهم عدد عديد. فتبعوهم قليلا ورجعوا الى فاس الجديد خوف الكرّة عليهم من اهل فاس. فكان عدد من مات من اهل فاس الادريسيّة نحو العشرين ورجعوا الى فاس منهزمين. وبقي بايدي الاوداية اقوام من اهل فاس، فقطعوا رؤوسهم ووجّهوهم لمكناسة الزيتون للسلطان. فاغتاض[2] السلطان على اهل فاس الادريسيّة فوجّه اليهم قائده موسى الجرّاريّ (يُفتَح اوّله وتشديد ثانيه) بعد ان امر بتعليق الرؤوس على باب الملّاح، وبعث اليه انفاضا ومهاريس. ووقع القتال بين موسى الجرّاريّ واهل فاس الادريسيّة بوطاء ابن مسفر خارج باب الجيسة فهزموه حتّى كاد ان يبقى بايديهم. ثمّ جمع موسى الجرّاريّ جيش السلطان والاوداية واحاط بالبستيون الخارج عن باب الجيسة من كلّ جهة، فهزمهم اهل فاس عنه. ثمّ انّ موسى الجرّاريّ ناول صلحا بين السلطان واهل فاس فأنف من ذلك الاوداية فوشوا به الى السلطان، فلمّا قدم عليه سجنه. فرجع اهل فاس من مكناسة وعزموا على الحصار. ثمّ انّ السلطان سرّح موسى من السجن ووجّهه بمحلّته الى فاس، فنزل بظهر الزاوية خارج باب المحروق، فانقبض الاوداية عنه فرحل بمحلّته ونزل بين سبوا وفاس ولم يناول حربا مع اهل فاس. ومع هذا كلّه السلطان مقبل على الملذوذات من الاكل والمشروب والملبوس والمنكوح والمسموع وكثرت الغارات بين قبائل المغرب والنهب والقطع في الطرق وكثرة الخوف واكل القويّ الضعيف، وانقطع السبيل وكثرت اراقة دماء المسلمين. فلمّا رأى ذلك الجيش واحسّوا منه

[1] Perhaps an error for ما اهوى له (اليه = له).

[2] For classical orthography اغتاظ.

عدم النهوض والقيام بامر المسلمين، وهم عبيد مشرع الرملة الذين جمعهم الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل والد السلطان مولاي احمد الذهبيّ وتركهم بعدد عديد يزعمون من اقلّ عددهم ستّون الفا من المقاتلة، المرتّب لهم الخراج، المستقرّين بمشرع الرملة سوى غيرهم الذين في سائر بلاد المغرب، فاتّفق رأيهم على خلع السلطان مولاي احمد الذهبيّ المذكور. وخلعوه واخرجوه من دار الملك وسجنوه بداره التي كان بها قبل ولايته الامارة، وخطبوا بمكناسة بالصحابة فقط من غير ذكر امير وجعلوا امر الخلافة للعلماء. فلمّا بلغ الخبر بذلك لفاس رحل موسى الجرّاريّ بمحلّته من سبوا ورجع لمكناسة، واهل محلّته الى منازلهم. ثمّ انّ من كان من العلماء حاضرا بمكناسة اجمع على مبايعة اخيه امير المؤمنين الخليفة مولانا عبد المالك بن الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ لنهوضه بامر الخلافة وحزمه وضبطه وحسن سيرته وسياسته وكثرة عدله في الاحكام ومحبّته للمهادنة بين الناس وتأمين الطرق وشجاعته حسبما شهدوا ذلك منه قبل في حياة ابيه، وكان بُويِع له قبل موت ابيه بتردانت وسائر بلاد السوس. وانقبضوا عن بيعة اخيه ووقع بينه وبين العبيد حروب ووقائع ومواقف كان يوجّه بهم اخوه اليه على نهر ابي الاعوان وفي غير مرّة ليكون الظفر له واخرى لغيره الى ان هزمهم، وفلّ جمعهم وقتل صناديدهم ولم يقدروا عليه، فتركوا له السوس. فانعقدت له البيعة بمكناسة وتبعهم سائر قبائل المغرب وبعثوا له بذلك وطلبوا منه القدوم عليهم. وذهب اهل المغرب في جمّ غفير للقائه وزال عن اهل فاس الحصار وما كان فيهم من الضيق وتحكيم من لا خلاق له فيهم. وفرح الناس ببيعة مولاي عبد المالك، واكثرهم فرحا اهل فاس الادريسيّة لانّهم حرّكوا معه، فكان يحسن لهم ويواسي ضعفاءهم ويصبرهم على ماينالوه من الاذى من عمّال ابيه. فكانوا يثنون عليه ويتشيّعون له في حياة ابيه وطمعوا بولايته تهدينا للبلاد وتأمينا للعباد. وترك ما كان يُضرَب على الناس من الوضائف[1] لانّه كان لا يريد ذلك ولا يجريها على من كان[2] عليه عاملا لأبيه لانّ الغالب على احكامه العدل. وتيقّنوا بعزل من كان من العمّال وغيرهم من الجيوش، عبيد واوداية، يسعى في ضرر الناس. وكان عقد بيعته في اوائل شعبان عام الترجمة وبُعِث بها الى سوس مع الشرفاء والاعيان، فقدم الى مكناسة في اواخر رمضان. فهمد جميع الناس وخمدت جميع الفتن

[1] For classical orthography الوظائف.

[2] Redundant كان in text; one must be deleted.

لهيئة مولانا عبد المالك لما يعلمون من سرعة رأيه وحركته وبطشه بالبغاة ونجدته وشجاعته في الحرب ومحبّته للهدنة والرفق بالراعيّة [1] والانصاف من الظالم للمظلوم. فعند قدومه شرع بقراءة العلم صحيح البخاريّ وغيره، وارسل لسائر القبائل للاجتماع به. فحضر معه العبيد، فانف جيش عبيد الرملة من ذلك. وكان اكثر الناس حرما لذلك سفيان وبني مالك وكانوا لمّا مرض مولانا اسماعيل اعلمتهم زوجته اختهم حليمة السفيانيّة، امّ ولده مولاي زيدان الصغير، بخبر مرضه فتفقّدوا خيلهم وعدّتهم وصلّحوا شأن امرهم كما فعل سائر قبائل المغرب فجرّدوا لهم العبيد وساروا اليهم واخذوهم على غفلة، فنهبوا جميع اموالهم من الماشية وغيرها واثخنوهم [2] بالقتل، رجالا وصبيانا ونساء، ووثبوا [3] على النساء والابكار بالوطء. وذلك كلّه في مرض السلطان وهم لا يمنعون ولا يدفعون لظنّهم انّ ذلك عن امر من السلطان. فلمّا مات السلطان وتحقّقوا بانّ ذلك ليس عن امره حقد سفيان وبنو مالك على العبيد، فكانت بينهم وبين العبيد حروب ايّام مولانا احمد تارة لهم وتارة عليهم. فلمّا احضروا في عيد الفطر مع مولانا عبد المالك مع القبائل ورأت ذلك العبيد مع ما كان لهم عليه من الحقد والعداوة بسبب من قُتِل من كبرائهم في حربه وارادوا الاستيلاء عليه، فنجاه الله منهم. ثمّ امر القبائل بان تعيّن كلّ قبيلة منها عددا يركب الخيل ويكون معه جيشا يجري عليهم المرتّب كلّ سنة من بيت المال. واخرج الاوداية والمخازنيّة المتغلّبون على الديوان والمشور جماعة منهم، اوّلا بو رويس واولاد دليم والدرابكة واولاد خليفة والشياظمة والمواريد، وضمّهم الشبانات الذين هم بطانته. فانحرفوا عنه وكان هو منحرفا عنهم لما بلغه من سوء فعلهم مع الناس وما وقع بينهم وبين اهل فاس، فراسلوا العبيد في الخروج عليه. ثمّ انّ مولانا عبد المالك استفتى العلماء في امور شنيعة جدّا، شنّعوها على اخيه، توجب القتل لمن ارتكبها وفعلها، وكثر الكلام بها على الالسنة، لاكن لم يشهد عليهم بذلك منها . . . . وطلب [4] الانصاف من اخيه مولاي احمد المذكور بعض اهل فاس من لا سبب لهم في الخروج عليه ولا

[1] For classical orthography الرعيّة; the text's orthography reflects the Moroccan pronunciation.

[2] For classical orthography اثخنوهم.

[3] For classical orthography وثبوا.

[4] A superfluous من omitted from the text here. The whole passage which follows seems to be out of place here, having no connection with what precedes and follows it, indicating a probable lacuna in the text.

قدرة لهم على ذلك ولا على حرب من يريد ذلك ولا على مدافعته بقول ولا فعل. فنُهِبت اموالهم وحُطِبت اشجارهم وهُدِمت دورهم بالنبب، وماتت نساؤهم واولادهم وآباؤهم واهلهم بالهدم مع انّ من نُسِب له الخروج عليه لم يتحقّق منه ذلك ولم يُثبَت عليه. وانّما يدفع عن نفسه [من] [1] الاوداية وغيرهم من الجيش الذين كانوا ينهبون اموالهم ويريدون الوثوب [2] على نسائهم كما فعلوا بالقبائل والبوادي والحواضر. فنسبوا الخروج لهم ليحصلوا ما ارادوا به فيهم ووشوا باهل فاس الى مولاي احمد ونسبوا لهم الخروج عليه، فقبل منهم ذلك من غير ثبوت لهم بذلك على اهل فاس، فاطلق يدهم عليهم. فخاض العلماء في ذلك ولم يتّفق اقوالهم ولا آراؤهم في شيء فلم يجيبوا عن شيء واتّفقوا على انّ التفويض في ذلك للسلطان، يجتهد ويحكم باجتهاده. فاستشار في ذلك كاتبه العلّامة سيدي محمّد بن محمّد بن احمد الفاسيّ فاجابه بانّه لم يتمّ موجب قتله بما طلبه به بعض الضعفاء من المؤمنين اهل فاس فرجع عمّا استفتى فيه العلماء من قتله وارسل به الى سجن فاس الادريسيّة، وذلك في شهر شوّال المذكور. ثمّ رقّ منه وسرّحه من السجن بعد ان ابقاه فيه نحو الجمعة، وارسله الى بلده سجلماسة. وكان مولاي عبد المالك لمّا بُويع بتردانت والسوس استعمل ولده على سجلماسة ونواحيها. فلمّا صرّف مولاي احمد الى سجلماسة فرّ من الطريق وانحاز لزاوية سيدي سعيد احَنصال من آيت عطّاء؛ وكان قيّم الزاوية المذكور ممّن يشتغل بعلم الحديث، فاخبر مولاي احمد برجوعه للملك. فلمّا سمع العبيد بما اخبر به قيّم الزاوية المذكورة عزموا على الخروج على مولاي عبد المالك ويبايعوا مولاي احمد المخلوع ثانيا واعلنوا بذلك في صبيحة عيد الاضحى من العام. ومنعوا خطيب الرملة من ذكر مولاي عبد المالك فخطب بمولاي احمد. فوصل الخبر لمولاي عبد المالك ثاني يوم العيد فجمع العلماء وشاورهم في امر العبيد فكتب العلماء كتابا للعبيد ينهوهم عن الخروج عليه واعلموهم بما في ذلك من المضرّة بالمسلمين ومخالفة الشريعة، وبالغوا في تحذيرهم من ذلك. وارسلوه [3] لهم مع الشيخ الكبير المتبرّك به شرقا وغربا حيّا وميّتا مولانا الطيّب بن الامام سيدي محمّد الشريف اليملاحيّ الحسنيّ العلميّ، دفين وازّان، لانّ العلماء لم يتّمنوا على احد غيره من اذايتهم ووثو بهم

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For classical orthography الوثوب.

[3] For text's incorrect ارسلوهم; The Ben Sūda copy also has ارسلوه.

بالقتل على من يوصل لهم ذلك الكتاب الّا بالشيخ المذكور لمتلامدة[1] اكثرهم له وانتساب رؤسائهم لخدمته. فساعف العلماء فيما طلبوه منه من ايصال الكتاب الى العبيد، فسار بالكتاب الى العبيد ودفعه اليهم، فاجابوه بميسور من القول بما لم يتبيّن له منهم الرجوع عمّا نهاهم عنه ولا التمادي عليه. فلمّا شهد ذلك رجع الى وازّان وارسل من غير كتاب مع بعض الفقهاء الذين ساروا معه صحبة الكتاب الى العلماء بالخبر. ثمّ اخذ مولاي عبد المالك يرسل الى القبائل ويجمعهم، فجمع منهم عددا كثيرا وارسل الى مولاي الطيّب صاحب وازّان المذكور ثانيا وارسله اليهم يكلّمهم عن الرجوع عمّا ارادوا من خلع مولاي عبد المالك المذكور وبيعة مولاي احمد ثانيا، واخبرهم عمّا يقع بين ذلك من الفتن وقتل المسلمين ونهب اموالهم وعن النهي الوارد في ذلك. فسار مولاي الطيّب اليهم الى مشرع الرملة واخبرهم بذلك كلّه وكلّمهم في شأن ذلك. فلم يقبلوا طلبه منهم، ورجع مولاي الطيّب المبعوث اليهم ثانيا الى مولاي عبد المالك واخبره بامتناعهم عمّا نهاهم عنه وتصميمهم على خلعه. ووصل الخبر الى مولاي احمد، فاسرع السير اليهم ووصل في خلل ذلك مع يوسف احتصال فلبّوا معهم بني حسن على ذلك وارتحلوا معه الى مكناسة. فعزم مولاي عبد المالك على الخروج للقائهم مع القبائل التي كانت معه اجتمعت عليه فتهمّت[2] له الاوداية الساكنون بمكناسة، فرجع عن الخروج اليهم وعزم على قتالهم بها. فجهّز الاوداية بالخروج عليه وبيعة اخيه وشرعوا فورا في قتال جيشه ولحق بهم العبيد الى مكناسة يوم الاثنين رابع وعشرين من ذي الحجّة. ثمّ نادى بعض رؤساء العبيد على بعض ابواب قصبة السلطان الموالي للقبّة الخضراء بنصر اخيه مولانا عبد الله وكانت خناثة بنت بكّار المغفريّ زوجة مولانا اسماعيل هي الساكنة بتلك الدار الموالية لتلك الباب. فلمّا سمعت النداء بنصر ولدها فتحت الباب من ناحيتها، فبينما الناس يقاتلون بنواحي مدينة مكناسة اذ سمعوا بدخول العبيد القصبة، فسقط في ايديهم. وخرج السلطان فارّا بنفسه فيمن خفّ من اصحابه ونحو ثلاثمائة فجنب طريق فاس المشهورة وقدم فاس الادريسيّة. ووقع في القصبة نهب عظيم وافتضاح كثير ونهبوا اموالا كثيرة لا يحصيها الواصف، واعادوا الغارة على مكناسة بمثل ذلك نهبا وسبيا ووثوبا على النساء والابكار. فالله تعلى يتولّى حقّهم والحكم فيه ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله وكان ذلك ثاني اليوم

[1] For classical orthography متلامذة.

[2] The preceding word is either incorrect or a colloquialism whose meaning I have not been able to find.

المذكور. ثمّ انّ مولاي عبد المالك ترك رماة اهل فاس بقصبة مكناسة، وكانوا نحو الفين رجل، وفرّ بنفسه لفاس. فلمّا اراد الدخول اليها اضطرب رأي اهلها، فمنهم من قال "لا يدخل اليها اذ لا مقاومة لنا بحرب العبيد، فانّهم لا يشكّون في دخولهم ايّاها كما لا نشكّ نحن فيما يقولون ويواعدون به بانّهم ينزلون علينا ويحصرون بها حتّى يدخلونها علينا ويفعلون بنا ما فعلوا بمكناسة وقصبتها وقبائل المغرب . . .[1] اللهمّ الّا ان يكون قتالنا على الخليفة الذي هو بيعته في اعناقنا وطاعته واجبة علينا وهو بين اظهرنا، فنقاتل نحن وهو من خرج عليه". فصار من اراد دخوله للمدينة هم الاكثر فادخلوه، واستوطن دار القيطون من مدينة فاس القرويّين. وكما اضطرب رأي العوامّ دخوله مدينة فاس اضطرب رأي علمائها فالاكثر قالوا بدخوله فاس. ولحق به من لم يخرج عليه من القبائل وهم جيش سوس نحو العشرة آلاف ومن اتباعه خدّام المشور نحو ثلاثة آلاف بين راجل وفارس مقتصبين. فاطلق جيش سوس على قتال الاوداية، فأكلوا ضياعهم وعزائبهم . . .[2] والمتغلّبين على بلاد سايس ونواحيه وحاصر الاوداية بفاس المرينيّة وحاول اخذها. فاكثر اخوانهم المستقرّون بمكناسة من الاستصراخ بمولاي احمد وبالعبيد في اغاثة اخوانهم الذين بفاس [الجديد][3] قبل ان يدركهم فوات الاستيلاء على المدينة. فاغاثهم فورا مولاي احمد ومعه جيش ونزل بواد فاس بعد ان قبض بمكناسة على الحسن بن عليّ، قائد مكناسة الزيتون، والقائد عليّ بن يشّ الزمّوريّ وعلى مرجان الخصيّ صاحب ابيه ومحمّد بن عليّ، قاضي العبيد ووالي جمعهم، واخرجهم من الحرمات وقتلهم صبرا وصلبوا وسيأتي خبر حصار فاس إن شاء الله في العام بعد هذا.[4]

*

[1] Lacuna in text.

[2] Lacuna in text.

[3] Necessary insert.

[4] Vol. II, fol. 81-83. All that Royal 972 and Royal 959 have for this year is: ومن حوادث هذا العام تراكم فتن عظيمة وقتال وحروب في جميع اقطار المغرب وسفك من الدماء ما لا يُحصَى ممّا نسأل الله السلامة والعافية منه بفضله ورحمته ولاكن لا اعقل تفصيله لصغر سنّي وقلّة مبالاتي بتقييده.

ومن حوادث السنة : انّه لمّا دخل المحرّم فاتح السنة ، وكان السلطان مولانا عبد المالك بن مولانا اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ دخل مدينة فاس بقصد ان ينصروه ويقاتلوا[1] من خرج عليه من يمكث على بيعته من اهل القبائل وطمع ان يجتمع عليه قبائل المغرب وسوس ، فحاول اخذ المدينة البيضاء فاس الجديد المرينيّة ويستوطنها دار الحلافة ويخرج منها الاوداية الخارجين عليه لانّها ليست لهم وانّما هم فيها ادالة على اهل فاس الادريسيّة . فقاتل الاوداية المتحصّنين [2] بها بعد نهب ما هو عندهم خارج عنها من مواش[3] ونحوها في عزائبهم ، وارسلوا صارختهم للعبيد ، فجاءوا[4] مسرعين ومعهم السلطان مولانا احمد الذهبيّ بن مولانا اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ وهم لا يشكّون في دخولهم فاس وعبثهم باهلها كما فعلوا بمكناسة . ففرّ اهل سوس الذين جاءوا لمولاي عبد المالك من سوس اذ علموا انّ لا طاقة لهم بالعبيد الذين جاءوا[5] لمولاي احمد ، فادرك العبيد البعض من اهل سوس على وادي سبو ، فنهبوا لهم كثيرا من اموالهم وبعض العيال وسلم جلّهم . وفي تاسع المحرّم قدم على السلطان مولاي احمد من بقي من جيشه من قبائل المغرب ، فاحاطت الجيش بمدينة فاس كالخاتم . فلمّا اصبح يوم عاشوراء ميّز جيش العبيد على فاس واحاطوا بها إحاطة السور بالمعصم وقصدوها دفعة واحدة ولم يخرج لهم واحد من اهل فاس وانّما حاربوهم من اسوارها فقط ، فلم يحصلوا على شيء ، فسار عن اهل فاس بعد ان كان دخلهم دهش عظيم . ثمّ كتب لهم مولاي احمد رسائل يدعوهم الى خلع مولاي عبد المالك والدخول في طاعته فامتنعوا . وهو في ذلك مساعف للعبيد والّا فقد كان حاله انّما يريد الراحة ، لاكن كان الامر والنهي للعبيد وليس له من الملك الّا الإسم بلا مسمّى وهو تابع لأمرهم ورأيهم لا يقطع امرا الّا بما يأمرونه به . وبهذا استعذر اهل فاس وامتنعوا من الدخول تحت حكم العبيد . ثمّ حمى وطيس الفتنة وبقي الحرب سجالا . ثمّ ورد الخبر بانّ سفيان وبني مالك وشراكة واولاد جامع والحياينة ، فانّهم يريدون ان يجتمعوا ويأتوا لنصر مولاي عبد المالك

1 For text's incorrect nominative يقاتلون after أن.

2 Necessary article added to متحصّنين.

3 For text's incorrect definite form مواشي.

4 The final 'ا' is missing from the text.

5 As note 4 above.

لأنّهم باقون على عهدهم ولم يخلعوا بيعته . فوجّه لهم العبيد جيشا وسار اليهم فاقتتلوا معهم قرب وادي اينول[1] فانهزمت[2] القبائل وبقي منهم قتلى كثيرون ، حجزهم الوادي عنهم . ومن جملة من قُتِل مع القبائل الوزير المتولّى جمعهم وزير مولاي عبد المالك المنتصر بن مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ ، وحُمِل الى فاس ودُفِن في[3] روضة سيدي الخيّاط بالدوح من فاس القرويّين ؛ قتله الاوداية وارسلوه مع بعض المسجونين من اهل فاس ، قصدهم بذلك ليتحقّق مولاي عبد المالك هزيمة جيشه . فحينئذ يئس وانقطع رجاؤه من المدد . وشدّ العبيد الحصار على فاس وقطعوا الماء عن عدوة القرويّين وادنوا محلّتهم لسورها ونصبوا عليها الانفاط والمهارس ورموها بالكور والبنب من كلّ جهاتها واحاطوا بها بالاشبارات . فكان بينهم وبينها اقلّ من رمية مكحلة وربّما كان رصاصهم يبلغ سطح الدور من بعض جهاتها فيصيب من يكون بالأسطحة . ووقع ضيق عظيم بالمدينة وهدم بالبنبة كثير وموت من النساء والاطفال ومن لا يستطيع منعا ولا دفعا من الرجال العاجزين عن القتال . واللطف والحمد لله مع ذلك حاصل في جميع الامور . ونهب اهل المحلّة المرس الكبير الذي بين سيدي عليّ بن حرازم وسيدي الحسن الدراويّ الى سور المدينة وحطبوا الاشجار وتجلّدوا وتوقّفوا على دخول فاس . وتجلّد اهل [فاس][4] واخلوا من المدينة الدور التي يصل اليها الرمي بالكور والبنب واقتصروا على سكنى من لا يصل اليهم ورتّبوا الحرس على الاسوار بحيث لا تخلوا معّن يعمرها وحفروا واديا خارج السور محيطا به وآخر ابعد منه من جهة باب الجيسة .

وتجلّدوا للمدافعة عن انفسهم وعن اهل المسكنة من المؤمنين الذين لا يستطيعون دفعا ولا منعا ، العاجزين عن القتال وعن المنع والقبول بالقول باللسان ، متوجّهين الى الله تعلى في اللطف والنجاة واخماد الفتن متضرّعين الى الله لائذين[5] بحماه وحما رسوله واوليائه . وظهر من ذلك لطف عظيم في امور عظيمة . واهل المدينة في ذلك يسايرون الجيش ويخرجون له خارج السور ولا يرضون بالاقتصار عليه . وكان جيشا عظيما مجموعا[6] ما بين

1 Dl453 ينابول.

2 For text's incorrect masculine verb انهزم preceding a feminine plural, القبائل.

3 For text's incorrect preposition الى.

4 Necessary insert.

5 For classical orthography لائذين.

6 The necessary 'ا' of the accusative predicate after كان is missing in the preceding three words in the text.

العبيد والقبائل ، حزره ازيد من مائة الف . ثمّ انّ القبائل التي انهزمت باينول اعادوا الجمع ثانيا لنصر سلطانهم والمدافعة عنه ما امكنوا وجعلوا يرتقبون الفرصة كيف يصلون اليه الى فاس من الجيش المحيط بها واستقرّوا بموضع يُقال له تيسّة من بلاد الحياينة ، وكان العبيد ينهبون زرع الحياينة الذى في اهرائهم ويأتون به للمحلّة . فخرج العبيد لنهب زرع الحياينة على العادة فرصدهم القبائل المجتمعة بتيسّة واقتتلوا وهزموا العبيد وقتلوا رئيسهم ونهبوا لهم من الدوابّ ما يزيد على ستّمائة . فلمّا وصل للعبيد ارسلوا جيشا منهم ومن الاوداية وتقابلوا للقتال بتيسّة ايضا ، فغلبهم جيش العبيد وهزموهم وتفرّقت[1] القبائل في الجهات ولم يتبع العبيد الّا سفيان لكثرة حقدهم عليهم حتّى ادركوا حلّتهم بالزيتون المطروح فاوقعوا بهم وقعة من القتل والسبي والوثوب على النساء والابكار بالوطء والفضيحة ولم يكفّ السلاح لا عن الاطفال ولا عن الكلاب . فلجئوا لحرم وازّان ظنّا منهم ان يتركوهم حيث استحرموا به ويمتنعون ، فلم يستحرموه ولم يغنهم شيئا . واستأصلوا بقيّتهم به ونهبوا ديارهم وديار الشرفاء اهل الحرم ولم يجدوا من استجار بالروضات وغيرها . وكانت هذه الوقعة على الناس بوازّان اعظم المصائب ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله العلّي العظيم قال الله تعلى إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ لَعَنَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ فِي ٱلدُّنْيَا وَٱلْآخِرَةِ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمْ عَذَابًا مُهِينًا الآية . قال القاضي عياض "ومن توقيره وبرّه (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) توقير اهل بيته وبرّهم ومن اذايته (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) اذاية اهل بيته ." وفي الصحيح "فَاطِمَةُ بِضْعَةٌ مِنِّي" (الحديث) . قال الشيخ زرّوق "وللجزء من الحرمة ما للكلّ وللعبد من الحرمة ما لسيّده الذي نُسِب اليه" اهـ وفي الخبر "سَلْمَانُ مِنَّا أَهْلَ ٱلْبَيْتِ" لانّ سلمان كان لليهود واشتراه (صلّى الله عليه وسلّم) واعتقه فسلمان من مواليه" . وكانت هذه الوقعة بوازّان في الخامس والعشرين من صفر . ورجع جيش العبيد من وازّان الى فاس وقد دخلهم من العجب ما اطمعهم بالاستيلاء على فاس والبطش بها ، فاجمعوا على دخولها . ففي رابع عشر [ربيع][2] النبويّ سردوا جيشهم على ان يدفعوا عليها دفعة واحدة من كلّ جهة ، وعلامة ذلك بينهم خروج نفط من كلّ محلّة عند الفجر على حين غفلة من اهلها . وكان من لطف

[1] For text's incorrect masculine verb تفرّق, as above, p. 65, n. 2.

[2] Necessary insert, also found in Dl453.

الله ان اخبر بذلك بعض اهل المخزن بعض من له الصيت بفاس بالصلاح والولاية ،[1] فدفع الرسالة التي اتته من المحلّة الى اهل فاس ، فباتوا على صهر[2] يرتقبون ذلك . فلمّا خرجت الانفاط كان اهل المدينة على حذر فاذا هم من كلّ حدب ينسلون الى اسوار المدينة . وجاء العبيد بالسلالم ، كلّ سلّم يسع العشرة في الدرجة الواحدة منه ، وكانوا حفروا تحت بعض الاسوار قرب سيدي الحاجّ ابي درهم مينة[3] وجعلوا فيها البارود وارسلوا عليها النار ، فمن لطف الله صعد السور بالبارود ورجع لمحلّه ولم تعمل فيه شيئا ، والحمد لله . فرجع العبيد لفسطاطهم حازنين ولم ينالوا منها شيئا . ولمّا طلع النهار ووضعت الحرب اوزارها اصبح قتيل العبيد صرعى على كلّ ناحية واكثرهم بباب الفتوح وهم عدد كثير . فمن هذه الوقعة ايس العبيد من دخول فاس عنوة واستبشر اهل فاس وزال عنهم الفزع . ثمّ توجّه العبيد الى الخدع والمكيدة واجتهدوا في ارسال النبب والكور ، وطال الامر وانقطع من يقوم بدعوة مولاي عبد المالك من كلّ موضع ، فلم يبق لذلك بقيّة سوى فاس . وانقطع منها الصابون واللحم وجميع ما يُؤتَى به من خارجها الّا انّ الزرع والادام كان بها كثيرا[4] في هذا الحصار . وبقي كلّ من الفريقين مصابرا للآخر حتّى كان النصف من جمادى الاولى تراسلوا في الصلح على ان تكون القصبتان والبساتين بايدي مولاي احمد ويجعل فيها من يقوم بدعوته فيهم خاصّة ، ويكون سلطان فاس مولاي عبد المالك ويرجع مولاي احمد الى مكناسة وجيشه الى محلّه ويخرج مولاي عبد المالك للمحلّة يصطلح مع اخيه مولاي احمد ويرجع الى فاس وحينئذ يُمكّن مولاي احمد من القصبتين والبستيونين . فخرج مولاي عبد المالك للصلح مع اخيه من ضريح مولانا ادريس صحبة العبيد ، متجلّدا ، مظهرا عدم الاكراه عليه على الخروج للصلح والملاقاة باخيه مولاي احمد ، وذلك يوم الخميس الحادي والعشرين من جمادى الاولى . فلقيه اخوه واظهر له البشر والبرور ، ثمّ قبض عليه وارسله الى مكناس صحبة الباشة مساهل . واشتدّ المرض بمولاي احمد ، وفي آخر يوم من رجب فشا في الناس انّ مولاي عبد المالك قُتل

[1] Copyist's marginal note: امّا بعض اهل المخزن ، فهو صالح بن صالح الاوديّ وكان من اصحاب الشيخ مولاي التهامي . فكتب بذلك لولده سيدي محمّد بن التهامي النازل بحومة الشرشور من فاس القرويّين ، وهو المراد بقوله من له الصيت بها بالصلاح . انتهى . والله اعلم . هـ

[2] For classical orthography سهر .

[3] From the Spanish or Portuguese mina, 'mine'.

[4] The 'ا' missing in text.

بمكناسة · فسُقِط ذلك بايدي اهل فاس وتحقّقوا انّها مكيدة من العبيد خدعوهم بها ، فنصروا حينئذ مولاي احمد واعلنوا بنصره · ولمّا رأى العبيد ما نزل بمولاي احمد من المرض حملوه في محفّة الى مكناس وارتحلوا صحبته ولم يطلبوا اهل فاس ممّا اصطلحوا معهم عليه من اعطاء القصبتين والبستيونين · وبوصولهم لمكناس مات مولاي احمد في رابع شعبان من عام الترجمة · وبقي كثير من الناس من يكذّب بموت عبد المالك وقوم يعتقدون حياته وانّه سيجمع عليه جيشا ويظهر وربّما باع بعضهم متاعه الى اجل ظهوره ويخلّصه المشترى فيه اجلا منصرما · فلمّا تحقّق موته بعد موت اخيه مولاي احمد علم الناس حمق من يزعم انّه حيّ ، لم يمت · وفي مدّة هذا الحصار واشتغال السلطان بمكايد القتال كثر النهب والقتل والفتن بين سائر قبائل المغرب وكثر القتل وسفك الدماء ، فمات خلائق لا يُحصَون وكاد ان يهلك جميع من في المغرب من خاصّ وعامّ لولا لطف الله المرجوّ في الشدّة وتدارك عباده المؤمنين بعفوه ورحمته · واجمع كلمتهم على بيعة الخليفة الامام امير المؤمنين السلطان المظفّر الهمام ابي محمّد مولانا عبد الله بن الخليفة المنصور بالله امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف بن المجاهد مولانا عليّ الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ ، فكان طالعه سعيد ورحمة الله · · · عمّ بهـا القريب والبعيد ، اختاره الله من جميع اهل البيت الطاهرين · · ·[1] بن مولانا رابع الخلفاء الراشدين ادام الله بهم ، حماية الاسلام ومتّع المسلمين بظلّهم على الدوام · فبُويع الخليفة امير المؤمنين مولانا عبد الله المذكور بحضرة مكناسة دار الخلافة فبايعه كافّة الجيش وجميع الناس ولم يتخلّف عنه احد بعد وفاة اخيه مولاي احمد في رابع شعبان عام احد واربعين ومائة والف من الهجرة النبويّة · وكان حينئذ بتفلالت ، فبعثوا اليه البيعة واستدعوه القدوم الى المغرب · فوصل الى فاس مهلّ رمضان فدخل مدينته بقصد زيارة مولانا ادريس ، وكان حمدون الروسي خلفه ، وكان عدوّا لأهل فاس اذ كان ولد اخيه قائدهم ابو عليّ عبد الخالق فوثبوا[2] عليه وقتلوه بعد وفاة مولانا اسماعيل فسبّوه خلف السلطان مولانا عبد الله · فانف السلطان من فعل ذلك وهو خلفه وغضب ورجع مسرعا ولم يزر مولانا ادريس · وكان دخوله من باب الفتوح ، فلمّا وقع ما وقع وغضب ترك الدخول لمولانا ادريس والمرور به ومرّ على القنطرة بين المدينتين على باب النقبة على البليدة وخرج على باب الجيسة وسار الى فاس الجديد فنزل بقبّة النصر · فصعد اليه اهل فاس الادريسيّة وبايعوه في فاس الجديد ففرّق بين

[1] A superfluous التي has been deleted. Lacunae in text.

[2] For classical orthography وثبوا.

اشراف فاس وطلبتها الف دينار ذهبا اسماعيليّة · ثمّ رحل الى مكناسة وارسل لسائر قبائل المغرب ومداشره باعطاء الخيل[1] فدخلهم دهش واسرعوا في اعطاء ذلك · وفي مهلّ شوّال ارسل لاهل فاس بتسليم القصبتين والبستيونين له لانّهما لجانب السلطنة وليست للرعيّة وتوعّدهم إن لم يفعلوا ، وتعدّدت الرسل بينهم وبينه ، فامتنعوا من ذلك خوفا من ان يواخذوا بما احدثوا بعد موت ابيه فتجلّدوا على الامتناع بعد ان رضوا باعطاء الوظائف المخزنيّة التي كانت تلزمهم حياة السلطان مولانا اسماعيل ويعطون المراهن منهم في ذلك · فابى وابوا · فارسل لحصارهم الجيش في النصف من شوّال · ثمّ قدم بنفسه وحاصرهم من كلّ ناحية واجتهد في رمي البنب والكور كأوّل مرّة · وضيّق عليهم وصار يغاديهم ويراوحهم بالقتال فصبروا وارسلوا الى الامام الوليّ الصالح سيدي احمد الحبيب بتفلات[2] يستغيثون به ويطلبون منه الشفاعة فيهم · فارسل الى السلطان ولده سيدي حمزة واخاه سيدي الصالح فوصلا اليه وكلّماه فأبى الّا ان يعطوه القصبتين والبستيونين ، فدخلا لفاس ورغبا من اهلها بذل ما طلبه السلطان لأنّه اسهل من زيادة معاداته ، فأبوا ، فخرجا عنهم · وجدّدوا في الحصار فتعدّدت الوقائع منه · ثمّ انّ الزرع غلا بفاس اذ كان اوّل الحصار على حين فراغ المخازن من الزرع ودخول فصل المصيف والزرع كلّه باق بغدادينه لم يحملوا منه هم ولا غيرهم شيئا · فلمّا اشتدّ عليهم الغلاء القوا بأنفسهم في المهالك فخرجوا في عشيّة للمحلّة التي قائدها موسى الجرّاريّ بوادي المالح ، فوثبوا[3] عليه · ففرّ اهلها واحتوى اهل فاس على جميع ما فيها واُتِيا[4] بنفطين كانا فيها يجرّونهما الى باب الجيسة · ومثل ذلك فعل آخرون من اهل فاس بالمحلّة التي كانت بسيدي ابي جيدة ، واستبشر ضعفاء العقول بذلك وفرحوا · ثمّ بعد ذلك بايّام قامت غوغاء من بعضهم فخرجوا الى السلطان يطلبون منه الصلح ، فابى ان يترك شيئا من شروطه وعدّد عليهم فعلاتهم ، فعادوا كما كانوا عليه ، فبقوا مدّة · ثمّ انّ السلطان عزم على اخذ القلّتين اللتين خارج باب الجيسة فصبحهم قبل طلوع الشمس في غفلة فاستولى جيشه عليهما · فخرج اليه اهل فاس في الحين وجـدّدوا في قتالهم حتّى

[1] For text's اليل which is meaningless in this context; the Ben Sūda copy has الخيل.

[2] Dl453 تافلالت.

[3] As above, p. 68, n.2.

[4] Note the dual form of the verb preceding the subject.

اخرجوهم منهما بعد ان احاطوا بهم ، فما انجاهم الّا ان القوا انفسهم من الشواهق واستولوا [1] على من بقي بايديهم [2] قتلى واسرى . فتحقّق للسلطان انّ لا سبيل لاقتحام المدينة . ثمّ بعد ايّام وقع الصلح معه على ان يعطوا [3] ما طلب بشرط ان يؤخّر ذلك نحو شهرين ويعطوه المراهن على ذلك . فخرجوا بهديّتهم وفرح بهم وخلع على كبارهم واعطى للشرفاء والطلبة الف مثقال فضّة دراهم . فوفّوه بالشرط وفتحوا المدينة واسكن عبيده بالقصبتين والبستيونين ، ورحل عنهم لمكناسة ، دار ملكهم ، تاسع عشر ربيع النبويّ من العام الذي بعد هذا وهو عام اثنين واربعين .[4]

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1143/1730-1731

استهلّت هذه السنة والخليفة امير المؤمنين ، السلطان مولانا عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ مبسوطة يده في المغرب على جميع مدنه وقراه وقبائله ومداشره . وهو في دار الخلافة [5] بمكناسة ، يخرج لملاقاة جميع من يرد عليه ويتهيّأ لكلّ ذي شكية صباحا ومساء ولا يستطيع احد ان يحول بينه وبين كلّ ذي شكية قبل الوصول اليه . وامور مضبوطة واحكامه نافذة .[6] واجرى الناس على ما هم عليه في المنازل على ما قرّره والده وكذلك ابقى الناس في تولّي الخطط . فلا يستطيع احد ان ينازع احدا في خطّة وليها هو او ابوه او جدّه في عهد امير المؤمنين السلطان الخليفة مولانا اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف الحسني ولا في مرتّب من حبس او صدقات الصالحين او غير ذلك . وهو في ذلك كلّه يحافظ على احياء ولايات والده وبسبب ذلك كان اهل الجانب العظيم كالاشراف والمرابطين والعلماء في اقوى منعة واعزّ رفعة ، ولم يخرق على احد عادة في ذلك اصلا . ثمّ انّ امّه

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1 The 'ل ' is missing in the text.
2 The second 'ي' is missing from the text.
3 For the text's incorrect nominative form يعطون.
4 Vol. II, fol. 86-88.
5 Royal 972 and litho. الملك.
6 For classical orthography نافذة.

السيّدة الجليلة الفقيهة الفضيلة خناثة بنت السيّد الوجيه الفاضل النبيه الحادق [1] في الاخبار ومن لأدبه يُجار ولا يصل اليه عار حتّى في الفيافي والقفار ، سيّد قومه وعمدتهم وفارسهم ومانعهم ، الشيخ بكّار المغفريّ ، التمست من ولدها امير المؤمنين عبد الله الحسنيّ التوجّه للشرق بقصد الحجّ . فاجابها لذلك وهيّأ لها جميع ما تحتاجه ووجّه معها ولده ، خليفتنا الآن بالمغرب امير المؤمنين السلطان المنصور بالله المؤيّد فيما اولاه مولانا ابا عبد الله سيدي محمّد بن عبد الله بن اسماعيل الحسنيّ فحجّ معها ، فكانت في هذه السنة المباركة حجّته ادام الله للمسلمين وجوده ، واصحب النصر عساكره وجنوده ومتّع المسلمين بحياته وكان الله له في حركاته وسكناته .[2]

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1144/1731-1732

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : رجوع امّ مولانا المنصور بالله ابي محمّد عبد الله بن مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ مع حفيدها المنصور بالله امير المؤمنين سيدي محمّد بن عبد الله الحسنيّ من الحجّ واليمن والسلامة يصحبهما والبركة والخير معهما . وحركة السلطان لآيت يمّور ، واتى فيها يوسف الحصالي الذي كان مسبّبا في القيام على اخيه مولاي عبد المالك . فقتله شرّ قتل ومنع من دفنه حتّى تمزّقت اشلاؤه وتفرّقت اعضاؤه . فعل به ذلك لئلّا يتوهّم ضعفة العقول من اصحابه انّه لم يمت لانّه كان يخالط علم الحدثان . وقد حُكي لنا انّه قال له حين قتله "اردتُ ان لا اقتلك ، لاكن خفت اتركك ، يُقال انّ جنونك غلبوني ." وقويت رهبة السلطان في قلوب الناس وعظمت همّته وضخم ملكه وصار له المغرب كالزيت ، وقتل الطغاة من سائر قبائل المغرب . وشدّد المغارم على اهل فاس في امر يطول شرحه ولم يخرج منهم الّا الشرفاء والمرابطين والطلبة ، فاخذ منهم مالا كثيرا مع الحركة الى سبتة .[3]

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1 For classical orthography الحاذق.
2 Vol. II, fol. 90.
3 Vol. II, fol. 91.

ومن حوادث السنة : ففي يوم الثلاثاء منسلخ ربيع الثاني تار[1] العبيد على امير المؤمنين المظفّر الهمام مولانا عبد الله بن المجاهد في سبيل ربّ العالمين مولانا اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ بسبب من قُتِل منهم صبرا من الذين غدروا اخاه ، الخليفة السلطان مولانا عبد المالك . ودسّوا له من قتله . فاخذ بثار اخيه واكثر القتل من رؤسائهم حتّى كاد ان يستأصل[2] كبارهم وطغاتهم بعد ان وضع المغارم الثقيلة خصوصا على مدينة فاس ، فكاد ان يفلس اهل التورّث منهم . ولم يحايش عن هذا الّا الشرفاء والمرابطين والطلبة ، فانّهم كانوا في زمنه في عزّ ومنعة وتوقير واحترام وتبجيل واعظام . ثمّ انّ السلطان مولانا عبد الله بن مولاي اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ لمّا تار[3] عليه العبيد اجمع على الفرار فارسل الى العبيد مائة قنطار من الفضّة يريد بذلك حلّ كلمتهم . فاخذوها وفرّقوها في مصالحهم بحربه وازدادوا بها قوّة ونفروا منه ، وامر الله ومراده فوق ذلك . فحمل ما رفدته دوابّه من المال وذهب على تادلاء فنزل على مرس ابي الاعوان الذي هو هنا مجموع لبيت المال ، فنادى باباحته في القبائل . فاخرجه الناس واستعانوا به على المسغبة التي نزلت في تلك السنة ،[4] لانّ تلك السنة كان اليبس بمرّاكش وحوزها . ثمّ دخل لسوس فنزل بموضع يُقال له شوشاوة ، فاطال المقام بها وسيأتي تمام ذلك إن شاء الله . ثمّ بعد مسيره لسوس اعلن العبيد بنصر اخيه السلطان امير المؤمنين ابي الحسن مولاي علّي بن الخليفة امير المؤمنين المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل بن الشريف الحسنيّ . فقاموا بدعوته والى التمسّك بطاعته وتبعهم اهل المغرب في ذلك لما كانوا فيه من ضيق المغرم والتكليف بما لا طاقة لهم به . فاسقط عنهم ذلك ففرحوا لسقوط المغرم عنهم[5] كأنّهم خرجوا من الرحم الى الدنيا او العيش بعد الموت . فارسل العبيد واهل المغرب[6] وفاس وغيرها وكلّهم تابعون في ذلك للعبيد بالبيعة الى مولاي علّي وهو بتفلالت . فقدم الى فاس ودخل دار الملك من فاس المرينيّة يوم الاثنين السابع والعشرين من جمادى الاولى من السنة . وفي يوم الخميس

1 For classical orthography ثار.

2 For text's erroneous يستصل .

3 As note 1 above.

4 A superfluous في ذلك السنة has been deleted here.

5 For text's incorrect عنها.

6 For text's erroneous بالمغرب.

بعده توجّه لمكناس فدخلها غدوة يوم الجمعة وصلّى بجامع دار الخلافة بالقصبة . وكان حينئذ خطيبها واماما هو قاضي القضاة سيدي محمّد الطالب بن عبد الواحد ابي عنان فقدّم ذكر السلطان عن ذكر الصحابة عسى ان ينال بما ابتدعه منزلة عند السلطان . فلمّا فرغ من الخطبة قدم غيره للصلاة ولمّا فرغ منها عزله لفعله ذلك وولّى مكانه قاضي القضاة والامامة والخطبة الفقيه الاجلّ ابي القاسم بن سعيد العميريّ . ثمّ نظر في خزائن المال فوجدها خالية لا ذهب[1] بها اعطاه للعبيد لم يف مرتّبهم الذي كانوا يقبضونه في نصف كلّ سنة عادة ، فكمّل لهم مائتي قنطار من تنافيل على الناس الذي خصّتهم لكمال مرتّبهم .[2] وكان الخليفة السلطان مولانا عبد الله الحسنيّ لمّا اراد المسير الى سوس دفن المال الذي لم يحضره من يحمله من الدوابّ في الارض واخفاه باجمعه هو وما سلم من نهب القصبة بعد وفاة والده . ثمّ اخرجه هو بعد ذلك بسنين كما يأتي ذكر ذلك إن شاء الله . ثمّ انّ مولاي علّي ولّى على فاس القايد مسعود الروسي ، فكلّفهم باخراج خمسمائة من الرماة . وقتل الحاجّ احمد بُودَة اللمطيّ رئيس اللمطيّين بعد موت مولانا اسماعيل ممن وتب[3] على دار اخيه ابي علّي بن عبد الخالق الروسي وقُتِل فقتله باخيه وكان يميل الى مولاي عبد الله لانّ السيّدة خناثة بنت الشيخ بكّار المغفريّ امّ مولانا عبد الله تشفّعت في بودة لمّا قتل ولدها مولاي عبد الله الفئة الباغية من رؤساء فاس . فاجتمع رؤساء اهل فاس بعد صلاة الجمعة واعلنوا اصواتهم كصوت واحد قائلون "نحن بالله وبالشرع" . فكان من ذلك ضجيج وصياح فلمّا سمع ذلك مسعود الروسي خرج من فاس فارّا حوفا على نفسه . فبلغ خبرهم لمولاي علّي [و][4] اغتاض[5] وارسل من يستفهم حالهم فتعدّدت الرسل بينهم وبينه في امر يطول ذكره . فامر قوّاده بمحاصرة فاس فنزلوا لحصارها اواخر شعبان من سنة سبع واربعين فسنّوا[6] الغارات على فاس وحصروها . فاقبل ضعفاؤها ومن ليس له قدرة مع رؤسائها للمنع وللدفع عن نفسه المؤمنون

1 For text's incorrect لا ذهبا. Note the unusual structure of the following phrase.

2 The preceding text is garbled and contains a probable lacuna; marginal note, in hand other than the copyist's: بلغ صرف الذهب في هذه السنة ثمان اواق عدّة للمثقال المسبوك .

3 For classical orthography وثب.

4 Necessary insert.

5 For classical orthography اغتاظ .

6 For classical orthography فشنّوا .

العاجزون من النساء والرجال واليتامى والارامل واهل البيت على الدعاء الى الله والتدرّع [1] والتشفّع بكتاب الله في هذا الشهر شهر رمضان، آناء اليل واطراف [النهار] [2] فتداركهم الله بلطفه الخفيّ المرجوّ بعد الشدّة. وذلك انّه امر عبيد الرملة بتوجيه جيشهم لحصار فاس فامتنعوا ونهوه عن حصار فاس. وقال له رئيسهم سالم الدكّاليّ "إنّ حصار فاس ينهض الفتن بالمغرب ويكثر النهب والغارات بين القبائل فتنقطع الطرق ويشتدّ الغلاء وتكون الكرّة لأخيك مولاي عبد الله". فرجع عن ذلك وامر قوّاده بالرحيل عن حصار فاس واكتفوا بذكر الصحابة فقط. فلمّا رحلت المحلّة عنهم خطبوا به كما كانوا عليه. وكان سجن جماعة من اعيان شرفاء فاس وعلمائها الذين جاءوه يطلبون العفو و[ان] [3] يمهل اهل فاس في الرماة حتّى يعيّنوهم وعطاءهم. [4] فامتحنهم محنا عظيمة وهو يهدّدهم بالقتل والتجريد من الثياب المرّة بعد المرّة. [5] فلمّا نهاه العبيد عن حصار فاس وارتحل الجيش عنهم بعث شرفاء فاس الى الشيخ الوليّ الصالح المتبرّك به شرقا وغربا حيّا وميّتا سيدي محمّد (المدعوّ الطيّب) بن الامام سيدي محمّد الشريف اليملاحيّ الحسنيّ العلميّ صاحب وازّان من بلاد مصمودة الغرب رسولا يطلب منه ان يتشفّع في اهلهم المسجونين عند السلطان للعبيد يأمرون

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1 For classical orthography التضرّع.

2 Necessary insert, as found in D1453.

3 Necessary insert.

4 Perhaps there is a lacuna preceding this last word; otherwise, the correct form would be ويعطوهم.

5 Copyist's marginal note: خرج اوّلا الشرفاء مستشفعين اليه ليمهّل اهل فاس حتّى يعيّنوا الرماة ثمّ لم يفعلوا. فاراد حصارهم فلبّسوا عليه الامر فاخرجوا الخيم وانزلوها بموضع المصلّى خارج باب الفتوح ومعهم بعض السلاكط (sic) يلبّسون عليه انّهم يخرجون المحلّة والامر خلاف ذلك. ثمّ وجّهوا له شرفاء فاس مستشفعين بجملهم حتّى يجمعون الرماة وعلّلوا له ذلك بتعذّر قلّة ذات اليد لاستيفاء راتب الرماة. فامهلهم شهرا. ثمّ انّهم لم يفوا له بذلك وقال للشرفاء "إن اتيتموني ثالثا مستشفعين فيهم سأسجنكم مكبّلين مسلسلين." فلمّا لم يفوا له بعد الشهر اراد ارسال جيش لحصار فاس فطلبوا ثانيا من اعيان الاشراف التشفّع فيهم. فخرج جميع من خرج في المرّتين اللتين قبل هذه وهم بين الخمسين والستّين. فقبض عليهم وسلسلهم وكبّلهم وهم من جميع الاعيان الذين ذكرهم صاحب الدرّ السنيّ. فلم ينج منهم الّا والدي اختفى في الطريق لانّه كان اخبره في الطريق بعض رؤساء العبيد بانّ السلطان يقبضهم لا محالة، فاختفى ونجّاه الله ورجع الى فاس يخبر بقبضهم. هـ

السلطان بتسريحهم. فوجّه مولاي الطيّب المذكور الرسول بنفسه الى العبيد فاجابوه الى ذلك وبعثوا الباشة الحوّات احد رؤسائهم الى السلطان يأمرونه بتسريح الشرفاء فوصل الحوّات الى مكناس واخبر السلطان بعدم موافقة العبيد على فعله بالشرفاء وهدّدوه إن لم يسرّحهم من سجنهم الى فاس يرى منهم ما يكره. فاطلق الشرفاء والفقهاء فورا ووصلوا الى فاس. ورزق الله تعلى المطر في هذه السنة فصلح فيها الزرع وجميع المواشي والاثمار وجاء على اكمل حالة ولم يضع منه لأربابه شيء واستمرّت العافية الى تمام السنة. [1]

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1148/1735-1736

ومن حوادث السنة: انّه في شهر ربيع الاوّل من عام الترجمة تجهّز عبيد مشرع الرملة للحركة لسوس متّبعين للسلطان مولاي عبد الله بن مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ ومتولّي القيام بذلك كبيرهم الباشة سالم الدكّاليّ. فبلغوا حاحة واحجموا عن الاقدام عليه وهو بتردانت لهيبته وخوف بطشه فطالت اقامتهم وقلّت عليهم الميرة وانقلبوا راجعين لنحو ثلاثة اشهر من خروجهم. ثمّ بالقرب من ذلك ورد الخبر انّ مولاي عبد الله نزل تادلاء فاخذ اخوه مولاي علّيّ في التهيّي لقتاله وبعث للعبيد يعلمهم بخروجه فوعدوه بالقدوم عليه. وكان عسكر بجيشه مع الاوداية وغيرهم خارج مكناسة فبقي يرصد قدومهم عليه حتّى جاء عيد الفطر جاءه المنادي بانّهم خلعوه ورجعوا لطاعة خليفتهم الاوّل اخيه امير المؤمنين مولانا عبد الله بن المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ. فارتحل مولاي علّيّ سريعا وفرّ فورا فاصبح من ليلته فورا على ضفّة وادي فاس فطلب من الاوداية القيام معه فاغلقوا الباب دونه. ثمّ ارتحل فورا فنزل بقنطرة سبوا حتّى قضى اصحابه من فاس ما يحتاجون اليه واخرج له بعض اهل فاس خبزا [2] لأصحابه. ثمّ ارتحل عشيّة النهار متوجّها لناحية المشرق فبقي بين عرب اهل الشرق. ثمّ نُودِي بنصر

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1 Vol.II, fol. 94-95.

2 D1453 خبزًا; this variant is more likely, since al-Ḥawwāt, in his Al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda (Rabat General Library MS. K2351) notes that on this occasion Mawlāy ʿAlī 'bought what he needed and then set off . . .' (p. 303).

مولاي عبد الله في المغرب وجميع اقطاره · فانقسم الناس فرقتين فرقة فرحت غاية الفرح لأنّ الطرقات مند [1] خرج عنه اهل المغرب وهي فاسدة ولم تمض الاحكام لمولاي عليّ دون امر العبيد في شيء وهذه الفرقة هي الشرفاء والمرابطون والطلبة والفقراء والضعفاء الذين لم تلزمهم وضيفة [2] المغارم وفرقة نكدت وفزعت وكرهت ولايته عليهم مخافة اخذهم بما فعلوا وهذه الفرقة منهم الذين سعوا في الخروج عليه ومن اكثر في الارض الفساد والنهب والقطع والتعدّي والغصب· ومن كان يناله بشيء من المغارم خاف ان يرجعوا لما كانوا عليه لانّ مولاي عليّ لم يجر عليهم ذلك الّا امرا يسيرا منه ومن هذا العام حدثت الكرّة والعداوة بين العوامّ واهل البيت الى الآن · وكان بقصبة تادلاء القائد مولود الجبيليّ الاوديّ مع بعض العبيد عاملا على تلك البلاد فلمّا قدم مولاي عبد الله بلاد تادلاء اغلقوا القصبة لئلّا يريد الدخول اليها ظنّا منهم انّ الامر لم يرجع اليه فلم يلبثوا اذ وردت عليهم الرسائل بانّ العبيد واهل المغرب نصروا مولاي عبد الله ورجعوا الى بيعته وخلعوا اخاه مولاي عليّ فسُقِط ما بايديهم وطلبوا الامان لانفسهم من السلطان مولانا عبد الله· فارسل اليهم قائد جيشه قاسم بن ريسون فاجابوه للخروج معه للسلطان ثمّ رجع لداره موهما لهم انّه يريد بعض مقضيّاته فضُرِب برصاصة من كابوس اطارت نحبه فحملوه للسلطان كذلك فاشتدّ غيظه على من بقي فقتل ممّن كان بالقصبة نحو سبعين رجلا · ثمّ جاء العبيد للقائه بنحو الف ومعهم الشرفاء والعلماء فباشرهم بالخير واعلن لهم انّ سبب ما وقع بينهم وبينه هو سالم الدكّاليّ فواعدوه ان يأتوه به ويسامحهم فيما صدر منهم واعطاهم مالا وامرهم بالرحيل في الحين والناس على وجل ومخافة من انحلال الامر· فلمّا رجعوا لمحلّهم مشرع الرملة وجدوا سالما الدكّاليّ وجميع من باشر معه الخروج على مولاي عبد الله مجموعا معه وخلعوا مولاي عبد الله ثانيا واعلنوا ببيعة السلطان سيدي محمّد بن الخليفة المنصور بالله امير المؤمنين اسماعيل بن مولانا الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ المدعوّ ابن عربية وبعثوا بذلك لفاس ومكناس وسائر بلاد المغرب يدعونهم لبيعته والـــى التمسّك بدعوته· فاجتمع عبيد الزنقة وغيرهم من عبيد مشرع الرملة الذين [لم] [3] ينكثوا بيعة مولانا عبد الله ولم يريدوا الخروج عنه· فآل الامر الى القتال بين الطائفتين فغُلِب سالم الدكّاليّ وطائفته ففرّ الى مولانا ادريس الاكبر دفين زرهون في جماعة من رؤساء اصحابه·

[1] For classical orthography منذ.

[2] For classical orthography وظيفة.

[3] Necessary insert.

فاخرجه العبيد وقيّدوه في الحديد ومعه اصحابه ووُجّه بهم الى السلطان مولانا عبد الله فسجنهم اياما · ثمّ امر باحضارهم فأُحضِروا بين يديه فعدّد عليهم فعلاتهم وقتلهم صبرا وذلك في اوّل المحرّم فاتح عام تسعة واربعين ومائة والف· ثمّ قصد الدخول لدار الملك بمكناسة فنزل بها بموضع يُقال له بوفكران كان من امره ما ياتي في العام بعد هذا ·[1]

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1149/1736-1737

ومن حوادث هذه السنة : لمّا نزل السلطان المنصور بالله مولانا عبد الله بأبي فكران من عمل مكناسة في محرّم فاتح عام الترجمة تهيّأ للقائه اهل فاس باشرافهم وعلمائهم وكبارهم ورماتهم · فلقوه حيث ذكر فعاتبهم على عدم الاسراع للقائه مع من لاقاه بتادلا" وعلى قتل من قُتِلوا في ولاية اخيه السلطان مولاي عليّ وهم قوم كانوا اصحاب قائده عليهم محمّد بن عليّ بن يشّي الزمّوريّ· فانتخب من كبارهم الذين لهم الحلّ والعقد في امر المدينة لا من اهل المروة ستّة عشر رجلا وقتلهم صبرا وباقي الرماة اهل المروة صرّفهم الى المدينة ولم يتعرّض لهم بسوء قولا ولا فعلا وولّى عليهم محمّد بن عليّ المذكور وهو عامله عليهم في اخذ المال قبل خروج العبيد عليه· فرجع جميع من كان عنده ومنعوا القائد محمّد بن عليّ المذكور من الدخول لفاس فنزل بالقصبة الجديدة منها إذ كان فيها عبيد السلطان وخاصّته إدالة وتكرّرت الرسل بين القائد واهل فاس· ثمّ كتب للسلطان بامتناعهم فوجّه اليهم قائده ابا بكر الاوديّ فصبّحهم في خامس عشرين من صفر فاغار على سرحهم وكان شاع فيهم انّ السلطان وجّه اليهم قائدا آخر· فسلب سلبا كثيرا وانقطع السبيل ونُودِي من قبل السلطان بالوعيد الشديد لمن دخل مدينة فاس بالميرة فبقوا محاصرين الى مهلّ ربيع الاوّل · فارسل السلطان القائد مسعود الروسي واليا على فاس لما شاع عنهم انّهم كرهوا محمّد بن عليّ المذكور وامّا غيره فهم راضون به ايّا كان · ففرح عامّة الناس بدخوله لخمود الفتنة واطفاء نار الغلاء· فدخل الروسي دار اخيه بعدوة فاس الاندلس فجعل الناس ياتون للسلام عليه

[1] Vol. II, fol. 97.

وكثر عليه الازدحام وهو داهش لا يدري ما يحلّ به · ثمّ في الحين دخل عليه من جرى في الفتن فقتلوا بعض اصحابه بين ايديه وخرج هو فارّا لدار بعض الاشراف ومحترما ومختفيا · فلمّا كان من اليل اجتمع رأيهم على قتل القائد الروسي آخذا بثار اخيهم بوده اذ كان قتله في زمن ولايته لمولاي عليّ فاخرجوه من المحلّ الذي كان به وقتلوه واصبحوا على اشدّ ما يكون في حصارهم · وغلا الزرع فكان نحو ثمان موزونات للصاع النبويّ وقلّ الادام وانقطع اللحم · واستمرّوا على حصارهم ومكث اهل فاس على الاعلان بنصر مولاي عبد الله والخطبة به على المنابر · وفي آخر ربيع الاوّل اجمع اهل فاس على عدم قبول دعوة مولاي عبد الله اصلا والقيام بدعوة اخيه سيدي محمّد المدعوّ بابن عريبة[1] وكان مختفيا عندهم · واوغر صدره في الحين اهل فاس على شيعة مولانا عبد الله وهم الشرفاء والطلبة والزوايا ووشوا له بمن ذُكِر بأنّهم لمّا اراد اهل فاس القيام بدعوته مع سالم الدكّاليّ فمنعوهم من ذلك وقاموا بدعوة مولاي عبد الله في مقابلتهم · فخافوا ان يكون الظفر لمولاي عبد الله على سالم الدكّاليّ وقتله ويرجع على اهل فاس فتركوا القيام بدعوة سيدي محمّد وتبعوا من قام بدعوة مولانا عبد الله · فلمّا قتل مولاي عبد الله سالما الدكّاليّ ولم يتمّ الامر لسيدي محمّد خاف على نفسه وفرّ لفاس من مكناسة واختفى بها الى آن ما ذُكِر الى الآن · فأُخبِر بحال من ذُكِر فنُودِي بفاس ببيعة السلطان الجليل ذي القدر الكبير امير المؤمنين ابي عبد الله الغالب بالله والمتوكّل عليه سيدي محمّد بن الخليفة الكبير المجاهد في سبيل ربّ العالمين امير المؤمنين المنصور بالله ابي النصر مولاي اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ واجتمع اهل المدينتين فاس الادريسيّة والجديدة المرينيّة على بيعته فكُتِبت له البيعة بفاس وجُعِلت في خزانة مولانا ادريس ونُودي بذلك في سائر البلاد المجاورة لها ووُجّه بالخبر الى عبيد مشرع الرملة وأُمِر بحصار محمّد بن عليّ قائد اخيه ومن معه بالقصبتين والبستيونين وذلك في اوّل جمادى الثانية · فلمّا وصلت

[1] It is difficult to tell from the manuscripts whether the name is عريبة or عربية, and printed Arabic texts have both. However, contemporary European sources have forms suggesting the Arabic عريبة. Thus in Thomas Pellow's, The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow in South Barbary, 2nd edn. London, n.d., we find 'Mahomet Wolderriva' (p. 237) and 'Mahomet Lariba' (p. 260); in John Windus' A Journey to Mequinez, London, 1725, we find 'Muley Mahomet Lariba' (p. 152); and in (Adrien Maurice Mairault), Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la Royaume de Maroc depuis l'année 1727 jusqu'en 1737, Paris, 1742, we find 'Sidi Mohamet oul-del-ella-arriva' (p. 247).

الرسالة الى عبيد مشرع الرملة اجتمعت فرقة سالم الدكّاليّ ونادوا ببيعته فقامت الفرقة الاخرى في مقابلتهم ووقع القتال بينهم فغُلِب اصحاب سالم الدكّاليّ ثمّ وقع الصلح واتّفق جميعهم على بيعة سيدي محمّد بن عريبة وبعثوا ببيعتهم له لفاس فورد ذلك لفاس يوم الاثنين ثامن عشر جمادى الثانية · وفرّ من القصبة القائد محمّد بن عليّ ومن معه ولم يكن بينهم وبين من حاصرهم من جيش السلطان قتال ولا رمي بكور ولا بنب ولا حفر مينة ولا طمع في الاستيلاء على المدينة لانّ السلطان اوصاهم بعد ذلك وقال "إنّ ذلك لا يفيد في فاس شيئا وقد بلغت في الحصر الآخر الذي قبل هذا الجهد وما حصل لي من ذلك الّا تضييع الاموال والمشقّة · وانّما يُدعَى اهلها للطاعة بقطع الميرة عنهم · " فنادى في القبائل بذلك وقُطِعت الميرة عن فاس فنال اهلها المساكين والضعفاء الذين لا يقدرون على الدفع عن انفسهم من رؤسائها شدّة من الغلاء والجوع · ومن غد [ه][1] فرّ محمّد بن عليّ والجيش عن فاس وخرج السلطان سيدي محمّد لفاس الجديد فدخل دار الملك منها ومعه الاوداية · وفي عشيّة هاذا اليوم ورد الخبر لفاس من مكناسة انّ السلطان مولاي عبد الله احتمل امّه وعياله وحشمه وجميع دخائره[2] واملاكه وارتحل من مكناس · وكان لمّا اراد الخروج من مكناسة الى تادلاء حيث وصله خروج العبيد عليه دفن الاموال والدخائر[3] التي لم تحضره الدوابّ لحملها وترك امّه وعياله بدورهم · فلمّا رجع الى مكناسة واراد الرحيل منها حمل جميع ذلك وترك دار الملك قفرا · وفي الحادي والعشرين من الشهر ارتحل سيدي محمّد من دار الملك من فاس المرينيّة ودخل دار الملك بمكناسة فوجدها قفارا فارغة حتّى من الزرع · وليس عنده ما يقوم به عيشه فضلا عن مصالح عيال الجيش وليس بمكناسة ونواحيها شيء ممّن يمشي على اربع اذ كان مولاي عبد الله لمّا رحل من مكناسة امر من تابعه من البربر بسنّ[4] الغارة على جميع نواحي مكناسة وسائس فلم يتركوا لاحد شيئا · والذي زعجه على الخروج عن مكناسة انّ جميع من بها وباحوازها من العبيد خرجوا عن دعوته ونادوا بنصر سيدي محمّد مع متولّي القيام بذلك منهم الباشة بن النويني · فوجّه لحربهم جميع جيشه واتباعه مع اخيه الفارس الانجد البطل الارشد مولانا الرشيد بن امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ فوقع القتال بين الفريقين كان الظفر فيه للعبيد بعد ان وقع

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For classical orthography ذخائر.

[3] As note 1 above.

[4] For classical orthography يشنّ.

نهب فيهم وفتك ومات في القتال مولاي الرشيد وابن النويني . ثمّ اتّبع من كان بمكناس من العبيد مولانا عبد الله ليفتكوا به فلمّا نزلوا عين اللوح ارسل[1] الله تعالى عليهم امطارا كثيرا وارياحا واصابهم برد شديد حتّى كادوا ان يهلكوا . فرجعوا خائبين قصدهم وكسر الله شوكتهم بذلك عنه بغير قتال . وفي شوّال اكثر اتباع مولانا عبد الله من البربر الغارة على سائس وغيره من البلاد الموالية لجبال البربر ففرّ جميع من كان يلي جبال البربر فخلا جميع تلك البلاد . ثمّ شنّ البربر الغارات على من يمرّ بالطرقات واكثروا النهب في سائر البلاد التي يقدرون على الوصول اليها من كلّ جهة وقاموا بدعوة مولانا عبد الله في سائر جبالهم واتّخذهم بطانة له . وفي هذا الوقت بدا انتعاشهم فكان ظهورهم على بديهة فلمّا رأى مولانا عبد الله فرار الناس من البربر وخلوّ[2] البلاد التي تليهم نزل حبل غمرة الموالي لبلاد سايس وانقطعت الميرة عن فاس الادريسيّة من كلّ ناحية من غارات البربر على ما حولها . وحبس الله المطر عنها وعن حوزها فارتفعت الاسعار . فلمّا رأى سيدي محمّد ما اصاب الناس من كثرة النهب استدعى العبيد والقبائل للحركة الى بلاد البربر وقتالهم عسى ان يكون في ذلك المهادنة وتأمين الطرق واصلاح الأمّة . وليس بدار الملك ما يقوم به عيشه فضلا عن مصالح عيال الجيش ولم يكن اجرى في ايّام ولايته مكسا ولا معونة لا في حضريّ ولا بدويّ . فاجابه الناس لِمَا دعاهم اليه عبيد الرمل والقبائل فخرج ونزل ببطّيط تاسع عشر ذي القعدة واجتمع العبيد والاوداية واهل فاس وسائر القبائل . ثمّ وقع القتال بين جيش سيدي محمّد من العبيد وجيش مولانا عبد الله من البربر فانهزم جيش سيدي محمّد من العبيد واتّبعهم البربر فراسخ واستولى البربر على محلّة العبيد بما فيها فقويت شوكة البربر بذلك وضعفت شوكة العبيد . ثمّ رجع سيدي محمّد لفاس وزار مولانا ادريس اوائل ذي الحجّة فوجد بمولانا ادريس ابن عمّه الشريف الوجيه الحاذق[3] في الاخبار مولانا الحسن . . .[4] الشريف الفضيليّ الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ . فلحقه بكلام فاجابه بمثله فاشار الى وجهه بيده التي اصابته فيها رصاصة كما يأتي إن شاء الله . وخرج من زيارة مولانا ادريس ونكب جماعة من اشراف

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1 Copyist's marginal note: ورئيسهم بموضع يُعرَف الآن بجرف العبيد . حينئذ الحوّات ومات من العبيد خمسة عشر مائة .

2 For text's خلوا .

3 For classical orthography الحاذق.

4 Blank in text.

تغلالت . وبعد ثلاثة ايّام خرج لمكناسة . وبقيت الناس في غارات البربر كذلك الى ان خرج سيدي محمّد لحربهم الثاني في منتصف المحرّم كما ياتي إن شاء الله خبره في عام خمسين بعد هذا . واستمرّ ارتفاع المطر وزادت الاسعار واشرف جميع من في المغرب على الهلاك . وَلِلّٰهِ عَاقِبَةُ الأُمُورِ .[1]

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1150/1737-1738

ومن حوادث السنة : ففي منتصف صفر امر سيدي محمّد عبيد الرمل وقبائل المغرب بالحركة معه البربر الخارجين عنه الذين ينهبون من جاورهم في البلاد وكان ابّان افراك الزرع فخرج العبيد فأكلوا كلّما مرّوا به من الزرع وتركوا الارض قاعا صفصفا . فنزل مكناسة القبائل المجتمعة مع السلطان ولحقهم اهل فاس والاوداية وخرج سيدي محمّد بالجميع من مكناسة فنزلوا ببطّيط . ثمّ نزلوا على قرية صفروا فاعتصم اهلها باصوارها[2] وبذلوا طاعتهم له وطلبوا العفو لانفسهم حيث كانوا لم يدخلوا في طاعة سيدي محمّد . فسمح لهم ورحل السلطان بمن معه فنزل على قبيلة المزادغ فتحصّنوا بمعقلهم وقاتلوا من دنا منهم من الجيش وخرجوا فاظهروا لهم الميل عنهم حتّى استامنوهم فولّوا عليهم واستباحوهم قتلا ونهبا فوقع فيهم والعياذ بالله امر شنيع . ثمّ رحل سيدي محمّد في طلب مولاي عبد الله ومن قام بدعوته من البربر ممّن ببلاد غمرة فلم يترك جيشه دارا الّا وهدموها وما مرّوا بشجرة الّا وقطعوها ولا مالا الّا ونهبوه وتركوا تلك الجبال خرابا . ثمّ ساروا على فعلهم كذلك الى ان وصلوا الى بلاد آية عيّاش فخرج المرابطون اولاد سيدي عبد الله عيّاش ومعهم صبيان المكتب بالواحهم مستشفعين في البربر وتضرّعوا لسيدي محمّد في العفو وذكروا له انّ مولاي عبد الله سار لتافلالت وانّ البرابر انحازت عنه وطلبوا منهم يطلبون العفو عنهم . ودخلوا في دعوته فابى قبول شفاعتهم فيهم وشمّر لقتال البرابر واتّبعهم في رؤوس تلك الجبال وطمع في الاستيلاء

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1 Vol. II, fol. 100-101.

2 For classical orthography اسوار.

عليهم وتقدّم لحربهم بنفسه من غير تعبية فأُصيب برصاصة شهمت[1] عظم دراعه[2] في الحين في اليد التي لطم بها وجه ابن عمّه المستحرم منه بضريح مولانا ادريس ونجا عن قرب من الهلاك بعد الياس من الحياة. فانهزم جيشه لجرحه في الحين ومات في القتال بينهما اموات كثيرة وامر جيشه بالرحيل فورا ورجع الى المغرب. فاخذ البرابر في اعقابهم ونهبوا كثيرا من الدوابّ الحاملة للاثقال للمحلّة والسلطان ولحقوا بذلك الى مولاي عبد الله وهو بتافلالت واعلموه بجرح اخيه ورجوعه للمغرب وطلبوا منه الرجوع لبلدهم لاتّباع اخيه سيدي محمّد. وكان مولاي عبد الله شهمه المقام في بلادهم ولا رأى منهم نصحا له وانّما مرادهم النهب فقط لا الهدنة وتمهّد الطاعة فذهّبهم مولاي عبد الله بعد ان بيّن لهم مرادهم. ورجع سيدي محمّد لمكناسة واستقرّ بها. وانقطعت الطرق بالكلّيّة وارتفعت الاسعار فبلغ القمح نحو ثلاث اواق ونصف قديمة للصاع النبويّ.[3] وجعل اللصوص يهجمون على الناس في ديارهم ليلا ويقتلونهم ويستغيثون فلا يُغاثون. وبلغ النهب[4] في النهار الى باب الدور التي باطراف المدينة فلا يستطيع احد ان يخرج عن وادي عدوة الاندلس ولا عن باب القصبتين ولا عن الحفّارين من[5] فاس القرويّين. وانعدم الحطب من فاس فاكثر الناس الهدم في الدور لاخذ الخشب لطبخ ما يقوتون. وخلي من السكنى نحو الثلثين من فاس بالجوع والفرار عنها[6] وتخرّب اكثر من ذلك من دورها وحوانيتها وغير ذلك. واخرج العدوّ الكافر الزرع من بلاده للمسلمين من البحر في تطّاون ونواحيها. فخرج اهل فاس لجلبه اليهم فاشتروه منهم فكان والي تلك البلاد الباشة احمد بن عليّ بن عبد الله الريفيّ بباطن البداوة وغيرهم

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1 Colloquial for classical هشمت.

2 For classical orthography ذراع.

3 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: فبلغ ازيد من خمس اواق قديمة للصاع النبويّ الذي في وقتنا الآن منه اربعة آصع في كلّ مدّ. فيكون المدّ الموجود الآن بحساب مثقالين اثنين لكلّ مدّ.

4 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. الخوف.

5 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. give the areas as: على باب مصمودة في العدوة ولا عن باب القصبة القديمة في الطالعة عن حومة الحفّارين من باب عجيسة.

6 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: تجد الدرب مشتملا على عشرين دارا كلّها فارغة. فافتضح الناس من اهل المروءة ومن يُظَنّ به الدين وكلّ من قدر على نهوض خرج من فاس وقليل من سلم بعد خروجه.

من اهل الابل الذين يحملون في الطرق بأن لا يحملوا لأهل فاس شيئا وفي الظاهر يأمرهم بالحمل الى فاس وينصح في ذلك بلسانه. فتمرّد على الناس حلب الزرع لفاس واطال بهذا نحو ستّة اشهر حتّى وصل للريفيّ اكثر من بفاس الذين لهم عيال كثيرون لا يقدرون على حملهم لبلد آخر من قلّة قدرة الزاد والتناول وحفظ المروءة ماتوا عن آخرهم بالجوع فصُرّ[1] بذلك في الباطن.[2] ولا اغنى الناس مال ولا متاع فعُرف كثيرا من الناس من اهل الاموال ضاعوا وكل من حفظه ونجا من اهل فاس فعن مشقّة. وبلغ سوم الزرع في هذه المدّة ستّ آواق للصاع النبويّ. ودخل الركب النبويّ لفاس فلم يشعر به احد الّا بعد وصوله لدور فاس واتى بزرع معه من طرابلس فانحطّ القمح الى نحو سبع موزونات للصاع النبويّ. وسار اهل فاس بابل لهم لتطّاون فحملوا عليها الزرع واتوا به لفاس حيث تحقّقوا ما بطنهم به الريفيّ واخبرهم البداوة بذلك[3] وتدارك الله تعلى عباده باللطف الخفيّ المرجوّ بعد الشدّة وبقي الامر كذلك الى تمام عام خمسين. وفي شوّال خرج مولاي عبد الله من تافلالت وذهب لتادلاء ثمّ لقصبة مزمّ بآية عتاب. واجتمعت عليه قبائل تلك الناحية واهدوا له وجاءه اهل تاردانت بعد ان قُتِل بها القائم في تلك الناحية محمّد بن عبد الله السوسيّ، كان زعم انّه المهديّ صاحب الامر، قُتِل في حرب هوّارة من عرب بسوس. ثمّ ارسل مولاي عبد الله الى مرّاكش فقبض اهل فاس الذين بها واستولى على امتعتهم ونالتهم محنة ثمّ عفا عنهم واطلقهم. وهو مقيم بالمزمّ ينتظر إجابة العبيد لدعوته فانصرفوا عنه الى اخيه مولاي المستضيء بالله كما ستُذكَر في العام بعد هذا إن شاء الله تعلى.[4]

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1 For classical orthography سُرّ.

2 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: والله تعلى شاهد عليهم سيجزيهم وصفهم انّه حكيم عليم.

3 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: ولولا انّ الله تعلى سخّر العدوّ على اخراج القوت للمسلمين لَمُات جميع من في المغرب جوعا فيما اظنّ والعلم عند الله تعلى. وذلك كلّه من شوم الفتن والخروج على الملوك ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله. وكسدت السلع والاصول فلم يكن شيء منها يكاد يبلغ قيمة عشره بالثمن المعتاد. وكلّ هذا من كثرة المناكر وظهور الفحش مع قلّة الاحكام. فما اهون الخلق على الله إن خالفوا امره ولم يجعل الله لاهل هذا المغرب راحة حتّى منّ اللهعليهم برجوع مولاي عبد الله اليه.

4 Vol. II, fol. 101-102.

ومن حوادث السنة : ففي ربيع الاوّل انحطّ الزرع الى ستّ موزونات للصاع النبويّ فطمع الناس في الحياة بعد الياس ورخصت اثمان الصيفيّة مع قلّتها لقلّة اكلها لانّها تزيد في الجوع. وفي تاسع عشرين من صفر اتّفق العبيد على خلع سيدي محمّد بن عريبة لانّه لم يجد ما يعطيهم من المرتّب لهم في كلّ سنة . ووجّه العبيد من مشرع الرملة الى مكناسة جماعة منهم ودخلوا عليه في دار الملك واخرجوه منها وقيّدوه في الحديد في بعض اماكن الدار ولم يجدوا ما ينهبون[1] بها لانّ سيدي محمّد كان اسقط الضروب والمكوس عن سائر اهل المغرب فانقطعت الجبايا والهدايا عن دار الملك من سائر بلاد المغرب الّا[2] ما يأتي من مراسي البحر وما يُقبَض من اهل الذمّة .[3] وامّا الاعشار فكان عام اليبس فلم يُكمَّل لأجل نصاب وامّا الزكاة فاكثر الاموال نُهِب. امّا اهل فاس فاخذ اموالهم محمّد بن عليّ الزمّوريّ وامّا اموال اهل البوادي فاكثرها نُهِبت كما تقدّم ذكر مفصّلا . فلذلك لم يجد سيدي محمّد ما يقوم به من مصالح علل الجيش فخلعوه . ومن الغد بايعوا اخاه الفارس الشهير البطل السلطان المظفّر الهمام امير المومنين مولانا المستضيء بالله بن الخليفة امير المومنين المنصور بالله مولانا اسماعيل بن السلطان مولانا الشريف[4] الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ . وكانت بعض شروط الولاية . . .[5] الّا انّ الله تعلى لم يمهّد له في شيء فهو اعلم بغيبه وعسى . . .[6] وفرح الشرفاء والعلماء والمرابطون لخلع سيدي محمّد لِمَا نزل بهم من قِبَله من الظلم والجور والضروب والاهانة التي لم تُجرَ عليهم اصلا لا من اخوانه ولا من ابيه بل كانوا معهم في اكرام وعزّ وتوقير.[7] فعكس هولهم ذلك مع ما نزل بالناس في ايّامه من القحط واليبس وارتفاع الاسعار وكثر النهب من

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1 For text's incorrect ينهبوا.

2 For text's erroneous الى.

3 For classical orthography الذمّة.

4 Preceding word الشريف repeated twice in text.

5 Lacuna in text.

6 Preceding word وعسى repeated twice in text. There is a probable lacuna in the text here.

7 Copyist's marginal note: (فأحضّه ؟) المولّى عليهم في قبض الاشراف وهو عبد المجيد المشامريّ ، يزعم انّه شريف. والجاري عليهم الذي كان ينكبهم بالضرب هو عليّ الجمل الذي ادّعى الصلاح ودُفِن بالرميلة عدوة فاس الاندلس.

البربر حتّى صار لا يُنفَّذ[1] له امر مع عمّاله وانّما بقي له الدعاء على المنابر . واراد الرؤساء ان يسيروا في الدولة مسير الاتراك مع ولاتهم . وكان اذى جميع شرفاء فاس والعلماء والمرابطين واهل جبل زرهون وغيرهم غيرما مرّة وكذلك غالب اشراف المغرب وفقهائهم وزواياهم . فاتّفق مع عزله انحطاط الاسعار وحصل الامان في الطرقات ففرح المسلمون لذلك ولعزله . فقدم مولاي المستضيء بالله ودخل دار الملك بفاس المرينيّة ضحوة يوم الجمعة سادس ربيع الثاني واقام اربعة ايّام واصلح بين الاشراف والعامّة من اهل فاس لفتنة كانت وقعت بين الفريقين انفصلت عن قتلى من الجانبين . وابتداء وحشتها امتناع الشرفاء من الظهور في دعوة سيدي محمّد بعد مولانا عبد الله فلمّا تمّ الامر لسيدي محمّد لام الاشراف اهلُ فاس وعمّم معهم شرفاء سجلماسة . وكان وشا له بذلك اهل فاس وبلّغوا خبرهم اليه واغروه عليهم فنزع لباس الوقار عن الشرفاء وكان جميع اهل فاس مع سيدي محمّد في عزّ ومنعة وسكتوا على ما اصاب الاشراف ساكنين راضين موافقين عامله عليهم في ذلك فوغرت صدور الشرفاء بسبب ذلك عليهم . ثمّ ارتحل مولاي المستضيء وتوجّه لحرب اخيه مولاي عبد الله فخرج بنفسه اوائل جمادى الثانية . ثمّ نزل على قبيلة كطية فنهب مطامرهم فلاذوا به بالطاعة له . فرحل عنهم وقصد مزمّ حيث كان اخوه مولانا عبد الله فوجده قد علم بمجيئه . وفرّ عنه كثير من اصحابه لإساءته معهم فقتل جماعة من قوّاده منهم قاسم بن ريسون ومحمّد بن عليّ الذي كان عامله على فاس وعبد الخالق الجعيديّ ولم يبق معه من اصحابه الّا القليل ففرّ الى سوس . وامتنع من الاذعان لمولاي المستضيء قبيلة السراغنة فهزمهم واستولى عليهم ودفعوا له جميع ما عندهم من الخيل ونهب قرى دمنات واطاعه من بقي . وخُطِب به على منابر مرّاكش ونقّد[2] امره ونهيه في تلك النواحي وحذر الناس سطوته وثبت في الملك قدمه وكان مراده المقام بمرّاكش فبلغه انّ قبائل البربر تواطؤوا على الفساد وقطع الطرقات فرجع لحسم مادّة الفساد . فبلغ لمكناسة اواسط شوّال فشدّد البحث عن اهل الفساد وقطع الطريق فحشِدوا اليه فقتل من حصل بيده منهم وقتل من قبيلة الحجاوة صبرا نحو اربعمائة في دفعة واحدة . ثمّ اخذ يبحث عن قاطع الطريق كعادة والده رحمه الله فانّه كان له اعتناء ونخوة في ذلك بحيث لم يشبهه احد من جميع ملوك المغرب . وتوالت الهدايا عليه من القبائل وانكمش اهل الفساد من الاعلان به وامتدّت[3]

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1 For classical orthography يُنفَّذ.

2 As note 1 above.

3 For text's incorrect masculine verb form امتدّ.

صور[1] العافية الى تمام هذه السنة وهو عام واحد وخمسين والف.[2]

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1152/1739-1740

ومن حوادث السنة ارسل الله تعلى المطر وتدرّج[3] الناس على ضعفهم [للحرث][4] بالفؤوس من غير دوابّ واهل القدرة على الحمير.[5] فقد علمتُ انّ سبعة رجال اشتركوا في زوج من الحمير وحملوا عليها احدا وعشرين وسقا من القمح واعطى الله تعلى البركة في تلك السنة وتدارك عباده باللطف بعد الشدّة.[6] وفي ربيع منه شنّ الغارات والنهب البربر على من يليهم وظهر القطع والفساد في سايس فنهبت البربر فيه قافلة كبيرة فيها مال كثير ومولاي المستضيء مقيم بمكناسة وعالم بها. وقبض مولاي المستضيء على جماعة من رؤساء فاس الذين كانوا يسعون في الفساد. ووصلت الشرفاء منهم اذاية عظيمة في ولاية سيدي محمّد بن عريبة فسجنهم في حبس فاس المرينيّة وغرّمهم اموالا كانوا نهبوها من جانب بيت المال واصاب بعض الشرفاء اهل الوسع والغناء مشقّة في شراء بعض اصولهم التي عجزعن شرائها العوامّ لاكن مع ذلك موقّرون كما كانوا في عزّ ومنعة. ثمّ بعد اداء الاموال المشار اليها امر بضرب رقابهم صبرا فقُتِلوا عن آخرهم في حبس فاس الجديد وهم اثنان وعشرون.[7]

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1 Ben Sūda copy حبل.

2 Vol. II, fol. 103-104.

3 For copyist's erroneous تجرّد.

4 Necessary insert.

5 Royal 972 and litho. add: وقليل منهم * حرثوا بالدوابّ الكبار من الناس.*litho

6 Royal 972 and litho. add: ورجع سوم الزرع وانحطّ عن العام قبله

7 Vol. II, fol. 104.

1153/1740-1741

ومن حوادث السنة: اجتمعت كلمة عبيد الرمل على خلع مولاي المستضيء[1] لما رأوا من سوء رايه وعدم حسن سيرته وسياسته ومباشرته وعجزه عن حرب البربر. وتبعهم في ذلك اهل الحلّ والعقد فجعلوا مولاي المستضيء وبعثوا ببيعتهم الى مولاي عبد الله وهو مقيم بسوس. وفرح لذلك الشرفاء والطلبة والضعفاء والمساكين لانّهم كانت اصابتهم دواه[2] في ولاية غيره.[3] فاسرع السير الى المغرب وقدم فورا لمكناس فتلقّاه اهل فاس وقبائل المغرب في الحين ورجعوا من عنده مسرورين. ولم يعاتب احدا على شيء فعله وفعل الحلم والصفح راس ما به. فتهدّنت البلاد وامنت الطرقات وسخّر الله لهم الاسباب. وارسل الله المطر فاسرع الناس للحرث والغرس والنسل وانحطّت الاسعار ونالوا ما لم يعتدوه واحياهم الله وانزع منهم الفقر ونجحوا غاية النجاح.[5]

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1154/1741-1742

ومن حوادث السنة: إنّه وصل الخبر للسلطان بانّ عامله على طنجة احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ نقد[6] الامر لنفسه فوجّه قائده الكُعَيْديّ اليازغيّ الى الحياينة وغيرهم من القبائل المجاورة[7] لهم ليستنفر بعض القبائل للحركة وقبض الاموال من آخرين فقتلوه في الحين. فهيّا السلطان محلّة من بعض جيوشه تمرّ عليهم للانتقام منهم وتتعرّض له او تلحقه لطنجة ومعهم

1 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. replace the six preceding words by: اهل المغرب على طاعة مولاي عبد الله.

2 For text's incorrect definite form دواهي.

3 Litho. adds: وامّا اهل الدعارات والفتن فاصابهم الخوف العظيم ودهتهم الدواهي لِمَا اسلفوه من فعلهم الذميم.

4 For text's incorrect يعتدونه.

5 Vol. II, fol. 104.

6 For classical orthography نقّد.

7 For text's incorrect plural adjective modifying a broken plural.

عبيد الرمل · ففرّ قوّادهم الى صاحب طنجة فانحلّ الامر عن الحركة ورجعت عن المسير للحياينة الى مكناسة للسلطان · وبالغ صاحب طنجة في اكرام العبيد الفارّين اليه فكتبوا الي اخوانهم للرمل وبذلوا الجهد في نقضهم عهد السلطان ويرجعون الى صاحب طنجـــة واستضمنوا لهم من عنده اموالا وكانوا في الحاجة يومئذ اذ كان ذلك الوقت قريبا من زمـــن المسغبة مع قلّة اعطاء المرتّب لهم بل أُسقِط بالكلّيّة عنهم ذلك اعواما · ثمّ انّ القبائل المجاورة [1] لعبيد الرمل مثل سفيان وبني مالك وبني حسن والبربر كانوا اكثروا النهب من مشرع الرملة لعجزهم عن مقاومة حربهم وكان السلطان مراده ان يوجّههم للحركة · فخشي عليهم النهب بعد خروجهم للحركة فامرهم ان ينتقلوا من الرمل للسكنى بمكناسة ليتحصّنوا بها هم واولادهم ففرحوا اذلك وارتحلوا فورا لمكناسة وتركوا الرمل قفارا · فلمّا قدموا على السلطان لمكناسة اذن لهم في السكنى داخل المدينة فصاروا يُخرجون اهل مكناسة من الدور على ما فيها ويمدّون ايديهم في الحريم فيفتديه منهم صاحب الحريم بالدراهم بعد مشقّة وربّما وتبوا [2] على البعض بالوطء · واستباحوا جميع ما في الاجنّة والمزارع غلّة وارضا وهدموا ارحية مكناسة ونهبوا خشبهم وسبكوا الانفاط فلوسا ومهاريس لدقّ العطر الى غير ذلك ممّا يطول ذكره وبيانه · ولمّا بلغ ابّان المصيف اذن لهم في نهب زرع مكناسة وما يقدرون ان يستولوا عليه من يجاورها من القبائل · فشكى من يقدر على الكلام مع السلطان فلم يغن شيئا وزادهم ذلك جرأة على الناس · ففرّ الناس من مكناسة ومن جوارها ناجين بانفسهم وعيالهم وتفرّقوا في البلاد التي لا يقدر العبيد على الاستيلاء عليها واكثر من فرّ من مكناسة لحق بفاس · فلمّا عظمت فتنة العبيد في الناس ولم يجدوا من يزجروهم عن ذلك اجتمع اهل العقد والحلّ ورؤساء الدولة فاجتمع رايهم على ان يبايعوا السلطان مولاي عليّ المدعوّ زين العابدين بن امير المومنين مولانا اسماعيل الشريف الحسنيّ · فورد عليهم لمكناسة واعلنوا له بالنصر وكتبوا بذلك الى رئيس فاس عبد الخالق عُديّل كان رأسه مولاي عبد الله على فاس وامروه بأن يوجّه الهديّة لمولاي زين العابدين فلم يقدر على ذلك ولم يسعفه اهل فاس في ذلك خوفا على الزرع وذلك في الثامن والعشرين من ربيع النبويّ · وبعد ذلك بيومين وردت امّ مولانا عبد الله من مكناسة لفاس المرينيّة ومعها اخوانها المغافرة الذين كانوا نازلين بوادي حبوقى ما

[1] As above, p. 87, n. 7.

[2] For classical orthography وثبوا.

بين جبل زرهون ومكناسة ومعها عيال ولدها مولاي عبد الله وحشمه فرحّب بها الاوداية سكّان فاس المرينيّة · وفي ثاني ربيع الثاني نزل بدار الدبيبغ بالمسرّة وخطب العبيد بمكناسة بمولاي زين العابدين وخُطِب به في سائر السواحل والجبال التي لعمالة احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ ثمّ وجّه مولاي زين العابدين جيشا لفاس من العبيد يدعوا الاوداية وغيرهم لطاعته فلمّا سمع بهم مولاي عبد الله تحيّز لناحية صفروا فتكلّموا مع الاوداية فابوا فرجعوا لمكناسة ورجع مولاي عبد الله لدار الدبيبغ وتحالف الاوداية واهل فاس على القيام بنصر مولاي عبد الله · ثمّ بعد ايّام قدم مولاي زين العابدين ومعه العبيد فنزلوا بظهر الزاوية من وادي فاس وكلّموا الاوداية بالدخول في نصرة مولاي زين العابدين فامتنعوا ونشب بين العبيد وبين اهل فاس القتال من ناحية اوطى مسفر على الزرع · ثمّ بعد يومين ارتحل مولاي زين العابدين والعبيد عن فاس ولم يتمّ له بها امر ورجع مولاي عبد الله لدار الدبيبغ ثمّ انّ بني مطير فتكوا بقبائل زمّور آخذين بثار لهم عليهم لانّ زمّور لمّا مات مولاي اسماعيل رحمه الله فتكوا بآية يدارسن فافتدوا معهم اليوم · ثمّ انحازت آية يدارسن لفاس لمولاي عبد الله فارسل اليهم فقدموا عليه واولاهم واصلح خواطر الجميع واطعمهم وكسا رؤساءهم فاصطلحوا · ثمّ انحاز زمّور الى مولاي زيـــن العابدين على ان يقاتل معهم بني مطير فضربت آية يدارسن على قرية آزّروا وخربوها التي هي من عمل زمّور · ثمّ استنهض مولاي زين العابدين العبيد لقتال آية يدارسن فوجّهوا له ستّمائة فارس · فنزل بوادي كركرة فطال [1] مقامه به ينتظر مدد العبيد فلم يمدّه احد منهم · ثمّ نهزت آية يدارسن الحرب بمن ذُكِر اوائل شعبان ثمّ انهزم واحاطوه [2] وافلت بعد معاينة الهلاك وسلّم اثقاله بما فيها ورجع لمكناسة وانقطع حبل التدبير له وللعبيد فرجع العبيد لنصر مولاي عبد الله · فنصروه قهرا عليهم ورغما لأنوفهم في خامس عشر رمضان وهذه بيعتهم بعد خلعه المرّة الرابعة · فوقفوا بين يديه فانفهم وتهدّدهم وذلك بضفّة وادي فاس ثمّ عفا عنهم وبقوا مقيمين مدّة ثمّ اذن لهم في الرحيل · وبنا [3] داره بدار الدبيبغ ونقل اليها من دار ابيه من مكناسة كلّ شيء معتبر فانف العبيد من ذلك ونهوه وتهدّدوه بالخروج عليه إن لم يكفّ لما في ذلك من الخروج عن تصريفهم والمنعة من اذايتهم فلم يبال لهم · ثمّ انّ احمد بن عليّ بن عبد الله الريفيّ عامل طنجة والهبط اكثر الارسال الى العبيد ووعدهم إن خرجوا

[1] The word فطال is repeated twice in the text.

[2] Necessary pronoun 'ه' inserted to text's واحاطوا.

[3] For classical orthography بنى.

على مولاي عبد الله ونصروا اخاه مولاي المستضيء يوصلهم بما وعدهم به · فبعثوا ببيعتهم من مكناسة في السابع والعشرين من ذي القعدة الى مولاي المستضيء بمرّاكش وبُويع ايضا مولاي المستضيء بمرّاكش ولم يبق بايدي مولاي عبد الله سوى فاس وقبائلها · ثمّ بعد [عيد][1] الاضحى جمعهم عليه فاجتمع الاوداية[2] واهل فاس وشراقة واولاد جامع والحياينة من العرب ومن البربر آية يدراسَنْ وجروان فحضر الجميع وتحالفوا على القيام بدعوة مولاي عبد الله ونصرته وكان اعطى للاوداية ستّين من الخيل ولأهل فاس مائة من البغال واربعة انفاط فكان من امرهم ما ياتي بعد إن شاء الله تعلى ·[3]

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1155/1741-1742

ومن حوادث السنة : إنّ في اواسط المحرّم فاتح عام الترجمة قدم مولاي المستضيء من مرّاكش لمكناسة وامر العبيد بالحركة معه لمولاي عبد الله · وكان اولاد حمّاد من بني مالك استاذنوا مولاي عبد الله في الغارة على العبيد فاذن لهم في ذلك فغاروا عليهم فنهبوا الغنم والبقر والخيل واسروا الرجال والنساء والاطفال وباعوا الجميع حتّى النساء والرجال في اسواق فاس واحوازها آخذين بثار ما فعلوا بهم [بعد][4] وفاة السلطان مولاي اسماعيل الحسنيّ رحمه الله · فلمّا فُعِل بهم ذلك اجابوا مولاي المستضيء لما دعاهم اليه من الحركة لمولاي عبد الله وفاس بعد ان قتلوا من رؤسائهم الذين كانوا يميلون الى مولاي عبد الله عددا كثيرا فنزلوا مع مولاي المستضيء على وادي فاس في رابع عشرين من ربيع الاوّل فوقع الحرب بينهم وبين اهل المدينتين فانهزم اهل المدينتين وبقي منهم جرحى وقتلى بيد العبيد وكان مولاي عبد الله قصد البربر مستصرخا بهم فاجابوه · فحرق العبيد ومولاي المستضيء دار مولاي عبد الله التي بنا [ها][5] بالمصرّة المعروفة بدار الدبيغ · فجاء آية يدراسَن وجَروان من البربر مع

1 Necessary insert.

2 For text's erroneous الاوادية.

3 Vol. II, fol. 105.

4 Necessary insert.

5 Necessary insert.

مولاي عبد الله فهرب مولاي المستضيء والعبيد ليلا من مولاي عبد الله والبربر وتركوا الاخبية والاثقال في مواضعها · فلمّا رآهم مولاي عبد الله ظنّ انّهم بها ولا علم له بفرارهم فهجم على العبيد فلم يجد منهم في المحلّة سوى رجل واحد مريض فاخبرهم بفرارهم ليلا · ثمّ ورد الخبر بنزول العبيد بلاد شراقة وما والاها فنهبوا الزرع والمواشي ورجعوا كذلك على الحياينة فتحيّزت شراقة واولاد جامع والحياينة لفاس وتركوا الزرع في ابّانه وهو في غاية الصلاح ومرّوا على فعلهم كذلك على بلاد ورغة الى تازة فخطب لمولاي المستضيء بتازة · ثمّ انّ البربر رجعوا من فاس لبلادهم مغضبين حيث لم يكرمهم اهل فاس ولا مولاي عبد الله بالميرة فضعفت ما شية العرب الذين بفاس · فشكوا لمولاي عبد الله فسلّط اولاد حمّاد من بني مالك على نهب العبيد بمكناسة ارهابا للعبيد ليرجعوا الى ديارهم وارسل الى البربر يستصرخهم ايضا ·

وفي خلل [ذلك][1] تُوفّيت السيّدة الجليلة الحاجّة الفضيلة والدة مولانا عبد الله السيّدة خناثة بنت السيّد الفضيل الرئيس الجليل الشيخ بكّار المغفريّ بالمدينة البيضاء فاس الجديد ودُفنت داخلها في مقابر الشرفاء خامس جمادى الاولى · فلمّا نال العبيد بمكناسة ما نالهم من نهب اولاد حمّاد رجعوا مسرعين فوجدوا الطاعون قد فشا في مكناسة وفاس ، فنزل العبيد خارج مشرع الرملة ولم يدخلوا لديارهم · وكان قبل هذا بنحو عامين ظهر بتازة · ونزل مولاي المستضيء خارج مكناسة ولم يدخلها حذرا من الطاعون واخذ احمد بن عليّ بن عبد الله الريفيّ في التاهّب للحركة لفاس · فبلغ خبره لفاس فسلّط مولاي عبد الله بني مالك وسفيان وشراقة والحياينة بالسرايا على نهب القبائل المجاورة[2] لهم الذي تحت يد عليّ بن عبد الله الريفيّ في اواخر رمضان · وادركه عيد الفطر بمدينة القصر الكبير واحتفل في هذه الحركة الّا انّ الدهر خيّب مقصوده · فجمع ما تحت يديه من القبائل ولم يتخلّف عنه احد منهم ثمّ توجّه لفاس ففرّ قبائل العرب امامه لفاس ، سفيان وبني مالك وشراقة واولاد جامع والحياينة ونزلوا بإزاء اسوار فاس · ونزل الريفيّ بالعسّال عدوة وادي سبو في ثاني عشرين محرّم الحرام عام ستّة وخمسين كما سياتي ان شاء [الله][3] بعد · وفي شوّال من عام الترجمة انهلت السماء بالامطار فحملت الاودية واستاق وادي سبُو من نعم بني مالك وهدم

1 Necessary insert.

2 For text's incorrect plural adjective المجاورين modifying broken plural. Also note the masculine الذي in the next sentence, attributable to the influence of the colloquial.

3 Necessary insert.

قوسا من قنطرة سبُوا . ورام اهل فاس اصلاحه فلم يقدروا الّا انّهم جعلوا عليه خشب النخيل فكان يُمَرّ [1] عليه في ذلك الوقت حاصّة . [2] وتاسا [3] وتغافل عنه مولاي عبد الله الى ان بناه ولده بعد وفاته خليفتنا السلطان امير المومنين سيدي محمّد بن مولانا عبد الله الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ كما يُذكَر في محلّه إن شاء الله تعلى . [4]

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1156/1743-1744

ومن حوادث السنة انّه في ثاني عشرين من المحرّم فاتح سنة ستّ وخمسين ومائة والف قدم الباشة [5] احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ ، عامل السلطان مولانا عبد الله بن مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ السجاماسيّ على طنجة وتطّاون والعرايش والقصر وسائر جبال الريف وغمارة والهبط وبلاد ورغة وضنهاجة الى تازة وبعض قبائل المغرب المجاورة [6] لهم نحو الخلط وطليق وغير ذلك ، داعيا لنفسه . ونزل بالعسّال [7] عدوة سبوا تحت القنطرة وقصد اكراه اهل فاس ومن انضمّ اليهم من قبائل عرب فاس والسلطان مولانا عبد الله بين اظهرهم بدار الدبيغ . فاتّفقوا مع قبائل العرب الذين نزلوا معهم ان لا يخرجوا من بيعة مولانا عبد الله التي في اعناقهم . ثمّ بعد نزوله بثلاثة ايّام خرج اليه اهل فاس والاوداية [8] ومن انضمّ اليهم من العرب فانهزموا وقُتِل كثير من العرب . [9] ثمّ قدم مولاي المستضيء بالله ومعه العبيد على الريفيّ وكان الريفيّ زوّج ابنته من مولاي المستضيء فنصره وخرج عن مولاي عبد الله . فازداد الريفيّ قوّة بقدوم

1 Royal 972 and litho. ممرّ.
2 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: ثمّ تلاشى وانهدم.
3 Note the text's peculiar orthography for تناسى.
4 Vol. II, fol. 107.
5 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. الثائر.
6 As above, p. 91, n. 2.
7 Royal 972 and Royal 959 add: من مزارع فاس.
8 For erroneous الاودية of text.
9 Royal 972 and litho. add:
وهاوشهم * بالقتال بعض قبائل حوز فاس فلم يفيدوا فيهم شيئا.
*litho. وناوشهم.

مولاي المستضيء والعبيد وقنط اهل فاس من ذلك . ثمّ سار مولاي عبد الله الى جبل فزاز فاستصرخ البربر فاجابه منهم آية يدراسن وكروان وقدم بهم لفاس لنصرته والدفع عن فاس فحاربهم ثاني وعشرين من صفر وحمى الوطيس ، وصاركلّ مقابله . ثمّ عند الزوال قوّى الله تعلى البربر على جنود الباشة والعبيد وهزموهم اقبح هزيمة وفُتِح باشة العبيد فاتح بن سالم الدكّاليّ . وفرّ الباشة احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ على بلاد صنهاجة على الريف الى طنجة وفرّ مولاي المستضيء والعبيد الى مكناسة ورجع العبيد الى مشرع الرملة واستولى البربر على محلّة الباشة وكان بها دخائر [1] كثيرة فنهبوها ولم يتركوا منها شيئا ونهب قبائل العرب محلّة العبيد . وامّا الاوداية واهل سوس والمغافرة واهل فاس فمنعهم مولاي عبد الله من النهب وتركهم درءا لهؤلاء خوف الكرّة عليهم فكان رايا مباركا . ثمّ خلع العبيد مولاي المستضيء ورجعوا لطاعة مولاي عبد الله ففرّ مولاي المستضيء عن مكناسة . وبايع اهل مكناسة مولاي عبد الله وقدم وفد العبيد على مولاي عبد الله لفاس فعاتبهم وامرهم بالحركة للباشة بطنجة . ولمّا رأى مولاي عبد الله . . . [2] صار يؤلّف الناس ويلاطفهم وترك ما كان عليه من الشدّة والبطش وهو مع ذلك كالاسد الضائر في الهيبة وكثر سرور الناس لذلك . وجاءت القبائل لمولاي عبد الله بالهدايا والطاعة [3] وقدم عليه العبيد ممتثلين امره فامرهم بالحركة لطنجة لحرب احمد بن عليّ . فساروا اليه فسار احمد بن عليّ ومولاي المستضيء فالتقى الجمعان على وادي المخازن . فانهزم العبيد وتركوا محلّتهم بايدي جيش الريفيّ ورجع العبيد للرمل . وقدم عليهم مولاي المستضيء لقرب مكناسة يطلب منهم الرجوع لطاعته فماج امرهم واختلفوا فيما بينهم وذلك اواخر جمادى الاولى . وخرج مولاي عبد الله قاصدا للريفيّ بطنجة ومعه الاوداية واهل فاس وقبائل العرب المذكورة [4] وخرج الريفيّ من طنجة والتقى الجمعان بموضع يُسمّى المنزه من القصر رابع عشر جمادى الاخيرة . فاُصيب الريفيّ وانهزم جيشه واُحتزّ راسه ومنح الله النصر والملك للسلطان مولاي عبد الله بن مولانا اسماعيل

1 For classical orthography ذخائر.
2 Evident lacuna in text.
3 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add:
وصار يحلم عليهم ويواسيهم بكلام الخير
4 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add date:
في مهلّ جمادى الاخيرة

الحسنيّ وفتح الله خزائن الريفيّ التي بها فحملها منها · ومنّ على من هو ساكن بها فلم ينهب لهم شيئا ولم يهجم على احد من اهلها ولم ينلهم سوء · ثمّ منّ على من بقي لها من اولاد الريفيّ بعد تسريح عيالهم وحشمهم في امن حيث ما شاءوا · وولّى اخاه عبد الكريم عليهم ووفد عليه القبائل التي كانت لعمل الريف طالبين العفو فعفا عن الجميع واستعمل على كلّ قبيلة رئيسا منهم ولم يضمّ جميعهم لاحد خشية ان يثور عليه كما فعل الريفيّ · وكسا جميع من كان معه في الحركة من جيشه من الملْف ورجعوا معه مسرورين فرحين الى فاس والحمد لله فكان اهل الحمق ممّن لا يستحضر نفود [1] امر الله في كلّ ذلك يكذّبون في وقوعه لما يعلمون من البأس والشدّة والمنعة في الريفيّ ولمّا بعث السلطان برأسه الى فاس حضر اهل عمالته فعرفوه واجتمع الناس لرأيه من كلّ فجّ وكان يوما عظيما بالفرح والسرور · ثمّ حمل مولاي عبد الله جميع الخزائن العين والسلاح والبارود والكسوة وغير ذلك من الدخائر [2] على الإبل ورجع الى فاس فورد عليه الخبر في اثناء الرحيل انّ مولاي المستضيء جمع قبائل بني حسن والعبيد · فسار مولاي عبد الله باملواله واثقاله وجيشه مع ديل [3] الجبل فصادفه مولاي المستضيء بموضع يُقال له دار العبّاس قرب وازّان ومع مولاي المستضيء عدد عديد على اضعاف من عسكر مولاي عبد الله · فشرع مولاي عبد الله في ترتيب المصافّ وراسل عسكر العبيد فانحاز البعض منهم اليه · فحين احسّ بذلك مولاي المستضيء انهزم بمن معه من بني حسن وغيرهم واتّبعهم مولاي عبد الله بجيشه واكثروا فيهم القتل فانقلب عسكر العبيد للرمل · فاعلنوا ايضا بدعوة مولاي عبد الله وهم في هذا كلّه لا يستحيون من هذا التلوّن والتلاعب بالنكث [4] والخروج بعد البيعة ووفدوا على مولاي عبد الله لفاس · ثمّ انّ مولاي المستضيء اقام في بني حسن وبعث الى سلا والرباط يدعو [5] اهلهما الى بيعته · فاجابه اهل سلا وامتنع اهل الرباط · فحاربهم مولاي المستضيء نحو ثمانية اشهر وهم ملازمون دعوة مولاي عبد الله يستصرخونه فخرج مغيثا لهم في ربيع الثاني عام سبعة وخمسين فانهزم مولاي المستضيء وبنو حسن وفرّ مولاي المستضيء الى بلاد دكّالة · وكان من الامر ما ياتي ذكره إن شاء الله في العام

[1] For classical orthography نفوذ.
[2] For classical orthography ذخائر.
[3] For classical orthography ذيل.
[4] For classical orthography بالنكث.
[5] The text has an unnecessary 'ا' at the end of the preceding verb.

الذي بعد هذا · [1]

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1157/1744-1745

ومن حوادث السنة : خرج مولاي عبد الله لاغاثة اهل الرباط الذين حصرهم مولاي المستضيء وبني حسن فنزل مولاي عبد الله وسط بلاد بني حسن فنهب اموالهم وشنّ الغارات عليهم ففرّوا منه وتمنّعوا منه في الشعب بانفسهم · واطال حصارهم وفرّ من كان منهم محاصرا للرباط مع مولاي المستضيء الى اهله وفرّ مولاي المستضيء من الرباط الى دكّالة فترك مولاي عبد الله المرور على سلا والرباط حيث لم يبق نازلا عليهم من يحاربهم وسار من اعلامها · فنزل قصبة ابي الاعوان بين الشاوية ودكّالة · وبقي اهل سلا الخارجين عليه على امتناعهم فتركهم لعلمه انّ امر الحصار للمدن امر طائل يلهيه عن طلب الرئيس الذي هو سبب كلّ شيء . فقصد طلب الرئيس وهو مولاي المستضيء الذي صار الى دكّالة · فنزل عليهم فامر مولاي عبد الله بنهب زرع دكّالة فنُهب حتّى ادعن [2] له بالطاعة وانحاز مولاي المستضيء وجيشه الرحامنة لجبل مسفيوة فتحصّنوا به واناخ عليهم مولاي عبد الله يقاتلهم فحاربوه نحو خمس وعشرين مرّة ثمّ طلبوا منه العفو فعفا عنهم واطاعوه · [3]

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1158/1745-1746

ومن حوادث السنة انّ الرحامنة واهل جبال مسفيوة طلبوا العفو من مولانا عبد الله وادعنوا [4] له بالطاعة بعد الاستيلاء عليهم فعفا عنهم وامّنهم واستعمل عليهم · ورحل عنهم [5] بعد ان

[1] Vol. II, fol. 108-109
[2] For classical orthography ادعن.
[3] Vol. II, fol. 109.
[4] For classical orthography ادعنوا.
[5] Royal 972 and litho. add: ونزل قصبة مزم.

استعمل مولاي عبد الله ولده المنصور بالله حليفتنا اليوم امير المومنين سيدي محمّد بن امير المومنين مولانا عبد الله الشريف الحسنيّ السجلماسيّ على مدينة مرّاكش وفوّض له في امرها وفي سائر قبائل حوزها وامره بضرب الوظائف عليها وعلى قبائلها · فدخلها وامّن اهلها ممّا كانوا يخشون من استيلاء الجيوش عليهم واستوطنها كما يأتي ذكر ذلك بعد إن شاء الله · ثمّ انّ قبيلة السراغنة امتنعوا من ذلك فوجّه اليهم مولاي عبد الله العسكر مع ولده مولاي احمـــــد فبدّدهم وانتشف[1] بلادهم فتفرّقوا شدر مدر[2] وتبع من فرّ منهم لبلاد دمنات فقام بها العسكر فخلت شهورا · وفي اثناء ذلك ملّ الاوداية من الحركة وافتقروا الى الميرة وانقضى الزاد فتسلسلوا عن محلّة مولاي عبد الله الى فاس · واذن السلطان لعامل فاس عبد الخالق عُديّل في الرجوع من المحلّة لفاس لمرض اصابه بها فدخل مدينة فاس وبقي مدّة · ثمّ تُوفّي بها سابع عشرين من ذي القعدة من عام الترجمة ودُفن بزاوية سيدي عبد القادر الفاسيّ.[3] ثمّ ارتحل السلطان لتادلاء ثمّ دخل لمكناسة في اواخر[4] ربيع.[5]

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1159/1746-1747

ومن حوادث السنة : انّ في ربيع الاوّل عام الترجمة دخل مولاي عبد الله مكناسة بعد رجوعه من حركته لقبائل سوس · فتوجّه الناس للقائه بالهدايا ومن جملتهم اهل الريف سكّان طنجة مع قائدهم عبد الكريم ، اخ الباشة احمد الذي تقدّم ذكره واُحتزّ رأسه وعُلّق على باب الشريعة من فاس ، معه هديّة بانواع التحف ومعه اولاد اخيه ونساؤه · وقد وُشي بهم السلطان انّهم استخرجوا مالا كثيرا من بيركان خزنه الباشة فيها عند حروجه المرّة الثانية للقتال فاقتسموه في غيبة السلطان في سوس التي قدم منها فورا · فلمّا لقوه ونجاهم وسألهم

[1] Possible reading of unclear word in text.

[2] For classical orthography شذر مذر ; the text has the erroneous شرد مدر.

[3] Royal 972 and litho. add: واذن السلطان لعامل فاس عبد الخالق عُديّل في الرجوع لفاس · فمرض عُديّل ومات بعد دخوله لفاس ·

[4] Royal 972 and litho. اوائل.

[5] Vol. II, fol. 110.

فكتمه بعضهم واقرّ له البعض فأمر بالجميع فسُلِبوا وسُجِنوا وهم ازيد من مائة · ثمّ بعد ثلاث [ايّام][1] امر بعزل تسعة منهم الذين قرّوا له وهم تسعة : عبد الكريم اخ الباشة واولاده اثنان واولاد عمّه اربعة وامر بقتل الباقي الذين انكروا له خروج المال فقُتِلوا عن آخرهم ووجّه خدّامه ان يأتوه بالمال المستخرج · وامر في ذلك اليوم بقتل مائة وثلاثين من وجوه بني حسن كانوا جاءوه بالهدايا وادعنوا[2] له بالطاعة · واكمل بالقتل في ذلك اليوم نحو ثلاثمائة · ثمّ انّ البربر واهل فاس الادريسيّة وعربها وغيرهم من القبائل تخوّفوا على انفسهم ممّا صدر من السلطان بأهل الريف وبني حسن فتحاجزوا عنه · ووقعت فتنة بين العبيد والبربر لأنّ البربر زرعوا في مواضعهم في غيبة السلطان · فلمّا اتى مرّ العبيد بمزارعهم فأكلوها لهم فنهب البربر من ابل السلطان نحو خمسمائة وافشوا النهب في الطرقات · ورجع له رسله الذين وجّههم لطنجة واخبروه انّ اهلها سدّوا في وجوههم الباب فأمر بقتل من كان استبقاه اوّلا من اهل طنجة وهم عبد الكريم وابناء اخيه وابناء عمّه الذين قرّوا له باخراج المال فقُتِلوا · ثمّ وُشِي للسلطان بانّ المال الذي كانوا[3] اخرجوه من طنجة واتوا به لفاس وانزلوه في دار عُديّل بان عُديّل حاز لنفسه منه فأمر اهل فاس واولاد عُديّل ان يأتوه بالمال فاحضروه بين يديه فوزنوه فزعم من بشّر له ذلك نائبا عنه انّه نقص من الوزن نحو اثنين وثلاثين الف مثقال عدّة قديمة · والزمهم غرم ما نقص ، فلم يحضرهم فاستضمنه بعض رؤسائهم فشهده عليهم في ذمّتهم[4] حلولا واعطى من ذلك المال للاوداية اهل فاس الجديد عشرة آلاف · فاوغر صدور اهل فاس ذلك لانّ الاوداية هم اوّل من تسلسل عن محلّته قبل كلّ احد فمالوا بسبب ذلك الى البربر · فاجتمعت كلمة اهل فاس والبربر وقبائل العرب وغيرهم من قبائل سائر المغرب على الخروج على السلطان واقامة اماما غيره · وكان من لطف الله بالمساكين العاجزين عن زجرهم وردّهم عمّا ابرموه ان اصلح الله الزرع في ذلك العام · وحمل الناس زرعهم بالعجل خوفا من الفتن الى فاس فخزنوه بها فلمّا حُصِرت لم يرتفع سوم الزرع ولا غيره من الادام واللحم لتردّد البربر اليها باللحم · ثمّ انّ البربر اجتمعت،[5] زمّور وآية يدراسن وجروان ومن

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For classical orthography ادعنوا.

[3] Preferable to text's كان.

[4] For classical orthography ذمّتهم.

[5] Note the awkward syntax; the verb should follow the tribes listed for a better reading, and in addition من should be inserted after البربر.

تبعهم من آية امالوا ، ونشّبوا الحرب مع مولاي عبد الله وهو بوادي ابي فكران . فانحاز منهم الى مكناسة وارسل البربر بالخبر الى فاس الادريسيّة ففرح بذلك من لا عقل له ظنّا منهم انّ ذلك آخر عهد بالسلطان وَلِلّٰهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ . وبقي الاوداية ومن تبعهم من اهل سوس على دعوة مولاي عبد الله ففتكوا بمن كان يتسوّق من الحيانة بفاس . ثمّ في ثالث شعبان اجتمعت البربر وبني مالك بفاس لقتال الاوداية فتحصّن منهم الاوداية بفاس المرينيّة فدخلوا دار الدبيغ وحرقوا النوائل المستدارة بها ونهبوا ابوابها وما بها من البقر وباعوها بفاس . ثمّ ساروا عن حصار الاوداية لتعذّر الرفق عليهم وتعسّر الميرة فبقي القتال بين اهل فاس والاوداية وانقطع السبيل الى فاس وغلا اللحم وقطع الاوداية عن فاس ماء عدوة القرويّين . وفي العشرين من شوّال قدم مولاي عبد الله بعساكره لفاس الجديد فامتنع اهل فاس من طاعته وتقلّدوا السيوف وطافوا بسكك[1] المدينة ارهابا لمن كان يطمع في نصره والرجوع لدعوته . فامر السلطان الاوداية بالكفّ عن حرب اهل فاس وعن الطواف بها وان لا يمنعوا المارّ لها والخارج منها وعن النهب من ساحتها مطلقا . وبعث اليهم يحذّرهم من شقّ العصا عليه فمالوا عن اتّباعه . وعزم قوم من شرفاء فاس ان يعلنوا بنصر مولاي عبد الله بمسجد القرويّين بعد الفراغ من صلاة الجمعة على بديهة العامّة لعلّهم ينادون باجمعهم بنصر مولاي عبد الله عسى ان [لا][2] يقدر على ردّها عليهم احد . فاذا بعضهم اعلمهم بذلك ليتّخذ عندهم يدا فبادر بحمل السلاح نحو ثلاثمائة ودخلوا المسجد والامام يخطب ارهابا لمن تهيّأ لذلك فلم يقدر احد منهم ان ينطق بذلك . وحدث من شرفاء فاس وجميع من هو على مذهبهم من العامّة المستضعفين نزاع وكلام واُسمِعوا توبيخا وكلاما وفشوا ذلك جرّا وهُدِّدوا وربّما نُكِّل بعضهم . فأمسك الناس عن الخوض في ذلك واستمرّ حصار الاوداية[3] وفي ثاني عشر ذي القعدة قدم البشير بقدوم [ركب][4] الحاجّ فتكلّم اهل فاس على ان يرسلوا البشير للسلطان فامتنع الاندلسيّون وخالفهم اللمطيّون في ذلك فاخرج اللمطيّون البشير وراية الحجّاج بيده مستشفعين بها للسلطان . ودخل كثير من العبيد للمدينة عزلا وفرح الناس لطمعهم في

1 For text's incorrect plural سكاك; perhaps this is a colloquial variant.

2 Necessary insert.

3 For text's incorrect الاواداية.

4 Necessary insert.

انقضاء الحصار . فاغتاض[1] من ذلك الاندلسيّون لانّ ذلك لم يكن عن موافقتهم وقتلوا من العبيد ثلاثة ودخلوا على من كان بالقصبة الجديدة من اللمطيّين واخرجوهم منها وتحاجزوا . وسُدّت السكك وتعطّلت الاسواق اذ سوق العطّارين والقيساريّة في الحدود وعُطِّلت صلاة الجمعة بمسجد القرويّين ونشب بعض الحرب وبقي الامر كذلك نحو ثلاثة عشر يوما والناس في ضيق شديد من ذلك . ثمّ اتّفق جميعهم في مولانا ادريس على انّ من مال الى دعوة مولاي عبد الله قتلوه واصطلحوا ورجع اللمطيّون عن دعوة مولاي عبد الله وتركوا الدعاء له على منابرهم . وفي سابع [و][2] عشرين بلغ الركب لفاس بعد مشقّة واخبر الاوداية بقدومه مولانا عبد الله فأمرهم بأن لا يتعرّض للركب احد بسوء . وجاء معه قبائل العرب يحرسونه فاراد الوداية قتال العرب الذين جاءوا معه يحرسونه فنهاهم مولاي عبد الله فكفّوا عن ذلك واجتمع رأي بني مالك وسفيان واولاد جامع والحيانة وآية يدراسن وجروان وزمّور من البربر واهل فاس الادريسيّة على سلطانهم مولاي المستضيء وسار بهم ليهجم بهم على اخيه السلطان مولاي عبد الله بداره دار الدبيغ . فامر مولاي عبد الله جيشه بقتالهم وهم اخوال ابيه الاوداية واخواله المغافرة واخوال ولده شراقة ومن كان معهم من اهل سوس المتوطّنين المغرب والعبيد فالتقيا الجمعان على راس السلوقيّة من المسرّة . واقتتلوا فانهزم مولاي المستضيء ومن معه اشرّ هزيمة واكثروا فيهم القتل كيف شاءوا ونهبوا محلّتهم واتّبعوهم فراسخ . ولحأ اهل فاس الى مدينتهم فلم يتّبعهم احد وفرّ مولاي المستضيء الى اصيلا من الغرب[3] وكان من لطف الله في هذه الهزيمة انّه[4] كان القتال عند العصر فحان الليل وافترقت الناس . وذلك في الايّام التي كانوا بها ، انفصل اللمطيّون عن الاندلسيّين ، ثمّ انّ السلطان لم يقبل من اللمطيّين نهرهم وحدهم وقال لهم "إذهبوا لاخوانكم . امّا ايتوني جميعا او اخرجوا عنّي جميعا ." ورجع اللمطيّون الى دعوة الاندلسيّين في مشقّة كبيرة واستمرّوا على حالهم حتّى استهلّت هذه السنة .[5]

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1 For classical orthography اغتاظ.

2 Necessary insert.

3 More logical than the text's المغرب.

4 For text's incorrect ان.

5 Vol. II, fol. 110-111.

ومن حوادث السنة انّ في منتصف المحرّم فاتح ستّين ومائة والف نهب بعض رؤساء فاس قفاطين مخيطة[1] كان مولاي عبد الله انزلها حيث اتى بها من مال الريفيّ من طنجة في فندق النجّارين من فاس عند عامله على فاس وغيرها عبد الخالق عُديّل. فاجتهد رئيس الثورة بفاس الحسن بن صالح الليرينيّ في الاستيلاء على ذلك فامتنع من ذلك الضعفاء والمساكين والاشراف والفقهاء واهل الغناء. فاجتمع اهل الثورة وهم الحسن بن صالح وقاسم بن الأشهب ومحمّد الصفّار ومن تبعهم من سفهاء الرماة واتّفقوا على نهب ذلك بعد ان امتحنوا من تكلّم في منعهم من ذلك بالضرب والسبّ والسجن وربّما وتبوا[2] على دور بعضهم فخافوهم وسكتوا عنهم. فنهبوا ذلك من الفندق المذكور وقسموه على سائر الرماة رضاء وجبرا واجتهدوا في افساد[3] الدولة. ولمّا خرجوا على مولانا عبد الله واعلنوا بنصر مولاي المستضيء وامروا الخطباء بذلك فخطب جميعهم على المنابر بمولاي المستضيء وتركوا ذكر مولاي عبد الله من الخطبة. وامتنع من ذلك شيخنا سيدي الكبير السرغينيّ خطيب جامع الشرفاء اذ كان حينئذ هو امامه وخطيبه فاستناب في الخطبة لأجل ذلك. وبالغ مولاي عبد الله في منع الداخلين لفاس بالحراسة على الابواب واطلق اهل فاس النداء بالتعويل على دوام الحصار فاغتمّ الناس لذلك وضاق امر المساكين. وفي آخر رمضان امر السلطان باطلاق الماء المحصور عن فاس القرويّين من اوّل الحصار لِمَا بلغه من يبس العيون والابار وتعطيله من كلّ المساجد من عدوة القرويّين وضاق المساكين من ذلك. ففرح المساكين بذلك واستنشقوا ريح الفرج. وفي آخر شوّال جاءت قبيلة الحياينة بهديّتهم للسلطان مولاي عبد الله فقبلها منهم وعفا عنهم ورجعوا لطاعته. ووجّه الاوداية والعبيد لمن بقي من العرب خارجين عنه وهم بني مالك وسفيان فكان امرهم ما يُذكَر بعده إن شاء الله.[4]

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1 Copyist's marginal note:
عدّة القفاطين خمسة آلاف والدوائر سبعة وعشرون مائة.

2 For classical orthography وثبوا.

3 For text's incorrect افشاد.

4 Vol. II, fol. 112.

ومن حوادث السنة: ففي مهلّ المحرّم بعث مولاي عبد الله الاوداية ومن انضاف اليهم والعبيد الى بني مالك وسفيان الخارجين عليه وتمسّكوا بدعوة مولاي المستضيء. فهزمهم جيش مولاي عبد الله وكادوا ان يستصلوهم[1] فتحصّنوا بمدينة العرائش. فحصرهم جيش مولاي عبد الله بها وضيّق عليهم غاية. ثمّ صالحوا الاوداية على مال[2] ادّوه لهم فرحلوا عنهم ومعهم من انضاف لهم وبقي العبيد محاصرين لهم. فضربوا على محلّة العبيد ليلا فلم ينهبوها فمن الغد يئس العبيد من الاستيلاء عليهم فرحلوا ليلا. وجازت فرقة من العبيد وهم اصحاب الباشة زعبول على مدينة القصر الكبير، قصركتامة، فدخلوه صباحا واهله لا يشعرون ولا علم لهم بانّ العبيد راحلون عن العرائش ليتحصّنوا ويتحرّسوا منهم فنهبوا جميع اسواقه ودوره ولم ينج منهم لا صالح ولا طالح وفعلوا فيه من الفساد ما لا يدركه الواصف ووثبوا على النساء والابكار بالوطء وذلك في صفر من العام. ثمّ ورد اشياخ بني مالك وسفيان بالهديّة لمولاي عبد الله والدخول في طاعته وطلبوا منه العفو فعفا عنهم على ان يأتي رئيسهم الباشة الحبيب الحمّاديّ المالكيّ والقائد عبد الله بن محمّد المعروفيّ السفيانيّ. فوفدوا عليه بالهدايا في اواخر ربيع الاوّل لفاس فطلبوا منه العفو فعفا عنهم واقرّهما في ولايتهما على قومهما ورجعا لبلادهما. وفي اثناء ذلك قدم على السلطان مولاي عبد الله البربر فعفا عنهم ايضا. فنهب بعضهم بعض زرع الاوداية ورجعوا فورا لجبل كندر. ثمّ خرج السلطان اليهم بالحركة في آثارهم فنزل بوادي بُفكران قريبا من مكناسة فعند نزوله اصابه مرض فرجع لمكناسة. وورد الخبر بأنّ مولاي المستضيء عند اهل الريف بطنجة واهل فاس مستمرّون[3] على الحصار. وفي اواخر رمضان حرق الاوداية باب المحروق فاصبحت محروقة. ثمّ في شوّال ادعنوا[4] لطاعة مولاي عبد الله فنصروه وتوجّهوا اليه لحضرة مكناسة يطلبون منه العفو وهم صحبة الشرفاء والطلبة مستشفعين له بهم.[5] فدفعوا

1 For classical orthography يستأصلوهم.

2 Copyist's marginal note:
وقدره ثلاثة عشر الف مثقال اذ كان الاوداية ثلاثة عشر مائة. هـ

3 For text's incorrect مستمرّين.

4 For classical orthography اذعنوا.

5 Royal 972 and litho. have: ففي شوّال منه اذعن اهل فاس كلّهم لطاعة

له الهديّة فعفا عنهم ولقيهم بالبرور والاكرام . ثمّ اعادوا له في عيد الاضحى . واتّصل فتح مدينة فاس الادريسيّة رغما على اهل الغوغة والسفلة من الرماة الذين لا مروءة لهم بعد سبع وعشرين شهرا حصارا [1] فعفا عن الجميع، جعل الله ذلك لوجهه خاصّا يوم تجد كلّ نفس ما عملت من خير محضرا وجزاه خيرا عن جميع المستضعفين من المساكين! وذلك شيمة اسلافه الكرام ادام الله وجودهم وولايتهم على المسلمين الى يوم الدين . وكان هذا العام كلّه فتن وهروج وذكر ذلك يطول ويخرج عن المقصود .[2]

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1162/1748-1749

ومن حوادث السنة : انّه في اوائل المحرّم فاتح السنة تُوفّي ليلا رئيس الفتنة والحصار والخروج عن السلطان الثائر الحسن بن صالح اللبرينيّ الاندلسيّ قِيلَ نزل[3] عليه الموت بغتة لانّه لم يمرض وقِيلَ هجم عليه بعض اهل فاس بداره خفية فخنقوه وقِيلَ مات مسموما فالله اعلم إن ذلك كان . وفي ضحوة ثالث عشر المحرّم قدم مولاي عبد الله من مكناسة فارّا بنفسه من العبيد حيث تحقّق عنده انّهم اجتمعوا للقبض عليه ثمّ لا يتركونه حيّا ابدا . وكانوا في امن من خروجه من بينهم لإحاطتهم به بمكناسة فوصل خبرهم للاوداية فعرضوا اكثر قال من ستّين فارسا من صناديدهم وساروا ليلا في حذر من العبيد فتسوّروا[4] القصبة على مولاي عبد الله واخرجوه . فركب فيهم وساروا ليلا فما انكشف الصباح الّا باحواز فاس . فكانت فعالة اهل النجدة ومن فتاكة اهل الشجاعة والحدّة . فسُقِط في ايدي العبيد ويئسوا من خبرها وايهنوا[5] من عاقبة امرها . فتبرّؤوا ممّا نُسِب لهم وانكروه وان لو اخبروه ولا غدروه .[6] ثمّ

مولاي عبد الله على يد شيخنا العلّامة البركة سيدي الكبير السرغينيّ بواسطة بعض فضلاء الاشراف من سادتنا اهل سجلماسة مع السلطان مولانا عبد الله .

1 Final 'ا' missing from text.

2 Vol. II, fol. 112-113.

3 For text's incorrect feminine form of the verb نزلت.

4 Final 'وا' missing from text.

5 Perhaps an error for the passive, أُوهِنوا.

6 Preceding text corrupt.

ظهر اليهم بانقطاعهم عنه وعادوا الى افساد الدولة عليه . فعرضوا امرهم على اخيه سيدي محمّد المدعوّ ابن عريبة الذي خلعوه قبل . فلم يقبل اذ كان اخوه مولاي عبد الله اوجز اليه العطاء بعد ان اتاه من سجلماسة مخلوعا وسلّم له ارث شقيقته في مال من نحو ستّين الف مثقال . ثمّ بعثوا بذلك لمولاي عليّ لسجلماسة فامتنع ايضا . ثمّ اعلنوا بنصر ولد السلطان مولاي عبد الله وهو خليفتنا اليوم اذ كان في ذلك الزمان هو عامله على مرّاكش وسائر بلاد سوس وفوّض له في امرهم . وارسلوا له سرّيّة تعلمه بذلك فلم يقبل الّا انّه اكرمهم وواعدهم ان يصلحهم مع ابيه . ثمّ توجّه الى ناحية فاس فحين بلغ لبلاد الشاوية حاربوه فهزمهم وامسك عن الاثخان فيهم بالقتل والنهب استيلافا لهم فرجعوا الى طاعته فرجع الى مرّاكش . والعبيد في خلال هذا كلّه مستمرّون [1] على القيام بدعوة ولده سيدي محمّد المذكور والولد لا يبالي بدعائهم له . وكلّما وفدوا عليه اكرمهم ويكتب الى والده يعتذر اليه في اكرامهم بمخافات خروجهم واقامة غيره . وهو في كلّ ذلك يبعث لابيه بالهدايا النفيسة والتحف الجليلة الى آخر صفر عام الترجمة . فاسنى لهم العطاء وافصح بأنّه لا يقبل قيامهم بدعوته ولا يوافقهم على الخروج عن طاعة ابيه وسياتي خبرهم بعد هذا إن شاء الله تعالى .[2]

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1163/1749-1750

ومن حوادث السنة : ظهر الطاعون وفشوه في المغرب وبلغ الموت في اليوم الواحد بفاس ما يزيد على ثلاث مائة وذلك في رجب من عام الترجمة . وفي اواخر صفر توجّه ثلاث آلاف [من العبيد][3] المستقرّين في هذا العام بمكناسة لمولانا المنصور بالله سيدي محمّد بن عبد الله الحسنيّ امير المومنين خليفتنا اليوم اذ كان في عام الترجمة عاملا لأبيه على مرّاكش وسائر بلاد سوس مفوّضا له في امره وجبايته يطلبون منه القيام بالدعوة لنفسه . وكان تردّد كبراؤهم اليه قبل ذلك بهذا القصد، فأكرمهم واعطاهم واعتذر لهم مرارا ويعتذر لأبيه ايضا

1 For text's incorrect oblique مستمرّين.

2 Vol. II, fol. 113.

3 Necessary insert.

بأنّه يفعل معهم ذلك مخافة استدعائهم ذلك من بعض اعمامه فيجيبهم لذلك · فأفصح لهم بأنّه لا يقبل منهم ذلك ولا يخرج عن ابيه وامسكهم معه الى ان قدم في عسكره معهم اواخر جمادى الاولى · فدخل مكناسة ضحى يوم الاثنين فنزل بسيدي بو زكري · وفي غده زار قبر جدّه امير المؤمنين مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ وجمع علماء مكناسة واخبرهم بأنّ العبيد يريدون ان يخرجوا على ابيه ويبايعوه فامتنع من ذلك · فاجابه علماء مكناسة فاعلموا العبيد بأنّه لا يحلّ نقض بيعة ابيه ولا الخروج عليه فحينئذ قبل عذره عبيد الرمل وامروا بالنداء بنصر ابيه بمكناسة · فاعلمه العبيد بالخوف من ابيه فامّنهم ووعدهم بأنّه يشفع فيهم عند ابيه وكان ذلك من توفيق الله له وتسديده ومن كمال الانعام عليه ومزيده · وناهيك بها[1] · · · من منقبة حيث لم ينل الشيطان منه مطلبه فاكبت عدوّه وحسّاده فظفّر الله عساكره وجنوده · ثمّ ورد على فاس فلقي اباه واهدى له من انواع التحف على عادة الملوك فأمره بالرجوع لبلاده مرّاكش في الحين فرجع فورا · فبقي العبيد في خوف وتمرّد على الطاعة واضمروا حصار مكناسة فنهاهم عن ذلك ما نزل من حادث الطاعون الذي اشغل الناس في الوقت وَلِلّٰهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ · وحُبس المطر هذا العام[2] وتكرّرت فيه صلاة الاستسقاء مرارا متعدّدة الى آخر العام ويبس الزرع · فصلّى اوّلا سيدي ابو مدين بن احمد الفاسيّ امام مسجد القرويّين وخطيبه وصلّى شيخنا سيدي محمّد الكبير السرغينيّ امام مسجد الشرفاء وخطيبه وصلّى الفقيه الصوفيّ البركة مولاي حمدون بن محمّد طاهر الجوطيّ الحسنيّ كان يستنيبه الخطباء في جميع مساجد فاس في الخطب وصلاة الجمعة وغير ذلك · ثمّ صلّى سيدي محمّد بن احمد بن محمّد بن عبد القادر الفاسيّ وكان يؤمّ ويخطب بجامع الاندلس والكلّ صلّى بباب الفتوح · ولم ينزل مطر ورجع سيدي ابو مدين بن احمد الفاسيّ لصلاة الاستسقاء ايضا · ثمّ اختلف رؤساء اهل فاس فيمن يصلّي صلاة الاستسقاء ثمّ اتّفق الرؤساء على ان لا يصلّي بهم غير سيدي ابي مدين فاستمرّ سيدي ابو مدين يصلّي بالناس الى ان يبس الزرع آخر العام ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله العليّ العظيم · ثمّ انزل الله مطرا كثيرا وحجرا في ابريل بعد صلاة الظهر فطال ساعتين[3] فكثرت

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1 Corrupt text.

2 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: وعطش الزرع النابت .

3 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: ولو طال شيئا زيادة على ما نزل لهلكت الدنيا لكنّ الله امسكه برحمته ولطفه ·

السيول[1] وحملت الانهار وقلعت الاشجار وحملت اسواق فاس بالامياه حتّى وصل داخل الحوانيت · وتدارك اللهعباده بلطفه فارتفع المطر وكان الزرع قد رعته البهائم وذلك لمّا رأى الناس اليبس اطلقوا عليه ما شيتهم فاكلته ولو كان باقيا[2] لم يُوكَل لمّا بُلِغ بتلك الامطار · وبلغ الزرع فيما هذا العام خمس موزونات للصاع النبويّ[3] ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله ·[4]

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1167/1753-1754

[وفي خامس ربيع النبويّ نزل ثلج قويّ ودام من الغد وّ الى الليل ، واستمرّ الى الصباح بفاس،[5] واستمرّ ايضا الى الزوال · وملأ سطوح الدور واثقلها وخِيفَ من سقوطها · وتراكم صاعدا على السطوح اكثر من قدر ذراع · فجعل الناس يرمونه الى الازقّة بالواح الزرع[6] ولم ينزل من الازقّة الّا بمشقّة · وغطّى الارض[7] كلّها في الفضاء · ثمّ كفّه الله تعلى · وبقي ينزل المرّات ، ووافق ابتداء نزوله اواخر العشر الاوّل من دجنبر · ثمّ نزل مرّة اخرى اواخر[8] يناير الموالي له ، وكما رفعه من لطف الله تعلى ·][9]

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1 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: حتّى كان يسوق البهائم من ازقّة فاس

2 For text's incorrect nominative باق as khabar of كان.

3 Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho. add: وبلغ حينئذ كيلُه ثلاث صيعان نبويّة من زمن الربيع العام بعده الى ان حمل الناس الزرع في المصيف فنزل سومه الى اوقيّتين للمدّ · ثمّ جعل ينزل شيئا فشيئا ·

4 Vol. II, fol. 116-117.

5 Litho. adds: يوما كاملا .

6 Royal 972 repeats الى الازقّة here.

7 Royal 959 and litho. الارضين.

8 Litho. اوائل .

9 There are no historical events for this year in the main text (K2253), but this passage does appear in the 'short' Nashr. Royal 972 has been used as the basis for this edition.

1168/1754-1755

[وفي شعبان منه ورد الخبر على فاس بـــانّ سفينة مملؤة بالحجّاج سافرت من اسكندريّة قاصدا من فيها المراسي من نواحي تونس بقصد المغرب، وفيها نحو اربعمائة رجل من المغاربة، اهل فاس وغيرهم، فغرق جميع من فيها ونجا منهم بعض الافراد على بعض الالواح منها، بل[1] على بعض البراميل التي كانت عندهم لحمل الماء الحلو. وامّا السفينة، فغرقت بما فيها من الامتعة والاحوال.[2] ومن جملة من غرق فيها اثنان من الشرفاء العراقيّين الذين بفاس،[3] وكان امرها[4] عظيما، ولا حول ولا قوّة الّا بالله، نسأل الله[5] العافية.][6]

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1169/1755-1756

[ففي ضحوة يوم السبت سادس وعشرين من المحرّم وقعت زلزلة، ارتجّت الارض بها ارتجاجا، فاهتزّت اوّلا[7] شرقا[8] ومغربا وبقيت تضطرب. وسُمع نحو اسم صوت من الارض يشبه صوت الرحا التي تدحرج بالازقّة. وقدر ما بين اهتزازها وسكونها قريب من درج. وسمعنا من يقول اضطرب الماء في الصهاريج حتّى فاض على البيوت وتغيّرت العيون ووقف الماء في

[1] As found in Royal 959 and litho.; this is preferable to جلّ of Royal 972,

[2] Royal 959 and litho. الاموال.

[3] Royal 959 and litho. add: وهما سيدي عبد السلام وشقيقه سيدي عبد القادر، ابنا الشريف العفيف ابي العلاء سيدي ادريس بن محمّد العراقيّ الحسينيّ، القاطنين بحومة فرن الشطّة من فاس القرويّين

In Royal 959, the preceding is found in the margin.

[4] Litho. امرهما.

[5] Royal 959 and litho. add: السلامة و.

[6] The events for this year do not appear in the main text (K2253), but are found in Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho., and Royal 972 has been used as the basis for editing here.

[7] Royal 959 and litho. add: ثمّ مالت.

[8] Royal 959 and litho. مشرقا.

الاودية عن الجري، وسقط بها بعض الدور. فمن لطف الله انّه لم يمت بفاس الّا نفسان او ثلاثة. وسقط التراب واللبن وغالب الدور وتصدّعت الحيطان والسطوح[1] وتعيّبت، واخذ الناس في هدم ما عاب منها خوفَ سقوطه عليهم. وفزع الناس الفزع الشديد وفرّوا من الحوانيت وتركوا امتعتهم بها وهي من غير غلق، وعُطّلت المكاتب والاطرزة والاسواق، وتدارك الله خلقه بلطفه وعفوه. ثم جاء الخبر من مدينة سلا انّ البحر مال لاقصاه، فخرج الناس ينظرونه، فولّى الى ناحية البرّ وخرج عن الارض نحو مسافة، وغرق فيه جميع من وُجد خارج المدينة، فمات فيه خلائق. وصادف قافلة ذاهبة لمرّاكش، فيها من الدوابّ والآدميّين عدد كثير، فمات الجميع. ودفع ما في سواحله من الفلك والقوارب، فوُجد قارب ابعد من البحر باكثر من مسافة، والملك لله وحده. ثمّ ورد خبر آخر انّ بعض الجبال تصدّع منها جبل صغير قرب سيدي ابي شتاء من عمل ورغة، تصدّع بثلاث.[2] فصادفت قطعة منها دارا، فمات اهلها جميعا. وبقي الناس في وجل وهم يذكرون انّها عادت مرارا، لاكن لم يتحقّقها كلّ الناس. ثمّ مضى نحو ستّة وعشرين يوما ووقعت زلزلة اخرى بعد صلاة العشاء شديدة جدّا، اشدّ[3] من الاولى[4] بكثير، الّا انّها لم تطل بل هدنت بسرعة. فسقطت دور من فاس واشتدّ روعهم. فورد الخبر بأنّ غالب دور مكناسة وقصورها انهدمت، وانهدمت صومعة مسجدها الاعظم الى اساسها وانهدم كثير من المساجد[5] ومسجد قصبة السلطان الاعظم، ومات بالهدم خلائق كثيرون بمكناسة، أُحصي منها[6] العشرة آلاف، ومن لم يُحصَى لا يعلمه الّا الله. ووقع امر هائل وخرج من بقي بها الى الفضاء وضربوا الفساطيط، ومن لم يقدر استتر بمطلق الثياب الخشن، ولولا انّ حاكمها منعهم من الخروج عنها عن امر قاضيها[7] الفقيه ابو القاسم بن سعيد العميريّ لخلت وبقيت براحا.

[1] Litho. adds: والسقوف.

[2] Preposition ب added for better reading, as found in Royal 959.

[3] Litho. adds: واعظم.

[4] Litho. adds: التي قبلها.

[5] Royal 959 and litho. have slightly different wording in the underlined portion:

كثير * المسجد ومسجد قصبة السلطان الاعظم وكثير المساجد

*Litho. adds من.

[6] Royal 959 and litho. add: نحو.

[7] Royal 959 and litho. add: حينئذ.

ثمّ لمّا طال الحال وتُنوسِي بعض ذلك، زال روع الناس ورجعوا لها واخذوا في تخميل [1] التراب من الدور والبحث عن الامتعة، وتموّل من ذلك قوم وافتقر آخرون. ثمّ اخذ الناس في البناء بعد ذلك واصلح السلطان مولانا المنصور بالله مسجدها الاعظم وبنى صومعتها كما كانت او احسن.[2] وامّا اهل فاس فلمّا[3] ورد عليهم هذا الخبر اشتدّ روعهم وقصدوا ايضا البراحات والمساجد مدّة خوفا من عودها مرّة اخرى؛ ثمّ بعد ذلك هدؤوا. وكان من لطف الله بفاس ان لم يتهدّم الكثير من دورها ولم يمت بها الّا القليل، ولاكن تعيّب كثير من جدراتها. ثمّ وردت اخبار بهلاك مدن من النصارى بأمر هائل جدّا، والحمد لله على هلاكهم وعلى فضل الله ورحمته ولطفه بالمسلمين. لولا ان منّ الله علينا لخسف بنا، نسأله تعلى دوام نعمته ورحمته.[4]

*

Text of letter found in the margin of Vol. II, fol. 12

وممّا كتب به مولاي اسماعيل الى قائده عبد الله الروسي ما نصّه:

بعد البسملة والتصلية

"خديمنا القائد عبد الله بن حمدون الروسي

سلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته واصلح الله رايك وسهّل علينا في فتح العرايش وجعله على يديك.

[1] Colloquial for تحميل; Beaussier (p. 185) 'Débarrasser . . . Désencombrer.'

[2] Copyist's marginal note: وقوع الزلازل بمدينة مكناسة في زمن الحدّ . . . [illegible] . . . سيدي محمّد بن عبد الله. وفيها عطبت * ضار ** الملك وهُدِ[م] معظم هيأها وتغيّرت رسومها.

* For text's incorrect masculine عطب.
** For classical orthography دار.

[3] Necessary فَ inserted after the disjunctive particle أمّا.

[4] The events for this year do not appear in the main text (K2253), but are found in Royal 972, Royal 959, and litho., and Royal 972 has been used here as the basis for editing. A portion following these events, consisting of a discussion of the causes of earthquakes, has been omitted here.

واعلم انّك عندي ممّن لم يُتّهَم في خدمتنا ومن انصح الناس الينا وتحبّ الخير الينا اكثر من جميع الناس وليس عندي في خدّامي مثلك ولا اعزّ منك كما تعلم منّي ما ذكرته لك.

ثمّ الآن ظهر لي منك انّك غير ناصح لدى الاسلام حيث وجّهتك الى فتح العرايش ولم تقم بالواجب الذي عيّنته عليك ويجب على [من][1] ولّاه الله امر المسلمين مثلنا اذ اولى اميرا على القتال ان يكون من اهل النجدة في القتال ومن اهل المحبّة في نصر دين الاسلام ومحو دين الكفّار فاخترناك عن غيرك ووجّهناك لذلك لظنّنا انّ فيك ما وصفناه لك والآن خاب المظنون فيما [نوقع][2] فيك.

والله هو حسبي وحسبك ونعم الوكيل وان اردتَ ان نقدم عليكم بنفسي ويكون ما ينوب المسلمين من الكلفة انت المتحمّل باتمّه فأنا فاعل ذلك وليس[. . .][3] افضل ممّن فعل ذلك قبلي ولا انت افضل من سيف الدولة وابي فراس وابن حمدان الذين قاموا بما وجّهناك اليه عند غيرنا. في 13 من ذي القعدة عام 1100 "

فلمّا قُرِئ الى الروسي هذا الكتاب بكى وقال "لو وصفني بما ذكر خدمته ثمّ تقلّد سيفي وما نزعه لِمَ يسألني لأنّ ذلك من فعل الخلفاء لامرائهم وحيث وصفني بعد النصح للاسلام اخذت في نفسه عليه". ثمّ تقلّد سيفه وما نزعه حتّى فَتحت واشتدّ في القتال ليلا ونهارا وما نام ليلة الى ان فُتِحت."[4]

[1] Necessary insert.
[2] Necessary insert.
[3] Margin cut.
[4] Vol. II, fol. 12, margin.

TRANSLATION

1076/1665-1666

Among this year's events was Mawlānā Rashīd's assault on Fez; he fought there for three days, but was wounded in the ear by a musketball, whereupon he retreated.[1] On 3 Rabīʿ I (13 Sept. 1665), however, he returned once more and inflicted death and injury upon [the defenders], thus causing about seventy casualties, but he then again retreated, since he had not come equipped [for a siege]. He then proceeded to the Rīf, where he besieged, and after several clashes defeated, Aʿarrāṣ,[2] in Ramaḍān (7 Mar. - 5 Apr. 1666).

On Tuesday morning, 28 Dhū al-Qaʿda (1 June 1666), Mawlānā Rashīd also launched an assault on Fez, laying siege to it until Thursday, at the same time ordering his troops to give battle until Monday, 3 Dhū al-Ḥijja (6 June 1666). The next morning he was already in New Fez,[3] having entered by night over the top of the wall of the mallāḥ,[4] whereupon their ra'īs, al-Duraydī, took flight.[5] In the late evening, [Rashīd] moved down to Qarawiyyīn Fez[6] as during the night Ibn al-Ṣughayyir took refuge in the bastion of Bāb al-Gīsa,[7] while Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, ra'īs of the Andalus, fled the following morning.

The People of Fez then went up and gave Mawlānā Rashīd the bayʿa and proclaimed him. Ibn Ṣāliḥ was captured before noon on the outskirts of the city, a group of his followers were killed and he himself was imprisoned by Bāb Dār Ben Shagra, in New Fez. [Rashīd] then appointed Sīdī Ḥamdūn al-Mizwār to the office of qāḍī on Thursday, 6 Dhū al-Ḥijja (9 June 1666). The following Thursday, the former had Ibn Ṣāliḥ and Ibn al-Ṣughayyir, and later his two sons as well, executed.

Mawlānā Rashīd then set out on a campaign to the Gharb, and

al-Khiḍr Ghaylān[8] and his followers were defeated. [The Sultan] pursued them and entered al-Qaṣr, whereupon Ghaylān left it for Arzila. Mawlāy Rashīd retreated from al-Qaṣr, but later returned and laid siege to it.

It is related that Ibn Ṣāliḥ and al-Duraydī, once aware of the people's discontent with them, had resorted to a stratagem. Mawlāy Rashīd's name was on everyone's lips and all craved for him because of the excesses in plundering and disorder, from which people hoped he would deliver them. Once he had laid siege to them, people talked all the more of such hopes and they talked openly of him, and the shurafā' spoke out in favour of him. When the two became apprehensive that he would pounce on them, al-Duraydī and Ibn Ṣāliḥ quarrelled and pretended to have a falling-out with each other, while [their partisans][9] went around to all the shurafā' known to favour Mawlānā Rashīd and asked them to reconcile the two ra'īs-s, stressing that this was the role of the ashrāf, and that there was no recourse save to them in such cases.

If any of the ashrāf who had been invited went off, he was pursued by them until he came, and if anyone took to his sickbed, he was harassed by them until he also came. Some, however, who were forewarned by their friends of the trap went into close hiding. Finally, they had assembled all those who were suspected of favouring the Sultan. Al-Duraydī then sent them as mediators to bring about a reconciliation with Ibn Ṣāliḥ. The latter welcomed them when they arrived, showing them into a maṣriyya[10] and presented them with a table holding food known as ṭabkh al-dār, and said: 'This is your supper. A daughter was born to me a week ago, and you will leave this maṣriyya on the day of her marriage.'[11] They thereupon realized that they were prisoners and that their being sent there was but a trap and trickery, for had he imprisoned them openly, some of the Common People (al-'āmma) would have stood up for them against the leaders and some of the masses (al-'awāmm) would have prevented their seizure because they had heard of Mawlānā Rashīd's good conduct. The prisoners grieved over this and the food remained set before them, without anyone

touching any of it.

God the Exalted, in His grace (which is sought in times of difficulty!), however, decreed them to be liberated. Mawlāy Rashīd entered New Fez that night and its inhabitants gave him the bay'a even as the table lay in place, without anything having been eaten. All of a sudden, [those imprisoned] heard shouting and the proclamation of Mawlānā Rashīd everywhere, and God the Exalted delivered them from the humiliating treatment at the hands of those evildoers. Then, joyfully, some of them ate from the table, while others stocked up from the table and took the food home with them. Mawlāṇā Rashīd then entered the city and freed them, and they returned to Idrisid Fez the following morning.[12]

In Rajab (7 Jan. - 5 Feb. 1666), there was an earthquake in Fez.

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1077/1666-1667

Main Events of the Year: On the first of Rabī' II (1 Oct. 1666), the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā the Caliph Rashīd returned from his campaign by which he had conquered the Gharb and defeated the head of the rebel band, al-Khiḍr Ghaylān. [The Sultan] had ordered the shurafā', 'ulamā', and notables to send him their bay'a in writing; this they did, and it was read in his presence, before noon on Saturday, 18 Rabī' I (18 Sept. 1666).[1] He then went on to Meknes on the last day of Rabī' II (29 Oct. 1666) after his return from the Gharb.

He next marched against the Berber Āyt Wallāl,[2] whom he crushed, and then returned to Fez, where he received news of the departure of Sīdī Maḥammad (sic) al-Ḥājj al-Dilā'ī from al-Dilā'.[3] He had set out for Fez and pitched camp in the village of Banī Mazūra,[4] which is on one of the rivers which flow into Wādī Fās. The two skirmished for about three days, after which Maḥammad al-Ḥājj retreated to al-Dilā'.

On 11 Rajab (7 Jan. 1667), Mawlānā Rashīd then marched on Taza, removed its amīr, appointed another, and then returned to Fez in Shawwāl (27 Mar.-24 Apr. 1667). He then marched on Meknes,[5] where he also deposed the qā'id and appointed another, and then again returned to Fez. Mawlānā Rashīd then launched a campaign on Jabal Banī Zarwāl and the neighbouring mountains, on Saturday the second day of the Immolation (4 June 1667). He crushed the inhabitants and captured their commander, the ra'īs Sharīf and sent him to Fez on 2 Muḥarram 1078 (24 June 1667).

In Ṣafar [1078] (23 July-20 Aug. 1667), he set out on an expedition against Tetuan and neighbouring towns. Having captured their ra'īs, along with a group of other rebel leaders of his party, he had them put in irons and sent on to Fez, to which he himself returned on the first of Rabī' I (21 Aug. 1667).

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1078/1667-1668

Main Events of the Year: One Saturday noon in Rabī' II[1] (20 Sept.-18 Oct. 1667), the most-learned Sīdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī assumed the post of muftī in Fez.[2]

Before noon, or Thursday forenoon, 12 Dhū al-Ḥijja (24 May 1668)[3] the Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph Mawlānā Rashīd left on an expedition against the Dilā'ī zāwiya,[4] which he conquered, forcing its leader and the occupants to surrender, and then demolished.[5]

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1079/1668-1669

Among the events of this year was the overthrow of the Dilā'ī zāwiya. The shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Yūsī says in his Muḥāḍarāt:[1]

> The ra'īs Abū 'Abd Allāh Maḥammad al-Ḥājj b. Abū Bakr al-Dilā'ī had ruled Morocco for many years and he, his sons, brothers, and paternal kinsmen had achieved great power. When the sharīf, the Sultan Rashīd b. al-Sharīf attacked and met their armies at Baṭn al-Rummān, he defeated them, on the first day of Muḥarram the Holy, 1079 (11 June 1668). We then called on [Maḥammad al-Dilā'ī] who, because of his great age, had not been able to participate in the battle. All of a sudden [the defeated remnants of the army][2] burst in, as did his sons and brothers, looking most terrified and deeply distressed. Upon seeing them thus, he asked them: 'What is the matter? If He - meaning God - says "Enough for you is enough", then for you it is.' This is an admirable thing to say and goes back to a ḥadīth,[3] the sense of which is that if God the Exalted says to you that you have had enough of worldly possessions, then be satisfied, content, and submissive.

These are his words.[4]

The zāwiya was overthrown on Monday, 8 Muḥarram (18 June 1668). God granted His grace through the beneficent power (baraka)[5] of their ancester, as once Mawlānā Rashīd had overcome them, he treated them with the utmost clemency, and did not demand a single drop of their blood or have their women dishonoured. Perhaps a few unjust individuals did commit excesses, but he punished them most severely. After completing the conquest and demolition of the zāwiya, the expulsion of its occupants, and the conquest of the provinces dependent upon it, the Mawlā Rashīd resolved to conquer Marrakesh as well.

He set out for this city from al-Dilā' and was met in the Haouz[6] by its amīr Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shabānī[7] and Mawlānā Rashīd defeated and captured this ra'īs 'Abd al-Karīm. He then assailed Marrakesh itself, whose inhabitants came out to him repentant, preceded by the shurafā', 'ulamā', and schoolchildren. He pardoned them and they gave him the bay'a, after which he entered [the city] and had the ra'īs Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shabānī put to death,[8] along with a number of his faction and partisans, while he had the latter's father

disinterred and burned. All this took place on 28 Ṣafar (7 Aug. 1668). He then remained there for about a month in order to pacify the city, the Haouz, and dependent provinces.

He then marched to Tāfīlālt[9] to expel its amīr, his nephew the imām Mawlāy Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful Mawlāy Maḥammad b. the Sultan, the imām Mawlāy al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī, who had revolted against him. [The Sultan] expelled him and his followers from Tāfīlālt after having granted amnesty and pardon to them, and did not punish either him or his followers.

Mawlānā Rashīd then returned to Fez from this campaign on Friday, 27 Rabīʿ II (4 Oct. 1668), and from there he next marched against the raʾīs of the coast, al-Khiḍr Ghaylān, who had fortified himself in Arzila, whereupon the latter, abandoning the city, fled to Algiers by sea.

The Sultan then returned to Fez, and deposed the qāḍī al-Mizwār, as well as Sīdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, the muftī and khaṭīb of Jāmiʿ al-Qarawiyyīn, at noon on Wednesday, 29 Jumādā II (4 Dec. 1668). Sīdī Muḥammad al-Majāṭī was then appointed to the post of qāḍī, and the faqīh Sīdī Muḥammad al-Būʿinānī[10] to that of khaṭīb in al-Qarawiyyīn on Friday afternoon.[11]

The Mawlā Rashīd then left to attack the Shāwiya late Saturday afternoon of 17 Rajab (21 Dec. 1668).[12] Striking and routing them, he conquered their territory, thus liberating their neighbours from the latter's depredations. The territory was pacified and its inhabitants' hopes were revived, and he returned to Fez on 7 Ramaḍān (8 Feb. 1669).

He then ordered the expulsion from Fez of the members of the [Dilāʾī] zāwiya, some of whom he banished to the mausoleum (ḍarīḥ) of Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim,[13] while allowing others to remain in Fez. At the end of the year, however, he pardoned those of them who had been banished to the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim and brought them all back to Fez.

At noon on Saturday, 17 Dhū al-Ḥijja (18 May 1669), Mawlānā Rashīd left on a campaign against the Āyt ʿAyyāsh, whom he crushed, whereupon they abandoned their rebellion and he

pardoned them, after which he returned to Fez.

On 22 Dhū al-Ḥijja (23 May 1669), Mawlānā Rashīd ordered the coinage to be changed and purified of its copper content. Very pure and sound dirham-s[14] and dīnār-s were struck, with twelve ūqiyya-s a mithqāl. He ordered one side to be inscribed 'God is our Lord and Rashīd is our imām', and on the other, the place and year of minting. He then lent 52,000 mithqāl-s of this to the merchants for a period of one year to help them out until the supply of dirham-s became plentiful. He ordered them to repay the debt to his governor in Fez for use in the construction of the Sabū Bridge,[15] which was begun on Saturday 14 Dhū al-Qaʿda (15 Apr. 1669), and built to perfection.

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1080/1669-1670

Main Events of the Year: On Sunday, 11 Rabīʿ II (8 Sept. 1669), the building of the foundation of the Sabū Bridge was initiated, and on 15 Jumādā II (10 Nov. 1669), the first brick was put in place.

On Monday, 22 Rajab (16 Dec. 1669), the Mawlā Rashīd left on a campaign against al-Abyaḍ, and returned on Thursday, 8 Ramaḍān (30 Jan. 1670). Al-Abyaḍ's brother's sons met their death the day after he captured them there, being executed after their arrival in Taza.

The Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā Rashīd then fell prey to a serious illness which brought him to death's door. He thereupon ordered the release of all those who were in prison, on Saturday, 17 [Ramaḍān][1] (8 Feb. 1670); the following day God cured him and he recovered completely.

On Sunday, the 15th of Dhū al-Ḥijja (6 May 1670), he organized Mawlānā Ismāʿīl's wedding feast, and in Shawwāl [1081] (22 Feb.-22 Mar. 1670), he ordered the reconstruction of the Raṣīf Bridge.[2]

1081/1670-1671

Main Events of the Year: The Commander of the Faithful left on a campaign against the Sūs, where he was confronted by their armies led by their ra'īs, the amīr, the murābiṭ[1] Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥassūn,[2] a descendant of Aḥmad b. Mūsā. The Mawlā Rashīd defeated them and laid siege to the city of Taroudant on 4 Ṣafar (23 June 1670). This is a city at the extremity of the Sūs, traversed by swiftly-moving rivers, and contains thick orchards and all sort of fruit, and prices there are low. The road from it to Aghmāt-Ūrīka runs along the bottom of a mountain, such as there are few in the whole world as high or as wide, or containing villages so close to each other, or as many rivers and abundance of fruit. At the top of this mountain there are more than seventy redoubts and a citadel containing an invulnerable redoubt build by Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart,[3] the king of the Maghrib, which could be held by any four men against the whole world due to its impregnability.

On Sunday, 18 Ṣafar (7 July 1670),[4] he crushed the Hashtūka,[5] killing, according to reports, about 1,500 of them. He then went on to vanquish the inhabitants of the littoral of whom, according to reports, more than 4,000 perished, on Sunday, 15 Rajab (28 Nov. 1670).[6] On 1 Rabīʿ I (19 July 1670), he took Ilīgh, the capital of Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥassūn, and about 2,000 of its [inhabitants] were killed, at the foot of the mountain, according to reports.

On 7 Rabīʿ I (25 July 1670), his deputy in Fez[7] executed about sixty Awlād Jāmiʿ for highway robbery, after which they were impaled on al-Burj al-Jadīd.[8]

In Jumādā II (16 Oct.-13 Nov. 1670), the new round fulūs coins made their appearance, with twenty-four of them in a mawzūna Rashīdiyya, while formerly there had been forty-eight, and the square fulūs ushqūbiyya[9] went out of circulation.

On Monday, 3 Rajab (16 Nov. 1670), Mawlānā Rashīd returned from his campaign in the Sūs, and on the first day of Shaʿbān (14 Dec. 1670), construction was begun on the madrasa in Dār ʿAzzūz in al-Sharrāṭīn.[10]

On 15 Shaʿbān [the Sultan] ordered the construction of a qaṣaba[11] in al-Jarā' in the orchard of Ibn Ṣāliḥ, Diyār Lamtūna and al-Dakākīn, and donated 1,000 mithqāl-s for the erection of its surrounding wall.

On 4 Ramaḍān (15 Jan. 1671), he set out on a pilgrimage to Sīdī Abū Yaʿza[12] (may God make him favourable to us!). From there, he went on to Salé, on Friday the twelfth of this month, and returned to Fez on Sunday evening, 28 Ramaḍān the Venerable (8 Feb. 1671).[13]

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1082/1671-1672

Main Events of the Year: The Commander of the Faithful, the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, the Caliph Mawlānā Rashīd sent some cavalry to the jihād against Tangier on the first of Ṣafar (9 June 1671), and another cavalry force on the jihād in the Sūs, under the qā'id ʿAbd Allāh Aʿarrāṣ on Tuesday, 12 Jumādā I (21 Sept. 1671).

He then went off to Tāfrāṭa[1] to hunt, at about noon on Monday.[2] Upon hearing of his nephew's[3] revolt in Marrakesh he returned, however, entering Fez on Saturday morning, 11 Ramaḍān (11 Jan. 1672), but left again that same afternoon. His household guard apprehended [the rebel] and it was as a prisoner in their hands that he came face to face with him in Fanzāra.[4] He then sent him out to Tāfīlālt, while he himself marched on to Marrakesh, and sent his qā'id Zaydān to Fez on Wednesday, 9 Dhū al-Qaʿda (8 Mar. 1672) to bring back the army. The Ahl Sūs and others then came to submit to him, and there was thus no more point in the campaign by the time the tents had got as far as Wādī Fās. The [troops] remained there, awaiting orders (until news of his death reached them, whereupon they returned to Fez) from the end of the night of Tuesday to the dawn of Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijja (14 Mar. 1672).

The bay'a was then given to his brother, the Caliph Mawlānā the Commander of the Faithful, the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, Abū al-Naṣr, (the Victorious by God) Ismā'īl b. the Sultan Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Muḥammadī al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī.

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1083/1672-1673

Main Events of the Year: When Mawlānā Ismā'īl had received the bay'a, on the same day as news of his brother's death reached Fez, that is Wednesday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijja, at the close of 1082 (13 Apr. 1672),[1] he dispatched the army to all regions of Morocco to secure for himself recognition (naṣr) and the bay'a from all the tribes and from both high and low.

After his bay'a in Fez, news reached him that his nephew, Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Mawlānā Muḥraz, was about to march to Marrakesh to get its inhabitants to give him the bay'a and to accord him the position occupied by his uncle Mawlānā Rashīd. Upon hearing of this, the Caliph (the Victorious by God) Mawlānā Ismā'īl made hasty preparations and set off for Marrakesh on Thursday, the last day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, at the close of 1082 (28 Apr. 1672).[2] Upon his arrival there, the inhabitants came out to do battle with him, and an encounter between the two sides took place on Thursday, 6 Muḥarram (3 May 1672), the people [of Marrakesh] being defeated.[3] The following day, Friday, he pardoned them, entered the city, and was given the bay'a. He then had the body of his brother, Mawlānā Rashīd, transferred to Fez in a coffin, where it arrived on Monday, 7 Ṣafar (4 June 1672), and was then interred in the rawḍa[4] of Sīdī 'Alī b. Ḥarāzim.

On the last day of Rabī' I (26 July 1672) Mawlānā Ismā'īl and his slaves arrived. He then distributed the pay bonus, resolved on mounting a campaign to the Sahara and elsewhere. He announced that he would set off after the Friday prayer,

but the people of Fez mutinied against the qā'id of the expedition, Zaydān b. 'Abīd al-Mālikī al-'Āmirī al-Tūnisī, at sunset of the night of Friday, 2 Jumādā I (26 Aug. 1672),[5] and killed him. Fighting thereupon broke out between Mawlānā (the Victorious by God) and the People of Fez, who then sent for his nephew, Mawlānā Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, in the Sahara. He acceded to their request and set off on his way to them pitching camp at Dabdū, on Wādī Moulouya, while he was proclaimed publicly in the markets of Fez and elsewhere at noon on Thursday, 20 Jumādā II (13 Oct. 1672).

Sunday evening, the twenty-third of this month (16 Oct. 1672), the sons of Mawlāy Sulaymān were put to death in prison by Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Idrīs, whose own brother Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Ḥafīd was in turn done to death treacherously, according to some by the partisans of those executed, or accidentally, according to others, by his own followers.

At sunset on Sunday, the last day of Jumādā II (22 Oct. 1672),[6] ten riders - among them the sons of al-Ṭawīriyyāt - set out to meet Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz at Taza, after the arrival of his courier.

On Tuesday morning, 2 Rajab (24 Oct. 1672)[7] al-Khiḍr Ghaylān's courier also came to Fez, announcing that the former had arrived at Tetuan by ship from Algiers, accompanied by the sons of al-Naqsīs.[8] Mawlānā Ismā'īl (the Victorious by God) then marched to Taza with his army against his nephew Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, after the Friday prayer on 5 Rajab (27 Oct. 1672). The cavalry and musketeers (rumāt)[9] of Fez followed in his footsteps on the evening of the same day, to go to the aid of his nephew and, travelling by night to the Banī Warthā and then on to the Ghiyātha, they arrived in Taza ahead of Mawlānā Ismā'īl. A struggle with alternating success dragged on there for about a month, during which Mawlāy Ismā'īl learned that al-Khiḍr Ghaylān had taken Tetuan, Arzila, al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, and Azjan,[10] and now intended also to make raids on the Wargha region. Upon receiving this news, [the Sultan] abandoned the campaign against his nephew Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz and headed for the Gharb, where prolonged fighting

between Mawlāy Ismā'īl and Ghaylān was to last until Sunday, 10 Jumādā I, 1084 (23 Aug. 1673), when the latter was killed and those he had conquered returned to Mawlāy Ismā'īl's control. Having pardoned them, he set off for Fez to do battle with his nephew, Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, who had moved there, accompanied by those [Fasis] who had been with him in Taza, when God had forced Mawlānā Ismā'īl to abandon his campaign against him and he had gone off to fight Ghaylān. He had entered Idrisid Fez, whose people had given him the bay'a and where his name was included in the khuṭba on the minbar-s, and his commands and judgements were law. He resided in the royal palace in Upper, Merinid Fez until his uncle Mawlāy Ismā'īl defeated him, whereupon he abandoned it to the latter.

Wheat reached 40 ūqiyya-s a wasq, calculating 1½ ṣā' to the mudd in those days; soap reached 4 mawzūna-s a riṭl, and disappeared from the market altogether, while butter and oil sold at 3 ūqiyya-s. The only meat eaten was beef, and people did not slaughter sacrifices [i.e., sheep] for the 'īd which was, rather, celebrated as the 'īd al-fiṭr, and only the odd one or two slaughtered a calf or other such animal. The minimum price for a ram reached 10 mithqāl-s.

An account of the prediction by the most credible of Ṣūfī-s concerning these events:

Sīdī al-Mahdī al-Fāsī says in his work al-Ilmā':[11]

> When the people revolted against Mawlānā Ismā'īl, Sīdī Aḥmad[12] repeatedly told them that what they were doing was against the Sharī'a and that their revolt was inadmissible, that [Mawlāy Ismā'īl] would defeat them, and that they would return under his control, but that clemency would be shown and only those who deserved it would be punished, that he would enter the city peacefully and not by force, and that suffering would not be universal; and that is indeed how it turned out. Two months after the revolt, Ghaylān arrived from Algiers to Tetuan, Arzila, and al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz came to Taza, and Mawlāy Ismā'īl marched off to besiege his nephew, remaining there for some months.
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> Sīdī Aḥmad then said to someone from the élite (nās), 'The Sultan will go from Taza to meet Ghaylān, marching from tribal village to tribal village to do what he has to do, after which he will come here.' This individual was surprised since it was the rainy season, when

> supposedly the Sultan would not have been able to leave Taza, but all of a sudden he was there in the Gharb!
>
> Once peace was in sight, he [i.e., Aḥmad] left the city, after having informed one of our friends that the die had been cast (inqaḍā al-amr)[13] and that the city would be conquered after his departure for the Gharb; and, that is indeed how things turned out. The inhabitants of the city, and especially the most influential ones, were terrified the day Sīdī Aḥmad left. They were helpless, deserted, and bewildered and began thenceforth to think who might set about bringing them peace and quiet. Putting their minds to the matter, they threw all their efforts into this until they had achieved results and quiet was restored. They had earlier thought that impossible [i.e., the conquest by Mawlāy Ismā'īl] and no one [in the city] had been allowed to mention that [matter], and if anyone did, they threatened him and lay in wait for him so that he could only escape them with God's help.[14] All the fuqarā' in Morocco who were reputed to possess, or themselves claimed to possess, divine inspiration (ḥāl) and to be holy (al-yad ma'a allāh), had also claimed that Mawlāy Ismā'īl would not assume the government of Fez, or ever get into power.
>
> Those who had been with him [i.e., Sīdī Aḥmad] informed us that after he had left, he was very apprehensive about the fate of Fez, that is until the day when its people went to the Sultan and submitted, Sīdī Aḥmad being then already far away in one of the cities of the Sāyis. They told us that in the morning [of the day the news was to arrive] he was in a state of great joy, and was all smiles and happiness even before news of the conclusion of peace had reached them, and his attitude (amr) caused them great amazement. The news then reached them, and he said to one of our friends: 'I gave the key, but found some of its teeth to be bent, so I straightened them out and opened the gate (that is the gate of Fez) with my own hand, and let him who can now close it, do so!'[15]

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1084/1673-1674

Among this year's events was the stoppage of the water supply to the Qarawiyyīn, something which had already occurred before, but then it resumed its flow.

On 21 Jumādā I (3 Sept. 1673)[1] Ghaylān was killed, as related in a preceding account for last year.

On Monday evening, 17 or 20 Jumādā II (29 Sept. or 2 Oct. 1673)[2] Mawlānā Ismā'īl arrived with his expeditionary force and made camp at Rās al-Mā',[3] entering New Fez after his nephew Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz had abandoned it to him. The latter then returned to the Sahara due to a lack of funds with which to maintain his army,[4] a lack which made him unable to pursue the war against his uncle.

Once the People of Fez has seen their position crumble and regretted what they had done, they were eager to submit, and did so in droves, while the People of New, Merinid, Fez gave the bay'a to [the Sultan]. Mawlānā (the Victorious by God) then entered and took up residence in the royal palace in New Fez, ceasing hostilities against the People of Idrisid Fez, who then began to defect to him little by little. The Monday following these events, the fuqahā' and shurafā' of Fez went up to New Fez to make peace with Mawlānā Ismā'īl,[5] and the next morning, Tuesday 13 Rajab (24 Oct. 1673), everyone else followed suit. The rebellion had begun on Thursday evening, the first of Jumādā I of the preceding year, 1083 (25 Aug. 1672),[6] as already related, so that the siege and fighting between Mawlānā Ismā'īl (the Victorious by God) and the People of Fez had thus lasted an entire year, two months, and twenty-eight days.

On Friday, 22 Rajab (2 Nov. 1673),[7] the Sultan dismissed Sīdī Muḥammad al-Būʿinānī from the post of khaṭīb in the Qarawiyyīn, to which he then appointed the qādī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Majjāṣī.

During the time of the 'īd al-aḍḥā, [the Sultan] went on an expedition to Meknes, and returned quickly after having appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghrāwī as his lieutenant (khalīfa) in Fez, and Aḥmad al-Tilimsānī as its qā'id, the two of whom gave themselves a free hand in the city, plundering, imprisoning, and banishing people.

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1085/1674-1675

Among the events of this year was the burning down in Fez of seventeen shops in Sūq al-'Aṭṭārīn al-Kubrā,[1] with the consequent collapse of its walls and great loss of property. I do not know what caused it,[2] but a short time later there was a similar fire in the very same place, when even more shops were burned down. This one was caused by one of the mirror-makers who left a lit brazier in his shop, in which there was sulphur, and this was ignited by the flame during the night.

On Saturday morning, 14 Rajab (14 Oct. 1674), the sons of Yafraḥ were executed and their corpses paraded through the streets of Fez, since they had done their best to induce the city of Fez to revolt against Mawlāy Ismā'īl. Once Fez had fallen, they had fled to a certain mountain, but he got the better of them and put them to death. They were from the People of Figuig who had originally gone to Andalusia and had emigrated after the 'Misfortune',[3] settling in Ḥawmat Rās al-Jinān in Qarawiyyīn Fez. Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kātib[4] assumed the office of the muwāratha.[5]

In Rajab (Oct. 1674), the People of Tlemcen revolted against their Turkish rulers, which led to civil commotion between them. The Turks from Algiers then came to the aid of their countrymen and went on the rampage, causing widespread bloodshed, and swooped down, looting and raping. They forced out those in the ḥaram[6] of Sīdi Abū Madyan,[7] just as they banished the Tilimsanis from their own city, and destroyed the zāwiya. It was by the grace of God to the People of Dilā', the descendants of Sīdī Abū Bakr, that Mawlāy Ismā'īl had written to them [inviting] them back to Morocco, so that they had already returned to Fez, and were not there for the fighting. Some troublemakers in Tlemcen had harassed them, and when news of this had reached Mawlānā Ismā'īl, he had written to them to return. After suffering at the hands of the People of Tlemcen, one of their worthies had seen their ancestor Sīdī Abū Bakr in a dream, coming to visit Sīdī Abū Madyan, while people came out to meet him near the saint's

tomb in a place known as Bāb al-Miʿrāṭ. Sīdī Abū Bakr started to accuse him and to give him a tongue-lashing, saying, 'I sent my descendants to you, and you humiliated them!', but Sīdī Abū Madyan answered him soothingly. Then, in the last exchange of words before parting, Sīdī Abū Madyan said, 'I will convey them to Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim in Fez', and it was indeed not long before they received Mawlāy Ismāʿīl's invitation to them to return. When they arrived, they took up residence in Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim, with the inhabitants of the ḥaram, outside the city. After a while, they were permitted to enter Fez and [the Sultan] honoured and respected their presence. They are still to be found there, honoured, revered, and venerated by its people and leaders, and engaged solely in the pursuit of knowledge.

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1086/1675-1676

Main Events of the Year: A battle took place at Wād al-ʿAbīd between the Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, and the army of his nephew, the imām, the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, in which the qā'id of the latter's army, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Ṭawīrī al-Fāsī al-Andalusī, lost his life. This occurred on Wednesday eveing, 7 Rabīʿ I (1 June 1675), and Mawlānā Aḥmad b. Muḥraz's army was defeated due to the death of its qā'id.[1]

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1087/1676-1677

Main Events of the Year: On the night of Sunday, 19 Jumādā II (29 Aug. 1676), a great light appeared to the east of the

qibla, and then disappeared before dawn.

On 15 Rabīʿ II (27 June 1676), a great battle occurred near the city of Marrakesh between the two imām-s,[1] Mawlāy the Caliph (the Victorious by God), the Commander of the Faithful Ismāʿīl, and his nephew the Sultan, the imām Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, but an account of it would take too long.[2]

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1088/1677-1678

Among the events of this year was the campaign by Mawlānā Ismāʿīl against Mawlānā Aḥmad b. Muḥraz. They engaged in a series of battles in the area of Marrakesh, leading to the latter's abandonment of the city and the Haouz [to Mawlānā Ismāʿīl] on the last day of Rabīʿ I (2 June 1677). Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, having made peace with its inhabitants, then entered it, pardoned them, put everything in order, and granted the city amnesty. He had seven of its leaders executed and put out the eyes of thirty others who had said, 'You will never see him.'[1]

On 15 Rabīʿ I (17 June 1677), the Berber tribes of the Moulouya region rebelled and rallied around the raʾīs, sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥammad al-Ḥājj al-Dilāʾī, whom they proclaimed, coming down on all sides on anyone who did not submit to them in the neighbouring area, as far as the Sāyis, Fez, and Meknes. Battles were fought between them and the Arabs of the Tadla, whom they defeated, bringing under their control that city and its region, occupying its qaṣaba, and expelling the makhāziniyya,[2] on Sunday or Monday, 1 Jumādā II (1 Aug. 1677). Mawlānā the Caliph Ismāʿīl thereupon dispatched thither 2,000 makhāziniyya, who were joined by the Arabs of the Tadla and by the tribes adjacent to the Berbers of the Moulouya region, under the leadership of [Ismāʾīl's] qā'id Yakhlaf. A great battle ensued between the two sides, in which Yakhlaf, the qā'id of the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, was

killed and his army beaten, with only a few of the [original] 2,000 saving themselves. He thereupon dispatched another force, but it, too, was defeated. The rebel Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥājj then marched with the Berbers against Fez and Meknes and the tribes living between these two cities. The tribes of the region joined forces with the makhāziniyya and they engaged in a great battle on 13 Rajab (11 Sept. 1677), in which the army of Fez and Meknes was defeated, with the loss of a number of commanders, while [the survivors] took refuge in Meknes, where they entrenched themselves.

The members of the zāwiya[3] who were in Fez and who had supported him previously during the wars repaired to the ḥaram of Mawlānā Idrīs and to Sīdī Aḥmad al-Shāwī,[4] where they and their families were subjected to a tight siege.

On the last day of Rabīʿ I (2 June 1677), the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl removed the raʾīs of Fez, ʿAlī b. ʿAyyād, because of the latter's inability to defend the city and to check excesses, and appointed over it the qāʾid Ḥamdūn, the father of the wazīr, the qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī, and the latter substituted for his son. He also banished the qāḍī of Marrakesh, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Hashtūkī, sending him to Fez, where he was put under house arrest in the ḥaram of Mawlāy Idrīs.

On 5 Ṣafar (9 Apr. 1677), the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl left Marrakesh to give battle to the raʾīs al-Dilāʾī and his Berber followers, and crossed Wādī al-ʿAbīd. The qāʾid al-Rūsī dispatched 200 musketeers from Fez to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl on 15 Shaʿbān (13 Oct. 1677). During the same month, a clash took place between Mawlānā Ismāʿīl and the Berbers, led in their revolt by al-Dilāʾī, in which Ismāʿīl defeated the Berbers, who lost 3,000 musketeers in the fighting.[5] The qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī then sent news of the victory to Fez, ordering the cannons to be fired and a festival to be organized while Mawlānā Ismāʿīl sent back to Fez seventy of the [rebel] leaders' heads.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl then clashed with Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān on the Moulouya, with his army defeating that of Mawlāy Aḥmad b.

Muḥraz's party, while Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān himself was taken prisoner and put into irons, but he escaped to the Sahara, and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl returned to Meknes. From the People of Fez he received complaints of the heavy levies imposed on them, whereupon he sent home the musketeers who had accompanied him on the campaign, along with the qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī, who now himself assumed the post of qāʾid of Fez, while his father took over the post of the waratha. Mawlāy Ḥammād b. Mawlāy al-Sharīf, who was Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz's ʿāmil in Touat, then revolted against the latter, but was later poisoned and died.

On 15 Shawwāl (11 Dec. 1677), Mawlāy Ismāʿīl dismissed the qāḍī of Meknes, Sīdī Muḥammad Bū Madyan, replacing him by Sīdī Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, while on 4 Dhū al-Qaʿda (29 Dec. 1677)[6] he dismissed Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Majjāṣī from his post as qāḍī of Fez, and replaced him by Sīdī al-ʿArabī Burdallo.[7] About twenty Tetuanis imprisoned in New Fez were put to death by order of the Sultan. Sīdī Aḥmad b. Ḥamdūn assumed the post of khaṭīb of New Fez.

On 9 Dhū al-Qaʿda (3 Jan. 1678),[8] the shurafāʾ, fuqahāʾ, and notables left [Fez] to welcome Mawlānā the Commander of the Faithful on his arrival to Meknes. Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān was then brought to Fez as a prisoner from Tāfīlālt along with some ashrāf who had been on his side, and the next day he was taken on to Meknes. God then showed favour to him and [to those ashrāf] in the mind of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (who was to show his indulgence in many such cases), as he set them free, and gave Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān horses and an estate to live off in the Sahara, to which Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān went shortly afterwards.

On 23 Dhū al-Qaʿda (17 Jan. 1678), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Majjāṣī returned to Fez and asked the qāḍī there, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArabī Burdallo, to let him share in the posts of muftī and of khaṭīb, but the latter refused to divert the awqāf set aside for that. The Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl then dismissed the khaṭīb of the Mutawakkiliyya madrasa,[9] Sīdī al-ʿArabī Ben Nāṣir, and appointed Sīdī Muḥammad the Dilāʾī[10] murābiṭ in his place, while Abū ʿAbd

Allāh al-Majjāṣī[11] began to teach a subject (fī baʿḍ al-karāsī) in the Qarawiyyīn without having received any appointment.

On 6 Dhū al-Ḥijja (30 Jan. 1678), the Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl came from Meknes to Fez, was met by the notables and the populace at Wādī Fās, and then entered New Fez. The ʿīd[12] occurred at this time, and the notables came to celebrate it with him, while the qāḍī Burdallo gave the khuṭba and led the prayer.

In Rajab (30 Aug.-28 Sept. 1677), wheat reached 22 ūqiyya-s a wasq, calculating 1½ sharʿī ṣāʿ to the mudd of those days, or 1½ sharʿī wasq. Animals for sacrifice became expensive and difficult to find, as ewes reached unheard-of prices and sheep were unobtainable. As a result, many did not have a sacrifice, while others sacrificed on the day following the feast. One of the strangest things related from this year is that neither the fat nor the lean meat from this ʿīd cooked well.

In the first part of this year, an epidemic[13] appeared in the Tetuan area, among the Banī Zayyāt, from where it then spread to the city causing deaths.

The winter of this year was warm, while most of the rain fell during the summer, which was cold, and in Fez [people suffered from] bronchitis[14] and cough. Locusts appeared in the region of Marrakesh, and extended all the way to Salé and Tāfīlālt, and devastated the Bilād al-Jarīd,[15] causing a great famine. God, however, spared Fez and its region.

Before midnight on the night of Thursday, 10 Shaʿbān (8 Octo. 1678), an earthquake occurred, which was not however felt by everyone, and then another on the 27th.

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1089/1678-1679

Main Events of the Year: An epidemic appeared, first in minor proportions in Tetuan, where it later caused up to 50 deaths

per day, and then in al-Qaṣr, where up to 150 a day died. News of this reached Mawlānā the Caliph Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī, who thereupon dispatched his ʿabīd[1] to Wādī Sabū, with orders not to allow anyone to cross. He then set off from Meknes on a campaign, while the expeditionary force left Fez to join him on 14 Rabīʿ I (5 May 1678). The epidemic then also made its appearance in New, Merinid, Fez, where prayers were said for twenty [victims] on the night before the mawlid. It raged evermore fiercely there, and its madrasa[2] became empty, and was closed down on 8 Rabīʿ I (30 Apr. 1678).[3] It also raged throughout the neighbouring villages in ʿAyn al-Khamīs, and in what is today al-Khamīs, as well as in the qaṣaba-s and afragān,[4] which all became deserted. The Sultan Mawlānā Ismāʿīl thereupon sent his ʿabīd to burn down the villages depopulated by the epidemic, which they did, to the last one, on 15 Rabīʿ I (7 May 1678), destroying them and leaving behind only a pile of ruins. He also ordered his ʿabīd not to permit anyone to travel from Fez to Meknes, and they then patrolled the roads day and night, killing anyone who did not obey their order to turn back from Meknes.

The epidemic then also appeared in Fez and spread quickly, with the number of deaths in a single day reaching 400, then 800, then 1,000 and more, before it began to abate on the last day of Ramaḍān (15 Nov. 1678), and the number of deaths fell eventually to ten per day. The epidemic also appeared in the royal capital of Meknes, where the number of deaths reached 300 a day before abating, with that figure falling to 50 a day. It also appeared in Marrakesh, where deaths reached [about 2,000][5] a day, while innumerable persons perished in Madghara, Tāfīlālt, Touat, and all the other regions of the Sahara.

On 8 Rabīʿ I (30 Apr. 1678), the most-learned Sīdī Muḥammad al-Majjāṣī reached Fez, empowered to take over the posts of imām and muftī in the Qarawiyyīn, which he then held until the last day of Rajab (17 Sept. 1678), when Mawlānā Ismāʿīl dismissed him from those posts, and replaced him by the sayyid al-ʿArabī Burdallo. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl then sent

al-Majjāṣī to Meknes as qāḍī, while on the first day of Sha'bān (18 Sept. 1678), Sīdī Aḥmad b. Sa'īd took over as qāḍī in New Fez.

During this year, the wazīr, the qā'id 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī, renovated Jāmi' al-Andalus and its madrasa-s, and began the tiling of the courtyard, which had been up to that time untiled and planted with orange trees, which were now uprooted.[6] As the birds used to make a din in the masjid with their chirping and fouled it with their droppings, the worshippers suggested that the trees be cut down and the courtyard tiled now that the masjid was being renovated anyhow. Once the repair work was completed, the trees were therefore cut down and the courtyard was tiled. During this year as well, [running] water was brought into the zāwiya of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī, which is in al-Qalqaliyyīn. It is called, however, the zāwiya of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī[7] because the addition to it, undertaken by Mawlānā Ismā'īl, was in honour of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir; this addition comprises the portion extending from the present miḥrab to the miḥrab in the courtyard, that is, the half on the left as one faces it, as well as the whole courtyard, the mīḍa'a[8] the ṣaqallābiyya-s,[9] and the minaret.

On 19 Ramaḍān (4 Nov. 1678),[10] news reached Fez of the revolt of the brothers of the Caliph Mawlāy Ismā'īl b. the Sultan Mawlāy al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī, who were Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān, Mawlāy Hāshim, and Mawlāy Aḥmad, while behind them stood one of their uncles.[11] They went to the Berber Āyt 'Aṭṭā, calling on them to go to war, and [distributed] pay, tents, and arms. Mawlāy Ismā'īl thereupon dispatched an expeditionary force against them,[12] which left Fez on 6 Shawwāl (21 Nov. 1678), and the two forces met at a place known as Ghayẓa,[13] in the Āyt 'Aṭṭā region, and engaged in a battle in which about 400 musketeers from Fez fell, including their qā'id, Mūsā b. Aḥmad, one of the Andalusian Banī Yūsuf, kings of Andalusia, the dynasty dealt with by Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī in his Ṭurfat al-'Aṣr fī duwal Banī Naṣr.[14]

1090/1679-1680

Main Events of the Year: During this year, the epidemic reached alarming proportions, and continued unabated, causing the death of entire families and the destruction of many houses in Fez. It was only with difficulty that the ḥākim managed to round up 600 musketeers from Fez and send them off to the Sultan.

On 24 Muḥarram (7 Mar. 1679),[1] an assault was launched against Tangier, in which 50 Muslims and 350 Christians fell, and one of its fortresses having four towers was taken. On Tuesday, 7 Rabī' I (18 Apr. 1679), horsemen [attached to the expeditionary force?] arrived in Fez . . .;[2] they brought news of the difficulties experienced by the Sultan and the Muslims due to the snow and rough terrain. About 1,000 horses had perished, the soldiers had gone for days without food, the tents had been torn to pieces, and all the belongings had been abandoned. He had then reached the lowlands with great difficulty, accompanied by only 200 horsemen, and encamped near Sīdī Raḥḥāl.[3]

On Wednesday, 15 Rabī' I (26 Apr. 1679), 600 musketeers left Fez with the qā'id al-Rūsī and news followed of their victory over the qā'id of al-Kūsh[4] and his force.

The Sultan then gave [his soldiers] a free reign, since they had marched out half-starved, and the latter flung themselves on the possessions of the people of the Marrakesh area. In all, only a few [of the Sultan's party] had been wounded [in battle], but 300 had lost their lives.

The qā'id al-Rūsī then returned with the musketeers who had been on campaign, and he dismissed the wakīl-s[5] of the qāḍī.

On Jumādā I (28 Apr. 1679), news came that the Christians had appeared with a great fleet off Larache, but God then averted this danger.

In Jumādā II (10 July-7 Aug. 1679), the construction of the mīḍa'a in Jāmi' al-Zallīj[6] was completed, under the supervision of the qā'id al-Ḥājj Ḥamdūn al-Rūsī, who also built the mausoleum of Sīdī Abū Ghālib al-Ṣarīwī[7] (may God grant profit

through him!), and added to it by purchase, being aided by someone in this financially. He had earlier also built the rawḍa of Sīdī al-Ḥājj Abū Dirham. On the first day of Ramaḍān (6 Oct. 1679), the qā'id Ḥamdūn al-Rūsī died and was buried in his family rawḍa near Sīdī Abū Ghālib.

On this same day, the wazīr al-Matrārī and his followers were shot dead, and his body was then carried on a mule and dragged through Meknes and Fez, and finally dumped on a dunghill. He had earlier governed Salé and its region, and Meknes, and had been in the practice of imposing on the merchants of Fez the cost of maintaining the Christian prisoners, and God avenged them with his death. Then al-'Arabī al-Ghashshām, the qā'id of New, Merinid, Fez and a number of its leaders were arrested and some were put in chains, while orders were given for the others to be banished. Their homes, where the Renegades[8] were henceforth housed, were then looted and they moved to Old Fez, after their lives had been spared. The order then came from the Sultan for the [reappointment?][9] of al-'Arabī Burdallo to the post of qāḍī.

On the last day of Ramaḍān (4 Nov. 1679), the house belonging to the muḥtasib Sīdī 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was stripped and everything deposited for safe-keeping with him was carried off, while he himself was taken to the royal camp. The qāḍī of Salé, Mu'min, was then arrested for his misconduct, which was reported by an informer. He was put under tight surveillance, being allowed to go out only to lead the prayer and deliver the khuṭba, and then being returned to prison.

On 28 Shawwāl (2 Dec. 1679), al-Rūsī arrested the insurgents in Fez, that is the sons of al-Andalusī in that city, and put them and their sons in jail, while their houses and property were confiscated. No one was allowed to visit them until the arrival of the Sultan's letter on the morning of 27 [Dhū al-Qa'da?][10] (30 Dec. 1679) containing orders to execute three of them, while the others remained in prison along with their young sons.

On the first of Dhū al-Qa'da (4 Dec. 1679), the construction of the bridge over Wādī al-Najāt[11] was completed.

On the second day of the 'Īd al-aḍḥā (13 Jan. 1680), al-Khaṭīb, one of the rebels in Fez, went into hiding along with his sons in the zāwiya of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥammad al-Fāsī,[12] which is in Ḥawmat al-Qalqaliyyīn in Qarawiyyīn Fez, while al-Rūsī spared no effort in searching for him inside the ḥaram-s of Mawlāy Idrīs and of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Shāwī. The Sultan then returned to Meknes, and the people went out to welcome him, and met with him after the Friday prayer. He then sent a safe-conduct for al-Khaṭīb and his sons to come to Meknes, and later sent him back to Fez to be his lieutenant there. 'And the final issue of all things is unto God.' 'Thou raisest up whom thou wilt, and whom thou wilt thou dost abuse.' 'We alternate these days of successes and reverses among men.' 'For the earth is God's: to such that fear Him is a happy issue.'[13]

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1091/1680-1681

Among this year's events was a famine caused by the failure of the rains to come on time, and wheat reached 40 ūqiyya-s a wasq (a mudd contained 1½ ṣā'). The people performed the prayer for rain several times with the imām of the Qarawiyyīn, Muḥammad al-'Arabī [Burdallo] as the imām and khaṭīb. They then repeated it three more times, after which a sprinkling fell, which did not soak the ground. Then Sīdī Muḥammad al-Būʿinānī led the people in prayer and delivered the khuṭba, and then Burdallo again, who was followed by Sīdī Muḥammad the murābiṭ b. Muḥammad al-Dilā'ī, then by al-Būʿinānī again, and finally by Sīdī Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Fishtālī. The following day it rained, with thunder and lightning, and the people quenched their thirst and rejoiced, praising God for that, now that the wheat had already reached 60 ūqiyya-s.

There was, however, need for more rain and the people again performed the prayer for rain, with Burdallo as imām and

khaṭīb. Then the saintly shaykh (al-shaykh al-baraka) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī al-Fāsī went out with the people, riding on a donkey, with the ashrāf - the people of the Family - preceding him, pleading and asking God the Exalted to accept their intercession. The day after their return, a small amount of rain fell, while the following day a heavy, steady downpour fell from the morning call to prayer until sunrise. As a result, prices dropped, and wheat fell to 35 ūqiyya-s a wasq. This had been the ninth time the prayer had been performed, the first time having been on Monday, 5 Muḥarram (6 Feb. 1680).[1] Sīdī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī died in Ramaḍān of this year (25 Sept.-24 Oct. 1680), as has already been related.

On that same day, Mawlānā the Caliph Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī delivered to the merchants silver, which he had obtained from the Christians as ransom for some of their captives [at the current rate of] seven mithqāl-s [of silver] to a mithqāl [of gold.] The merchants, however, claimed that they would lose to those who smelted it into current dirham-s, as the minting fee was 1½ mithqāl-s [for every seven].[2]

Earlier, the order had come for Sīdī ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī to go to see Mawlāy the Caliph in Meknes, and he therefore rode out on a litter, due to his advanced years which prevented him from riding horseback. He left early Wednesday morning and met with [the Sultan] at noon on Thursday, the following day, in the rawḍa of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Majdhūb, after which [the Sultan] housed him in his new palace inside the qaṣaba and set free all his prisoners out of joy at seeing him. [The Sultan] then granted him permission to leave on Saturday, 3 Rabīʿ I (3 Apr. 1680), and he reached Fez the following day, Sunday.

On 20 Rabīʿ I (20 Apr. 1680), he initiated the expansion of the zāwiya of his father's uncle, the gnostic (al-ʿārif bi-llāh) Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥammad al-Fāsī[3] which is in Ḥawmat al-Qalqaliyyīn in Qarawiyyīn Fez) who had been its founder. The Caliph, Mawlānā the Commander of the Faithful

Ismāʿīl b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī then ordered an addition to it, and the Caliph's representative therefore bought several houses neighbouring it, which were then demolished, and the zāwiya was built in its present form. The extent of the addition was one-half of the two balāṭ-s[4] on the left of the miḥrab, as one faces it, as well as the mīḍaʾa, the courtyard, the two saqallābiyya-s for use in the summer overlooking the street outside, and the minaret, which it previously had lacked. Sīdī ʿAbd al-Qadīr willed that at his death he was to be buried there, which was carried out, and extended to his descendants as well, so that [the zāwiya] was named after him. Its original foundation, however, had been by his father's uncle, Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥammad al-Fāsī, while the addition and the rebuilding of everything in its present form was the work of the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī.

When the rebel ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lamāno[5] saw the Sultan's care in its construction, he slipped out of the ḥaram of Sīdī Aḥmad al-Shāwī and took refuge [in the al-Fāsī zāwiya], and from there went to the Caliph, who pardoned him, and the following day he returned to Fez. From that time on, its ḥaram became renowned and the reputation of its members enhanced because of the respect for it which Mawlānā (the Victorious by God) had displayed in constructing it. The Sultan's ʿāmil, however, lay in wait for al-Lamāno and seized him as he was leaving his house in Raḥbat al-Zabīb, and cut off his head, which he then had impaled on the door of the latter's own house. He also jailed his son and nephew, but two days later they reached an agreement with the ʿāmil in return for a sum of money to be paid to him by selling their property and belongings under immunity from confiscation. Then they gave him a guarantee for the sum of money on which they had come to terms with him to pay, and were set free.

On 15 Rabīʿ II (16 May 1680), news reached Fez of the conquest of Tangier by the Muslims, led by the governor of al-Qaṣr, ʿUmar b. Ḥaddu al-Baṭṭīwī.[6] In Jumādā I (30 May-28 June 1680), however, he made peace with the Christians and a truce

came into force.

The epidemic continued in Idrisid and Merinid Fez and Meknes.

On Jumādā II (13 July 1680), Mawlānā Ismā'īl went on a campaign to al-Ẓahrā. The proclamation was then given for the [normally] exempt shurafā' and fuqahā' to go on the jihād with the qā'id 'Umar b. Ḥaddu, but a week later a reversal of the order came from the Caliph, Mawlānā Ismā'īl.[7] During the period of this call to the jihād, wheat had become expensive and difficult to find, and was sold surreptitiously at two shar'ī dirham-s a nabawī ṣā'.

News came of the defeat of the Sultan's army near Tlemcen. On Sunday evening, 24 Jumādā II (22 July 1680), there was a violent wind-storm which blew down walls, uprooted trees, etc. Peace was then concluded between Mawlānā Ismā'īl and the governor of Tlemcen, after the former had reached the gates of the city. He then returned to Morocco, reaching Fez in Sha'bān[8] (27 Aug.-24 Sept. 1680) and entered New Fez that same night, while the following day he left for his residence of Meknes.

On 21 [of this month?], the shurafā', 'ulamā', and notables of Fez left the city with Mawlāy Ismā'īl's son, that is Mawlāy Muḥraz, to intercede on the latter's behalf, with a plea that his father might allow him to remain in New Fez, for he had designated him to go to Tāfīlālt along with the sons of Mawlānā Rashīd. [The Sultan], however, refused, and they left for Tāfīlālt, while he sent to Merinid Fez in his place as lieutenant another son, Maḥammad.

On 15 Ramaḍān (9 Oct. 1680), news came that the Christians had sallied forth from Tangier and had engaged the Muslims, killing over 100 of the latter. On the morning of 15 Ramaḍān, an earthquake also occurred, and the musketeers left Fez for Tangier on the jihād. News then came that some had fallen in the jihād, and later this same month news came of yet another clash. More news followed of another great battle in which many Muslims lost their lives.

On the last day of Ramaḍān (24 Oct. 1680) (at the end of the night) there appeared on the horizon something resembling a banner flowing in the east. It reappeared in the evenings and remained visible for part of the night until the last day of [Dhū] al-Ḥijja (20 Jan. 1681).

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1092/1681-1682

Main Events of the Year: On 5 Rabī' II (25 Mar. 1681), Mawlānā Ismā'īl (the Victorious by God) entered Merinid Fez, and from there marched off to attack the fortress of al-Ma'mūra, which is at the mouth of Wādī Sabū, where the latter flows into the sea, at the extremity of the Maghrib. After having put it under siege, he took it by force at the time of the Friday prayer on 13 Rabī' II (2 May 1681). Some say that he had cut off their water supply and had taken it by force without a battle, while others maintain that he fought them after their water supply had been cut off, and that he took it by force, without however, a single Muslim being lost in its capture. It was for the latter reason that it was claimed that no fighting had occurred. All the Christians there, along with their possessions, arms, and artillery, were taken as booty and brought to Meknes.

News also came that the master of the Sūs, Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Mawlāy Muḥraz b. the Sultan Mawlāy al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī, nephew of Mawlānā (the Victorious by God), the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful Ismā'īl b. the Sultan Mawlāy al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī (who has often been mentioned in the events found in this work) had taken several cities which were under the jurisdiction of Mawlānā Ismā'īl. His power had increased and he decided to conquer still others, prompting Mawlānā Ismā'īl to dispatch an army against him, which included musketeers from Fez.

During this year there was abundant rain, but also a famine and an epidemic. We pray God for well-being!

On 4 Shawwāl (19 Aug. 1681), the faqīh Sīdī Muḥammad Abū ʿInān was authorized by the Sultan to take over the post of muftī in the Qarawiyyīn. When he arrived in Fez, however, he came into conflict with the qāḍī, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArabī Burdallo, over the post of imām in the Qarawiyyīn. The latter barred him from this post, saying: 'You were appointed only to the post of muftī', and he retained the posts of qāḍī, khaṭīb, and imām. They then argued about the muftī's maqṣūra, and Abū ʿInān said: 'The maqṣūra belonging to the khaṭīb and the imām is the one in front of the miḥrāb and minbar, that is the one from which one enters the library, and the library has another entrance to the left of the one which is on the left of the miḥrab. The maqṣūra which is of the same shape as the room whose entrance is on the left of the library entrance is endowed [only] for the muftī, and the qāḍī, khaṭīb, and imām have no share in it.' It was proved that the maqṣūra was indeed endowed for the muftī alone, and the qāḍī asked the latter to let him retain it for a certain period, to which the latter kindly agreed.

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1093/1682

Main Events of the Year: The qāḍī-s of all the regions of Morocco were accused of ignorance, examined, and detained for some days in the mashwar[1] of New Fez so that they would learn. They then went to Meknes at the time of the mawlid, where they were also threatened, and some were even ordered to be arrested and others executed. In the end, however, [someone] interceded on their behalf, and they were released, after being dismissed from their posts.[2]

News came that the Christians (God damn them!) had taken Cherchell in the governorate of Algiers, but that the [other] Muslims, the People of Algiers, had come to their aid, and they had expelled the Christians, and it returned to the

possession of its inhabitants, with about 700 having fallen in the battle for it.

Mawlānā Ismāʿīl forced the Jews to leave Meknes [intending] to settle them outside the city, and built for them the mallāḥ there. Their houses were evacuated and the People of Tāfīlālt living in Fez, those in New Fez, and others, were ordered to move in. They continued to leave and move in until all had done so, and lived there in rented houses, in very cramped quarters.[3]

During this year, a comet, which had never before been seen, appeared in the east at night.

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1094/1682-1683

Among this year's events was what happened to the imām, the Sultan Abū al-ʿAbbās Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Mawlāy Muḥraz b. the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAlī b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Muḥammadī al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī, whose uncle the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Rashīd, had installed as governer over Wādī Darʿa, Sijilmāsa and its dependencies in the Sahara, Touat, and neighbouring regions of the south-east and of Angād. When this Caliph died, [Aḥmad] had risen up to claim the Sultanate and rule over all he had been governing for his uncle. He had pounced on Jabal Banī Zanāta, then on the Dasūl,[1] the Moulouya, Gārat, the Rīf, and Taza, conquering them all, and also held Fez until the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā (the Victorious by God) Ismāʿīl b. Mawlāy al-Sharīf, ousted him from all those places, as he abandoned Fez, then the Rīf, the Dasūl, the Moulouya, the Zanāta, Angād, the south-east, Touat, the Sahara, and Sijilmāsa, retaining only Wādī Darʿa, but he compensated by occupying al-Fāyija and the Lamṭa country in the Sūs, as well as Jabal Daran,[2] the Maṣāmid, Gazūla, Sūs al-Aqṣā, Wādī Nūn and its banks, and later also

took control of Marrakesh, the Masfīwa, the Āyt ʿAtāb, and Wādī al-Nafīs. His uncle, the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, then marched against him and forced him out of Marrakesh and its surrounding regions, whereupon Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz established himself in Taroudant. When the latter's power had become consolidated, he decided to conquer Mīliya, which is in that region, and when news of this reached Mawlānā the Caliph, the latter marched out to the Sūs against him. The two sides clashed in numerous engagements in which many died, and in which Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz and his army were defeated, whereupon he retreated to Taroudant on 9 Jumādā I (6 May 1683). Then Mawlānā Ismāʿīl also marched against him in Taroudant on 15 Jumādā II (11 June 1683). In one of the battles between them there were heavy casualties, and the dead from the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl's army who were brought back in coffins or on litters numbered 1,700; this figure does not include those who were badly wounded or mutilated, and those who were not brought back, but remained on the battlefield. The Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl and Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz were both wounded, and the latter fortified himself in Taroudant, wounded as he was, along with his army. The fighting and the siege dragged on, and there were many desertions from the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl's army, since the expeditionary force was in difficult straits, but the qāʾid-s of their home regions soundly thrashed, imprisoned, and sent back any deserters who came to them.

On 15 Ramaḍān (7 Sept. 1683), news came of the conclusion of peace between the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl and his nephew, Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Muḥraz, whom he appointed as ʿāmil over Taroudant and its region, and Sūs al-Aqṣā, while Mawlānā the Caliph abandoned the siege and returned to Meknes from his campaign, entering his residence there on Friday, 22 Dhū al-Qaʿda (13 Nov. 1683). The notables of Fez delayed in going to greet him until Tuesday, when they left Fez and went to him in Meknes. He did not, however, grant them an audience and they returned home without having met with him.

News also came that the Ottoman Sultan had defeated the

Europeans then at war with him, had taken eighteen of the Christians' cities, and had killed or taken prisoner about 70,000 of them, and was now again at war with them.[3]

Rain was late in falling this year, and wheat reached a shar'ī dirham a ṣāʿ. Sīdī Muḥammad al-Būʿinānī first led the prayer for rain outside Bāb al-Gīsa, and then it was the qāḍī of Fez who led the prayer outside Bāb al-Futūḥ, on 15 Ṣafar (13 Feb. 1683); next it was Sīdī Muḥammad b. Maḥammad the Dilāʾī murābiṭ[4] at Bāb al-Futūḥ, and then in the muṣallā[5] of Wādī Fās. A light sprinkling fell immediately, and then it began to rain more heavily, and continued thus for three days. Mawlāy Maḥammad b. the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl distributed food in the zāwiya of Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥammad al-Fāsī (which is in al-Qalqaliyyīn) as alms, and as a votive offering for rain. Then the rain stopped, while there was still need for it, and Sīdī Muḥammad the Dilāʾī murābiṭ thereupon again led the prayer for rain at Bāb al-Futūḥ, on 3 Rabīʿ II (1 Apr. 1683), and the qāḍī later also did so at Bāb al-Gīsa. The drought, however, continued, and prices rose, with wheat reaching 1½ dirham-s a wasq. The people's plight became severe and they sought refuge in God, supplicating Him, who then extended His grace, and it rained abundantly from Rajab to Dhū al-Qaʿda (June to Nov. 1683). The rivers filled up and Wādī Wargha overflowed its banks and surprised those who were in the vicinity, carrying off about 6,000 people.

On the last day of Shaʿbān (23 Aug. 1683), Sīdī al-ʿArabī b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ibrāhīm Burdallo[6] was dismissed from the posts of imām and khaṭīb of Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn,[7] which were then assumed by Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abūʿinān, after the former had taken over the posts of qāḍī and of khaṭīb in New Fez upon the death of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Saʿīd.

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1095/1683-1684

Main Events of the Year: On the first day of Rabīʿ I (17 Feb. 1684), the siege against the Christians became unbearable and they abandoned [Tangier] after having first destroyed its houses and everything else within its walls, and fled. The Muslims then took possession of it (praise be to God!) and began to rebuild the walls on the first day of Jumādā I (16 Apr. 1684).

News also came that a large ship, carrying great quantities of stores and heavy cannon, had run aground on the Ceuta coast. The Sultan Mawlānā Ismāʿīl thereupon ordered the People of Tetuan to stand guard over it and to repulse the Christians, while he ordered the Ghumāra tribe to unload the cargo, and the former continued to fight off the Christians until the unloading was completed. In Rajab (14 June-17 July 1684), the Fasi musketeers left to transfer its cannon from Tetuan to Meknes, and they returned after some time, in confusion, some having died, some having been hurt. The cannon numbered a total of 150.[1] The Sultan also order the qāʾid of Tetuan to rebuild the mosque of Tangier, and the qāʾid of the Ghumāra to rebuilt its walls.[2]

On 27 Rajab (10 July 1684),[3] there was an eclipse of the sun, and then that of the moon. On the night of Thursday, 18 Shaʿbān (31 July 1684), nine hours into the night, an earthquake occurred, followed by another at dawn a day later, and then by another. There were also numerous mild tremors, but these were noticed by only a few. Then at four o'clock, on 9 Ramaḍān (20 Aug. 1684), there was yet another earthquake.

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1096/1684-1685

Among this year's events was the assault by Mawlānā the Caliph Ismāʿīl against Taroudant and the setting of the siege against

Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān and its inhabitants.

There was an earthquake in Fez after the ʿashāʾ on 14 Rabīʿ I (18 Feb. 1685).

During this year, an epidemic appeared in most of the regions of Morocco.

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1097/1685-1686

Main Events of the Year: The siege against the People of Taroudant and their leader, Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān, continued, and was punctuated by battles and skirmishes. Six hundred musketeers from Fez were killed, as well as the pāshā[1] Ḥamdān, the qāʾid al-Zaytūnī, and others, while many others were wounded.

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1098/1686-1687

Main Events of the Year: An even tighter siege of the People of Taroudant was conducted by the army, led by the Sultan in person, until his qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī, along with 1,500 musketeers from Fez, took it by force one night. About 200 of Mawlāy Ismāʾīl's army fell while storming it, but they were able to fight their way into the qaṣaba, forcing out the commander Mawlāy al-Ḥarrān[1] and his army. The Sultan did not leave any of the latter in the city, but only the civilian population, to whom he graciously granted amnesty and did not plunder. May God reward him with goodness for that!

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1100/1688-1689

Among this year's events was the arrival of the news of an eclipse in three Turkish cities.

On 15 Rabīʿ I (7 Jan. 1689), the qāḍī of New Fez was dismissed and the most-learned Sīdī Saʿīd al-ʿUmayrī replaced him.

On Saturday, 5 Jumādā I (25 Feb. 1689), the order came from the Sultan Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī to send the fuqahāʾ to attend the concluding lecture (khatm) of the tafsīr by the qāḍī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Majjāṣī,[1] and they left Fez for Meknes. They attended this ceremony on Wednesday, the ninth of this month (1 Mar. 1689) in a qubba of the Sultan's palace, which he had prepared for them with carpets and fine cushions, and he treated them to a sumptuous banquet and distributed money to them. This was one of his memorable deeds and splendid actions!

On the last day of Shawwāl (16 Aug. 1689), Mawlānā the Caliph Ismāʿīl ordered the Muslims[2] to move against the frontier port of Larache; they put it under a siege which continued until God granted it to them, as we will relate in its proper place, God willing.

On Monday, 20 Jumādā 1100 (11 Apr. 1689), corresponding to the first day of April,[3] the Pilgrimage Caravan[4] left for the ḥajj, including Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿan[5] accompanied by a group of his followers.

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1101/1689-1690

Main Events of the Year: The Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī ordered people to abandon black footwear and to wear yellow footwear instead. It is not correct, as some people claim, that the adoption of black footwear dated from the fall of Larache to the Christians, and

that when it fell, people began [wearing] black footwear out of grief for the loss of the place, a custom initiated by its inhabitants who had left, and who were then imitated by others. What proves this to be fallacious is that I have seen the footwear of the pious saint (al-walī al-ṣāliḥ) Sīdī ʿAlī al-Ṣanhājī,[1] the mystically-inspired shaykh (whose lifetime greatly antedates the seizure of Larache by the enemy), which is kept as a relic by a group of mystics (qawm) who receive blessings from it, and it is black.

On 20 Jumādā II (31 March 1690), the Pilgrimage Caravan set out, accompanied by Sīdī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī, on some business assigned to him by the Commander of the Faithful.

On Friday, 10 Shaʿbān (19 May 1690), the qāḍī, Sīdī Saʿīd al-ʿUmayrī, was dismissed from the post of qāḍī of Upper Fez and was replaced by Sīdī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid[1] al-Būʿinānī.

During this year, there was also the amazing case of a grossly obese woman in Meknes whose abdomen split open, and who was treated by a doctor who extracted from it a cyst weighing thirty-five riṭl-s, and this woman survived and was cured.[2]

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1102/1690-1691

Among this year's events was the conquest of Larache,[1] after the Commander of the Faithful, the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī had dispatched there his army and his wazīr, the qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī. Orders to initiate the fighting had to be sent repeatedly, however, and they were accused of being half-hearted. The latter thereupon began serious fighting against the Europeans garrisoned there until they had conquered it by force, taking possession of [the city] and taking its inhabitants prisoner. First, the garrison, numbering 1,700, were brought, which did not include

those residing there [permanently] or those who had escaped by sea. Mawlānā Ismā'īl granted amnesty only to their commander, whom he freed and sent back home to deliver the news of all that had occurred. He then ordered the rest of the Christian inhabitants to be brought to Meknes, down to the last individual, including all their women and children, but I do not remember their exact number.

The mujāhidīn did as they liked with the possessions, food, and weapons, and plundered it all, while the Commander of the Faithful had no chance of collecting it and dividing it up five ways,[2] since the booty had not been guarded. He pardoned those who acted thus, however, and put himself entirely in God's hands, and only obtained the cannon and mortars, being satisfied with the victory and the prisoners. Many qaṣīda-s and other poetical works were composed about the conquest of this city, including one by my grandfather:[3]

. . . . . .

After the conquest of Larache, Mawlānā Ismā'īl attacked the heretical sect known as the 'Agāgiza, drawn from the tribes of Tadla and its region, who gathered around one known as al-Ḥaṭṭāb as their leader. The exposition of their heresy and error has already been given in the composition written by Sīdī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī to which one should refer, since that exposition here would take too long. In his attack against them, Mawlānā Ismā'īl executed sixty-three of those who did not repent and recant; this occurred in the first part of Dhū al-Ḥijja (July-Aug. 1691).

On 17 Jumādā II (18 Mar. 1691), Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Abū'inān was dismissed from the post of qāḍī of New Fez and was replaced by the faqīh Ibn Riḍwān al-Filālī. The aforementioned Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid had assumed the post of muftī in Idrisid Fez two days before being dismissed from the post of qāḍī.

On 28 Ramaḍān (25 June 1691), there was a thunderstorm accompanied by hailstones the size of pomegranates, which when crushed were found to contain blood; this struck some of the crops, destroying them. It is said that vipers also fell with it, '. . . and things of which ye have no knowledge

hath He created.'[4]

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1104/1692/1693

Main Events of the Year: On 20 Jumādā II (20 Feb. 1693) the column attributed to Mawlāy 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī,[1] which had been in the first row [of columns] of Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn near the khalwa[2] attributed to that same shaykh, was removed by order of the superintendant (nāẓir) of the waqf, Abū 'Abd Allāh Burdallo. This attribution to both the column and the khalwa is of ancient date among the common people, but it is an obvious and patent untruth. They call it the khalwa of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and at first sight it would seem to be the place where he worshipped, since that is the sense of 'khalwa'. That is, however, an obvious untruth, since the shaykh Mawlāy 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī never came to the Maghrib, nor ever went anywhere further than Mecca. He lived in Baghdad and the surrounding area, and when he went on the Pilgrimage, he returned home the same year. This is so beyond a doubt, and anyone wishing to check on this can refer to the Bahja by the shaykh al-Shaṭṭanūfī,[3] Al-Rawḍ al-nāẓir by Amīr al-Dīn al-Hāshimī,[4] Ghibṭat al-nāẓir by al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar,[5] and other works. A fortiori, he never reached the city of Fez to pray in the Qarawiyyīn. However, it is claimed that someone saw the shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir in a dream in the place which they named 'al-khalwa', and they began to seek the baraka from it.[6] Some seek to increase the baraka from a water reservoir in the street below, connected to a channel which flows to many houses, and dip their hand in it and pass it over their face. This is senseless and of no use in obtaining the baraka of the shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī which is, rather, to be obtained by prayers to him, votive gifts and alms, and by recitation of the Quran in the belief that it will reach the dead. One can indeed obtain baraka in that

spot in so far as it is part of the Great Masjid of Fez and the place for the recitation of the Quran. It has a waqf for the reciters (ḥazzābīn) to read one-seventh of the Quran along with the prayers for the Prophet before each of the five prayers and after the ṣubḥ prayer, as is stipulated in the conditions of the waqf. The permissibility of seeking baraka in such a case is obvious, but the exaggeration practised by many of the common people of Fez is undoubtedly objectionable (munkar), since the spot has only the same sanctity as the rest of the masjid, and the same practices are appropriate there as can be accepted as valid in the rest of the masjid, provided this does not interfere with the activity for which the waqf is intended, that is, for the recitation.

To take a comparable case, the Companions held in veneration the spot of the all-important tree of the bay'at al-Riḍwān,[7] under which the Prophet had sat while the people of al-Ḥudaybiyya (who were the most virtuous of the Companions)[8] gave him the bay'a with his hand in theirs, on behalf of those of them who had not marched out with the rest. 'Well pleased now hath God been with the believers when they plighted fealty to thee under the tree.'[9] However, even the Companions who gave the bay'a, not to speak of anyone else, could not ascertain its exact location.

In the Muḥāḍarāt of the shaykh al-Yūsī, the latter quotes the shaykh Abū al-Qāsim al-Ghāzī[10] thus: 'He says, "I stopped under a tree in the vicinity of al-Qaḍbāniyya", and his Companions then asked, "Why did you not show us that tree?" He replied, "I was afraid that you would leave the beast and follow its shadow", that is, would leave him and turn their attention to the tree.'[11] The shaykh al-Yūsī says: 'Indeed, the seeking of baraka from the shrines and relics of saints is not objectionable, provided this is accompanied by the proper faith, and has its origin in the conduct of the Companions. Ibn 'Umar used to travel by camel to those places where he had seen the Prophet and would seek out those places where he had prayed. This is confirmed in the Ṣaḥīḥ.' It is my opinion, and one can verify it, that Ibn 'Umar's conduct was in

accordance with the Sunna and follows [the Prophet's] example for the sake of correctness in worship and for the unfathomable secrets in his actions, and God knows best.

This shaykh says:

> In Morocco, there are many places famous as shrines of saints which have become the objects of excessive veneration. Among these is Shālla in the ribāṭ of Salé; nothing is really known about its origins except that it is a place of pilgrimage to which men come and seek blessings. No one of this category [i.e., of sanctity] had been there, except for Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf, who is famous there, but of whose life nothing is known, and the Banī 'Abd al-Ḥaqq kings,[12] who are well-known and respectable.[13] Everything else that is known about it is found in some anonymous notes of unknown origin, and is not to be relied upon.[14]

'Another such place is Mīsara in the Mīsūr country, which is also known as Tamghrūt, the burial place of shaykh Abū al-Ṭayyib b. Yaḥyā al-Mīsūrī. One of his descendants says, "Nothing is known for certain about him except that he was a pious ancestor of ours".' He adds, 'Another such place is the famous Ribāṭ Shākir in the Dukkāla, which was a gathering place of saints in times past.' In al-Tashawwuf, one finds:

> Shākir claimed to be one of the companions of 'Uqba b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī.[15] In reality, however, it is a zāwiya built for the recitation of the Quran which was commissioned by the amīr al-Musta'īn bi-llāh Abū Sālim Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Marīnī,[16] and completed in the last part of Ramaḍān 762 (first part of August 1361). He assigned ṭalaba to it to recite the Quran and to complete it once every seven days, and set aside monthly salaries for them. They have since replaced the period of the complete reading (khatm) with the one used today.

This is the truth of the matter, and God knows best.

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1105/1693-1694

[Among the events of this year was a violent south wind which raged unabated for about an hour (refuge is in God!), on 10 Rabī' I (9 Nov. 1693). It toppled houses and uprooted

numerous trees, and Sīdī Idrīs (called Ibn Idrīs) al-Jūṭī died in the rubble. He was interred in a shop on the back of the eastern wall of Masjid al-Shurafā', which was later made into a mizāra[1] for the aforementioned ḥaram, and was incorporated into the masjid when the latter was rebuilt in 1132/1719-1720.

In Muḥarram of this year (2 Sept.-1 Oct. 1693), the most-learned and saintly (al-'allāma al-baraka) Sīdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj assumed the post of qāḍī of New Fez.

Sīdī Muḥammad (called Ḥammu) b. Aḥmad Ṭāhir al-Ṣiqillī al-Ḥusaynī,[2] died on the day of the mawlid (11 Nov. 1693), while the professor al-Hawwārī and the murābiṭ Sīdī Aḥmad al-Madyan died in Taza on the last day of Ramaḍān (25 May 1694).][3]

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1106/1694-1692

Main Events of the Year: On 15 Rabī' II (3 Dec. 1694), that is 14 November, there was a violent windstorm which lasted about two thirds of the night, causing many walls to collapse, while more than 130 people lost their lives. On 12 Jumādā II (28 Jan. 1695), there was a heavy snowstorm which prevented people from working for days.

News then came from Touat that complete darkness had fallen upon them, and had lasted from early in the day until noon; during this time people were unable to recognize each other except by their voices, and so stayed indoors and hastened to pray to God for forgiveness. He then granted the favour which they sought from Him, and He delivered them.

On the last day of Dhū al-Ḥijja (11 Aug. 1695), the mukūs[1] were imposed in all the cities of Morocco at the request and insistence to the Sultan of one of the 'āmil-s.

On 29 Ṣafar (19 Oct. 1694), the Commander of the Faithful, the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, Mawlānā

Ismā'īl b. al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī ordered the Muslims to move against Ceuta and stay there as murābiṭīn[2] until God would deliver it into their hands. He charged some tribes of Northern Morocco (or the Gharb?)[3] with that duty, and named as commander of the operations his 'āmil in Tangier, the qā'id 'Abd Allāh, a member of the Banī Ḥammāda, that is the inhabitants of Jabal Tamsamān in the Rīf, who were at that time garrisoned in Tangier. He also appointed the sons of al-Fannīsh (kasr under the nūn) the Andalusiyyīn from Salé in charge of the (mobile?) artillery, that is the cannon and the mortars. They thereupon marched against it and commenced a continuous bombardment with the heavy guns.

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1107/1695-1696

Among this year's events was a violent windstorm which, however, caused no damage.

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1108/1696-1697

Main Events of the Year: On 2 Jumādā I (27 Nov. 1696) the shāhid-s[1] of Fez were beaten and some were even paraded through the markets, and their shops were closed down. The following day, a group of them went to complain to the qā'id 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdūn al-Rūsī, who wrote to the 'āmil of Fez, ordering the latter to pardon them, while the (sub-governors?) ('ummāl)[2] ceased harassing them and reinstated them in their function.

There was also the curious story of the individual who would enter houses in the guise of a female slave and attend

women in the public baths and elsewhere, and frequented the mausoleum of Sīdī Abū Ghālib, who is buried in Sarīwa, in the ʿAdwa of Andalus Fez. He continued thus for three years before it was discovered that he was in reality a man.

On the day of the ʿarafa[3] (29 June 1697), ten men came from Istanbul to the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, bearing a letter from their Sultan,[4] asking the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, to conclude peace with the People of Algiers. He treated the delegation with honour and hastened to make peace, which is best. They then demarcated their respective boundaries and signed a treaty.

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1113/1701-1702

Main Events of the Year: On 6 Muḥarram (13 June 1701), the hero, the raʾīs, the qāʾid ʿAbd al-Khāliq b. the wazīr the raʾīs ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūsī was put to death by order of Mawlānā Ḥafīd b. the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, whom his father had appointed as his lieutenant in New Fez, which had led to a conflict between the first two.

On the day of the mawlid, 12 Rabīʿ II (16 Sept. 1701),[1] Mawlāy Maḥammad b. the Commander of the Faithful rebelled against his father and proclaimed himself, while the People of Sūs al-Aqṣā and al-Awsaṭ up to Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ gave him the bayʿa, and he held sway in those regions.

The shaykh al-Ḥusayn was dismissed from the post of amīr al-rakb[2] and replaced by al-Ḥājj ʿAlī Gassūs, who set off, entrusted with that function, on 1 March, in a story too long to relate.

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1114/1702-1703

Among this year's events was the mission by the People of Fez to petition [the Sultan] on the burdensome gharāma[1] and other exactions, bearing the prophet's sandals which were in the custody of the Ṭāhirī Murrākushī Ṣiqillī Ḥusaynī shurafāʾ who live in Maṣmūda in the ʿAdwa of Andalus Fez. He granted their request and kept the sandals in his palace . . .[2] since the Prophet did not make bequests to his descendants, and what he left behind was distributed in alms by his successor Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. Some claim that the sandals had been given to the Banī ʿAbd al-Muʾmin of the Ibn Kūmī, the Almohad (Muwaḥḥidīn) kings,[3] at which time the qāḍī al-quḍāt and the qāḍī al-dawla (that is, of the army, scribes, and other government servants) were from the Ṭāhirī shurafāʾ. Thus, when Abū Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī[4] entered Marrakesh, and the remnants of the party of the Almohad (Muwaḥḥid) Banī ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and others fled, they left the sandals to the latter [family of shurafāʾ], who brought them up north.

The Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl then dispatched the army of Northern Morocco with his son Mawlāy Zaydān the Elder, who encamped by Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ. Mawlāy Maḥammad advanced with the Sūs army to Marrakesh, where he made camp, sending his brother and lieutenant Mawlāy Bannāṣir b. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl against Mawlāy Zaydān. The two armies clashed in a battle in which about 8,000 fell, and Mawlāy Binnāṣir and his army were defeated, and he retreated to Marrakesh.[5] Mawlāy Zaydān then advanced to Marrakesh and the two armies again met there in battle, in which only God the Exalted knows how many of His creatures were killed. The army from the north overwhelmed Mawlāy Maḥammad and he abandoned Marrakesh, which Mawlāy Zaydān then occupied,[6] and went on the rampage. It was sacked from top to bottom and the women were raped, with only the women, children, and animals being spared the sword, in a manner such as had never before occurred in Morocco, similar to the action taken by the Almohads (Muwaḥḥidīn) in Oran[7] and elsewhere, or by the Shīʿī's[8]

generals in the Maghrib. When news of this reached Mawlāy Ismā'īl, he became furious at the army for what they had perpetrated. There is no power or might save in God! The End.

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1115/1703-1704

Among this year's events was the rebuilding of al-Raṣīf bridge which spans the two banks and is located at the entrance to Ḥawmat Agzā Ibn Barqūqa, by order of the ra'īs, the qā'id 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī.

The qāḍī of Fez, Muḥammad al-'Arabī Burdallo, was dismissed from his post and was replaced by Aḥmad al-Jarandī, who declined and asked Mawlāy Ismā'īl to excuse him, and his request was granted. It is said that he began to behave as madmen do, and that the Sultan decided to excuse him, and reinstated Burdallo to the posts of qāḍī, khaṭīb, and imām.

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1116/1704-1705

Main Events of the Year: Sīdī al-'Arabī Burdallo was dismissed by order of the Sultan Mawlāy Ismā'īl and was replaced by Sīdī al-Kabīr Ben Sūda on 28 Muḥarram (2 June 1704).[1] The ra'īs 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī, however, interceded on his behalf, and Sīdī al-Kabīr Ben Sūda was in turn dismissed on 21 Rabī' I (24 July 1704), and Sīdī al-'Arabī Burdallo was reinstated.

There was a fire in Tamāsana in which it is said about 2,000 lost their lives.

A fine was imposed on all the tribes neighbouring Sūs al-Aqṣā for having remained passive during the revolt of Mawlāy Maḥammad b. Mawlānā Ismā'īl.

1117/1705-1706

Main Events of the Year: There was a torrential downpour, which caused the rivers to overflow. In a place known as Tafarsīs,[1] four villages[2] were swept away, with all the people, riding animals, and cattle they contained.

A battle also occurred in Mecca, in which more than 600 were killed and hung on the sitār of the Ka'ba. We take refuge in God from hearing such things!

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1118/1706-1707

Main Events of the Year: On 29 Muḥarram (13 May 1706) there was a total eclipse of the sun, whose entire disc was blacked out, while the earth fell into darkness and the stars became visible. This lasted for some time, and the qāḍī Abū 'Abd Allāh Burdallo went to Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn, where he led the people in the Eclipse Prayer, after which the sun reappeared.

The 'āmil gave a free hand against the Banī Aḥmad, and men, women, and children were killed, plundered, and taken into captivity.[1]

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1119/1707-1708

Main Events of the Year: On Thursday, 13 Dhū al-Qa'da (5 Feb. 1708), there was an earthquake at the time of the morning call to prayer. Some of the mu'adhdhin-s interrrupted their call, and some cried out in terror. Many houses collapsed or were damaged, many people died in the rubble, and there was great destruction.

1120/1708-1709

Among this year's events was the institution of the reading of the ḥadīth containing the invocation to the people to listen,[1] when the imām leaves the maqṣūra for the minbar to deliver the khuṭba and lead the prayer on Friday.

News came to Fez that the Turks had taken Oran,[2] and also that the daughter of the Ottoman ruler had willed that she be buried in Medina (the noblest of prayers and salvation be on the one buried there!)[3] and the Ottomans did their best to carry that out. They cremated her and mixed the ashes with ambergris and perfume and put them in a golden urn, encrusted with rubies and pearls, and sent it to the Holy Shrine to be hung there as a lantern. Those in command in the Holy City, however, delayed until they could study the question. An unfavourable ruling was given on the matter, and they threw these ashes and perfume into the sea so as not to have that even near Medina, and God the Exalted preserved the Holy Shrine from that desecration.

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1131/1718-1719

Main Events of the Year:[1] The Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, and God's shadow over the Muslims, the Sultan Abū al-Naṣr (the Victorious by God) Mawlānā Ismā'īl b. the Sultan Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Sijilmāsī al-Ḥasanī ordered the rebuilding of the masjid in Qarawiyyīn Fez formerly known as Masjid al-Shurafā', containing the burial spot of the imām Mawlānā Idrīs b. Mawlānā Idrīs (buried in Zarhūn)[2] b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. the Commander of the Faithful al-Ḥasan the grandson b. the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, one of the four Rightly-guided Caliphs (may God be pleased with them!) and Fāṭima, daughter and flesh and blood of Mawlānā, God's Prophet. The masjid, qubba, and

minaret were built in their present form, and the qubba was erected and its roofing completed on the last day of Dhū al-Ḥijja of this year (13 Nov. 1719). The Sultan then ordered the Friday prayer to be performed there also, and this has continued down to the present. In the early days, it had been performed in Masjid al-Ashyākh in Andalus Fez and in Masjid al-Shurafā' in Qarawiyyīn Fez.

The construction of the Masjid al-Ashyākh antedates that of Masjid al-Shurafā' by a year and so it is the senior [mosque]. The [prayer] had then been transferred from Masjid al-Ashyākh to Masjid al-Andalus, and from Masjid al-Shurafā' to Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn, which was accompanied by the transfer of their respective privileges, thus making Masjid al-Andalus the senior [mosque]. If, however, one disregards the right of transfer, then the senior mosque today in which the Friday [prayer] is performed is Masjid Mawlānā Idrīs. Its width was made the same as its length, that is sixty dhirā'-s[3] on each side.

After the rebuilding was completed, the muwaqqit Sīdī al-'Arabī b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī made a study of its qibla and put his findings in a book. When news of this reached the Sultan, the latter ordered it to be reconstructed if what Sīdī al-'Arabī had said was correct. The imām-s of those days, among whom were the shaykh al-jamā'a[4] Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Masnāwī,[5] Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Raḥḥāl al-Ma'danī,[6] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Mayyāra al-Ḥafīd,[7] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamdūn Bannānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām Bannānī,[8] Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shaddādī,[9] the ra'īs of the muwaqqit-s al-'Ayyāshī al-Khulṭī, Aḥmad b. Sanūf, and the muwaqqit of the Qarawiyyīn, al-'Arabī Qaṣṣāra, gathered in the council of religious administration (majlis al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya) with the qāḍī Ibn Abū'inān, in the presence of the representative of the makhzan's[10] administration (al-aḥkām al-makhzaniyya), the ra'īs Abū 'Alī al-Rūsī. They decided that his study did not necessitate its destruction and rebuilding, even if it was in itself correct, but that this could be circumvented by shifting the position of the muṣallā. This is what had been

done in the Qarawiyyīn where, after the end of the iqāma, the mu'adhdhin says in a loud voice, 'Turn in the same direction as the imām, may God have mercy upon you!' The qibla of the Qarawiyyīn is about the same as that of Jāmi' al-Shurafā', as are those of most of the other mosques in Fez. This solution was arrived at for the common good (maṣlaḥa), and the shaykh al-jamā'a al-Masnāwī, to whom in those days important academic questions were referred, agreed with them, and they wrote to the Sultan that there was no call for its demolition.

When the aforementioned researcher saw this, he wrote in his own hand that he had erred in his study, not because of lack of exactness, but rather, because of his failure to take into consideration what [others] had already noted, since the study of the qibla of the Qarawiyyīn and of all those like it, such as the qibla of Masjid al-Shurafā', had already been undertaken long ago.

The shaykh al-Qabbāb[11] is among those who made a clear statement on the subject, saying:

> The miḥrāb-s in the cities (amṣār) founded by the imām-s are to be taken as models . . . provided they do not differ one from the other and are not challenged by religious scholars. If, however, they do vary from one another, then some must undoubtedly be erroneous, since Mecca is not in two directions. The only way to distinguish the correct ones from the erroneous ones is by investigating the proofs (adilla), as in the case of the masjid-s of Fez. The qibla of the Qarawiyyīn differs from that of al-Andalus, and the latter is more exact according to the proofs.

The imām Sīdī Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Sūsī[12] says, quoting from Sīdī 'Alī b. Abū al-Qāsim al-Baṭṭīwī: 'Sīdī Aḥmad Zarrūq[13] was sitting in the Qarawiyyīn while the people were praying, and thought that this was not a matter for him to decide because it is not properly a matter for the imām.' Sīdī Aḥmad then said: 'It seems to me that he did it expressly for the purpose of instruction and that under such circumstances the prayer is not valid.' His shaykh-s, however, did not agree with him, especially their elder, the imām al-Ghūrī who lashed out at anyone who attacked the miḥrāb-s of the Muslims, and would force a retraction from them. The shaykh Zarrūq,

however, did not concur with them in this, that is in this test case (nāzila), since he had travelled the countries of the East on many occasions and he had come to know the [true] direction. What the imām-s have said on this matter is copious, complicated, and well known.

The masjid outside the qubba was then enlarged, and the 'āmil incorporated into it [the sites of] shops and houses taken from their owners. The Friday prayer was then performed there, with the shaykh al-jamā'a Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Masnāwī as imām. Its minaret was erected later.

The tomb of the imām Idrīs had not [at one time] been visible or not even known, that is it had not been known in which part of Masjid al-Shurafā' it was located. The cause for its disappearance had been the lack of concern for it by the Berbers, such as the Banī Abū al-'Āfiya al-Miknāsiyyīn,[14] the Maghrāwa,[15] and the Banī Īfrān,[16] after the rulers of Fez, his descendants and successors had been defeated. The [Berbers] had oppressed the Idrisids and expelled them from the area surrounding Fez, and their party and followers were persecuted, suffering injury and insult, so that none of them remained in the vicinity of Fez. The [Berbers] neglected the noble tomb and did not grant asylum to those who sought refuge there, and if they found anyone manifesting any signs of respect for it, they punished him severely. They continued thus until the tomb fell into ruin and no one remained who knew in what part of this masjid it was located. Then God sent discord and hatred among their leaders, and they fell to fighting among themselves incessantly, while there was widespread plunder, fear, and hunger, and the city became deserted, until God the Exalted cleansed it of them by means of the Almoravid (Murābiṭīn) Lamtūna.[17] 'And the final issue of all things is unto God.' 'We alternate these days of successes and reverses among men.' '. . . for the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage; and for those that fear Him is a happy issue.'[18]

When God the Exalted willed to reveal the tomb of the Prophet's flesh and blood, whose occupant is the protector of

this city ([the foundation of] which was one of his pious deeds), as the stars are the protection of the heavenly beings,[19] this happened as is written on the marble tablet next to it on the wall. The text of this reads:

> When the imām (that is the imām Idrīs, the founder of Fez) died, he was buried in their great, holy, famous city, in Masjid al-Shurafā', but they were not able to locate the exact spot of his grave until God the Exalted chose to reveal it out of mercy and grace to this umma. It so happened that the left side of the base of the eastern wall was explored to examine it and see if it was in need of repair. The noble, pure tomb was then discovered. It was found that time had effaced its inscription, only a portion of which remained, but that his remains had not undergone any deterioration, as the termites had not been able to reach them. His noble descendant and near-relative, knowledge of whose [relation] has never been concealed nor cut off, the sayyid, the venerable sharīf, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān and Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Zayyān, the glorious mujāhid, who loved them and was desirous of demonstrating their might and glory and of reviving the tradition of their ancestor, were present. The two were accompanied by the imām al-futyā, the most-worthy faqīh Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī.[20] ['Alī b. Muḥammad] asked the latter's advice on what would be the appropriate thing to do with the noble sepulchre, and he suggested that it be marked and that it be decreed that no one be allowed to tread on it . . .[21] It was agreed to write these lines on the wall parallel to the holy tomb to serve as a marker and proof of it and for it to be known to all. This was all out of God's grace, charity, and unsolicited generosity to the present generation, since He preserved the material remains of the Noble Family as an assurance of protection, as the Master of Prophets (sayyid al-mursalīn) has said: 'The People of the Family (Ahl al-Bayt) are a security for the dwellers on earth.' (End of the ḥadīth.)[22] This is well known by those who delve into and memorise the riwāya.[23] The discovery of this tomb and the writing of these lines occurred in Rajab 841 (29 Dec. 1437-27 Jan. 1438).

This is a direct quote.

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1133/1720-1721

Main Events of the Year: On the first day of Muharram 1133 (2 Nov. 1720),[1] news came of a great battle against the Christians occupying Ceuta, who defeated the Muslims and pillaged their camp. About 1,000 Muslims fell, and both the Christian and Muslim dead were stripped. After the end of the engagement, the Muslims wanted to bury their own dead, and were able to recognize them by the beaming smile on their faces and by their glance, which was directed towards heaven, while the Infidels had a frown on their faces and their glance was cast down towards their feet. The Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā Ismā'īl al-Hasanī, then sent a force to go to their aid against the Infidel enemy, and ordered the tribes to reinforce them. They then counterattacked [against the Christians] and threw them back from the Muslims' gun-emplacement,[2] leaving behind about 3,000 dead in the hands of the Muslims as they retreated to Ceuta, where they were blockaded and from which they made no further sorties.

It was during this year that the famine which was to last until the beginning of 1137 (1724-1725) began, caused by the parched grain; there was widespread death and illness, and many perished.[3]

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1139/1726-1727

Main Events of the Year: On the morning of the same day on which news of the death of the Sultan, the subject of this biography,[1] reached Fez, the People of the city killed his governor of their city the ra'īs Abū 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rūsī, after he had tried to defend himself and fight them off, and had barricaded himself in the house opposite Bāb Ḥufāt[2] Masjid al-Andalus. They had a grudge against him for the way he had imposed the gharāma on them and for his way of meting out

justice, for reprimanding honest people instead of the troublemakers, and for not taking the ʿāmil-s,[3] wattādīn,[4] mufarradīn,[5] and those in charge of the mint (ahl al-ḍarb wa-l-tajrīd) from among the inhabitants of the city. He gathered together his wattādīn and had them at the ready, but none of this was of any avail to him. They then burst in on him in his house, killed him, and he was made a public example round the streets. They also killed all his subordinates on whom they were able to lay their hands, numbering about twenty-four, and the only ones to escape were those who took refuge in the ḥaram-s, or hid in [private] homes.

The People of Fez then agreed amongst themselves to send two noted ashrāf from each family,[6] as a gesture of apology, to the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad b. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, who had been given the bayʿa in Meknes. At first, the latter was angry, but upon being informed that those sent to him were leaders of the ashrāf, he welcomed them and accepted their apologies and petition, and did his utmost to honour them, and they returned to Fez satisfied. A truce ending the rebellion came into effect, but [the people] refused [to pay] any royal taxes whatsoever, carried arms and rode on horseback, while rejoicing greatly and making merry, with promenades, wearing their best clothes, giving banquets, and engaging in amusements, sports, and just relaxing in every open space to be found in the streets of Fez. The royal judgements carried no weight that year anywhere in Morocco, and the Sultan had only the reference on the minbar-s and the title, and this state of affairs continued for the remainder of the year, while Morocco was filled with anarchy and terror, and this was the origin of the disorders which followed in succeeding years.

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1140/1727-1728

Among this year's events was the riot in al-Khamīs between the two cities, Idrisid Fez and Upper Merinid Fez, sparked by a game of ḍarb al-ḥajar[1] between the youth of the two cities, which had been played in a place known as Sūq al-Samn, near Bāb al-Sabʿ, in which a market was held on Thursdays, and fighting thus erupted between the two cities. Many people from Idrisid Fez had gone out as usual to Sūq al-Khamīs dressed in their best clothes, since this was the third day of the mawlid, 15 Rabīʿ [I] (31 Oct. 1727).[2] The Ūdāya violated (lit. 'broke') the market, robbing and stripping the people of their clothes, and slew some[3] and then seized all those from Idrisid Fez who had gone to the market and who did not manage to escape, and these were imprisoned in New Fez. The following day, the Ūdāya's fellow-tribesmen, who were in al-Riyāḍ in Meknes, came to the aid of the latter, but on Sunday peace was reached between the two cities, and they set free the people of Idrisid Fez who had been imprisoned in New Fez. These then returned to Idrisid Fez, while the reinforcements which had come from Meknes and elsewhere returned home.

The next day, the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī b. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī ordered the People of Idrisid Fez to give the same monthly presents[4] and taxes as they had given to his father, but they refused to pay anything whatsoever. The preceding had, indeed, all been a plot by the Ūdāya. The latter, moreover, still held a grudge against the People of Fez [despite] the aforementioned truce, and fighting again broke out between the two cities. The Sultan thereupon sent the Ūdāya cannon and mortars and ordered them to bombard Fez with cannonballs and bombs. Then someone went to the Sultan and begged his pardon, which was granted, and he sent Mawlānā al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-llāh to Idrisid Fez, who upon arriving simply said: 'Good!' They thereupon sent back with him to the Sultan a delegation of ashrāf and others to ask for pardon, which was granted, and he made peace between them and the Ūdāya, on condition that [they accept] his son Mawlānā Abū

Fāris as their wālī, that he reside in the New Qaṣaba, and that he take over control of the bastions from them.[5] When this order from the Sultan arrived, it was communicated to the common people of Fez, who became frightened and said: 'We will comply only if the entire royal expeditionary force leaves.' The Sultan thereupon ordered it to do so, but [the People of Fez] still did not comply. Mawlāy Abū Fāris thereupon left them in disgust on a day filled with heavy rain, a day on which there was also a clash with the Ūdāya, in which the latter lost a number of men.

The People of Fez then resolved to attack Merinid Fez and wrest it from the Ūdāya, and their leaders agreed amongst themselves to take this action. A large force of the Andalus moved out through Bāb al-Futūḥ,[6] making for Upper Fez in the area of the mallāḥ and Bāb al-Jiyaf, since its wall was in disrepair, while the Lamṭiyyīn were to move towards it from the other side, through Bāb al-Gīsa, but they failed to get out, and only waited. The Ūdāya, however, became apprehensive about that and evacuated Qaṣabat Sharāga, fearing that they would not be able to defend it and that those inside would be overcome, since many of their own men were away on their estates rounding up their possessions as a precaution against their being taken as booty. They were therefore bewildered and terrified, and saw a great calamity in what the People of Fez strove after. The latter, however, abandoned their resolve and esprit de corps, imagining that it [i.e., New Fez] could not but fall. The brave, tough, and warlike individuals who were used to fighting on campaigns were hesitant to attack, while most of those from Idrisid Fez bearing arms and going out to battle were novices who had resisted going out to fight. These had no previous experience in this field, and were frightened when they fired a musket and had been forced to [go out] by their leaders who, however, did not themselves march out with them to fight, but left them in disorder, to their own devices, and all converged at Bāb al-Jiyaf.

When the Ūdāya saw that their own numbers had increased and that [the attackers] had little fighting spirit and no one to

lead them into battle - indeed the situation spoke for itself - they chose about twenty of their best fighters and sallied forth from Bāb al-Jiyaf. Upon seeing them, the People of Fez fled without a fight, knowing them to be valorous, and imagined that they were being pursued by a large force. [These Ūdāya] chased them only a short distance, however, and then returned to New Fez, fearing a counterattack by the People of Fez. About twenty from Idrisid Fez were killed, and the rest retreated to Fez in defeat, while some remained in the Ūdāya's hands, who decapitated them and sent their heads to the Sultan in Meknes.

The latter was enraged at the People of Idrisid Fez, and after having ordered the severed heads to be impaled on the gate of the mallāḥ, he sent them his qā'id Mūsā al-Jarrārī (a fatḥa over the first letter, and a shadda over the second) with cannons and mortars. A battle ensued between Mūsā al-Jarrārī and the People of Idrisid Fez in the plain of Ibn Masfar, outside Bāb al-Gīsa, in which they defeated him and almost took him prisoner, whereupon he combined the Sultan's army with the Ūdāya and completely surrounded the bastion outside Bāb al-Gīsa, but the People of Fez were able to repulse him. Mūsā al-Jarrārī then reached a settlement on behalf of the Sultan with the People of Fez, which angered the Ūdāya, who denounced him to the Sultan; when he reported back, the Sultan had him thrown into prison. The [delegates of] the People of Fez thereupon returned from Meknes, and they resolved to prepare for a siege. The Sultan then set Mūsā free and sent him back to Fez with the army, and the latter pitched his camp at Ẓahr al-Zāwiya, outside Bāb al-Maḥrūq. The Ūdāya, however, were still angry with him, and he then moved his force to the area between the Sabū and Fez, without having engaged the People of Fez in battle. While all this was going on, the Sultan was engrossed in his excesses of food, drink, [fine] clothes, women, and music.

Raids between the Moroccan tribes became widespread, as did plunder, highway robbery, fear, and oppression of the weak by the strong, while roads were cut, and the blood of Muslims

spilled. When the army (that is the ʿabīd of Mashraʿ al-Ramla[7] assembled by the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, father of the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, who left a great force said to number at least 60,000 fighting men, counting only those stationed in Mashraʿ al-Ramla and not including those scattered throughout the regions of Morocco, and whose salary is paid out of the kharāj) noticed this and saw his inability to reign properly over the Muslims, they arrived at the decision to depose the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. They expelled him from the royal palace, imprisoning him in his house where he had resided before his investiture. The khuṭba in Meknes was then given only in the name of the Companions, without mention of any amīr, and they deferred the question of the Caliphate to the ʿulamāʾ. When news of this reached Fez, Mūsā al-Jarrārī and his force departed from the Sabū and he returned to Meknes, while those in his army went home.

The ʿulamāʾ present at that time in Meknes then decided to give the bayʿa to his brother, the Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Malik[8] b. the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, the Ḥasanī Sijilmāsī sharīf, since he had already had experience in the Caliphate, and also because of his resolve, mastery, excellent conduct and policy, great justice, love of harmony among people and of security of roads, and his bravery, which they had already had occasion to witness during his father's own lifetime. He had been given the bayʿa in Taroudant and all the areas of the Sūs even before his father's death, and [the inhabitants of these regions] had refrained from giving the bayʿa to his brother. There had, indeed, been many battles and skirmishes between [ʿAbd al-Malik] and the ʿabīd whom his brother had dispatched against him, at Nahr Abū al-Aʿwān[9] and elsewhere, with the advantage passing back and forth between the two sides before he was finally victorious, scattering them and killing their champions and, unable to stand up to him, they had abandoned the Sūs to him.

The bayʿa was now given to him in Meknes, and then by all the tribes of Northern Morocco, and he was informed of this.

They invited him to come, and a great number of people from Northern Morocco went out to welcome him, while the siege against the People of Fez was lifted, and their plight ended, as did the rule over them by those with no morals. People rejoiced at the bayʿa to Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik and none more so than the People of Idrisid Fez, since they had previously already been on campaigns with him, and he had treated them well, had been generous to their poor, and had exhorted them to be patient about the injuries they suffered from his father's governors. They, in turn, had praised him and had become his partisans while his father was still living, and desired his investiture as a way of bringing about peace to the country and security to the people. He removed the exactions which had been levied on the people, since he was against that, and did not require that from those who had been his father's ʿāmil-s, as his judgments were marked by justice, and they learned of the dismissal of those ʿāmil-s and members of the army (ʿabīd and Ūdāya) who sought to cause harm to the people.

The bayʿa was written on the first day of Shaʿbān (13 Mar. 1728), and sent to him in the Sūs along with the shurafāʾ and notables, and he arrived in Meknes on the last day of Ramaḍān (10 May 1728). All the people became calm and the disorders disappeared due to Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Malik's prestige, since all knew of his rapid decisions and action, firmness in dealing with oppressors, intrepidity and valour in battle, his love of peace and of the well-being of his subjects, and his meting out of justice to both oppressor and oppressed.

Upon his arrival he began to study the sciences - the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī and other works - and requested all the tribes to come to him. All the ʿabīd came out to meet him, except for the force of ʿabīd of al-Ramla, who refused. His most enthusiastic [supporters] were the Sufyān and the Banī Mālik because, when Mawlānā Ismāʿīl had fallen ill, one of the latter's wives, Ḥalīma al-Sufyāniyya (mother of his son Mawlāy Zaydān the Younger), had informed them of his condition; they had then readied their horses and arms, and set their affairs

in order, as did all the other tribes in Morocco. The ʿabīd had thereupon sent a detachment against them, surprising them and pillaging their herds of cattle, etc., slaughtering the men, women, and children, and raping the women and girls. This all occurred while the Sultan was ill, and thinking that this was [being done] by his order, they did not resist or defend themselves. When the Sultan died, and they learned that this had not been ordered by him, the Sufyān and the Banī Mālik formed a grudge against the ʿabīd, and fought numerous engagements against the latter during the reign of Mawlānā Aḥmad to obtain revenge, with the advantage sometimes with one side, sometimes with the other.

[The ʿabīd], who harboured a grudge and ill will against the Sultan [i.e, ʿAbd al-Malik] due to their commanders who had been slain fighting him, tried to seize him while spending the ʿīd al-fiṭr in his company, along with the tribes, but God rescued him. He then ordered each of the tribes to detail a certain number of men who could ride to serve as his army on the basis of an annual stipend to be paid from the public treasury. The Ūdāya and the makhāziniyya in control of the dīwān[10] and the mashwar, however, ejected a group of them [i.e, of the tribesmen], first from the Bū Ruways, the Awlād Dulaym, the Darābika, the Awlād Khalīfa, the Shayāẓima, and the Mawārīd, whom [the Sultan] then joined to the Shabānāt, who were his close supporters. [The Ūdāya] became as hostile to him as he was to them, due to what he had heard about their misconduct towards the people, and about what had occurred between them and the People of Fez. The former thereupon wrote to the ʿabīd about rebelling against him.

Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Malik then asked the ʿulamā' for an opinion on very loathsome questions, calling for the death of anyone committing such things, and these were widely discussed, and his brother informed of them.[11] No decision was reached, however . . .

Some of the People of Fez, who had neither reason nor capability to either revolt or to do battle with those who wanted to do so or to resist them in word or deed, asked Mawlāy Aḥmad

for fair treatment. Their possessions were thereupon looted, their trees cut down, their houses demolished by bombs, with their women, children, parents, and other members of their families perishing under the rubble, this despite the fact that the allegations against those charged with rebellion were not verified or proven true. Rather, they had only defended themselves against the Ūdāya and others of the gīsh[12] who were looting their property and wanted to rape their women, as they had done to the tribes, and to both country and city dwellers alike. [The Ūdāya], indeed, had accused them of rebellion in order to be able to do to them as they wished. They had gone to Mawlāy Aḥmad and accused [the People of Fez] of being in rebellion against him, and he had believed them without any proof, and had therefore given [the Ūdāya] a free hand over them. . . .

The ʿulamā' then studied the matter,[13] but could not reach a unanimous decision, since opinions varied widely, and so made no reply at all, but only agreed that jurisdiction over this lay with the Sultan, and that it was for him to decide and decree as he saw fit. The latter thereupon sought the opinion of his secretary, the most-learned Sīdī Muḥammad b. Maḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, who replied that there was no cause to put him [i.e., Mawlāy Aḥmad] to death, as had been requested by some Fasis not attentive in the observance of their religion. ['Abd al-Malik] therefore changed his mind about his execution, about which he had asked the ʿulamā''s opinion, and instead sent him to the prison in Idrisid Fez in the same month of Shawwāl (11 May-8 June 1728). He took pity on him, however, and released him from prison, after the latter had been there for about a week, and sent him off to Sijilmāsa, their native city, where he had placed his own son as ʿāmil upon receiving the bayʿa in Taroudant and the Sūs. Mawlāy Aḥmad, however, escaped en route, and took refuge in the zāwiya of Sīdī Saʿīd Aḥanṣāl of the Āyt ʿAṭṭā'.[14] The head (qayyim) of this zāwiya dabbled in fortunetelling (ʿilm al-ḥadthān) and predicted to Mawlāy Aḥmad that he would return to power. When the ʿabīd heard what the head of the zāwiya had

predicted, they decided to rebel against Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, and to give the bayʿa to the deposed Mawlāy Aḥmad a second time, and so proclaimed this on the morning of the ʿīd al-aḍḥā of this year (18 July 1728). They prevented the khaṭīb of al-Ramla from mentioning Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, and he therefore gave the khuṭba in the name of Mawlāy Aḥmad.

News of this reached Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik on the second day of the ʿīd, whereupon he assembled the ʿulamāʾ and consulted them on the question of the ʿabīd. They thereupon wrote a letter to the ʿabīd, forbidding them from rebelling against [the Sultan] and reminding them of the harm to the Muslims and the contravention of the Sharīʿa this entailed, doing everything they could to caution them from [rebelling]. They sent them [this letter] with the great shaykh, whose blessings are sought in the East and the West, when still alive as well as after his death, Mawlānā al-Ṭayyib b. the imām Sīdī Muḥammad the Yamlaḥī, Ḥasanī, ʿAlamī sharīf, buried in Ouezzan, since the ʿulamāʾ did not think anyone else bearing that letter to the ʿabīd, aside from this shaykh, would be safe from harm or death. This [he could do] due to the fact that most of the latter had studied with him and that their commanders were his disciples. He acceded to the ʿulamāʾ's request to deliver this letter to the ʿabīd, but the latter gave him a curt reply, from which he saw that they would not change their minds about what [the letter] forbade them from doing. Seeing their reaction, he returned to Ouezzan and sent news of this to the ʿulamāʾ verbally, by means of some fuqahāʾ who had accompanied him and the letter.

Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik thereupon began to send messengers to the tribes and to gather them, thus assembling a great number. He then again sent a message to the aforementioned Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib, the master (ṣāḥib) of Ouezzan, and again sent him to [the ʿabīd] to talk them into changing their minds about deposing him and giving the bayʿa to Mawlāy Aḥmad again, pointing out to them the disorders, the killing of Muslims and plunder of their property that would result, as well as the [legal] prohibition it was subject to. Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib returned to Mashraʿ al-Ramla and told them all this and discussed it with them, but they rejected his request and, having served as envoy a second time, he returned to Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik and informed him of their refusal to obey and of their resolve to depose him.

When news of this reached Mawlāy Aḥmad, he hastened to join them, arriving with Yūsuf Aḥanṣāl in the middle of all this, while the Banī Ḥasan also welcomed this and accompanied him to Meknes. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik decided to go out and meet the rebel with such tribes as had rallied to him to fight against them, but the Ūdāya living in Meknes (worried him?), and he therefore decided to return there and fight them in the city [first]. The latter were ready to revolt against him and to give the bayʿa to his brother, and immediately initiated hostilities against [ʿAbd al-Malik's] army, being joined in Meknes by the ʿabīd on Monday, 24 Dhū al-Ḥijja of this year (1 Aug. 1728). One of the ʿabīd commanders then proclaimed another of his brothers, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, at one of the gates of the Sultan's qaṣaba, next to al-Qubba al-Khaḍrāʾ. Khunātha bint Bakkār al-Maghfarī,[15] widow of Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, was living in the house adjacent to that gate, and when she heard the proclamation of her son, she had had the gate opened from the inside. Thus, while [ʿAbd al-Malik's] partisans were still fighting on the outskirts of Meknes, they learned that the ʿabīd had entered the qaṣaba, and were stunned. The Sultan thereupon fled for his life, along with about 300 of his followers who had managed to get away and, skirting the principal Fez road, they reached Idrisid Fez. Widespread looting and rape and other shameful acts occurred back in the qaṣaba, and an indeterminable amount of money was taken. [The ʿabīd] then proceeded to do the same to the city of Meknes - looting, taking captives, raping women and girls; may God the Exalted exact justice upon them! There is no power or might save in God! This occurred on the day following the above mentioned date.

Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik left the musketeers of Fez, numbering about 2,000, in the qaṣaba of Meknes and fled to Fez, which he

sought to enter. The opinion of its people was, however, divided. Some said: 'He must not enter, since we cannot withstand the ʿabīd. The latter do not doubt that they will enter [this city] just as we do not doubt their words and threats, that is that they will attack us and besiege [the city] until they conquer it from us, and then do to us as they did to Meknes and its qaṣaba, and to the tribes of Northern Morocco . . .'[16] '. . . other said: by God, let us fight for the Caliph whose bayʿa is binding upon us and to whom we owe obedience, the one who is in our midst. Let us and he together fight those who have rebelled against him!'

It turned out that those who favoured his entry into the city were in the majority, and he was let in, and took up residence in Dār al-Qayṭūn[17] in Qarawiyyīn Fez. The opinion of the ʿulamāʾ on his entry into Fez, like that of the common people (al-ʿawāmm), was also split, but the majority were in favour of it. He was joined by those tribes which had not rebelled, that is the gīsh of the Sūs, numbering about 10,000 and by his entourage (khuddām al-mashwar), numbering about 3,000 horse and foot, who were stationed in the qaṣaba there.[18] He dispatched the Sūs gīsh against the Ūdāya, and they raided [their] estates (ḍiyāʿ) and state domains (ʿazāʾib) and . . .[19] those in control of the Sāyis and neighbouring areas, while he laid siege to the Ūdāya in Merinid Fez and attempted to take it. Their fellow-tribesmen in Meknes then pressed Mawlāy Aḥmad and the ʿabīd to go to the aid of their brothers in [New] Fez before the city fell. Mawlāy Aḥmad thereupon sped to their relief with an army, and encamped by Wādī Fās, after having arrested in Meknes al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the qāʾid of that city, the qāʾid ʿAlī b. Īshshī al-Zammūrī, Marjān the eunuch (his father's official), and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the qāḍī of the ʿabīd. He went after them systematically, forced them out of the ḥaram-s, and had them executed in prison, after which they were crucified. The account of the siege of Fez will be given under the next year, God willing.

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1141/1728-1729

Main Events of the Year: With the advent of Muḥarram, the first month of the year (7 Aug.-5 Sept. 1728), the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl the Ḥasanī sharīf (who had previously entered Fez, seeking recognition from its people and to have them fight with the tribes who still honoured their bayʿa to him against those who had rebelled, also hoping that the tribes of Northern Morocco and the Sūs would help him) tried to take the White City, New Merinid Fez, and to establish himself there, since it is the seat of the Caliphate, and also to expel the Ūdāya, who were in rebellion against him. It did not really belong to them, and they were there only to serve as a garrison over[1] the People of Idrisid Fez. He thereupon clashed with the Ūdāya who were fortified there, after having first plundered all their cattle, etc. which they had on their domains outside [the city]. They thereupon sent a call for help to the ʿabīd, who hastened to their aid, thinking that they would then enter Fez and treat its inhabitants in the same manner as they had those in Meknes; they came with the Sultan Mawlānā Aḥmad al-Dhahabī b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl the Ḥasanī sharīf. The Ahl Sūs, who had rallied to Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, ran away as soon as they realized they could not stand up to the ʿabīd who had joined Mawlāy Aḥmad. The ʿabīd, however, caught up to some of those Ahl Sūs at Wādī Sabū and plundered a great part of their possessions and some of their families, but most got away safely.

On 9 Muḥarram (15 Aug. 1728), the rest of the tribes of Morocco forming his army joined the Sultan Mawlāy Aḥmad and encircled Fez [as tightly] as a ring [on a finger]. On the morning of the ʿāshūrāʾ (16 Aug. 1728), he sent the ʿabīd against Fez, which they surrounded [as tightly] as a bracelet around a wrist, and then rushed it in a coordinated assault. The People of Fez, however, did not go out to meet them, but only fought them off from behind the ramparts, and [the attackers] were not able to achieve anything, and the terror that had first taken hold of the People of Fez disappeared.

Mawlāy Aḥmad then wrote to the latter, asking them to depose Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik and to recognize him instead, but they refused. In fact, Mawlāy Aḥmad was only carrying out the ʿabīd's orders during all this, while he personally would have preferred peace. Final say (al-amr wa-l-nahy), however, lay with the ʿabīd, and he held power in name only, and followed their orders and opinions, and undertook only what they commanded. The People of Fez therefore declined, refusing to enter under the control of the ʿabīd, and fighting raged fiercely, with alternating advantage [for the two sides].

News then arrived that the Sufyān, Banī Mālik, Sharāga, Awlād Jāmiʿ, and Ḥayāyina intended to join forces and come to the aid of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, since they had remained loyal to their oath and had not renounced the bayʿa given to him. The ʿabīd thereupon sent a contingent against them, which met and engaged the latter near Wādī Aynūl.[2] The tribes were defeated, and many of theirs fell; the wādī, however, prevented them from taking their dead away. Among those killed with the tribes was Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik's wazīr, al-Muntaṣir b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī, commissioned with mustering them, and he was taken back to Fez and buried in the rawḍa of Sīdī al-Khayyāṭ, in al-Dūḥ in Qarawiyyīn Fez. It was the Ūdāya who had killed him and had sent his body back, along with some prisoners taken from the People of Fez, to thus inform Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik of the defeat of his army.

The latter thereupon lost any hope of reinforcements, and the ʿabīd tightened the siege of Fez, cutting off the water supply from Qarawiyyīn Fez.[3] They then moved their camp closer to the walls, and set up cannons and mortars aimed at [the city] and pounded it with cannonballs and bombs from all sides. They also surrounded it with gun emplacements at a distance of less than a musket shot from the city, and frequently their shots would reach the rooftops of houses in some quarters, hitting anyone who chanced to be there. The city was in great straits, as the bombs caused much destruction and many deaths among the women, children, and other noncombatants, that is men unable to bear arms. [God's] favour

nevertheless occurred during all that. Praise be to God!

The [besieging] force then plundered al-Mars al-Kabīr, which is between Sīdī ʿAlī b. Ḥarāzim and Sīdī al-Ḥasan al-Darāwī, up to the city walls, and cut down the trees. They dug in their heels and resolved to spend as much time as necessary to enter Fez, and the People of Fez likewise stood their ground, evacuated those houses reached by cannonballs and bombs and moved to those out of range. They also organized a continuous watch on the ramparts and dug a moat all the way round, just outside the walls, and another one further out, in the area of Bāb al-Gīsa, and resolved to defend themselves and the humble, the weak (ahl al-maskana), that is those who had no power to decline or accept, those unable to fight, or to speak out, who turned to God the Exalted, asking for His favour, deliverance, and the end of disorders, beseeching God, seeking refuge in His protection and in that of His prophet and saints. Grace, indeed, did occur during these distressing events. The citizenry made themselves a match for the army, going out to meet it outside the walls, and were not content to confine their attention to it alone. This army, composed of the ʿabīd and the tribes, was indeed huge, and was estimated to number more than 100,000.

The tribes which had been defeated at Aynūl then again assembled to do their utmost to aid their Sultan, and awaited the opportunity to reach him in Fez through the besieging army, and meanwhile camped in a place called Tīssa, in the Ḥayāyina country. The ʿabīd, who were in the practice of pillaging the grain which the Ḥayāyina had in their granaries and bringing it to their camp, left [one day] as usual to pillage from the Ḥayāyina, but [this time] the tribes had massed at Tīssa and lay in wait for them. Fighting ensued, and [the tribes] defeated the ʿabīd, killed the latter's raʾīs, and took as booty over 600 of their pack animals. When [the rest] of the ʿabīd heard of this, they dispatched a contingent composed of their own men and the Ūdāya, and the two sides again clashed in battle at Tīssa. This time, however, the ʿabīd defeated them, and the tribes scattered in all directions,

while the ʿabīd pursued only the Sufyān, due to the great scores they wanted to settle with them. They caught up to the latter's camp at al-Zaytūn al-Maṭrūḥ and bore down on the occupants, killing, taking captives, assaulting the women and girls, and not sparing either children or dogs from their weapons. [The survivors] then took refuge in the ḥaram of Ouezzan,[4] thinking that they would not pursue them once they had taken sanctuary there, but this did not avail them in the least, since the ʿabīd did not respect the sanctuary, and wiped out the survivors there. They also looted the houses, including those of the shurafā' of the ḥaram, but did not find those who had taken refuge in the rawḍa-s and elsewhere. This incident was a very severe blow indeed to the élite (nās) [i.e., the shurafā'] in Ouezzan. There is no power or might save in God, the High, the Mighty! God the Exalted says: 'Verily, they who affront God and his Apostle, the curse of God is on them in this world, and in the world to come: and He hath prepared for them a shameful chastisement.'[5]

The qāḍī ʿIyāḍ[6] says: 'The showing of respect and reverence to his family [i.e., Muḥammad's] is the same as showing respect and reverence to [Muḥammad] and any harm done to them is harm done to him.' Also, in the Ṣaḥīḥ, one finds; 'Fāṭima is a part of me.'[7] (End of the ḥadīth.) The shaykh Zarrūq says: 'The part has the same sanctity as the whole, and the slave enjoys the same reverence due to his master.' According to a khabar,[8] 'Salmān is one of us, the People of the Family,'[9] since Salmān had belonged to the Jews, but [Muḥammad] had purchased and manumitted him, and so Salmān became one of his mawlā-s. This incident in Ouezzan occurred on 25 Ṣafar (30 Sept. 1728).

The force of ʿabīd then returned from there to Fez in a state of elation, which encouraged them to try to conquer Fez and then also wreak their havoc there. They thus resolved to storm it, and on 14 [Rabīʿ I] (18 Oct. 1728), they deployed their forces to mount a coordinated attack against it from all sides. The signal for this was to be the firing of a cannon in each camp at dawn, to thus surprise the inhabitants.

Through God's kindness, however, a government official[10] informed someone in Fez renowned for his piety and saintliness of this, who then passed on the letter he had received from the camp to the People of Fez. The latter thus kept a watch that night in anticipation, and when the cannons did go off, the inhabitants of the city were ready, and rushed to the city walls from every direction. The ʿabīd approached with ladders, each of which could accommodate ten men on a rung, and they had also dug a mine under one of the walls, near Sīdī al-Ḥājj Abū Dirham, filled it with gunpowder, and set it off. Thanks to God's kindness, however, although the wall went up into the air from the blast, it returned to its original place without having suffered any damage. Praise be to God! The ʿabīd then retreated to their camp disappointed, without having accomplished anything. With daylight and the end of the fighting, the ʿabīd's dead became visible, piled on the ground everywhere, with the majority being at Bāb al-Futūh, and the total number was high. After this engagement the ʿabīd abandoned hope of entering Fez by force, while the People of Fez rejoiced and shed their fear. The ʿabīd thereupon resorted to ruses and stratagems, while continuing to shower [the People of Fez] with bombs and cannonballs, and this continued for some time.

Those who recognized Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, however, were crushed everywhere, and only Fez remained. Its soap and meat supplies were cut off, as well as everything else imported from outside; wheat and things eaten with bread (idām) were, however, plentiful during the siege. Each side tried to wait the other out, until 15 Jumādā I (17 Dec. 1728), when they exchanged correspondence on the conclusion of peace, with the stipulation that the qaṣaba-s and the bastions be turned over to Mawlāy Aḥmad, and that only those of them who supported his cause be garrisoned there. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik was to be Sultan of Fez, while Mawlāy Aḥmad was to return to Meknes, and his army was to go back to its home base. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik was to go out to the camp and make peace with his brother, Mawlāy Aḥmad, and then to return to Fez. Following

this, Mawlāy Aḥmad would be given possession of the two qaṣaba-s and the bastions.

On Thursday, 21 Jumādā I (23 Dec. 1728), Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, accompanied by the ʿabīd, thus left the mausoleum of Mawlānā Idrīs to make peace with his brother, resigned, but insistent on showing that his going to meet his brother Mawlāy Aḥmad and his conclusion of peace were not done under compulsion. The latter met him and received him with joy and deference, but then had him seized, and sent him off to Meknes, escorted by the pāshā Masāhil.

Mawlāy Aḥmad's illness worsened, and on the last day of Rajab (1 Mar. 1729) the rumour appeared that Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik had been put to death in Meknes, which stunned the People of Fez. The latter realized that everything had been a ruse by which the ʿabīd had tricked them, and they thereupon [now] also recognized Mawlāy Aḥmad and proclaimed him. When the ʿabīd saw the state Mawlāy Aḥmad was in, they put him on a litter and returned with him to Meknes, and did not demand from the People of Fez [the execution] of the conditions upon which peace had been made, that is the handing over of the two qaṣaba-s and the two bastions. Mawlāy Aḥmad died upon arriving in Meknes, on 4 Shaʿbān of this year (5 Mar. 1729).

Many people disbelieved the death of ʿAbd al-Malik, and some mystics (qawm) believed, rather, that he was still alive, and that he would gather an army around him and reappear. It seems that one of them sold his goods deferring payment for a term fixed by the time of his reappearance, the price paid for it to be paid to him at the expiry of this period.[11] However, when his death was proven to be certain, after the death of his brother Mawlāy Aḥmad, people realized the folly of those who claimed that the former was still alive.

During the period of the siege and of the Sultan's preoccupation with the conduct of war, plunder, killing, and anarchy had become rampant among all the tribes of Morocco. Killing and bloodshed were widespread, innumerable persons died, and indeed all those in Morocco, high and low, would have perished but for God's kindness (which is sought in

difficult times), and He granted His pardon and mercy to His faithful worshippers.

It was then agreed to give the bayʿa to the Caliph, the imām, the Commander of the Faithful, the victorious Sultan, the magnanimous Abū Muḥammad Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. the Caliph, the Victorious by God, the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. the Sultan Mawlānā al-Sharīf b. the mujāhid Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī. His star was rising and God's mercy . . . was diffused to those both near and far. God had chosen him from all the noble Family . . .[12] the son of Mawlānā the fourth of the Rightly-guided Caliphs (may God perpetuate the defence of Islam through them and permit the Muslims to enjoy their shadow perpetually!). After the death of his brother, Mawlāy Aḥmad, on 4 Shaʿbān 1141 of the Prophet's hijra (5 Mar. 1729), the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, was given the bayʿa in Meknes, the seat of the Caliphate, by the whole of the army and all the people, without any dissension. Since he was still in Tāfīlālt, they sent him the bayʿa there and invited him to come up north.

He arrived in Fez on the first day of Ramaḍān (31 Mar. 1729),[13] and entered the city with the intention of performing the pilgrimage to [the tomb of] Mawlānā Idrīs. Behind him was Ḥamdūn al-Rūsī, the enemy of the People of Fez, for his nephew, Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Khāliq, had been their qā'id, he whom they had attacked and killed upon the death of the Sultan Mawlānā Ismāʿīl. They now insulted [the uncle], who was behind the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, and the latter thereupon took offence, became angry, and hastened back without performing the pilgrimage to Mawlānā Idrīs. He had entered by way of Bāb al-Futūḥ, but when this incident took place and he had been angered, he refrained from entering [the mausoleum of] Mawlānā Idrīs and from passing again [through the same gate]. Instead, he crossed the bridge between the two cities[14] to Bāb al-Nuqba, leading to al-Blīda, and went out through Bāb al-Gīsa, and from there, on to New Fez, stopping at Qubbat al-Naṣr. The People of Idrisid Fez then went up to see him

and gave him the bay'a in New Fez, and he distributed 1,000 Ismā'īlī gold dīnār-s among the ashrāf and ṭalabā of Fez, and then set off for Meknes. He also requested all the tribes and villages of Morocco to surrender their horses, and, being seized with terror, they hastened to comply.

On the first day of Shawwāl (30 Apr. 1729), he wrote to the People of Fez asking them to hand over the two qaṣaba-s and the two bastions, since they were royal property and not that of the subjects, threatening them if they did not do so. Many messengers were sent back and forth, but [the People of Fez] refused to comply, fearing they would be punished for what they had done following the death of his father. They were obstinate in their refusal, but did agree to pay those government taxes (al-waẓā'if al-makhzaniyya) which they had paid during the lifetime of the Sultan Mawlānā Ismā'īl and to give hostages for that. He refused that [offer], however, and they in turn refused [his demand]. He then dispatched the army on 15 Shawwāl (15 May 1729), to besiege them, and then came in person. He had them blockaded from all sides, and showered them with bombs and cannonballs, as had been done the first time.

He bore down on them, constantly engaging them in battle, but they held out, and wrote to the imām, the pious saint Sīdī Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb in Tāfīlālt, asking for help from him, and asking him to intercede on their behalf. The latter thereupon sent his son, Sīdī Ḥamza, and his own brother, Sīdī al-Ṣāliḥ, to the Sultan. They arrived and spoke to the latter, but he refused [to accept their petition] unless [the People of Fez] handed over the two qaṣaba-s and the two bastions. The two entered Fez and asked its people to comply with the Sultan's request, since that was easier than to continue fighting him, but they refused, and the two then departed.

The siege was renewed and there were numerous clashes; then wheat became scarce in Fez, since at the start of the siege, the granaries had already been nearly empty, as it was the beginning of summer, and all the wheat was still in the fields, neither [the Fasis] nor anyone else having harvested

any of it. When the shortage became acute, they chanced everything in a desperate sally against the camp of the qā'id Mūsā al-Jarrārī, by Wādī al-Māliḥ. They pounced on it, and its occupants fled, while the People of Fez seized everything in the camp, and two cannons which had been there were brought back and dragged to Bāb al-Gīsa. Other Fasis did likewise to the camp which was Sīdī Abū Jīda,[15] and the simple-minded rejoiced at that. A few days later, some of them rioted and went out to the Sultan asking for peace, but he refused to modify any of his conditions and enumerated to them their misdeeds. They thereupon returned to their former positions, and the status quo continued for some time.

The sultan then decided to take the two hillocks outside Bāb al-Gīsa, and his army seized them in a surprise action one morning before sunrise. The People of Fez thereupon immediately sallied out against them and renewed the fighting until they had dislodged [the Sultan's men], after having first encircled them. Indeed, those who escaped did so only by hurling themselves down from great heights, while those who remained were either killed or taken prisoner. The Sultan then understood that there was no way to penetrate into the city, and a few days later, peace was concluded, with the condition that they would yield to him what he had requested, but that this would be delayed for about two months, and that they would also give him hostages for this. They then went out with their present and [the Sultan] welcomed them and gave robes[16] to their leaders and 1,000 mithqāl-s worth of silver dirham-s to the shurafā' and ṭalaba. They kept their promise and opened the city, while he garrisoned his 'abīd in the two qaṣaba-s and the two bastions. On 19 Rabī' I of the following year, 1142 (2 October 1729), he left for the capital, Meknes.[17]

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1143/1730-1731

This year began with the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī in control of all the cities, towns, tribes, and villages of Morocco. He was in the royal palace in Meknes, and would grant audiences to all who came to see him, setting aside time in the morning and afternoon for all those having a grievance, whom no one could prevent from reaching him. His affairs were well attended to, and his judgments efficacious. He allowed people to retain the honours his father had bestowed upon them, and retained people in their posts, so that no one could revoke anyone else from office or remove his income from a ḥubs or alms donated to saints which he, his father, or grandfather, had been given during the reign of the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan, the Caliph Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. the Sultan al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī. He did all this to maintain the ties formed by his father and, as a result, the important people, such as the ashrāf, murābiṭīn, and ʿulamāʾ, were in the highest position and had the most honoured status, and he did not violate anyone's traditional privileges in any way whatsoever.

His mother, the noble sayyida, the virtuous faqīha,[1] Khunātha, daughter of the (noble, virtuous, distinguished, intelligent, flawless leader, pillar and protector of his people) shaykh Bakkār al-Maghfarī, then requested from her son, the Commander of the Faithful ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasanī, to allow her to travel to the East for the Pilgrimage. He acceded to her desire and prepared for her all that she required. He also sent along with her his own son, our present Caliph in Morocco, the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan, the Victorious by God (may God aid him with what He has entrusted him), Mawlānā Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī, who accompanied her and accomplished the Pilgrimage this year. May God prolong his presence for the sake of the Muslims, grant victory to his armies, and bless the Muslims by preserving his life, and may

God help him in all circumstances!

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1144/1731-1732

Among this year's events was the return of Mawlānā the Victorious by God, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī's mother from the Pilgrimage, along with her grandson, the Victorious by God, the Commander of the Faithful, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasanī, safe and sound, and accompanied by blessings and good.

There was also the Sultan's campaign against the Āyt Yimmūr,[1] in which he eliminated Yūsuf al-Ḥaṣālī, who had been the instigator of the revolt against his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik. [The Sultan] then had him put to death in a horrible fashion and forbade his burial so that his corpse was torn apart and his members scattered, doing so in order that the simple-minded of his followers not think that he had not died, since he had been a dabbler in sorcery. We were told that he said to the latter before executing him: 'I did not want to kill you, but I was afraid to spare you, as it would have been said that your jinn-s defeated me.'

Dread of the Sultan increased in people's hearts, and his ambition soared and his dominion assumed great proportions, as the whole of Morocco became submissive to him (sāra lahu ka-l-zayt),[2] and he killed the oppressors in all the tribes in Morocco. He also increased the levies on the People of Fez, in a story too long to recount, and only the shurafāʾ, murābiṭīn and ṭalaba from among them were exempted, thereby collecting a large sum of money for the campaign against Ceuta.

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1147/1734-1735

Main Events of the Year: On Tuesday, the last day of Rabīʿ II (28 Sept. 1734), the ʿabīd rebelled against the Commander of the Faithful, the victorious, the magnanimous, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl the Ḥasanī sharīf, due to the execution in prison of those who had betrayed his brother, the Caliph, the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Malik, and had conspired in his death. He had therefore exacted vengeance for his brother and killed many of their leaders, almost wiping out their officers and commanders (kibāruhum wa-ṭughātuhum). He also imposed large amounts of the gharāma, especially on Fez, and nearly bankrupted its wealthy citizens. Only the shurafāʾ, murābiṭīn, and ṭalaba were spared this, and they were honoured and respected during his reign.

When the ʿabīd revolted, the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl the Ḥasanī sharīf resolved to run, but sent 100 qinṭār-s of silver to the ʿabīd anyhow, hoping to thus cause dissention in their ranks. The latter took it and distributed it, but used it to pursue the war against him, and were thus reinforced, and turned their backs on him. (God's power and will are above that!) He therefore loaded his pack animals with as much money as they could carry and went off to the Tadla, stopping at the mars of Abū al-Aʿwān,[1] where there was a branch of the public treasury, [the contents of] which he ordered to be distributed among the tribes. The people then took that to use in the famine which had struck that year, since this was a year of drought in Marrakesh and the Haouz. He then entered the Sūs and encamped at a place known as Shūshāwa,[2] where he remained for a considerable length of time, and this will be told later, God willing.

After his flight to the Sūs, the ʿabīd recognized his brother, the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Abū al-Ḥasan Mawlāy ʿAlī b. the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, the Victorious by God, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī. They proclaimed the latter and submitted to him,

and were followed in this by all the People of Northern Morocco (or the Gharb?), due to the burden of the gharāma and levies which they could no longer bear. These were thereupon removed, and [the people] rejoiced at the abolition of the gharāma, [feeling] as if they had just emerged from the womb into the world, or as if they were in a new life after death. The ʿabīd, the People of Northern Morocco (or the Gharb?), Fez, and others who seconded the ʿabīd's action, then sent the bayʿa to Mawlāy ʿAlī who was in Tāfīlālt, and the latter then came to Fez, entering the royal palace in Merinid Fez on Monday, 27 Jumādā I of this year (25 Oct. 1734).

The following Thursday, he proceeded to Meknes, which he entered on Friday, and prayed in the mosque of the royal palace in the qaṣaba, whose khaṭīb and imām at that time was the qāḍī al-quḍāt, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Abūʿinān. The latter mentioned the Sultan before the Companions [in the khuṭba], hoping by his heresy to obtain favour with the Sultan. After he had terminated the khuṭba, another came forward to lead the prayer, and when the latter, in turn, had finished, [the Sultan] dismissed the former for what he had done, and he was replaced in the posts of qāḍī al-quḍāt, imām, and khaṭīb by the noble faqīh Abū al-Qāsim b. Saʿīd al-ʿUmayrī.

[The Sultan] then inspected the treasury and found it bare, with not enough gold there with which to pay the ʿabīd's salary, which they customarily received twice a year. He therefore made up their pay with 200 qinṭār-s (out of spoils?) for those whose pay needed to be made up (?). Before leaving for the Sūs, the Caliph, the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasanī had buried and hidden all the money and what had been left over after the sack of the qaṣaba following his father's death, for which he had no pack animals to carry, and unearthed it years later, as will be told later, God willing.[3]

Mawlāy ʿAlī then appointed the qāʾid Masʿūd al-Rūsī over Fez, who made [its citizens] supply 500 musketeers. [The qāʾid also] killed al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Būda al-Lamṭī (the raʾīs of the Lamṭiyyīn after Mawlānā Ismāʿīl's death) along with his

brother, since [Aḥmad Būda] had been one of those who had attacked the house of his brother Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAbḍ al-Khāliq al-Rūsī, who had been killed. [Aḥmad Būda] favoured Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, since sayyida Khunātha, the daughter of shaykh Bakkār al-Maghfarī, the mother of Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, had interceded on his behalf when her son Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had executed the oppressive clique (al-fi'a al-bāghiya) of the leaders of Fez. The leaders of Fez then gathered after the Friday prayer and proclaimed in a single voice: 'We [demand] judgment by God and by the Law!' This was accompanied by an uproar and shouting, and when Masʿūd al-Rūsī heard this, he fled from Fez, in fear for his life.

News of this reached Mawlāy ʿAlī, who was angered and sent someone to make inquiries, and many messengers were sent back and forth in an affair too long to relate. He then ordered his qā'id-s to set siege to Fez, which they did on the last day of Shaʿbān of 1147 (24 Jan. 1734), blockading it and mounting raids against it. The ḍuʿafā' [of the city], those who have no influence on the leaders, and no power to protect themselves, the defenceless Believers - women, [old] men, orphans, widows, members of the Family - then resorted to beseeching God and sought intercession through God's Book, during this month of Ramaḍān (25 Jan.-23 Feb. 1735), both day and night. God then granted them His unfathomable grace (which is sought in times of difficulty), for when [the Sultan] ordered the ʿabīd of al-Ramla to go besiege Fez, they refused and also prevented him from carrying out the siege. Their ra'īs, Sālim al-Dukkālī, had advised him thus: 'Besieging Fez will give rise to chaos in Morocco, and there will be great plunder and tribal raids, roads will be cut, there will be severe famine, and your brother Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh will return.' [Mawlāy ʿAlī] then changed his mind and ordered his qā'id-s to abandon the siege of Fez, and he was satisfied with having only the Companions mentioned, but once the expeditionary force had left [the people of Fez] again gave the khuṭba in his name, as before.

Earlier, he had jailed a group of notables of the shurafā'

and ʿulamā' of Fez who had gone to him to ask for an exemption [for themselves] and to obtain for the People of Fez a delay in designating and equipping the musketeers.[4] Instead, he had afflicted them with severe trials, and menaced them repeatedly with death and that he would strip them of their clothes. However, after the ʿabīd had prevented him from besieging Fez, and the army had left the city, the shurafā' of Fez sent an envoy to the pious saint, whose blessings are sought in the East and the West, in life and in death, the shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad, known as al-Ṭayyib b. the imām Sīdi Muḥammad the Yamlaḥī, Ḥasanī, ʿAlamī sharīf, the master of Ouezzan in the Maṣmūdat al-Gharb, and asked him to intercede with the ʿabīd on behalf of their fellow-citizens imprisoned by the Sultan, so that they would order the latter to set them free. Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib thereupon sent this same envoy to the ʿabīd, and the latter granted him his request, sending the pāshā al-Ḥawwāt, one of their leaders, to the Sultan with the order to set the shurafā' free. Al-Ḥawwāt therefore sent to Meknes and informed the Sultan that the ʿabīd did not agree with him on his treatment of the shurafā' and warned him that if he did not release them and send them back to Fez, he would be sorry.[5] He thereupon immediately set free the shurafā' and fuqahā' who then returned to Fez.

This year, God the Exalted sent abundant rain, and the grain, cattle, and fruit flourished greatly; the [land] owners lost nothing, and prosperity continued until the end of the year.

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1148/1735-1736

Main Events of the Year: In Rabīʿ I of this year (22 July-20 Aug. 1735), the ʿabīd of Mashraʿ al-Ramla prepared for a campaign to the Sūs in pursuit of the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī, and their commander

(kabīr), the pāshā Sālim al-Dukkālī, was put in charge of the operations. They reached the Ḥāḥa, but refrained from continuing on against [the Sultan] because of the dread he inspired and for fear of his violence. Their stay there continued for some time, and they began to run short of supplies, and so turned back about three months after having set out.

A short while later, news came that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had reached Tadla and that his brother ʿAlī had begun preparations to fight him, and had sent word to the ʿabīd, informing them of his departure. The latter promised to join him, and he therefore pitched camp with his gīsh of Ūdāya and others outside Meknes, awaiting their arrival until the ʿīd al-fiṭr (14 Feb. 1736), when a herald came to him and announced that they had deposed him and had again recognized their first Caliph, his brother the Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. the Victorious by God. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī.[1] Mawlāy ʿAlī thereupon made a hasty departure, and by morning he was on the banks of Wādī Fās. He requested the Ūdāya to stand by him, but they closed the gate in his face and he therefore left immediately, stopping by the Sabū bridge until his followers had settled their affairs in Fez, whose people supplied them with food. That evening, he left for the East, and went to the Arabs of the Cherg,[2] while ʿAbd Allāh was then recognized in all the regions of Morocco.

The people, however, split into two camps; one of these rejoiced greatly because the roads had become unsafe after they had revolted against [ʿAbd Allāh], since Mawlāy ʿAlī's decrees had been enforced only when the ʿabīd so ordered. This group was comprised of the shurafā', the murābiṭīn, the ṭalaba, the fuqarā', and the ḍuʿafā'[3] who were not affected by the imposition of the gharāma. The other faction was dismayed and terrified, and opposed [the return of] his rule out of fear that he would punish them for what they had done. It was from this second faction that those who sought to revolt against him were drawn, and it was they who had engaged in crime, plunder, aggression, and robbery throughout the country. Also, those who were affected by the gharāma

feared that it would be re-imposed, whereas Mawlāy ʿAlī had only rarely imposed it.

Attacks on the members of the Family and this hostility between the common people and them, which has continued until this day, began in this year.

The qā'id Mawlūd al-Jabīlī al-Ūdī had been in Qaṣabat Tadla, along with some ʿabīd, as ʿāmil of the region, and when Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh arrived, they closed the qaṣaba so that the latter would not decide to enter, since they thought he would not return to power. It was not long, however, before they received letters informing them that the ʿabīd and the People of Fez had [again] recognized [Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh] and had given him the bayʿa, and had deposed his brother Mawlāy ʿAlī. They were stunned, and asked for amnesty for themselves from the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, who sent his army's qā'id, Qāsim b. Raysūn, to them. They agreed to go with him to the Sultan, and [Qāsim] returned to his residence, making them think that he wanted to straighten out some of his affairs there. However, he was then hit and killed by a pistol shot, and was taken in that condition to the Sultan. The latter became enraged at those who were still there, and had about seventy of those who had been in the qaṣaba put to death.

About 1,000 ʿabīd then came to meet him, along with the shurafā' and ʿulamā', and he treated them with honour and told them that Sālim al-Dukkālī had been the cause of all that had happened between them, and they promised to deliver him to [the Sultan] if the latter would pardon them for what they had done. [The Sultan] gave them some money and ordered them to depart immediately, while people were terrified, fearing that order would break down. Upon returning to their base, Mashraʿ al-Ramla, they found Sālim al-Dukkālī and all those who had been involved with him in the revolt against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh assembled with him; the latter had again deposed Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and had given the bayʿa to the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. the Caliph, the Victorious by God, the Commander of the Faithful Ismāʿīl b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī, known as Ibn ʿArība,[4] and had sent word of this to Fez, Meknes, and

everywhere else in Morocco, inviting others also to give the bay'a to the latter and to rally to him.

The 'abīd of al-Zanqa[5] then joined forces with those 'abīd of Mashra' al-Ramla who had not violated their bay'a to Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh and did not want to rebel against him, and eventually, there was a battle between the two factions, in which Sālim al-Dukkālī and his faction were defeated, whereupon he fled with a group of leaders of his party to Mawlānā Idrīs the Elder, who is buried in Zarhūn. The 'abīd, however, forced him out of there and put him and his partisans in irons and sent them off to the Sultan Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh, who had them jailed for some time. He then had them appear before him, enumerated to them their crimes, and had them executed in prison on the first day of Muḥarram 1149 (12 May 1736). He then set out for the royal palace in Meknes, and pitched camp at a place known as Bū Fakrān; these events will be related under the following year.

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1149/1736-1737

Main Events of the Year: When the Sultan, the Victorious by God, Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh had pitched his camp at Bū Fakrān in the region of Meknes, in Muḥarram,[1] the beginning of the year (12 May-10 June 1736), the People of Fez, with their ashrāf, 'ulamā', notables, and musketeers, went out to welcome him, and met him in the aforementioned place. He scolded them for their not having come to see him with the others in Tadla, as well as for killing (during the reign of his brother the Sultan Mawlāy 'Alī) a group who had been the partisans of ['Abd Allāh's] qā'id [of Fez], Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Īshshī al-Zammūrī. [The Sultan] therefore now singled out sixteen from among those of influence in the city (and not people of virtue) and had them executed in prison, while he sent the rest of the musketeers, the decent ones, back to the city

without doing them any harm, either in word or in deed. He then appointed Muḥammad b. 'Alī as governor over them, he who had been in charge of exacting money from them on his behalf before the 'abīd's revolt. All who had been there then returned home and prevented the aforementioned qā'id, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, from entering Fez, and the latter therefore took up residence in the New Qaṣaba, where the Sultan's 'abīd and supporters were garrisoned. Many messengers were exchanged between him and the People of Fez, and he finally wrote to the Sultan, informing him of their refusal [to let him in]. The latter thereupon sent another of his qā'id-s, Abū Bakr al-Ūdī, who arrived on 25 Ṣafar (5 July 1736), and raided the flocks of [the People of Fez], while rumour spread among them that the Sultan had sent them another qā'id.

Great plunder was perpetrated, the roads were cut, and the Sultan's order severely warning anyone against entering Fez with supplies was made known, and the city remained under a state of siege until the first day of Rabī' I (10 July 1736).[2] The Sultan then sent the qā'id Mas'ūd al-Rūsī to be wālī of Fez, having learned that [the Fasis] hated the aforementioned Muḥammad b. 'Alī, but that they would be willing to accept anyone else, and the masses ('āmmat al-nās) rejoiced at [the new governor's] arrival, for it meant the end of disorder and hunger. Al-Rūsī entered his brother's house in the 'Adwa of Andalus Fez, and the élite (al-nās) started coming to greet him, and it became very crowded. He was stunned and did not comprehend what was happening to him as, suddenly, some purveyors of disorder broke in and killed some of his retainers in his presence, whereupon he fled to the house of one of the ashrāf in search of sanctuary and a hiding place. That night, the former agreed amongst themselves to kill the qā'id al-Rūsī, thus exacting revenge for their brother Būda, whom [al-Rūsī] had had put to death during his governorate under Mawlāy 'Alī. They therefore forced him out of the place where he was staying and killed him.

The next morning, they found themselves under the tightest possible siege. Wheat rose in price to about eight mawzūna-s

a nabawī ṣā', and there was a shortage of things to be eaten with bread, while meat disappeared completely. The siege continued and became even tighter, but the People of Fez remained loyal [anyhow] to Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and continued to give the khuṭba on the minbar-s in his name.

On the last day of Rabī' I (8 Aug. 1736),[3] however, they reached the decision to abandon their loyalty to Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and to recognize [instead] his brother Sīdī Muḥammad, known as Ibn 'Arība, who was then hiding in their city. The People of Fez then incited the latter against Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh's party, that is the shurafā', ṭalaba, and zāwiya-s, informing [Sīdī Muḥammad] that these groups had prevented them and Salīm al-Dukkālī from recognizing him [earlier] and that [these groups] had proclaimed Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh in opposition to the rest. The People of Fez [said that they] had renounced their loyalty to him and had followed those who recognized Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh only because they had feared that ['Abd Allāh] would be victorious over Sālim al-Dukkālī and would kill him, and that he would again rule over them. When Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh did kill Sālim al-Dukkālī, and Sīdī Muḥammad had failed to gain power, the latter had feared for his life and had fled from Meknes to Fez, where he had hid until what has just been related came to pass.

He was informed of the position of the aforementioned [groups], and then the bay'a was proclaimed to the great and mighty Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Abd Allāh, the Victorious by God, who trusts in Him, Sīdī Muḥammad b. the great Caliph, the mujāhid for the sake of the Lord of Creation, the Commander of the Faithful, the Victorious by God, Abū al-Naṣr, Mawlāy Ismā'īl b. the Sultan Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī. The People of the two cities of Idrisid Fez and new Merinid Fez concurred in giving him the bay'a, which was written in Fez and deposited in the library of Mawlānā Idrīs, while this was announced in all the surrounding areas, and news of this was also sent to the 'abīd of Mashra' al-Ramla. On the first day of Jumādā II (7 Oct. 1736), the order was given to besiege Muḥammad b. 'Alī, his

brother's qā'id, and those with him in the two qaṣaba-s and bastions. When the letter reached the 'abīd of Mashra' al-Ramla, Sālim al-Dukkālī's faction decided [also] to give the bay'a to [Sīdī Muḥammd], while another faction opposed them and a clash ensued between the two, in which Salīm al-Dukkālī's partisans were defeated. A truce, however, was then concluded, and all agreed to give the bay'a to Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Arība, which they thereupon sent to Fez, where it arrived on Monday, 18 Jumādā II (24 Oct. 1736).

The qā'id Muḥammad b. 'Alī and those with him then fled from the qaṣaba, without there having been any fighting between [the People of Fez] and the besieging army of the Sultan, or even any bombardment, or digging of mines, or any attempt to seize the city. This was due to the fact that the Sultan ['Abd Allāh] had advised [the besieging army] not to do so, saying: 'That will not work with Fez; I exerted a great deal of effort in the preceding siege, but all I got out of it was a waste of money, and problems. Its people can be more easily forced to submit by cutting off their provisions.' He therefore gave that order to the tribes, and all supplies were cut off from Fez. As a result, the masākīn[4] and the ḍu'afā', who could not protect themselves from their leaders, suffered greatly from the shortages and hunger.

The following day, Muḥammad b. 'Alī and the army fled from Fez, while the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad left for New Fez and entered the royal palace there, accompanied by the Ūdāya. That evening, news came to Fez from Meknes that the Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh had packed up his mother, family, retinue, and all his valuables and money, and had left. When he had decided to leave Meknes [the first time] for the Tadla (upon learning of the 'abīd's revolt against him), he had buried the money and valuables which he could not take with him, and had left his mother and family behind in their houses. Having returned to Meknes, and now again forced to leave, he took all of that with him this time, leaving the palace bare.

On the twenty-first of this month (27 Oct. 1736), Sīdī Muḥammad left the palace in Merinid Fez and entered the one in

Meknes, but found it deserted and bare, without even any grain in it. He did not have anything on which to live, quite apart from what to give to the army's families. Indeed, in all of Meknes and the surrounding region, there was not a single four-legged animal, since Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, upon leaving, had ordered his Berber allies to raid the whole region of Meknes and the Sāyis, and they had left nothing behind in anyone's possession.

[ʿAbd Allāh] had been prompted to leave Meknes by the fact that all the ʿabīd there and in the surrounding area, along with their commander, the pāshā Ibn al-Nuwaynī, had rebelled against him and had recognized Sīdī Muḥammad. [ʿAbd Allāh] had then sent against them his entire gīsh and all his followers under his brother, the noble cavalier, the very-distinguished champion, Mawlānā al-Rashīd b. the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī. A battle was fought between the two forces, and the ʿabīd were victorious, after first having suffered heavy losses in material and manpower, and both Mawlāy al-Rashīd and Ibn al-Nuwaynī fell in the fray. The ʿabīd of Meknes then went after Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, intending to kill him, but when they pitched camp at ʿAyn al-Lūḥ,[5] God the Exalted sent heavy rains and winds upon them, and they were hit by bitter cold, which almost wiped them out. They then retreated, thwarted in their design, and God thus broke their power without a battle.

In Shawwāl (2 Feb.-2 Mar. 1737), Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh's followers from among the Berbers repeatedly raided the Sāyis and other areas bordering the Berber mountains, and the entire population of these regions fled, leaving them all deserted. The Berbers also attacked travellers on the highways, and perpetrated widespread looting in all the areas they could reach. They recognized Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh in all their mountain regions, while he took them into his retinue, and their unexpected comeback dates from this period. When Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh saw the people fleeing before the Berbers and the abandonment of the areas bordering on the latter, he descended to Jabal Ghamra, which is next to the Sāyis region. Supplies

were cut off from Idrisid Fez from all sides, due to the Berber raids in the vicinity, and God also held back the rains from [the city] and its region, so that prices rose.

Seeing the great plunder being inflicted on the people, Sīdī Muḥammad then ordered the ʿabīd and the tribes out on an expedition to the Berber country to engage the latter in battle and perhaps thus bring about peace, security on the roads, and better conditions for the community (al-umma). Moreover, there was nothing in the royal palace on which to live, quite apart from what to give to the army's families, as he had not imposed a maks or maʿūna[6] during his reign, neither on the urban nor rural dwellers. The ʿabīd of al-Ramla and the tribes responded to his call and marched off, and pitched camp at Baṭṭīṭ on 19 Dhū al-Qaʿda (21 Mar. 1737), and the ʿabīd, Ūdāya, People of Fez, and all the tribes joined forces. A battle ensued between Sīdī Muḥammad's army of ʿabīd and Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh's army composed of Berbers; the former were defeated and the Berbers pursued them for many leagues, and captured the ʿabīd's camp and everything it contained. The Berbers' power thereby rose while that of the ʿabīd declined.

Sīdī Muḥammad then retreated to Fez and made a pilgrimage to Mawlānā Idrīs on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja (4 Apr. 1737). There, he found his cousin, the distinguished sharīf, the learned Mawlānā al-Ḥasan . . .,[7] the Fuḍaylī, Ḥasanī, Sijilmāsī sharīf, whom he addressed roughly, and the latter answered him in like manner. [Sīdī Muḥammad] then struck him in the face with his hand (the same one which was to be hit by a musketball, as will be related later, God willing), and cut short his pilgrimage to Mawlānā Idrīs. He mistreated a group of Tāfīlālt ashrāf,[8] and three days later he left for Meknes.

People continued to suffer from the Berber raids until Sīdī Muḥammad went out to fight them a second time on 15 Muḥarram (15 May 1737), the account of which will be given later, God willing, under the following year, 1150. The drought continued, prices rose, and all in Morocco were on the brink of perishing. 'And the final issue of all things is unto God.'[9]

1150/1737-1738

Main Events of the Year: On 15 Ṣafar (14 June 1737), Sīdī Muḥammad ordered the ʿabīd of al-Raml and the tribes of Northern Morocco on a campaign against the Berbers, then in rebellion against him, who were pillaging their neighbours. This occurred at the season of the threshing of the grain, all of which the ʿabīd proceeded to destroy as they passed, leaving the land bare. The tribes allied to the Sultan then came to Meknes, where they were joined by the People of Fez and the Ūdāya, whereupon Sīdī Muḥammad left Meknes, accompanied by all of them, and pitched camp at Baṭṭīṭ. From there, he marched against Ṣafrū, whose inhabitants sought shelter behind their ramparts and hastened to submit to him, begging him to spare them, since they had not yet submitted to him, and this he granted. The Sultan and those with him then attacked the tribe of the Mazādigh, who took to their fortifications and fought off any of those of the army who came near. They then came out to fight, and [the army] pretended to retreat before them so that the former became over-confident, whereupon [the army] counterattacked and killed and plundered them without restraint. They were the victims of a horrible disaster (refuge is in God!).

Sīdī Muḥammad then marched off against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and the Berbers loyal to him in the Ghamra country. His army left no house standing, nor passed by any tree without cutting it down, or money without taking it, and left those mountains a wasteland. They continued doing thus until they reached the country of the Āyt ʿAyyāsh, where the murābiṭīn, the descendants of Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh ʿAyyāsh and the children of the Quranic school (maktab) with their slates came out to intercede on behalf of the Berbers, and begged Sīdī Muḥammad for his pardon. They told him that Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had gone to Tāfīlālt and that the Berbers had abandoned him, had recognized [Sīdī Muḥammad], and had asked them to beg the latter's pardon on their behalf. He, however, rejected the latter's intercession on their behalf, and made preparations to give

battle to the Berbers, and followed them up into the mountains, intending to crush them. He led the battle against them in person, without regard for his [own safety] and was immediately hit by a musketball, which broke the bone of the same arm with which he had struck the face of his cousin who had taken refuge from him in the mausoleum of Mawlānā Idrīs. He very narrowly missed being killed, as many fell on both sides, and his army was put to flight due to his having been wounded. He ordered the army to retreat immediately and he himself returned to Northern Morocco. The Berbers pursued them, and captured many of their pack animals carrying the expedition's and the Sultan's baggage, which they delivered to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh in Tāfīlālt.

[The Berbers] informed the latter of his brother's attack and retreat to the North, and asked him to return to their country to pursue Sīdī Muḥammad, but Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had become more astute during his stay with them, and knew that they were not sincere with him, and that their only desire was to pillage, and [that they did not care] about peace or to bring about the obedience [of the country to him]. He therefore sent them on their way, after showing them that he understood their true ends.

Sīdī Muḥammad returned to Meknes, where he took up residence. All the roads were cut, and prices rose, as wheat reached about 3½ old ūqiyya-s a nabawī ṣāʿ. Brigands began to attack and kill people in their own homes at night, as [the victims] would call out for help, but no one would come to their aid, and robbery in broad daylight reached to the very doors of houses on the outskirts of the city. No one was able to go by way of Wādī ʿAdwat al-Andalus, nor by way of Bāb al-Qaṣbatayn, nor by way of al-Ḥaffārīn in Qarawiyyīn Fez. Firewood was not to be had in Fez, and people frequently demolished houses in order to obtain the timber needed to cook their food. About two-thirds of the dwellings in Fez became deserted due to the famine and flight from [the city], and even more houses, shops etc. were destroyed.

The Infidel enemy then exported wheat from his country to

the Muslims by sea, to Tetuan and its neighbourhood, and the People of Fez went to bring some of that back. They made their purchases, but the wālī of that regions, the pāshā Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rīfī, secretly ordered the rural folk and other cameleers who engage in transport over the roads not to carry anything for the People of Fez, while at the same time making a show of ordering them to do so, but only with his tongue. [The Fasis] were therefore unable to bring back the wheat for about six months, until al-Rīfī learned that most of those in Fez having large families, who could not take them elsewhere, due to their lack of supplies for travelling, and the people of virtue, had died of hunger down to the last one, and he was secretly pleased.

Neither money nor possessions were of any use, as even many rich people perished, and those of the People of Fez who did survive did so only with difficulty. The price of wheat during this period reached six ūqiyya-s a nabawī ṣāʿ. The Pilgrimage Caravan returned to Fez without anyone noticing it until [the Pilgrims] had already reached their homes in Fez. It brought wheat from Tripoli, and its price then fell to about seven mawzūna-s a nabawī ṣāʿ. The People of Fez then went to Tetuan with their own camels, on which they loaded the wheat and brought it back to Fez, and while there, the rural folk told them what al-Rīfī had done in secret. May God the Almighty grant His worshippers the inscrutable grace which is sought after difficulties! The situation remained thus until the end of 1150/1738.

In Shawwāl (22 Jan.-19 Feb. 1738), Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh left Tāfīlālt and went first to Tadla, and from there to Qaṣabat Mazamm and the Āyt ʿAtāb. The tribes of that region gathered around him and brought him gifts and the People of Taroudant also came to him after the rebel in that region, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sūsī, had been killed there. The latter had claimed to be the Mahdī, the 'master of power' (ṣāḥib al-amr), but had been killed in a battle in the Sūs against the Hawwāra Arabs. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then sent word to Marrakesh, and all the Fasis there were arrested and their possessions

confiscated, and they suffered greatly, but he then pardoned them and set them free. He remained in al-Mazamm, awaiting the ʿabīd to recognize him [again], but they ignored him and passed over him in favour of another brother of his, Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' bi-llāh, as will be told under the following year, God the exalted willing.

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1151/1738-1739

Main Events of the Year: In Rabīʿ I (19 June - 18 July 1738) the price of wheat fell to six mawzūna-s a nabawī ṣāʿ, and people began once again to have hope in life after having despaired. The prices of the summer crops were also low, despite their scarcity, due to the fact that there had been little plunder, [which is surprising] because they usually increase during times of famine.

On 29 Ṣafar[1] (18 June 1738), the ʿabīd came to the decision to depose Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿArība, since he had not found anything with which to pay their yearly salaries. The ʿabīd then sent a contingent of their men from Mashraʿ al-Raml to Meknes, who burst in on [Sīdī Muḥammad] in the royal palace, brought him out, and put him in irons in one of the palace dungeons. They did not find anything to loot there, however, since Sīdī Muḥammad had abolished taxes and the mukūs on all the people of Morocco, while contributions (al-jibāya)[2] and presents (al-hadāyā)[3] had ceased coming to the palace from all the regions of the country, apart from what came from the seaports and what was levied on the Jews. The aʿshār had not been collected, since the minimal taxable income had not been reached, this being a year of drought, while most of the money of the zakāt had [already] been looted. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Zammūrī had already taken the People of Fez's money, while most of that belonging to the rural dwellers had already been pillaged also, as was narrated earlier in detail. It was as a result

of this that Sīdī Muḥammad had not found anything with which to pay the army's salaries.

[The ʿabīd] had therefore deposed him, and the following day gave the bayʿa to his brother, the renowned, heroic cavalier, the victorious, magnanimous Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-llāh b. the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, the Victorious by God, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. the Sultan Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī. Among the conditions to his accession were . . .[4] but God the Exalted did not facilitate anything for him, and He knows best about what is hidden, and perhaps . . .

The shurafāʾ, ʿulamāʾ, and murābiṭīn were happy about Sīdī Muḥammad's deposition because of the injustice, tyranny, beatings, and humiliations he had inflicted upon them, such as had never been inflicted either by his brothers or his father, under whom they were, rather, respected and honoured.[5] He, however, had reversed [the policy] of respect for them, and this was accompanied by the drought, high prices, and pillaging by the Berbers, which all befell the people during his reign. The situation reached the point when all his ʿāmil-s stopped executing his orders; his name, was, however, retained on the minbar-s, but the principal men of state (al-ruʾasāʾ) wanted to run the state in the same way as the Turks treat their rulers. He had caused harm many times to all the shurafāʾ, ʿulamāʾ, and murābiṭīn of Fez, to the People of Jabal Zarhūn, and others, as well as to most of the ashrāf, fuqahāʾ, and zāwiya-s throughout Morocco. A fall in prices accompanied his downfall, and security returned to the roads, and the Muslims rejoiced at that and at his deposition.

Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-llāh arrived and entered the royal palace in Merinid Fez on Friday morning, 6 Rabīʿ II (24 July 1738). During his four-day stay there, he reconciled the ashrāf and the common people of Fez after a riot had taken place between the two groups, causing deaths on both sides before it was over. The conflict had begun when the shurafāʾ had refused to recognize Sīdī Muḥammad to succeed Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh. When the former then gained power, the People of Fez accused

the ashrāf, including those from Sijilmāsā, [of having acted thus]. The People of Fez had informed [Sīdī Muḥammad] of this and incited him against [the shurafāʾ] and he had thereupon deprived the latter of their honoured status [lit. stripped the robes of honour from them]. All the People of Fez, on the other hand, were honoured and respected by Sīdī Muḥammad, and so remained quiet in the face of what befell the ashrāf - silent, approving, and acquiescent to [the policy of] the ʿāmil he had appointed over them. As a result, the shurafāʾ had formed a grudge against them.

Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ then went off to fight against his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, leaving in person on the first day of Jumādā II (16 Sept. 1738). He first descended on the Kaṭiya tribe, pillaging their silos (maṭāmīr), and they hastened to submit to him. He then left them and headed for Mazamm, where his brother, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh was, but found that the latter had already learned of his approach. Many of the latter's officers had deserted him due to his ill treatment of them, and he had killed a number of his own qāʾid-s, including Qāsim b. Raysūn, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (his ʿāmil in Fez), and ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Guʿaydī, so that only a few of his officers remained with him, and he thereupon fled to the Sūs. The Sarāghina refused to submit to Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ, so the latter defeated them and they handed over to him all their horses. He also pillaged the villages of the Damnāt, while the others submitted to him. The khuṭba was given in his name on the minbar-s of Marrakesh, and his commands and prohibitions were enforced in the entire region. The people respected his authority, as he consolidated his power, and he intended to reside in Marrakesh.

He then heard that the Berber tribes had conspired to engage in crime and brigandage, and thus had once again to put down their lawlessness. He returned to Meknes of 15 Shawwāl (26 Jan. 1739) and made a thorough hunt for the perpetrators of crime and brigandage, who were then all rounded up and sent to him. He had all those who fell into his hands put to death, executing in prison about 400 from the Ḥajāwa in a

single blow. He then proceeded to hunt down highway robbers just as his father (may God have mercy on him!) had done; a sense of application and pride was involved in this, so that none of the other kings of Morocco could compare with him. The presents from the tribes continued to arrive, and perpetrators of crime refrained from engaging in it openly, and he followed the path of peace until the end of this year, that is 1151/1739.

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1152/1739-1740

Main Events of the Year: God the Exalted sent rain, and the people, despite their weakness, began the ploughing little by little, using hoes, without draft animals, while those better off used donkeys. I heard of seven men who shared a yoke of donkeys and had thus reaped twenty-one wasq-s of wheat, as God the Exalted granted His creatures His favour that year, after a period of hardships.

In Rabī'[1] of this year (June-Aug. 1739), the Berbers launched raids and engaged in plunder against their neighbours; highway robbery appeared in the Sāyis, where the Berbers plundered a large caravan bearing much money. Although Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' was in Meknes, he nevertheless knew what was happening, and arrested a group of leaders of Fez who had engaged in crime during the reign of Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Ariba, causing great suffering to the shurafā'. [Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī'] had them jailed in Merinid Fez and imposed fines on them to be paid from the money which they had taken from the treasury.

He then forced some shurafā' of means and wealth to buy some property which the common people had been unable [to buy]. The former remained, nevertheless, still revered and respected. After [those arrested] had paid the aforementioned money, he ordered every last one of the twenty-two to be executed in the prison of New Fez.

1153/1740-1741

Main Events of the Year: The 'abīd of al-Raml reached the decision to depose Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' upon seeing his poor judgement, misconduct, unsuccessful policy, and inability to deal militarily with the Berbers. The people of influence (ahl al-ḥall wa-l-'aqd) agreed with them, he was deposed, and they sent their bay'a to Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh who was in the Sūs.[1] The shurafā', ṭalaba, the ḍu'afā' and the masākīn rejoiced at this, since they had suffered greatly during the reign of others. The latter thereupon hurriedly returned to the North and went immediately to Meknes, where he was welcomed by the People of Fez and by the tribes of Morocco, who then returned home happy. He did not reproach anyone for what they had done, and was clement and forgiving, as is natural to him.

The country settled down and the roads became secure once again, and God granted [the people] the necessary conditions. He sent rain, and the people hurried out to plough, plant, and breed animals; prices fell, and they obtained unprecedented returns. God renewed their life and freed them from want, and they prospered.

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1154/1741-1742

Main Events of the Year: News reached the Sultan that his 'āmil in Tangier, Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Rīfī, had declared his independence, whereupon [the former] dispatched his qā'id al-Gu'aydī al-Yazghī to the Ḥayāyina and other neighbouring tribes, to call some of them on a campaign, and to exact money from others. They killed him, however, whereupon the Sultan prepared an expedition composed of part of his army, including the 'abīd of al-Raml, to march against [the tribes] and exact vengeance, as well as to check [al-Rīfī] or to go

after him in Tangier. [The ʿabīd's] qā'id-s, however, deserted to the ruler of Tangier, and the order for the campaign was rescinded, while [the expeditionary force] turned back from its march against the Ḥayāyina, returning to Meknes and the Sultan. The ruler of Tangier was lavish in honouring the ʿabīd deserting to him, and the latter wrote to their companions in al-Raml and strove to induce them to break their oath to the Sultan and to return to the ruler of Tangier. They reached an agreement with [al-Rīfī] on salaries, since they were in great need, as a famine had just ended, during which little of their salary had been given to them, and indeed it had been totally stopped for years.

The [Arab] tribes neighbouring the ʿabīd of al-Raml, such as the Sufyān, Banī Mālik, and Banī Ḥasan, and the Berbers frequently plundered Mashraʿ al-Ramla, due to [the ʿabīd's] inability to repulse them, and the Sultan, who wanted to send them on a campaign, was afraid that [those who remained] after the others had marched off would be plundered. He therefore ordered them to transfer from al-Raml to quarters in Meknes, where they and their children could fortify themselves, pleasing the latter, who moved immediately to Meknes, leaving al-Raml deserted. When they appeared before the Sultan in Meknes, he permitted them to take up quarters inside the city, and they proceeded to evict all the inhabitants of Meknes from their own houses. They also seized the womenfolk, whose master would then be forced to ransom, with great difficulty, for a sum of money. They even raped many of [the women], and helped themselves to the crops and [very] lands of the orchards and fields, destroyed the mills of Meknes, and plundered their timber, melted the cannon down for coin and mortars for crushing rose petals, and did many other things [which would take] too long to discuss or even to list.

When the time for the summer harvest arrived, [the Sultan] permitted them to plunder the grain belonging to Meknes, as well as all the grain belonging to the neighbouring tribes that they could get their hands on. Those who had access to the Sultan then complained to him, but to no avail, and this

only served to increase [the ʿabīd's] insolence against the people. The latter fled with their families from Meknes and its neighbourhood in search of safety, scattering throughout the areas which the ʿabīd could not reach, with most of them coming to Fez. When the ʿabīd's mistreatment of the people had got out of hand and they had not come up against anyone to restrain them, the people of influence and the important men of state (ruʾasāʾ al-dawla) met and came to the decision to give the bayʿa to Mawlāy ʿAlī, known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, b. the Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, the Ḥasanī sharīf. He thereupon came to Meknes, and they recognized him on 28 Rabīʿ I (13 June 1741). They then wrote of this to the raʾīs of Fez, ʿAbd al-Khāliq ʿUdiyyil, who had been installed in that post by Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, and ordered him to send the present to Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. He was not able to do so, however, since the People of Fez did not allow it, out of fear for their grain.

Two days later, Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh's mother arrived in Merinid Fez from Meknes, accompanied by her fellow-tribesmen, the Maghāfira (who were encamped at Wādī Ḥabūqā, between Jabal Zarhūn and Meknes) and by her son Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's family and retinue, and was welcomed by the Ūdāya, the inhabitants of Merinid Fez. On 2 Rabīʿ II (17 June 1741), [ʿAbd Allāh]reached Dār al-Dabībigh[1] in al-Masarra, while the ʿabīd in Meknes gave the khuṭba in Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's name,[2] as did all coastal and mountain areas under the jurisdiction of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī.

Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn then dispatched a contingent of ʿabīd to Fez to call on the Ūdāya and others to submit to him and, upon hearing about them, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh left for Ṣafrū. They talked to the Ūdāya, who however turned them down, after which [the ʿabīd] returned to Meknes. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then returned to Dār al-Dabībigh, while the Ūdāya and the People of Fez committed one another by oath to remain loyal to him. A few days later, Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, accompanied by the ʿabīd, arrived and pitched camp at Ẓahr al-Zāwiya, by Wādī Fās. He urged the Ūdāya to recognize him, but

they again refused, and fighting broke out between the ʿabīd and the People of Fez over the crops in the Awṭā Masfar. Two days later, Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and the ʿabīd left Fez without having achieved anything, while Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh returned to Dār al-Dabībigh.

The Banī Maṭīr then suddenly attacked the Zammūr tribes, thus taking revenge against them, because upon the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (may God have mercy upon him!) the Zammūr had attacked the Āyt Yadrāsan, and this day they settled the score.[3] The Āyt Yadrāsan then fled towards Fez and Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, and the latter sent for them, treated them well, reconciled all concerned, fed them and granted robes of honour to their leaders, and was reconciled with them. The Zammūr thereupon went over to Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, asking him to fight on their side against the Banī Maṭīr. The Āyt Yadrāsan then struck at the village of Āzrū, in the governorate of the Zammūr, and destroyed it, after which Mawlāy Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn called upon the ʿabīd to move against the Āyt Yadrāsan, and they put 600 horsemen at his disposal. He then pitched camp by Wādī Karkara, where he remained for some time, waiting in vain for reinforcements from the ʿabīd. The Āyt Yadrāsan then initiated hostilities against him on the first day of Shaʿbān (12 Oct. 1741), and he was defeated, escaping only after a close brush with death, managing, however, to save his baggage and everything it contained, and retreated to Meknes.

Neither he nor the ʿabīd could cope with events any longer, and the latter, as much as they disliked doing so, had no choice but once again to recognize Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, on 15 Ramaḍān (24 Nov. 1741), when they gave him the bayʿa once again, after having deposed him for the fourth time. They appeared before him on the banks of Wādī Fās, and he at first scorned them and threatened them, but then he pardoned them, and they remained there for some time, after which he permitted them to leave.

[ʿAbd Allāh] then built his palace in Dār al-Dabībigh and transferred to it everything of value from his father's palace in Meknes. This offended the ʿabīd, who forbade him [to do

this] and threatened to revolt if he did not cease acting as he was, that is extricating himself from their control and putting himself out of reach of their vexations, but he paid them no heed.

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rīfī, the ʿāmil of Tangier and the Habṭ, then repeatedly sent word to the ʿabīd, assuring them that he would grant them what he had promised if they revolted against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and recognized Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' [instead]. On 27 Dhū al-Qaʿda (3 Feb. 1742),[4] they sent their bayʿa from Meknes to the latter in Marrakesh, where he was also given the bayʿa, and only Fez and its tribes remained in Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's hands. They (that is the Ūdāya, the People of Fez, the Arab Sharāga, Awlād Jāmiʿ, and Ḥayāyina, and the Berber Āyt Yadrāsan and Garwān) assembled around the latter after the ʿīd al-aḍḥā, and all took an oath to remain loyal to him. He had earlier given the Ūdāya sixty horses and one hundred mules, as well as four cannons to the People of Fez, and what happened to them will be related later, God the Exalted willing.

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1155/1742-1743

Main Events of the Year: On 15 Muḥarram of this year (22 Mar. 1742), Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' marched from Marrakesh to Meknes and ordered the ʿabīd to follow him on a campaign against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. The Awlād Ḥammād (of the Banī Mālik [confederation]) requested permission from Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh to mount a raid against the ʿabīd, which he granted. They thereupon struck the latter, plundering their sheep, cattle, and horses, and taking men, women, and children captive, and sold everything (even the men and women) in the markets of Fez and its surrounding area. They thus took their revenge for what the latter had done to them upon the death of the Sultan Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī (may God have mercy upon him!). After they had

suffered this, a great number [of ʿabīd] responded to Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī''s call for a campaign against Fez and Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, after having first killed a large number of their leaders who favoured [ʿAbd Allāh]. They descended at Wādī Sabū with Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' on 24 Rabīʿ I (29 May 1742) and fought a battle against the Two Cities,[1] in which the inhabitants of the latter were defeated, their dead and wounded remaining in the hands of the ʿabīd.

Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had gone off to seek the aid of the Berbers, who responded favourably, but in the meantime the ʿabīd and Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' burned down his palace, known as Dār al-Dabābigh, which he had built in al-Masarra. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then returned with the Āyt Yadrāsan and the Garwān, whereupon Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' and the ʿabīd fled by night from [the approaching] Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and the Berbers, leaving behind their tents and their baggage just as they were. When Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh saw [the tents], he imagined [the ʿabīd] still to be in them, not knowing that they had fled, and so attacked them. He found, however, only one sick man in the camp, who informed him of their flight during the night.

News then arrived of the ʿabīd's attack on the lands of the Sharāga and neighbouring areas, plundering crops and cattle, and that they had done likewise to the Ḥayāyina on their way back. The Sharāga, Awlād Jāmiʿ, and Ḥayāyina thereupon fled to Fez, leaving behind the grain, fully-ripe and in good condition. The ʿabīd then did the same in the country of the Wargha, up to Taza, where the khuṭba was [then] said in Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī''s name. The Berbers, however, left Fez and returned home disgruntled, since neither the People of Fez nor Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had given them any provisions. There were losses among the cattle belonging to the Arabs staying in Fez, and they complained to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, who thereupon dispatched the Awlād Ḥammad tribe of the Banī Mālik [confederation] to plunder the ʿabīd in Meknes and thus force [the others on campaign] to return home, and at the same time sent to the Berbers for help.

It was at this time that the noble sayyida, the virtuous

ḥājja, mother of Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, sayyida Khunātha (daughter of the virtuous sayyid, the noble raʾīs, shaykh Bakkār al-Maghfarī) died in the White City, New Fez, and was buried there in the cemetery of the shurafā', on 5 Jumādā I (8 Aug. 1742).[2]

When the ʿabīd in Meknes had been plundered by the Awlād Ḥammād, their [companions away on campaign] beat a hasty retreat [towards home], but found that an epidemic, which had appeared in Taza about two years earlier, had now also spread to Meknes and Fez, and so pitched camp outside Mashraʿ al-Ramla and did not enter their own quarters. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' on the other hand, pitched camp outside Meknes, but he also did not enter, as a precaution against the epidemic.

Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rīfī then began to prepare for a campaign against Fez. News of this reached Fez, and Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh dispatched waves of mounted Banī Mālik, Sufyān, Sharāga, and Ḥayāyina on the last day of Ramaḍān (28 Nov. 1742) to plunder the neighbouring tribes which were under the control of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rīfī. The ʿīd al-fiṭr (29 Nov. 1742) found the latter in al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, and he celebrated it while on this campaign; fate, however, spoiled the latter's design. He then mustered all the tribes under his authority, none of which refused, and headed for Fez. The Arab tribes of Sufyān, Banī Mālik, Sharāga, Awlād Jāmiʿ, and the Ḥayāyina fled before him to Fez, and pitched camp outside its walls, while al-Rīfī pitched his camp at al-ʿAssāl, on the banks of Wādī Sabū, on 22 Muḥarram 1156 (22 Mar. 1743), as will be related later, God willing.

In Shawwāl of this year [i.e., 1155] (29 Nov-27 Dec. 1742), there was a great deal of rain, the wādī-s overflowed, and Wādī Sabū carried off the livestock of the Banī Mālik and destroyed two arches of the Sabū bridge. The People of Fez wanted to repair it, but were unable to do so, and so only put palm logs across it;[3] at the time, it was the only means of crossing. It was to remain thus for quite some time (as Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh paid no attention to it and pretended to have forgotten), until his son, our Caliph, the Sultan, the

Commander of the Faithful, Sīdī Muḥammad b. Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, the Sijilmāsī sharīf, rebuilt it after [his father's death], as will be told in its proper place, God the Exalted willing.

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1156/1743-1744

Main Events of the Year: On 18 Muḥarram 1156 (14 Mar. 1743), the pāshā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī (the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī's ʿāmil in Tangier, Tetuan, Larache, al-Qaṣr, and of all the mountains of the Rīf, Ghumāra, and the Habṭ, as well as of the lands of the Wargha and the Ṣanhāja up to Taza, and some of the neighbouring Moroccan tribes, such as the Khulṭ, Ṭalīg, and others) proclaimed his independence. He then came and pitched camp at al-ʿAssāl, on the banks of the Sabū, below the bridge, intending to coerce the People of Fez and those Arab tribes of [the] Fez [area] allied to them, at the very moment that the Sultan Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh was among them, at Dār al-Dabībigh. [The People of Fez], however, agreed with the Arab tribes which had come to them not to renounce the bayʿa to Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh, the bayʿa by which they were still bound. Three days after the arrival of [al-Rīfī], the People of Fez, the Ūdāya, and their Arab allies went out to battle, but were defeated, and many Arabs were killed. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ bi-llāh, accompanied by the ʿabīd, then joined al-Rīfī, who had earlier given his daughter in marriage to him, and so had recognized the latter and had rebelled against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. Al-Rīfī's strength was increased by the arrival of Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and the ʿabīd, while the People of Fez despaired. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, however, went to Jabal Fazāz and sought the aid of the Berbers, of whom the Āyt Yadrāsan and the Garwān responded favourably; he led these back to aid him and to defend Fez.

On 22 Ṣafar (17 Apr. 1743), he engaged [the besieging

force] in a fierce hand-to-hand encounter and, by noon, God the Exalted had given the ascendancy to the Berbers over the pāshā's army and the ʿabīd, and the Berbers routed them. The pāshā of the ʿabīd, Fātiḥ b. Sālim al-Dukkālī, was taken prisoner, while the pāshā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī fled through the country of the Ṣanhāja towards the Rīf, and on to Tangier, while Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and the ʿabīd fled to Meknes, with the latter then retreating to Mashraʿ al-Ramla. The Berbers captured the pāshā-s camp containing great quantities of supplies, and looted it, leaving nothing behind, while the Arab tribes plundered the ʿabīd's camp. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, however, prohibited the Ūdāya, the Ahl Sūs, the People of Fez, and the Maghāfira from plundering, and put them on guard to repulse any counterattack [possibly planned by the ʿabīd], which was sound strategy.

The ʿabīd then abandoned Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and again submitted to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, while the former fled from Meknes, whose people also gave the bayʿa to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. A delegation of ʿabīd came to the latter in Fez, and he rebuked them and ordered them to go on an expedition against the pāshā in Tangier. When Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh saw . . .[1] he began to be gentle with people and to treat them kindly, and abandoned his earlier severity and harshness, remaining nevertheless like an awe-inspiring roaring lion. People were delighted by this, and the tribes came to him with their presents and their submission, as did the ʿabīd.

[Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh] then ordered the latter on a campaign to Tangier against Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, and they marched off. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī and Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ also marched out, and the two armies met at Wādī al-Makhāzin.[2] The ʿabīd were defeated and left their camp behind, in the hands of al-Rīfī's army, while they retreated to al-Raml. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ then advanced against them to the vicinity of Meknes, and asked them to return to his side, but they wavered, and could not agree among themselves. This occurred on the last day of Jumādā I (22 July 1743). Then Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh set out in person against al-Rīfī in Tangier, accompanied by the Ūdāya, the

People of Fez, and the aforementioned Arab tribes, while al-Rīfī again marched out from Tangier.[3] The two armies met near al-Qaṣr, at a place called al-Manza, on 14 Jumādā II (5 Aug. 1743), and al-Rīfī was struck down and decapitated, and his army was defeated. God granted victory and the throne [al-mulk, literally 'power'] to the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī, and opened [to him] al-Rīfī's coffers in [Tangier], which he then carted off. He granted amnesty to its inhabitants, however, and nothing of theirs was pillaged, and none of them was attacked or vexed in any way. He also granted amnesty to those of al-Rīfī's sons who remained there, and allowed their families and retinues to go wherever they wished, and appointed the ex-pāshā's brother, ʿAbd al-Karīm [as governor of the city]. The tribes belonging to the governorate (ʿamal) of the Rīf came to him to ask for pardon, which he granted to all, appointing a raʾīs over each individual tribe, instead of combining all of them under a single person, fearing that he would then rebel, as al-Rīfī had done. [The Sultan] then distributed cloth[4] to all those in the army who had been on the campaign with him, and they returned to Fez with him, happy and content (praise be to God!). The simple-minded, who did not recognize the execution of God's will in all that, did not however believe in [al-Rīfī's] downfall, due to their knowledge of the latter's power. Thus, when the Sultan sent the latter's head to Fez, and the inhabitants of the governorate (ʿamāla) had seen and recognized it, people from all over then came to view it also, and it was a memorable day, filled with joy and merriment.

Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then loaded all the stockpiles of money, the arms, powder, and clothes and other supplies on camels, and started back to Fez. Having received news that Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ had gathered the Banī Ḥasan tribes and the ʿabīd, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, with his possessions, baggage, and army, marched along the foot of the mountains, but Mawlānā al-Mustaḍīʾ ran into him, on the way, by chance, at a place near Ouezzan called Dār al-ʿAbbās, with a force many times the size of that of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. The latter then began to

arrange his ranks, and contacted the ʿabīd, some of whom joined him. When Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ realized this, he and the Banī Ḥasan and the others with him dispersed and Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and his army pursued them, killing many. The ʿabīd then returned to al-Raml, where they once again recognized Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, and came to him in Fez, without feeling any embarrassment through all this for their fickleness and their game of violating [their oath] and revolting after having first given the bayʿa.

Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ then took up residence with the Banī Ḥasan and sent word to Salé and Rabat, calling on the inhabitants to give him the bayʿa. The People of Salé agreed, but those of Rabat refused, and Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ fought against the latter for almost eight months. They remained, however, steadfast in their loyalty to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, and sent a call for his help. The latter thereupon marched to their aid in Rabīʿ II of 1157 (14 May-11 June 1744), and Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and the Banī Ḥasan were defeated, whereupon he fled to the Dukkāla,[5] and what happened then will be related under the following year, God willing.

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1157/1744-1745

Main Events of the Year: Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh marched to the aid of the People of Rabat, whom Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and the Banī Ḥasan were besieging, and descended into the heart of the Banī Ḥasan country, pillaging their possessions and raiding them, so that they fled before him, out of his reach into the mountains. The siege had bogged down, and those who were besieging Rabat with Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ deserted to their homes, whereupon [al-Mustaḍīʾ] fled from Rabat to the Dukkāla. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then stopped his advance towards Salé and Rabat, since there were no attackers left against whom to fight there; leaving that noon, he stopped at Qaṣabat Abū al-Aʿwān,

between the Shāwiya and the Dukkāla.

The People of Salé, however, remained in rebellion against him, and were steadfast in rejecting him. He left them unmolested, however, knowing that besieging a city is a protracted process which would distract him from dealing with the ra'īs responsible for everything, that is Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī', whom he now sought out. The latter had ended up among the Dukkāla, whom Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh now attacked, ordering their crops to be pillaged until they submitted to him. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' and his army, composed of Raḥāmina, repaired to Jabal Masfīwa, where they entrenched themselves. Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh besieged the latter and fought them, clashing with them approximately twenty-five times, after which they sought his pardon, which he granted, and they submitted to him.

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1158/1745-1746

Main Events of the Year: The Raḥāmina and the People of Jabal Masfīwa asked Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh to pardon them, and submitted to him after having been defeated. He pardoned them, appointed an 'āmil over them and departed, after having first made his son (the Victorious by God, our present Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, Sīdī Muḥammad b. the Commander of the Faithful Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh the Ḥasanī, Sijilmāsī, sharīf) wālī of Marrakesh and of all the neighbouring tribes, and vesting him with full power. The latter ordered taxes to be levied there, and then entered [the city], reassured its inhabitants about the consequences they feared after the army had defeated them, and took up residence there, as will be related later, God willing.

The Sarāghina tribe refused this, however, whereupon Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh dispatched the army, under the command of his son Mawlāy Aḥmad, against them;[1] he scattered them, and their

lands were 'mopped up' (?), while they fled in all directions. Those who fled to the area of Damnāt were pursued, and the army established itself [in the homelands of the Sarāghina], which remained deserted for months.[2] In the meantime, the Ūdāya had tired of the campaign, being short of supplies, and finally running out of them completely, they began to slip away from Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh's camp, and back to Fez.

The Sultan permitted the 'āmil of Fez, 'Abd al-Khāliq 'Udiyyil, to leave the camp and return to Fez due to an illness which had struck him there. He returned to Fez but remained alive only a short time, as he died there on 27 Dhū al-Qa'da of this year (21 Dec. 1745), and was buried in the zāwiya of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī. The Sultan then marched to Tadla, and returned to Meknes on the last day of Rabī'[3] [1159] (22 Apr. 1746).

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1159/1746-1747

Main Events of the Year: In Rabī' I of this year (24 Mar. -22 Apr. 1746), Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh entered Meknes, after returning from his campaign against the tribes of the Sūs. The élite (al-nās) went out to welcome him with presents, and among them were the People of the Rīf (the inhabitants of Tangier) and their qā'id 'Abd al-Karīm (the brother of the previously-mentioned pāshā Aḥmad, whose head had been cut off and impaled on Bāb al-Sharī'a in Fez), who brought all sorts of presents, and was accompanied by his nephews and his wives.

The Sultan had been informed that [the People of Tangier] had removed a large sum of money from a well in which the pāshā had deposited it before going out to battle the second time, and had divided it among themselves while the Sultan was away in the Sūs, from where he had just returned. When they met with him and he conversed with them and questioned them, some concealed this from him, while others admitted it. He

thereupon ordered all of them, numbering more than one hundred, to be stripped and imprisoned, but three [days] later ordered nine of them who had confessed to be released; these were ʿAbd al-Karīm (the ex-pāshā's brother), two of his sons, and four of his paternal cousins,[1] and ordered the rest, who had denied taking the money, to be put to death to the last man. He then sent his officials to bring back the money which had been pilfered.

On that same day, he also ordered the execution of 130 notables[2] of the Banī Ḥasan who had come to him with presents, and had submitted to him. That day, he thus executed a total of about 300. The Berbers, the People and Arabs of Idrisid Fez, and the other tribes were terrified by what the Sultan had done to the People of the Rīf and to the Banī Ḥasan and became alienated from him.

A dispute then occurred between the ʿabīd and the Berbers, since the latter had planted [crops] on the lands of the former during the Sultan's absence. Upon his return, the ʿabīd [who accompanied him] marched through [the Berbers'] crops and destroyed them; in retaliation, the Berbers stole about 500 of the Sultan's camels and engaged in highway robbery.

[The Sultan's] envoys, whom he had dispatched to Tangier, returned then, informing him that its inhabitants had closed the [city] gate in their faces; he thereupon ordered those of the People of Tangier whom he had earlier spared (that is ʿAbd al-Karīm, his nephews and paternal cousins, who had admitted to him having pilfered the money) to be put to death. The Sultan was then informed that ʿUdiyyil had embezzled some of the money which they had brought from Tangier to Fez and had deposited in the latter's house. [The Sultan] thereupon ordered the People of Fez and ʿUdiyyil's sons to bring him the money, whereupon he had it weighed and the one who undertook that for him claimed it was 32,000 mithqāl-s (old standard) short. [The Sultan] obliged them to take responsibility for the difference. As the Sultan could not ensure their appearance, one of their leaders offered to assume responsibility for it, and drew up a document against them testifying

to it as a due for which they were answerable.[3] He then gave 10,000 [mithqāl-s] from that money to the Ūdāya, the People of New Fez, which aroused the jealosy of the People of Fez against the latter, since the Ūdāya had been the first to desert from the [Sultan's] camp and, as a result, [the People of Fez] now went over to the side of the Berbers.

The People of Fez and the Berber and Arab tribes of the whole of Morocco then agreed amongst themselves to rebel against the Sultan and to set up another imām. It was God's grace to the weak (al-masākīn), who were unable to restrain them or to prevail upon them not to go through with what they had decided, that He made the crops prosper this year. The people quickly brought their harvest to Fez, and stored it there, fearing the outbreak of disorder. Thus, when the city was besieged, neither the price of wheat nor that of things eaten with bread rose, nor that of meat for that matter, since the Berbers continued to bring the latter.

The Berbers (the Zammūr, Āyt Yadrāsan, Garwān, and their allies the Āyt Umālū) then joined forces and initiated hostilities against Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, who was then by Wādī Bū Fakrān. He retreated before them to Meknes, while the Berbers sent news of this to Idrisid Fez, where those with no sense rejoiced, thinking that this was the end of the Sultan. 'And the final issue of all things is unto God.'[4] The Ūdāya and their allies, the Ahl Sūs, however, remained loyal to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and cut down all the Ḥayāyina who were trading in Fez, and on 3 Shaʿbān (21 Aug. 1746), the Berbers and the Banī Mālik assembled in Fez to fight the Ūdāya, who fortified themselves in Merinid Fez. The former then entered Dār al-Dabībigh and set fire to the circular huts, and pillaged its gates and all the cattle there, which they then sold in Fez. They later abandoned the siege against the Ūdāya, due to supply problems. Fighting, however, continued between the People of Fez and the Ūdāya, and the roads to Fez were cut, meat became scarce, and the Ūdāya cut off the water supply to the Qarawiyyīn Bank.

On 20 Shawwāl (5 Nov. 1746), Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh and his army

reached New Fez, but the People of Fez refused to recognize him. Instead, girding their swords, they marched through the streets of the city to intimidate anyone who might wish to recognize him and to submit again to him. The Sultan then ordered the Ūdāya to cease hostilities against the People of Fez and to abandon the blockade, and not to prevent anyone from entering or leaving, nor to plunder, and wrote to [the Ūdāya] warning them not to revolt, whereupon the latter themselves ceased adhering to him. A family (qawm) of shurafā' of Fez then decided to proclaim Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh in Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn after the Friday prayer to thus surprise the Common People (al-'āmma) whereupon all [the shurafā'] might proclaim him and perhaps no one would be able to prevent them from giving [the bay'a]. Someone, however, hoping to curry favour with [the Common People], informed the latter of this, some 300 of whom thereupon hurriedly armed themselves and entered the masjid while the imām was delivering the khuṭba. They intimidated those who had been prepared to do the above, and no one was able to make the intended proclamation. The shurafā' of Fez and all those of the oppressed Common People of like mind spoke out and contested this, but were subjected to rebuke and verbal abuse; [the shurafā'] spread news of this abroad, but were menaced, and it seems that some were subjected to exemplary punishment. The upper classes (al-nās) therefore refrained from [proclaiming Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh], and the siege by the Ūdāya continued.

On 12 Dhū al-Qa'da (26 Nov. 1746), the courier, announcing the approach of the Pilgrimage Caravan, arrived, and the People of Fez then discussed whether or not to send him on to the Sultan. The Andalusiyyīn said no, but the Lamṭiyyīn disagreed, and so sent him on, along with the Pilgrims' banner,[5] using the latter to intercede with the Sultan for them. Many 'abīd then entered the city unarmed, and the people rejoiced, hoping for an end to the siege. The Andalusiyyīn, however, were angry, since what had been undertaken had been without their approval, and so killed three 'abīd and attacked the Lamṭiyyīn in the New Qaṣaba and forced them out, and all

took up defensive positions. The streets were closed off and the markets shut down, as Sūq al-'Aṭṭārīn and the Qaysariyya[6] are on the border[7] [between these two sections of Fez], the Friday prayer in Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn was not performed, and then actual fighting broke out. This state of affairs continued for about thirteen days, and resulted in great hardship for the people. They then all agreed in [the mausoleum of] Mawlānā Idrīs that anyone favouring the recognition of Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh be put to death, and peace was made, as the Lamṭiyyīn withdrew their recognition of Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and ceased to mention him on their minbar-s.

On 27 [Dhū al-Qa'da] (11 Dec. 1746), the Pilgrimage Caravan itself reached Fez after great difficulties and the Ūdāya informed Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh of its arrival, whereupon he ordered that no one was to do it any harm. It had arrived with an escort of Arab tribes, whom the Ūdāya wanted to fight, but Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh forbade them. The [Arab] Banī Mālik, Sufyān, Awlād Jāmi', and Ḥayāyina, and the Berber Āyt Yadrāsan, Garwān, and Zammūr, and the People of Idrisid Fez then all concurred on al-Mustaḍī' as their Sultan; the latter then joined them to attack his brother, the Sultan Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh, in his palace, Dār al-Dabībigh. The latter ordered his gīsh - that is his father's maternal uncles the Ūdāya, his own maternal uncles the Maghāfira, and his son's maternal uncles the Sharāga and their allies, the Ahl Sūs living in Northern Morocco, and the 'abīd - to oppose them, and the two sides clashed in battle at Rās al-Sulūqiyya near al-Masarra. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' and those with him were totally defeated, and [the victors] killed them at will, pillaged their camp, and pursued them for many leagues. The People of Fez retreated to their own city, but no one pursued them, while Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī' fled to Arzila in the Gharb. It was by the grace of God that the battle occurred in the afternoon, so that night soon fell and the armies parted.

During those days, the Lamṭiyyīn again broke with the Andalusiyyīn, but the Sultan rebuffed the former and was angry with them, saying; 'Return to your brothers! Either you all

come [and submit] to me, or all rebel against me!' The Lamṭiyyīn then again took the same position as the Andalusiyyīn, after much soul-searching, and continued thus until the end of the year.[8]

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1160/1747

Main Events of the Year: On 15 Muḥarram 1160 (27 Jan. 1747),[1] some of the leaders of Fez looted some tailored qufṭān-s[2] belonging to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, which the latter had stored in Funduq al-Najjārīn in Fez, in the custody of his ʿāmil of Fez and other areas, ʿAbd al-Khāliq ʿUdiyyil, after having brought them from Tangier as part of al-Rīfī's treasure. The leader of the revolt in Fez, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ al-Līrīnī tried by every means to gain possession of them, but the ḍuʿafāʾ and the masākīn, the ashrāf, and the fuqahāʾ, as well as the wealthy, refused to have anything to do with that. The rebels, that is al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, Qāsim b. al-Ashhab, Maḥammad al-Ṣaffār,[3] and the troublemakers from among the musketeers who followed them, then assembled and decided to loot that, after roughhandling, beating, insulting, and imprisoning those who spoke out against it. They even attacked some of the latter's houses, terrorizing [the owners], who therefore kept silent. [They] then looted [the qufṭān-s] from the aforementioned funduq and divided them amongst all the musketeers, whether the latter were willing or unwilling, and did their utmost to undermine the government.

When they had rebelled against Mawlānā ʿAbd Allāh and recognized Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ and had ordered the khaṭīb-s to follow suit, the latter all gave the khuṭba on the minbar-s in his name and abandoned Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's name. Our shaykh, Sīdī al-Kabīr al-Sarghīnī, the present khaṭīb in Jāmiʿ al-Shurafāʾ, who was at that time both its khaṭīb and its imām, refused, however, and appointed a substitute in the

post of khaṭīb in order to avoid that. Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh then did everything possible to prevent anyone from entering Fez by guarding the gates, while the People of Fez declared their resolve to withstand the siege. This saddened the élite (al-nās), and the weak (al-masākīn) suffered severely. On the last day of Ramaḍān (5 Oct. 1747), the Sultan ordered the water which had been cut off from Qarawiyyīn Fez from the beginning of the siege to be released, having learned that the springs and wells had gone dry, that there was none in any of the mosques in the Qarawiyyīn Bank, and that this was causing great suffering to the weak. The latter rejoiced [at this decision] and saw salvation around the corner.[4]

On the last day of Shawwāl (3 Dec. 1747), the Ḥayāyina came to the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh with their presents, which he accepted and pardoned them, while they again submitted to him. He then sent the Ūdāya and the ʿabīd against the Arabs who remained in rebellion against him, that is the Banī Mālik and the Sufyān, and this will be related later, God willing.

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1161/1474-1748

Main Events of the Year: On the first day of Muḥarram (2 Jan. 1748), Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh dispatched the Ūdāya and their allies and the ʿabīd against the Banī Mālik and the Sufyān, who were in rebellion against him, and had gone over to Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ.[1] Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's army defeated them and almost annihilated them, but the latter then fortified themselves in Larache, where [the ʿabīd and the Ūdāya] besieged them and pressed them hard. [The besieged], however, bought off the Ūdāya with some money,[2] and the latter thereupon departed along with their allies, leaving only the ʿabīd to continue the siege against them. One night, [the besieged] attacked the ʿabīd's camp, but did not loot it and, the next

day, the ʿabīd gave up hope of conquering them and departed the following night. One detachment of ʿabīd, under the command of the pāshā Zaʿbūl, went by way of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr (that is Qaṣr Katāma)[3] and entered it in the morning without the inhabitants noticing it; the latter, indeed, had not thought to fortify themselves or been on guard against them, since they did not know that the ʿabīd were leaving Larache. The latter then pillaged every single market and house, and no one at all escaped them, as they committed indescribable outrages there, raping the [married] women and virgins. This occurred in Ṣafar of this year (1-29 Feb.).

The shaykh-s of the Banī Mālik and the Sufyān then came with the present to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh to submit to him, and asked for his pardon, which he granted on condition that their raʾīs, the pāshā al-Ḥabīb al-Ḥammādī al-Mālikī, and the qāʾid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maʿrūfī al-Sufyānī came to him as well. The two then appeared before him in Fez, bearing presents, on the last day of Rabīʿ I (30 Mar. 1748), and begged his pardon, which he granted, and reconfirmed them in their posts over the tribes, after which they returned home.

Meanwhile, the Berbers had also come to the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, and he pardoned them as well. Some of the latter, however, pillaged some of the Ūdāya's grain and then ran off to Jabal Kandar, whereupon the Sultan went after them on an expedition, and pitched camp at Wādī Bū Fakrān, near Meknes. He then fell ill, however, and returned to Meknes. News then came that Mawlāy al-Mustaḍīʾ was with the People of the Rīf, in Tangier, while the People of Fez continued to hold out against the siege.

On the last day of Ramaḍān (23 Sept. 1748), the Ūdāya set fire to Bāb al-Maḥrūq, which burned down by morning.[4] In Shawwāl (24 Sept.-22 Oct. 1748), [the People of Fez] submitted to Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, recognized him, and appeared before him in Meknes, asking his pardon. They were accompanied by the shurafāʾ and the ṭalaba, who interceded with him on their behalf; [the People of Fez] gave him a present, and he granted them his pardon, and honoured them, and they returned

to him again on the ʿīd al-aḍḥā (1 Dec. 1748). The capitulation of Idrisid Fez occurred despite the rabble (ahl al-ghawgha) and the base musketeers who have no sense of honour, after a twenty-seven-month-long siege. [The Sultan] then pardoned everyone; may God accept that as done for love of Him the day when each soul will find what good it did recorded, and may [God] reward him with good for what he did for all the weak poor people! This was in the tradition of his noble predecessors, may God preserve them and their rule over the Muslims until the day of Judgement! This year was filled with anarchy and confusion, an account of which would take too long and is outside the scope of [this work].

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1162/1748-1749

Main Events of the Year: The leader of the disorder, siege and revolt against the Sultan, the rebel al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ al-Līrīnī al-Andalusī died at night on the first day of Muḥarram of this year (22 Dec. 1748). It is said that death struck him unexpectedly, since he had not been ill, and it was also said that some of the People of Fez had attacked him secretly in his house and had strangled him, while others maintain that he was poisoned. God knows best!

On the morning of 13 Muḥarram (13 Jan. 1749), Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh arrived from Meknes, fleeing from the ʿabīd, after having learned that they had agreed amongst themselves to arrest him and not to let him get away alive. They had been certain that he would not escape them, since they had him encircled inside Meknes. News of this, however, had reached the Ūdāya, who selected more than sixty of their bravest horsemen and these went by night, on guard against the ʿabīd, and scaled [the wall] into the qaṣaba, reaching Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, whom they brought out. He then rode off with them into the night, and by daybreak, they were already on the outskirts

of Fez. This was indeed a deed of valorous men, and an exploit of the brave and the bold! The ʿabīd were stunned and gave up hope when they learned of this and were (unnerved?) by the [possible] consequences, and proclaimed their innocence of what was imputed to them and denied it (declaring that they neither had any knowledge of it nor had they betrayed him?). Then their breach with him came out into the open and they again tried to dethrone him, and offered power to his brother, Sīdī Muḥammad (called Ibn ʿArība), whom they had earlier deposed. The latter, however, refused, since his brother Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh had been generous to him when he had come to him from Sijilmāsa after he [i.e, Sīdi Muḥammad] had been deposed, and had given him his sister's inheritance, worth about 60,000 mithqāl-s.

[The ʿabīd] then made the same offer to Mawlāy ʿAlī in Sijilmāsa, but he too declined. They thereupon proclaimed the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh's son (our present Caliph), who was then [his father's] ʿāmil of Marrakesh and all the lands of the Sūs, over which he had been given full power. They sent a concubine to him to inform him of their action,[1] but he turned them down treating them with honour and, promising to reconcile them with his father, then set off for Fez. When he reached the country of the Shāwiya, the latter engaged him in battle, but he defeated them, refraining however, from massacring or plundering them, in an attempt to win them over [to his side]. They then again submitted to him and he returned to Marrakesh. The ʿabīd, during all this, continued to recognize [ʿAbd Allāh's] son, Sīdī Muḥammad, who however paid no attention to them. When they approached him, he would honour them, but would also write his father to excuse himself for treating them thus, [saying] that this was only out of fear that they would rebel and set up someone else. Throughout this time, he continued to send his father valuable presents and magnificent treasures, until the last day of Ṣafar of this year (18 Feb. 1749). He made gifts to the ʿabīd, but also made it clear to them that he did not want them to proclaim him, and that he would not go along with them

in rebelling against his father. The account of this will follow, God the Exalted willing.

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1163/1749-1750

Among this year's events was the appearance and spread of an epidemic in Morocco, and the number of deaths in Fez reached more than 300 in a single day during Rajab of this year (June 1750).

On the last day of Ṣafar (7 Feb. 1750), 3,000 ʿabīd stationed in Meknes went to Mawlānā the Victorious by God, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasanī, the Commander of the Faithful, our present Caliph (who was then his father's ʿāmil over Marrakesh and all the lands of the Sūs, vested with the government and tax-collecting), and requested him to proclaim himself. Their superiors had frequently pressed him to do so earlier and he had honoured them and given them gifts on many occasions, but had declined at the same time, and had excused himself to his father [saying] that he had treated them thus [only] out of fear that they would simply offer that to one of his paternal uncles, who would consent. [Sīdī Muḥammad] then made it clear to them that he would not accept, and that neither would he rebel against his father. On the last day of Jumādā I (7 May 1750), he seized them and took them along with his army to Meknes, which he entered on a Monday morning, and pitched camp at Sīdī Bū Zakrī. The following day, he visited the tomb of his grandfather, the Commander of the Faithful, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl al-Ḥasanī.

He then assembled the ʿulamāʾ of Meknes, and informed them that the ʿabīd wanted to rebel against his father and to give him the bayʿa [instead], but that he had refused. The ʿulamāʾ of Meknes agreed with him and told the ʿabīd that it was illegal to violate the bayʿa to his father or to revolt against him, whereupon the ʿabīd of al-Raml accepted [Sīdī

Muḥammad's] excuses and ordered the recognition of his father in Meknes. They also revealed to [Sīdī Muḥammad] their fear of his father, but he reassured them and promised to intercede with his father on their behalf. This was by God's assistance, guidance and divine favour to him! . . .[1] from a strait in which the devil did not get his way with him, and he crushed his enemy and the one who envies him; may God make his troops and his armies victorious!

[Sīdī Muḥammad] then came to Fez, met with his father, and presented him with all sorts of presents, as is customary for a monarch, but the latter ordered him to return immediately to his city of Marrakesh. He thereupon departed instantly, and the ʿabīd remained in fear and in a state of insubordination. They secretly intended to lay siege to Meknes, but were prevented from doing so by the outbreak of an epidemic which struck at this time. 'And the final issue of all things is unto God.'[2]

There was no rain this year, and the prayer for rain was repeated many times throughout the year, while the grain became parched. Sīdī Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī[3] (the imām and khaṭīb of Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn) led the prayer the first time; he was followed by our shaykh, Sīdī Muḥammad al-Kabīr al-Sarghīnī (the imām and khaṭīb of Masjid al-Shurafā'). They were followed by the faqīh, the ṣūfī, the blessed Mawlāy Ḥamdūn b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Jūṭī al-Ḥasanī (who used to substitute for the khaṭīb-s in all the masjid-s of Fez in the Friday prayer, khuṭba, and other functions), and by Sīdī Maḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī[4] (who was imām and khaṭīb in Jāmiʿ al-Andalus). They all performed the prayer at Bāb al-Futūḥ. No rain fell, however, and Sīdī Abū Madyan b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī thereupon again led the prayer. Then the leaders of the People of Fez could not agree amongst themselves on who should lead the prayer [next]; later, they agreed amongst themselves to have only Sīdī Abū Madyan. He continued [to lead the prayer], but the grain became parched by the end of the year [anyhow]. There is no power or might save in God the High, the Almighty! The God sent a great

downpour of rain and hail in April, after the midday prayer, lasting for two hours. The torrents multiplied and the rivers overflowed, uprooting trees and flooding the markets of Fez, and the water entered the shops. God, however, then granted His grace to His creatures, and the rain ceased. The stock, however, had already grazed upon the grain, since the people, seeing the drought, had allowed their cattle into the grain and it had been eaten up. Had it remained [in the fields,] it would not have been edible in any case, when it was [finally] reached by those rains. As it was, the price of wheat reached five mawzūna-s a nabawī ṣāʿ this year. There is no power or might save in God!

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1167/1753-1754

[On 5 Rabīʿ [I] (31 Dec. 1753), a great amount of snow fell in Fez, and continued to do so from after the dawn, into the night and the following morning, and even until noon the following day. It filled the rooftops, weighing them down, and it was feared that they would collapse, as it was piled on top of the houses to a height of a dhirāʿ. The people proceeded to throw it down into the streets with planks [used] for [threshing] wheat, but it disappeared from the streets only with great difficulty, as it completely covered the ground in the empty spaces. Then God the Exalted held it back, but later it fell several more times. The first snowfall was on the last day of the first third of December, and it snowed again on the last day of the following January. Its end was a favour granted by God the Exalted.][1]

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1168/1754-1755

[In Sha'bān of this year (13 May-10 June 1755), news came to Fez that a ship filled with Pilgrims had set sail from Alexandria (with those on board heading for the ports in the area of Tunis and from there they intended to go on to Morocco) [had sunk] and that most of those on board, of whom there were about 400 Moroccans - Fasis and others - had drowned; some, however, managed to save themselves on planks and barrels which had been used to carry drinking water. As for the ship, it sank with all the cargo and possessions.

Among those who went down with the ship were two shurafā' of the 'Irāqī branch of Fez.[1] This was a great tragedy! There is no power or might save in God! We ask of God well-being!][2]

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1169/1755-1756

[On the morning of Saturday, 26 Muḥarram (7 Oct. 1755), there occurred an earthquake[1] which caused the earth to heave mightily; first it heaved to the east, [then] to the west, and then it continued to tremble. A sound was heard from inside the earth, resembling that of a millstone rolling down the streets, and almost five minutes elapsed between the initial tremor and its abatement.

We heard it said that the water in cisterns had become so agitated that it had overflowed into houses, that springs had changed course, and that water in the wādī-s had stopped flowing. Some houses collapsed, but thanks to God's grace, only two or three people died in Fez. The [walls of] mud and of dried brick collapsed, and most of the houses came crashing down, while the walls and roofs cracked and were damaged. People, indeed, proceeded to destroy what had been damaged, fearing it would collapse on them [if they did not].

They were terrified and fled from the shops, leaving behind their goods without bothering to lock up. The schools, ateliers, and markets closed down, but God the Exalted granted His creatures His grace and pardon.

News then came from Salé that the sea had receded to a great distance and that the people had gone out to see this when, suddenly, it had turned towards the shore [again] and had overflowed to a distance of about a masāfa[2] past the shoreline, and all who were outside the city had been drowned; the number of those who lost their lives thus was considerable: [The earthquake] also surprised a caravan which happened to be going to Marrakesh, composed of a large number of men and animals, all of whom perished. It also carried off all the skiffs and boats it found along the coast; one boat was even found over a masāfa [inland] from the sea. Power belongs to God! News then also came that a small mountain near Sīdī Abū Shitā', in the Wargha region, had split into three sections, one of which chanced to hit a house, killing its occupants.

People remained afraid, and it is reported that there were successive [tremors], but these were not noticed by everyone. About twenty-six days went by, and another very strong earthquake occurred, after the 'ashā' prayer; it was much more violent than the first one, but it did not last long and subsided quickly. Houses in Fez collapsed and [people] became even more frightened.

News came that most of the houses and palaces in Meknes had been destroyed,[3] while the minaret of its main masjid had been razed to the ground, as were many of the masjid-s, including that of the Sultan's qaṣaba. Many people died in the ruins of Meknes - those counted totalled 10,000, and God alone knows the number of those not counted. There was great destruction, and the survivors fled to the open spaces and set up tents, while those who were unable to do so, sheltered themselves with nothing more than rough garments. Had the ḥākim not prohibited them from leaving by an order from the qāḍī (the faqīh Abū al-Qāsim b. Sa'īd al-'Umayrī), it would have been evacuated and become deserted. After some time had passed,

and some of that had been forgotten, the people's terror was dissipated and they returned and began to carry away the debris from the houses and to search for their possessions. Some people gained by this, while others lost. They then set about rebuilding, while the Sultan Mawlānā the Victorious by God repaired the central masjid and rebuilt its minaret as before, or better.

The People of Fez were terrified when news of this reached them, and they too repaired to the open spaces and to the masjid-s for some time, fearing a recurrence [of the earthquake]. Later, however, they calmed down. It was by God's grace to Fez that not many of its houses were [completely] destroyed and that only a few [people] died, although the walls of many houses were damaged.

News then also came of great destruction of some of the Christians' cities. Praise be to God for their destruction and for His favour, mercy, and kindness to the Muslims! Had God not shown us His favour, we would all have perished. We beseech Him, the Exalted, to grant us always His bounty and mercy!][4]

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

N.B. The tables of concordance used throughout are those of H-G. Cattenoz, Tables de concordance des ères chrétienne et hégirienne (2nd edition, Rabat, 1954).

1076/1665-6

[1] Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayānī, Al-Turjumān al-Mu'rib 'an duwal al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812, ed. and tr. Octave V. Houdas (Amsterdam, 1969), p. 16 of the translation, places this and the following events in Ṣafar 1077 (Aug. 1666). Al-Zayānī's dates often vary by months or even years from those in the Nashr; al-Qādirī's chronology seems on the whole preferable to al-Zayānī's, as the former usually gives the day, month, and year, while the latter usually supplies only the year, and writes, moreover, quite a bit later than al-Qādirī. 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī al-ta'rīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad (lithographed Fez, 1351/1932) adds that Rashīd was also hit by a stone in the chest, and that this all occurred outside Bāb al-Futūḥ (p. 42; note that the pages in the first part of this book are numbered 1-8 only, and this series is repeated until p. 158, when the normal numbering system begins).

[2] Turjumān also gives the form اعراض 'Aaradh' as one of two variants (p. 8 text, p. 16 translation).

[3] Arabic Fās al-Jadīd, that is, the administrative city founded in 674/1276 by the Merinid Sultan Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, as opposed to 'Old' Fez (Fās al-Bālī, al-Qadīm, al-'Atīq) founded by Idrīs in the eighth century A.D. Other antithetical epithets for the two cities found in this text are 'Idrisid' (al-Idrīsiyya) and 'Merinid' (al-Marīniyya), an allusion to the dynasties which founded them, and the 'Lower' (al-Suflā) and the 'Upper' (al-'Ulyā), denoting the relative position in altitude of Old and New Fez respectively. In addition, one also finds 'the White City' (al-Madīna al-Bayḍā') for New Fez, due to the colour of most of its buildings when seen from a distance, as well as 'Fez of the Qarawiyyīn' (Fās al-Qarawiyyīn) for Old Fez, the epithet referring to the famous mosque found in the latter. In texts of this period, a simple Fās, unqualified by any epithet, always refers only to the old city.

[4] Originally, this term referred only to the Jewish quarter of Fez, so-called because it was built on a site known as al-Mallāḥ ('the salt spring' or 'salt marsh'), but was later applied to the Jewish quarter in other Moroccan cities as well. See Georges S. Colin, article 'Mellāḥ', EI[1], III, 459-60.

[5] According to the History (Tārīkh) of 'Abd al-Karīm b.

Mūsā al-Rīfī (in Muḥammad al-Manūnī's private library, Rabat), al-Duraydī ran off to Ghaylān, and stayed with him until the latter was defeated; it was only then (i.e. 1079) that al-Duraydī was captured and executed (p. 17).

[6] This usually refers to the left, or west, bank of Fez, on which the Qarawiyyīn mosque is located, although this term is sometimes found to refer to Old Fez in general, as opposed to New Fez.

[7] This fort, also known as Burj Nūr (or Nord in French), was built by the Sa'dī Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 990/1582-3, and stands on a hill to the north of the city. The gate known as Bāb al-Gīsa was named after 'Ajīsa, one of the sons of the Berber amīr Dūnās, who ruled the west bank of Fez after the fall of the Idrisid dynasty. The jīm is sometimes pronounced as a hard g in the Moroccan colloquial.

[8] For one of the most complete studies on this figure see A. Péretié, 'Le Raïs el-Khadir Ghaïlan', AM, XVIII (1912), 1-82. One of the contemporary sources I have consulted seems to have been favourable to Ghaylān, calling him the 'blessed mujāhid' (al-mujāhid al-baraka). Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Za'rī, Commonplace Book (Kunnāsha) (in MS collection K1574, pp. 359-98, Rabat General Library), p. 362.

[9] Blank in text; word supplied in other manuscripts.

[10] (pl. maṣārī). Room on an upper story of a house, having a separate entrance from the rest of the house. See L[eopoldo] T[orres] B[albás], 'Algunos aspectos de la casa hispano-musulmana: almacerìas, algorfes y saledizos', Al-Andalus, XV (1950), 179-185, and Fès, p. 499.

[11] Ed. Michaux-Bellaire, translating the first part of the Nashr, AM, XXIV (1917), errs in rendering this sentence by: 'Il y a une semaine que je combine ce souper, et vous ne sortirez de cette maison que le jour où vous passerez par la terrasse' (p. 179). It is true that the lithograph, from which the translation was made, gives the erroneous رفاف instead of زفاف.

[12] Note that the Semitic morning follows the night, as the day is considered to begin at sunset.

1077/1666-7

[1] Perhaps this date should be the last day of Rabī' II (18 Oct. 1666).

[2] Note the آيت (āyt), the Berber equivalent of the Arabic بنو or اولاد in tribal names. Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī, Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, vol. VII (Casablanca, 1952), gives the date as Rabī' II (1-29 Oct. 1686), p. 47. The part dealing with the 'Alawī dynasty has been translated by E. Fumey, AM, IX (1906) and X (1907). Turjumān places this event in 1078/1667, p. 18 of the translation.

[3] Sīdī Maḥammad al-Ḥājj was the head of the Shadhilite zāwiya founded in the mid-sixteenth century by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dilā'ī, which had eventually come to form the nucleus of a temporal kingdom, as well as playing a role as a religious and cultural centre. See Muḥammad al-Ḥajjī, Al-Zāwiya al-Dilā'iyya wa-dawruhā al-dīnī wa-l-'ilmī wa-l-siyāsī (Rabat, 1964). On the North African variants of the name Muḥammad, see Fernando de la Granja, 'A propósito del nombre Muhammad y sus variantes en Occidente', Al-Andalus, XXXIII (1968), 231-40.

[4] Turjumān has 'Bab Meroura', tr. p. 18.

[5] This city, as in this text, is frequently called Miknāsat al-Zaytūn - that is Miknāsa of the olive trees - to distinguish it from the town of Miknāsat Tāza further east.

1078/1667-8

[1] Sic, no day given.

[2] Turjumān says that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī was made governor, and places the event in 1079/1668-9 (tr. p. 19).

[3] Houdas, the editor of Turjumān, gives the incorrect equivalent date of 19 July 1668 (tr. p. 20); the AM translation of the Nashr is also in error in giving 5 June 1668 as the equivalent date, and does so on numerous occasions. Istiqṣā gives the date as 12 Dhū al-Qa'da 1078 (24 Apr. 1668), p. 48.

[4] This term originally meant a hermitage, but in Morocco it later acquired the meaning of a shrine built around a holy man, serving as a religious, and sometimes as an intellectual and political, centre. These units could either be part of widespread religious brotherhoods or restricted to a local role. See E. Lévi-Provençal, article 'Zāwiya', EI[1], IV, 1220.

[5] Turjumān places this event in 1079/1668-9, tr. p. 19.

1079/1668-9

[1] Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd al-Yūsī (1040/1630-3 - 1102/1691) was one of the greatest Moroccan scholars of his age. He was closely connected with the Dilā'ī zāwiya until its destruction by Mawlāy Rashīd, whereupon he moved to Fez; after his death he was venerated as a saint. E. Lévi-Provençal, Chorfa, pp. 269-72. The extract quoted here is from al-Yūsī's Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt (lithographed, Fez, 1317/1899), pp. 86-7.

[2] Blank in text; the other manuscripts provide this.

[3] I have not been able to find this particular ḥadīth in the collections of the sound ones. The reference here seems to be, rather, to a verse from the Qur'ān, either VIII, 65 يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ حَسْبُكَ ٱللَّهُ, or IX, 130 . . . فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ حَسْبِيَ ٱللَّهُ لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ . . . ,

or XXXIX, 39 قُلْ حَسْبِيَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ يَتَوَكَّلُ ٱلْمُتَوَكِّلُونَ.

[4] That is, the words of al-Yūsī.

[5] This term is defined by G.S. Colin as 'beneficent force, of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order.' See article 'Baraka', EI^2, I, 1032.

[6] Literally 'region', this term has come to be associated specifically with the region around Marrakesh, though in the past the region east of Fez was also known by this name.

[7] This is 'Alī, chief of the Shabānāt, who controlled Marrakesh prior to their defeat by Rashīd.

[8] Royal 959 has a marginal note by the noted historian Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayānī: 'Krūm al-Ḥājj died strangled before Rashīd's entry into Marrakesh. His son Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḥājj succeeded him and it was he whom Rashīd took prisoner, along with a group of his followers. Bilqāsim b. Aḥmad al-Zayānī wrote this.'

[9] This name is synonymous with Sijilmāsa; we find, for example, in Muḥammad al-Zakī al-'Alawī's Al-Maṭālī' al-zahrā' li-jāmi' al-asmā' bi-Banī al-Zahrā' (MS. D5063, Rabat General Library), 'Sijilmāsa is called Tāfilālt in Berber' (p. 116). As was the case with many place names, several orthographies coexisted in contemporary texts.

[10] This name is found in this and other texts as both Abū 'Inān and al-Bu'inānī, and both refer to the same individual.

[11] Bodley Q copyist's marginal note: 'In Jumādā I of this year (7 Oct.-5 Nov. 1668), he [i.e. the Sultan] left on a campaign against the Banī Yaznāsan, and returned [the same month]. On Thursday, 4 Sha'bān of this year (7 Jan. 1669), he left on a campaign against Marrakesh, from which he returned in Ramaḍān (2 Feb.-3 Mar. 1669).'

[12] The AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date 11 Dec. 1668. 'Abd al-Salām b. Maḥammad al-Khayyāṭ al-Qādirī, Historical Notes (Taqāyīd tārīkhiyya), MS. 248, RPLR, gives the date as 29 Jumādā II (4 Dec. 1668), p. 12.

[13] That is, the qubba of Sīdī 'Alī b. Ḥarāzim (or Ḥarzam, or Ḥarzaham), a twelfth century scholar, originally from the east, who taught in the Qarawiyyīn. His real tomb is, however, some five miles distant from this location. See Boris Maslow, Les mosquées de Fès et du Nord du Maroc (Paris, 1937), p. 177.

[14] The motto introduced by Rashīd was quite similar to the inscription on Almohad coins: 'God is our Lord, Muḥammad is our Prophet, and the Mahdī is our imām'; see Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥākim, Al-Dawḥa al-mushtabika fī ḍawābiṭ dār al-sikka, ed. Ḥusayn Mu'nis (Madrid, 1960), p. 51.

[15] This bridge is located about three miles due east of Fez.

1080/1669-70

[1] Sic, no month given.

[2] This bridge spanning the Wādī Bū Kharārib, which divides the city of Fez into two unequal parts, is also known as the Bridge of Sīdī al-'Awwād.

1081/1670-1

[1] In Morocco, this term is used for the descendants of saints or religious families who are not of sharifian origin (see Gaillard, p. 79).

[2] This was the son of Sīdī 'Alī Ū Mūsā, known as Bū Ḥassūn al-Samlālī. The latter founded a zāwiya at Ilīgh, in the Sūs, during the Sa'dī era, which was eventually to become the capital of an independent state.

[3] That is, the sixth/twelfth century self-proclaimed mahdī, Berber religious reformer, and spiritual leader of the Almohad (Muwaḥḥid) movement.

[4] Al-Khayyāṭ gives date as 8 Ṣafar (27 June 1670), p. 12.

[5] Also known as the Ashtūka of Shtūka; in French texts it usually appears as Chtouka. This is a Berber confederation of the Sūs, located on the right bank of Wādī Umm al-Rabī'.

[6] Al-Khayyāṭ gives the date as 15 Ṣafar (4 July 1670), p.12.

[7] i.e. Mawlāy Ismā'īl.

[8] The 'New Tower' refers to the fortress also known as Bastiyūn Bāb al-Futūḥ, and now called Burj Sud, which stands on a hill south of Fez. It was built by Christian captives during the reign of the Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, in 990/1582-3. See Gaillard, pp. 73-4. Bodley Q has a marginal note by the copyist: 'On 7 Rabī' I of this year (25 July 1670), the ruler (ṣāḥib) of Agadir, Aghlīl, arrived, bearing a fine present.'

[9] That is, 'of Seville'; however, I have not been able to ascertain the connection of the epithet with this coin. Square coins had been used in Morocco for the first time by the Almohads, Dawḥa, p. 51, and had been reintroduced in 1067 or 1068/1657, Nashr, litho., I, 218-19.

[10] This is also known as the Rashīdiyya madrasa, after its founder.

[11] The qaṣaba in question here is the one which was at first known as Qaṣabat Sharāga, then Qaṣabat Ūdāya, and finally Qaṣabat Sharārda, after the tribes which inhabited it at different periods. It is also known as Qaṣabat al-Khamīs, after the village and market of that name in the vicinity. See Gaillard, p. 76, Fès, p. 105.

[12] Moroccan saint (b. mid-eleventh century A.D.), buried in Ṭaghiya, South of Meknes.

[13] AM translation gives the erroneous equivalent date

10 Jan. 1671.

1082/1671-2

[1] Located north-east of Taza, in the Moulouya Valley.

[2] Al-Khayyāṭ gives the date as 23 Jumādā I (27 Sept. 1671), p. 13.

[3] That is, Aḥmad b. Muḥraz. European scholars have vocalized this name in various ways. In ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Khayyāṭ al-Qādirī's Al-Tuḥfa al-Qādiriyya fī al-taʿrīf bi-shurafāʾ ahl Wazzān (MS. K2321, RGL), it is vocalized as مُحرز (II, 155), while in his Notes, مُحرَّز is given (p. 14).

[4] Located about ten miles from Salé, it was founded by the Almohads.

1083/1672-3

[1] Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Mashrafī, Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya fī dhikr mulūk al-dawla al-ʿAlawiyya (MS. D1463, RGL) gives the date as 16 Dhū al-Ḥijja (4 Apr. 1673).

[2] Chénier gives the date as 'Spring 1673', III, 365.

[3] Al-Khayyāṭ notes that Aḥmad b. Muḥraz fled to Sijilmāsa, p. 14.

[4] Literally 'garden', but with the meaning of 'private cemetery' or 'mausoleum' in North Africa; see Fès, pp. 134-5, 483.

[5] Idrīs b. al-Mahdī al-Mashshāṭ, in his Commonplace Book (Kunnāsha) (MS. K3246, RGL), is the only source to give a different date: the last day of Rabīʿ II (24 Aug. 1672).

[6] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date 12 Nov. 1671.

[7] AM translation gives incorrect equivalent date 14 Nov. 1671.

[8] This is the family which ruled Tetuan throughout most of the seventeenth century. Germain Mouëtte, appendix to Description du Maroc (in SIHM^2, France, II (Paris, 1925), pp. 158-99 plus appendix), notes that this family, whom he calls 'Anacaciz', was related to Ghaylān, and that after the latter's death they took refuge in Ceuta under Spanish protection, p. 200.

[9] And not 'archers' as this term is frequently, and incorrectly, translated. In effect, by this time they were armed exclusively with firearms.

[10] Village five miles north-west of Ouezzan; it contains the tomb of Rabbi ʿAmrān b. Dīwān, and was formerly a popular pilgrimage site for Jews; see Fès, pp. 581-2.

[11] This is Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī

(1033/1624-1109/1698), author of Al-Ilmāʿ bi-baʿḍ man lam yudhkar fī mumtiʿ al-asmāʿ. See Chorfa, pp. 273-5.

[12] This is Aḥmad b. Maḥammad Maʿn (d. 1120/1708), mystic and head of a zāwiya in al-Mukhfiyya quarter of Fez.

[13] Literally, 'the matter was settled'.

[14] Literally, 'except by the length of his life'. This is related to the expression أطال الله عمره, 'may God grant him a long life'.

[15] Copyist's marginal note: 'He says: "When he (that is Mawlāy Ismāʿīl) neared Fez, Mawlānā Ismāʿīl announced to the people that he intended to pardon them and to bring them peace, and that he would not punish anyone for what he had done." He also says: "He left the city (that is it was Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh who left Fez) to go to his disciples in ʿUmra, to save himself from the revolt engaged in by the people of Fez. When Mawlānā Ismāʿīl reached Fez, Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh met him and informed him of his departure from Fez [during the siege]. As a result, he honoured his presence, and revered him and his followers. God knows best."'

1084/1673-4

[1] Istiqṣā gives the date as 20 Jumādā I (2 Sept. 1673), p. 62. AM translation gives incorrect equivalent date 2 Oct. 1673.

[2] AM translation gives incorrect equivalent date 9 or 12 Oct. 1673.

[3] Located at the source of Wādī Fās, some 7.5 miles west of Fez.

[4] R.P.A. Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes (Leiden 1927) defines علل [الجيش] as 'pourvoir aux besoins de quelqu'un', II, 158.

[5] Istiqṣā gives the date as 17 Rajab (28 Oct. 1673), p. 62. Al-Khayyāṭ gives the date as 18 Rajab, p. 15.

[6] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date of 24 Sept. 1672 (sic).

[7] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date of 19 Dec. 1673.

1085/1674-5

[1] That is, the Market of the Spice-Vendors, located along the main street of Fez, the Ṭāliʿa. See Fès, p. 373.

[2] Copyist's marginal note: 'There was gunpowder in one of the shops, and its owner was smoking. A spark from the tobacco flew from the pipe (dawāt) which was in his mouth, onto the powder, causing a great explosion in the shop. God knows best.'

[3] That is, the fall of Granada to the Christian armies in 1492.

[4] Copyist's marginal note: 'This Sīdī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was an Idrīsī sharīf who is buried in Tlemcen, and whose genealogy extends back to Mawlāy ʿAbd . . . (a) (who is buried on the Ayt ʿAttāb lands), the son of Mawlāy Idrīs, the founder of Fez . . .(a) al-Tādilī in Al-Tashawwuf (b). He had a son named ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, an ʿadl (c) in Fez, whom Sīdī Muḥammad (called Ben ʿArība) had had decapitated during his reign over Morocco, and had hung his head on Bāb al-Futūḥ.'
(a) Blank in text. (b) Al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf, by Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿĪsā b. al-Tādilī al-Zayyāt (d. 627 or 628/1229-31), ed. A. Faure (Rabat, 1958). (c) This is a synonym for the term shāhid, or 'official witness', a post equivalent in many of its functions to that of a notary public (pl. ʿudūl).

[5] This office is that of administrator of estates to which the treasury is heir, in the absence of male agnative heirs, according to Mālikī law. Dozy calls this official ṣāḥib al-mawārīth (صاحب المواريث), II, 794. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaydān, in the glossary of his Al-ʿIzz wa-l-ṣawla fī maʿālim nuẓum al-dawla, vol. I (Rabat, 1381/1961), gives this official as abū al-mawārīth (ابو المواريث) p. 394. The plural waratha is sometimes also used in the Nashr.

[6] Or ḥurm; that is, the sacred zone surrounding the tomb of a saint, where asylum may be sought, sometimes extending beyond the limits of the mausoleum itself into the surrounding streets, as in the case of the ḥaram of Mawlāy Idrīs in Fez. The status of ḥaram may be granted either by royal decree or, as with that of Mawlāy Idrīs, by tradition. See Fès, pp. 600-4.

[7] Muslim saint who studied in Fez in his youth. He died in A.D. 1198 on his way back to Morocco, and was buried in a hamlet near Tlemcen, which now bears his name.

1086/1675-6

[1] Istiqṣā places this battle a year earlier, in 1085/1674-5 (p. 52).

1087/1676-7

[1] Note the equal degree of legitimacy, in al-Qādirī's view, of the two contenders, both of whom he calls 'imām', with the sense of 'Caliph'.

[2] An account appears in al-Khayyāṭ, p. 15.

1088/1677-8

[1] This is probably an elliptical phrase, but I have not been able to ascertain to what it refers.

[2] (sing. makhzanī). Dozy, I, 370, defines this as 'Cavalier qui est payé par le مخزن, c-à-d. par le trésor publique, car les soldats des tribus ne reçoivent pas de solde, . . . cavalier . . . employé, serviteur du palais; toutes les personnes attachées au service du souverain portent ce nom à Maroc.' Dozy does not give the plural found in the text.

[3] That is, the ex-Dilā'ī zāwiya.

[4] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāwī (d. 1014/1605) was a Fasi saint, and is buried in al-Siyāj quarter. See Chorfa, p. 278.

[5] Muḥammad al-Kardūdī, Al-Durr al-munaḍḍad al-fākhir fī man li-awlād Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf min al-maḥāsin wa-l-mafākhir, MS. D1584, RGL, says that 400 Fasis fell in this battle (fol. 162). A marginal note on the same page says that other sources give different figures for the other side's losses: 3,000 according to the Nashr, 300 according to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad al-Puʿayyif in his History (Tārīkh) (MS. D660, RGL). This would imply that the present Nashr text is corrupt, and that the casualty figures apply to the Fasis rather than to the Berbers, which is supported by the fact that rumāt in the texts of the period refer to rumāt of Fez exclusively as far as I know.

[6] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date 7 Dec. 1674.

[7] (1042/1632-1133/1721), see Chorfa, p. 288, n. 1. This name, of Andalusian origin, carries various vocalizations in Arabic texts, not to speak of forms used by European scholars. The version 'ben Della', for example, given by Houdas, ed. Turjumān (tr. p. 27), is an error. One of the Arabic sources gives it as 'a ḍamma over the bā and the dāl, a sukūn over the rā, and a shadda over the lām' (thus 'Burdulla' or 'Burdullo'); see ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. Hāshim al-Kattānī, Zahrat al-ās fī buyūtāt Fās (MS. K1281, RGL), p. 168. In Al-Maṭālīʿ, we find بردلّة (p. 167). Dr. J.D. Latham suggests 'Burdallo', probably the diminutive of the Spanish 'Pardo' ('brown, dusky'), giving 'Pardello' or 'Pardillo', or of 'Burdo' ('russet') giving 'Burdillo'; this is on the same pattern as the name 'Negrello' (نغرالّه). Indeed, names of Spanish origin ending in 'o' are frequently written with a final 'ه' or 'ة' in Arabic, and بردلة sometimes does appear in texts as بردله.

[8] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date 12 Dec. 1677.

[9] This is the last and largest of the Merinid madrasa-s in Fez, and was built in 752/1351-2. It is also known as the Buʿināniyya, after its builder, the Sultan Abū ʿInān Fāris al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh.

[10] (d. 1141/1729); on this personage see Mohammed Lakhdar, La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿAlawide (1075-1311 = 1664-1894) (Rabat, 1971), pp. 166-8.

[11] (d. 1103/1691-2).

[12] That is, al-ʿĪd al-kabīr, celebrated on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijja.

[13] Rather than 'plague', as one might be tempted to translate وباء or طاعون. Although this translation might well be correct in certain instances, it is impossible to know the exact nature of the disease related in past chronicles, as pointed out by Dr. H.P.J. Renaud, 'Recherches historiques sur les épidémies du Maroc (IV). Les pestes du milieu du XVIIIe siècle', Hespéris (1934), pp. 316-17. A potentially false exactness has been avoided here by using the more general term 'epidemic' instead of 'plague'.

[14] Louis Brunot, Textes arabes de Rabat, vol. II, Glossaire (Paris, 1952), defines this as 'la grippe' (p. 323); Marcelin Beaussier, Dictionnaire pratique Arabe-Français (Algiers, 1871), defines it as 'pleurisie' (p. 419).

[15] Beaussier gives the meaning of 'palme, branche de palmier' (p. 83), and by extension also 'pays de dattes', as is the Tunisian region of that name.

1089/1678-9

[1] That is, the black slave army organized by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, which was to play such an important role in Moroccan history in the eighteenth century. They were also known as ʿabīd Sīdī al-Bukhārī or al-Bawākhir, due to the copy of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ upon which their officers swore allegiance, and which they carried with them on all their campaigns, 'as the ark of the Sons of Israel', according to Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya (p. 119).

[2] For a study of this Merinid madrasa, see Henri Terrasse, 'La médersa mérinide de Fès Jdid', Al-Andalus (1962), pp. 246-53.

[3] Turjumān places this epidemic in 1090/1679 (tr. p. 34).

[4] Al-ʿIzz (Glossary, v. I), defines افراك as: 'a large tent set up for the king and his family during his travels and campaigns, around which the tents of the ministers, secretaries, generals, the army, and their offices are set up . . . it is of Arabic origin (فراق), but of Berber form' (p. 399). Also see the article 'Afrāg', EI^2, I, 236, which notes its derivation from the Berber for 'enclosure'.

[5] The copyist has left out the number here, but it is supplied in the other manuscripts.

[6] The courtyard of the Qarawiyyīn had already been tiled during the reign of Mawlāy Rashīd, Maqṣad, p. 127.

[7] Scholar and saintly man (1007/1599-1091/1680), head of the above-mentioned zāwiya in Fez. See Chorfa, pp. 264-5.

[8] That is, the lavatory of the mosque.

[9] (sing. also ṣaqallabiyya, pl. ṣaqālib). This word is not found in any dictionary, but does appear in Chorfa (p. 83, n. 2), where it is noted that Ibn ʿAskar, in his Dawḥat

al-nāshir, uses the form سقلابية, which is related to the Algerian شقلابية found in Beaussier (p. 341), with the meaning of 'petite chambre où l'on met des provisions'. The author of the Chorfa errs, however, in positing that this term existed in the Fasi dialect in the sixteenth century, but that it had afterwards disappeared, since its use in the text here indicates its continued existence at least until the eighteenth century. It also appears, inter alia, in Ibn al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī's Al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāqib al-shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (MS. K2521, RGL), fol. 24; and Maqṣad, passim.

[10] Turjumān places this in 1090/1676, tr. p. 33.

[11] Istiqṣā has 'cousins', p. 60.

[12] Istiqṣā says that Mawlāy Ismāʿīl went in person, p. 60.

[13] Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya has صاغروا (p. 106), which is in the northern part of the Anti-Atlas.

[14] Better known as Lisān al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713/1313-776/1375), this is the renowned Andalusian statesman and man of letters. The book mentioned here, under the title Kitāb akhbār al-ʿaṣr fī inqiḍā' dawlat Banī Naṣr, has been edited by Marc Joseph Müller (Munich, 1863). The dynasty mentioned here is that of the Naṣrids of Granada, also known as the Banū Yūsuf among Arab historians, after Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, founder of the dynasty, who took control of Granada in 635/1237-8.

1090/1679-80

[1] Istiqṣā gives the date as the last day of Muḥarram (16 Mar. 1679), p. 61.

[2] Conjectural translation of a corrupt text.

[3] Located some 35 miles east of Marrakesh. It was formerly known as ʿAnnimāy, but had later acquired the name of Sīdī Raḥḥāl, a saint who died there in 1540.

[4] This is another name for Beni Mellal, the town located twenty miles south-west of Qaṣabat Tadla, and de Foucauld calls it 'Qaçba Bel Kouch' (pp. 146-8). Perhaps the text should read قائد الكوش, or perhaps the 'al-Kūsh' was also a personal name.

[5] (pl. wukalā'). Official of legal defence.

[6] Maslow notes 'El Mzellja' mosque in al-Siyāj quarter (pp. 112-14), as well as the 'Sellja' mosque in the Qalqaliyyīn quarter, by Wādī Bū Kharārib (pp. 137-8), and it is not clear which of these two mosques is meant in this text, although the former is the more important one.

[7] This is a twelfth century saint buried in al-Qaṣr; his cenotaph in Fez is sought out by the sick. In Fès, pp. 304, 542, he is also identified as the patron saint of Fasi barbers.

[8] That is, renegades from Christianity (sing. ʿilj). In

the glossary of Germain Mouëtte's Relation de la captivité du Sr. Mouëtte dans les Royaumes de Fez et de Maroc (Paris, 1683), we find 'Renégat - Lalouche' (p. 356). Jacopo Gråberg di Hemsö, Specchio geografico e statistico dell'impero di Marocco (Genoa, 1834), also gives the form 'i'lgi' (p. 90).

[9] Blank in text.

[10] No month is given in the text; this is the probable date.

[11] This bridge is located about halfway between Fez and Zarhūn, or about one third of the way from Fez to Meknes.

[12] (d. 1036/1626). See Chorfa, p. 245.

[13] Qur'ān XXII, 42; III, 25; III, 134; and VII, 125 respectively. The translation used throughout in this text is that of J.M. Rodwell, ed., The Koran (London and New York, 1963). Note that the verse III, 25 is incorrect in the Nashr text; it should be in the second, not the third person, and should read: تُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ

1091/1680-1

[1] AM translation gives the incorrect equivalent date of 16 Feb. 1680.

[2] My thanks to Professor Hussain Monés for an explanation of this difficult passage.

[3] This 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1036/1626-7) is not to be confused with his namesake great-great-nephew (1040/1631-1096/1685). Maqṣad, however, claims that the zāwiya was actually founded by his elder brother Yūsuf in 1027/1617-18; II, 281.

[4] Dozy, I, 111, defines this as 'nef couverte, comprise dans une mosquée'.

[5] The vocalization of this Andalusian name is tentative. A marginal note in a manuscript of the Maqṣad (MS. K576, RGL) says that this name should be pronounced 'bi-tafkhīm al-lām wa-l-mīm' (unnumbered pages). Perhaps tafkhīm here is equivalent of tashdīd making the name somewhat like 'Allammāno'(?). Or, perhaps, as noted by Dozy, II, 245, a 'lām mufakhkham', 'semble exprimer un son intermédiaire entre le l et le r'. In effect, Germain Mouëtte, Histoire de Moulay Er-Rechid et de Moulay Ismail (Paris, 1683, reprinted in SIHM2, France, II,1-152), gives this name as 'Hermano' (p. 124), indicating some such sound.

[6] According to Chénier, only a small outlying fort manned by seventy men was actually taken, p. 396.

[7] Traditionally, the shurafā', 'ulamā', ṭalaba, fuqarā', and murābiṭīn were exempted from both military service and government, as opposed to Qur'ānic, taxes.

[8] No day is given. Istiqṣā has 5 Sha'bān (31 August

1680), p. 63.

1093/1682

[1] This is an open space near the royal palace where the Sultan gave public audiences, rendered justice, received the tribes, etc. See Dozy, I, 800,

[2] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Akansūs, Al-Jaysh al-'aramram al-khumāsī (MS. D339, RGL) has a marginal note giving a conjectural explanation of this puzzling incident: 'Perhaps the qāḍī-s from the countryside are intended by this, or others like them (?); he who appoints an ignorant individual and accepts what the latter says is a greater fool than the latter. If judicial review (naẓar) or complaints arise, the situation would be exposed, and . . .* in the countryside, and a different judgement would appear to be the correct one.'
* unclear word in text.

[3] Thomas Phelps, 'A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps at Mechiness in Barbary', pp. 599-510 in A Collection of Voyages and Travels, ed. Churchill (London, 1752), notes in relation to this event that the Christian captives were almost freed thanks to the Kirke mission sent to the Sultan from England, but that they were stopped at the last minute by the action of the Jews; 'They proffered the emperor as much money as the king of England tendered for the Christian ransom, if he would lend them, for a while, to build a city for the Jews, . . . [they spent] three years in building a city, . . . when finished . . . the Jews were turned out, and forced to give place to the Moors', p. 505. Francis Brooks, Barbarian Cruelty (London, 1693), give a similar account, pp. 10-12.

1094/1682-3

[1] Berber tribe of the south-east part of the Jibāla region of northern Morocco. The forms 'Musūl' and 'Amsūl' also appear in some texts.

[2] This is the historical name for the Atlas Mountains.

[3] This was the war against the Hapsburg Empire, which was to culminate in the siege of Vienna in 1683 and the ultimate defeat of the Ottoman armies.

[4] On this personage see Chorfa, pp. 302-3.

[5] This muṣallā, outside Bāb al-Futūḥ, was built in 991/1583-4.

[6] The text gives the incorrect family name 'al-Dukkālī'.

[7] Copyist's marginal note:
'The cause for his dismissal was a marble pillar in Bāb al-Subū' (a) which is on the left as one enters Masjid al-Qarawiyyīn from Bāb al-Mudarraj, which is before the Saba' Liwayāt (b). In this Bāb al-Subū' there is a wooden grill

(shubbāk), in the centre of which was this pillar. The masses (al-ʿawāmm) claimed that the shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Mūsā al-Jīlānī (c) could be seen there, leaning against that pillar, and they would come there with their votive offerings to this shaykh. Some relatives of ours (d) appropriated what was brought to this khalwa, and the aforementioned qāḍī was envious of them, but could not prevent them from doing so, out of fear of the Sultan, who had granted them the right [to the proceeds]. [The qāḍī Burdallo], however, said: "I am afraid that if this continues, the ignorant from among the masses will make even greater claims for this pillar than at present."

It so happened that the lavatory (mīḍaʾa) of Jāmiʿ al-Labbādīn had had two arches supported by a single pillar resembling the aforementioned one. The builders then suggested to the superintendent (nāẓir) of the aḥbās that he install three arches, instead of the two, and rest them on two pillars, and that this would no [longer] be faulty (fa-lā yaʿib), since it had previously revealed faults and had been rebuilt, but it had again been faulty and had collapsed; [if the suggestion were followed] it would now be more solid and more beautiful than before. The qāḍī Burdallo then ordered the superintendant to take the pillar which was in Bāb al-Subūʿ and to join it with the other one. The latter duly removed it and put a wooden grill on Bāb al-Subūʿ in its place, without a pillar, and joined the pillar to the other in the doorway of the lavatory, the two pillars being surmounted by three arches. The qāḍī Burdallo then said: "Had we put it in another place, you would have gone there in pilgrimage, but since we placed it in the lavatory, you abandoned it. Why did you not see the shaykh al-Jīlānī today?"

God then inflicted upon him a type of hydropsy (naw' min . . . maraḍ al-istisqāʾ) from which he could not be cured, and people gossiped about that, while seventy-five ḥukamāʾ (e) signed a petition against him which was presented to Mawlānā Ismāʿīl by Abū ʿInān. [The Sultan] thereupon dismissed [Burdallo] from the posts of khaṭīb and imām, and replaced him by [Abū ʿInān]. The aforementioned Abū ʿInān had learned that Mawlānā Ismāʿīl was building a mausoleum for Sīdī Riḍwān al-Ganawī (f), who is buried outside Bāb al-Futūḥ, one of al-Qaṣṣār's (g) shaykh-s, and that the Sultan held [al-Ganawī] in great esteem for his religion and saintliness. Abū ʿInān thereupon had taken the stone which Sīdī Riḍwān had used for his ablutions from the latter's daughter's grandchildren, the Awlād Ben Mubārak, and had given it as a gift to Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [when presenting] the petition. Because of that gift, the latter therefore appointed him to the posts of khaṭīb and imām in the Qarawiyyīn.'

(a) 'Gate of the Lions'; this should not be confused with Bāb al-Sabʿ which Fès (p. 62) gives as the former name of Bāb Dakākin, in the area between Old and New Fez.
(b) 'The Seven Turns', name of a street and quarter near the Qarawiyyīn.
(c) On this figure, see year 1104, n. 1.
(d) That is, of the same Qādirī branch of shurafāʾ as the copyist.

(e) In this case, this seems equivalent to fuqahāʾ.
(f) (912/1506-7 - 991/1583-4), saint whose father was supposedly a Renegade from Genoa (hence the nisba Ganawī), and whose mother was a convert from Judaism. He is buried near the muṣallā outside Bāb al-Futūḥ.
(g) Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (known as al-Qaṣṣār) al-Qaysī al-Andalusī (d. 1012/1603-4), Fasi saint and scholar.

1095/1683/4

1 Pidou de Saint-Olon, Relation de l'Empire de Maroc (Paris, 1695), also mentions this shipwreck and the captured cannon (p. 118), while more details are provided in 'Lettre de Pierre de Catalan à Seignelay (extrait), 17 April 1685', SIHM2, France, II, 413-14.

2 Note that the Bodley Nashr places this event under 1096 (p. 43).

3 The Bodley Nashr places this event on 27 Ṣafar 1096 (2 Feb. 1685), p. 43.

1097/1685-6

1 This title, of Turkish origin, was adopted in Morocco during the Saʿdī era, along with other trappings of the Ottoman administrative system. See Al-ʿIzz, glossary, I, 400.

1098/1686-7

1 Little is heard of al-Ḥarrān after this. He is said to have gone on the Pilgrimage and to have died there, while at ʿArafāt, one of the stages of the ḥajj, according to Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya, p. 106.

1100/1688-9

1 In traditional Islamic education, it was customary to celebrate the conclusion (khatm) of the exegesis by a professor to his students of a work, such as here the tafsīr, or exegesis, presumably of the Qur'ān. Such an exegesis could, indeed, extend over many years. Istiqṣā gives the date of this event as 1099, p. 69.

2 Copyist's marginal note: 'That is, the tribes in the area between Salé, Fez, and Wādī Sabū, up to the mountain known as Kandar. The People of Fez and Salé call it al-Ḥājib.'

3 The solar Latin months, and more specifically the calendar adopted by the Council of Nicaea, had been retained in Morocco and other parts of North Africa, after the Islamic conquest, one of the reasons being that in agriculture it was

more useful to calculate time according to the Julian solar calendar rather than according to the Islamic lunar one, which retrogressed approximately ten days every year. The corresponding date given in the text would have been still computed according to the Julian, rather than the Gegorian, calendar. See Joseph Bourrilly, Eléments d'ethnographie marocaine (Paris, 1932), pp. 115-20.

[4] This was the caravan which set out from Fez for the East yearly, combining commerce with the Pilgrimage to the Hijaz. Pilgrims would either cross all of North Africa by land or sometimes, on the way back, would travel by sea from Egypt to Tunis or even all the way to Morocco.

[5] The vocalization of this name can be either Ma'n or Ma'an. In Buyūtāt Fās, we find that this name is allowed either 'with a fatḥa and a sukūn, or with two fatḥa-s (bi-fatḥ fa-sukūn aw bi-fatḥatayn)', p. 260. For a discussion of the origin and variants of this name see Maqṣad, p. 7.

1101/1689-90

[1] Fasi mystic (d. 950/1543-4), buried outside Bāb al-Futūḥ.

[2] The text has the incorrect ''Abd Allāh'.

[3] According to Dr. J.D. Latham, this is, technically speaking, a hydatid (or hydatidiform), a cyst formed from bulbous remnants of embryonic structures, the result of a pregnancy gone wrong.

1102/1689-90

[1] Other sources place this event earlier; the Bodley Nashr gives 27 Muḥarram 1101 (p. 44); Iltiqāṭ has 1100; Muḥammad al-'Ayyāshī, Zahr al-bustān fī nasab akhwāl sayyidinā al-Mawlā Zaydān (MS. 3274, RPLR), first part of 1101 (p. 62); 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḍarīr al-'Alawī, Durrat al-sulūk wa-rayḥānat al-'ulamā' wa-l-mulūk (MS. 514, RPLR), gives 18 Muḥarram 1101, as does Muḥammad b. al-Ṣughayyir al-Īfrānī in Rawḍat al-ta'rīf bi-mafākhir Mawlānā Ismā'īl b. al-Sharīf (Rabat, 1382/1962), p. 59. G. Yver, 'al-'Arā'ish', EI², places it in 1689 (p. 605).

[2] According to Mālikī law, the leader of an expedition is entitled to one fifth of the booty, called 'the share of God and the Prophet', while the other four fifths of the booty goes to those who participated in the fighting. In addition, the leader was allowed to retain special items of booty which attracted him (ṣafī), in this case the artillery.

[3] This poem has been left out of this edition.

[4] Qur'ān, XVI, 8.

1104/1692-3

[1] Ḥanbalī theologian, preacher and Ṣūfī (470/1077-8 - 561/1166). Popular tradition had it that he was a sharīf, descended through Ḥasan, Muḥammad's grandson, and the Qādirī branch of shurafā' in Morocco claimed to descend from him. In Morocco, his name is usually pronounced Gīlānī or Jīlālī. Copyist's marginal note, the exact placement of which is not certain: 'He says; "His claim to the state of being a quṭb (quṭbāniyya)(a) is valid, if one has in mind the lesser type, that is one of the four quṭb-s. As for the greater quṭbāniyya, whose possessor is termed al-quṭb al-jāmi', only one of his family (God bless him and grant him salvation!) descended through Ḥasan b. 'Alī can be one, and not the descendants of Ḥusayn. See al-Ghayṭī's hamziyya."' (b)
(a) In Sufism, the pole or axis of the mystical hierarchy of the invisible world is called a quṭb. The four lesser quṭb-s mentioned in this text are usually referred to as abdāl; only one greater quṭb can exist at any one time.
(b) I have not been able to find any reference to this author; a hamziyya is a poem in which each verse ends in a hamza, or glottal stop.

[2] Brunot (p. 250) defines it as '. . . 3° endroit où a vécu un saint, dépourvu de tombeau ou de cénotaphe, marqué simplement d'un signe quelconque (on sait que son tombeau est ailleurs).'

[3] That is, the Bahjat al-asrār fī manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir wa-man 'aṣarahu min al-awliyā' wa-l-akhyār, by Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Jarīr al-Lakhmī al-Shaṭṭanūfī (647/1249-713/1314).

[4] Al-Rawḍ al-nāẓir (or Nahj al-nāẓir) fī tarjamat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, by Ibn Hibat Allāh al-Hāshimī al-Ramīsī al-Baghdādī (Amīr al-Dīn al-Hāshimī).

[5] Ghibṭat al-nāẓir fī tarjamat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Asqalānī al-Kinānī al-Shāfi'ī (773/1372-852/1449), ed. E.D. Ross (Calcutta, 1903).

[6] Copyist's marginal note: "If he had said that he had seem him in a dream, praying there, and he was known not to be a man who lies, it would have been true, as an analogy (qiyāsan) to the ḥadīth "I saw Moses praying in his grave."' I have not been able to find this ḥadīth among the sound ones; perhaps it is a weak tradition.

[7] This is a reference to the events which occurred after Muḥammad left Medina to return to Mecca in 6/628; stopping at al-Ḥudaybiyya, just outside Mecca, he was given the bay'a under a tree by his Medinan followers, who swore to follow him to the death, after rumour had spread among them that 'Uthmān, sent to Mecca, had been put to death there.

[8] This is according to the ḥadīth:

قال لنا رسول الله صلعم يوم الحديبيّة " أنتم خير اهل الارض"

'God's Prophet said to us on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyya: "You are the best people of the Earth."' Cf. al-Bukhārī, 35. All the ḥadīth references in this edition are taken from A.J. Wensinck, J.P. Mensing, et al, Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane (Leiden, 1936-69), 7 vols.

[9] Qur'ān XLVIII, 18.

[10] This is perhaps a reference to Abū 'Alī (sic) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad . . . b. Ghāzī 'Uthmān al-Fāsī al-Miknāsī (841/1437-919/1513), scholar born in Meknes, who was eventually to become khaṭīb in the Qarawiyyīn.

[11] Op. cit., p. 37.

[12] That is, the Merinid dynasty (656/1258-869/1465) of Morocco, known among Arab historians as the Banī 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, after its founder 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.

[13] Copyist's marginal note: 'On the contrary, they were the principals of iniquity and the origin of all evil!' The reason for the copyist's animosity towards the Merinids is not clear; perhaps this was due to the dynasty's unfavourable stance towards Sufism and its adepts.

[14] Copyist's marginal note: 'On the contrary, this type of Moroccan considers them as having legal force and effect and bases his case on them. One even finds in their books; "I found it recorded thus" and "written according to so-and-so" or "I saw a marginal note with such-and-such in it", or again "thus in a register". Al-Yūsī did not know this, and one who does not know something passes over it.'

[15] This ribāṭ is located in the city of Safi, and was built in the fourteenth century to house those engaged in the jihād against the Portuguese.

[16] Merinid Sultan from 760/1359 to 762/1361.

1105/1693-4

[1] These are niches in walls, protected by grills, located in various parts of Fez, and a visit to them is equivalent to a visit to Mawlāy Idrīs for those who do not have the time to do so at the sanctuary itself. See Fès, p. 604.

[2] The Ṣiqillī (or Ṣaqallī) were a branch of the Ḥusaynī line of shurafā' who had settled in Sicily originally (hence their nisba) before immigrating to Morocco.

[3] The entire passage for this year does not appear in MS. K2253, and has therefore been taken from MS. Royal 972.

1106/1694-5

[1] (sing. maks; pl. also amkās). This is a government duty imposed on markets, shops, ovens, etc. and at the city gates, affecting any number of goods. See Dozy, II, 606.

[2] (Sing. murābiṭ). This term meant originally a member of a ribāṭ or fortified monastery, but had eventually become synonymous with mujāhid, or 'volunteer of the faith'.

[3] Here, as is sometimes true in other comtemporary texts, it does not have the present-day meaning of 'Morocco' or 'the Maghrib'. Rather, 'the Gharb', or perhaps 'northern Morocco', as opposed to 'the south', is meant. This is evident in a passage such as:

فنصر الله اهل المغرب على اهل السوس

'God granted victory to the people of al-Maghrib over the people of the Sūs (Khayyāṭ, p. 14). E. Fagnan, Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb (Algiers, 1924), p. 365, gives 'al-Gharb' as a synonym for 'al-Maghrib', which he defines as the areas of Fez and the northern part of the French zone of Morocco. These terms were often interchangeable during al-Qādirī's time.

1108/1696-7

[1] (pl. shuhūd). This is a synonym of 'adl (pl. 'udūl).

[2] It is not clear to which post this term, here in the plural, refers; perhaps it is that of quarter or section head (?).

[3] That is 9 Dhū al-Ḥijja, the day spent at Mount 'Arafāt, one of the stations of the ḥajj, or Pilgrimage.

[4] Muṣṭafā III, reigned 1106/1695-1115/1703.

1113/1701-2

[1] Turjumān places this in 1114/1702-3 (tr. p. 49).

[2] That is, head of the Pilgrimage Caravan.

1114/1702-3

[1] This also appears in this text in the form مغرم and its plural مغارم, and has been transliterated throughout as gharāma, for the sake of convenience. A contemporary European source describes what he calls 'la garame' thus: 'The Jews there are taxed six écus a year for each male over the age of fifteen. . . . The Muslims do not pay it regularly; the King, rather, demands it when he sees fit, taxing a town or village a certain number of qinṭār-s of gold or silver.' ('Mémoire de Jean-Baptiste Estelle' (19 July 1690) in SIHM^2, III, France, 313-4 (in pp. 310-19). In effect, it appears that the gharāma on the Muslims is but a synonym for the kharāj, a tax paid on landed property. In another contemporary source, this same tax is found as 'garrama'; Joseph de Léon, pp. 149-50. It reappears in the somewhat distorted form 'garahne', described as an 'impôt territorial', in the introduction by Louise SW.-Belloc (p. xxviii) to her translation of J. Drummond-Hay,

Le Maroc et ses tribus nomades (Paris, 1844).

[2] Lacuna in text.

[3] This is a reference to 'Abd al-Mu'min (524/1130-558/1163), lieutenant of Ibn Tūmart, and first monarch of the Almohad dynasty; his nisba is a reference to the Kūmiyya tribe from which he came.

[4] First Merinid Sultan (656/1258-685/1286), who conquered Marrakesh after defeating the Almohad Sultan Abū Dabbūs in 668/1269.

[5] This is the battle of Tamrāght, according to Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya (p. 109). According to the same source, Mawlāy Binnāṣir retreated to Safi.

[6] Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya gives the date of 16 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1115 (21 Apr. 1704), p. 110.

[7] This is a reference to the Almohad sack of Oran in 539/1145, after they had defeated the Almoravid Sultan Tashfīn b. 'Alī.

[8] As an orthodox Muslim, al-Qādirī considers the self-proclaimed mahdī, Ibn Tūmart, to be a Shī'ī.

1116/1704-5

[1] Marginal note in a hand other than the copyist's: 'Sīdī al-Kabīr Ben Sūda assumed the post of qāḍī of Fez while he was already the khaṭīb of Masjid al-Andalus; he was related by marriage to the donors of the waqf. May God have mercy on all!'

1117/1705-6

[1] Located in the Rīf, about nine miles inland from the Mediterranean, and about twenty miles south-east of Alhucemas.

[2] (sing. duwār). In Morocco, this is a village of tents, as opposed to one of permanent houses, which is known as a madshar (or dashra, see textual notes p. 21, n.5); see Beaussier, p. 213.

1118/1706-7

[1] There is no further elucidation of this text.

1120/1708-9

[1] This is the ḥadīth al-inṣāt, al-Bukhārī, 36:

باب الانصات يوم الجمعة والامام يخطب

The Bodley Nashr explains that this ḥadīth calls on the people to listen when the imām leaves the maqṣūra during the Friday

service (p. 49). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥajawī, Bughiyat al-anfās bi-maḥāsin Fās (MS. H119, RGL), notes that Mawlāy Ismā'īl set up a waqf for this purpose, p. 5.

[2] The Ottomans re-took Oran after a five-month siege in 1708, as the Spaniards surrendered to the Bey of Mascara.

[3] That is, Muḥammad.

1131/1718-19

[1] Istiqṣā (text. p. 98, tr. p. 67) has the following passage, quoted from the Nashr, under the year 1132, as is found in the Bodley Nashr.

[2] That is, Idrīs the Elder (d. 177/793), according to tradition, the founder of that part of the city of Fez which later became known as 'Adwat al-Andalus, and said to be buried in Zarhūn, a mountain village near Fez, and his son (by a Berber woman) Idrīs the Younger (177/793-213/828), according to tradition, the founder of the part of the city on the west bank, and said to be buried in Fez.

[3] This measure of length was equal to approximately 21.7 inches; Fès, p. 276.

[4] This is an honorary title bestowed on an 'ālim under whom most of the other 'ulamā' have studied.

[5] (1072/1661-2 - 1136/1724). On this personage see Chorfa, pp. 301-2.

[6] (d. 1140/1728). On this figure see Chorfa, pp. 297-8.

[7] (d. 1144/1731). On this figure see Chorfa, p. 318 n. 9.

[8] (1083?/1672?-1163/1750). On this figure see Lakhdar, pp. 197-200.

[9] On this figure see Salwa, III, 195.

[10] In Morocco, this term originally was applied to the Treasury, but eventually became synonymous with 'government'.

[11] Noted Fasi scholar, jurisconsult, and saint (d. 1045/1645-6). See Chorfa, p. 315 n. 4.

[12] (c. 1050/1640-1 - 1130/1718); noted scholar from Marrakesh; see Chorfa, p. 113 n. 3.

[13] Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī, known as Zarrūq (b. 846/1442), noted jurisconsult revered throughout North Africa. See Chorfa, p. 187 n. 3.

[14] Mūsā b. Abū al-'Āfiya was a tenth century A.D. chief of the Miknāsa who, as a Fatimid ally, participated in the destruction of the Idrisid state around Fez, and was then appointed governor over Morocco.

[15] Berber dynasty of the Zanāta confederation which founded a short-lived state centred in Fez in the tenth-eleventh centuries A.D.

[16] Dynasty originating from the Berber tribe of that name; they ruled over Fez briefly, until their overthrow by the Maghrāwa. Other members of the same family founded states in the Rabat-Salé area and in the Sūs (Aghmāt).

[17] Berber dynasty based initially on the Lamtūna tribe of the nomadic Ṣanhāja of the Western Sahara, which came to power in Morocco in the fifth/eleventh century.

[18] Qur'ān XXII, 42; III, 134; and VII, 125 respectively.

[19] See note 23 below.

[20] (d. 848/1444). See Salwa, III, 302.

[21] Blank in text.

[22] According to a weak tradition, Muḥammad was supposed to have said: 'The stars are a security (amān) for the dwellers in the heavens and the ahl al-bayt are a security for the dwellers on earth', apud van Arendonk, 'Sharīf', EI[1], IV, 328.

[23] This term is synonymous with ḥadīth.

1133/1720-1

[1] Turjumān gives the date 1134/1721 (tr. p. 53).

[2] Beaussier has 'Barbacane, meurtrière, canardière' (p. 324).

[3] Copyist's marginal note, the extreme right-hand portion of which has been blotted out: 'Some maintain that this year was one of good and plenty . . . this year, while others maintain that . . . [it was not?] since if anyone saw someone else carrying bread on the road, he would steal it. As a result, people began to place their bread in boxes when taking it to the [baker's] oven. . . . That year, the minimum price of wheat was eight mawzūna-s a mudd of those days, and the maximum fourteen.'

1139/1726-7

[1] That is, the preceding obituary notice in the biographical portion of the Nashr, not edited here. Author's (?) marginal note (on folio 74 of vol. II, under the year 1134, but belongs here):

'My father told me: "when the Sultan Mawlānā Ismā'īl b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Sijilmāsī al-Ḥasanī died, the Common People of Fez rose up against the city's qā'id, Abū 'Alī al-Rūsī, and killed him. After this outbreak had subsided, they then proclaimed the bay'a to Mawlāy Aḥmad (known as al-Dhahabī)(a) b. Mawlāy Ismā'īl. We (that is the Common People, the fuqahā', and the shurafā') then went with the bay'a and delivered it to him in Meknes. When he was about to send us back home, he asked the shurafā': 'Is there anyone present among you from the Ṭāhirī shurafā'?' The writer of the bay'a, Mawlāy Ḥamdūn b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who was with us, was one of

them, as was his cousin Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān. We therefore replied: 'There are two of them here.' The two of them then stepped forward and he said to them: 'I found in my father's palace the sandals which you gave to him when petitioning him, and I feared that something might happen to them. So take them now and keep them in your custody.' They, however, replied: 'We are not their proprietors, since we are the Ṭāhirī, Ḥasanī, Jūṭī shurafā', who live in al-Siniyyīn, while [the sandals rightfully] belong to the Ṭāhirī, Ṣaqallī, Ḥusaynī [shurafā'].'" My father also said: "We left without his giving us anything." Mawlāy Ḥamdūn and Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān also told me about this audience.

The 'abīd then rebelled against Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī and gave the bay'a to his brother Mawlāy 'Abd al-Malik. They then deposed the latter as well, and again gave the bay'a to Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Dhahabī. They also sacked Mawlāy Ismā'īl's palace, and the sandals disappeared, and no one knows what happened to them. The Ṭāhirī Ṣaqallī shurafā' claim that the one who stole them brought [the sandals] to them, that they ransomed them, and that they are still in their possession to this day. God knows best whether this is true or not.'

(a) Literally, 'the Golden', as an analogy to the Sa'dī Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī.

[2] Literally, 'Gate of the Barefoot', that is the place where those who had no footwear entered and washed their feet before entering the mosque itself; several mosques in Fez have such a structure.

[3] (pl. 'ummāl). Again, it is unclear to what post this title refers; see 1108 n. 2 (above, p. 251).

[4] The only other mention I have found of these officials, whose function is apparently that of enforcement officers, is in the biographical section of the Nashr, where they are called وتادين الشرطة (wattādīn (sic) al-shurṭa), vol.II, fol. 96; and again, where it is said that the khalīfa of New Fez 'ordered the wattādīn to arrest him . . .', vol.II, fol. 53.

[5] This post does not appear in any dictionary, nor have I found it in any other text. Perhaps it is the same as the اصحاب الفرادي which appears in the glossary of Al-'Izz (I, 399), where it is defined as 'assistants, armed with pistols, who were by the king's side during his travels. They were chosen from among the shurafā' and the sons of the great families.' The word fardī (pl. farādī) is, indeed, the Moroccon colloquial for 'pistol'. It is not found in any dictionary with this meaning, but does appear in Budgett Meakin's An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco (Tangier, 1891), p. 132, with this sense.

[6] Literally, 'tribe'.

1140/1727-8

[1] If this is a specific game, I have not been able to find further information about it. Perhaps what is meant is an

activity similar to the one engaged in by rival quarters of Fez, described thus by Leo Africanus, Descrizione dell' Affrica e delle cose notabili che quivi sono, ed. Giovambattista Ramusio (reprinted Venice, 1837, pp. 11-168): 'On holidays, these youths gather outside the city . . . [and] begin to throw stones [at each other]', p. 75, italics added.

[2] Since it was the third day of the holiday, counting the mawlid itself as the first, the correct date, as is found in the Bodley Nashr, is 14 Rabī' I.

[3] Literally, 'struck off their heads'.

[4] 'Presents' with the sense of 'tribute', as is usually the case in contemporary texts.

[5] That is, the two qaṣaba-s near Bāb al-Maḥrūq - the New Qaṣaba built by Mawlāy Rashīd (now known as the Qaṣaba of the Filālī-s) and the other qaṣaba, built under the Almohads (and now known as Qaṣabat Bū Julūd) - and the two forts overlooking Fez - the already-mentioned Burj Nord and Burj Sud - built under the Sa'dīs.

[6] This gate was named for al-Futūḥ, a son of the Berber amīr Dūnās; he ruled the east bank of Fez, where this gate is located. See Gaillard, p. 34.

[7] Also known as al-Raml(a), this was located in the Sabū Valley, between Meknes and Salé.

[8] This name, even in a single text, can be found as either 'Abd al-Malik or 'Abd al-Mālik.

[9] This is another name for Wādī Umm al-Rabī'.

[10] That is, the register of the gīsh tribes.

[11] After the preceding digression, we are now back to the question of Mawlāy Aḥmad's execution.

[12] That is, those tribes which, in return for regular military service, were exempted from paying the kharāj for the public lands they occupied. This system dates from the Sa'dī era.

[13] The preceding was again a lengthy digression.

[14] On this personage and his zāwiya see Magali Morsy, Les Ahansala: examen du rôle d'une famille maraboutique de l'Atlas Marocain (Paris and The Hague, 1972).

[15] (d. 1159/1746). See Lakhdar, pp. 190-2.

[16] Lacuna in text.

[17] Literally, 'House of the Tent'; it is said to be located on the emplacement of Idrīs's tent when the latter established himself on the Qarawiyyīn, or left bank, and is now included within the ḥaram of Mawlāy Idrīs. See Fès, p. 601.

[18] The term مقتصبين (muqtaṣabīn) is not found in any dictionary, but seems to mean simply 'stationed in a qaṣaba'.

[19] Lacuna in text.

1141/1728-9

[1] The term إدالة على (idālatan 'alā), with the meaning of this context, does not appear in any dictionary. However, in the glossary of Al-'Izz, we do find it defined as 'a military garrison (ḥāmiya), composed of the regular army or the gīsh tribes, sent by the Sultan to a specific place for the purpose of defense', (I, 394). This term also appears in Turjumān with the same meaning (text, p. 71, tr. p. 131).

[2] (Perhaps to be read Īnūl?) This is probably a variant of the name of the river found on French maps as 'Oued Innaouen', which flows through Taza and into Wādī Sabū. D1453 gives another variant ينأول, 'Yanāwal' or 'Īnāwal'.

[3] O. Houdas erroneously translates a similar phrase قطع عنهم الوادي in Turjumān as 'Puis il empêcha les habitants de venir à la rivière' (text p. 37, tr. p. 68).

[4] That is, the zāwiya in Ouezzan founded by the sharīf Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (1005/1596-7 - 1089/1678).

[5] Qur'ān XXXIII, 57.

[6] Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ b. 'Amrūn al-Yaḥsubī al-Sabtī al-Mālikī (476/1083-544/1149).

[7] This ḥadīth is found in al-Bukhārī (12: 16.29), among others: فاطمة بضعة منّي فمن اغضبها اغضبني

'Fāṭima is a part of me, and he who angers her, angers me.'

[8] That is, a ḥadīth.

[9] Ḥadīth in al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/903), who gives: هولنا . . . أهل البيت. This Salmān was a Persian who, after being manumitted, became one of Muḥammad's Companions and a popular figure of Muslim legend. Mawālī (sing. mawlā) here has the sense of 'freed slave'.

[10] Copyist's marginal note: 'This individual from the government (makhzan) was Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ūdī, a disciple of the shaykh Mawlāy al-Tuhāmī. He wrote of this to the latter's son Sīdī Muḥammad b. al-Tuhāmī, who resides in Ḥawmat al-Sharshūr in Qarawiyyīn Fez, with the intention of thus reaching those [in Fez] reputed to be righteous. The end. God knows best.'

[11] Tentative translation of an unclear text.

[12] Lacunae in text as indicated.

[13] Bodley Nashr gives the date 10 Ramaḍān, p. 55.

[14] In this context, this can only refer to the east bank-west bank division of Fez.

[15] Located just outside the walls of Fez, near the gate of the same name.

[16] A. Kazimirski, Dictionnaire arabe-français, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960), defines خلع thus: 'Revêtir quelqu'un d'une robe d'honneur . . . et par extension, un cadeau en signe de satisfaction', I, 616.

[17] The Bodley Nashr places all the preceding negotiations in Rabīʿ I 1142 (p. 56).

1143/1730-1

[1] In effect, in addition to being an inveterate political intriguer, Khunātha was also one of the most learned Moroccan women of her age. See Lakhdar, pp. 190-2.

1144/1731-2

[1] Turjumān places this expedition in 1142/1729 (tr. p. 69).

[2] Literally, 'became like oil to him'.

1147/1734-5

[1] This town, given as 'Boulaouane' on most French maps, is located on Wādī Umm al-Rabīʿ, some forty miles south-east of Mazagan, in the Dukkāla region. A mars was a group of fortified silos, where the government stored taxes collected in kind; see Aubin, pp. 248-9, 395.

[2] This is a variant for the name of the town now know as Shīshāwa (French Chichaoua), located in the Sūs, fifty miles west of Marrakesh. During the Saʿdī era, it was the site of a sugar mill. See Paul Berthier, Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leur système hydraulique, vol.I (Rabat, 1966), p. 16 and passim.

[3] As is frequently the case in such instances, the event is not dealt with again as promised. Copyist's marginal note: 'The exchange rate of gold reached eight ūqiyya-s in coin for the smelted mithqāl.' 'Smelted' here has the sense of 'refined'; see Dawḥa, p. 35.

[4] Author's (?) marginal note:
'The shurafā' went the first time to intercede with him so that he would grant a delay to the People of Fez to designate the musketeers, but [the People of Fez] did not do so anyhow. [The Sultan] then intended to put them under siege, whereupon they deceived him. They took the tents out and set them up in the muṣallā outside Bāb al-Futūḥ, along with some salākiṭ (a) in order to deceive [the Sultan] into thinking that they would send out the expeditionary force (maḥalla), while the truth of the matter was otherwise.
They then [again] sent all the shurafā' of Fez to him to intercede [for them], while they mustered the musketeers, and justified and excused themselves to [the Sultan] by pointing to the small number of men of means to provide the musketeers' salary. He therefore granted [the People of Fez] a delay of one month, but they still did not carry out their promise, and he said to the shurafā': "If you come to me a third time to intercede for them, I will clap you in irons and throw you in prison."

After the month had passed and they still had not done as promised, he wanted to send the army to besiege Fez, and so the People [of the latter city] once again requested the notables of the shurafā' to intercede on their behalf. All those who had gone the two preceding times, numbering between fifty and sixty (all of them notables mentioned by the author of Al-Durr al-sanī (b)), thereupon set out, but [the Sultan] had them arrested and put in irons. The only one to save himself was my father, who dropped out on the way, since he had been forewarned by one of the raʾīs-s of the ʿabīd that the Sultan was definitely going to arrest them. He therefore hid, and God saved him, and he returned to Fez to tell of the arrests.'

(a) I have not been able to find the meaning of this word.
(b) The author of Al-Durr al-sanī fī baʿḍ man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-Ḥasanī, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Qādirī (1058/1648-1110/1698), was the grandfather of the author of the Nashr. See Chorfa, pp. 276-80.

[5] Literally, 'he would see from them something he would dislike.'

1148/1735/6

[1] Al-Khayyāṭ gives the date as 30 Dhū al-Ḥijja [1147] (23 May 1735), p. 19.

[2] This area, 'the East' (الشرق or المشرق, al-Sharq or al-Mashriq, usually pronounced al-Sharg) is a region comprising the eastern part of Morocco and the western part of Algeria. The French form is usually 'Cherg'.

[3] Literally 'the weak', this term, for which there is no satisfactory equivalent in English, designates in general those who do not bear arms or participate in politics, the lower strata of society.

[4] See the notes to the text, above p. 78 n. 1, on the proper vocalization of this name. One sometimes also finds 'Ibn al-Ṭalīgiyya', his mother's tribe being the Ṭalīq (usually pronounced Ṭalīg or Ṭlīg).

[5] This was the name of those who had enrolled in the army as volunteers, before the manumitted slaves had been forcibly recruited, and they retained their status of freemen. Nashr, biographical section, II, fol. 140.

1149/1736-7

[1] The Bodley Nashr has Ṣafar (p. 58).

[2] The Bodley Nashr has the date 27 Jumādā I (3 Oct. 1736), p. 59.

[3] Istiqṣā places this event in 1150 (text p. 142).

[4] This term seems often to have been synonymous, or nearly so, with the term fuqarā' and, literally, both mean 'poor'. It

was used to designate the Ṣūfī mendicants. Maqṣad notes that 'the condition of being a miskīn (al-maskana) is considered by them an as allegory (kināya) for holiness (al-ṣalāḥ)', p. 28. Muḥammad al-Qādirī, however, sometimes uses this term as a synonym for ḍu'afā'; cf. the passage for 1159, where masākīn is used in the Nashr, while ḍu'afā' appears in his Iltiqāṭ (p. 119).

5 Copyist's marginal note: 'In a place now known as Jurf al-'Abīd. Their commander at the time was al-Ḥawwāt, and 1,500 'abīd perished'.

6 This is a levy in kind, used to provision an army in the field; see Dozy, II, 192. It seems to be the same as the tax known as the mu'na.

7 Blank in text.

8 The designation 'shurafā' of Sijilmāsa' or 'of 'Tāfilālt', or the nisba 'Filālī' are all synonymous.

9 Qur'ān XXII, 42.

1151/1738-9

1 Al-Dukkālī (p. 152) and the Bodley Nashr (p. 71) both give 28 Ṣafar.

2 Dozy gives the general meaning of 'payant tribut' for this term (I, 178).

3 That is, presents with the sense of tribute.

4 Lacuna in text.

5 Copyist's marginal note: 'Their governor, 'Abd al-Majīd al-Mashāmirī (who maintains that he is himself a sharīf), then incited him [i.e. the Sultan] to arrest the ashrāf. The one who actually carried out the beatings to which they were subjected was 'Alī al-Jamal, who claimed to be saintly, and who is buried in al-Ramīla in 'Adwat Fez al-Andalus.'

1152/1739-40

1 Sic, no indication of whether it is I or II.

1153/1740-1

1 Al-Ḍu'ayyif gives the date of the bay'a as 10 Dhū al-Qa'da 1152 (8 Feb. 1740), p. 117; Istiqṣā also places this in Dhū al-Qa'da 1152 (text p. 150).

1154/1741-2

1 This is located in what is now the modern part of Fez. Its name dates from the Sa'dī era and is derived from the name

of a Fasi family (extinct from the tenth/seventeenth century) which owned land there. 'Abd al-Qādir Zamāma, 'Ma'ālim wa-a'lām min Fās al-qadīm', Al-Baḥth al-'ilmī (1970), p. 90.

2 The Bodley Nashr places these events under 1153 (p. 74).

3 Colloquial tfadīnā, 'we're even now'.

4 The Bodley Nashr gives the date as 28 Dhū al-Qā'da, p. 77.

1155/1741-2

1 i.e. New and Old Fez.

2 Al-Dukkālī gives the date as 6 Jumādā I (p. 161).

3 Perhaps this should be translated: 'however, they crossed (or spanned it) with [rafts] of palm-wood'. Antoine Burel, La mission du Capitaine Burel au Maroc en 1808, ed. Jacques Caillé (Paris, 1953), notes that to cross the Sabū in times of flood, 'les maures font en un moment un radeau de tiges de chardons et de cactus amarrées en fascines, ils y placent les voyageurs et les effets précieux et se mettent à la nage; ils le traînent vers l'autre bord . . .', p. 95. Chénier had also described such rafts earlier, p. 77.

1156/1743-4

1 Lacuna in text.

2 Located near al-Qaṣr, it was the scene, in 1578, of the celebrated battle known in Europe as the Battle of the Three Kings, in which Don Sebastian of Portugal, and the Sa'dī rivals Mawlāy Muḥammad and Mawlāy 'Abd al-Malik all died.

3 Iltiqāṭ adds: 'It was God's favor to Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh that the ruler of Tangier came out to fight him, for had he fortified himself in [that city], Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh would not have been able to defeat him, due to its impregnability', p. 116.

4 (pl. mulūf), Beaussier, 'Maghr. "drap"', p. 646.

5 Region on the western coast of Morocco, named after the dominant Berber confederation living there. See J. Goulven, Le cercle des Doukkala (Paris, 1917).

1158/1745-6

1 Al-Ḍu'ayyif says that this was caused by the Sarāghina's killing of six of the Sultan's 'abīd in a dispute involving women, p. 136.

2 Istiqṣā places these events near the end of 1157, p. 168.

3 Sic, no indication whether I or II.

1159/1746-7

[1] The individuals enumerated here add up to only seven; from a later passage, however, we learn that there were apparently two more nephews in this group.

[2] Istiqṣā places the Rifian and Banī Ḥasan executions in 1158, pp. 180-1.

[3] Tentative translation of an unclear text.

[4] Qur'ān XXII, 42.

[5] That is, the banner borne at the head of the Pilgrimage Caravan.

[6] That is, the central market of Fez. See Dozy (II, 432) for a discussion of the derivation of this word and its connection with the Latin caesarea and the Greek καισαρέια; also see Fès, p. 374 and passim. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra, Naṣīḥat al-mughṭarrīn al-muḍṭarrīn, etc. (MS. K508, RGL) has the following on this term: 'One pronounces it with an alif after the sīn, or without [i.e. Qaysāriyya or Qaysariyya]. It was originally a descriptive adjective (na'ṭ) for "market", since the word "market" (sūq) is feminine, and meant the "great Qaysariyya market". It then took the place of the word "market", which was forgotten, . . . as if it were the feminine of "Qayṣar"', p. 5. Al-Dukkālī gives the form 'al-Qīsāra', p. 150, though this is perhaps an error by the copyist.

[7] Iltiqāṭ adds al-Shammā'īn as part of the border, p. 120.

[8] Rather than the 'beginning' of this year, as is found in the text; perhaps it might be an error for 'until the beginning of the [following year].'

1160/1747

[1] Al-Dukkālī places these events on 7 Dhū al-Qa'da 1159 (21 Nov. 1746), p. 168; Istiqṣā also places them at the end of 1159, p. 177.

[2] Copyist's marginal note: 'The number of the quṭṭān-s was 5,000 and that of the girdles 2,700.'

[3] This vocalization of the name is confirmed in Buyūtāt Fās, where we find it as 'Maḥammad b. Muḥammad, the first name with a fatḥa, the second with a ḍamma (fatḥan fa-ḍamman), al-Ṣaffār', p. 69.

[4] Literally, 'scented the breeze of . . .'

1161/1747-8

[1] Al-Ḍu'ayyif places these events a year later, in 1162, after 'Abd Allāh had already been deposed, and adds that this expedition was undertaken on the initiative of one of the 'abīd's commanders, Za'būl, p. 143.

[2] Copyist's marginal note: 'The sum was 13,000 mithqāl-s, and the Udāya then numbered 1,300'.

[3] This is another name for the town of al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, so-called because it was founded by a member of a branch of the Katāma confederation in the second/eighth century.

[4] The name of this gate, built under the Almohads, means literally 'the gate of the burned one', and was so named because, on the day it was completed, the body of the executed rebel al-'Ubaydī of Ouezzan was burned underneath the gate, which had originally been called Bāb al-Sharī'a. See Fès, p. 56.

1162/1748-9

[1] Turjumān places this in 1161 (text p. 64, tr. p. 177).

1163/1749-50

[1] Lacuna in text.

[2] Qur'ān XXII, 42.

[3] (1112/1701-1181/1768). On this figure see Lakhdar, pp. 229-31.

[4] (1118/1706-7 - 1179/1765). See Lakhdar, pp. 224-5. This name is vocalized thus in al-Khayyāṭ, p. 20.

1167/1753-4

[1] This entire passage is not found in K2253, and has been taken from Royal 972.

1168/1754-5

[1] Copyist's marginal note in Royal 959 and the lithograph: 'These two were Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām and his full brother (shaqīq) Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir, the sons of the upright sharīf Abū al-'Alā' Sīdī Idrīs b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī al-Ḥusaynī, who lived in Ḥawmat Furn al-Shaṭṭa, in Qarawiyyīn Fez.'

[2] This entire passage is not found in K2253, and has been taken from Royal 972.

1169/1755-6

[1] This is better known in Europe as the famous 'Lisbon Earthquake' of 1755.

[2] Dozy (I, 704) defines this as 'proprement la distance d'une station à l'autre; journée de chemin'.

[3] Copyist's marginal note: 'Earthquakes occurred in

Meknes during [the reign of?]* . . . Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. A great part of the royal palace there was destroyed and rendered unrecognizable.'
* illegible text

[4] This entire passage is not found in K2253, and has been taken from Royal 972.

GLOSSARY

Definition of terms is that common in the Moroccan context, as they are found in the present text. For further information, see the Encyclopaedia of Islam and the dictionaries listed in the Bibliography.

ʿabīd	black slave; also, the black slave army created by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl
ʿālim (pl. ʿulamā')	scholar learned in the science of religious law
ʿadl (pl. ʿudūl)	legal office of official witness, with functions similar to those of a notary public
afrāg(ān)	(Berber) large tent used by the Sultan and his household on campaigns
ʿāmil (pl. ʿummāl)	official usually equivalent of governor of a city, region, or tribe. Titles for 'governor' - ʿāmil, wālī, raʾīs, qāʾid, amīr, ḥākim - are interchangeable in texts
amīr	military commander; sometimes equivalent to 'governor'
amīr al-rakb	head of the Moroccan pilgrimage caravan
ʿāshūrā'	10 Muḥarram, the anniversary of the death of Ḥusayn, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima
āyt	(Berber) equivalent of Arabic banū or awlād, 'sons of', in tribal names
balāṭ	covered nave in a mosque
baraka	beneficent force of divine origin
bayʿa	oath of allegiance exchanged between subjects and ruler
ḍarīḥ	mausoleum
ḍuʿafā'	(lit. 'the weak') stratum of non-combatants in society
faqīh (pl. fuqahā')	synonym of ʿālim
faqīr (pl. fuqarā')	(lit. 'the poor') mystic; member of religious brotherhood or lodge
fatwā	legal opinion
funduq	hostelry, also used as market and storage area
gharāma (also maghrim, pl. maghārim)	equivalent to kharāj, arbitrary government imposition of variable amount

gīsh	(lit. 'army') usually refers to the tribes exempted from the land tax in return for military service
ḥadīth	tradition of Muḥammad's deeds, utterances, and unspoken approval, or those of his Companions
ḥākim	governor; see ʿāmil
ḥakīm (pl. ḥukamā')	synonym of ʿālim
ḥajj	yearly pilgrimage to Mecca
ḥaram (also ḥurm)	concept, and actual area, of sanctuary attributed to saint's tomb, zāwiya, or other holy place
ḥawma	quarter in the city of Fez
ḥubs (pl. aḥbās or ḥubūs)	property set aside as pious endowment; equivalent to waqf
ʿīd	holy day
imām	official who leads the Friday prayer; also title used for the Sultan
imām al-futyā	synonym for muftī
jāmiʿ	mosque
jihād	war against unbelievers
khaṭīb	official who preaches the Friday sermon
khuṭba	Friday sermon during which the ruler is acknowledged
madrasa	residential and teaching facility for students
mahdī	the savior awaited in Muslim eschatology
makhzan	originally 'Treasury', later in Morocco, by extension, 'government'
makhzanī (pl. makhāziniyya)	armed, mounted, government retainers
maks (pl. mukūs and amkās)	government duty imposed on markets, shops, ovens, etc., and at the city gates, affecting any number of goods
mallāḥ	Jewish quarter in Moroccan cities
maqṣūra	enclosed area within a mosque, originally reserved for the ruler at prayer; also other rooms in a mosque set aside for administrative and educational functions
mars	group of fortified silos, used by the government to store taxes collected in kind
masākīn (sing. miskīn)	(lit. 'poor') synonym of ḍuʿafā'; also equivalent to mystic

mashwar	open space near the royal palace used by the Sultan to give public audiences, render justice, etc.
masjid	central mosque in which the khuṭba is pronounced every Friday
mawlid (Mor. mūlid)	celebration of Muḥammad's birth, 12 Rabīʿ I
mīḍa'a	lavatory of mosque
miḥrāb	niche in wall of a mosque indicating direction for prayer
minbar	pulpit in a mosque
mu'adhdhin	official who performs the call to prayer
muftī	official who delivers fatwā-s or formal legal opinions
muḥtasib	holder of office of ḥisba, inspector of the markets and trades
mujāhid	participant in the jihād or holy war
murābiṭ	holy man, or his descendants, not of sharifian origin; also synonym of mujāhid
muṣallā	open space used for prayers on holy days and other special occasions
muwaqqit	official who determines the times for prayer
muwāratha (also waratha)	office of administration of estates with no heirs
nāẓir	superintendant of aḥbās
pāshā	title, of Turkish origin, for government official, equivalent to military commander or governor
qāḍī (pl. quḍāt)	religious magistrate
qā'id (pl. quwwād)	commander, with either military and/or administrative functions; sometimes equivalent to governor; see ʿāmil
qaṣaba (Mor. qaṣba)	citadel in fortified towns; small forts in countryside; compounds for tribal garrisons near certain cities
qaysariyya	central market
qibla	the direction of Mecca, toward which Muslims pray
qubba	dome, often surmounting small square white structure built to commemorate a holy man, whether he is buried there or not
qufṭān	robe, usually granted by the Sultan as a token of honour

ra'īs (pl. ru'asā')	political-military leader at any level; sometimes equivalent of 'governor'; see ʿāmil
quṭb	'pole' of the mystical hierarchy of the invisible world
rawḍa	(lit. 'garden'), private cemetery or mausoleum
rumāt	(lit. 'shooters'), musketeers, specifically militia recruited in Fez
ṣaqallābiyya	storage room
sayyid (Mor. siyyid)	general title of respect, sometimes equivalent to holy man; saint's tomb
shāhid (pl. shuhūd)	synonym of ʿadl
sharīʿa	Islamic legal code
sharīf (pl. shurafā' or ashrāf)	descendants of Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭima and ʿAlī
shaykh	(lit. 'elder'), scholar; tribal leader; holy man
shaykh al-jamāʿa	honorary title given to scholar under whom most other scholars have studied
ṣūfī	mystic
ṭālib (pl. ṭalaba)	student, scholar; level in the traditional Islamic educational hierarchy below that of ʿālim
ū	(Berber) equivalent of Arabic ibn, 'son of', in personal names
ʿushr (pl. aʿshār)	the tenth or tithe levied on agricultural products
wādī	stream or river
wakīl (pl. wukalā')	official of legal defence
wālī	governor; see ʿāmil
waqf (pl. awqāf)	property set aside as pious endowment, synonym of ḥubs
wazīr	minister
zāwiya	religious lodge, ranging from a simple meeting place to a permanent complex of buildings, including a mosque, library, school, storage facilities, etc.

LIST OF THE SULTANS

N.B. Varying dates are at times given in different texts for the Sultans' reigns after Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. Some Sultans, even when ousted from the capital, were still recognized in other parts of the country.

Rashīd	1076/1666-1082/1672
Ismāʿīl (his brother)	1083/1672-1139/1727
Aḥmad al-Dhahabī	Rajab 1139/Mar. 1727-Shaʿbān 1140/Mar. 1728
ʿAbd al-Malik (his brother)	Shaʿbān 1140/Mar 1728-Dhū al-Ḥijja 1140/July 1728
Aḥmad al-Dhahabī	Dhū al-Ḥijja 1140/July 1728-Shaʿbān 1141/Mar. 1729
ʿAbd Allāh (his brother)	Shaʿbān 1141/Mar. 1729-Rabīʿ II 1147/July 1734
ʿAlī (al-Aʿraj) (his brother)	Jumādā I 1147/Sept. 1734-Dhū al-Ḥijja 1148/Apr. 1736
ʿAbd Allāh	May 1736-Jumādā I 1149/Oct. 1736
Muḥammad b. ʿArība (his brother)	Oct. 1736-Ṣafar 1141/June 1738
Al-Mustaḍī' (his brother)	June 1738-Dhū al-Qaʿda 1152/Feb. 1740
ʿAbd Allāh	Feb. 1740-Rabīʿ I 1154/June 1741
ʿAlī (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) (his brother)	June 1741-Ramaḍān 1154/Nov. 1741
ʿAbd Allāh	Nov. 1741-Dhū al-Qaʿda 1154/Feb. 1742
Al-Mustaḍī'	Mar. 1742-Rabīʿ I 1156/May 1743
ʿAbd Allāh	May 1743-1159/1747
Al-Mustaḍī'	July 1747-Shawwāl 1161/Oct. 1748
ʿAbd Allāh	Oct. 1748-1171/1757
Sīdī Muḥammad	1171/1757-1204/1790

APPENDIX ON COINAGE AND MEASURES

Coinage

It is difficult to provide exact equivalents for the various coins used in Morocco during the ʿAlawī period, due to the great fluctuations in the exchange rates and purity of coins. The following table is meant to provide a guide at least to the theoretical exchange rates among the various metals.

6	fulūs (copper)	=	1 mawzūna
1	ūqiyya (silver) (=dirham)	=	4 mawzūna-s
10	ūqiyya-s	=	1 mithqāl (of silver)
1	qinṭār	=	1,000 mithqāl-s
1	mithqāl (gold) (=dīnār)	=	10 ūqiyya-s (of silver)

Additional information on Moroccan coinage may be found in:

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Zafrani, Naïm, Les Juifs du Maroc; Vie Sociale, économique et religieuse, part I (Paris, 1972)

Collections of test-cases, listed in the Bibliography, often contain fatwā-s on matters related to exchange rates.

Measures

	dhirāʿ	=	cubit
1	mudd	=	14.287 litres 12.5 kg*
4	mudd-s	=	1 ṣāʿ (nabawī) 2 mithqāl-s
1	qinṭār	=	1,000 mithqāl-s
1	riṭl	=	1/100 qinṭār 500-850 g (depending on matter weighed)
1	ṣāʿ	=	1 old ūqiyya (later 1½)
1	wasq (camel load)	=	60 ṣāʿ-s
1	qulla (of oil)	=	22 lb*

*Ali Bey el Abbassi, Travels of Ali Bey (London, 1816), I, 35.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography is not meant to be an exhaustive compendium of the secondary literature on Moroccan history; rather, it is intended primarily as an aid to facilitate and enrich the reading of the text presented here. As such, the most useful works from different categories - reference, primary, and secondary works - are listed by topic in order to enable the reader to choose more easily the appropriate source for further information on any name, Arabic term, geographical location, etc., met in the text. A considerable part of the annotation to the translation has had to be deleted in the interest of space but, in most cases, reference to these items is readily available elsewhere. A second goal of this bibliography is to provide guidance for further reading on various aspects of Moroccan history related to the period or subject matter dealt with in the text. In addition, a short list of the most significant primary sources - both Moroccan and Western - (many still in manuscript form) is included for the benefit of the specialist who may wish to use the Nashr and other texts to do original research on the early ʿAlawī period covered by the Nashr, that is, c. 1666-1757.

I. Reference works
   - Dictionaries
   - Biographical literature
   - Geographical literature
   - Literature on architecture
   - Other

II. General historical background
   - North Africa
   - Morocco

III. Moroccan history: the early ʿAlawī period
   - Bibliographies and catalogues
   - Secondary works
   - Primary sources
     - Arabic
     - Other languages

I. REFERENCE WORKS

Dictionaries

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particularly useful for Arabic or specifically Maghribi terminology are:

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Meakin, Budgett, An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco, London and Tangier, 1891

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A very basic, selective list of works intended to provide a general historical background on North Africa, and Morocco in particular, should include the following:

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III. MOROCCAN HISTORY: THE EARLY 'ALAWĪ PERIOD

While no organized national archives seem to have survived from the early 'Alawī period, a substantial amount of information can be gleaned from various types of Moroccan literary works. The process of cataloguing these sources, much less

editing and translating them, however, is still in its initial phases. The more accessible contemporary Western sources, on the other hand, have been exploited more fully by scholars. Listed here are guides to secondary and primary sources, studies dealing wholly or in part with this period, as well as the more significant Moroccan sources, both printed and manuscript.

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Lakhdar, Mohammad, Le vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie 'Alawide, Rabat, 1971. Especially valuable as a guide to the numerous manuscripts uncovered recently in Morocco

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Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat, Paris, 1921. This, along with the Allouche-Regragui catalogue, provides an inventory of a small part of the Rabat General Library manuscript collection; more volumes are on press or in preparation. Most of the collection is catalogued on file-cards held in the library itself. Mimeographed catalogues of the Tetuan and Qarawiyyīn libraries are also available in the Rabat General Library

Al-Manūnī, Muḥammad, 'Ḥaḍārat Wādī Dar'a min khilāl al-nuṣūṣ wa-l-āthār', Da'wat al-ḥaqq, 2-3, 1973, pp. 1-35. This, and the two following entries all offer information on newly-found manuscripts, some of which are relevant to this period;
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'Al-Maṣādir al-dafīna fī tārīkh al-Maghrib', Al-Baḥth al-'ilmī, 1967, pp. 9-29

Meknassi, Ahmad, Sources et bibliographie d'histoire

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Pearson, J.D., Index Islamicus, 1906-55, Cambridge, 1958, and Supplements. Useful for bibliographical information on periodical articles

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Chronicles:

Akansūs, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1211/1797-1294/1877), Al-Jaysh al-'aramram al-khumāsī, MS. D339, RGL and lithographed Fez, 1336/1918, 2 vols. In the main, a quiltwork of quotes from other chroniclers for the early period

Al-Ḍu'ayyif, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām (1165/1752 - after 1233/1817-18), Tārīkh (History), MS. D660, RGL. Chronicle critical of the 'Alawī dynasty; contains original information for the post-Ismā'īl period

Al-Dukkālī, Maḥammad b. Maḥammad al-Khayyāṭ . . . Ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 1184/1770), Taqāyīd tārīkhiyya (Historical Notes), in MS Collection Arab.c.79, pp. 144-199, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The only contemporary work offering as much information on the eighteenth century as the Nashr; it often complements the latter

Ibn al-Ḥājj, Aḥmad (1235/1819-1316/1898), Al-Durr al-muntakhab al-mustaḥsan fī ba'ḍ ma'āthir amīr al-mu'minīn Mawlānā al-Ḥasan, 8 of 15 vols.available, MS.1875, RPLR. History of the 'Alawī dynasty commissioned by the court. Interest lies mainly in having the official version of events, as well as in the substantial number of government documents to which the author had access, and some of which are quoted in the work

Al-Īfrānī, Muḥammad al-Ṣughayyir (1080/1669-after 1153/1740), Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī,

ed. and trans. Octave Houdas, Paris, 1888; Arabic text reprinted Rabat [1978?], edit. Mamdūḥ Ḥaqqī. Unfortunately the published text stops before the ʿAlawī takeover, although some of the manuscript versions contain a short section on the new dynasty. In any event, it remains a good introduction to the ʿAlawī period

Al-Kardūdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (1216/1801-1268/1851), Al-Durr al-munaḍḍad al-fākhir fī-man li-awlād Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf min al-maḥāsin wa-l-mafākhir, MS. D1584, RGL

Al-Nāṣirī, Aḥmad b. Khālid (1250/1835-1315/1897), Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, Casablanca, vol. VII, 1952; vol. VIII, 1956; trans. E. Fumey, Archives Marocaines, IX and X, 1906, 1907. Mostly based on other available sources, including the Nashr, for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; its utility lies mainly for the nineteenth century

Al-Qādirī, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Maḥammad al-Khayyāṭ (fl. 12th/18th c.), Taqāyīd tārīkhiyya (Historical Notes), MS. 248, RPLR. Short account offering, however, some important details not found elsewhere

Al-Rīfī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mūsā (fl. mid-12th/mid-18th c.), Tārīkh (History), MS in Muḥammad al-Manūnī's private library, Rabat

Al-Tāsattāwatī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (d. 1129/1716), Nuzhat al-nāẓir wa-bahjat al-ghuṣn al-nādir, MS. D1302, RGL

Al-Zayānī, Abū al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad (1211/1734-5 - 1249/1833), Al-Bustān al-ẓarīf fī dawlat awlād Mawlāy ʿAlī al-Sharīf, MS. K257, D1275, RGL. One of the few contemporary works rising above a simple chronicle of events, but useful primarily for the period after 1757; enhanced by the author's own experience as a high government official. The following published work by the same author is a shortened version of this chronicle;
Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib ʿan duwal al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib, ed. and trans. Octave Houdas, reprinted Amsterdam, 1969

Anonymous (mid-12th/18th c. ?), Dhikr qiṣṣat al-Muhājir-iyyīn (sic) al-musammūn (sic) al-yawm bi-l-Bildiyyīn, in MS Collection K270, pp. 467-492, RGL and in MS Collection D1115, fols. 1-12, RGL. A vituperative attack on the Bildiyyīn, or Fasis converted to Islam from Judaism, it traces their history down to the mid-eighteenth century, and is especially useful for the history of the city of Fez

Biographies, autobiographies, hagiographies, and genealogies of religious men, scholars, shurafāʾ families, rulers, etc., often contain irreplaceable information on social, as well as intellectual, history, although its retrieval is at times difficult due to its scattered and unpredictable location:

Al-ʿAlawī, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḍarīr (d. 1228/1813), Durrat al-sulūk wa-rayḥānat al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-mulūk, MS. 514, RPLR

Al-ʿAlawī, Muḥammad al-Zakī b. Hishām (d. 1270/1853), Al-Maṭāliʿ al-zahrāʾ li-jāmiʿ al-asmāʾ bi-Banī al-Zahrāʾ, MS. D1768 and D5063, RGL

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. al-Majdhūb (d. 1296/1879), Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn fī wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-ḥawādith al-nabī, in MS Collection K270, pp. 185-381, RGL

Al-Filālī, al-ʿArabī b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad (fl. early 12th/18th c.), Al-Durra al-maknūna fī akhbār al-dawla al-maymūna, in MS Collection Arab.c.79, pp. 200-255, Bodleian Library, Oxford

Al-Fuḍaylī, Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (d. 1316/1898), Al-Durar al-bahiyya wa-l-jawāhir al-nabawiyya fī al-furūʿ al-ḥasaniyya wa-l-ḥusayniyya, lithographed Fez, 1314/1896, 2 vols.

Al-Ḥawwāt, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad (c. 1160/1747-1231/1816), Al-Rawḍa al-maqṣūda wa-l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī maʾāthir Banī Sūda, MS. K2341, RGL

Ibn al-Ḥājj, Maḥammad al-Ṭālib (d. 1273/1857), Riyāḍ al-ward ilā mā intamā ilayh hādhā al-jawhar al-fard, MS. K2313, RGL

Ibn Zaydān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Al-Manzaʿ al-laṭīf fī talmīḥ bi-mafākhir Mawlānā Ismāʿīl, MS. G595, RGL

Al-Īfrānī, Muḥammad al-Ṣughayyir, Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi-mafākhir Mawlānā Ismāʿīl b. al-Sharīf, Rabat, 1381/1962

Al-ʿIrāqī al-Ḥusaynī, ʿAbd Allāh (al-Walīd) b. al-ʿArabī (1208 or 1209/1793-5 - 1265/1851), Al-Durar al-nafīs fī-man bi-Fās min banī Muḥammad b. Idrīs, MS. 1119, RPLR

Al-Qādirī, ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib (1058/1648-1110/1698), Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī al-taʿrīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad, MS. K576, RGL and lithographed Fez, 1351/1932, 2 vols.;
Maṭāliʿ al-ishrāq fī al-shurafāʾ al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāq, MS. D261, RGL

Al-Qādirī, ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khayyāṭ (d. 1228/1813), Al-Tuḥfa al-qādiriyya fī al-taʿrīf bi shurafāʾ ahl Wazzān, MS. K231, 2 vols., RGL

Al-Wallālī, Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb (d. 1118/1706), Mabāḥith al-anwār fī akhbār baʿḍ al-akhyār, MS. Q342, RGL

Al-Zayānī, Abū al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, Tuḥfat al-ḥādī al-muṭrib bī rafʿ nasab shurafāʾ al-Maghrib, MS. 2471, RPLR

Other types of works, such as collections of legal responsa or test-cases (nawāzil, as'ila, ajwiba, fatāwī), commonplace books (kunnāsh), travelogues (riḥla), and collections of miracles attributed to various saints or shrines (manāqib,

karāmāt, maḥāsin), provide supplementary data, especially valuable for social history. A small number of relevant Moroccan documents has also been published.

Legal cases:

Al-ʿAyyāshī, Abū Sālim (1037/1628-1090/1679), Al-Nawāzil, MS. K896, RGL

Ben Sūda, Muḥammad al-Tāwudī b. Muḥammad (d. 1209/1795), As'ila wa-ajwiba, lithographed Fez, 1301/1885

Burdallo, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī (1042/1632-1133/1721), Nawāzil, lithographed Fez, n.d.

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (1007/1599-1091/1680), Al-Ajwiba al-kubrā, lithographed Fez, 1319/1903; As'ila wa-ajwiba, lithographed Fez, 1301/1885, in margin of Ben Sūda, As'ila

Al-Majjāṣī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1103/1691), Ajwiba, MS. 3310, RPLR

Commonplace books:

Al-Mashshāṭ, Idrīs b. al-Mahdī (1074/1663-1142/1730), Kunnāsha, MS. K3246, RGL

Al-Zaʿrī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī (fl. early-mid-12th/early-mid-18th c.), Kunnāsha, in MS Collection K1574, pp. 359-98

Miracle books:

Al-Fāsī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1040/1631-1096/1685), Tuḥfat al-akābir fī manāqib al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir, MS. K2330, RGL

Al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy (d. 1120/1708), Al-Durr al-nafīs wa-l-nūr al-anīs fī manāqib al-imām Idrīs, lithographed Fez, 1304/1897

Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, Al-Azhār al-ʿāṭirat al-anfās bi-dhikr baʿḍ maḥāsin quṭb al-Maghrib wa-tāj madīnat Fās, lithographed Fez, 1306/1888-9

Al-Lamaṭī, Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 1165/1751), Al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī manāqib al-shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, MS. K2521, RGL

Al-Ṭāhirī, Aḥmad (Ḥamdūn) b. Muḥammad (d. 1192/1778), Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-baʿḍ manāqib shurafā' Wazzān, lithographed Fez, 1324/1906

Riḥla-s:

Al-Jazā'irī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Ḥamādūsh (fl. mid-12th/mid-18th c.), Riḥla, MS. K463, RGL

Al-Jilānī al-Isḥāqī, ʿAbd al-Qādir (fl. mid-12th/mid-18th c.), Riḥla, MS. 1258, Qarawiyyīn Library, Fez

Al-Rūdānī al-Darʿī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad (d. 1152/1744), Riḥlat al-ḥajj, MS. Q297, RGL

published documents:

Allouche, I.S., "Un plan des canalisations de Fès au temps de Mawlay Ismaʿil d'après un texte inédit, avec une étude succinte sur la corporations des "Kwadsiya"', Hespéris, 1934, pp. 49-63

Cigar, Norman, 'Une lettre inédite de Moulay Ismaʿil aux Gens de Fès', Hespéris-Tamuda, 1974, pp. 105-18

El Fasi, Mohammed, 'Lettres inédites de Moulay Ismaël', Hespéris-Tamuda, 1962, special issue, pp. 31-86

Le Tourneau, Roger, 'Documents sur une contestation relative à la repartition de l'eau dans la Médina de Fès', Mélanges offerts à William Marçais, Paris, 1950, pp. 191-204

Vajda, Georges, 'Un recueil de textes historiques judéo-marocains', Hespéris, 1948, pp. 311-58; 1949, pp. 139-88

Primary Sources (in other languages)

SIHM^2 Henry de Castries et al., eds. Les Sources Inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Series II (ʿAlawī dynasty)

Western primary sources provide an important supplement to the local sources, and often include information on questions not dealt with by the Moroccan authors. While European writings vary widely in scope and reliability, a number of these are very useful. Most are works by Europeans who either visited Morocco on diplomatic or religious missions or were held captive in the country, often over a long period of time.

Addison, Lancelot, West Barbary or a Short Narrative of the Revolutions of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Oxford, 1671

Braithwaite, John, The History of the Revolutions in the Empire of Morocco upon the Death of the Late Emperor Muley Ishmael, London, 1729

Brooks, Francis, Barbarian Cruelty, London, 1693

Busnot, Dominque, Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismaël, Rouen, 1714

[Charant, A.], Lettre escritte en response de diverses questions curieuses sur les parties de l'Affrique où regne aujourd'hui Muley Arxid, Roy de Tafilete, Paris, 1670

de Chénier, Louis, Recherches historiques sur les Maures et histoire de Maroc, vol. 3, Paris, 1787

de la Faye, Jean, and Denis Mackar, Augustin d'Arcisa, Henry le Roy, Relation en forme de Journal, du voiage pour la rédemption des captifs, aux roiaumes de Maroc & d'Alger pendant les Années 1723, 1724 & 1725, Paris, 1726

de Léon, Joseph, Vie de Moulay Isma'ïl, roi de Fès et de

Maroc, d'après Joseph de Léon (1708-1728), ed. Chantal de la Véronne, Paris, 1974

[Mairault, Adrien Maurice], Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le Royaume de Maroc depuis l'année 1727 jusqu'en 1737, Paris, 1742

Mouëtte, Germain, Description du Maroc, reprinted in SIHM², France, II, 153-199;
Histoire de Moulay Er-Rechid et de Moulay Ismail [Paris, 1683], reprinted, SIHM², France, II, 1-152;
Relation de la captivité du Sr. Mouëtte dans les Royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, Paris, 1683

[Néant, Nolasque], Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les trois voyages que les Religieux de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame de la Mercy ont faits dans les Etats du Roy de Maroc pour la rédemption des captifs en 1704, 1708, et 1712, [Paris, 1724], extracts reprinted in SIHM², France, VI, 613-812

Ockley, Simon, An Account of South-West Barbary, London, 1713

Pellow, Thomas, The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow in South Barbary, 2nd edition, London [18th c.]

Phelps, Thomas, 'A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps at Mechiness in Barbary', in A Collection of Voyages and Travels, ed. Churchill, vol. VIII (London, 1752), pp. 499-510

Sémach, Y.D., ed. and trans., 'Une chronique juive de Fès: La "Yahas Fès" de Ribbi Abner Hassarfaty', Hespéris, 1934, pp. 79-94

Windus, John, A Journey to Mequinez, London, 1785

Anonymous (late 17th c.), Treatise of the Revolutions from 1508 in Barbary, 22 fols., MS. Sloane 3495, British Library, London

By and large, the European archives have not yet been exploited systematically for the early ʿAlawī period, with the exception of those of France. The earlier documents have been published in the monumental series initially edited by Henry de Castries, Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Series II (ʿAlawī dynasty), 6 vols. to date, 1922 to date. Although of greater interest for Morocco's diplomatic history, details on internal developments may also be gleaned from the consular and commercial reports and correspondence.

ABBREVIATIONS

RGL	Rabat General Library
RPLR	Royal Palace Library, Rabat
AM	Archives Marocaines
Bodley Nashr	Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Qādirī, The Bodleian Version of al-Qādirī's Nashr al-mathānī: the Chronicles
Chorfa	E. Lévi-Provençal, Les historiens des Chorfa
Dalīl	ʿAbd al-Salām Ben Sūda, Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā
Dawḥa	Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥakīm, Al-Dawḥa al-mushtabika fī ḍawābiṭ dār al-sikka
Dukkālī	Maḥammad b. Maḥammad al-Khayyāṭ Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dukkālī, Taqāyīd tārīkhiyya (Historical Notes)
Durar bahiyya	Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-Fuḍaylī, Al-Durar al-bahiyya wa-l-jawāhir al-nabawiyya fī al-furūʿ al-ḥasaniyya wa-l-ḥusayniyya
Durr muntakhab	Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥājj, Al-Durr al-muntakhab al-mustaḥsan fī baʿḍ maʾāthir amīr al-muʾminīn Mawlānā al-Ḥasan
Durr munaḍḍad	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kardūdī, Al-Durr al-munaḍḍad al-fāknir fī-man li-awlād Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf min al-maḥāsin wa-l-mafākhir
EI¹; EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam, first and second editions
Fasi letters	'Lettres inédites de Moulay Ismaël', ed. Mohammad El Fasi, Hespéris-Tamuda
Fès	Roger Le Tourneau, Fès avant le Protectorat; étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident Musulman
Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya	Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Mashrafī, Al-Ḥulal al-bahiyya fī dhikr mulūk al-dawla al-ʿAlawiyya

Iltiqāṭ	Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. ʿAbd al-Salām, Iltiqāṭ al-durar wa-mustafād al-mawāʿiẓ wa-l-ʿibar min akhbār aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāniya wa-l-ḥādiya ʿashar
Istiqṣā	Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī, Kitāb al-istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā
Al-ʿIzz	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaydān, Al-ʿIzz wa-l-ṣawla fī maʿālim nuẓūm al-dawla
Khayyāṭ	ʿAbd al-Salām b. Maḥammad al-Khayyāṭ al-Qādirī, Taqāyīd tārīkhiyya (Historical Notes)
Maqṣad	ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, Al-Maqṣad al-aḥmad fī al-taʿrīf bi-sayyidinā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad
ROMM	Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée
SIHM^2	Henry de Castries et al, eds., Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc (second series)
Salwa	Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kattānī, Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uqbir min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-ṣulaḥāʾ bi-Fās
Tuḥfa qādiriyya	ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khayyāṭ, Al-Tuḥfa al-qādiriyya fī al-taʿrīf bi-shurafāʾ ahl Wazzān
Turjumān	Abū al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Zayānī, Al-Turjumān al-muʿrib ʿan duwal al-Mashriq wa-l-Maghrib
Wazzānī	Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Muḥammad al-Wazzānī, Al-Nawāzil al-jadīda al-kubrā

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