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MUHAMMAD AL-QADIRI'S *NASHR AL MATHANI*: THE CHRONICLES

Norman Cigar

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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. [ʿAbd 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.

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. ʿAbd al-Ḵhāliq 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 'Abd Allāh had reached Tadla and that his brother 'Alī had begun preparations to fight him, and had sent word to the 'abīd, 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 'īd 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 'Abd Allāh b. the Victorious by God. Mawlānā Ismā'īl al-Ḥasanī.[1] Mawlāy 'Alī 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 'Abd 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 ['Abd Allāh], since Mawlāy 'Alī's decrees had been enforced only when the 'abīd so ordered. This group was comprised of the shurafā', the murābiṭīn, the ṭalaba, the fuqarā', and the ḍu'afā'[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 'Alī 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 'abīd, as 'āmil of the region, and when Mawlāy 'Abd 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 'abīd and the People of Fez had [again] recognized [Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh] and had given him the bay'a, and had deposed his brother Mawlāy 'Alī. They were stunned, and asked for amnesty for themselves from the Sultan Mawlānā 'Abd 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 'abīd then came to meet him, along with the shurafā' and 'ulamā', 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, Mashra' al-Ramla, they found Sālim al-Dukkālī and all those who had been involved with him in the revolt against Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh assembled with him; the latter had again deposed Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and had given the bay'a to the Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. the Caliph, the Victorious by God, the Commander of the Faithful Ismā'īl b. Mawlānā al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Sijilmāsī, known as Ibn 'Arība,[4] and had sent word of this to Fez, Meknes, and

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-Mustaḍīʾ 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-Mustaḍīʾ 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-Mustaḍīʾ 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-Mustaḍīʾ'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 shurafāʾ, 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-Mustaḍīʾ 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-Mustaḍī' 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-Mustaḍī' 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-Mustaḍī' 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-Mustaḍī' 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-Mustaḍī' 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-Mustaḍī' 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

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 اخنصال 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 اياّها 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 حرج عليه". فصار من اراد دخوله للمدينة هم الاكثر فادخلوه، واستوطن دار القيطون من مدينة فاس القرويّين. وكما اضطرب رأي العوامّ دخوله مدينة فاس اضطرب رأى 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 وصُلبوا وسيأتي خبر حصار فاس إن شاء الله في العام بعد هذا."[4]

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[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 يُحصى ممّا نسأل الله السلامة والعافية منه بفضله ورحمته ولاكن لا اعقل تفصيله لصغر سنّي وقلّة مبالاتي بتقييده.

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 عبيـــــده بالقصبتين والبستيونين ، ورحل عنهم لمكناسة ، دار ملكهم ، تاسع عشر ربيع النبوّي 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 . وامره 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 اوغير 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

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 الحاذق [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 يحالط 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.

بعده توجه لها فدخلها غدوة يوم الجمعة وصلى بجامع دار الخلافة بالقصبة. وكان حينئذ خطيبها وامامها 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 عليّ ولّى على فاس القايد مسعود الروسي، فكلّفهم باخراج خمسمائة من الرماة. وقتل الحاجّ احمد بُودَة اللمطيّ رئيس اللمطيّين بعد موت مولانا اسماعيل ممن وثب[3] على دار اخيه ابي عليّ 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 عليّ [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 فشنّوا[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.

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 عليّ 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 عليّ 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.

ذلك وبعثوا [illegible]شة 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 ومتولّى 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 تادلا فاخذ اخوه مولاي علّيّ في التهيّ لقتاله وبعث للعبيد يعلمهم بخروجه فوعدوه بالقدوم عليه. وكان عسكر بجيشه مع الاوداية وغيرهم خارج مكناسةفبقي 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 خبرا[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).

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 وزّان 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

مولاي عبد الله فهرب مولاي [illegible]تضي 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 اباّنه 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 خلال [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.

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 الاودية[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 للاودية 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 وجُروان من البربر مع

[1] Necessary insert.

[2] For text's erroneous الاودية.

[3] Vol. II, fol. 105.

[4] Necessary insert.

[5] Necessary insert.

قوسا من قنطرة سبّو · ورام اهل فاس اصلاحه فلم يقدروا الّا انّهم جعلوا عليه حشب النخيل فكان يُمَرّ[1] عليه في ذلك الوقت خاصّة · [2] وناسا [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 فاح سنة ستّ وخمسين ومائة والف قدم الباشة[5] احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ ، عامل السلطان مولانا عبد الله بن مولانا اسماعيل الحسنيّ السجاماسيّ على طنجة وتطّون والعرايش والقصر وسائر جبال الريف وغمارة والهبط وبلاد ورغة وضهاجة الى تازة وبعض قبائل المغرب المجاورة[6] لهم نحو الخلط وطليق وغير ذلك ، داعيا لنفسه · ونزل بالعسّال[7] عدوة سبو 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 ، وصار كلّ مقابله · ثمّ عند الزوال قوّى الله تعلى البربر على جنود الباشة والعبيد وهزموهم اقبح هزيمة وفُتح باشة العبيد فاتح بن سالم الدكّاليّ · وفرّ الباشة احمد بن عليّ الريفيّ على بلاد ضهاجة على الريف الى طنجة وفرّ مولاي المستضيء والعبيد الى مكناسة ورجع العبيد الى مشرع الرملة واستولى البربر على محلّة الباشة وكان بها دحائر[1] كثيرة فنهبوها ولم يتركوا منها شيئا ونهب قبائل العرب محلّة العبيد · واما 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 ذحائر.
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