



The Hispano-Moroccan Re-Encounter

Colonialism, Mimesis, and Power in the Spanish War on Tetouan and its Occupation (1859-62)

Itzea Goikolea-Amiano

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

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European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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ABSTRACT

The Hispano-Moroccan Re-Encounter: Colonialism, Mimesis, and Power in the Spanish War on Tetouan and its Occupation (1859-62) is a micro-history of the events that inaugurated modern Spanish colonialism in Morocco. The dissertation analyzes the interrelated imperial and local discourses and practices in the mid nineteenth-century military conflict enhanced by Spain and the understudied twenty-seven-month occupation of Tetouan. The complex contours of the incipient Hispano-Moroccan modern imperial formation are scrutinized by recourse to a constellation of multilingual sources – in Arabic, Spanish, and Basque, including manuscript and printed chronicles, press articles, literary accounts and diverse archival materials.

The topical chapters discuss nineteenth-century Spanish colonial discourses, the Tetouani and Moroccan reaction to the war and defeat, the colonial (re)encounter and the policies based on the construction of racial difference, the politics of gender, status, and religion, the urban history of occupied Tetouan, the subaltern populations' political action, and finally the view of the events of the Moroccan elites who abandoned the city on the eve of its occupation. The dissertation includes a Prologue that offers a general description of the studied events, and an Epilogue that discusses some of the processes that developed after the Spanish evacuation of Tetouan.

The dissertation is intended as a contribution to four interrelated scholarly realms. Firstly, to the study of Spanish colonialism, in which Spanish Africa has received little attention in comparison to the Americas and the Philippines. Secondly, to postcolonial studies of the Middle East and North Africa, in which prevalence has been given to British and French colonialisms, and in which the Maghrib has received less attention than the Mashriq. Thirdly, to Moroccan historiography, which has until recently disregarded colonial Morocco as if it were a 'historical parenthesis.' And fourthly, to Hispano-Moroccan studies, which have focused more on al-Andalus than on the post-1492 interactions.

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“Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference; those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are black, who are older, know that *survival is not an academic skill*. It is learning how to stand alone, unpopular and sometimes reviled and how to make common cause with those other identified as outside the structures, in order to define and seek a world in which we can all flourish. It is learning how to take out differences and make them strengths. For *the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house*. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.”¹

This dissertation is dedicated to the Arab and Muslim women from whom I've learnt so much over these fifteen years

– in sisterhood,

¹ Audre Lorde, “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House,” in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 26–27.

TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLITERATION

The writing of place names has followed the current official nomenclature (Moroccan and Spanish). Thus the name of the main location of the dissertation, Tetouan, is written following the French spelling in the Latin alphabet, instead of the Spanish transcription, Tetuán. Arabic words have been transliterated following the guide of the International Journal of Middle East Studies. In the case of people's proper names, I have maintained the way they transliterated them in the Latin alphabet and, if not found transliterated, I have used the aforementioned guide. Specific and local institutions, professions or qualities have most commonly been maintained in the original language, and a translation has been provided between brackets. Whenever such term is widely used in the chapter, the original without the translation has been employed. Unless contrarily stated, all translations are mine.

PROLOGUE TO THE SPANISH WAR ON TETOUAN AND ITS OCCUPATION

After weeks of unsuccessful diplomatic talks between the representative of the sultan to the foreign powers, Muḥammad al-Khatīb, and the Spanish consul in Tangier, Jesús Blanco del Valle, Spain officially declared war on Morocco on October 22, 1859.² The negotiations had followed a reported act of aggression against a Spanish post in Ceuta by members of the Anjira tribe on August 10, 1859.³ Spain had requested that the twelve individuals accused of stabbing Spanish guards be delivered to them, and that the borders of Ceuta be expanded as compensation.⁴ The Spanish demands reflected the increasingly threatening language that Europeans came to employ with the Makhzan in the nineteenth century.⁵ Similar conflicts had occurred in the previous decade against the backdrop of the steadily tense nature of the border delimitations and jurisdiction of the northern African Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Spain sought to extend its control in Morocco in order to gain commercial and especially fish trade shares, as well as to legitimize its power *vis-à-vis* the other European nations present in Morocco, particularly France, which had colonized Algeria since 1830.⁶

Barely two weeks after the negotiations had begun, on August 22, 1859, Sultan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān died. The situation turned out to be a profitable one for the Spaniards’ endeavor to advance their aforementioned interests, and al-Khatīb was unsuccessful in insisting on reaching a peaceful solution. Following Mawlay ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s death, one of the protagonists of this dissertation, Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, prepared to compose the *bay‘a*, or the oath of allegiance, in the name of the religious and political notables of northern Morocco to the deceased sultan’s son and heir Sīdī Muḥammad. Neither

² Mohammed Daoud and Hasna Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān Mukhtaṣar (The History of Tetouan - Abridged)*, Almuzara (España, 2008), 142–43.

³ Daoud and Daoud, 140.

⁴ Daoud and Daoud, 145; al-Ṭayīb al-Bayāḍ, “Ḥarb Tiṭwān Fi Al-Maṣādir Al-Maghribīyya (The War of Tetouan in the Moroccan Sources),” in *Nadwah Dawliyah: Ḥarb Tiṭwān, 1859-1860 (International Conference on the War of Tetouan, 1859-1860)* (Rabat: Mandūbiyah al-Sāmīyah li-Qudamā’ al-Muqāwimīn wa-A‘ḍā’ Jaysh al-Taḥrīr, 2010), 118.

⁵ Jean Louis Miège, *Le Maroc et l’Europe, 1830-1894*, vol. II (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), 386.

⁶ Daniel Macías Fernández, “Las campañas de Marruecos (1909-1927),” *Centro de Estudios de Historia Militar* 2, no. 3 (2013): 2; Óscar Garrido Quijano, “Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860) Desde Las Comunicaciones Entre La Diplomacia Española Y El Ministerio de Estado” (Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellano - UNED, 2014), 82–93.

Afaylāl nor any of the other Tetouanis imagined that their hometown would be occupied by the Spanish army five and a half months later.

“It is not a spirit of conquest that drives us,” declared the commander in chief of the so-called Army of Africa, Leopoldo O’Donnell, in his speech to the Spanish Parliament: “we are going [to Morocco] to cleanse our honor, to demand warranty for the future.”⁷ The flag-waving peninsular press and politicians, however, hastened to encourage the advancement of the Spanish troops in Morocco. An outburst of patriotic fervor spread as the liberal as well as the conservative press unprecedentedly celebrated the campaign unanimously. In light of the ‘loss’ of the majority of the American colonies in the past decades, the ‘African’ venture was commonly interpreted as a providential imperial opportunity that was new and old at the same time. The reincarnation of Queen Isabel la Católica in Isabel II and the references to the latter’s testament, in which she recommended that the conquest of Africa not cease, animated the political discourses and publications.

The day after the official war announcement was made in Spain, the herald announced the war in Tetouan and the market centers in the countryside.⁸ The declaration triggered various political conflicts and disunity in Tetouan. While some called out for al-Andalus to be re-conquered, an *ad hoc* committee decided that if the victory was not achieved by the time the Spaniards reached Tetouan, they would surrender the city.⁹ Arms and gunpowder started to be distributed, and governor Muḥammad al-Ḥājj called upon the duty of the Tetouanis to enact the *jihād* against the so-called ‘people of al-Andalus.’¹⁰ Contrarily, however, some Tetouani inhabitants started to take their families and possessions out of the city, and when days later the committee banned migration to avoid the dissemination of defeatist theories across the empire, an intense discord erupted between those who defended their right to escape and to put their families and possessions in safety, and those who opted to remain in

⁷ Cited in: Albert Garcia Balaña, “Patria, Plebe Y Política En La España Isabelina: La Guerra de África En Cataluña (1859-1860),” in *Marruecos Y El Colonialismo Español [1859-1912] De La Guerra de África a La “penetración Pacífica,”* ed. Eloy Martín Corrales (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 13.

⁸ Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl” n.d., Al-Khizāna al-Dawūdīyya (Daoudian Archive).

⁹ Afaylāl, 28.

¹⁰ Mohamed Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, Muhammad V University, vol. IV (Rabat, 1964), 122; Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 28. Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan’” 1860, 2, Al-Khizāna al-Dawūdīyya (Daoudian Archive).

Tetouan. Besides, the detrimental urban politics adopted in the previous years with regards to the rural townsfolk led the latter to preliminarily reject joining in the fight against the Spaniards.

For their part, the Makhzan authorities harbored much uncertainty regarding the goals, the target, and the strategies of the Spanish army.¹¹ Sīdī Muḥammad had just come to the throne, and he maintained a direct correspondence with his principal envoys al-Khatīb and al-Zibdī, the minister Bū‘ashrīn and his brother Mawlay al-‘Abbās, whom he had appointed as commander in chief of the Moroccan army. The first Spanish troops arrived on the northern Moroccan coast in mid-November, and they garrisoned in Ceuta. Until the end of December, however, the Moroccan authorities ignored the possibility of whether the Spanish would head towards south-eastern Tetouan or towards western Tangier and Asilah, and focused their attention on dealing with the problems relating to the lack of equipment, resources and troops.

As soon as the first battles began, a cholera epidemic started to decimate both armies. While the Spanish enclave of Ceuta was pivotal for the supply of Spanish troops and the treatment of the wounded and the victims of the epidemic, Tetouan fulfilled a similar role in the supply and shelter of the war victims for the Moroccan army. The regional cholera outbreak, which extended across parts of northern Algeria and Morocco, Ceuta, Gibraltar, southern Spain and France, was partly shaped by the Franco-Algerian, Franco-Moroccan and the actual Hispano-Moroccan military campaigns that were launched in 1859 and 1860.¹² As a consequence of the war, Moroccan soldiers further spread the deadly illness to their places of origin.

The armed conflict took place in the territory between Ceuta and the plain of Wad Ras, which are between fifty to seventy kilometers apart, yet in Spain the setting of the war was written and spoken about as a synecdoche for the whole African continent. Although several terms were employed to designate the war in the weeks that followed the official declaration, the locution ‘war of Africa’ was soon coined in peninsular Spain.

¹¹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a’lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥāḍira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, vol. III (Rabat: ‘Abbās al-Tinnānī, 1929), 461–502; Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, vol. 9 (Casablanca: Ministry of Culture and Communications, 1997), 87.

¹² Francisco Javier Martínez Antonio, *La otra Guerra de África: cólera y conflicto internacional en la olvidada expedición militar de Francia a Marruecos en 1859* (Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta: Archivo General, 2010), 52–53.

This continues to be, even in the present day, the denomination used for it, although other wars that were fought against Morocco – notably the campaigns that followed Spain’s establishment of the Protectorate in northern Morocco (1912-1956) – also acquired that name. For its part, Moroccan historiography refers to the event as the local population termed it at the time: *Ḥarb Tiṭwān* in Arabic or *‘Aita Tittawin* in Amazigh, both of which translate as ‘the war of Tetouan.’¹³ In this dissertation, the name that will be used to allude to it will be the ‘Spanish war on Tetouan.’¹⁴ The reasons for this choice rest, firstly, on the confusion created by the oft-employed term ‘war of Africa’; second, and more importantly, on the consideration that to name a war that took place in a restricted area of northern Morocco after the whole African continent responds, as the war did, to colonialist concepts that, also and more importantly, take shape through language.

The historian Francisco Javier Martínez-Antonio has suggested that it be termed ‘Moroccan War of 1859-1860.’¹⁵ In his view, because France and Britain intervened in various ways, the conflict was an international one. Although I do not deny the intervention of other European powers, I consider that this war as well as the occupation that followed it were, essentially, a Spanish initiative. Other scholars have employed alternative variations; Eric Calderwood has referred to it as the ‘Spanish-Moroccan War of 1859-1860’, and Susan G. Miller has called it the ‘1860 Tetuan War.’¹⁶ In my view, however, these denominations neutralize the leading role of Spain in the militarized conflict. The term I have chosen, I argue, better reflects the fact that what happened was more of a unilateral Spanish militarized aggression (hence the selection of the preposition ‘on’) than a proper bilaterally-enhanced armed conflict.

The war resulted in hardship for both parties, in contrast with much of what the triumphant colonial Spanish as well as reformist and nationalist Moroccan

¹³ Robert Ricard, “Cartas de Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti a Galdós Acerca de Marruecos (1901-1910),” *Anales Galdosianos Año III* 3 (1968): 5.

¹⁴ Although Tetouani historian Assaoud has referred to the war in different ways, his choice in one of his papers is similar to mine: Abdelaziz Assaoud, “Ḥarb Isbānīā ‘Alā Al-Maghrib ‘Ām 1860 Wa ‘Awāqibiha Al-Wakhīma (The Spanish War on Morocco in 1860 and Its Serious Repercussions),” in *Nadwah Dawliyah: Ḥarb Tiṭwān, 1859-1860 (International Conference on the War of Tetouan, 1859-1860)* (Rabat: Mandūbiyah al-Sāmīyah li-Qudamā’ al-Muqāwimīn wa-A‘dā’ Jaysh al-Taḥrīr, 2010), 129–40.

¹⁵ Martínez Antonio, *La otra Guerra de África*.

¹⁶ Eric Calderwood, “Writing the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859–1860: Spanish and Moroccan Reflections on Spanish Colonialism in Morocco” (Harvard University, 2011); Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 30.

historiographies have held. Other than the terrible devastation that the cholera ravage wrought on both sides, the winter cold and rainfall also complicated the military endeavor. Northern Moroccan orography was unknown to the Spanish, and it mismatched the widespread Orientalist descriptions of the sandy desert-like landscape. Hunger was yet another critical element in the course of the war. During the first weeks, both armies received additional contingents. After two months of intense battles, the Spaniards advanced in the territory until they took possession of the fort of Martil, which functioned as the harbor of Tetouan and was barely ten kilometers away from the city. The defeat of the Moroccan army in the following battle positioned the Spanish ‘Army of Africa’ at the gates of Tetouan.

After the Moroccan breakdown in the so-called Battle of Tetouan, the political and religious authorities pushed for Tetouan to be emptied before the Spanish seizure.¹⁷ Over the following two days, vast crowds of people carrying their furniture and possessions stretched out along the routes of exile. Many Muslims settled in the neighboring Jbala region, namely in Chefchaouen, but also El-Ksar el-Kebir and the villages in the surrounding rural lands.¹⁸ The wealthiest among them headed for Tangier, as did some Tetouani Jews. According to the estimations of captain Soler y Ovejero, approximately 4,000 Tetouanis lived in Tangier in 1861.¹⁹ Although some did reside in or enter the city temporarily while the Spanish were in control, the majority of the Tetouanis did not return home until the Spanish Forces of the Occupation had evacuated the city. Other than in Tangier, Tetouani Jews mainly settled in Gibraltar, Algeria and some Spanish coastal towns, but some also returned home after they had heard that their co-religionists were satisfied with Spanish rule.²⁰ This made the number of Jews living in occupied Tetouan proportionately higher than that of the Muslims.

¹⁷ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā’ li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90. Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África: ilustrado con vistas de batallas, de ciudades y paisajes, tipos, trajes y monumentos, con el retrato del autor y de los principales personajes, copiados de fotografías...* (Madrid: Imprenta y Librería de Gaspar y Roig, 1860), 416.

¹⁸ Mohamed Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, Muhammad V University, vol. V (Rabat, 1964), 227–31. See also: Ābū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ruhūnī, *‘Umda-t al-rāwiyyīn fi tārīkh Tiṭwān (The Major Storytellers of the History of Tetouan)*, ed. Ja‘far Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulāmī, vol. II (Tetouan: Tetouan-Asmir Association, 2012), 85.

¹⁹ Eduardo Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez* (Barcelona: Imprenta del Diario de Barcelona, 1862), 35.

²⁰ Juan Bautista Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870): aproximación a la historia del judaísmo norteafricano* (Caracas: Asociación Israelita de Venezuela-

As the majority of the Tetouanis fled or prepared to do so, the city suffered violent pillaging and looting. After the breakdown, members of the defeated army engaged in violent plunder, which particularly damaged the impoverished population, women and Jews. The day after the looting took place, an *ad hoc* assembly formed by the principal families, some Muslim and Jewish religious authorities as well as several artisans, merchants and small-property owners among the minority who had remained in the town, convened to surrender the city to Spain. A small retinue, led by the Tangier-born attaché of the Austrian and Danish consulate in Tetouan, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Aba‘yīr, thus headed for the Spanish camp to communicate the surrender and request the Spaniards’ entrance to Tetouan to stop the strife.²¹

When the Spanish troops entered Tetouan on February 6, 1860, the capture of the citadel was proclaimed by the fluttering of the Spanish flag at its peak.²² The Spanish military commanders and officials settled in the houses of the city notables. The commander in chief Leopoldo O’Donnell as well as his wife Manuela Bargés - during the three weeks she spent in the city - lodged at the mansion of Muḥammad al-Razīnī, a wealthy merchant who was also the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar. For his part, general de los Ríos y Rubio stayed in the residence of the consul’s brother, Aḥmad al-Razīnī’s, while the doctors Narciso Ullibarri and Nicasio Landa lodged at Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Salām Brīsha’s palace.²³ The *circa* 15,000 Spanish military personnel who inhabited the city before the first major evacuation took place after the peace deal of April 1860 triggered the construction and lodging of barracks to host troop soldiers. Some contingents were also located in Aduana, where the customs were located, and in Martil, which was to suffer considerable transformation as an increasing number of Spanish civilian immigrants settled in the occupied territories throughout 1860, 1861, and 1862. After the return of the majority of the forces to the peninsula, most of the

Centro de Estudios Sefardíes de Caracas, 1985), 50; Manuel L. Ortega, *Los hebreos en Marruecos; estudio histórico, político y social* (Madrid: Editorial hispano africana, 1919), 101.

²¹ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 100; Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḡṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:91; Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 590; Muḥammad al-Ḥaddādī in: Antonio Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos: impresiones de Campaña* (Toledo: Colegio de María Christina, 1916), 121.

²² Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 430, 435–37, 439, 456.

²³ Nicasio Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos: memorias de un médico militar* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Álvarez, 1860), 168.

plebeian privates who remained in Tetouan were to be reallocated in the uninhabited houses of the majority of the exiled Tetouani population.

Although the war was not over, the newly appointed Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan initiated a variety of public works, protocols and novel institutions. Administration wise, the general in chief, Diego de los Ríos y Rubio, established a mixed city council with six Muslim and six Jewish representatives; the former were presided over by Aḥmad Aba‘yīr and the latter by Lévy A. Cazes.²⁴ The preliminary construction of forts, the widening of streets and paths, and the lodging of new medical and military establishments were aimed at both achieving greater security and easing communication with the areas that connected the city to the harbor of Martil and Ceuta. The Tetouani urban physiognomy suffered a notable and rapid transformation as the Spanish army “demolished what did not match their taste and separated houses from the city walls”.²⁵ In order for the occupied city to meet the modern urban and nineteenth-century hygiene standards, several of the most impoverished inhabitants were evicted and their houses demolished.

The renaming of gates, streets and public spaces in occupied Tetouan was another early symbolic act of the Spanish appropriation of the city. A few days after the seizure, Sīdī ‘Abd-Allah al-Baqāl’s *zāwiya*, located in the main square, was consecrated as a church under the name of Nuestra Señora de las Victorias (Our Lady of the Victories).²⁶ The Christianized place of worship was named after the mosque that Cardinal Cisneros, a precursor of Andalusis’ mass conversions and the burning of Arabic manuscripts in reconquered Granada, had consecrated in sixteenth-century occupied Oran.²⁷ Some of the other urban denominations included historical personalities who had played significant roles in the conflictual medieval and early modern Iberian-Maghribi relations: El Cid, an eleventh-century Castilian legendary leader of the Hispanic Kingdoms who fought against the Muslims in their conquest of Iberia; or the Catholic Kings, responsible for ‘the fall of al-Andalus’ (the Arabic name for Reconquista) and the subsequent expulsion of part of the Muslim and Jewish

²⁴ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 122–23.

²⁵ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:95.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9:94; Daoud and Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān Mukhtaṣar (The History of Tetouan -Abridged)*, 200.;

²⁷ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 569. Daniel Eisenberg, “Cisneros Y La Quema de Los Manuscritos Granadinos,” *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 16, no. 1993 (1992): 107–124.

population.²⁸ The resurrection of the ghost of Reconquista in a city refounded by a group of Andalusí exiles was one of the tools that the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan displayed in their performance of colonial power. The assertion and the construction of the Spanish colonial military power on Tetouan importantly relied on the creation of a sense of repetition of the specter of Reconquista.

In the vicinities of the main square or the Feddān, renamed Plaza de España, the central hospital, a station for the electric telegraph and a printer were located. Two Spanish newspapers were to see the light between 1860 and 1861. The first, *El Eco de Tetuán*, was published in one unique number under the direction of the chronicler Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and with the assistance of the interpreter Aníbal Rinaldy on March 1, 1860.²⁹ The four-page edition expressed a triumphalist and colonialist enthusiasm that the complications of the peacemaking negotiations and the instabilities that shaped the beginning of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan were to give further nuance to. Despite the frenetic works and the rapid establishment of institutions, the peace negotiations which began immediately after the seizure were characterized by much anxiety and fear on both sides. In actuality, the promptness with which the urban and institutional transformations were made suggests the Spaniards' need to materially imprint their domain. Amongst other things, the preliminary conditions dictated by Queen Isabel II and the Ministry of War established that Tetouan was to be incorporated into the Spanish monarchy, an unacceptable premise that the Makhzan envoys rejected again and again.

The long peace negotiations were prolonged for more than a month and a half, until the preliminary Treaty of Wad Ras was signed on March 26, 1860, and confirmed by the highest authorities a month later. The Makhzan diplomacy and various other strategies to pressure the occupiers effectively contributed to limiting the Spanish colonial discourse and aspirations. Nonetheless, the Treaty of Wad Ras led to the establishment of new borders whereby Spain gained territory, especially in the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, but also – at least nominally until 1934 – in southern Ifni. (See Appendix, p. 337) The peace treaty also brought new commercial agreements, similar to

²⁸ Jean Louis Miège, M 'hammad Benaboud, and Nadia Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine* (Rabat; Paris: Kalila wa dimna; CNRS éd, 1996), 35. A detailed list of the pre- and post-occupation names of towers, gates, streets, mosques and other public places can be found in: Mohammed Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, vol. V (Al-Tabaa al-Mahdia, 1965), 321–24.

²⁹ Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Aníbal Rinaldy, "El Eco de Tetuán," March 1, 1860, Instituto Cervantes de Tetuán.

the 1856 Anglo-Moroccan convention which enabled “an unprecedented extension of capitulatory rights to natives.”³⁰ The convention likewise eased the reinforcement of the presence of Spanish Christian Catholic missions in northern Morocco, which were allowed to found a mission house in Fes and enjoyed the protection of the sultan.³¹ Ultimately, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was redefined as temporary and as a warranty until Morocco paid the war indemnity of four hundred *reales*.³²

The Spanish achieved a considerable extension of their sovereignty and degree of influence, yet the news of the signing of the treaty was not well received in peninsular Spain. In view of the great patriotic and colonialist fervor that the militarized campaign had given rise to, on the one hand, and of the discredited campaign that the opposition parties had led against the government on the other, large parts of society expressed their discontent. The colonialist warmonger calls had created expectations that the peace treaty did not satisfy. Representative of the general Spanish popular reaction to the Treaty of Wad Ras was the widespread motto ‘great war of petty peace,’ which was reproduced in many publications and speeches. During the twenty-seven months that the occupation of Tetouan lasted, the members of the Army of Africa and the Spanish civilians who settled, lived and worked there frequently denounced the lack of consideration or even the untrue nature of the statements that the Spanish media used for the occupation, its management and life in occupied Tetouan.

The Spanish occupation of Tetouan triggered two almost simultaneous and opposite migration processes that substantively transformed the city’s demography. Firstly, the largest part of the Tetouani population, and especially the Muslim majority, left the city upon its seizure. Then, thousands of Spanish military soldiers, and subsequently an increasing number of civilians immigrated and settled in Tetouan. A wide variety of Spanish merchants, laborers, publicans, professionals, entrepreneurs and all sorts of male and female fortune-seekers moved to the city even when the status of

³⁰ Mohammed Kenbib, “The Impact of the French Conquest of Algeria on Morocco, 1830-1912,” in *North Africa: Nation, State, and Region*, ed. George Joffé (London: Routledge, 1993), 52.

³¹ Isidro de las Cagigas, *Tratados y convenios referentes a Marruecos*. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1952). Youssef Akmir, *De Algeciras a Tetuán, 1875-1906: orígenes del proyecto colonialista español en Marruecos* (Instituto de estudios hispano-lusos: Université Mohammed V Agdal-Rabat; Ministerio de cultura, Gobierno de España, 2009). Pedro de Anasagasti, “Franciscanos vascos en la misión de Marruecos / P.A.,” vol. XVII (Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País, 1961), 218.

³² The value of one *real* of that time is equivalent to six euros (in 2011), according to Patxi Albisu Andrade, *La Guerra de África, 1859-1860 la División Vascongada (el 2º tercio)* (Fuenterrabía, Guipúzcoa, 2011), 22.

Tetouan and the conditions and means of its occupation were unclear. The multiple urban works and the predominantly male population that lived in occupied Tteouan attracted different work venues. Tetouanis were also either employed in or forced to do some of these jobs. The establishment of cafés, commercial establishments, and inns likewise proffered work opportunities for the mostly impoverished Spaniards. The Spanish military and civilians became night watchmen, urban police, as well as members of the delegation of provisions which controlled the quality of diverse food supplies. For their part, a handful of Spanish, British and French entrepreneurs found in Tetouan a new spot for their investments. Some women provided paid reproductive and care work for men.

Different leisure venues representative of the Spanish mid-century lifestyles were founded in the months that followed the seizure. The various means of entertainment aimed at providing the military, and especially the troops, with ways to continue to comply with their duties. The main square was turned into a bull ring where mainly the troops could spend their free time. They also practiced cock-fighting and pigeon shooting; and they played ball, bar and bowling games in the gymnasium that was built in the eastern part of the first district, near the Administration's ovens. In addition, rides from the occupied city to Martil were established in carriages, calashes or on beasts that were rented out. In the western part of Tetouan, beyond the city walls, a promenade was designed. The leisure venues were markedly informed by class divisions, yet the military authorities' will to homogenize the Spanish 'race,' the superiority of which over Moroccans constituted the main argument to legitimize colonial rule, rendered some of the middle-class hegemonic locations and activities exceptionally accessible for plebeian soldiers.

The architectural and activity barriers in occupied Tetouan were to an extent informed by 'race,' and thus divided Tetouanis and Spaniards, but they were also embedded in class and prestige status, and thus distinguished the middle-class and authorities from the plebeian common people, and on gender. To an extent, the impecunious Tetouanis and the Spanish lower-class civilians shared the exclusion from the spaces and institutions inhabited by the Spanish and local Tetouani authorities; instead, they shared and filled other establishments. The multidirectional functioning of power relations and the espionage, secret cooperations, sexual harassment, robbery and corporal punishment that the streets, the institutions and the households in occupied

Tetouan witnessed should not obscure the existence of love, friendship and cordial relations which took place across gender, class, and racial lines. Tens of Spanish and Jewish children attended the two schools which were founded in 1860 and 1861. Although the authorities expressed much mistrust when the barriers between the ‘colonizers’ and the ‘colonized’ were traversed in private or unofficial gatherings, mingling and shared experiences did occur. Similarly, the existence of mixed offspring was generally not willingly accepted, and the problem of infanticide that resulted from the birth of illegitimate children forced the Spanish authorities to open a maternity house in mid-May 1861, fifteen months after the occupation had been established.³³ The echoes of such phenomena spread to different locations in Morocco, and scandalized large portions of the religious scholars.

News such as this further complicated the already difficult situation in which the Spanish occupation of Tetouan had placed the sultan and his legitimacy. The payment of the war indemnity caused a rampant economic crisis, and the Makhzan’s inability to comply with the conditions of the Treaty of Wad Ras led Mawlay Muḥammad IV to signing a new treaty in October 1861. This treaty established that in exchange for the immediate evacuation of the Spanish from Tetouan, the Spanish and the British – who had provided the Makhzan with a loan – would be present at eight Moroccan ports, and half of the entry fees of the customs allocated to settle the debt.³⁴ The Spanish and the British civil servants were to operate at the customs of the ports of Tetouan, Tangier, Larache, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Eassaouira from 1861 to 1884-85. Such intervention was key to consolidating the Spanish influence and presence in Morocco throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

After twenty-seven months, with the second installment of the war indemnity having been paid, the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan evacuated the city on May 5, 1862. A few minutes after six in the morning the Spanish troops marched into the *Plaza de España*. ‘Abd al-Qādir Ash‘āsh, who had been dismissed as governor of Tetouan in 1851 with accusations of corruption, was reappointed for the post-occupation era. As soon as he entered the main square, a salute was fired and the

³³ Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860 (Marruecos)*, I: 247.

³⁴ Garrido Quijano, “Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 247–65; Omar Rodríguez Esteller, “La Intervención Española de Las Aduanas Marroquíes (1862-1885),” in *Marruecos Y El Colonialismo Español [1859-1912] De La Guerra de África a La “penetración Pacífica,”* ed. Eloy Martín Corrales (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 79–132.

Spanish flag on top of the citadel was replaced with the Moroccan one.³⁵ At half past seven the last Spanish soldier left his post. The Spanish flag was then raised in the Spanish consulate, where the Franciscan missionaries, several military engineers and civil servants had gathered. The then Spanish consul Isidoro Millás reported that a few of the Tetouanis who had been in exile during the occupation returned to the city that day. He assured that the city remained calm, that the commercial and service establishments continued with their activities, and that no Spanish settlers were harassed.

³⁵ Isidoro Millás, "Report 02/05/1862," n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation began as a project intending to cover the period before the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco in 1912, starting from the so-called Spanish ‘disaster of 1898.’ However, I then found material about the war that I have termed the ‘Spanish war on Tetouan,’ between 1859 and 1860, so I decided to cover the larger pre-Protectorate colonial period in the second part of the long nineteenth century. During some months, I also delved into the life and the deeds of a Basque ‘traveller’ to Morocco. El Moro Vizcaíno, as he called himself, studied Arabic, medicine, and read French works about the ‘Orient’ before embarking upon his first journey to Morocco in 1862. Whether under the name of el-Hajj Mohamed el-Baghdady, don José, or José María de Murga y Mugartegui, he traversed much of Morocco on a donkey, disguised behind a *jellaba*, and performing an oscillating identity that included that of a renegade, a peddler, a tooth-puller, a healer, an exorcist, and a midwife. As I have gained knowledge on pre-Protectorate Morocco and the Spanish colonization, I have become convinced that he worked as a spy for the Spanish government. Unfortunately, his memories and the unpublished letters he sent home during his 1862-65 and 1872 journeys do not fit the scope of the project that this dissertation has finally become.

My sources did not only bring me to Tetouan, but also led me to remain in it. As is often the case with violent events, the war on Tetouan and the occupation stimulated the production of several kinds of sources, which enable to investigate the contours of the Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter. Such re-encounter, as I will explain in what follows, is at the outset of several processes that shaped Spanish colonialism in Morocco in the modern era. Driven by the curiosity that the Spanish sources elicited, I started to problematize the event of the war propaganda in peninsular Spain. The Tetouani manuscripts intrigued me about the various processes which the reception of the war declaration unleashed in Tetouan. They also hinted at that the twenty-seven-month Spanish occupation of the city was not a mere anecdote, so I continued to look for sources and, in the end, the dissertation became a micro-history centred on the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan (1859-1862).

While the war has attained noteworthy scholarly attention, the occupation has been disregarded by historiography – with the outstanding exception of the Tetouani

historian Mohamed Daoud.³⁶ The occupation is mentioned, but little is customarily added to the dates it lasted. This piece of research aims at filling that gap.

The war, on the contrary, has attired much interest and continues to do so. Both colonialist and nationalist historians at both shores of the Strait of Gibraltar examined it. While the former acclaimed the venture as the beginning of the commendable Spanish colonial enterprise in Morocco, the latter viewed it as the start of an irremediable calamity in the history of Morocco. The main difference between both trends was the legitimacy they awarded to the colonial project and rule, and the antithetical quality that each of the positions bestowed to the phenomena within. For the colonialists, including the historians, colonialism was beneficial, thus so were the war and the occupation. For the nationalists, including the historians, colonialism was the regime of oppression *par excellence*, and therefore the war and the Spanish occupation were by definition oppressive for the colonized, without exception.

Colonial history, as colonial knowledge and rule, notably relied on several binary categories, namely colonizer and colonized, European and non-European, collaborator and resister, male and female, traditional and modern. Such categories were not only conceived of as opposite, but were also hierarchized in favour of the first category within the binary. In the nineteenth century, colonialism was both conceived and legitimized as a ‘civilizing mission.’ The ruling classes of the European great powers perceived and claimed colonialism as a force that was to ‘bring in’ the qualities that would ease the ‘civilization’ of those countries, cultures, and peoples considered to be still ‘uncivilized.’

At times, the global imperial notions and practices led to the establishment of different kinds of colonial regimes. The imperial concepts were not, however, limited to colonial intervention and rule. The imperial rationale and conceptual gear was shared by the political and intellectual elite of second-order world powers, such as Spain, of the colonized, such as Morocco, and of nations and peoples who lost their colonies and did not set new ones, such as the late Ottoman Empire or the subsequently nascent Republic of Turkey. The imperial notions and practices, including the aforementioned binaries, were informed by the discourses at work in the nineteenth century, which were in turn

³⁶ Mohamed Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, Muhammad V University (Rabat, 1964).

the result of several historical processes, of which the Enlightenment can be seen as one of the relevant epistemological turning points.

The histories that celebrated European military conquests over the ‘retarded’ and ‘barbaric’ colonized populations proliferated until the 1930s and 1940s. With the rise of political nationalism and the struggles for independence, nationalist historiographies which challenged colonial assumptions followed. Especially after the attainment of independence, which in the Maghrib region occurred in the 1950s and the 1960s, nationalist discourses disputed the legitimacy of the colonial enterprise. In the face of the absence or the caricatured manner in which colonized people were presented in colonialist histories, nationalist historians proceeded to unearth what they claimed was ‘the native people’s point of view.’ However, the voices which nationalist historians sought to rescue from the colonial silencing were generally restricted to those of the urban male elites as well as to state-crafters – often, the forefathers of the pioneering nationalist historians. Ultimately, in nationalist histories the colonized peoples were mostly devoid of their historical and political agency, and conceived of as the ‘victims’ of a superior force under the ‘yoke’ of which they had sunk.

The colonial and the nationalist historiographies proffered antithetical, yet similarly-grounded narratives on the history of colonial Morocco and the Maghrib.³⁷ The nationalist historiography opposed the colonialist assumptions, but maintained the grounds on which the discussion was framed. Thus, the value of each of the binary categories was subverted, but the categories themselves remained in place. Either by exalting its beneficial character or by condemning the violence of the colonial system, the colonial and nationalist historiographies constructed colonialism as a sort of unstoppable force set in motion by dynamic European powers, before which the colonized had been unable to do anything. Although supposedly informed by antithetical political projects, both trends highlighted the colonizers’ power, dynamism, and force; and implicitly or explicitly neglected that of the colonized. Thus, the colonialist and the nationalist histories reified the hierarchized binaries which were important anchors of colonialism.

³⁷ See the review of the colonialist and nationalist narratives, and the emergence of new research venues in the history of the Maghrib in Edmund Burke III, “Theorizing the History of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Arab Maghrib,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 20, no. 2 (1998): 1–15, and Michel Le Gall and Kenneth J. Perkins, *The Maghrib in Question: Essays in History & Historiography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

In the past three decades, colonial studies have regained prominence, especially in history, literature, and anthropology, and many of the previously employed analytical concepts have undergone scrutiny. As a result of the development of feminist research, and minority, cultural and postcolonial studies, interest in modern colonialism is now again at the forefront. The influence of the Indian Subaltern Studies group established in the 1980s was particularly relevant in shaping the postcolonial research agenda worldwide. The scope of the historical inquiries expanded to include sources and historical subjects not considered hitherto. Greater interdisciplinary approach has proved successful in questioning the previous linear formulations, and stressing on the complexity, the plurality, and the historical continuum within which the colonial processes were located. Moreover, the problematization of some core definitions and conceptions has led to the emergence of new forms of conceiving political action and agency.

More than a decade and a half ago, Ann Stoler elucidated that the new generation of scholars of colonialism were inclined to show that innovations in political form, social reform, and modern lifestyle were not “European exports and inventions but travelled as often the other way around.”³⁸ The bi-directionality alluded to by Stoler can be acknowledged when colonialism is not conceived of as an event located out of history, as a set of external impositions based on foreign ‘imports,’ when we acknowledge that the dynamic cultures, societies, and politics of the colonies shaped colonialism locally and trans-locally, and when we understand colonialism as framed within an imperial structure, within which multi-directional flows of ideas and practices took place, and as a result of which new subjects, consciousness, epistemologies and power relations emerged.³⁹ Nineteenth-century colonialism laid the foundations of current neo-imperialism.⁴⁰

The present dissertation analyzes the interrelated imperial discourses and the local practices in the mid nineteenth-century military conflict enhanced by Spain and the subsequent two-year occupation of Tetouan – of which the Prologue has offered a general description. In line with previous research, it proposes that Spanish colonialism

³⁸ Ann Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies,” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 848.

³⁹ Mrinalini Sinha, “Mapping the Imperial Social Formation: A Modest Proposal for Feminist History,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25, no. 4 (2000): 1077–78.

⁴⁰ Anne McClintock, “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term ‘Post-Colonialism,’” *Social Text*, no. 31/32 (1992): 84–98.

in Morocco preceded the establishment of the double French and Spanish Protectorate in 1912 by half a century, when the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation took place.⁴¹ Precisely because colonialism is understood as a set of discourses and practices that go beyond colonial rule, this thesis challenges the narratives which portray the colonial period as a historical parenthesis, and as an era disconnected to the pre-colonial and the post-colonial times and dynamics.

The chapters that follow focus on the processes, on the changes but also on the continuities that can be noticed in the sources of those who lived throughout those times. It highlights the different experiences that the heterogeneous subjects lived, and through which they were shaped.⁴² In scrutinizing the complex contours of the incipient Hispano-Moroccan modern imperial formation, the dissertation concentrates on the construction of ‘racial’ difference, on the politics of gender, status, and religion. It underscores the way in which power relations were structured and restructured along such axes, and it highlights the different forms of agency that people displayed – from the ruling classes to the subaltern populations. Importantly, this entails underscoring the formative effect of the imperial geography in both the Spanish metropole and the Moroccan colony. The section on Methodology by the end of this chapter will elaborate on some such epistemological and methodological issues. First, however, more needs to be said about Spanish colonialism in Morocco and the contribution that this thesis aims at making in an array of scholarly fields.

Investigating Spanish colonialism in Morocco in the specific context of the nineteenth century, as this dissertation sets out to do, reveals insights that expand our understanding of colonial Morocco and modern colonialism more generally. This dissertation is intended as a contribution to four interrelated scholarly realms. Firstly,

⁴¹ A similar contention with regard to the colonial periodization of Egypt is found in: Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011). For Spanish colonialism in Morocco, see particularly: Eloy Martín Corrales, *Marruecos y el colonialismo español, 1859-1912: de la guerra de Africa a la “penetración pacífica”* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002); Francisco Javier Martínez Antonio and Irene González González, *Regenerar España y Marruecos: ciencia y educación en las relaciones hispano-marroquíes a finales del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2011); Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴² Joan Wallach Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” in *Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Christina Gilmartin, and Robin Lydenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 779.

Spanish colonialism, in which Spanish Africa has received little attention in comparison to the Americas and the Philippines. Secondly, the study of colonial Middle East and North Africa, in which prevalence has been given to British and French colonialism, and in which the Maghrib has received less attention than the Mashriq. Thirdly, Moroccan historiography, which has until recently disregarded colonial Morocco as if it were a ‘historical parenthesis.’ And fourthly, Hispano-Moroccan historiographies, which have focused more on al-Andalus than on the post-1492 interactions.

The study of Spanish colonialism has mostly focused on the Americas, and less so in the Philippines. The independence of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines in 1898 continue to be conceived as ‘the end of Spanish imperialism.’ Contrarily, however, the complete end of the Spanish empire did not occur until at least 1976, when the Spanish forces evacuated Spanish Sahara (nowadays Western Sahara), although according to the United Nations Spain is still the *de jure* administrating state of the territory, which did not undergo a proper process of decolonization.⁴³ Leaving the Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla aside, the two African Spanish colonies which claimed and obtained independence did not cease to be under a greater or a lesser form of Spanish intervention until the second half of the twentieth century. Morocco obtained its independence in 1956, and Equatorial Guinea did so in 1968.

Colonial Guinea and Spanish Sahara remain understudied, while in the last decades a considerable number of Spanish scholars have worked on Morocco.⁴⁴ At the same time, most of the research on Spanish Morocco has focused on the Protectorate (1912-56), and less so in the nineteenth century. This is so because, as mentioned earlier, there is an assumption that colonialism is concomitant with colonial rule, and since the Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco was officially established in the first decade of the twentieth century, the previous decades have received less attention. Still, unlike the scholarship on French Morocco, the one focusing on Spanish colonialism in Morocco has looked at the nineteenth century, and it is common to trace the history of Spanish colonialism in the country to the war on Tetouan (1859-60).

⁴³ “Western Sahara: Profile” (United Nations, 2015), https://www.un.org/en/decolonization/pdf/Western%20Sahara%202015%20profile_15Dec2015.pdf; See also: “A/AC.109/2015/2 - E” (United Nations, 2015), <http://www.undocs.org/A/AC.109/2015/2>.

⁴⁴ The fact that this scholarship is not so well known in English-speaking academic circles has to do with the considerable although decreasing secrecy of Spanish academia – linguistic and scholarly wise.

My investigation revisits the historiographical claims on the war and sheds novel light onto the subsequent occupation of Tetouan. More importantly, it puts both perspectives, namely the Moroccan and the Spanish one, together. One of the major pitfalls of the research of Spanish Africa is that the lack of linguistic proficiency precludes the use of the sources of the colonized peoples.⁴⁵ This dissertation breaches such gap, as it combines Spanish sources (in Spanish and Basque) and Moroccan ones (in Arabic). The sources will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent methodological section.

Besides, the scholarship on European colonialism in the nineteenth century has tended to focus on British and French colonialism in the Middle East, or the Mashriq – leaving North Africa (west of Egypt), or the Maghrib, to a side. Recently, however, the study of colonial Morocco has received renewed attention, although most of the works have been centred on French rather than on Spanish colonialism. The study of Spanish colonialism in Morocco which this thesis explores, therefore, bridges two gaps within this scholarly field: on the one hand, it looks at Spain among the European empires, a second-order world power with a particular history of interaction with Islam and North Africa and, on the other hand, it looks at Morocco among the countries of the Maghribi region, the only country among them which did not integrate the Ottoman Empire, and which was heavily influenced by the historical contacts with the Iberian powers.

An illustrative example of the pre-eminence of the Mashriq over the Maghrib and of the British and the French over the Spanish (or the Italian) is Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism*.⁴⁶ In his 1978 oeuvre, Said analyzed a number of works written by French and British scholars of the 'Orient,' which he restricted to the Mashriq. Said claimed, on the one hand, that the orientalists, embedded in imperialist thinking and politics, contributed to the construction of a 'barbaric,' 'uncivilized,' and ontologically inferior Orient. On the other hand, he argued that such orientalist knowledge had a generative impact in producing such an Orient. In his 2002 Prologue to the Spanish edition of *Orientalism*, Said stated that he was aware of the "notable exception" which

⁴⁵ Of course, the colonized people also appropriated European languages, but in the mid-nineteenth century proficiency in them was limited to a few and mostly used orally. In Morocco, the first known Hispanophone source by a Moroccan was Lahsen Mennum's chronicle, written in 1877 on the Spanish diplomatic journey to Fes. The chronicle was published in the journal *El imparcial* in Madrid. Mohammad Chakor and Sergio Macías, *Literatura marroquí en lengua castellana* (Madrid: Ediciones Magalia, 1996), 17.

⁴⁶ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York; London: Penguin Books, 1978).

Spain and its knowledge of the Orient and Islam embodied among the European powers.⁴⁷ Due to the Spanish Islamic past, claimed the American-Palestinian intellectual, Spain did not fit the “general European model” sketched in *Orientalism*.

Thus Said, and much of the critical postcolonial studies which he inspired, denounced the reduction of the so-called ‘Orient,’ and yet contributed to reduce Europe to France and Britain, and to fix them as the ‘colonial models’ into which Spain, and other European countries, did not ‘fit.’⁴⁸ Rather than abiding by the maxim that ‘Spain is different,’ this investigation seeks to illuminate a number of historical reasons that have made Spanish colonialism in Morocco both particular and general. Ultimately, “[i]f we stop thinking about Spain as somehow outside the European norm, we can first of all understand Spain better. Second we can revisit whether there was a European norm, and if so, what kind of norm historians should consider more generally.”⁴⁹

North-western European powers claimed to represent the ‘imperial models’ of the nineteenth century, and to epitomize the notion of Europeanness. This dissertation will show that those great powers exoticized Spain as a means to undermine it by depicting it as ‘barbaric’ and ‘uncivilized’ as the Orient. Said’s argument about the self-orientalization to which such knowledge production led is also noticeable in nineteenth-century Spain. I do not, of course, suggest that Spain’s orientalization operated as it did with the colonized Maghrib, Mashriq and South Asia. Rather, I aim at putting forth the idea, concurrent with Said’s thesis, that orientalizing was a way of discrediting particular countries or regions, and of depicting them as undeserving of sovereignty – imperial sovereignty, in the case of Spain, domestic one in the case of the Orient. The ways in which the orientalizing discourses evolved, I will argue, as opposed to Said’s claim, did not only travel from the European ‘centres’ to the colonial ‘peripheries.’

The study of French colonialism prevails over the Hispano-Moroccan, Hispano-Saharawi, and Italo-Lybian colonial formations, which discloses the north-western

⁴⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalismo* (Madrid: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial España, 2002), 9–10.

⁴⁸ Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 1993); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003); Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 2008).

⁴⁹ Regina Grafe, *Distant Tyranny Markets, Power, and Backwardness in Spain, 1650-1800*, Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 8.

Eurocentric view which has prevailed in the analyses of colonial Maghrib.⁵⁰ In the case of Morocco, the historical as well as the analytical insights drawn from French colonialism in Morocco have predominated and are often incorrectly generalized to speak about the whole of the country.⁵¹ Some such works, in fact, do not even acknowledge the Spanish presence and role in the northern part of the country. Following the trace of several scholars, this dissertation aims at disclosing the relevant insights that the study of Spanish modern colonialism in Morocco can provide to the understanding of colonial Morocco and European colonialism in the Maghrib.⁵² One of the most important insights invested in taking into account Spanish colonialism in defining the nature of colonial Morocco, of course, is the acknowledgment of the experiences of the historical subjects who lived under it.

Not only Spain but also Morocco has tended to be seen as a regional ‘exception.’ Scholarly accounts of Morocco have purported the idea of the country’s historical isolation and secrecy. Different historical and anthropological studies have claimed Morocco’s alleged unchangeable historical quality and the lack of external influence.⁵³ This dissertation challenges such assumptions. Undeniably, Morocco has historical particularities with regard to its regional neighbours, and they need to be acknowledged,

⁵⁰ Juan Bautista Vilar Ramírez, *El Sahara español: historia de una aventura colonial* (Madrid: Sedmay Ediciones, 1977); Tomás Bárbulo, *La historia prohibida del Sáhara español: las claves del conflicto que condiciona las relaciones entre España y el Magreb* (Barcelona: Península, 2017); Susan Martin-Márquez, “Brothers and Others: Fraternal Rhetoric and the Negotiation of Spanish and Saharawi Identity,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 7, no. 3 (2006): 241–58; Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller, *Italian Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *Forgotten Voices: Power and Agency in Colonial and Postcolonial Libya* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

⁵¹ Eric Calderwood, “What Is Spanish Colonialism in Morocco, and Why Does It Matter?” (Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, 2016).

⁵² Juan Goytisolo, *Crónicas Sarracenas* (Barcelona: Ibérico Europea de Ediciones, 1979); Eloy Martín Corrales, *La imagen del magrebí en España: una perspectiva histórica, siglos XVI-XX* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002); José Antonio González Alcantud, *Lo moro: las lógicas de la derrota y la formación del estereotipo islámico* (Rubí, Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 2002); Mimoun Aziza, *La Sociedad rifeña frente al Protectorado español de Marruecos (1912-1956)* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2003); Bernabé López García and Miguel Hernando de Larramendi, eds., *Historia y memoria de las relaciones hispano-marroquíes: un balance en el cincuentenario de la independencia de Marruecos* (Madrid: Ediciones del Oriente y el Mediterráneo, 2007); Akmir, *De Algeciras a Tetuán, 1875-1906*; M. R. de Madariaga, *Abd-el-Krim el Jatabi: la lucha por la independencia* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2009); Calderwood, “Writing the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859–1860”; Nuria Fernández Moreno et al., *Tras las huellas del colonialismo español en Marruecos y Guinea Ecuatorial*, ed. Yolanda Aixelà Cabré (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2015); Mourad Zarrouk, *Clemente Cerdeira: intérprete, diplomático y espía al servicio de la Segunda República* (Madrid: Editorial Reus, 2017).

⁵³ See, for example: Roger Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat étude économique et sociale d’une ville de l’occident musulman* (Rabat: Editions La Porte, 2009); Edmund Burke III, “Morocco and the Near East: Reflections on Some Basic Differences,” *Eur J Soc European Journal of Sociology* 10, no. 01 (1969).

but it also shares a great deal of elements and characteristics with its regional counterparts – including Iberia.

To comprehend the nature of the Hispano-Moroccan relationships in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to look at the distinct Moroccan and Spanish historical and geographical notions, influxes, and relations, and to the shared ones. It is compelling to envision the Moroccan relationship with the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, sub-Saharan Africa and the Arabo-Islamic world, and the different social, religious, economic, and political networks which developed across time, on the one hand, and the Spanish imperial past in the Americas and the Philippines, as well as the Mediterranean and the European framework in which different discourses and practices intersected, on the other hand. Moreover, it is necessary to look at the Ibero-Maghribi encounters and particularly al-Andalus and the Reconquista within the distinct historical trajectories.

This takes us to the fourth scholarly realm to which this dissertation intends to contribute, namely the Hispano-Moroccan studies and historiographies. The study of al-Andalus has prevailed in the scholarship which has explored Hispano-Moroccan interactions, and the post-1492 Hispano-Arab interactions have received less attention. In this regard, this investigation offers new insights on the nineteenth-century modern Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter in which the evocations and uses of al-Andalus had a prominent significance. Nineteenth-century historical sources point at the enormous weight that al-Andalus and the Reconquista had in shaping the Hispano-Moroccan relations – both in Morocco, especially but not only the north, and in Spain, especially but not only the peninsular south. The evocations of the Ibero-Maghribi past shaped the Hispano-Moroccan modern colonial formation to a large extent.

The long history of the Reconquista is the history of a continuously shifting frontier in the Iberian peninsula. Scholars of the early modern period have argued that the moving of the Islamic-Christian frontier had a formative impact in those territories, and in the political discourses of both the Christian Kingdoms and that of the Umayyad and Tā'ifa Kingdoms. Given that the latter were aided by the Almoravid and the Almohad empires, the militancy at the Iberian frontier also involved Morocco. According to Amira K. Bennison, the frontier enhanced an orthodox religious identity and politics that was key in establishing the centrality of the concept of *jihād* in

Moroccan political discourse.⁵⁴ The liminality of the Iberian frontier also facilitated the politicization and militarization of the loose thirteenth-century definition of Moroccan Sharifism, or the collective veneration of the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁵ Moreover, it facilitated the early modern politicization of many of the Moroccan Sufi *turuq* or brotherhoods, which were prominently orientated toward fighting the Iberian invaders.⁵⁶

The steadily changing Iberian frontier also shaped a number of Ibero-Spanish social, cultural, and political concepts and practices. Bennison has argued that the orthodox religious identity and politics that saw the light in Morocco had its mirroring manifestation in Spain, where the creation of an emblematic saint, Santiago, and the pilgrim routes were used to shift populations towards the frontier.⁵⁷ Besides, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish imperial expansion in the Americas epitomized “the end point” of the “inter-empire conflict” that culminated in the Christian capture of Granada in 1492.⁵⁸ The conquest of the so-called ‘Moors’ and ‘Indians’ were also symbolically and materially connected.⁵⁹

The nineteenth-century Hispano-Moroccan colonial formation cannot indeed fully be grasped unless these trans-historical elements and their formative impact in Morocco and Spain are acknowledged. Spanish modern colonialism in Morocco is to be understood within the framework of the Hispano-Moroccan historical relations, which shaped not only the evocations of the past, but also several socio-political structures that, particularly in northern Morocco, were classed and embedded in constructions of urban ‘civilization.’ These elements will be scrutinized in Chapter Three, and Chapters Five and Six will show that they were key in the construction of colonial rule. The Epilogue

⁵⁴ Amira K. Bennison, “Liminal States: Morocco and the Iberian Frontier between the Twelfth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War*, ed. Julia Ann Clancy-Smith (London; Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 2001), 11–28.

⁵⁵ Sahar Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints: History, Power, and Politics in the Making of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 26.

⁵⁶ Burke III, “Morocco and the near East,” 74.

⁵⁷ Bennison, “Liminal States: Morocco and the Iberian Frontier between the Twelfth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 19.

⁵⁸ Josep M Fradera, “Spanish Colonial Historiography: Everyone in Their Place,” *Social History* 29, no. 3 (2004): 368; Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 164.

⁵⁹ Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (New York: New Press: Distributed by Perseus Distribution, 2009), 72; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia, Pa; Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 63–65.

will also shed some light on the extent to which current Spanish and Moroccan ambivalent perceptions continue to refer back to the Ibero-Maghribi historical interactions. The articulation of the political claims in relation to cultural and identity politics, and to nationalist, migratory, religious, and gender policies still nowadays rely on particular evocations of several trans-historical milestones.

When the breakdown of the Iberian powers gave way to north-western European powers' expansion in the nineteenth century, Spain began to legitimize its colonial ambitions in Morocco by recourse to both its Andalusí past and the continuation of the Reconquista southward. Particularly after 1830, when France began to colonize Algeria, members of the Spanish army began to claim Spain's role in what they termed 'Africa' – an eponym used for the western part of the Maghrib, namely Algeria and Morocco.⁶⁰ The 'rediscovery' of al-Andalus since the second half of the eighteenth century and the increasing weight that the Islamic past came to acquire in the definition of Spain reinforced the Africanist premises. By 1859, when the war against Morocco was announced in Spain, the claim of Spain's alleged 'historical and geographical rights' to colonize Morocco had taken root, as Chapter Two will show.

This, I hope, clarifies the title of the dissertation. The *re*-encounter defines the event under review according to what the Moroccan and the Spanish historical subjects put forward in the sources they produced, that is, that the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation constituted an encounter that recurred; an encounter that took place again, not for the first time, not with unfamiliar people. Such familiarity – often but not always in belligerent terms – is to be traced in previous encounters along the Ibero-Maghribi history. The notion of the re-encounter also qualifies the particularities of the modern Hispano-Moroccan colonial engagement *vis-à-vis* other colonial experiences, such as the French-Moroccan one. It underscores the importance of framing the mid nineteenth-century encounter within such large historical continuum and the competing versions of it.

The notion of the Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter encompasses the idea that the past shaped the nineteenth-century present, insofar as the present shaped the interpretation and the memory of the past. In fact, it is from the present that the past can

⁶⁰ Víctor Morales Lezcano, "Las Relaciones Hispano-Marroquíes En El Siglo XIX," in *Historia de Marruecos: De Los Orígenes Tribales Y Las Poblaciones Nómadas a La Independencia Y La Monarquía Actual* (Madrid: La esfera de los libros, 2006), 181–202.

be recalled; it is the present, therefore, which shapes the past.⁶¹ It follows that the past is interpreted from the present, and that the particularity of the present conditions and standpoint inform the evocations of the past. In other words, the modern Hispano-Moroccan colonial formation was an ensemble of distinct, at times antithetical, evocations of the Ibero-Maghribi past.

The second part of the title adds three other prominent notions that defined such re-encounter, and on which this dissertation focuses. First is the colonial nature of the re-encounter. The following chapters will show that the aspirations, the practices, and the rule that characterized the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan were colonial, insofar as they extended Spanish sovereignty in Morocco. Indirect rule was, indeed, more characteristic of colonial regimes than direct one.⁶² Such sovereignty was partial, fragmented, and indirect, key features of colonial expansion. Blurred genres of rule were not an indication of the distress or weakness of empires, but of imperial polities in active realignment and reformation.⁶³ The re-encounter was colonial also because it relied on imperial notions, such as the alleged ‘racial’ ascription of the ‘colonized’ and the ‘colonizers,’ which introduced practices that were based on and at the same time reproduced ‘racial’ social and political hierarchies.

Truly, the limited temporal duration of the occupation of Tetouan precludes the identification of the evolution of certain processes and their colonial management. The interracial intimacy and mixed offspring are illustrative of issues which might have been dealt with in a different way if the occupation had extended in time – as indeed it occurred during the Protectorate.⁶⁴ Importantly, the temporary occupation purported a series of colonial dynamics during the second half of the nineteenth century, in terms of the economic intervention that Spain enacted in the pivotal economic sector of the

⁶¹ Miren Llona González, “Memoria e identidades. Balance y perspectivas de un nuevo enfoque historiográfico,” in *La historia de las mujeres: Perspectivas actuales*, ed. Cristina Borderías Mondéjar (Barcelona: Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres (AEIHM), Icaria, 2009), 358.

⁶² Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, trans. Shelley L. Frisch (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010).

⁶³ Ann Stoler, “On Degrees of Imperial Sovereignty,” *Public Culture: Bulletin of the Project for Transnational Cultural Studies*. 18, no. 1 (2006): 138.

⁶⁴ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, “‘Pourquoi Tu Ne M’écris Plus?’ Les Rapports Mixtes et Les Frontières Sociales Dans Le Protectorat Espagnol Au Maroc,” *Hawwa. Journal of Women in the Middle East and the Muslim World* 1, no. 2 (2003): 241–68; Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Gestión Racial En El Protectorado Español En Marruecos,” *Awraq: Estudios Sobre El Mundo Árabe E Islámico Contemporáneo*, no. 20 (1999): 173–208.

country, namely the commercial, as well as in the realm of political and cultural influence.

The other notion which defines the Hispano-Moroccan colonial re-encounter is mimesis. Mimesis has been variously conceptualized across disciplines.⁶⁵ Essentially, mimesis is the representation of sameness, and has difference as its governing principle.⁶⁶ This simple definition points at two key concepts, sameness and difference, and at their interrelatedness. I contend, on the one hand, that mimesis operated in virtually all colonial systems. Mimesis is related to the concept of commensurability which has been explored in the scholarly literature concerned with cross-cultural encounters.⁶⁷ The construction of the Other and the Self is relevant to all cultural encounters, including the colonial. Such constructions rely on specular plays that deal with difference and similarity. On the other hand, that it functioned within its own historical, cultural, and political context in the Hispano-Moroccan imperial formation.

The mimetic mirroring plays can result either in the construction of difference on the basis of similarity, or vice versa, in the construction of similarity on the basis of difference. Mimesis thus becomes key in both the construction of the radically different Other as well as in the challenging of it. Barbara Fuchs has claimed that the work of some authors at the service of the Spanish empire in the Americas contained “a deliberate performance of sameness that necessarily threaten[ed]” empire-building discourses.⁶⁸ Chapter Four will put forth a similar contention with regard to the writings produced by some civilian and military Spaniards who were in Tetouan during the long peace negotiations which began after the Spanish capture of Tetouan.

⁶⁵ See, for example: *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture* since 1994. Necati Polat, *International Relations, Meaning and Mimesis* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2012); Wolfgang Palaver, *René Girard's Mimetic Theory* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013); Roberto Farneti, *Mimetic Politics: Dyadic Patterns in Global Politics* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2015). Michael T. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca (N.Y.): Cornell University Press, 1996); Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁶⁶ Michael Kelly, *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, vol. III (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 237.

⁶⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁶⁸ Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, 5.

Insofar as difference was a chief pillar of colonial political legitimation, mimesis was also at the center of the discourses and the practices of colonial rule, and of some colonial subjects' challenge to it. One of the common tropes on which the legitimation of Spanish rule on Tetouan stood was the Hispano-Moroccan 'brotherhood,' which stressed on the shared past to construct radical similarity and closeness. The polysemy of the Ibero-Maghribi past, however, also paved the way for the opposed argument, which underscored the 'historical enmity' that reigned between Moroccans and Spaniards. An anonymous Tetouani writer who lived in Tetouan during much of the Spanish occupation resorted to a legend to reinforce the historically-grounded conflictual relationship between Spaniards and Moroccans.

There exists an old enmity between the inhabitants of both shores of the Mediterranean. That was the reason for the opening of the Strait, as the natives of the shore of al-Andalus, who were weak people who could not confront those who lie in the shore side of Fes, complained to Dhū al-Qarnayn, who cut open the strait (...) they so rested until the people of this shore built boats and evil returned.⁶⁹

Dhū al-Qarnayn, literally 'the one with two horns,' is a figure mentioned in the Qur'ān, where he embodies the righteous ruler and is generally held to epitomize Alexander the Great, as represented on his coins. In this fragment, Dhū al-Qarnayn appears as referee of the old disagreements between the inhabitants of both shores of the Strait of Gibraltar. The legendary character is also the one who, as a result of such discords, cut the strait open. Unsurprisingly, the difference between the people is put in terms of force, to the detriment of those at the shore of al-Andalus, or the Iberian one. The legend is, of course, an illustration of the myriad explanations that may have circulated in nineteenth-century Morocco on the relationship between Spaniards and Moroccans. The recourse of the author of the manuscript, however, challenged opposite tropes that were being mobilized to legitimize Spanish colonial rule. It did so by highlighting their difference and "old enmity," within a framework of recurrent encounters that challenged 'supernatural' forces.

⁶⁹ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" in *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, ed. Mohammed Daoud and Muḥammad Ibn Tawīt, vol. V (Al-Tabaa al-Mahdia, 1965), 283; Reginaldo Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," *Al-Andalus: Revista de Las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid Y Granada* 2, no. 1 (1934): 70. Emphasis added.

The ubiquity of al-Andalus, the multiplicity of versions that its memory facilitated, and the varied subjects who recurred to such evocations preclude the problematic issue of the ‘originality’ and the ‘copy’ (of an alleged ‘original’) that overwhelms scholarly discussions on mimesis and imitation. What the Hispano-Moroccan mimesis enhanced was mutual appropriation of a shared past. The chapters that follow will show that the Spanish colonial rulers, the Tetouani subjects who worked with them, and the Spanish and the Tetouani female and male subalterns put forth claims grounded on their political views and interests that relied upon and (re)shaped past evocations. In the dissertation, mimesis is taken as the principle guiding discourses, attitudes and practices entailing mimicking, ventriloquizing, imitation, identification, reproduction, and appropriation.

I am however interested in the specular reflections of mimesis at the core of various of the aforementioned colonial binaries, not only the ‘racial’ or so-called cultural divide. Difference and similarity were mobilized in relation to the colonial categories of the ‘civilized’ *versus* ‘uncivilized,’ men/virility/masculine *versus* women/femininity/female, and urban *versus* rural, to name the most prominent axes on which power relations were based. I am particularly concerned with the way in which the different forms of mimesis foregrounded or limited hierarchy across these divides, and in shedding light onto who, when, and why recurred to them.

The reinforcement of difference and similarity was at the core of the politics of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, and it adopted a multitude of forms. By means of imitating, ventriloquizing, (des)identifying, or appropriating discourses, practices, and attitudes, the heterogeneous inhabitants of occupied Tetouan contributed to shape the idiosyncrasy of the Hispano-Moroccan colonial spaces, rule, and discourses. The reification of patriarchy at work in the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was grounded on the reinforcement of the similarity among men over their ‘racial,’ religious, or class-based differences. Lessening class differences among Spaniards reinforced the category of ‘race’ that was key to legitimize the rule of the ‘Spanish race’ over the ‘Moroccan race.’ The highlighting of the urban character of the Tetouanis also reinforced their difference with regard to the rural ‘savages,’ and thus paved the way to construct Hispano-Tetouani affinity. The subaltern Jewish and Muslims likewise drew upon their

common features and to Spaniards' differences in 'civilization' with regard to the French and the British to challenge Spanish superiority claims and attitudes.

It follows that the third term of the title of the dissertation, power, is thus conceived in such intersectional way. The term intersectionality emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s from within a scholarly movement born in the legal academy which problematized law's purported neutrality and objectivity. The term arose in a pre-existing theoretically and politically committed scholarly and literary production.⁷⁰ According to Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined the term, the intersectional approach intends to underscore the multidimensionality of marginalized subjects' lived experiences, as well as at highlighting the intra-group difference.⁷¹ This dissertation aims at highlighting such multiple intersections at the level of experience and social positioning both between 'racial,' religious, gender, and status-defined groups, and within them.

The 'racial' categories were outstanding in the legitimation of Spanish colonialism in Morocco, and they were also prominent categories on which colonial rule was based, and which the Spanish occupation of Tetouan reinforced. When referring to 'race,' then, I will be referring to the colonially-informed categories that divided the Spanish and the Moroccan 'races.' I will put 'race' and 'racial' between quotation marks to indicate their questioning, and the constant need that colonial rulers had to construct and reinforce them. This dissertation will explore the construction of the category of 'race' and its instabilities, as well as its relation with other axes on which power relied, particularly religion and status.

The category of religion will be employed to indicate the relations between the people with different religious affiliations. The relations between Spaniards (Christians) and Tetouanis (Jews and Muslims) will normally be referred to as interracial, and the category of religion will mainly be employed to signal the differences between the Muslim and the Jewish Tetouanis or Moroccans. Although the Spaniards referred to

⁷⁰ See, for example: Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Cherríe Moraga, *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Pasó Por Sus Labios* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 1983).

⁷¹ Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, no. 1 (1989): 139; Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1296.

them as distinct ‘races,’ the ground on which the different status of Jews and Muslims stood in Morocco and the other Muslim-majority countries was religious. Under the sovereignty of the sultan, the legal and social status of the religious minorities recognized as *ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book) was regulated by the system of *dhimma*. The dissertation will explore the impact that the war and the Spanish occupation had in the inter-religious relations, in the context of the temporary suspension of *dhimma* and the demographic transformation of each of the religious communities that the occupation enhanced. The Muslim-Jewish relations were considerably transformed during the colonial penetration into the Maghrib, due to both local and trans-national far-reaching changes. This is a bone of contention in much of the twentieth-century historiography, due precisely to the historical transformations in each religious community’s power share during the colonial period, the spread of Zionism and the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948.⁷²

The politics of status, too, have room in the dissertation, although some culturally-specific issues compel us to employ different terms. The category of class will be used to refer to the Spanish population, to the divide between plebeian social groups and middle-class and wealthy classes. To refer to the Moroccan populations, status and prestige will be the pertinent categories. In nineteenth-century Morocco, the possession of wealth brought high social standing but did not necessarily confer power or authority. An important social division in Morocco was between the *khāṣṣa* or the elite and the ‘*amma* or the common people – each of which constituted heterogeneous groups.⁷³ The *khāṣṣa* was integrated by the *shurafā’* (sing. *sharīf*) or the descendants in the male line of Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima; the ‘*ulāma* (sing. ‘*alim) or religious scholars, whose moral authority stemmed from their knowledge; the notables, Makhzan officials, and wealthy merchants.⁷⁴ Although each of the members who formed the *khāṣṣa* were distinct, they formed a collectivity referred to as *ahl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd**

⁷² For an enlightening study on the way in which these issues have shaped social perceptions in contemporary Morocco and the memory of the Jews across generations of Muslims, see: Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford University Press, 2013).

⁷³ Mohamed El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman* (Wisbech: Middle East & North African Studies Press, 1990), 14.

⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion of Moroccan *shurafā’* see: Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1926).

or ‘the people of tying and untying,’ which implied that their presence and opinion was required every time the Islamic community had to take an important decision.⁷⁵

The phenomenon of ‘sainthood’ in Morocco requires some additional clarification. While the Christian notion of ‘sainthood’ refers to the charisma of a religious leader that is recognized after their death, in Islam there exist two terms, each pointing at one of the two visages of sainthood: *walāya* signals the metaphysical ‘closeness’ to God, while *wilāya* points at the exercise of power and authority on earth.⁷⁶ Vincent Cornell has identified eight types of Moroccan saints (or holy people) which summarize different trends of their power and authority.⁷⁷ The dissertation will, of course, contextualize the saintly figures according to the historical, socio-spatial and political specificities. For now, it is important to bear in mind that saints were important figures who normally integrated the *khāṣṣa*, but whose political views could exclude them from decision-making bodies in times of distress, as was the case of Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn on the eve of the Spanish war on Tetouan.

Another prominent social category on which power was based was gender. I will use gender to interrogate the relations among women and men, and between the gendered realms of femininity and masculinity. The chapters that follow will visibilize different women and their contributions, scrutinize men as gendered beings, historicize gender relations, masculinity conceptions, and their interrelatedness with the above mentioned categories of ‘race,’ religion, and class/prestige. By masculinity, I will refer to the study of “men’s places and practices in gender relations.”⁷⁸ Different forms of masculinity and especially hegemonic masculinity are often portrayed as a self-contained, self-reproducing system in a functionalist model of gender relations in which historicity is lost, and patriarchy is left unchallenged.⁷⁹ Instead, historicizing gender means placing the gendered subjects and the gendered discourses and conceptions in their temporal, geographical, and political context. Using gender as a useful category of

⁷⁵ El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 11.

⁷⁶ Vincent J Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), xxxv.

⁷⁷ Cornell, 277–85.

⁷⁸ R. W Connell, “The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History,” *Theor Soc Theory and Society: Renewal and Critique in Social Theory* 22, no. 5 (1993): 601.

⁷⁹ Marcia Claire Inhorn, *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies, and Islam in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 46; R.W. Connell and James W Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society*, 2005, 854.

historical research, as Joan W. Scott has famously argued, means “think[ing] critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced, deployed, and changed; that, finally, is what accounts for its longevity.”⁸⁰ More related specificities will be addressed in the methodological section of this chapter.

Insofar as this investigation is centered on the mid nineteenth-century war on Tetouan (seen by both the Spanish peninsula and Tetouan) and especially on Spanish-occupied Tetouan, such categories will be historicized by paying attention to the distinct urban Tetouani notions and practices as well as the Spanish peninsular conceptions and accomplishments, and especially by looking at how they merged and conformed new concepts and practices within a transnational imperial discursive framework. The urbanity of Tetouan was a major defining category of some of the aforementioned social structures. Urbanity prominently informed the politics of gender, prestige, and the interstices of the making of the ‘racial’ categories. Let us continue by zooming into the city proper to continue highlighting some of its features, their genealogy, and their nineteenth-century context.

1.1. The city of Tetouan

*It is reported that the Gothes bestowed
the government of this towne upon a
woman with one eie, who weekly
repairing thither to receiue tribute, the
inhabitants named the towne Tetteguin,
which signifieth in their language an eie.*⁸¹

Tetteguin, as spelled by Leo the Africanus, or Tiṭṭāwīn, in Amazigh, is the original name of the northern Moroccan city occupied by the Spanish in 1860. Albeit inexact, the Africanus’ observation traces the etymology of Tetouan’s name to a female pseudo-cyclops ruler. Tiṭṭawīn means both ‘water springs’ and ‘eyes,’ in the plural; a polysemy that Amazigh shares with Arabic (‘ayn, pl. ‘uyūn), and which is endorsed in many place

⁸⁰ Joan W Scott, “Unanswered Questions,” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1423.

⁸¹ Africanus Leo, *The History and Description of Africa: And of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, ed. Robert Brown and John Pory (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), 511.

names. Within Tetouan, a quarter of the Madīna or the old Islamic town also holds the name of al-‘Uyūn.⁸²

Centuries after the supposed Goth ruler’s existence, another woman ruled Tetouan. The well-known al-Sayyīda al-Ḥurra, whose title, ‘free noble woman,’ signed her condition of ruler, governed the city for at least two decades in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Al-Sayyīda al-Ḥurra was born to a *sharīf* family who had exiled from al-Andalus and ruled the city of Chefchaouen.⁸³ Her life is full of speculative narratives. The dates of her office are also unclear; while Fatima Mernissi affirmed she had ruled from 1525 to 1542, Rodolfo Gil Grimau suggests she might have started to rule or at least share the governance of the city with her sick husband already in 1510 or 1512.⁸⁴ Whether her husband was Sīdī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mandārī, the commander in chief of the group of Andalusis who reestablished Tetouan, or rather his son is likewise dubious. The Christian chronicles depict al-Sayyīda al-Ḥurra as a quarrelsome and bad-tempered ‘pirate,’ the comrade of Barbarossa in the west, and as an extremely competent diplomat.⁸⁵

The history of Tiṭṭawīn until the fifteenth century is only imperfectly known. The Roman *opidum* of Tamuda, which later became the seat of a bishop, *Tamudensis episcopus*, is situated eight kilometers away from Tetouan’s present location.⁸⁶ The first known source that mentions its actual Amazigh name dates back to the ninth century. Between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, Tetouan witnessed economic and urban growth and it apparently became a fortified settlement before the eleventh century.⁸⁷ Particularly flourishing, it seems, were the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.⁸⁸ The Iberian powers razed it as a reprisal against piracy at the beginning of the fifteenth

⁸² Halima Ferhat, *The Encyclopedia of Islam: Tittawin*, ed. C.E. Bothworth et al., vol. X (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 549.

⁸³ Miège, Benaboud, and Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine*, 35.

⁸⁴ Fatima Mernissi, *Sultanes oubliées : femmes chefs d’État en Islam* (Casablanca: Éditions Le Fennec, 1990), 27–36. Rodolfo Gil Grimau, “Sayyida al-hurra, mujer marroquí de origen andalusi,” *Anaquel de estudios arabes*, 2000, 315–16.

⁸⁵ Hasna Lebbady, “Women in Northern Morocco: Between the Documentary and the Imaginary,” *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 32 (2012): 128–34.

⁸⁶ Ferhat, *The Encyclopedia of Islam: Tittawin*, X: 549.

⁸⁷ Ferhat, X:549; Thomas K Park and Aomar Boum, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham; Boulder; New York: London Rowman et Littlefield, 2016), 190.

⁸⁸ M’hammad Benaboud, “Tetouan, Its History and Culture,” *Maktaba-T Muḥammad Dawūd (The Daoudian Library)*, April 14, 2017, 2, <http://daoud.ws/documents/TetouanByMBenaboud.pdf>.

century, after which the city was abandoned and remained uninhabited for various decades.

The Andalusī populations reestablished the city of Tetouan under the direction of Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Maḍarī between 1483 and 1485.⁸⁹ The town was walled, and a Madīna, as well as a small fortified Millāḥ were subsequently established. The medieval town was formed of houses, public baths, religious temples, public fountains and ovens, some of which have been preserved until today. On top of the hill of Jbel Dersa, a citadel which bore al-Maḍarī’s name was built. Extensive dungeons secretly traversed the city ground. They were particularly used to keep Iberian prisoners during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, when Tetouan was an important enclave for the Mediterranean piracy. (See Appendix, p. 337)

Upon the arrival of new waves of Moriscos in the early seventeenth century, the city expanded beyond its original walls. The newly arrived populations settled in the hillside of Jbel Dersa, and formed the neighborhood of al-Andalus.⁹⁰ (See Appendix). The partly octagonal shape of the new quarter, afterwards renamed al-‘Uyūn, contrasts with the organic physiognomy of the fifteenth-century settlement, which became the quarter of al-Maḍarī, later on renamed al-Bilād. In the nineteenth century, al-‘Uyūn was the quarter of artisans, handcrafters and retailers, more popular than al-Bilād, where by the beginning of the nineteenth century the city notables had built their mansions and the Great Mosque.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, Tetouan hosted foreign consuls and merchants.⁹¹ The port of Martil was among the most important Moroccan harbors. Tetouan commercialized with France, Spain, Gibraltar, and Italy, and the exported products were mainly linen, cotton and silk production, gold and silver work and tanning, the manufacture of slippers, pottery and arms.⁹² Tetouan’s historical maritime and commercial relations with an array of countries is noticeable in the presence of foreign products in the houses of the wealthy merchants, from English carpets and

⁸⁹ Hassan Radoine, “An Encompassing Madina: Toward New Definition of City in Morocco” (University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 87.

⁹⁰ Miège, Benaboud, and Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine*, 35.

⁹¹ Miège, Benaboud, and Erzini, 74.

⁹² Ferhat, *The Encyclopedia of Islam: Tittawin*, X:549.

silverware from Manchester to Italian lamps and Chinese porcelain.⁹³ Yet in 1770 Sultan Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd-Allah al-Khatīb moved the headquarters for foreign diplomats and traders to nearby Tangier. The creation of the harbor of Atlantic Essaouira in 1772 also decreased the commercial dynamism Tetouan had enjoyed in previous centuries.

Historically, Tetouan constituted a significant enclave in Morocco, because of its geo-strategic and political relevance. The scholarly elite of Tetouan supplied the Moroccan ruling class.⁹⁴ Moroccan towns were traditionally distinguished between *haḍārīyya* (seats of Islamic culture and civilization) or Makhzan (seats of government or hosts to garrisons).⁹⁵ (See Appendix, p. 345) The former, among which was Tetouan, as well as Fes, Rabat and Salé, contained significant numbers of scholars, wealthy merchants, and population with Andalusī descent. The latter hosted garrisons and storehouses and provided accommodation for the sultan and the military governors. The Makhzan (literally, the “storehouse”), which originally referred to the taxes and other privileges that the tribes received in exchange of the military service they provided, was undergoing a process of centralization in the nineteenth century. Abdallah Laroui defined the Makhzan as a contingent reality continuously negotiated between sultans, religious scholars, the wealthy commercial classes, cities, tribes, and Sufi brotherhoods.⁹⁶

The elite of Tetouan, as that of other *haḍārīyya* towns, had close ties with the Makhzan. At the same time, it maintained a considerable independence from the central power, and developed a strong and particular identity. The *haḍārī* (literally, “civilized”) condition of Tetouan was also related to its urban quality, *vis-à-vis* the rural world. The urban character of Tetouan was a socio-political construct that prominently distinguished it from its surrounding rural ethos. Urban ascription was also a metaphorically powerful category within the city, where the populations with rural

⁹³ Benaboud, “Tetouan, Its History and Culture,” 3; Nadia Erzini and Stephen Vernoit, “Imari Porcelain in Morocco,” *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 161–79.

⁹⁴ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 33–34; Muhammad al-Habib al-Kharraz, *Sufarā’ Tiṭwān ‘Alā ‘Ahd Al-Dawla Al-’alawīyya (Embassadors from Tetouan in the Alawi Epoch)*, vol. I (Tetouan: Al-Khalij al-arabi, 2007).

⁹⁵ El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 10.

⁹⁶ Abdallah Laroui, *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain, 1830-1912* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1977), 441.

background were among the most marginalized social groups and lived separately.⁹⁷ Within the Tetouani social pyramid, then, the rural folk were at the bottom, while the upper ranks were held by Muslims of Andalusí descent. As in other Maghrebi and Moroccan urban centers, the Andalusí lineage bore prestige and was a mark of status. Urban *haḍārī* Tetouan was also a city in which the prevailing moral rules (*qā'ida*) were those of public tranquility, moderation, and quietude.

In contrast to the Mashriq, where there existed indigenous Christian communities, the religious communities in the Maghrib and Morocco were Jews and Muslims. The majority of the inhabitants of Tetouan were Sunni Muslims. For the urban '*ulamā*' in Tetouan, Sufism was acceptable insofar as it moved away from the most 'emotional' religious devotion that the masses practiced. For its part, the minority Jewish community in Tetouan lived in the separate quarter of the Millāḥ. The Tetouani Jews were all expelled or migrant Sephardim who established a definitive community in the city in 1530.⁹⁸ Unlike in other parts of Morocco where the Jewish population included both the descendants of Iberian Jews and the Moroccan ones, the Tetouanis were all Sephardim.⁹⁹

In the aftermath of the French colonization of Algeria in 1830, a group of Algerian refugees settled in Tetouan. Although some Algerian merchants lived in Tetouan previously, the French conquest increased the number of Algerians in Morocco, and especially Tetouan.¹⁰⁰ Besides, sub-Saharan African slaves or former slaves were employed in the domestic service and likely also served as the concubines of the city notables. Prior to the war, some Spanish renegades did live in Tetouan and, as they did in other places in Morocco, they constituted members of the impoverished classes. (See Appendix, p. 338) After the military evacuation in 1862, however, other non-renegade individuals and some Spanish families remained in town. Members of the Ceutan Barceló family, for instance, were established in Tetouan after the Spanish government

⁹⁷ Abdelaziz Assaoud, *Tiṭwān fī al qarn al-tāsi'* "*ashar: musāhama li dirāsa-t al-mujtama*" *al-maghribī* (*Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century: A Contribution to Moroccan Social History*) (Tetouan: Tetouan-Asmir Association, 1996), 78–79.

⁹⁸ Paloma Díaz-Mas, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 152.

⁹⁹ Sarah Leibovici, "Aproximación Hispano-Judía En El Marruecos Ochocentista (Tetuán, 1862-1896)," *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, no. 3 (1984): 59; Haïm Zafrani, *Two Thousand Years of Jewish Life in Morocco* (New York: Sephardic House in association with KTAV Pub. House, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Assaoud, *Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century*, 88–92.

awarded them lands for the maritime services they had offered to the army during the war and the occupation, and have continued to live there since.¹⁰¹

The lingua franca in the city was Moroccan Arabic. Haketia or Judeo-Spanish, Jews' mother-tongue, was the second most spoken language. Standard Arabic and Hebrew were used in the education centers and religious offices. Other less used languages were Amazigh, and Spanish, English, and French. It is likely that a few Amazigh-speaking population dwelled in the city in the mid-nineteenth century, although probably most of the rural folk was from the area of Jbala, and thus Arabophone. Besides, those Tetouanis who maintained constant relations with Ceuta and Gibraltar are likely to have spoken Spanish and English. Some among the Algerian artisans and shopkeepers spoke French, and wealthy merchant-cum-diplomats such as Muḥammad al-Khatīb were also fluent in several languages, including Italian.

1.2. Methodology

I take the most defensible [standpoint] to be the commitment to human equality. The standpoint of equality is not an end-point but a starting-point for social analysis. In relation to masculinity it defines the enterprise as one of 'studying up,' a matter of studying the holders of power in gender relations with a view to informing strategies for dismantling patriarchy. Given the interweaving of structures of inequality, it should also yield significant information on strategic questions about capitalism, race relations, imperialism, and global poverty.¹⁰²

This section will sketch some of the prominent methodological challenges and strategies I have faced while working on this dissertation. My personal and political standpoint will come through as I detail the research approach, the kind of sources I have used, and some methodological insights I have employed while reading the sources. As standpoint theories have famously shown, every epistemological and methodological current

¹⁰¹ José Luis Gómez Barceló, "Las familias tetuaníes de origen español en el siglo XX," in *Españoles en Marruecos, 1900-2007: historia y memoria popular de una convivencia*, ed. Oumana Aouad and Fatiha Benlabbah (Rabat: Editions Bouregreg, 2008), 71–101.

¹⁰² Connell, "The Big Picture," 603.

withholds normative claims, whether they acknowledge them or not.¹⁰³ My decision to begin the section with R.W. Connell's assertion is already a mission of statement, the specific contours of which I will detail in what follows.

In the last forty to fifty years, microhistory and the preoccupation with human agency grounded in the quotidian have gained prominence. In contrast to the extensive and large-scale histories, the impulse of Anglophone new social history, history written in the framework of new social movements concerned with gender, race, and sexual orientation, *microstoria* in Italy, post-Annales cultural history in France, and *Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany have focused on the everyday lives, practices and beliefs of the common people.¹⁰⁴ Microhistory developed as an alternative not only to grand historical narratives, but also in response to the latter's confinement of common people to a position of passivity. Shifting the perspective and focusing on a micro scale, the pioneers claimed, allows for a better understanding of the relationship between structure and agency, and it also enables us to explain larger historical processes without losing sight of the way in which local agents shape them.

What the focus on the micro scale enables, then, is a concrete and detailed exploration of the way in which the historical phenomena developed within the local spaces, while connecting them to the 'big questions' and to larger chronological as well as geographical scales. Paying attention to the micro-processes of everyday life entails unraveling the social, cultural, and political history. It involves drawing attention to the lived space, in which systems of beliefs, of values and representations, on the one hand, and social affiliations, on the other, are shaped and transformed.¹⁰⁵ This dissertation is concerned with these questions and this methodological perspective. As the precedent pages have shown, the investigation of the Hispano-Moroccan modern re-encounter in the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation compels us to constantly shift the perspective trans-historically and trans-geographically, while remaining focused on the Tetouani spaces, people, and socio-political structures.

¹⁰³ Sandra G. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (New York; London: Psychology Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ John Brewer, "Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life," *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 1 (2010): 3.

¹⁰⁵ Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories," in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra, Steven L. Kaplan, and American Council of Learned Societies (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 32.

The microscopic perspective is also, almost by definition, more concerned with the individuals who make history, and with their processes of negotiation and conflict with the larger structures within which they are located. One of the thorniest theoretical-cum-methodological issues with which my and others' work deals with is, precisely, the relationship between structure and agency. Giovanni Levi has claimed that confronting human agency entails assessing "the extent and nature of free will within the general structure of human society."¹⁰⁶ Unraveling the co-constitutive relation between the structures and individual agency points at focusing on the way in which the social, cultural, and political structures shape individual subjects, and vice versa, that is, on the way in which individuals shape those structures. Limited location is also key for feminist standpoints.¹⁰⁷ The microhistorical perspective allows deeper and complex insight on the microsites of rule, on the arena of the domestic and the intimate that were so central to imperial governance.

Building a microhistory that reveals the complexity of events such as the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation prominently depends on the accessible sources. Luckily, I have been able to unearth a variety of multilingual sources that shed light onto different aspects of the episode under review. I have gone through the Spanish peninsular press and the newspapers that were released in occupied Tetouan, analyzed different Tetouani manuscripts, and different kinds of literary works in Spanish, Basque, and Arabic. I have also used orally-transmitted accounts, selected from compilation books as well as from a number of the aforementioned written sources. Moreover, I have worked on a population census and on some archival material.

Working with Moroccan historical sources in Arabic has been a major challenge. Most of the sources were written in classical Arabic, although some of them, and excerpts within others, were written in Moroccan dialect. While in order to decipher the handwriting and the linguistic meaning of the manuscript sources I have relied on the assistance of my friend Fatima el Madani, perhaps the greatest difficulty has been to grasp the overall meaning of different passages and to make sense of them. What the authors might have meant was often quite obscure to me. Prior to accomplishing this

¹⁰⁶ Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 95.

¹⁰⁷ Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 583.

dissertation, I faced some methodological challenges while working with the testimonies of interviewees whom I met and built a relationship with. This time, my sources brought me closer to the lives of people who inhabited a completely different world to mine, of which I was only able to access a part. I have tried to develop a mimetic empathy myself, in order to capture their message, and I have continuously endeavored not to impose my own preoccupations onto the sources. Great challenges also mean great reward, and the Moroccan sources have taught me much. They have chiefly led me to problematize some of the a-historical conceptions I had before delving into the dissertation. As many other cognitive processes, it took time to acknowledge the way in which such insights came together.

My sources drove me to acknowledge the persistent claims of Ann Stoler on the urge to conceive the colonies as the spaces and the practices in which key European notions were *made*, not imported.¹⁰⁸ Importantly, the analysis of sources produced by the colonized peoples underscores their share in the *making* of the imperial discursive frameworks. No *a priori* tailored discourse would have worked in the specific framework of each of the colonies, of course. In their construction of the colonial legitimacy, the Spanish rulers mobilized issues which were meaningful within the Tetouani social and political fabric. The colonized did not passively accept or reproduce the *statu quo*, they actually shaped it. Jacob Wilson has argued that while “[n]egotiating a complicated field of racial, sexual, and spatial segregation within a colonial context, the Egyptian urban middle classes in the 1920s, and more vigorously in the 1930s, sought to fix the boundaries of *their* society by turning to the state and the law.”¹⁰⁹

Putting emphasis on the unidirectional way of colonization (from the metropole to the colony), and stressing on the colonizers’ power to impose themselves militarily and discursively entails relegating the colonized to the category of passive non-subjects. My Arabic sources led me to acknowledge that colonial concepts and practices were not *only* imposed on the colonized people. The colonized populations were not outside the macropolitical structures that conditioned and delimited their political effects.¹¹⁰ This is

¹⁰⁸ Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁹ Jacob, *Working out Egypt*, 239.

¹¹⁰ Sinha, “Mapping the Imperial Social Formation,” 1078.

related to what Dipesh Chakrabarty famously referred to as ‘provincializing Europe.’¹¹¹ The scholar urged us to uphold the pressing challenge to decentre Europe from the metanarratives of globalization, the triumph of the nation-state, colonial modernity, or post-Enlightenment reason – except for the fact that, as pointed out by Frederick Cooper, his account also largely flattened European history to a single post-Enlightenment era.¹¹²

The endeavor to decenter Europe from the metanarratives of the historical and political processes of the modern era remains imperative.¹¹³ The Eurocentric accounts of the age of high imperialism are to be revisited so that Europe is ‘provincialized.’ But what does that entail? To provincialize Europe, I have come to believe, is to deal with a historical Europe, in which many conflicting projects and historical subjects – including the colonized – converged. To provincialize Europe is to neither avoid the specific trajectories of its expansion, nor to fetishize them.¹¹⁴ My own sources have led me to provincialize Europe through preventing me from falling into the trap of the imperial claim whereby the colonized did not count. The challenging of such a claim is one major concern in this investigation.

This dissertation highlights the agency of the colonized people, as well as that of those who belonged to the ‘racial’ group of the colonizers – many of whom were often targeted by the ruling colonial classes, whose interests they jeopardized. It traces the construction and the effects of the ‘racial’ categories, but also puts colonized and colonizer peoples in one single analytical category when phenomena or processes that did not occur at the ‘racial’ divide are concerned. Acknowledging historical agency or forms of political action, however, is not always an easy endeavor. There is a long trajectory of scholarly concern with expanding the conceptions of human agency, both across cultures and systems of belief and across time. Other than the scarcity of the sources (which I will address in what follows), perhaps the most notable trouble with identifying historical political action is that we, as twenty-first-century scholars, can

¹¹¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007).

¹¹² Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, 20.

¹¹³ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 17.

¹¹⁴ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, 30.

“lose sight of the quest of people in the past to develop connections or ways of thinking that mattered to them but not to us.”¹¹⁵

I believe methodological creativity is one possible answer to such a challenge. I have recently recalled a course that I attended as an undergraduate student back in 2004. The workshop was delivered by the Egyptian feminist activist and thinker Nawal al-Saadawi, and it was entitled ‘Dissidence and Creativity.’ I presume it is only latterly that I have begun to grasp what the title and the main theme of the course encapsulated. In this dissertation, I have had the opportunity to verify that creativity is key for dissidence, as al-Saadawi’s motto claimed. I have also become persuaded about the fact that creativity is a necessary methodological tool in order to be able to dissent with androcentric and elitist historical accounts. Also, importantly, creativity is necessary to discern historical dissidence – and the larger concept of agency – in the first place.

To be sure, my creative uses and readings of the sources are inspired in other scholars’ insights. On the one hand, the microscopic perspective has enabled me to make a close reading of the sources which, in turn, has allowed me to identify different forms of agency – in nature, content, and impact. In some written texts, I have distinguished discursive modulations which challenged the hegemonic notions of the time. Besides, I have tried to transcend the learned and mostly male authors of the sources by paying attention to both the informants of the person writing and ‘the backstage voices,’ so to say. More specifically, I have taken the transcribed sayings and rumors as reflections of popular discourse. This perspective allows us to expand the subjecthood of circulating discourses, on the grounds that illiterate people contributed to shape politics as bearers of news, gossip, and rumors.¹¹⁶ Thus simple phrases or passing expressions in literate writers’ texts become windows to the popular competing historical versions that go beyond the authors’ own version.

Through rumors, sayings, and orally-transmitted stories, reality is actively and collectively (de)constructed. The gossip and rumors which arise at moments of insecurity and uncertainty are “a repository of a community’s fears.”¹¹⁷ Other sayings and stories, especially the humorous ones, are ways to “ridicule mainstream cultural

¹¹⁵ Cooper, 18.

¹¹⁶ Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3.

¹¹⁷ Rachel Newcomb, *Women of Fes: Ambiguities of Urban Life in Morocco* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 32.

belief.”¹¹⁸ From this perspective, unveiling the truthiness or falseness of these discourses is not the most important issue. At times, the very falseness or the ambiguity of rumors “is what gives them meaning; they are a way of talking that encourages a reassessment of everyday experience to address the workings of power and knowledge.”¹¹⁹ They can also throw light onto spaces, strategies, bonds, and types of consciousness that seem inconceivable nowadays. In fact, one methodological claim that this investigation puts forth is that the value of writing history also lies in sketching plausible hypotheses about events for which ‘proof’ is not available. Educated knowledge combined with fragmentary information can indeed point to an alternative historical reconstruction to that based upon more conventional sources, or more conventional readings thereof.

Many of the anxieties expressed through popular sayings and rumors prior to the war, during the battles, upon the capture of Tetouan or during the occupation were embedded in religion. The social and the political role of religion in mid-century Morocco was substantially relevant, and fairly less so in peninsular Spain, thus the omnipresence of religiously-embedded discourses. An important methodological issue related to the scholarly approach to the ubiquity of religion in the sources is what Mohamed Ennaji has called “the desacralizing of the historical approach.”¹²⁰ Ennaji’s proposal builds on Mohammed Arkoun’s call for articulating a critical academic discourse on Islam and Muslim-majority societies, based on the deconstruction of the widespread interpretations of both orthodox Islam and Islamic Studies.¹²¹ Ennaji claims that history is “held captive of the religious discourse and its representations,” and urges us to make a secular reading of the religious texts, to “decode, or unveil, the sacred language” of historical discourses.¹²²

This methodological insight and the concerns which inform it correspond with my own. I have thus endeavored to ‘see through’ the religiously pompous language

¹¹⁸ Monia Hejaiej, *Behind Closed Doors: Women’s Oral Narratives in Tunis* (London: Quarter Books Limited, 1996), 80.

¹¹⁹ Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 45.

¹²⁰ Mohammed Ennaji, *Slavery, the State, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 242.

¹²¹ Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam Today* (Washington, D.C.: CCAS, Georgetown University, 1987); Mohammed Arkoun, *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought* (London: Saqi Books, 2002).

¹²² Ennaji, *Slavery, the State, and Islam*, 242–44.

which often veiled the premises upon which a number of claims were structured, which is another way of seriously historicizing discourses and the subjects articulating them. This does not mean that religion was not important, on the contrary, it means that it was the umbrella under which many historical and political relations and dynamics took shape. Desacralizing the historical approach entails unveiling what lie behind the omnipotent religious notions and framework, it involves un-essentializing the essentialist claims, while at the same time acknowledging why the historical subjects used them.

Another methodological challenge stems from the unequal access to people's voices that the written sources provide.¹²³ Some historical subjects, such as the subaltern groups including the impoverished classes or the religious minorities, are more absent in the sources than the elites are. The silencing of women comes forth as a structural feature – an eloquent one, according to Marnia Lazreg, which reveals the overwhelmingly androcentric nature of history and historiography.¹²⁴ Most of the sources are silent about the spaces, the activities, and the roles that women of different classes, religions, and 'races' performed, let alone the different ways in which their political action developed. To address the gendered nature of the sources entails a considerable quantity of determination – even stubbornness – and time, especially since the androcentric perspective of the primary sources is also transferred into the gender-blind historiography. Questioning the gendered silencing of women and searching for women's voices entails scrutinizing gender politics, and inquiring into the social and political meaning of women and the feminized realm *vis-à-vis* men and the masculine domain. To unearth the female historical subjects and write *herstory* is important because it provides an alternative view of *history*.

Yet exploring the functioning of gender does not only mean making women visible, as men were as gendered as women, and masculinity roles and conceptions played an important role in shaping historical events, in general, and the militarized warfare and colonial occupation under review in this dissertation, in particular. My views on colonial masculinities concur with Mrinalini Sinha's main claim, whereby the hierarchies of class, gender, and status divided the colonizers and the colonized, but

¹²³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

¹²⁴ Marnia Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question* (New York; London: Psychology Press, 1994).

alliances across various such axes also united them.¹²⁵ Tackling gender is tackling power, so discussing historical masculinity entails discussing the ideas and the practices that were based on the preoccupation with the share of power, with “the zero-sum game, that is, what one gains another must lose” concern which gender informed.¹²⁶

Yet writing the history of the Tetouani/Moroccan masculinities for English-speaking academics at a time of increasing racism and Islamophobia in the Western world is problematic. I am aware of the harmful caricatures of Middle-Eastern and North-African men as exceptionally brutal, hyper zealous and extremist ‘machos,’ and I particularly aim at avoiding fueling them. Thanks to previous research and much discussion about it with colleagues and friends, I have become convinced that avoiding to reinforce gendered racist or Islamophobic images of Arab and Muslim men does not entail smoothing over the inequalities that structure gender relations.¹²⁷ I am also conscious of the patronizing narrative about Arab and specifically Muslim women’s ‘need of saving’ that is portrayed in the Western media and some political discourses.¹²⁸ To an extent, these are informed by colonial and neo-colonial representations of Muslim-majority countries and people as static, a-historic, and culturally untied from Europe or the Western world. By scrutinizing the politics of gender in the Hispano-Moroccan colonial formation, this dissertation sets out to contest such falsified assumptions and disturbing discourses.

In the last months, as a consequence of the protests in the Rif, significant media attention has been put on the rescindable movement *Hirak*, both within and without Morocco. In my last visit to the country in July 2017, I delightfully found out that some Moroccan publications included maps, and taught the general Moroccan readership about the specificities of the northern Rif, and its differences with the neighbouring region of Jbala. The publications, in Arabic and French, general and specialized, dealt

¹²⁵ Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

¹²⁶ Don Conway-Long, “Gender, power and social change in Morocco,” in *Islamic masculinities*, ed. Lahoucine Ouzgane (London: Zed Books, 2006), 149.

¹²⁷ For similarly-grounded in-depth studies of Middle-Eastern masculinities, see: Farha Ghannam, *Live and Die Like a Man: Gender Dynamics in Urban Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Inhorn, *The New Arab Man*.

¹²⁸ Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015); Jasmin Zine, “Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women’s Feminist Engagement,” *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1–24.

with the historical, economic, political, and social characteristics of the region. Scholars, analysts, and members of the civil society were inquired on the topic. Among other professors and journalists, the popular informational historical journal *Zamān* interviewed historian Mimoun Aziza, professor at the Moulay Ismail University at Meknes, on Spanish colonialism in the Rif and its legacies.¹²⁹

In my precedent visits to the southern part of Morocco, I learnt that people in Fes, Casablanca and Marrakech did not know much about the north of the country. To my surprise, I discovered that the librarians at the National Library in Rabat, in the not so-distant capital, knew little about northern Morocco, its regions, and the Spanish war on Tetouan. The lack of knowledge and even contempt of southern Moroccans with regard to their northern neighbours is historically shaped. The impact of the divide that the double Protectorate introduced is not to be overlooked. Nor are the colonial legacies and the intertwined politics of imperial prestige discussed above. At least until recently, southerners used to scornfully term northerners ‘the sons of Spain’ (*oulad sbaniol*). I would however argue that the present attitudes are largely due to the aversion, and the political and economic veto which King Hassan II (reigned 1929-1999) held toward the north of the country. Northern Moroccans have great disdain for the central state which marginalized them for decades.

In Rabat I was also unable to find books printed in Tetouan. Among the indifferent looks of the workers of the main bookstores located in central Mohamed V Avenue, I found one who explained to me that the book distribution companies mainly worked locally, regionally at most, although in my favourite bookstore in Tetouan paperbacks printed in other parts of Morocco can easily be ordered. This geo-political cleavage and its historical evolution informs the archival politics in Morocco. The symbolic and material gestures toward the north of the country that King Muhammad VI set up since he ascended to the throne almost two decades ago clearly distanced himself from his father’s policy, which is also altering the attitudes of the private archive owners in Tetouan toward the state’s management of their funds.

While the original owners of the most sizeable Tetouani private archives were reluctant to let the central state put a hand on their funds, some of their heirs are recently finding intermediate solutions. These entail the involvement of the state in the financing

¹²⁹ Mimoun Aziza, “Al-Rīf, Isbāniā Wa Tuhma-T Al-Infīṣāl (The Rif, Spain, and the Fallacy of Independence),” *Zamān (Time)*, July 2017.

of a new adequate headquarters, insofar as the latter be located in Tetouan. That is the case of the Daoudian Archive, where I accessed most of the Moroccan sources dealt with in this dissertation. The archive is now located in a spacious premise, unlike when I first visited it in 2014, and the enormous, rich, and varied funds are now better organized, well kept, and certainly more accessible for researchers. That was the aim of the decades-long strive of the safe keeper, knowledgeable Hasna Daoud.¹³⁰

I was very fortunate to access the Daoudian Archive, where Hasna Daoud was from the very beginning helpful and generous. When I first visited the archive more than three years ago, Hasna let me have a look at the sources of the Spanish war on Tetouan which I had identified in his father Mohamed Daoud's colossal history of Tetouan. I took pictures of the manuscripts, and Hasna provided me with missing parts, additions, and a pleasant talk every time I called and went back to the archive. I have not been as lucky in other private and public archives in Tetouan and the rest of Morocco. Archivists or private owners have tended to be ambiguous and unreachable. I have also been unable to access personal sources of Tetouani Jews. When I met Sara Edery and León Bentolila, the guardians of the Tetouani synagogues, they assured to me that the Jewish émigrés had taken everything with them. Luckily, Jacobo Israel Garzón, whom the Tarbut Sefarad association put me in touch with, pointed at some publications which I have traced.

Things were not completely smooth in Spain, either. In my first year of research, an archivist in my natal Basque Country told me that the war had been significant "for the Spaniards." What she wrongly meant, of course, is that it had not been important for the Basques. I took her assertion as the explanation to her discouraging comments regarding my will to look at the Basque poetry of the war campaign. Despite her nationalist ideas, she strangely seemed not to have read the then recently published polemic book, written by a former member of the militarized pro-independence group E.T.A., which inspired me to look for the Basque cultural production during the campaign of the war on Tetouan.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Abdelaziz Hioun, "Hasna Daoud.. Muthaqqafa Tiṭwāniyya Naḍarat Hayātaha Li-Khidma-T Al-Thaqāfa Al-Ma'rifa (Hasna Daoud, the Tetouani Scholar Who Devoted Her Life to Culture and Knowledge)," News from Tetouan, Ṣadā Tiṭwān. Akhbār 'alā madār al-sā'a, March 8, 2015, <http://www.sadatetouan.com/news.php?extend.1393>.

¹³¹ Joseba Sarrionandia, *Moroak gara behelaino artean? (Are we Moors in the midst?)* (Iruña: Pamiela, 2010).

Not trained as a historian, I was overwhelmed by my first incursion in the General Administration Archives in Alcalá de Henares. That first shocking experience was however helpful for the following stays in the archives of the Basque Country, Madrid, and Ceuta. José Luis Gómez Barceló was extremely kind in Ceuta, and it was likewise easy to access the documents I was interested in from the military archive in Segovia. After enthusiastically telling her about my findings in one archive, although not sure how I could use them, Regina Grafe told me I was ahead of becoming a historian. “Historians are somewhat collectors,” my supervisor said, “and you seem to be becoming one.”

Yet to be able to ‘collect,’ I have played with the bodily politics. I have consciously modified my hair, my clothing, and gestures. I have also strategically depoliticized my approach, particularly in my ceaseless and mostly infructuous search for women, their authored sources, and information about the places they inhabited or traversed. Conscious about my privileges as a European researcher with access to funding and a multitude of other resources, I might have been more cautious than it was needed. However, obtaining the contact of owners of archives or information in Morocco and Spain frequently entailed a recommendation, and in the at times long processes I preferred to be on the safe side. In Morocco, convinced of the advantages it would bestow me and in order to avoid endless questions about my spoken Arabic, I have more often than not claimed to be an Egyptian, or a Hispano-Basque-Egyptian – which is not completely true, nor is it absolutely false. After this four-year research, I also feel a bit Tetouaniyya, and Fiorentina, too.

I have also become more empowered. Other than the academic knowledge, this dissertation has taught me a lot about myself. It has been a tough process of learning, and unfolding it in the ‘result’ of the process that this manuscript represents is part of that process. Insecurity drove me to intense working hours and stress, to a point in which joy almost disappeared. Now, for the immediate academic future I am to dive in, I feel committed not only to the passion that drove me to do this dissertation, but also to accepting vulnerability and self-care as career and life companions.

After delineating the bodily politics, the politics of passion, vulnerability and care, and making clear my feminist and anti-racist standpoint, this dissertation also upholds the academic boycott to Israel that the international Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign calls for since 2005. Israeli universities and research centers

are fundamental institutions in the maintenance of the Israeli occupation, which the spirit of this dissertation denounces. The Israeli occupation promotes cultural capital and academic resources for Israeli citizens while hindering that of the Palestinians living under occupation, which prevents scholarly discussions and knowledge exchange on equal terms. This piece of research is conceived as a contribution to a sort of academia committed to dismantling global anti-Jewish, anti-Islamophobic, heteropatriarchal, neocolonial, capitalist oppression.

CHAPTER TWO: THE WAR FROM SPAIN

On 16, October 1859, six days before Spain declared war on Morocco, the newspaper *El Clamor Público* released a chronicle which had been published in the British *Daily Telegraph*. It reported a Spanish attack on some Muslims outside the walls of the enclave of Ceuta. The British newspaper claimed that the Spanish soldiers had returned carrying the noses, ears, arms, and legs of Muslims fixed on their bayonets. *El Clamor* concluded that the British newspaper had suggested that the “Spaniards are less civilized than Moroccans, and are as fierce as they are.”¹³² But the *Daily Telegraph* built on a number of discourses which had seen the light in the previous decades. Lord Palmerston’s speech in Parliament, for instance, had contended that “whether in peace or in war, the character of the Spanish nation is more cruel and bloodthirsty than that of any other nation in Europe. Let them look to their conquest of America – to all the wars that have taken place in Spain.”¹³³

The accusations caused great indignation in Spain, and shaped some of the prominent discursive contours of the campaign of the war on Tetouan. On the day of the declaration of war, the liberal deputy and director in chief of *La Iberia* Calvo Asensio alluded to the article in the *Daily Telegraph*, and assured the Congress that the Army of Africa would prove its bravery as well as its generosity after victory.¹³⁴ Being able to achieve military victory and especially being ‘generous,’ or merciful, in the aftermath of victory was considered a sign of the degree of ‘civilization’ of the victorious power.

Within the nineteenth-century imperialist discourses, ‘civilization’ was one of the key concepts used to introduce hierarchical relationships among peoples, and prominently among nations. Partly due to the concepts that gained prominence with the Enlightenment, history had come to be understood as divided into evolutionary stages, and as the great European powers enhanced scientific knowledge and displayed novel means of technology they claimed to be ‘civilized’ *vis-à-vis* the ‘uncivilized’ nations. The notion of ‘civilization’ had come to mark the ascription to a precocious phase in the linear historical evolution. Such modern historical consciousness attributed a sense of

¹³² *El Clamor público*, Madrid, 16/10/1859, cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, “Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60),” *Rev. Estud. Polit. Revista de Estudios Políticos*, no. 162 (2014): 40. Emphasis added.

¹³³ *The London and Westminster Review* (J. Macrone, 1837), 171.

¹³⁴ *Diario de Sesiones, Congreso de los Diputados*, 22/10/1859, cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, “Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60),” 40.

historical anachronism to the ‘uncivilized,’ it “posited historical time as a measure of the cultural distance,” and legitimized European colonial ambitions on the grounds of their alleged power to ‘bring in’ such ‘civilization.’¹³⁵

Lord Palmerston’s references to Spanish colonialism in America, and “all the wars that ha[d] taken place in Spain, were deployed as illustrative examples of Spain’s “cruel” and “bloodthirsty” character, which in turn signaled Spain’s lack of ‘civilization.’ The implicit assertion was perceived as outrageous in Spain, for it attributed to Spain the characteristics that in the nineteenth century were said to define the potentially colonizable nations, thus delegitimizing Spain’s colonial project in Morocco.

These accusations were, of course, not at all new. On the contrary, they fitted into established notions introduced by larger historical processes, which the campaign of the war set out to refute. Such historical processes and the conceptualizations they entailed will be traced in this section, which will shed light on the main discursive tenets that the hegemonic peninsular social and political sectors advocated on the occasion of the war on Tetouan. In that regard, the war on Tetouan was a defensive war. The preventive attack, however, was a reaction against the derision to which the great powers submitted Spain, although it was mobilized against Morocco.

The great powers, especially Britain, excluded Spain from the club of the powerful nation-empires. Nineteenth-century Spain embodied the “anachronistic space” which postcolonial studies have denounced as being reserved for non-Europeans. This shaped Spanish colonialist discourses as well as practices, as will be discussed later in the dissertation. From the Spanish hegemonic point of view, the war was thus legitimate insofar as much outrage needed to be vindicated. The campaign for the war harvested a generalized patriotic fervor that was exceptional in nineteenth-century peninsular Spain. A large part of the hitherto politically and militarily opposed social sectors embraced the call for war and thus united in an extraordinary fashion. And yet, some prominent differences divided them.

This chapter will focus on the polysemy of the campaign which overwhelmed the peninsular social, political, and cultural realms in the last months of 1859, and will show the particularities of some of the most prominent discourses, especially among the

¹³⁵ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 7.

heterogeneous cluster called ‘liberalism.’ On the one hand, the declaration of war against the historical enemies whom the so-called ‘Moors’ represented created a unified patriotic fervor. On the other hand, however, some outstanding differences distinguished the social and political peninsular sectors regarding the national and the imperial formation of Spain. A close look at the media, the printed publications and essays, and the literary production will reveal the shades of the different and coexisting mid-century colonialist projects. The analysis of the main features of the hegemonic discourses will also help to understand some of the characteristics of the colonial rule and practices of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

The first section of the chapter will scrutinize the two hegemonic standpoints in peninsular Spain, that is, the liberals and the conservatives. It will stress the ground they shared, and the main differences that separated them. Within the illusion of a new Spanish colonialism that Morocco encapsulated, different political projects coexisted. The Carlist and Neo-Catholic sectors insisted upon the new religious crusade which they claimed the war offered, while the liberals articulated claims framed within the Africanist imperial discourse which had developed in the previous decades. What the discourses of both ideological clusters had in common was the framing of the war within a larger historical context.

The conservative sectors underscored the religious character of the re-encounter, and by so doing put forth the claim of the important role of Christianity in colonization. The mid-century re-encounter was a continuation of the Reconquista, a historical revenge against the ‘infidels’ to prove Christian superiority over Islam. The liberals, for their part, articulated Africanist premises that highlighted Spain’s ‘civilization’ *vis-à-vis* Moroccans, and especially Spain’s role in the ‘civilizing mission’ of Morocco due to historical, geographical and even ‘racial’ proximity. Spanish liberals claimed the re-encounter as a sign of the Spanish providence to colonize the Moroccans. The liberal conception of the Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter highlighted al-Andalus rather than Reconquista, and claimed al-Andalus as a paradigmatic milestone of ‘civilization’ in Spain’s past.

The second and the third sections will go on to show the heterogeneity which defined the liberal cluster. The aim is to scrutinize the complexity and multi-layered character of the polysemic campaign from within different ideological and social standpoints. The second section will analyze a poem written by one of the greatest

nineteenth-century Spanish intellectuals. I will aim at assessing if and to what extent Concepción Arenal's *España en África* (*Spain in Africa*) can be considered a form of political dissidence. Appraising whether Arenal's complicated poem molded the dominant notions which informed Spanish and transnational imperialism is key to acknowledging both historical complexity and change.

The third section will move to the northern Basque Provinces, where the transition from the *ancien régime* to the liberal paradigm was particularly thorny. I will scrutinize the use of the war by the Basque ruling classes, who were conservative liberals and at the same time defenders of the *ancien régime* Basque legislation, and the reactions of the young men who were eligible to enlist in the Basque corps. This section will thus examine the patriotic fervor from within a local and a regional perspective, and it will reveal the politics of the different individuals involved in it. Finally, the second part of the chapter will show and assess the different meanings and degrees of importance of the imperialist war across ideology and social position.

2.1. The Patriotic Fervor

*We are not going to Africa driven by a spirit of conquest (...) the courage of our army and our navy will let Moroccans see that to insult the Spanish nation is not without punishment, and that we will enter their houses, if necessary, to achieve satisfaction (...) It is not a spirit of conquest which drives us, we are going there to purify our honor, to demand warranty for the future*¹³⁶

Soon after the declaration of war had been made, the words of Leopoldo O'Donnell, the president of the board of ministers and future General in Chief of the Army of Africa, clarified the purposes of the 'African' enterprise. The war was a question of "honor" (*honra*), not of "conquest" (*conquista*) – at least immediately. With manifest metaphorical allusions to rape ("we will enter their houses, if necessary, to achieve

¹³⁶ Cited in: Emilio Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África* (Madrid, 1859), 241.

satisfaction”), this extract of O’Donnell’s discourse discloses the gendered dimension of honor. The peninsular – let alone the international – public opinion had blamed the Spanish army for the military defeats which had led to Spain’s ‘loss’ of most of its American colonies in the 1820s, and the army had entrenched itself in the defense of its prestige and masculine honor. The new military venture against a weakened Morocco could help the army restore itself against internal and external accusations. But the war also aimed at setting the stage “for the future” of Spain “in Africa.” It bore a double goal: an immediate “satisfaction,” and a long-term investment.

The leader of the governing party, the Unión Liberal, had been planning to launch the campaign since he had come to power in June 1858.¹³⁷ The campaign against the century-old enemy that the so-called ‘Moors’ represented could – and indeed, did – make O’Donnell and his party emerge as those who achieved internal cohesion. Undoubtedly, that was a major achievement. In the previous decades, the peninsular political and militarized disputes had led to the establishment of a wearying dynamic of revolution and counter-revolution, and of remarkable social and political disunity. The governing party had presented itself as the option which could finally bring stability and unity.¹³⁸ It is no surprise then that the sympathizers of the Unión Liberal advanced the campaign propaganda, as well as the modern imperial set of arguments legitimizing the Spanish intervention in Morocco.

It is worth noting, before delving into an analysis, that the patriotic fervor offered political gains to the Unión Liberal, but it also went against it when the colonial ambitions of some social sectors became frustrated at the end of the war. The patriotic fervor, indeed, expanded the scope of the militarized enterprise. The initial fomenters and O’Donnell, as the above quotation shows, had not envisioned it in terms of immediate territorial expansion. When disunity emerged during the peacemaking negotiations that Chapter Four will discuss, the opposition parties raised contentions against the meagre benefits and moderate territorial conquest that such a bombastic campaign provided to Spain. The defection of various members of the Unión Liberal

¹³⁷ Juan Antonio Inarejos Muñoz, *Intervenciones coloniales y nacionalismo español: la política exterior de la Unión Liberal y sus vínculos con la Francia de Napoleón III (1856-1868)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2010), 15–16.

¹³⁸ Carmen García García, “La reforma constitucional durante el Gobierno Largo de O’Donnell,” *Rubrica contemporanea* 1, no. 1 (2012): 103–4.

would also follow the largely frustrated expectations that O'Donnell's party had created.¹³⁹

The opposition parties played a decisive role in the calls to continue the war and the conquests in March 1860, yet the majority, if not all the social sectors, held enthusiastic patriotic and colonialist views during the campaign. This section will focus on the written media articles and publications to scrutinize the main discourses of the war propaganda. Scrutiny of the historically-constructed political standpoints and agendas will show that, for the liberal sectors (however heterogeneous they were), the war on Tetouan became the opportunity to 'prove' what the north-western Europeans and especially Britain challenged, that is, that Spain was 'civilized' and, thus, both that it was a modern European country and able to colonize. On the other hand, I will elucidate that the Carlist and Neo-Catholic sectors (however different they, too, were) argued for Spain's imperial force on the grounds of a religious and moral Christian superiority over Islam.

What these hegemonic positions shared was their defense of the war, and that made the campaign exceptionally homogeneously patriotic. At the same time, the different discursive tenets that informed each of the socio-political segments reveals the antagonistic standpoints they held towards the Islamic past of Spain, and Spanish imperialism. Their past evocations were shaped by the present context and standpoint, and their understanding of Spaniards' 'racial' or religious superiority over Moroccans as legitimizing principles of colonization. That is to say, the different peninsular sectors both shared and dissented over the national-cum-imperial definition of Spain. The critical analysis of these positions and arguments, I believe, is also enlightening as regards some of the outstanding polarized Spanish attitudes of today towards Islam, Morocco, and Maghrebi immigration – which the Epilogue will say a bit about.

The war on Tetouan has been called Spain's first modern "media war."¹⁴⁰ In the first decades of the nineteenth century, novel technological devices such as the telegraph contributed to the development of new journalistic techniques, which allowed for a greater scope and reach of reporting. Throughout the nineteenth century, the media

¹³⁹ Ignacio Chato Gonzalo, "El fracaso del proyecto regenerador de la Unión Liberal (1860-1863): el fin de las expectativas de cambio," *Cuad. Hist. Contemp. Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 33 (2011): 141.

¹⁴⁰ Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, 104.

were strongly involved in several wars. In the Crimean war, writers and journalists descended with pen in hand to offer chronicles; among them was celebrated soldier-journalist Leo Tolstoy.¹⁴¹ The 1859 Italian war, too, received much international attention.¹⁴² War was presented as a positive and patriotic experience, the armed conflict turned into public entertainment, and battlefields became touristic sites. The Spanish war on Tetouan was no exception to that.

Progress in communication and publishing enhanced new forms of reporting, both from within the scenario of the battles and from without. The peninsular publications on the war on Tetouan, in fact, included different types of records: letters and telegraphic dispatches with the accounts of the development of the war, bill proposals, transcripts of discussions in parliament, and notices sent to the consuls abroad. The most sophisticated included maps and prints representing the battles, the members and the arrangements of the armies, landscapes, drawings of urban and quotidian scenes, and portraits. These media portrayals offered concrete, albeit often biased, representations of Moroccanness. The Spanish media not only contributed to shaping people's views on the war, but also played a very important role in embodying the otherwise barely known Moroccan 'enemy.'

Both foreign and Spanish authors travelled to the so-called 'theatre of war' following the Army of Africa, and reported on the battles and the capture of Tetouan. These chronicles enhanced Spain's reputation "as a nation still capable of pursuing imperial endeavors," something that was extremely important considering the European portrayals of Spain's lack of 'civilization,' Europeanness, and colonial potential discussed above.¹⁴³ The chronicle of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón was the most influential of all. His *Diary of a Witness of the War of Africa* was published first as a serialized account in the media, and became a best seller in the peninsula when the war was still not over. Chapter Four will have Alarcón as its main protagonist, and will highlight his political transformation and that of other civilian and military Spaniards between February and April 1860.

¹⁴¹ Karl D Qualls, "The Crimean War's Long Shadow," *Russian History* 41, no. 2 (2014): 211–23.

¹⁴² Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁴³ Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, 122–23.

During the campaign, the peninsula witnessed an outburst of a wide variety of publications in the last months of 1859. One such periodical was *The Chronicle of the War of Africa*. The serialized *Chronicle* was edited by four men, all of whom were liberal politicians and intellectuals, either academics or journalists. The most well-known among them, Emilio Castelar y Ripoll, would more than a decade after the war become the last president of the First Republic (1873-1874). *The Chronicle* included several prints by José Vallejo, who had traveled to Morocco “to draw the facts and make portraits of the most notable personalities.”¹⁴⁴ (See Appendix, p. 339)

From the very outset, the authors of *The Chronicle* made it clear that Spain had to “devote part of its life” to the “civilizational act” that the war represented, or else it would have to “resign itself to the fact that the European people forget its name.”¹⁴⁵ As already indicated, the war on Tetouan represented a chance for Spain to contradict British and northern European questioning of its ‘civilization,’ its ability to colonize, and its Europeanness. The contentions that several publications made of the “general admiration” of European countries toward Spain’s “glorious deeds” disclose the veiled anxieties that especially liberals held with regard to European recognition of Spain’s imperial prowess.¹⁴⁶

The authors of *The Chronicle of the War of Africa* argued that the ‘civilizing’ mission that Spain was to carry out in Morocco aimed at “making law and justice universal.”¹⁴⁷ According to them, the “races” which populated “Europe and America” were endowed with the “mission” of extending their civilization to Africa and, importantly, such civilized “races” included Spain. Yet Spanish liberals did not solely rely on Spain’s ‘civilization’ – which was so very explicitly questioned by the greater powers – to argue for its colonial legitimacy in Morocco. Rather, Spanish liberals highlighted Spain’s historical and geographical proximity to Morocco and Islam, and

¹⁴⁴ Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África*, 212. Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁵ Castelar y Ripoll et al., 6.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, the second part of the pompously entitled *The War of Africa Launched by the Spanish Army in October 1859. History of the Facts which are Taking Place with the General Admiration of Europe in the North of that Vast and Dilated Empire*.

¹⁴⁷ Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África*, 5, 7.

used trans-historical and trans-geographical references to make claims for Spain's particular suitability to colonize Morocco.

The war on Tetouan was set against the backdrop of a larger imperialist framework, in which the tenets of Africanism had come into being in the previous decades. In the context of the Spanish 'loss' of most American colonies and the unscrupulous inter-imperial rivalries that were accentuated after the French conquest of Algeria in 1830, Spanish colonial ambitions found a new focus in 'Africa' – mainly used as an eponym of Algeria and Morocco.¹⁴⁸ One of the main traits of Africanism, common to other imperial discourses of the time, was the depiction of 'Africa' as an unaccountable whole and as the paradigm of what has been termed "the anachronistic space," namely the representation of 'Africa' as prehistoric and atavistic, conceived of as "inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity."¹⁴⁹ But Africanism had another important discursive anchoring, related to the alleged 'geographical and historical rights' that Spain argued it possessed in the African continent.

The opening section of *The Chronicle of the War of Africa* was indicatively entitled 'Our destiny in Africa.'¹⁵⁰ Following on the Africanist maxim of Spaniards' geographic and historical 'destiny' on the African continent, the authors of *The Chronicle* argued that "God has brought ['Africa'] close to the Spanish continent, to the Spanish civilization, so that it pours its life onto (...) [t]he lethargic races of Africa (...) that eternal hieroglyph of History."¹⁵¹ The discourse that claimed the 'civilized' condition of the Spanish thus encapsulated both the idea of the idleness of the inhabitants of 'Africa,' who constituted a historically indecipherable entity, and God's gift to Spain and Morocco for having put them close to one another. Geographical, and historical, proximity was thus a divine call for colonization.

The development of Africanism was related to several interrelated historical and political configurations. The decline of the Spanish empire in the Americas and the Philippines and the convergent ascent of north-western European powers was one. Another was the growing political interest in the Mediterranean and the North of Africa

¹⁴⁸ Morales Lezcano, "Las Relaciones Hispano-Marroquíes En El Siglo XIX."

¹⁴⁹ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

¹⁵⁰ Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África*, 4–5.

¹⁵¹ Castelar y Ripoll et al., 5–6.

that the Bourbons displayed since the eighteenth century.¹⁵² Last but certainly not least, there was the ‘rediscovery’ of Spain’s “own domestic Orient.”¹⁵³ From the mid-eighteenth century on, growing interest in al-Andalus had crystallized in literature and art, in the pursuit of archeological excavations, and the use of Andalusí themes which had, unlike before, increasingly been considered as part of the “national heritage.”¹⁵⁴ European and American travelers gradually jointly visited Spain and North Africa, and their writings highlighted the appeal for Spain’s ‘exotic’ character.¹⁵⁵ The appreciation and attraction for an increasingly exoticized Spain also resulted in a stereotyped image, whereby Spain embodied a timeless, and unchanging, traditional society.¹⁵⁶

The romantic drive of many Spanish and foreign writers also contributed to the steady consideration of al-Andalus as what embodied the ‘essence’ of Spain. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the preponderance of Castile in shaping the ‘essence’ of the Spanish character gave way to the Andalusí element in configuring Spanishness.¹⁵⁷ That contributed to the joint processes of the external “semi-orientalization” of Spain as well as the “nation’s perceived exoticism.”¹⁵⁸ But the coining of exoticized Spain as the European Other was also related to the transformations among imperial powers, and to the formation of inter-imperial power relationships.

During the decades prior to the war on Tetouan, Spanish Arabist scholars and liberal intellectuals had engaged in discussions regarding al-Andalus and the

¹⁵² José María Jover Zamora, *España en la política internacional: siglos XVIII-XX* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 1999); Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *Política Marroquí de Carlos III* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto Jerónimo de Zurita, 1946).

¹⁵³ Bernabé López García, “Arabismo Y Orientalismo En España. Radiografía Y Diagnóstico de Un Gemio Escaso Y Apartadizo,” *Awraq*, 11, 1990, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, 19–38.

¹⁵⁵ Isabel García-Montón and Carlos García-Romeral, “Viajeros Americanos En Andalucía Durante Los Siglos XIX Y XX,” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 26 (2000): 261–79; For an interesting journey account, see: Margaret Thomas, *A Scamper through Spain and Tangier / by Margaret Thomas ; with Illustrations by the Author*. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1892).

¹⁵⁶ Richard L Kagan, “The Spanish Craze in the United States: Cultural Entitlement and the Appropriation of Spain’s Cultural Patrimony, ca. 1890-ca. 1930,” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36 (2010): 37–58.

¹⁵⁷ Xavier Andreu Miralles, “El triunfo de Al-Andalus: las fronteras de Europa y la ‘(Semi)orientalización’ de España en el siglo XIX,” *Saitabi: Revista de la Facultat de Geografia i Història*, no. 55 (2005): 201–8.

¹⁵⁸ Andreu Miralles, “El triunfo de Al-Andalus”; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 116.

praiseworthy civilization it had embodied.¹⁵⁹ For their part, the mostly phyllo-Arab military personnel had after 1830 begun to highlight Spain's 'colonial mission' in 'Africa.'¹⁶⁰ Both intellectual and military contributions shaped the Africanist ideology, although with time the trends became increasingly incompatible and polarized. Towards the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, the Africanist agenda would distinctly be led by several commercial groups, united under so-called Africanist and Colonialist Societies, together with the political leaders of the time.¹⁶¹ Yet in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was the conglomerate of liberal intellectuals, politicians, and military higher-ups which formed the ideological stratum of Africanism, which would become the hegemonic Spanish colonial discourse on Morocco.

Africanism thus came into being in the context of Spain's imperial decadence, the revival of the Mediterranean politics, and the rediscovery of its Islamic past. This particular historical conjunction molded the discursive characteristics of Africanism, and distinguished it from other imperial discourses. The existence of al-Andalus – which was, unlike in previous centuries, coming to epitomize Spanishness and was positively connoted – introduced not only different colonial legitimization arguments, but also conceptions of history that differed from the Great Powers' essentialist historical consciousness and discursivity.

Since the mid-eighteenth and especially the beginning of the nineteenth century, Arabists and other liberal intellectuals had devoted themselves to claiming the Andalusí past as a remarkable quintessence of both 'civilization' and Spain. This decidedly led them to stepping back from their depiction of 'Africa' as only the "anachronistic space." At least, the acknowledgement of al-Andalus compelled liberal Spaniards to water down the essentialist and everlasting attributes related to the trope of Orientalist despotism. Thus, the authors of *The Chronicle* first legitimized Spain's 'destiny' in Morocco by depicting Moroccans as the "lethargic races," but then proceeded to qualify and, to an extent, historicize their explanation: "[o]ur homeland was the bed of flowers

¹⁵⁹ Bernabé López García, *Orientalismo e ideología colonial en el arabismo español (1840-1917)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011).

¹⁶⁰ Morales Lezcano, "Las Relaciones Hispano-Marroquíes En El Siglo XIX," 182; Alcantud, *Lo moro*, 16–17.

¹⁶¹ José Luis Villanova Valero, "La Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid y el colonialismo español en Marruecos (1876-1956)," *Doc. Anal. Geogr.* 34 (1999): 161–87; Garrido Quijano, "Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860)," 819–31.

where the children of Omar lay after crossing the desert (...) here they built temples to their Alah [*sic*] which shone with much artistic marvel.”¹⁶²

This is not to say that there was no progress-led rhetoric within Africanism. But it took a remarkably different shape compared to that of other imperialist powers. It has been argued that from the late eighteenth century on, it became increasingly common for Europeans to conceive of the modern era as a rupture from the past.¹⁶³ The past and the present would not only have been more and more detached, but also hierarchized. The present modernity would have accordingly been endowed with positive attributes like ‘science,’ ‘civilization’ or ‘reason,’ while the past would have been associated with the negatively-connoted ‘tradition,’ or ‘superstition.’ At the core of the historicist consciousness which developed at about that time, as did the academic discipline of history, lay a sense of denial of the past, and a will to present oneself as separated from it, as freed from it.¹⁶⁴ In Spain, nonetheless, the past was a laudable referent, if not a model.

The Spanish imperial expansion in the Americas and the Philippines, and the previous Reconquista and al-Andalus rendered the relationship of nineteenth-century Spaniards with the past forcibly different to the powers whose rise was concomitant with modernity. The Spanish dialectical relationship with its past shaped its perception of Moroccanness, as well as the Africanist tenets. Similarly, Moroccan – particularly northern Moroccan and Tetouani – conceptions of Spanishness were also mediated by understandings of the past, in which al-Andalus and the Reconquista had a remarkable weight, as Chapter Three will show.

The authors of *The Chronicle*, as some of the most notable liberal intellectuals of the time, acknowledged the praiseworthy ‘civilization’ that al-Andalus had constituted. But they then continued by attest to the progressive decay of its Andalusí ‘architects’ – most often referred to as Muslims, or ‘Moors.’ They thus built a discourse of ‘Muslim’ decadence, whereby *present* Northern Africans had become “a cavern

¹⁶² Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África*, 8.

¹⁶³ Lynn A. Hunt, “Modernity: Are Modern Times Different?,” *Historia Crítica*, no. 54 (2014): 115.

¹⁶⁴ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Introduction and Epilogue.

contaminated by fatalism,” and sealed against “progress,” unlike in the *past*.¹⁶⁵ The existence of al-Andalus, an outstanding symbol of ‘civilization’ in Spain’s past, enabled a circular conception of historical development which facilitated the idea of a sort of alternate colonization based on the rotation of the quality of ‘civilization’ between the Spanish and the Moroccans.

The problem, of course, of such a notion of historical circularity in which Christian decay had been followed by a Muslim rise in the eighth century and the Muslim decay in the fifteenth century was followed by the Spanish rise, is that it collided with the essentialized conceptions on which Moroccaness and Spanishness were built. The idea behind labeling al-Andalus Islamic was that it was not Spanish, for Spanishness was only conceived in Christian terms. The un-essentialized imperial discourse reinforced essentialized racial and religious conceptions that were, on top of everything, dichotomous, and therefore left out the Jewish element. The Jews were excluded from both the Andalusian past and the Moroccan present.

These problematic national-cum-religious identifications would become more complex, entangled, and disorienting in the next decades.¹⁶⁶ In the mid-century, however, many different ‘racial’ and ‘religious’ definitions of Spaniards and Moroccans coexisted. Some mid-century Arabists and travelers conceived of the Andalusian past as their own (especially the Andalusians), while others thought of it as foreign but having occurred in the peninsula.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, Spain and Morocco were seen as interchangeable entities by some public figures. Just a month before the declaration of war, Cristino Martos y Balbí argued that Spain and Morocco were destined to form one single entity, and he wondered “if Spain should be named Morocco or if Morocco should be called Spain, and whether the latter should take its borders to Atlas or whether the frontiers of Mauritania should extend to the Pyrenees.”¹⁶⁸ For his part, Leopoldo O’Donnell’s secretary Carlos Navarro conceived of Spain as a hybrid nation,

¹⁶⁵ Castelar y Ripoll et al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África por los Señores D. E. Castelar, D. F. de Paula Canalejas, D. G. Cruzada Villaamil y D. Miguel Morayta. Ilustrada con laminas por D. J. Vallejo. Crónica del ejército y armada de África*, 7.

¹⁶⁶ Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*; Sarrionandia, *Moroak gara behelaino artean? (Are we Moors in the midst?)*.

¹⁶⁷ Manuela Marín, “Un encuentro colonial: viajeros españoles en Marruecos (1860-1912),” *Hispania* LVI/1, no. 192 (1996): 112–13.

¹⁶⁸ “La expedición al África”, *La América*, 08/09/1859, cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, “Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60),” 48.

a mixture of “the refinements of European civilization” and “the enervating idleness of African indolence.”¹⁶⁹

Any of these notions of Spanishness were all the more inconceivable for the anti-liberal sectors embodied by the Carlists and the Neo-Catholics, who interpreted and made use of the war on Tetouan to proclaim the central role of Catholicism in the war against the ‘infidel’ Moroccans.

One prominent figure upon whom the conservative Catholic political discourses and the press drew on occasion of the flag-waving campaign was Isabel la Católica. The fabulous monarch’s will, in which it was said she had sworn not to cease in the conquest of Africa, was transcribed time and again. The underpinning rationale was that after centuries of neglect, the time had come to resume the endeavor that the queen who had put a definitive end to al-Andalus had advocated. In many of the publications which saw the light of day in the last months of 1859, Queen Isabel la Católica’s reincarnation in Isabel II was metaphorically and pictorially claimed. (See Appendix, p. 340)

The liberals also tried to capitalize on the symbolic weight of Isabel la Católica and the popularity of the Reconquista milestones. But while the liberals vacated or nuanced the religious content of the medieval and early modern clashes, the non-liberals mobilized references to the Reconquista and the early modern Spanish conquests in different North African enclaves to stress their religious drive and to put forth the notion of Christian superiority over and antinomy to Islam.

Even though the members of the liberal parties were Catholic, they upheld a secular standpoint. The liberals also endorsed the idea that religion should not play any role in the colonial campaign. Liberal newspapers endorsed religious “tolerance” as the ‘civilized’ attitude that needed to be employed in Morocco. *Las Novedades*, the most read newspaper at the time, declared that imposing customs or laws different to their own was a sign of brutality. For his part, Alonso Valdespino contended that while in the past the Spaniards had based their “fierce antagonism” against North Africans on religion, it was time to change attitude in order to avoid “appearing atavistic to the

¹⁶⁹ Carlos Navarro y Rodrigo, *O’Donnell y su tiempo* (Madrid: Impr. de la Biblioteca Universal Económica, Marín, “Un encuentro colonial,” 112–13.

¹⁶⁹ “La expedición al África”, *La América*, 08/09/1859, cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, “Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60),” 48.1869), 157.

world.”¹⁷⁰ As the attitude of generosity after victory, religious ‘tolerance’ was conceived of as a quality of the ‘civilized’ which the campaign aimed at proving in the eyes of the European powers. The liberal segments did not unreservedly despise religion, but aimed at separating it from the institutionalized political realm and, importantly, at avoiding that the north-western Europeans accuse the Spanish of having imposed Catholicism onto Moroccans, as they were charged with having done in the Americas.

Contrarily, the Carlist newspaper *La Esperanza* recommended that the war serve to extend an evangelizing program to ‘Africa.’ Similar although more nuanced proposals were supported in *El León Español*, *El Estado* and *El Conciliador*.¹⁷¹ The Church had lost much of its power due to the land and patrimony expropriations it had undergone in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Besides, the mid-century peninsular panorama was witnessing heated debates regarding the weight which both religious affiliation and the ecclesiastical institutions should have within the state, society, and politics. Accordingly, prominent religious propagandists and the press hurried to make their voices heard upon the declaration of war. However, it is worth noting that although the program of the Unión Liberal endorsed ecclesiastical expropriation, some of the policies which were disadvantageous for the Spanish religious institutions were restrained by an agreement that the Unión Liberal signed with the Vatican following the victory in the war in 1860.¹⁷²

During the campaign, some of the female writers of Neo-Catholic inclinations composed patriotic and particularly Moor-phobic pieces, in which al-Andalus represented a cursed era in Spain’s past.¹⁷³ Faustina Sáez de Melgar published a collection of poems, in which the war on Tetouan appeared as a vindication of the

¹⁷⁰ Santiago Alonso Valdespino, *La cuestión de Marruecos: tal cual ha sido, es y sera: bajo el punto de vista español y europeo*. (Madrid: Manuel Gomez, 1859), 15.

¹⁷¹ *La Esperanza*, 14/10/1859; *La Época*, 17/11/1859 cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, “Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60),” 58; Marie-Claude Lecuyer and Carlos Serrano, *La guerre d’Afrique et ses répercussions en Espagne: idéologies et colonialisme en Espagne, 1859-1904* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1976), 66–67.

¹⁷² Youssef Akmir, “Al-Maskūt ‘annuh Fi Tārīkh Ḥarb Ifrīqā: Qirā’t Masār Al-Tayārāt Al-Siāsīya Wa Al-Ijtimā’īya Al-Isbānīya (1840-1860) (The Omitted Part in the History of the War of Africa: A Reading of the Trajectory of Political and Social Movements in Spain (1840-1860),” in *Nadwah Dawlīyah: Ḥarb Tiṭwān, 1859-1860 (International Conference on the War of Tetouan, 1859-1860)* (Rabat: Mandūbīyah al-Sāmīyah li-Qudamā’ al-Muqāwimīn wa-A‘dā’ Jaysh al-Taḥrīr, 2010), 200.

¹⁷³ On these writers, see: María Cruz Romeo Mateo, “¿Sujeto católico femenino? Política y religión en España, 1854-1868,” *Ayer*, no. 106 (2017): 79–104; Iñigo Sánchez Llama, *Galería de escritoras isabelinas: la prensa periódica entre 1833 y 1895* (Madrid: Universitat de València, 2000).

medieval Islamic conquest of Spain.¹⁷⁴ For her part, Ángela Grassi wrote the poetic lyrics of one of the musical compositions of the time, at the core of which were allusions to the “sacred war” (*la guerra santa*) which Isabel la Católica had begun and which Isabel II continued.¹⁷⁵

In the preceding years, a number of female writers had written pieces in which the religious character of Spain and Spanish women was highlighted. Such works aimed at countering the exoticized and eroticized images of Spain, whereby the women embodied passionate and independent beings, identified as immoral and impious by Neo-Catholic advocates. The writings of Cecilia Böhl de Faber, who wrote under the male pseudonym of Fernán Caballero, for example, highlighted the monarchic, traditional, and religious character of the Andalusian countryside, and the piety and domesticity of the Spanish women.¹⁷⁶ In the works of many foreigners on Spain, the boundaries between Moorishness and Spanishness were frequently blurred, and the exoticized and eroticized settings, the racialized features, and the sexual embodiment of the protagonists – especially, although not only, of women – particularly disturbed conservative writers. In the prologue to her 1849 *La gaviota*, Böhl de Faber-Caballero explicitly stated that she aimed at making the European readership have “a correct idea of what Spain is, [and] what Spaniards are like.”¹⁷⁷

Washington Irving’s 1832 *Tales of Alhambra* and Prosper Mérimée’s 1845 *Carmen* were among the most prominent works written by foreign authors which purported to describe Spain’s Orientalist character. In one of Irving’s tales, *The Tower of the Princesses*, some Moorish princesses who were jailed by their father ended up being saved by Christian knights, with whom they lived happily ever after – at least, this was the case for two of them, while the youngest, who did not flee with her sisters, died of sorrow and love.¹⁷⁸ The Spanish-cum-Muslim (i.e. Moorish) women were therein represented as victims of the cultural and family patriarchy, from which the Christian male heroes saved them. What is interesting here is that while the Carlist and Neo-

¹⁷⁴ Faustina Sáez de Melgar, *África y España. Cantos poéticos escritos con motivo de la guerra de Marruecos* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Bernabé Fernández Barco, 1859).

¹⁷⁵ Ángela Grassi, “Himno Guerrero-Español,” 1860, Biblioteca digital hispánica.

¹⁷⁶ Xavier Andreu Miralles, “La mujer católica y la regeneración de España: género, nación y modernidad en Fernán Caballero,” *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 42, no. 2 (2012): 17–35.

¹⁷⁷ Fernán Caballero and Demetrio Estébanez Calderón, *La gaviota* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2012), 125, cited in: Andreu Miralles, “La mujer católica y la regeneración de España,” 18.

¹⁷⁸ *Torre de las infantas*, cited in García-Montón and García-Romeral, “Viajeros Americanos En Andalucía Durante Los Siglos XIX Y XX,” 265.

Catholics, and particularly the women among them, challenged such exoticized representations of Spanishness and reinforced the Catholic and purist character of Spain and its women, the liberals not only did not challenge them, but reproduced them in relation to Morocco.

By building on the same arguments that foreigners either implicitly or explicitly put forward with regard to Spain, liberal Spaniards stressed Moroccan women's exceptional gendered oppression on the same grounds, and they depicted Muslim Moroccan women as being romantically saved by Spanish Christian men. That was one of the main themes in the many theatre plays that were organized following the war and the capture of Tetouan.¹⁷⁹ It continued to be a ubiquitous trope in Spanish travelers' accounts throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.¹⁸⁰ The symbolism of gender, by which to gain and save the women of the adversary was the sign of victory, reinforced the hierarchical difference between the men. The 'civilized' thus became epitomized by the saving Spanish hero, and the 'uncivilized,' by the patriarchally despotic Moroccan men.

Montesquieu's definition of despotic governments had great influence across Europe, and the French intellectual's reference to the fact that the degree of despotism of a culture could be measured on the basis of the 'treatment' it proffered to 'its' women shaped nineteenth-century gendered imperialist discourses. Gender politics thus started to increasingly and globally be employed to assess and hierarchize the degrees of 'civilization' of countries. Thus, what north-western Europeans claimed about Spain was what liberal Spain contended about Morocco. Santiago Alonso Valdespino declared that because in Morocco "the woman" received no consideration whatsoever, "family life d[id] not exist."¹⁸¹ *La Época* affirmed that Moroccan women were the "vilified sex," as they were "humiliated and oppressed by tyrants."¹⁸²

The Carlists and the Neo-Catholics, by contrast, deconstructed the Orientalized representations of Spain and advertised the religiously respectable character of Spanishness and Spanish womanhood, and occasionally built on religiously-inflected

¹⁷⁹ Tomás García Figueras, *Recuerdos centenarios de una guerra romántica; la guerra de Africa de nuestros abuelos, 1859-60*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 66–71.

¹⁸⁰ Manuela Marín, "'Amar a cristianos moras'. Ecos de un tema cervantino en textos españoles sobre Marruecos (s. XIX-XX).," *Bulletin Hispanique* 109, no. 1 (2007): 238.

¹⁸¹ Alonso Valdespino, *La cuestion de Marruecos*, 47.

¹⁸² *La Época*, cited in: Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, "Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60)," 53.

misogynistic tropes regarding Moroccan women. Most commonly, the alleged driver for the degrading situation of Moroccan women was found to be Islam. Liberals, for their part, somehow accepted the exoticization of Spain that informed its European Otherness and, in turn, molded an Africanist discourse that claimed that Spain was well placed to colonize Morocco. Prominently, the liberal articles, leaflets and books focused on the so-called “marginalization” of Moroccan women, on their “invisibility” and “reclusion” – key discursive elements which irritated the liberals when deployed by northern Europeans as a means to stress Spain’s “savage” character.

Ultimately, the liberal heteropatriarchal representations which cast women (both Moroccan and Spanish) as eternal victims unable to free themselves without the aid of the modern male (either Spanish or north-western European) hero reveal two issues. First, the use of gender produced a hierarchy among men. When the ‘treatment’ of the women of certain men matched the appropriate standards, they and the gender politics became ‘civilized,’ ‘modern,’ and thus could be used to indoctrinate the genderly ‘uncivilized’ men and countries. Second, the category of gender became reinforced, and so did its *raison d’être*. The use of a specific and historically-constructed category of gender as a benchmark to ‘rate’ nations’ degree of ‘civilization’ is telling of both the importance that the gender divide acquired within liberalism and of the generative effect it had at the same time. The consolidation of the liberal paradigm, in fact, accentuated the use of gender as an analytical category *because* it was becoming a prominent social and political category on which power relied, unlike in the *ancien régime*; at the same time, its employment reinforced the hierarchized divide among women and men.

2.2. Concepción Arenal’s Poetic Dissidence

Although journalism, as has been shown, is a prominent field for examining war propaganda, the truth is that the whole cultural panorama was subject to patriotic exuberance. Songs and musical compositions, as well as theatre plays and poems were produced en masse by the end of 1859 and throughout 1860.¹⁸³ The number, the

¹⁸³ García Figueras, *Recuerdos centenarios de una guerra romántica; la guerra de Africa de nuestros abuelos, 1859-60.*; “La celebración musical del pasado: 1859-1909” Francisco Alía Miranda, Juan José Pastor Comín, and Olga M Morales Encinas, *La Guerra de Marruecos y la España de su tiempo (1909-1927)* (Ciudad Real: Sociedad Don Quijote de Conmemoraciones Culturales de Castilla-La Mancha, 2009), 197–204; Mariano Roca de Togores Molíns, *El romancero de la guerra de África: presentado a la reina Da. Isabel II y el Rey, su agosto esposo* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneira, 1860); Cortès

triumphalist tone, and the extent of the compositions were even more remarkable after the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was announced in February 1860. Celebrations extended from Cuba to Puerto Rico, and had a particularly exalted nature in Manila, where the Spanish were trying to subdue the Muslims (referred to as ‘Moors’) of the southern islands of Mindanao and Joló.¹⁸⁴ Only eleven days after the capture of Tetouan, the Spanish Royal Academy convened an extraordinary literary contest to celebrate “the glories” of the army “in Africa.”

Concepción Arenal, an exceptional intellectual and feminist in nineteenth-century peninsular Spain, submitted a poem entitled *España en África* (*Spain in Africa*) to the literary contest. In view of the lack of recognition of her creation by the academy, Arenal later decided to publish it herself.¹⁸⁵ The author aimed at engaging the readership of her poem, as the title shows: *Appeal to the public on the Verdict by the Spanish Royal Academy. Poem submitted to it in the last Extraordinary Contest, written by Mrs. Concepción Arenal de García Carrasco*. The provocatively entitled poem could be obtained either by mail or by purchasing it directly from two bookstores in Madrid – one of which, ironically enough, was named ‘The Moor’s Bookstore.’¹⁸⁶ Surprisingly, her poem has remained in the shadow for those scholars who have worked on the campaign of the war on Tetouan. This section will thus analyze her poetic composition and will aim at understanding whether and to what extent it can be considered a dissenting perspective on the war propaganda.

Historians have tended to put forth the idea that no critical manifestations emerged in the peninsular patriotic *milieu*.¹⁸⁷ The campaign undeniably was a patriotic milestone in nineteenth-century Spain, and it managed to unite the highly fragmented social and political sectors like no other external campaign throughout the century.¹⁸⁸

Francesc and Esteve Josep-Joaquim, *Músicas en tiempos de guerra: Cancionero (1503-1939)* (Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012), 218–20.

¹⁸⁴ Albert García Balañà, “Patriotismos trasatlánticos. Raza y nación en el impacto de la Guerra de Africa en el Caribe español de 1860,” *Ayer*, no. 106 (2017): 209.

¹⁸⁵ Concepción Arenal de García Carrasco, *Apelación al público de un fallo de la Real Academia Española, poema presentado á la misma en el último certámen extraordinario: España en África* (Madrid: Impr. de Anoz, 1861), 3.

¹⁸⁶ Arenal de García Carrasco, 42.

¹⁸⁷ According to José Álvarez Junco, “La nación en duda,” in *Más se perdió en Cuba: España, 1898 y la crisis de fin de siglo*, ed. Juan Pan-Montojo (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2006), 435, “no one” contradicted the patriotic fervor.

¹⁸⁸ José Álvarez Junco, “El nacionalismo español como mito movilizador: cuatro guerras,” in *Cultura y movilización en la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997), 35–67.

Still, whether some publications can be considered challenges to certain hegemonic notions and, thus, constitute political dissent remains a pressing issue. My goal is to push slightly the limits of what we consider ideological refutation or opposition, and to challenge the idea that the possibility of subverting normative and (oppressive) hegemonic notions only lies in the complete negation of well-established ideas – in this particular case, the imperialist concepts which informed violent racist and Moor-phobic claims. At the core of such considerations is the assessment of the characteristics which shape what we consider historical dissent and, more generally, political action in history (and *herstory*).

During the patriotic fervor, O'Donnell's government faced very little public criticism, but it is also important to bear in mind that censorship made it difficult for explicit critiques to be heard. The historical narratives have thus either built on and reproduced the claims, chants, and writings of the campaign, or critically assessed them by citing, at most, the well-known work of Victoriano Ameller y Vilademunt. Writing in 1861, the Catalan author denounced the meagre benefit and the enormous economic and human costs the war had had for Spain.¹⁸⁹ Ameller y Vilademunt built on the widespread locution of 'the great war of the petty peace' (*la gran guerra de la paz chica*), which summarized the frustration that some social sectors felt when the peace treaty was signed. The patriotic unity that the campaign enhanced by the end of 1859 had vanished by March 1860, when the peninsular opposition claimed that the peace treaty gave insufficient gains to Spain. Chapter Four will show that the civilian and military Spaniards who were on the ground played an important role in limiting the colonial ambitions harbored by the warmongering peninsular sectors championed by Queen Isabel II.

Among the publications of the patriotic fervor, one entitled *Spain's Regeneration* contains some criticism. The work was written by Fernando Garrido, a politician known for his prominent opposition to Leopoldo O'Donnell, under the pseudonym of Evaristo Ventosa.¹⁹⁰ The fact that Garrido used an alias to sign this book, which he did not with his other publications, indicates that there were costs associated

¹⁸⁹ Victoriano Ameller y Vilademunt, *Juicio crítico de la guerra de Africa, ó, Apuntes para la historia contemporánea: dedicados á la prensa periódica de todos los matices políticos* (Imp. de Francisco Abienzo, 1861).

¹⁹⁰ Evaristo Ventosa, *La regeneración de España* (Barcelona: S. Manero, 1860), cited in Garcia Balaña, "Patria, Plebe Y Política En La España Isabelina: La Guerra de África En Cataluña (1859-1860)," 25–27.

with openly criticizing the campaign – or, at least, that Garrido might have thought so. Albert Garcia Balañà has written about Garrido’s criticism, which included questioning the legitimacy of the war. However, the historian has concluded that Garrido’s stance was not so critical, because he acknowledged the political benefits that the popular propaganda entailed for liberalism.¹⁹¹ In my view, this is enlightening and yet somehow misleading.

The fact that Garrido’s criticism was not blatant signals the multilayered politics that converged in this campaign. Precisely due to the multiplicity of political symbolism and significance which the war summoned, the liberal Garrido recognized that the war campaign was beneficial in Catalunya in that it strengthened some liberal slogans and concepts. But this should not invalidate all of the discordant and quite exceptional arguments in *Spain’s Regeneration*. Obscuring the critical condemnations within multifaceted examinations prevents us from understanding how nuanced meanings and notions might change hegemonic normative notions. This is the ground on which my interpretation of Concepción Arenal’s poem is based. In what follows, I will argue that her *España en África* certainly consolidated liberal and imperialist concepts, but also modulated them.

Concepción Arenal (1820-1893) was born in Ferrol, a small coastal town in the province of Galicia, in the north-west of Spain. She was raised within a liberal family, her learned military father being a supporter of the 1812 liberal Constitution.¹⁹² Arenal became the first Spanish woman to hold a university degree. Women were not allowed to pursue higher education, so Arenal attended the Law faculty in Madrid dressed as a man, “her chest flattened by a double corset.”¹⁹³ Arenal would become a leading advocate of female education.¹⁹⁴ She would also prominently devote herself to the study of criminality, the discussion of the situation of prisons, the (mis)treatment of criminals, and the relationship between the State, the legal bodies, society and criminals. She visited prisoners, especially women, and corresponded with them. In 1868, when Isabel

¹⁹¹ Garcia Balañà, “Patria, Plebe Y Política En La España Isabelina: La Guerra de África En Cataluña (1859-1860),” 26.

¹⁹² Carmen Ruidíaz García, “Notas Sobre Concepción Arenal,” *Revista Electrónica Del Departamento de Derecho de La Universidad de La Rioja, REDUR*, no. 6 (2008): 5.

¹⁹³ Eduardo Galeano, *Espejos / Mirrors: Una historia casi universal / Stories of Almost Everyone* (Siglo XXI, 2010), 194.

¹⁹⁴ Concepción Arenal de García Carrasco, “La educación de la mujer,” in *La Emancipación de la Mujer en España*, ed. Mauro Armíño (Madrid: Biblioteca Júcar, 1974), 61–95.

II was dethroned and significant changes occurred in the Spanish political arena, Arenal was appointed inspector of the Spanish female Correction Houses. In 1877, she became a member of the French Société de Prisons and a representative of the prestigious John Howard Association for Penal Reform in London.

Arenal would also eventually become part of the Spanish Krausist movement. Based on the work of the German thinker Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, Spanish Krausism developed from the 1840s on as a liberal, religious, intellectual, and reformist philosophical and political current.¹⁹⁵ Krausists in mid-century Spain constituted a minoritarian movement. They were different and opposed to other liberals, and to conservative Catholics. Although religious, they were critical of the ecclesiastical institutions and many of their practices, and they advocated not only the education of the masses, but the secularization of education. Krausists embraced reason and the scientific spirit, and unlike the rest of the Catholic propagandists, conceived of them as compatible with religious faith. Krausists also upheld the idea of the unity of the human being, rather than the dualist gender conceptions which reinforced the feminine and the masculine divide.¹⁹⁶ That enabled Krausism to stand as the only ideological stream in nineteenth-century peninsular Spain which championed so-called ‘women’s emancipation.’

Within this ideological spectrum which she also prominently defined, Arenal upheld a redefinition of womanhood. Her discourse was embedded in *ancien régime* concepts and some of her arguments consolidated nineteenth-century normative ideas, and yet bestowed unprecedented respectability on women and the symbolic universe linked to them.¹⁹⁷ To a certain extent, her rejection of misogynous claims about women’s inferiority uplifted the notion of the caring and docile womanhood, which was grounded on an understanding of ontological differences between the sexes. But that framework enabled her to defend women’s moral equality, even superiority, over men. Similarly, in the poem *España en África* she introduced nuanced insights that contested the dominant Moor-phobic discourse of the patriotic fervor.

¹⁹⁵ Gonzalo Capellán de Miguel, “La Renovación de la cultura española a través del pensamiento alemán: Krause y el krausismo,” *Cuadernos de investigación histórica Brocar*, 1998, 137–53.

¹⁹⁶ Nerea Aresti Esteban, “El Ángel Del Hogar Y Sus Demonios: Ciencia, Religión Y Género En La España Del Siglo XIX,” *Historia Contemporánea*, no. 21 (2000): 374–76.

¹⁹⁷ See: Arenal de García Carrasco, “La educación de la mujer”; Aresti Esteban, “El Ángel Del Hogar Y Sus Demonios,” 375.

Often, the fact of being a woman hindered the recognition of the relevance of her contributions, as is the case with the historiographical neglect of her poem. It also conditioned her life choices. After her husband died in 1857, she moved with her children from Madrid to the northern province of Cantabria, and although she continued to be in contact with several liberal and Krausist intellectuals by correspondence, it was the award given to her work *La Beneficiencia, la Filantropía, la Caridad* in 1860 which enabled her to re-enter the intellectual arena more publicly. It is precisely in these circumstances that she wrote the poem under review in this section.¹⁹⁸

Arenal's command of rhetoric, history, and politics makes *España en África* a complicated literary work. The poem, over thirty pages long, contains references to the pantheistic principles of Krausism. The first verse highlights God's destiny for all nations, including Spain and its armed enterprise against Morocco. Other verses mention the beauty of Nature, and the harmony among the different elements in it. Some verses praise the force of reason, and others highlight human wrongdoings. Arenal's poem highlights Spain's historic and present contributions to the world, and she reinforces the patriotic and imperialist rationale in various ways. It would seem that Arenal glorifies the war on Tetouan as a way to avenge the mockery to which Spain is subject, although some subtle verses leave room to question her patriotic-cum-imperialist poetic exhortations.

The initial verses take a glance at several historical episodes. The first corresponds to what she terms "eight centuries of blood and combat."¹⁹⁹ Arenal recalls Don Pelayo (681-737), a – if not the most – mystified leader who defeated the Umayyads at Covadonga, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. After the battle of Covadonga (722), the poetess states, Spain became "the shield of Christian Europe."²⁰⁰ Arenal reduces the eight centuries of al-Andalus to confrontational bloodshed, and more problematically she assigns the victories to the "Spaniards," who fought "the impious sectarians of Mohamed [*Mahoma*] (...) [f]or God, homeland, and fame."²⁰¹ By praising the powerful emblems of resistance to the expansion of al-Andalus in northern Iberia, Arenal's poem is set to underscore the Christian ("Spanish") fight against Islam, which during eight centuries 'protected' Christian Europe from Islam. Her aim was to

¹⁹⁸ Arenal de García Carrasco, *España en África*, 3.

¹⁹⁹ Arenal de García Carrasco, 6.

²⁰⁰ Arenal de García Carrasco, 6.

²⁰¹ Arenal de García Carrasco, 5–6.

highlight Spain's belonging to Europe and Christendom, which later appear to deride and brutalize Spain. Let me proceed with the milestones to further delve into the analysis.

The second central episode in the poem is the imperial enterprise inaugurated by Christopher Columbus, which led to the discovery of "a new world."²⁰² The third one corresponds to "the glorious mission" launched by France, which consisted in "giving birth to the germ of new societies."²⁰³ And the fourth is embodied by the Spanish victory over the Napoleonic army in the so-called war of Independence (1808-1814). The verses that follow highlight the mockery which Spain faces on many fronts: "The great and the powerful / tear our sumptuous mantle into pieces (...) The weak ultimately ridicule us."²⁰⁴ Arenal queries God: "Other peoples, oh Lord, also sinned / they abused their power / and today shine respected and robust / What great iniquity was only ours?"²⁰⁵

The historical genealogy tracing the Reconquista, Spanish imperialism in the Americas, the Enlightenment, and the Spanish resistance to the French invasion are meaningful in light of the central issue in Arenal's poem, namely the derision which nineteenth-century Spain suffered and which the war on Tetouan was, to a large extent, set to remedy. As the preceding section has highlighted, the trans-historical references show that the historical consciousness attributed to the imperial great powers in the nineteenth century do not fit the Spanish case. In *Spain in Africa*, not only the French-led Enlightenment was recognized, but also Spanish imperialism in the Americas, and Spanish resistance to France's invasion. Importantly, Arenal branded some of these past deeds as "sins" and "power abuse." The poetess was both recognizing Spanish past prowess and criticizing it. Arenal was a deeply religious Catholic person, and the symbolism of recognizing Spanish wrongdoings as sins is not trivial. I argue that the point she tried to make was that Spain was not the only one that had committed such abuses of power, but was the only one whose past atrocities were stressed.

At this point, the verses make the legendary warrior Don Pelayo denounce Spanish imperial decay and the mockery to which Spain was subjected. Arisen from his

²⁰² Arenal de García Carrasco, 7.

²⁰³ Arenal de García Carrasco, 7–8.

²⁰⁴ Arenal de García Carrasco, 10.

²⁰⁵ Arenal de García Carrasco, 9.

tomb, Don Pelayo utters: “What has Spain, people of bravery, become? / You who receive outrage with no shame and no courage / What dreadful nation are you descendant of?”²⁰⁶ The following verses state that even ‘Africans’ “desecrate Don Pelayo the anti-Islamic hero’s tomb.”²⁰⁷ Only when the war on Tetouan is declared and supported by everyone and everywhere, can Pelayo rest peacefully.²⁰⁸ By stressing the present outrage against those who were once a “people of bravery,” Arenal seemingly legitimizes the war.

What, then, makes Arenal’s poem different from the rest of the poetic compositions which saw the light throughout 1859 and 1860? In my view, *España en África* underscores the poetess’ sharp political consciousness, visible in that not only was the main issue throughout the poem the denunciation of the intra-European rivalries which informed Spain’s derision, but it also blatantly distinguished the role that Morocco played in the story. The previous section has shown that liberals engaged in north-western European claims about the alleged Spanish exoticism and ‘uncivilized’ character. Arenal’s poem highlighted the trans-historical context of the inter-imperial quarrels, in the ‘loss’ of the American colonies, and in Morocco. “Europe sentenced its verdict. ‘It’s impossible’ / delightful Genovese, go back to Spain.”²⁰⁹ Morocco drew Britain’s interest due to its strategic geographical position at the entry to the Mediterranean, which served both as a shortcut to India and to supply its garrison at Gibraltar, as well as its potential as a trading partner.²¹⁰ The Galician intellectual knew that well, and in fact interpellated it: “You, Albion, the protector / of the weak that other[s] oppress / Philanthropic Albion, what is it that you fear, tell me / if Spain emerges victorious in Libia?”²¹¹

For one thing, then, Arenal put the intra-European imperial quarrels at the forefront. For another, Moroccans appeared in the background of the composition, except when the capture of Tetouan is narrated. Moreover, her depiction of Moroccans is noticeably different to the aforementioned publications. Moroccans are indeed referred to with negatively connoted denominations: they are “infidels,” “impious

²⁰⁶ Arenal de García Carrasco, 11.

²⁰⁷ Arenal de García Carrasco, 12.

²⁰⁸ Arenal de García Carrasco, 14.

²⁰⁹ Arenal de García Carrasco, 7.

²¹⁰ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 22.

²¹¹ Arenal de García Carrasco, *España en África*, 35–36. The reference to Libia is taken to refer to Morocco. I have been unable to find, however, contemporary allusions to Morocco as “Libia.”

Moors (*morisma impía*)” and, among other things, natives of the “Africa which engenders reptiles (*África engendradora de reptiles*).”²¹² The Moroccan “enemies” in *España en África* are also “rough,” “arrogant” and “fanatic.” By rendering the enemy a tough one, the fighting and the Spanish victory – which preceded the writing of the poem – appear as more praiseworthy. And yet, I argue that it is misleading to conclude that Arenal only or absolutely despises Moroccans.

When the poem follows the Army of Africa’s approach to Tetouan, “the Muslim (*el agareno*) (...) is furiously launched to battleship” *because* what “beats in [his] heart” is “[a]nger, spitefulness / hatred, greed, and revenge / religion, fear, and hope / powerful fanaticism as *sacred love for the sweet homeland*.”²¹³ Over and above, Arenal’s poem praises the notion of homeland and its defense – the word homeland (*patria*) appears twenty-seven times throughout the verses. Besides, the patriotic defense of Spain informs the trans-historical Spanish heroism that the poem is bound to assert – however problematic her use of the notion of Spanishness might be – against the Umayyads, or the Napoleonic troops. Consequently, by depicting Moroccans’ defense of Tetouan as a patriotism-driven attitude, Arenal dignifies Moroccans. Arenal’s lexical choices are not trivial. Their patriotism, the poem goes, is led by “sacred love” (*el amor santo*) for “the sweet homeland” (*la dulce patria*).

Besides, Tetouan is termed “the sacred city” (*la ciudad sagrada*), and Muslims are said to believe that once Tetouan falls, the whole empire will fall. For that reason, “they have surrounded it / with tenacious, desperate tenacity.” Moroccans’ zealous patriotism in their defense of Tetouan and the whole country, Arenal seems to subtly suggest, is as legitimate and as honorable as the Spaniards’ resistance against the foreign armies. Chapter Four will show that some of the Spaniards who were in Tetouan during the peace negotiations admired what they conceived as Moroccans’ ‘untamable character.’ In that context, one of the most acclaimed Spanish journalists, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, also made parallels between Moroccan resistance against the Spanish occupation and the Spanish resistance to the Napoleonic occupation. But Alarcón was on the ground, and his political transformation was shaped through his first-hand experience, which led him to develop an empathy toward Tetouanis.

²¹² Arenal de García Carrasco, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31. The common Spanish term *morisma* has a much more negative connotation than the English translation ‘Moors.’

²¹³ Arenal de García Carrasco, 26. Emphasis added.

Concepción Arenal, in contrast, lived in the north-western remote region of Galicia when she depicted Moroccans' defense of Tetouan as a legitimate patriotic endeavor.

I argue, therefore, that the main focus of the poem was the intra-European imperial quarrels and the position that Spain held as a second-order world power. The war on Tetouan was depicted as a vindictive endeavor, and Moroccans' self-defense – despite the negatively-connoted terms used to refer to them – constituted an exceptional trait with regard to the previously analyzed publications. Arenal's poem, ultimately, was set within the larger discursive structures of her time, and yet challenged Moor-phobic conceptions by stressing Moroccans' similarity to Spaniards' in their patriotic defense against the Spanish military attack on Tetouan.

As is the case with Arenal's other writings, it is necessary to seek “the truths” which “she seems to wrap up in order not to scandalize” her readership.²¹⁴ After the capture of Tetouan by the Army of Africa, one verse proclaims: “Your fury is fair, oh victorious [Spaniards]! / You are right when you sacrifice the infidels / If there can be a reason to be cruel.”²¹⁵ The verse, as do many others in the long poetic creation, exalts the Spanish army and legitimizes its endeavor – or so it seems. The last phrase, “if there can be a reason to be cruel” (*si puede haber razón de ser crueles*), carries an ambivalent meaning that could be taken to question the previous exhortations, and the legitimacy of violence in the first place. One wonders if the Spanish Royal Academy did not award a prize to Arenal's poem precisely due to the outrage which such subtle phrases might inspire.

The poem comes to a close by praising peace, the “sweet word of solace.”²¹⁶ The last verse proclaims: “Homeland! (...) extinguish with your generous blood / the sinister fire of fanaticism / strong and courageous / obedient to the voice of your consciousness / take to the miserable and valiant Africa / bound by wretched error / God's law and science.”²¹⁷ The resonances of the ‘civilizing mission’ in the final prophecy unmistakably frame Arenal's poem within the liberal and enlightened imperial paradigm. The Krausist movement and Concepción Arenal herself were fully committed to the development of scientific knowledge, and considered the rational and secular paradigms

²¹⁴ Ruidíaz García, “Notas Sobre Concepción Arenal,” 8.

²¹⁵ Arenal de García Carrasco, *España en África*, 30.

²¹⁶ Arenal de García Carrasco, 36.

²¹⁷ Arenal de García Carrasco, 38.

as engines of progress and ‘civilization.’ Such liberal cornerstones were, however, hugely disputed in the tumultuous mid-century peninsular political *milieu*. For that reason, the final exhortation can also be taken as defiance addressed not only to those embarking towards ‘Africa,’ but to the sectors within Spain that opposed the scientific paradigm and its synergy with “God’s law.”

2.3. ‘To the war for the *fueros* to be preserved’

*Departure for the war
Occurs to be mandatory
As long as preserved
Is our beloved legislation
The Spanish flag
In Tangier is to be put
As soon as this is done
Home will we return.
Anonymous.²¹⁸*

As in the rest of Spain, the Basque Provinces lived intense celebrations and a noted production of patriotic poetry. Following the capture of Tetouan, spontaneous expressions as well as institutionalized commemorations took place in the Basque capitals and the biggest towns. Dancing, fireworks, and bonfires were organized in the main squares, and musicians played in the public spaces, where popular ox and bull fights took place.²¹⁹ Women spun flags, and they prepared and threw laurel garlands and flowers to the passing troops.²²⁰

The patriotic fervor in the northern Basque Provinces was in great measure promoted by the ruling class, the landowner nobility which advocated a moderate liberalism. The Basque ruling classes were however not liberal in the same way in which the dominant Spanish liberals were. Basque elites converged with the Spanish moderate liberals in their doctrinarian and conservative advocacy, as well as in their Catholic stand.²²¹ Unlike the latter, however, they defended the maintenance of local particularities – at the center of which were the *fueros*, or the “beloved legislation” which the above quoted verse referred to.

²¹⁸ Antonio Zavala, *Afrika'ko gerra: 1859-1860* (Tolosa, Guipúzcoa: [s.n.], 1977), 37.

²¹⁹ Arturo Cajal Valero, “La Guerra de África (1859-1860) Y Las Expresiones Patrióticas En El País Vasco,” 2010, 264–65.

²²⁰ Tomás García Figueras, “Los Tercios Vascongados,” *ABC*, September 2, 1960, 13; Cajal Valero, “La Guerra de África (1859-1860) Y Las Expresiones Patrióticas En El País Vasco,” 271.

²²¹ Luis Castells Arteche and Arturo Cajal Valero, *La autonomía vasca en la España contemporánea (1808-2008)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2009).

Originally an institutionalized expression of the fragmented and overlapping sovereignty that signaled the *ancien régime* societies, the *fueros* were special rights that entitled estates, guilds, towns, territories, or the Church to make decisions about taxes, economic regulations, currencies, weights and measures, and forms of social and political organization.²²² Discussions regarding the compatibility of *fueros* and the liberal constitution of the Spanish nation-state formally arose on the occasion of the promulgation of the 1812 Constitution, and extended throughout the century. The quarrels turned violent, with confrontations between Carlist and liberal militias on at least three occasions.

Although the civil wars extended beyond the Basque Country, it is there that the Carlists – so-called because they pledged allegiance to Carlos María Isidro, Queen Isabel II’s uncle – found massive support from the beginning. At the advent of the war on Tetouan, Basque *fueros* were still in place, as stipulated by an 1839 law, issued following the end of the first civil war (1833-1839). United under the slogan ‘God, Country, and King,’ the Carlists advocated the maintenance of the principle of diversity on which the traditional *ancien régime* had stood. The *fueros*, or the “traditional liberties” or “freedoms” which the Carlists and the ruling classes defended *vis-à-vis* the legal homogenizing promoted by the dominant liberal endeavors had traditionally defined the relation between the Crown and the territories, the towns, and other corporations.

Since the 1850s, the peninsular liberal sectors had renewed their opposition to the *fueros*.²²³ The Basque *fuera* rulers of the provincial councils (*Diputaciones forales*), for their part, found inspiration in the states they envisioned as more decentralized and plural – Great Britain, Austria, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and Turkey.²²⁴ By the 1830s, they had begun to depict the *fueros* as detached from their *ancien régime* origins, and to present them as a set of liberal codes.²²⁵ They also mobilized armed conflicts, such as the war on Tetouan or the Cuban one, to argue for the preservation of *fueros*.

²²² Grafe, *Distant Tyranny Markets, Power, and Backwardness in Spain, 1650-1800*, 13.

²²³ Coro Rubio Pobes, “Centinelas de la Patria. Regionalismo vasco y nacionalización española en el siglo XIX,” *Historia Contemporánea*, no. 53 (2016): 403.

²²⁴ Coro Rubio Pobes, “El País Vasco y la implantación del Estado liberal: Centralización y unidad constitucional,” *Revista de estudios políticos* 95 (1997): 239, 242.

²²⁵ Rubio Pobes, 221.

On the eve of the war on Tetouan, the *fueros* system exempted the Basque Provinces from the centralized military conscription regime in the rest of Spain.²²⁶ The Basque institutions aimed to use the opportunity for war to show the usefulness of maintaining the *foral* armament, and thus the whole body of the *fueros*. Reunited in the town of Bergara at the beginning of November 1859, the Basque provincial councils decided to contribute, with a ‘donation’ of four million *reales*, armament, and an armed brigade of 3,000 men to the Army of Africa.²²⁷ The decision had been unofficially communicated before the war was announced in October, after one of the Basque deputies in the Spanish parliament had notified from as early as September 19 that the provincial councils were to make a contribution. The preservation of *fueros* was conditional, the council of Gipuzkoa warned that of Araba, upon “the caution, the good sense, and the patriotism” which the situation was to be dealt with.²²⁸

This section aims at a better understanding of the politics of the ‘voluntary’ donation that the Basque institutions made to the Army of Africa. The ultimate goal is to assess how the politics of maintaining the *fueros* in place that led to the Basque involvement in the war changes the historical interpretation of the patriotic fervor during the Spanish war on Tetouan. The *foral* legislation rendered the Basque Provinces special cases within Spain, and thus introduced certain specificities that differentiated Basque politics from the rest of the Spanish regions. Still, some of the constraints and attitudes among the rural and impoverished Basque males who were forced to enroll in the Basque Corps that this section will highlight were probably common to many Spaniards who enlisted in the general *quintas* of the Army of Africa.²²⁹

This section will address the rationale and the aims of the provincial councils together with the analysis of several propagandistic poetic verses that the councils themselves commissioned, at the heart of which was the issue of the preservation of the

²²⁶ This would continue to be the case until 1876. Arturo Cajal Valero, “La Participación de Los Tercios Vascongados En La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” *Revista de Historia Militar*, no. 112 (2012): 245–46, 249.

²²⁷ “Expediente Relativo Á Los Recursos Con Que Atender a Cubrir Los Servicios Espontaneos Y Voluntarios Ofrecidos Á La Corona Por El Pais Vascongado Con Motivo de La Declaración de Guerra Hecha Al Imperio de Marruecos,” 1860 1859, DH- 224-2, ALHA-ATHA.

²²⁸ “Expediente Sobre El Pensamiento Propuesto Por La Diputación General de Guipuzcoa En Su Comunicación Semi Oficial Reservada de 19 de Setiembre Acerca de Que Por Las Tres Provincias Hermanas Se Ofrezca Al Gobierno de S.M. El Servicio de Gente Y Metalico Para Auxiliar a La Defensa de La Dignidad Nacional, Caso de Que Se Declarase La Guerra Al Emperador de Marruecos Por Consecuencia de Los Insultos Causados Por Sus Súbditos,” 1859, DAH- 4480, ALHA-ATHA.

²²⁹ Albino Feijóo Gómez, *Quintas y protesta social en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, Secretaría General Técnica, 1996).

“beloved legislation” mentioned in the above transcribed verse. In the nineteenth-century Basque Country, chanted poetry (*bertsolaritza*) was traditionally transmitted orally. At times it was improvised, while at others local poets composed it by order of individuals, institutions or other social actors. On the eve, during and after the war on Tetouan, most of these kinds of poems were chanted and others were distributed among the population in written leaflets by order of the Basque provincial councils. Although most of the seventeen poems under review here are anonymous, some of them were composed and signed by local authors or well-known intellectuals. In some of the poems the paper is said to be torn, thus some gaps indicate the location of the missing parts. Some poems are long, while others are short, and most are in Basque dialects, although some are in Spanish. Some refer to the eve of the war, some to the journey towards Morocco, and others to the war itself, to its end it and to the welcoming of the returning troops.

The main issues of the poems reflect the intersection of the domains which appeared in the media and the printed publications, as well as in Concepción Arenal’s poem. Firstly, the sense of Spanish disunity which the war was set to remedy. Often, family metaphors were employed, in which “fraternal troubles” disturbed Spain, or the “Mother Country.” Secondly, such internal divisions arose as an opportunity for other countries – either abstractly put or identified as “Europe” and sometimes as Britain and France – to take advantage of. Thirdly, these two elements merged in the “loss of honor,” which was to be remedied through the victory in the war against “the Moors.” In that regard, Spain was often depicted as a lion which had been sleeping, and whose awakening had finally arrived.²³⁰

The polysemic propaganda of the war on Tetouan in the peninsula was mobilized by the Basque provincial councils in order to show that the *fueros* system did not harm the functioning of the central administration but, on the contrary, benefitted it. To prove this, the councils aimed to contribute a greater number of soldiers than the proportion of inhabitants. The population in the Basque Provinces represented 2.67% of the total Spanish population, while the Basque troops represented 6.6% of the Army of Africa.²³¹ Still, the Basque Corps only arrived on the northern coast of Morocco on

²³⁰ Zavala, *Afrika'ko gerra*, 61, 132–35, 141.

²³¹ Cajal Valero, “La Participación de Los Tercios Vascongados En La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 255 The population in the Basque Provinces was 413,470 inhabitants, out of a total Spanish population of 15,464,340.

February 27, 1860, just in time for the last battle of the war. Various elements contributed to the delay in the arrival of the Basque troops: the novelty of the reestablishment of the corps, the local arrangement of the recruitment, and the opposition to the enlistment which arose among the rural and mostly impoverished classes which filled the troop ranks.

The Basque provincial institutions aimed at being in charge of everything concerning the organization of the troops. Their interlocution with the central state – a praxis which derived from the early modern engagements with the Monarchy, which had historically been the protector of the *fueros* – was based on the claim that the councils made, whereby they were the appropriate, knowledgeable body to deal with everything concerning the Basque Corps. As a case in point, the *fuera* councils advocated that they had the legitimacy to appoint military officials because it was necessary to take into account “the particular language and customs of the soldiers.”²³² In the end, they remained in charge of recruiting the troops and of organizing their uniform and equipment, while the appointment of the military high ranks was dealt with by the central government.

The nineteenth-century political-cum-military quarrels in peninsular Spain, within which the issue of the *fueros* was a central issue, converged in the development of a number of essentialist claims around both the Basque and the Spanish identities. While the advocates of the liberal centralist nation-state put forth an essentialist idea of Spanishness, the *fuera* elites’ historicist conceptions of the Basque identity stressed the specificity of the Basque people. Their distinct identity was legitimized by recourse to the special rights bestowed by the *fueros*, to Basques’ prominent religiosity, to theories such as *vascoiberismo* whereby the Basques were the descendants of the ancestor Iberians, and to the fact that Basques possessed a culture and a language of their own.²³³ The enlightened Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country, founded in the mid-eighteenth century, had been important in proclaiming the distinctive unity of the three Basque Provinces.²³⁴ Despite the essentialism that the provincial councils proclaimed, the language issues were not mere constructions. Patxi Albisu Andrade has

²³² Cajal Valero, 260–61.

²³³ Coro Rubio Pobes, “Los Espacios Identitarios Del Vasquismo Decimonónico: Provincia, País Y Nación,” in *Provincia Y Nación: Los Territorios Del Liberalismo*, ed. María Cruz Romeo Mateo and Carlos Forcadell Álvarez (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2006), 123–26.

²³⁴ Iñaki Egaña, *Diccionario histórico-político de Euskal Herria* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 1996).

highlighted the different communications and administrative problems which the Basque-phone soldiers and their families in particular suffered.²³⁵

In the nineteenth century, Basque identity was framed within Spanish nationhood, but the alleged distinctiveness relied on Basques' being the 'best subjects of the Crown' amongst all the Spanish, or the most patriotic, for that matter.²³⁶ In fact, some chanted verses encouraged Basques to fight as much or, if possible, more than Castilians, Catalans, people from Madrid, Toledo or Alcántara.²³⁷ It is helpful to look at the concept of "double patriotism" proposed by Josep Maria Fradera for the Catalan context.²³⁸ In some of the chanted poems, as in the previously analyzed publications, Isabel la Católica was recalled, at times 'reincarnated' by Isabel II, but specifically Basque references such as San Ignacio of Loyola also emerged.²³⁹ One particular verse asked the "beloved Basques" to "wholeheartedly" declare their Spanishness, and their willingness to fight in the war (*Gure euskaldun maiteak / orain da denbora, / esan bihotzetikan: / Españolak gera; / gerra gustoko degu*).²⁴⁰

Reinforcing Basque distinctiveness also suited the provincial council authorities' claim regarding the effective utility of the *fueros*. Accordingly, in addition to sending a higher proportion of troops to the campaign, the authorities of the three provinces arranged the soldiers' uniform in a way that the Basque distinctiveness could be recognized. Through correspondence, the Basque deputies in Madrid had already suggested that the Basque troops uphold "the Basque character," in order to avoid to be "mixed up with the ones provided by the rest of the nation."²⁴¹

In the mid-century, assertions of regional identity coexisted with provincial ones. The *fueros* legislation that the councils claimed to be defending was provincial in nature. As Coro Rubio Pobes has suggested, the patriotism in the nineteenth-century Basque Country was at times "triple," given that the provincial element was added to the

²³⁵ Albisu Andrade, *La Guerra de África, 1859-1860 la División Vascongada (el 2º tercio)*, 23, 25.

²³⁶ Rubio Pobes, "Los Espacios Identitarios Del Vasquismo Decimonónico," 125.

²³⁷ Zavala, *Afrika 'ko gerra*, 74, 128.

²³⁸ Josep Maria Fradera and Carles Mercadal Vidal, *Cultura nacional en una sociedad dividida: Cataluña, 1838-1868* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1992).

²³⁹ Zavala, *Afrika 'ko gerra*, 59, 60, 67, 70.

²⁴⁰ Zavala, 43.

²⁴¹ "Expediente Sobre El Pensamiento Propuesto Por La Diputación General de Guipuzcoa En Su Comunicación Semi Oficial Reservada..."

regional and the national.²⁴² Indeed, one poem specifically compelled the people to “defend your province” (*defendi ezazute / zeren probintzia*).²⁴³ The analysis of the chanted poetry and the private correspondence among the provincial councils shows that the provincial and the regional were intertwined. Clothing, too, confirms this “triple” patriotism. The guidons kept the traditional provincial distinction, while the main costume was regional, and the badge carried the Spanish colors and featured the motto *Irurac bat* (‘The three in one’). Coined by the Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country, the motto was accompanied by the design of three intertwined hands, which symbolized the unity of the three provinces.

The uniform of the Basque Corps consisted of a grey coat with a removable cape, maroon trousers, high boots and espadrilles, and a red beret.²⁴⁴ (See Appendix, pp. 341-2) The beret, which had a button with the initials of Queen Isabel II, carried a particular symbolic weight. For the one thing, it embodied the unity of the people which the patriotic fervor was perceived to create. The Basque newspaper *Irurac Bat* joyfully considered the red beret to symbolize the unity of all Basque soldiers, who fought together and not among themselves.²⁴⁵ Even more prominently than in the rest of Spain, the specter of the civil war was well alive in the Basque Provinces. For another, the beret was perceived as a distinctive Basque feature *vis-à-vis* the Spanish. Deputy Lasala had anticipated that “[t]he walkaway of [Basque] battalions in Madrid wearing the beret ha[d] to cause great effect.”²⁴⁶ And so it did. Whenever the Spanish and the international journalists joyfully commented on the presence of the Basque ‘voluntaries,’ the beret was mentioned. The renowned Pedro Antonio de Alarcón considered that the beret bestowed the Basque soldiers with “some kind of old and romance-like resemblance which suit[ed] them.”²⁴⁷ Germonde de Lavigne, a French Hispanist who

²⁴² Rubio Pobes, “Centinelas de la Patria. Regionalismo vasco y nacionalización española en el siglo XIX,” 400.

²⁴³ Zavala, *Afrika'ko gerra*, 55.

²⁴⁴ “Expediente Sobre El Pensamiento Propuesto Por La Diputación General de Guipuzcoa En Su Comunicación Semi Oficial Reservada...”

²⁴⁵ *Irurac Bat*, 25/12/1859, cited in: Cajal Valero, “La Participación de Los Tercios Vascongados En La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 263.

²⁴⁶ Deputy Lasala to the president of the Diputación council of Bizkaia Marqués de Roca Verde: “Expediente Sobre El Pensamiento Propuesto Por La Diputación General de Guipuzcoa En Su Comunicación Semi Oficial Reservada...”

²⁴⁷ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 259. Emphasis added.

followed the Army of Africa on the campaign, commented that the garment of the Basque soldiers was “picturesque, adorned with the traditional beret.”²⁴⁸

Arturo Cajal Valero has suggested that the uniform of the troops was adapted from that of the *miqueletes*, or the local police of the provincial council of Gipuzkoa, which had in turn been inspired by the garments of the liberal militias in the civil war, called *chapelgorris* (red-bereted).²⁴⁹ Basque authorities did not only mobilize the Basque distinctiveness, but also controversial liberal symbols. In Catalunya and more specifically in the predominantly liberal city of Barcelona, the rather successful mobilization of the troops relied heavily on the display of liberal symbols, chants, and slogans.²⁵⁰ Yet the Basque Country, particularly the lower-class rural male population which was to be integrated in the Basque Corps, was predominantly Carlist. Plausibly, the use of liberal symbols posed an additional difficulty to the councils’ recruitment policies.

The difficulties in recruiting soldiers were the result of several interrelated issues. First of all, it should be clarified that what was ‘voluntary’ about the Basque soldiers who were to integrate the Army of Africa was the decision of the provincial councils to form the corps, not the recruitment process itself. Most Basque soldiers were coerced to enroll. Adding to that was the fact that the Basque population was not used to being enlisted, given that the military provision of the Basque Provinces for external campaigns had fallen into disuse since the eighteenth century.²⁵¹ It is also unlikely that, despite the religious fervor of Carlists, fighting against the Moroccans constituted an outstanding motivation for rural impoverished mid-century Basques. Let us examine these elements in greater detail.

Wherever possible, the authorities tried to avoid holding a draw, which the wealthy classes openly rejected.²⁵² However, the more convenient policy of contracting paid soldiers paved the way for discrepancies among the “sister provinces.” The

²⁴⁸ Germond de Lavigne, *Les espagnols au Maroc*, Collection: Petite bibliothèque populaire d’histoire et de géographie (Paris: C. Bayle, 1889), 139.

²⁴⁹ Cajal Valero, “La Participación de Los Tercios Vascongados En La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 263.

²⁵⁰ Garcia Balañà, “Patria, Plebe Y Política En La España Isabelina: La Guerra de África En Cataluña (1859-1860).”

²⁵¹ Arturo Cajal Valero, “Discrepancias Entre Las tres ‘Provincias Hermanas’: El Reclutamiento de Los Tercios Vascongados Para La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” *Sancho El Sabio: Revista de Cultura E Investigación Vasca*, no. 35 (2012): 74.

²⁵² Cajal Valero, 75.

concrete criteria established in the arrangement of Bergara were imprecise and loose, so each province interpreted differently the way it was to achieve the quota agreed upon.²⁵³ Bizkaia, the wealthiest of all the ‘sister’ provinces, had an easier time in recruiting paid conscripts than Gipuzkoa and, especially, Araba, the poorest of all. Besides, Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia included conscripts from different Basque provinces, and even from other Spanish regions.²⁵⁴ Customarily, each provincial corps (*tercio*) would only include members of that province. These policies were considered outrageous by the provincial council of Araba, and the central government. These recruitment practices also show the discretionary character with which the traditional *fuero* provisions were dealt with by the very provincial council authorities who set themselves up as their safeguards.

The media tried to persuade land laborers and other workers to enlist, by highlighting the beneficial material rewards they could achieve by enrolling in the corps. They were not very successful, however. In Araba, where the monetary reward offered to the soldiers was considerably lower than in Bizkaia, it was not long before the authorities decided to establish compulsory enrollment by ballot. The draw was not well accepted, and the most common strategy that the conscripts used to avoid it was flight. In the valley of Aramaio, for example, the draw resulted in the creation of a list of 42 young men, of whom only 22 showed up.²⁵⁵ Local authorities tried different coercive measures, including intimidating the family members of the absent conscripts, confiscating their properties, and arresting them.²⁵⁶ The provincial councils advised local authorities to warn the population that if they escaped from the villages or employed any other means to avoid enlistment, “they w[ould] be considered deserters and they [would thus] inexorably face the full rigor of law, which w[ould] be applied to instigators by imposing on them the most severe of punishments.”²⁵⁷

The forced enlistment of soldiers also proved difficult due to Carlist support in the countryside. The system of providing Basque troops to the Monarch had been

²⁵³ Cajal Valero, 73.

²⁵⁴ Cajal Valero, 74–75.

²⁵⁵ “Expediente Sobre Las Disposiciones Adoptadas Para La Presentación de Diferentes Mozos Del Valle de Aramayona, Ausentes Antes Y Después de La Designación de Los 26 Que Les Correspondieron Para La Formación Del Tercio Alavés Para Marruecos,” 1860, DH -367-2, ALHA-ATHA.

²⁵⁶ “Expediente Sobre Las Disposiciones Adoptadas Para La Presentación de Diferentes Mozos Del Valle de Aramayona, Ausentes Antes Y Después de La Designación de Los 26 Que Les Correspondieron Para La Formación Del Tercio Alavés Para Marruecos,” 6, 11, 16–17, 28–30, 49, 62.

²⁵⁷ Luis Gonzaga de Aguirre, “Al Sor. Alcalde Del Valle de Gordejuela,” December 23, 1859, Q-01981/112, BFAH-AHFB.

deactivated in 1839 precisely because local recruitment favored the penetration of Carlists.²⁵⁸ Besides, Carlists could claim that fighting in an overseas war was against the *foral* regulations. The menace of organized resistance and protest was pressing, especially in collective rebellions, such as the one which took place in Oiartzun.²⁵⁹ The conscripts drawn in that village of Gipuzkoa stirred up a revolt, threw down the ballot box, and fled to the mountains.²⁶⁰ The instigators were imprisoned.

Ultimately, it seems that going to fight in Morocco was not a particularly appealing endeavor for the average Basque man. The chanted propagandistic poetry commissioned by the provincial councils, of course, displayed Moor-phobic and anti-Islamic claims informed by religious, gender, and racial concepts. Some verses highlighted the need to evangelize “Moors” and kill renegades.²⁶¹ Others stressed Moroccans’ blackness, which was related to dirt and their “savage” (*bruto eta salbajeak*) nature. Mostly in the poems composed after the war, Moroccans were described as “ugly” (*zatarrak*), as “infidels” (*infiel da erejeak*), as “criminals” (*gaizkille[ak]*), as “fools” (*barregarri[ak]*), and as “the masters of donkeys” (*astuen maixua[k]*).²⁶² In one of the poems composed after the return of soldiers, the latter were said to have “completely changed” due to the blackness of the “sand of Africa,” thus the province of Gipuzkoa appeared to be a “good place to whiten.”²⁶³ As Garcia Balaña has shown for the Catalan verses, the racially-inflected language was in the mid-century more of a “civilization racialism rather than a biological racism.”²⁶⁴

In one of the verses, black Moroccans are said to prefer white women.²⁶⁵ This does not only indicate the ubiquitous gendered claim of Basque-Spanish men’s ‘protection’ of ‘their’ women, but most likely conveys the anxiety underlying the troops’ deeds in Morocco, namely the unease regarding the fact that mixed relationships and miscegenation might have occurred during the otherwise heroically depicted venture.

²⁵⁸ Cajal Valero, “Discrepancias Entre Las tres ‘Provincias Hermanas,’” 70–71.

²⁵⁹ Angel de Gorostidi Guelbenzu, “Tercios vascongados en Africa,” *Euskal-Erria Revista Bascongada*, 1907, 2.

²⁶⁰ Antonio Pirala, *Historia Contemporánea: Segunda Parte de La Guerra Civil: Anales Desde 1843 Hasta El Fallecimiento de Don Alfonso XII*, vol. I (Madrid: Felipe González Rojas, 1893), 836.

²⁶¹ Zavala, *Afrika 'ko gerra*, 78, 83.

²⁶² Zavala, 62, 139–40.

²⁶³ Zavala, 52, 154.

²⁶⁴ Balaña, “Patriotismos trasatlánticos. Raza y nación en el impacto de la Guerra de Africa en el Caribe español de 1860,” 211.

²⁶⁵ Zavala, *Afrika 'ko gerra*, 53.

In drawing this section to a close, I would like to address a different account which springs from within the compilation of chanted poems. Unlike the other doubly-patriotic chants, this one tells the story of a young man who unsuccessfully tried to avoid enrollment in the corps. According to Antonio Zavala, it was customary for individuals to commission a poem. They would go to the poet (*bertsolari*), tell him or her their story, then the poet would compose the verses, and the client would pay and print them.²⁶⁶ The fifteen different verses which form this poem were compiled from five different oral informants, as well as from some written poetic compilations.²⁶⁷ It seems that the poem circulated extensively, although it remains unclear whether it was composed before the protagonist went to the war, or afterwards.

One of the first verses depicts the protagonist of the poem, a young man in danger of being enlisted, suggesting to his mother that he marry a girl whom he had his eyes on. His intention was to avoid enrollment, as married men were exempted from enlistment. The mother, however, declined her son's proposal by alleging that the family "need[ed] a wealthy daughter-in-law" (*seme, guk bear degu / errai diruduna*).²⁶⁸ The son insisted, by alleging that if he married the couple would work hard – presumably, in the family house. However, not only did his mother repeat her rejection, but his sister was allowed to marry a man who was better off than the family.²⁶⁹ Some of the following verses thus lament the young man's impoverished condition.²⁷⁰ Others present the ironically wretched situation in which he found himself; his own parents had married so that his father could avoid being enlisted in the corps for the first Carlist civil war. The son thus complained that, because his parents had married and had him at a young age ("prior to eighteen," [*len emezortzi urtian*]), he now had to fear being drafted for the war on Tetouan.²⁷¹ The protagonist concluded that his fate was enlistment: "because we did not concur / in the kitchen council / I might lose my life / by the edge of a weapon" (*konpondu ez geralako / sukaldeko juntan / biziya utzi nezake / nik armaren puntan*).²⁷² The last verse sentences: "Away with Moroccans / Long live the queen / I will fight for you / as much as I can / for I have taken the oath / to that end / If

²⁶⁶ Zavala, 91.

²⁶⁷ Zavala, 90, 99–100.

²⁶⁸ Zavala, 93, 95.

²⁶⁹ Zavala, 97.

²⁷⁰ Zavala, 97.

²⁷¹ Zavala, 96.

²⁷² Zavala, 98.

only I was lucky enough / to last through!” (*Fuera Marruekuak / biba Erregiña / Zure alde egingo det / nik nere alegiña / artarako dadukat / botua egiña, / sikiera suertian / biziko bagiña!*)²⁷³

The poem is interesting for a number of reasons. Unlike the rest of the documentation, these chanted verses offer the personal experience of a man who embarked upon the war. It shows the economic constraints he suffered, and the ways in which he unsuccessfully tried to avoid his ‘fate.’ The poem suggests that the man was quite ‘indifferent’ to Moroccans, their alleged black ‘savagery’ and ‘infidel’ nature, among the outstanding Moor-phobic attributes that most of the chants purported. The concluding verses also show a moderate patriotism and adherence to the queen. The man ultimately appears to have resigned himself to accepting the situation, which involved both the defense of the monarch, as stipulated in the oath he had taken, and the risk of death that the war entailed.

How representative this man’s situation was is a question that, unfortunately, has no answer. However, the existence and oral circulation of such a poem may mean that this man’s situation and attitude may have been similar to those of other young men in both the Basque Provinces and the rest of Spain. That, in turn, demonstrates that the individual and institutional motivations behind the patriotic fervor did not match, at least not always. This thesis likewise clearly emerges through the forced enlistment and the use of violent coercive measures that the provincial ruling classes employed against the impoverished male individuals who dissented and their families. Yet the poem is also revealing of the multi-locality of oppression, for classed family arrangements also affected the ‘fate’ of the impoverished male youth. Interestingly, the poem referred to “the kitchen council” as a key institution which constrained his will to avoid enlistment – a powerful institution, led by his mother, which he unsuccessfully tried to mold.

2.4. Conclusions

The patriotic fervor that the war declaration triggered in peninsular Spain was multi-layered and multicausal. Its exceptional character was due to the social and political disunity that beset both the national and the imperial realms. The politically and militarily divided social sectors quite unanimously embraced the call for war

²⁷³ Zavala, 99.

against the historic ‘enemy’ that the ‘Moors’ represented, and that produced an outstanding generalized feeling of unity. The campaign was also without precedents in the nineteenth century because, in times of imperial collapse, it provided the illusion of a new colonial project in Morocco. Although the party of the future Count of Tetouan, Leopoldo O’Donnell, had not planned the campaign in terms of immediate territorial expansion, the patriotic fervor expanded its initial scope and foregrounded pompous and unrealistic expectations that were to turn against the governing Unión Liberal barely five months later.

Despite the unity in their backing, the different social sectors and parties harboured unlike political projects. The polysemy that defined the campaign was, at the same time, its strongest and its weakest point. To vindicate the derision to which Spain was subjected by north-western European powers was one common goal. To a large extent, especially for the governing party and other liberals, the war was set to counter the depiction of Spain as an ‘uncivilized’ country, and as the European Other who was no longer capable of accomplishing imperial deeds. For the Carlists and the Neo-Catholics, the war was an opportunity to prove the role of Christianity in the imperial realm – a claim that also aimed at promoting its weight within the nation, given that the ecclesiastical institutions were losing considerable material and symbolic strength in the peninsula.

The ubiquity of the figure of Queen Isabel la Católica and her will brought together the colonial discourses of the liberal and the Catholic sectors. For the latter, rescuing the queen who had put a definitive end to al-Andalus enabled them to conceive the war on Tetouan as a continuation of the Reconquista. Isabel la Católica’s command to continue expanding Christianity in ‘Africa’ was transcribed time and again, and the superiority of Christianity over Islam was enthusiastically acclaimed. For the liberals, the queen’s will signalled the particular historic mission of Spain to colonize Morocco. The liberals rescued Isabel la Católica’s will to put forward the Africanist principles of Spain’s historical and geographical rights in extending ‘civilization’ into ‘Africa.’

Africanism would become the hegemonic Spanish colonial discourse throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. As I have shown, the Africanist tenets encouraged a historical consciousness that was different from the one which postcolonial scholars have identified within the dominant discourses of the nineteenth-century great powers. Unlike the British and the French, in Spain the

liberal intellectuals and military Africanists resorted to evocations of the Andalusí past which encouraged a circular understanding of history and of Spain's imperial force and legitimacy. Al-Andalus thus constituted one of the anchors of the Spanish colonial legitimation in Morocco, and at the same time enhanced a fairly un-essentializing vision of the Spanish 'civilizing mission' in Morocco. Claiming 'historical rights' precisely entailed recognizing that there were Hispano-Moroccan historical bonds, and given that the liberals bestowed al-Andalus an aura of 'civilization,' it eased the articulation of a discourse of circular 'civilization'-cum-colonization. The 'Moors,' who had been 'civilized' in the past, had colonized Spain, and now it was Spaniards' turn.

The Catholic conservative sectors, although they were just as heterogeneous as the liberal ones, did not conceive circularity in such terms, because they did not recognize al-Andalus as the paradigm 'civilization' as liberals did. The conservatives highlighted the achievement of Reconquista, the Christian character of Spain, and its antinomy to Islam. In so doing, however, they also framed the war in terms of a re-encounter, for they envisioned the Spanish militarized aggression as a historical revenge. The anti-liberal sectors, especially the Neo-Catholic women, challenged the exoticized and eroticized depictions of Spain, and the war offered them the opportunity to dissociate themselves from the 'infidels,' and to prove Christian superiority over Islam.

Importantly, what both the liberal and the conservative historical evocations did was to reinforce an understanding of the war as the re-encounter between Christianity and Islam, between the 'Moors' (or the Muslims) and the Spaniards. The un-essentialist element embedded in the circular notions of colonization became essentialist insofar as the actors and the cultural realms involved were binary – the Jews and Judaism being ignored – and ahistorical – early modern Iberian 'Moors' being the progenitors of modern Moroccan 'Moors,' and early modern Iberian Christians being identified as the ancestors of modern Spaniards. The mimetic Hispano-Moroccan identification thus relied on and reinforced binary essentialist clusters – on the grounds of enmity and antinomy, for the conservatives, and on the grounds of an affinity or the possibility of it, for the liberals.

After delineating these general trends, the chapter delved into two outstandingly different sub-groups within the liberal cluster: Basque *fuera* liberalism, and Krausism, through Concepción Arenal's poem. The main goal of the analysis of Arenal's poetic composition was to examine her contribution, and to assess whether it encompassed a

dissenting perspective. Appraising whether hegemonic notions could be subverted in ways that did not entail absolute refutation opens a window onto historical complexity and change. The assessment of what entailed historical dissent and more generally political action is, I believe, bound to take into account historical and normative issues. I have then, first, identified the historical discursive framework, the hegemonic and the normative notions and the limits of the sayable. Second, I have approached Arenal's poem critically in order to establish to what extent it entailed contention.

In the preceding pages, I have argued that Arenal's was poetic dissidence. On the one hand, her verses contextualized and deconstructed contemporary inter-European imperial rivalries. These, moreover, were at the forefront of the poem, while the Moroccans were in the background. The fact that the Moroccans were presented as the icing on the cake already challenges the widespread Moor-phobic representations contained in other media and printed publications. Most importantly, although the poem referred to Moroccans with negatively-connoted terms, it also depicted them as patriots, which was the most praiseworthy attribute of Spaniards throughout the poem. By mimetically highlighting the Moroccans' 'patriotic' defence of Tetouan, Arenal's poem implicitly legitimized their resistance to the Spanish occupation. Third, despite the glorious cries to the war in terms of the restoration of honor and the 'civilized mission,' Arenal's verses contain some ambivalent notes. Ultimately, the relevance of this poem by one of the most outstanding intellectual figures of nineteenth-century peninsular Spain is that it suggests that amid the patriotic fervor dissidence did exist, at least in the form of molding the dominant notions which informed global imperialism.

Toward the end of the chapter, the analysis of the involvement of the Basque institutions and individuals in the war has nuanced the understanding of the imperial from within the local and the regional perspective. The analysis of the arrangement of the Basque corps through archival material and of the war propaganda through compiled chanted verses has revealed the common and the peculiar traits of the patriotic fervor in the Basque Provinces. The section has thus, first, foregrounded the analysis of the politics of the liberal *fuera* ruling classes. Focusing on the latter has enabled me to expand the acknowledgement of the 'national' and the 'imperial' contentions that the mobilization of the war harboured in the Basque Country *vis-à-vis* the rest of peninsular Spain. In light of the quarrels that the maintenance of Basque *fueros* – the *ancien régime* legislation – created in nineteenth-century Spain, the Basque ruling elites took

advantage of the war to show the effective and beneficial quality of *foral* armament and, thus, the whole system of *fueros*. The mobilization of the imperial war, therefore, was due the political project of *fuerista* and liberal Basque elites.

Second, the individual and collective resistance to the enlistment policies put in place by those rulers has shown the resistance of the impoverished civilians who were to embody the ‘workforce’ necessary to fulfil such political projects. The provincial rulers’ coercive measures to the dissenting male individuals who met the requirements to enlist into the ‘voluntary’ corps and their families show that the war on Morocco did not enhance any enthusiasm among the Basque common folk. In fact, although most of the Basque population was Carlist, and thus would presumably embrace both the claim whereby the participation in the war could achieve that *fueros* be maintained, and the Moor-phobic and Islamophobic discourse, the fact remains that provincial rulers had to stress the monetary incentives and employ violent measures to be able to meet the stipulated number of soldiers into the Basque corps. Remarkably, one of the *sui generis* poetic compositions within the accessed compilation has stimulated the consideration of the ‘indifference’ that many impoverished men might have harboured with regard to the imperial and patriotic enterprise of the war. Ultimately, such ‘indifference’ or at least non-priority concern that the war represented for the soldiers-to-be shows that the Spanish patriotic fervor and the imperial war on Tetouan had different meanings and unlike degrees of importance across the ideological spectrum, as well as across the social position of the historical subjects, particularly with regard to class.

CHAPTER THREE: THE WAR FROM TETOUAN

In 1798, following the French occupation of Egypt, the Cairene cleric and historian ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabārtī penned a quick commentary on it. He remarked upon the military ranks, paused to offer details of the Frenchmen’s uniforms and his perceptions of their bodily peculiarities, and he also described the way in which Egyptians felt and dealt with the occupation. It was through al-Jabārtī’s writings that the news about French-occupied Egypt reached different parts of the Islamic world, including Morocco. The pilgrimage to Mecca was momentarily interrupted, the people of the holy city cried out in the sanctuary and took down the drapery with which the sacred Ka‘aba was adorned, thus announcing “that the cosmic balance had been upset, that Islam itself had been denuded of one of its most resplendent embellishments.”²⁷⁴

In Morocco, too, the “crux of the problem, it was widely believed, was that foreigners were causing the grief and placing the *umma* (the [Islamic] nation) at great risk.”²⁷⁵ The military operations of the Napoleonic Wars (1795-1815) were interpreted in Morocco as a crusade by the Christians who were attacking the Islamic world.²⁷⁶ The feeling was more pronounced in Morocco than anywhere else in the Muslim Mediterranean, because naval movements occurred at the Strait of Gibraltar, and Napoleon’s southward advance through Spain brought them close to the Ibero-African frontier. The collapse of the Ottoman Eastern Regency of Algeria in 1830 further enhanced the feeling that a direct threat was being posed to Morocco, where it triggered a popular *jihād* mobilization against the advancement of the French conquest in Algeria.²⁷⁷

The Spanish war on Tetouan took place in an era in which Morocco faced the preliminary military confrontations that would ease the colonial intervention of various European powers. Uneven commercial and legal agreements between different European powers and the Makhzan had also already started to be implemented in the years previous to the war on Tetouan, which was the starting point of modern Spanish

²⁷⁴ Juan Ricardo Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 239.

²⁷⁵ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 10.

²⁷⁶ Amira K. Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco: State-Society Relations during the French Conquest of Algeria* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 31; Bennison, “Liminal States: Morocco and the Iberian Frontier between the Twelfth and Nineteenth Centuries,” 25–26.

²⁷⁷ Kenbib, “The Impact of the French Conquest of Algeria on Morocco, 1830-1912,” 48–49.

colonialism in Morocco. At the same time, the Spanish were new ‘enemies’ for the Moroccans, much less for the northerners. The declaration of war enhanced in Tetouan cries related to the ‘recovery’ of al-Andalus, and the idea that the so-called ‘people of al-Andalus’ could be easily defeated.

The war stimulated the creation of different kinds of sources which enable this analysis. This chapter will examine this historical episode relying on Arabic manuscripts, chronicles and personal documents, mostly written by Tetouani learned Muslim men. (See Appendix, pp. 343-4) Although it would seem that looking at the Tetouani perspective(s) is unavoidable, the truth is that many historical works on the Spanish war on Tetouan have disregarded them. At the same time, the perspectives that the use of such sources enables gives way to a narrative that is male and Muslim-centered – not absolutely, but to a large degree. Some of the following chapters will broaden the scope of the historical subjects under review.

For the members of the elite classes, the Moroccan breakdown at the war, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, and the changes it precipitated were catastrophes occurring at an already unstable time. The transformations that the foreign interventions were considered to plausibly entail triggered anxieties and fears of disenfranchisement among the various groups who had enjoyed privileges until that moment, particularly among the urban male elites. Whether real or not, the fact that the changing situation resulting from the Spanish war on Tetouan could lead to a transformation of the power structures and dynamics produced a (re)action, especially among the variously-defined privileged groups.

One prominent domain in which such anxieties are visible is in reformist discourses, as the key notions that informed reformist thinking constructed and conveyed a picture of decadency that needed to be tackled. This chapter aims at scrutinizing the biases on which the diagnoses that guided such reformist proposals were based and which they, at the same time, reinscribed and reproduced. Yet the notions of reform (*iṣlāḥ*) and religious renewal (*tajdīd*) were neither only nor prominently related to foreign interventions. There existed distinct political projects within the umbrella of reform, but most of them were concerned with endogenous reform. Reformist agendas adopted a multiplicity of forms, not only within the vast and heterogeneous Islamic *umma*, but also across social classes and ideological spectra. The Moroccan defeat and the subsequent signing of the peace treaty and the Spanish

occupation of Tetouan activated concepts of reform which offer precious keys with which to scrutinize the prevailing socio-political edifice in mid-century Tetouan as well as other parts of Morocco.

The second section of this chapter will illustrate the contours of reform that can be traced in the war account of a learned and prestigious Tetouani scholar named Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl (1824-1887). Afaylāl was a *sharīf*, a descendant of the male line of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, and thus part of the Tetouani and the Moroccan *khāṣṣa*, or the elite. Afaylāl took his family out of Tetouan prior to the start of the battles, and returned to witness some of the battles and the state of the Moroccan army, which he wrote down in his personal diary. When the Spanish Army of Africa approached his city, however, he joined his family in the mountainous town of Chefchaouen. Chapter Seven will discuss his experience in exile.

Afaylāl considered that the fall of Tetouan was due to 'the weakness of Islam,' and that the 'infidels' occupation entailed a threat to Islam. Yet what he meant by that is not straightforwardly obvious, so this chapter will aim at disentangling the interrelated factors and meanings included in assertions of this kind. I will do so following what Mohammed Ennaji has defined as the need to "desacralize the historical approach."²⁷⁸ This entails unveiling what lay behind the omnipotent religious notions and framework, un-essentializing the essentialist claims, while at the same time acknowledging why the historical subjects used them. To the extent that the power of *shurafā'* and other members of the *khāṣṣa* was based on and legitimized through the appeal to religious principles and structures, discussing its part involved alluding to religion and constructing religious discursive frameworks.

Desacralizing the historical approach thus involves acknowledging that the social and the political role of religion in mid-century Morocco was so relevant, that it often veiled the premises upon which socio-political dynamics and power relations were structured. The sense of peril that urban male elites experienced and voiced often appeared as being related to Islam. We should however not lose sight of what was really at stake; that is, the privileges and the plausible disenfranchisement of the people who held such positions of power related to status and prestige, based on religiously-defined structures and legitimized by religiously-embedded concepts. Both the content and the

²⁷⁸ Ennaji, *Slavery, the State, and Islam*, 242.

methodology of Afaylāl's narrative will particularly reveal the interstices of the politics of status and prestige at work in mid-century Morocco.

But anxieties were not only visible in the reformist proposals, but also in the arguments that Tetouanis made to defend their different political stances and attitudes with regards to the Spanish. Following the declaration of war, Tetouan was immersed in conflicts of a varying political nature related to the differing positions that the Tetouani inhabitants adopted. The first section of this chapter will signal the emergence of what I have called 'the double front,' in which the Spanish represented the historically-shaped external front, while the Tetouani political adversaries constituted the internal one. The third section of the chapter will elaborate on the different arguments that the diverse Tetouani parties used to legitimize their options.

Often, the different decisions adopted by Tetouanis were legitimized by recourse to the religiously-embedded concepts of *jihād* and *hijra*. Men's decisions and actions relating to the control of women's bodies and sexuality were also frequently framed within an Islamic paradigm and conveyed in a religious language. Still, to unearth what informed these actions in terms of the construction and consolidation of power, "[o]ne must decode, or unveil, the sacred language for it to convey its true message."²⁷⁹ Desacralizing the discourses entails historicizing the claims, and the use that historical subjects made of them. Historicizing *jihād* and men's claim of the 'protection' of women as a sort of *jihād* means looking at who, when, and how claimed it and what it meant.

As noted by Michael David Bonner, *jihād* "for the historian, is (...) not only about clashes between religions, civilizations, and states but also about clashes among groups within Islamic societies."²⁸⁰ Although the literal meaning of the Arabic word *jihād*, the verbal noun of the verb *jāhada*, is "to strive, to exert oneself, to struggle," Islamic jurisprudence has commonly conceptualized it as "armed struggle against the unbelievers, which is also a common meaning in the [Qur'ān]."²⁸¹ However, due to the vast polysemy of Arabic and the many different uses that historical actors and actresses have made of it, *jihād* can at times become a notion that applies to almost everything

²⁷⁹ Ennaji, 244.

²⁸⁰ Michael David Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic history: doctrines and practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 4, 11–12.

²⁸¹ Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: A Reader* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2005), 1.

and everyone. As I shall explain thoroughly, although *jihād* was one of the pivotal concepts which Tetouanis relied upon to legitimize their different positions regarding *hijra*, the conflicts were largely informed by the cleavages between the urban and the rural ethos, on the one hand, and by gender conceptions and dynamics.

3.1. The Emergence of the Double Front: Fighting ‘the People of al-Andalus’ and Internal Political Rivals

In modern Morocco and especially in the north of the country, there existed a powerful nostalgia for al-Andalus, but also enmity and hatred toward the descendants of those who prompted its fall, expelled its inhabitants, occupied their homeland and removed it from the ‘abode of Islam’ (*dār al-Islām*). Al-Andalus thus constituted a complex set of meanings relating to the nostalgic memory of it and shaped by its tragic fall. At the same time, the evocations of the Andalusī past were embedded in present politics. As in Spain, the Moroccan evocation of al-Andalus is to be understood within the ambivalent dichotomy of attraction and disgust.

Different evocations entangled in ambivalent conceptual, emotional, and identity signifiers connected to al-Andalus arose in the aftermath of the declaration of the Spanish war on Tetouan. Several sources suggest that the announcement revived in some Tetouanis their wish to ‘reconquer’ al-Andalus. Abraham, chronicler Pedro Antonio de Alarcón’s Jewish guide, reportedly affirmed that some locals had effusively cried for the ‘recovery’ of al-Andalus. According to Alarcón, his informant attributed exclamations such as the following to some Tetouanis: “we will disembark in the kingdom of Granada, which was ours, and we will reconquer the Alhambra and capture Córdoba, Seville and Toledo, where our ancestors rest.”²⁸² Similarly, Muḥammad al-Haddādī, a Tetouani blacksmith interviewed by a Spanish soldier half a century after the events, was said to have affirmed that when the battles began in 1859 “the *gharnāṭī* [from Granada] families dreamt of having a nap in the Alhambra.”²⁸³ His transcribed declaration also indicates that a number of religious personalities in Tetouan proclaimed the conquest of Málaga and Cádiz on board Spanish ships.

The hyperbolic and emotionally-charged exclamations were intended to encourage Tetouanis to fight, just as in Spain. The claims to ‘reconquer’ al-Andalus

²⁸² Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 499.

²⁸³ Muḥammad al-Haddādī, cited in: Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 118, 119.

were of course particularly productive in Tetouan, not only due to the high numbers of descendants of Andalusi immigrants that populated the city, but also due to the presence of Ceuta and Melilla in its vicinity, two enclaves which Spain inherited from Portugal in the seventeenth century. The Spanish occupation of these coastal enclaves too played a role in the negative perception particularly northern Moroccans had of the Spanish. In the chronicle of his 1765 voyage, Giuseppe Gorani affirmed that public opinion in Morocco was more hostile towards the Spaniards than towards any other Europeans.²⁸⁴ It also made northern Moroccans more zealous to fight them, and more prone to *jihadist* ideas. The devotion to the *jihād* against the so-called ‘people of al-Andalus’ was a source of prestige and authority, and a necessary attribute of those in power.²⁸⁵

Moreover, the receptivity of the *jihadist* appeal and the negative perception of the Spanish that reigned in the northern part of Morocco added to the Moroccan acknowledgement that Spain was in the mid-century a second-order world power. All of those elements gave rise to the widespread idea that the Spanish could and would be easily defeated in the war. Most of the local sources stated that such a conviction ultimately led the Moroccans to underestimate the quantity and quality of the force needed to repel the Spanish attack.²⁸⁶

It would however be elusive to think that all the Tetouanis harbored the same ideas regarding the Spaniards. At the start of the war in mid-November 1859, the *ad hoc* commission that was formed by governor Muḥammad al-Ḥājj decided they would surrender Tetouan if the Spaniards reached the city.²⁸⁷ The internal political quarrels that divided the population were, in fact, partly related to the different value and degree of importance that Tetouanis bestowed to remaining in a town that could and indeed would be captured by the Spaniards. This means that while fighting against ‘the people of al-Andalus’ was a priority and a red line for some Tetouanis, others had concerns that came before fighting Spaniards. The different approaches with regard to the external front represented by the Spaniards gave way to the formation of internal front, which

²⁸⁴ Giuseppe Gorani, Alessandro Casati, and Raoul Girardet, *Mémoires de Gorani*. (Paris: Galimard, 1944), 331, cited in: Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe, 1830-1894*, II:352.

²⁸⁵ Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 29.

²⁸⁶ Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 4; Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 30; Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maḡhrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:85; Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 281; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 66.

²⁸⁷ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 28.

refers to the quarrels which emerged as a result of the different agendas of the Tetouani population.

When the news about the Spanish departure from Ceuta arrived in Tetouan, some inhabitants began to take their families out of the town. The suitability of migrating divided the population from the very beginning, but the discords became more pronounced when the commission issued a migration ban to avoid the possibility of Tetouani refugees spreading defeatist theories across the empire.²⁸⁸ The ban marked the beginning of the intense conflicts which divided the Tetouani population, and the different parties began to legitimize their stances by claiming their performance of *jihād*. The third section of the chapter will discuss the various ways in which the polarized discourses evolved. However, in order to understand the politics which informed the quarrels within the ‘internal front,’ it is necessary to first disentangle some prominent Tetouani social categories. The politics of status and prestige, of gender, and the cleavage between the rural and the urban realms constituted the bones of contention of the disunity that spread in pre-occupied Tetouan. Let me discuss some aspects related to the formation of such dynamics, in order to then examine them in detail.

Together with Fes, Rabat and Salé, Tetouan belonged to the Moroccan cities traditionally termed as *ḥaḍārīyya* for their being seats of Islamic culture and civilization, as opposed to Makhzan towns such as Tangier, Larache and Essaouira, which were seats of government or hosts to military garrisons.²⁸⁹ While the latter offered accommodation to the sultan and his military governors, and the majority of the inhabitants were related to the Makhzan, the former housed wealthy and refined merchants and scholars, as well as ingenious craftsmen. *Ḥaḍārīyya* towns also sheltered significant communities of Andalusī descent. This was particularly true in Tetouan, a city (re)built by Andalusī Muslims who fled their homeland in the fifteenth century. The *ḥaḍārī*, literally ‘civilized,’ status of Tetouan thus encapsulated concepts of urbanity, that of being seats of Islamic culture, and comprised of Andalusī descendants. (See Appendix, p. 345)

These interrelated notions did not only distinguish Moroccan urban centers, but also prominently informed the divide between the urban and the rural realms. The Andalusī descent of many Tetouanis, as will become clear throughout this and the

²⁸⁸ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 99–100.

²⁸⁹ El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulaymān*, 10.

following chapters, informed the cleavage between Tetouan and the surrounding rural region of Jbala. Despite the fact that Andalusi refugees had also settled in rural parts of Morocco, many of those who integrated *ḥaḍārīyya* towns constituted the *khāṣṣa*, or the elite. Significantly, the Moroccan elites of Fes, Rabat, Salé and Tetouan were boastful of their Andalusi descent, born with an aura of refinement, culture, and urban ‘civilization.’ In other parts of the Maghrib where Andalusi refugees had become established, Andalusi culture was also taken to epitomize the refined customs of the urban elites.²⁹⁰

The triad of urbanity, Andalusi ancestry and center of civilization that defined Tetouan and the identity of its inhabitants represented a complex construct *vis-à-vis* the rural world. The urban and the rural, moreover, were neither only nor prominently spatial assignments but also metaphorical ones, and they were shaped by and constituent of social status and prestige both between the city and the countryside, and within the city of Tetouan. The poorest and most marginalized sectors in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Tetouan were those of rural origin.²⁹¹ At the top of the social pyramid were the elites of Andalusi descent, whose status was perpetuated by means of social class endogamy.

Entrenched in urbanity and social status, Andalusi descent operated as a category of difference within the Moroccan social landscape. The higher social value conferred to the Andalusi lineage was established on the basis of an idealized imaginary related to al-Andalus. At the same time, gender politics were also embedded in the rural or urban values, dynamics, and spatial configurations. Gender relations, and power on the basis of gender also operated in a different manner depending on the social status of the family. The third section of the chapter will scrutinize these entanglements in detail. What is important to bear in mind now is that fighting the internal rivals became entrenched in the meaning that fighting against the ‘people of al-Andalus’ adopted, and especially the consequences that leaving Tetouan or remaining in it under the rule of the Spanish acquired for each of the Tetouani parties in terms of the politics of status, gender, and being able to carry an urban or a rural lifestyle.

²⁹⁰ Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence*, 25.

²⁹¹ Abdelaziz Assaoud, *Titwān fī al qarn al-tāsi’ ‘ashar: musāhama li dirāsa-t al-mujtama’ al-maghribī (Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century: A Contribution to Moroccan Social History)*, 1996, 78–79.

With the announcement of the Spanish troops' advancement disunity not only emerged within the city of Tetouan, but also between the city and its rural surroundings. Perhaps more accurately, the Spanish war on Tetouan enabled the latent conflicts between the rural and the urban realm to emerge. When the Spanish declaration of war had reached Tetouan and cannons were fired in order to alert the surrounding population of the need to prepare to fight, the tribal population did not mobilize until the sultan's and the Tetouani saints' call for *jihād* reached the countryside.²⁹² The initial lack of tribal engagement in fighting the Spaniards exposed the rural discontent resulting from the management of the earlier cereal crisis, as well as the more general discords based on the sharp division which had, in more or less latent ways, historically prevailed between the urban and the rural domains.

Not resorting to *jihād* was the means by which rural townsfolk avenged themselves for the Tetouani authorities' oppressive policies during the recent cereal crisis – which the following section will discuss. Eventually, the rural population mobilized when the call of the sultan and the Tetouani saints for *jihād* reached the countryside. Chapter Five will show that the Spanish colonial rule capitalized upon the conflicts between the rural and the urban realm. The Epilogue will examine the representations of the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation, and will discuss the historical and especially the historiographical uses and abuses of the antagonism between the rural and the urban worlds.

Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl denounced the disunity between rural and urban Muslims, but was not oblivious to the conflicts over the *hijra* which spread in Tetouan. Afaylāl did not only condemn such divisions, but linked them to larger social and political dynamics which he envisioned as one of the causes of the Moroccan inability to defeat the Spaniards. Ultimately, for Afaylāl, the disunity among Muslims was one of the signs of the religious and political decay that needed to be tackled. Let us delve into this scholar's writings.

²⁹² Anonymous, "The 'Manuscript of Tetouan,'" 2; Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 28; Muḥammad al-ʿArabī Al-Shāwūn, "Al-Idūlujīyya Al-Ijtīmāʿīyya Li Al-Saīyyd Sīdī ʿAbd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn (The Social Ideology of Sīdī ʿAbd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn)," in *Al-Dhikrā Al-Miʿawīyya Li Waḡā-T Sīdī ʿAbd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn (Centenary Anniversay of the Death of Sīdī ʿAbd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn)* (Tetouan, 1979), 74.

3.2. The Contours of Moroccan Reform and the Politics of Prestige through Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl's Account

Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl was twenty-one when the Battle of Isly took place in 1844. He was a student at one of the best known and prestigious study centers in the Maghrib, the Qarawīyyīn Mosque in Fes, where classes were interrupted due to the defeat of the Moroccan troops. According to him, the French “went to Essaouira and Tangier, demolished the walls and faced no opposition, so when the sultan – may God uphold him – saw the weakness of Islam, he could do nothing but comply to their interests.”²⁹³ The ‘weakness of Islam,’ visible in the fact that there was no opposition to the French attack of the two main ports of Morocco, was at the core of Afaylāl’s diagnosis of the downfall. Moroccans’ lack of eagerness to oppose the foreigners through *jihād*, our author added, made it difficult for the sultan to firmly negotiate the terms of the war and the peace treaty. The interpretation Afaylāl offered of the Moroccan defeat against the French is akin to the one he gave for their collapse during the Spanish war on Tetouan, fifteen years later.

This section will focus on the part of Afaylāl’s personal diary on the war, entitled “Notes on the History of some Events.”²⁹⁴ Throughout the section under consideration, literary prose and poetry merge within the main chronicle – in which every battle or military move is described in detail – and some historical notes about the places, the events and the people he refers to. The date of each event, including the battles, is written using the Islamic calendar, which, for the sake of clarity, I will refer to using its Gregorian correlation. This section will discuss the contours of his conceptualization of the Moroccans’ defeat, his assessment of the army, and the implicit reformist agenda contained in his diagnoses. The anxieties which permeate Afaylāl’s narrative will enable me to unveil some aspects of the politics of status and prestige embedded in his chronicle and his reformist views.

Before moving to Fes to continue with his higher instruction at the Qarawīyyīn Mosque, Afaylāl had received a traditional education in the mosque of the Upper Fountain in Tetouan. Our chronicler became an *‘udūl*, or a notary in 1857, and on the occasion of the appointment of Sīdī Muḥammad he was the scribe of the *bā’ya* or the oath of allegiance, which he wrote with golden ink and proudly transcribed in his

²⁹³ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 84.

²⁹⁴ Afaylāl, 26–35.

diary.²⁹⁵ Afaylāl was also a self-taught learned man, a jurist, an *imām* or leader of prayer, and a merchant of Sufi inclinations. As with his master and Tetouani saint Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn, Afaylāl could have been a member of the Darqāwīyya *ṭarīqa*. Although he fulfilled the socio-cultural requirements that usually led the male elite through the Makhzan officialdom, as was the case with his acquaintances Muḥammad al-Şaffar, Muḥammad Ash‘āsh, al-Ḥājj al-‘Arabī Brīsha and Muḥammad al-Khatīb, Afaylāl did not follow such path. I contend that the Spanish war on Tetouan and the occupation marked a turning point in his views and in his political as well as personal choices. Chapter Seven will discuss these issues thoroughly.

When the news of the Spaniards’ departure from Ceuta reached Tetouan, Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl was living in his home town, where he was a jurist and the *imām* of al-Swīqa mosque.²⁹⁶ Soon after the declaration of war had arrived at the end of October, Afaylāl took his family to Chefchaouen (see Appendix, p. 345) and then returned to his home town, “ready to engage in *jihād*.”²⁹⁷ His second son, called Aḥmad, was born in Chefchaouen in mid-December 1859, when Afaylāl was back in Tetouan.²⁹⁸ According to his own writings, after he left his family in the mountainous town he returned to Tetouan without pausing along the way, so that he could reach the city to lead the Friday prayer. Yet the city was immersed in chaos and the conflicts over the suitability of migrating were dividing the population, particularly after the migration ban. In the increasingly tense environment that reigned in the city, Afaylāl’s departure to Chefchaouen was seen by some as a form of treason. As soon as he entered Tetouan, Afaylāl declared that he heard people saying “‘this is a learned man we used to emulate and he has fled from the infidels,’ and (...) ‘it is not admissible to pray behind him’.”²⁹⁹ He hence decided to cease his leadership of the prayer “forever.”

From the very beginning, Afaylāl opposed the decision regarding the surrender of Tetouan that the commission had agreed upon at the start of the war.³⁰⁰ Afaylāl defended Tetouanis’ right to move their families and possessions to safety, and the need to fight the ‘infidel’ Spanish through *jihād*. He stood alongside his master Sīdī ‘Abd al-

²⁹⁵ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 26-28.

²⁹⁶ Afaylāl, 86.

²⁹⁷ Afaylāl, 28–29.

²⁹⁸ Afaylāl, 80.

²⁹⁹ Afaylāl, 29.

³⁰⁰ Afaylāl, 28.

Salām Ibn Raysūn, the most venerated Sufi shaykh and saint in Tetouan.³⁰¹ Afaylāl and Ibn Raysūn opposed the tenets of the commission that, despite their status as members of the city's nobility, they were not to integrate.³⁰² As the political conflicts increasingly divided the population, Afaylāl accused those in favor of staying in Tetouan of spreading false rumors: "some of the imbeciles swore that the person who took his family out [of Tetouan] would have his house destroyed and his possessions robbed," he wrote.³⁰³ Still, Afaylāl decided to stay in town and he visited the Moroccan camp. When he was certain that the Moroccans would be defeated and that the city would be handed over to the Spanish, he joined his family in Chefchaouen on February 6, 1860.³⁰⁴

Afaylāl's personal judgments of the war assert the urge to transform both the technical aspects relating to the military resources, preparation and organization, as well as the values of the military and the wider social fabric. I argue that his ideas serve to illustrate some of the reformist trends that were prominent in mid-century Moroccan elite milieus, and which tried to remedy the sense of moral and political decay that they envisioned to be at the center of the increasing foreign penetration into Morocco. To be sure, my interpretation of Afaylāl's narrative is the opposite of that of the historian M'hammad Benaboud, who has considered his chronicle to be a "neutral (...) description of the facts."³⁰⁵ The abrupt, violent and transformative character of the war encompassed a fruitful opportunity to articulate views and proposals on the reconstruction of a wide variety of social aspects and relations. It also inspired concepts of reform (*iṣlāḥ*) and renewal (*tajdīd*), which came to embody a form of criticism that enabled both unity and political rivalry. These discourses often departed from privileged positions, such as Afaylāl's, which aimed at maintaining their share of power.

The historical section of Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl's personal diary contains a retrospective account of various mostly local events that took place before the announcement of the Spanish war on Tetouan. The narration starts with the construction of the port of Martin in 1720 and is followed by the account of the 1588 defeat of the

³⁰¹ Al-Shāwūn, "Al-Idūlujīyya Al-Ijtimā'īyya Li Al-Sāīyyd Sīdī 'Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn (The Social Ideology of Sīdī 'Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn)," 74–78.

³⁰² Assaoud, *Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century*, 71.

³⁰³ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 29.

³⁰⁴ Afaylāl, 62.

³⁰⁵ M'hammad Benaboud, "La Guerra de Tetuán Según Sidi Mfeddal Afailal Y George Brown," in *Ceuta Y La Guerra de África de 1859-1860. XII Jornadas de Historia de Ceuta* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 2011), 269.

Christians in Ceuta at the hands of Aḥmad Naqṣīs, forefather of a dynasty that ruled Tetouan for several decades until the 1670s.³⁰⁶ With the exception of these past deeds, which signaled two remarkable realms in which Tetouan stood out, namely commerce and *jihād* against the Iberian ‘infidels,’ for the most part, the first pages of the historical section included details of the appointment, deposition and death of local governors, judges and market inspectors. Among the personalities mentioned was Aḥmad Ash‘āsh, member of yet another important Tetouani dynasty of governors, pushed aside for alleged corruption in 1851, and to whom Afaylāl dedicated some brief sarcastic verses.

In writing about the events retrospectively, Afaylāl chose to refer to both the construction of the port of Martin and the military victory over the Christians in neighbouring Ceuta, which he then contrasted with the recent dynamics of what he considered political corruption, disunity, and religious malpractice. Afaylāl clearly “thought with history,” as Carl E. Schorske would have it, for he “utiliz[ed] elements of the past in the cultural construction of the present and the future.”³⁰⁷ Two interrelated pieces of criticism stand out in the initial part of his historical account. I argue that he cited them as preludes to the military breakdown that led to the “catastrophe” of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. For the most part, the underlying principles of the criticized events concur with his diagnose of the Moroccan defeat against the Spanish, considered to have been prompted by the ‘weakness of Islam,’ visible in various socio-political spheres.

In the two consecutive months of Ramadan prior to the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, which corresponded with April 1858 and 1859, Afaylāl denounced the innovative heresy (*bid‘a*) and lack of observance of the Prophet Muḥammad’s example and tradition (*sunna*) on the part of Tetouani folk, notables and religious scholars. Afaylāl claimed that they had noisily gone around the saint’s tomb in circles and agreed to contravene a special prayer, called *ṣalā-t al-istiṣqā’*, customarily used to demand rain from saints.³⁰⁸ Yet, continued Afaylāl, because the tradition was contravened, only

³⁰⁶ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 26–27. Jean-Louis Miège, M’hammad Benaboud, and Nadia Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine* (Rabat; Paris: Kalila wa dimna ; CNRS éd, 1996), 33.

³⁰⁷ Carl E. Schorske, *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3.

³⁰⁸ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 27. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 163. For a thorough investigation of Moroccan sainthood, particularly in relation to concepts and dynamics of power and different forms of authority, see: Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*.

insignificant rainfall occurred in 1858. The situation was more serious the year after, when the infringement of the traditional praying at the saint's tomb provoked four days of overcast sky which, according to Afaylāl, led the people to fear *halāk* or devastation (which bears a connotation of 'eternal damnation'). Thus, he added, "people despaired for water and the governor [of Tetouan] banned rural folk from taking crops out [of Tetouan] while seven [cargo] ships were [docked] in town." Suggestively, Afaylāl presented the religious decline as what triggered the drought, a situation in which the policies adopted by Tetouani authorities had caused Muslim disunity and, ultimately, the defeat against the Spanish.

The tribesmen's ignoring of the cannon shots alerting them of the Spanish approach was, according to Afaylāl, the result of the detrimental policies that Tetouani governance had adopted in the preceding months. The recent political tensions related to the grain crisis that had hit northern Morocco due to a severe drought, and to the fact that the urban inhabitants had stored cereal cargoes coming from the Atlantic and southern regions through Martil, while the rural tribes' access to grain was restricted.³⁰⁹ The then governor of Tetouan, Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, had placed guards at the gates in order to control and limit supply transportations to the countryside, while in the meantime houses in Tetouan were filled with grain, and up to seven ships filled with supplies were boarded in Martil.³¹⁰ Afaylāl denounced the governor's mistreatment of the rural populations, whom he called "our Muslim brothers" (*ikhwāninā al-muslimīn*), and which, ultimately, made fighting against foreign enemies in unity impossible. Afaylāl's criticism concurs with "the Maghribī political truism that political disunity opens the way for infidel attack."³¹¹

Afaylāl implied that the absence of rainfall caused by the religious malpractices of an important part of the Tetouani population had motivated al-Ḥaddād's misdeeds, and the consequent disunity and inability to defeat the Spanish. The link between religious malpractice, political misdeeds and the disunity of the Muslim population discloses both the meaning of his diagnosis of the defeat against the Spanish as a sign of the 'weakness of Islam.' It also reveals the implicit reformist call that Afaylāl's narrative bore.

³⁰⁹ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 27; Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, IV:218.

³¹⁰ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 28.

³¹¹ Afaylāl, 27; Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 201.

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the salient features of the discourse that conveyed socio-religious reform and renewal advocated for new understandings and practices of Sufism, a revival of the study of *ḥadīth* or the sayings and deeds of Prophet Muḥammad (plural, *aḥādīth*) and the detachment of the ‘excesses’ of saint worshiping.³¹² In part in reaction to and shaped by Wahābī orthodoxy, the most widespread currents of *tajdīd* were directed to the limiting of certain popular Sufi practices and to the promotion of the study of *aḥādīth* from original sources and commentaries rather than secondary recapitulations. Afaylāl’s criticism of the refusal of a diverse group of Tetouanis to perform the traditional prayer is, I argue, to be read as a local and micro-scale manifestation of the religious decadence discourse, which was informed by and shaped wider geographical and historical trends of *tajdīd*, and which served to highlight the idea of a prevalent religious decay which, ultimately, disenabled Muslims from successfully defeating the ‘infidel’ aggressors.

Afaylāl must by all means have been familiar with such reformist intellectual debates. The Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fes, where he obtained a higher education, proffered a venue in which these tendencies converged. Besides, although our author did not declare himself to be connected to any Sufi *ṭarīqa* or brotherhood, his trajectory and practices reveal a Sufi character. His master Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn, with whom he shared many artistic, mystical and learning activities, was a prominent member of the Darqāwīyya *ṭarīqa*.³¹³ Afaylāl’s metaphysical and astrology-related set of beliefs, knowledge and practices are manifest in the central activities of his life. From at least 1847, he frequently combined traveling with saint worshiping, learning, writing and playing music. While abroad, Afaylāl would often lodge at *zāwīyas*. In northern Morocco but also in more distant Marrakesh and Essaouira, he met local religious personalities with whom he surely engaged in discussions on reform and renewal. Indeed, reform movements eased “the formation of new communities out of mobile persons on the basis of Islamic solidarity.”³¹⁴

³¹² El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 132–73; Rex S. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi tradition*, 1990, 27–50.

³¹³ ‘Abd al-Ghafūr Al-Nāṣir, “Al-Jānīb Al-Šūfī Li Al-Wālī Al-Šāliḥ Sīdī ‘Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn (The Sufi Aspect of the Righteous Saint Sīdī ‘Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn),” in *Al-Dhikrā Al-Mi’awīyya Li Wafā-T Sīdī ‘Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn (Centenary Anniversary of the Death of Sīdī ‘Abd Al-Salām Ibn Raysūn)* (Tetouan, 1979), 10.

³¹⁴ Ira Lapidus, “Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 453.

Reform (*iṣlāh*) and renewal (*tajdīd*) were also crucial to guaranteeing the basis of commitment to a common cause, and religious and ideological unity.³¹⁵ Yet they also provided the motivation and justification for quarrels between economic and political rivals whether Muslim or non-Muslim.³¹⁶ Through the denunciation of the religious malpractice that a large part of the Tetouani elite and folk engaged in, Afaylāl presented a misguided society, marked by events and deeds which disunited and harmed Muslims. The picture of the state of decay Afaylāl portrayed in the historical section of his personal diary mirrors several anxieties related to the multilevel organization and functioning of power structures and relations in both Tetouan and Morocco. The implicit call that his criticism contains, therefore, was shaped by the anxieties which, at the same time, his diagnosis reinforced.

Apart from mistreating rural townsfolk, Afaylāl accused the former governor of having favored Jews, even when they were in the wrong, over Muslims, particularly if the latter were *shurafā*.³¹⁷ As a community, Tetouani Jewry was subject to a specific and often discriminatory status. Contrarily, however, Afaylāl stated that al-Haddād favored them over the general community of Muslims, and even over the most privileged among the latter, that is, the *shurafā*. This reference shows Afaylāl's own anxieties as a prestigious *sharīf*, and hence as part of the distinct group of Muslims who held considerable degrees of power over other Muslims and especially over Jews. His statement, therefore, voices his individual fears of disenfranchisement, but also those of his peer *shurafā*. As stated in the genealogy recorded in the first page of his personal diary, Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl was a descendant of Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salām b. Meshīsh (d. 1228) and heir of his *baraka* or blessed virtue.³¹⁸ While Afaylāl was not regarded as a saint, the fact that his lineage descended from the hugely venerated Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salām b. Meshīsh, the Moroccan epithet of the axial saints or *aqṭāb* (sing., *qutb*), bestowed a remarkable prestige.

The anxieties that the elite *shurafā* felt regarding disenfranchisement were not, all in all, absolutely uninformed. For one thing, despite the fact that Jews, as *dhimmi*s,

³¹⁵ Lapidus, 453; See also on this: Amira K. Bennison, “Muslim Universalism and Western Globalisation,” in *Globalization in World History*, ed. A.G. Hopkins (New York: Norton, 2002); and Etty Terem, *Old Texts, New Practices: Islamic Reform in Modern Morocco*, Stanford University Press (Stanford, 2014). See Chapter Three: “The Rhetoric of Moroccan Modernity”, pp. 51-74.

³¹⁶ Lapidus, “Islamic Revival and Modernity,” 453.

³¹⁷ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 27.

³¹⁸ Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 39.

were generally discriminated against in mid-century Morocco, they were excluded from military service, something that during the Spanish war on Tetouan was possibly seen as a privilege in the eyes of many Muslims, including the man of letters Afaylāl.³¹⁹ Additionally, Jews were not subject to the pressure of the commission to remain in Tetouan on the eve of the seizure, as were Muslims, something which was probably also felt as advantageous given the conflicts which the ban caused among Muslims. However, by mentioning the former governor's misdeeds, Afaylāl sought to highlight the antecedents that marked a feared tendency in the alteration of the sites of power. Afaylāl's condemnation of al-Ḥaddād's apparent favoring of the Jews can thus be taken to represent the way in which Muslims and especially elite *shurafā'* interpreted and dealt with the specific historical circumstances of the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan with regards to inter- and intra-community power dynamics.

Afaylāl's criticism of al-Ḥaddād's politics thus presented the governor's alleged misdeeds in a number of ways. Firstly, in opposition to a tradition that he labeled as Islamic. Secondly, as a sign of the decadence in which Tetouan was immersed before the Spanish occupation of Tetouan which, ultimately, triggered the defeat and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. Moreover, Afaylāl's criticism also echoes the tensions that the organization of the different layers of institutionalized power in Morocco aroused.

Customarily, the Makhzan exercised its control locally by appointing governors and military leaders. The local realm, however, especially in *ḥaḍarīyya* towns such as Tetouan, was also prominently led by a group of notables who constituted the *khāṣṣa*. Given that al-Ḥaddād was an outsider nominated by the sultan due to the imprisonment of the unscrupulous Ash'āsh, Afaylāl's criticism probably also reveals his own and his peer elite members' rejection of the local appointee who, moreover, introduced dynamics that did not benefit the *shurafā'*. As explained by Mohamed El Mansour, the designation of outsider governors tended to displease local traditional elites, and frequently led to the deterioration of relations between the Makhzan and the places from where such appointees came.³²⁰ For that reason, Afaylāl's accusations shall also be

³¹⁹ Norman A. Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 70.

³²⁰ El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 21-23, 160.

considered to represent the tense equilibrium between the central Makhzan and the local regional powers.

By introducing the aforementioned contentious aspects of social, religious and political relations and practices, therefore, Afaylāl was retrospectively constructing a narrative in which innovative malpractice led to material difficulties (as represented by the drought and the consequent famine), social disunity (between Muslim rural and urban populations) and the reversal of the sites of privilege of mid-century Moroccan social organization (both between Muslim and Jewish, and among Muslims of different social classes and status). All these elements of his narrative shaped the context of political failure that constituted the prologue of Spanish intervention. Ultimately, by including a critical narration of these events that preceded the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl was both anticipating and reinforcing his diagnosis of the ‘weakness of Islam’ and his implicit call for socio-religious endogenous reform as the prerequisite to be able to fight Spanish occupiers. The issues Afaylāl raised as having led to the climate devastation indeed forecasted the major ‘calamity’ of the seizure of Tetouan, caused by the same set of problems and inefficiencies.

The multilevel connections between the individual and collective, inter- and intra-community and the local and central realms extracted from Afaylāl’s account of pre-occupation Tetouan are likewise present in his narration of the events during the war. It is noteworthy that the Spanish only appear at the backstage of the account he wrote from the battlefield, and that the emphasis is put on the Moroccan soldiers, chiefs, and the values and behaviors that Afaylāl attributed to them. In a battle that took place on December 8, 1859, however, Afaylāl described the Spanish bloc. He characterized them as “structures” which advanced toward the Moroccans “in lines,” and always managed to hit their targets.³²¹ His bewilderment before the Spaniards’ ‘in line’ technique resonates with the discussions regarding military reform that some of his contemporaries engaged in. According to Bettina Dennerlein, fighting “in a ni[zā]m manner was commonly defined in the Moroccan context as being precisely the opposite of the traditional tactics of attack and retreat practiced so far.”³²² Mid-century religious figures such as Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl conceived the Moroccan army as an instrument to

³²¹ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 30–31.

³²² Bettina Dennerlein, “South-South Linkages and Social Change: Moroccan Perspectives on Army Reform in the Muslim Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 59.

repel European intruders, and the greater efficacy attributed to the techniques used by the latter side-lined earlier discussions on the correctness of adopting military features from the ‘infidels.’³²³

In other excerpts of his diary, Afaylāl deplored Moroccans’ lack of organization and preparation. He also ironically stated that they killed other Muslims by mistake, fell into the Christians’ traps and became disorientated.³²⁴ Our author denounced the fact that Moroccans did not have leading-edge technology or technique, and he highlighted the Moroccan soldiers’ lack of motivation for engaging in war against the ‘infidel’ Spaniards. He bitterly affirmed that most of the Moroccans at the battlefield were “spectators.”³²⁵ The underlying immediate cause of the defeat in the war, therefore, appeared to be the sum of the poor technical as well as attitudinal resources that the Moroccan army deployed. Afaylāl conceived the former and the latter as interrelated realms, thus any attempt to reform the Moroccan army would necessarily have to tackle both. *Jihād* and the ‘strength of Islam’ (as opposed to its perceived ‘weakness’) could not be achieved only through improvements in the technical realm. Indeed, the majority of the members of the Moroccan army had a fighting attitude that Afaylāl deemed incompatible with Muslim victory.

In a two-verse poem on the interrelationship of force at the moment of writing, Afaylāl described Moroccans’ attitudes as “worthless,” whereas their minds embodied “stupidity” and “immaturity.”³²⁶ He elsewhere also noticed that while Christians carried away their injured and dead, Muslims mostly showed no concern towards their dead comrades, as they sometimes left their corpses on the battlefield.³²⁷ Our writer condemned Muslims for fighting among themselves for dead Christians’ belongings, which not only triggered new military defeats but proved the inexistence of a strong sense of unity among Muslims.³²⁸ More specifically, Afaylāl’s assessment of soldiers’ attitudes is visible in the divide he proceeded to construct between the Muslim war victims. While he chose the expression to be “sealed by martyrdom” (*khutima bi al-*

³²³ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 40. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Filālī, “Nāzila,” n.d., Al-Khizāna al-Dawūdīyya (Daoudian Archive). Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 131–35.

³²⁴ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 31, 33, 34, 35.

³²⁵ Afaylāl, 31.

³²⁶ Afaylāl, 30.

³²⁷ Afaylāl, 29, 33.

³²⁸ Afaylāl, 30.

shahāda) for those who struggled with patience and forbearance (*ṣabr*), a quality that alludes to believers' conscious acceptance of the destiny marked by God; he used the verb "to die" or the participle "killed" to refer to spectators and the majority of the soldiers who were killed "from the back," while they were fleeing.³²⁹ Following his classification, martyrs or positively connoted *jihād* fighters constituted the minority, in opposition to preponderant observers and soldiers, who were not deemed to be concerned by divine commandments.

Surely, as pointed out by Michael D. Bonner, this kind of distinction between those considered to enact *jihād* and those who were not is "polemical, and perhaps applied arbitrarily or unfairly on some occasions," particularly since the correct intention (*nīyya*) of those present on the battlefield is difficult to determine, as is his own.³³⁰ Evidently, Afaylāl's narrative cannot be conceived of independently of his position and his lack of engagement in fight. It seems cogent, then, to think that presenting a bleak picture of the troops and *jihād* at the camp served as a sort of self-exculpation for his own position of observer. Although traditionally *shurafā'* like him were exempt from military service, governor al-Ḥājj had established the obligation of all Muslims, including *shurafā'*, to engage in *jihād* against the Spanish.³³¹ Moreover, as with the previously mentioned factors, the state of decay that the whole historical section proceeds to depict is something that Afaylāl considered from the position of a sort of outsider and witness. In fact, our author's assessment of the military deficiencies, as religious and political malpractice, implicitly portrayed him as a kind of innocent victim of others' misdeeds, which put his privileges at risk and himself at the center of the criticisms of those Tetouanis who defended the migration ban prior to the seizure.

While Afaylāl's criticism of the Moroccan military performance applied to the members of the army, as individuals, it also referred to the organization of the military system and society, as a whole. Besides, the evaluation Afaylāl made of the principles that guided the Moroccan army was not only centered on the battlefield, but also in the campsite. The following excerpt shows the entirety of his criticism and the depiction of the moral and religious decay which characterized the army:

³²⁹ Afaylāl, 30.

³³⁰ Michael David Bonner, *Jihād in Islamic history: doctrines and practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 13, 78.

³³¹ Anonymous, "The 'Manuscript of Tetouan,'" 2.

*[The troops] settled in the middle of the mountains, in a place with no water (...) The call for prayer was heard and only [the khalīfa Mawlay al-‘Abbās] and three other men prayed (...) while the soldiers were around. Some of them were smoking hashish, some singing (...) not one part of the Holy Qur’ān was read, they had no learned guidance, and never prayed. You could see a man sitting who, while you were looking at him, pissed, defecated, and changed his clothes. And despite being in this state, they aspired to beat the enemy, for they declared: ‘the faith of the prophet will win’; and [the truth is] they had lost their faith. So when I witnessed this, I moved away and returned to Tetouan, where I waited for what the Creator might provide.*³³²

The state of religious and moral decay of the Moroccan troops ultimately bolstered Afaylāl’s decision to leave the campsite. The soldiers’ inhalation of hashish and chanting while the call for prayer was heard marked their general impious attitude. In addition, the exposure of nude bodies and the fulfilling of their needs in front of everyone – and himself, explicitly watching – signaled their noteworthy lack of modesty. Afaylāl furthermore highlighted that despite their ignorance of both prayer and Qur’ān reading, they trusted that God would make them victorious for the fact of being Muslims. Displeased, our writer witnessed what he deemed to be a contradiction between soldiers’ ‘blind faith’ and the religious and pious ‘deficiencies’ of their standpoint.

He also attributed a similar decay to the military commanders. On the one hand, he considered that they did not represent “learned guidance” for soldiers (*dhū ‘ilm ya ‘umhum*).³³³ On the other, he believed that the chiefs had no desire to engage in *jihād* for they sought “to hand over Tetouan to the enemies.”³³⁴ Again, it is not difficult to sense Afaylāl’s opinionated claims in his criticism of military chiefs. Indicatively, Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ councillors were said to have advised him against the strategy suggested by Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn, which drove our author to conclude that the advisers were “the enemies of God.” Among the leaders of the Makhzan entourage,

³³² Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 32.

³³³ Afaylāl, 29.

³³⁴ Afaylāl, 32.

he pinpointed al-Zibdī and Ibn ‘Awda; for his part, Mawlay al-‘Abbās was portrayed as careless and lewd. As reflected in Afaylāl’s diary, when soldiers resorted to the prince to ask for munitions, Mawlay al-‘Abbās answered: “Is there a pretty slave and cook for me?”³³⁵ The immodesty Afaylāl condemned in soldiers’ attitudes found its correspondent in commander Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ reported lasciviousness. Afaylāl criticized Makhzan officialdom by attributing the triad of inadequate masculinity, an insufficient learned condition to inspire subordinates, and their refutation of the local eminence Ibn Raysūn to none other than the Prince Mawlay al-‘Abbas.

Afaylāl also rebuked the local authorities and held them ultimately responsible for the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. The last part of his personal chronicle of the war, in fact, consists of a list of several notables of Tetouan, particularly *fuqahā’* or jurists, whom he called “Christianized” (*mutanāšira*) and accused of having “plunged into [Spaniards’] obedience by their own choice.”³³⁶ The fact that he specified that they surrendered to the Spanish infidels “by their own choice” takes us back to the conflicts that arose, together with the war announcement, between the Tetouanis who opted to and defended remaining in the city and those who emigrated, which the next section will discuss in further detail. Regardless of any other type of consideration, Afaylāl interpreted the choice of those who stayed in the town during the Spanish rule as the paradigm of the ‘weakness of Islam.’

As I have argued, the ways in which Afaylāl envisioned such weakness should be tackled were varied and multilevel. In relation to the army, he considered that the technical and technological aspect was, obviously enough, to be reformed. Afaylāl estimated that the Moroccan army was unprepared and disorganized, and he remained perplexed at the precision with which the Spanish accomplished their target following the ‘in line’ formation, which constituted an implicit call in favor of the implantation of a *nizamī* army. Yet the main weakness our author identified in both the army and the wider social dynamics related to the unwillingness of Moroccans to engage in *jihād*. For him, *jihād* entailed being motivated to fight the ‘infidels’ with forbearance, courage and sagacity, in unity, and guided by the pious and modest attitudes he was unable to discern in most ranks of both soldiers and commanders. Taking into account the retrospectively constructed narrative, however, Afaylāl suggested that the socio-

³³⁵ Afaylāl, 34.

³³⁶ Afaylāl, 35.

religious decay which was manifested during the war had precedents in the former governor al-Ḥaddād's policies and general religious malpractice. Afaylāl's historical account concluded with the signs of a failure in *jihād* against the old 'infidel' enemies that 'the people of al-Andalus' represented, which the previous reversal of traditional power structures, disunity, and malpractice had already foregrounded.

3.3. *Jihād* and the Politics of Gender and Urban 'Civilization'

The political conflicts which had erupted upon acknowledgment of the Spanish advance against Tetouan were strengthened when the defeat of the Moroccan army and the Spanish capture of Tetouan became certain. The discords became polarized as violence hit Tetouan, both on the eve of conquest and during its seizure. Although the next chapters will present more nuanced discourses, attitudes and experiences, this section focuses on the preliminary stages of the conflict, in which resistance to the Spanish became the normative and religiously-sanctioned position, in relation to which Tetouanis articulated the legitimation of their different political views. The different parties legitimized their stances by claiming they were performing *jihād* or enabling to create a context in which *jihād* could be performed. This section will explore the myriad discursive and political possibilities within which *jihād* was conceived, and the biases such a conception and practices were based on and which they at the same time consolidated, particularly in terms of gender and urbanity.

The different parties also claimed to be 'protecting' women, and to be enacting a form of *jihād* by so doing. As with *jihād*, the claim of 'protecting' women served as a legitimizing strategy that veiled what informed each of the positions. I will thus scrutinize the gendered aspect of the different decisions that Tetouanis adopted, and I will argue that they were partly shaped by gender politics, and that they ought to be understood within the patriarchal social framework in which they were produced. Men, their worlds, views, attitudes and experiences have often and still are historicized as if men were a-gendered. That of men is "an often taken-for-granted category," the gendered aspects of which are unproblematized.³³⁷ I will argue that 'protecting' women by staying in Tetouan or abandoning it ultimately meant protecting men's patriarchal privileges.

³³⁷ Ghannam, *Live and Die Like a Man*, 5, 169.

As the analysis of Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl's chronicle has shown, the emphasis on the role of religion as all-defining obscures important elements in the configuration of nineteenth-century Moroccan politics. The following discussion will illustrate the historically-constructed sense of *jihād*, as well as that the people whose stances did not conform to the normative option resignified *jihād* to legitimize their position. This section will also show the gendered aspect of Tetouanis' motivations to leave or remain in town. It will argue that the rural-urban cleavage, which was a stronger category in defining gender politics than religion, was also at the core of the political disunity which emerged in pre-occupied Tetouan.

As already seen, when the announcement of the arrival of the Spanish forces to Ceuta reached Tetouan, some Tetouanis started to leave and, especially, to take 'their' women out of the city. The *ad hoc* commission, however, banned the flight. Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl contravened the interdiction, and some Tetouanis condemned his departure as a form of treason. Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn also disobeyed the prohibition and, taking all his possessions and his family, he emigrated to Tazrout, in the heartland of Jbala, where his sharifian ancestors had built a popularly acclaimed *zāwiya*. For his part, Muḥammad 'Azīmān, *qāḍī* or judge of Tetouan, issued a *fatwā* or religious edict against the migration ban and he himself fled, as a consequence of which he was dismissed from his judicial post.³³⁸

The ban aimed at preventing the spread of defeatist theories across the empire, where the Tetouanis were being scattered. It also aimed at avoiding the emptying of the city that would ease Spaniards' capture of it. However, Afaylāl, Ibn Raysūn and Azīmān defended Tetouanis' right to take their families and possessions to safety. They also disagreed with the decision that the commission had taken regarding the surrender of Tetouan if Spaniards reached it. Despite being part of the *khāssa*, none of them was appointed to integrate the decision-making commission, probably because governor al-Ḥājj was aware of the existing political differences.

After the Moroccan defeat at the Battle of Tetouan, the Princes Mawlay al-'Abbās and Mawlay Aḥmad entered the city, declared the impossibility of defending it,

³³⁸ Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V: 219.

and they recommended that it be emptied before the Spanish seizure.³³⁹ In the following two days, as vast crowds of people carrying their furniture and possessions stretched along the routes of exile, terrible looting broke out in Tetouan. The Epilogue will interrogate some historiographical tropes by looking at the specific episode of the looting that preceded the Spanish capture of Tetouan, which the majority of the historical works have attributed to the rural folk and, less so, to the members of the defeated Moroccan army. As in any looting, violence devastated the city and the most vulnerable groups suffered it remarkably.³⁴⁰

The majority of the Muslim inhabitants of Tetouan left their city, and so did some Jews. Just after the fall of Tetouan, ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Fāsī al-Fihrī pronounced a *khuṭba* or sermon in the Qarawīyyīn Mosque in which he encouraged Tetouani dwellers to migrate.³⁴¹ In order to understand the political and religious authorities’ encouragement of *hijra*, the majority’s decision to comply with it, and the conflicts it created, it is necessary to capture the symbolic and historical significance of the concept of *hijra* or migration on the one hand, and the meanings and uses it adopted in the specific historical context of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan on the other.

While in general *hijra* alludes to ‘migration’ or ‘flight,’ more particularly it bears the connotation of constituting ‘a movement away from unbelief.’³⁴² The first *hijra* in Islamic history refers to the displacement of the Prophet Muḥammad away from Mecca, which marks the beginning of the Islamic (*hijrī*) calendar in the year 622 of the Gregorian almanac. According to the Islamic tradition, in the first years that followed the prophet’s reception of the divine revelation, the authorities and the aristocracy of the commercial and religious center of Mecca opposed the message, which drove the prophet and the sixty people who accompanied him to leave the city, abandoning their properties and relations. The group passed through Ṭa’if, where they encountered

³³⁹ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maḡrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90. Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 416.

³⁴⁰ Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 2.

³⁴¹ ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Fāsī al-Fihrī’s sermon in: Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V: 236.

³⁴² Muhammad Khalid Masud, “The Obligation to Migrate: The Doctrine of ‘Hijra’ in Islamic Law,” in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James P. Piscatori (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 31.

hostility, and finally settled in Yathrib (later named Medina), a tribal agricultural settlement where many of the inhabitants were Jews.³⁴³

Hijra thus bears the remarkably symbolic significance of the constitution of the first Islamic community in exile. Years after, the Islamic community successfully marched on Mecca; hence *hijra* likewise holds the idea of the regrouping of the Muslim community to develop one's strength and enable a return to the flight. Throughout medieval, early modern and modern times, Ibero-Maghribi relations triggered the expansion of the notion of *hijra* as a movement which could secure the safety of the Muslim community before (re)enacting *jihād*. Princes Mawlay al-‘Abbās’, Mawlay Aḥmad’s, and *imam* al-Fihri’s encouragement of *hijra* is to be understood in the framework of these historically-constructed sets of meanings.

Besides, in Morocco *hijra* and *jihād* were related to the Iberian occupation of certain parts of Morocco, and al-Andalus. In the medieval and the early modern period, a juristic discourse particularly concerned with the status of the Muslims who were subject to Christian rule developed, especially in the Qarawīyyīn Mosque in Fes.³⁴⁴ By the end of the fifteenth century, as the Christian Reconquista advanced, several *fatāwā* (sing., *fatwā*) which explored the legal status of Andalusī Muslims were issued. One of the best known, composed by Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī, confirmed the obligation of Iberian Muslims to emigrate from their conquered homelands, which had become non-Muslim territory (*dār al-ḥarb*), and to settle in Muslim territory (*dār al-Islām*).³⁴⁵ After 1830, following the French occupation of Algeria, some of these *fatāwā* were reissued in order to deal with Algerian immigrants’ settlement in Morocco. *Hijra* was therein also conceptualized as an obligation for believers whose territories came under ‘infidels’ control.³⁴⁶

As the next chapter will show, in the first weeks of the occupation, the Makhzan authorities enhanced several military attacks and isolated acts of harassment, and implemented a food blockage on the city. The reasons for both the political and religious authorities’ encouragement of *hijra*, and the majority of the Muslim population’s compliance with it thus responded to the idea of abandoning the territory

³⁴³ Abdennur Prado, *El islam como anarquismo místico* (Barcelona: Virus Editorial, 2010), 46.

³⁴⁴ Jocelyn Hendrickson, “The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī’s *Asnā Al-Matājir* Reconsidered” 2009, 336.

³⁴⁵ This is the object of the study in *ibid*.

³⁴⁶ Kenbib, “The Impact of the French Conquest of Algeria on Morocco, 1830-1912,” 50.

occupied by the Spaniards, but also that emptying the city enabled to display various strategies of resistance *vis-à-vis* the Spanish, in order to restore the occupied city to the abode of Islam. *Hijra* was, accordingly, a means of creating suitable conditions to further enact *jihād*.

Still, a minority of the Muslim population decided to remain in the town. One of them was *sharīf* Sīdī al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn, who composed a poem in which he expressed the affliction that the occupation had wrought upon him.³⁴⁷ Al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn denounced Tetouan being left alone before the ‘infidels.’ By migrating, he argued, the majority of the population abandoned both the city as well as religion, as those who fled did so “fearing martyrdom,” and “prioritized life in this world to the afterlife.” It is interesting that this scholar condemned the position of those Tetouanis who migrated by drawing, precisely, on the binomial *hijra-jihād*, although he inverted the terms in which it was used to convey the hegemonic strategy.

By affirming that those who chose the path of exile avoided “martyrdom” (*istishhād*), al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn proclaimed that *hijra* entailed a form of avoidance of *jihād*, which in turn he saw as achievable through residence in Tetouan rather than through flight. Sīdī al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn’s avowal ultimately shows that those who held a non-normative position could productively use and reconceptualize the religiously-embedded concepts which served to construct the dominant pro-*hijra* discourse.

The author of the Manuscript of Madrid, who remained in Tetouan until October 1861, likewise affirmed that the Spanish would not have been able to seize the city had it not been emptied.³⁴⁸ Besides, he declared that his lack of wealth prevented him from leaving Tetouan, and added: “I swear to God, however, that if I had been comfortably off I would have fled and left my house for it to be destroyed.”³⁴⁹ Undeniably, class status shaped the position and the room for maneuver that each Tetouani had *vis-à-vis* the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. The differences in wealth among the Tetouanis who remained in the occupied city, and the way that their status shaped their position and experience of the occupation will be addressed in the chapters that follow. What this

³⁴⁷ Sīdī al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn’s poem in: Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V: 265–66.

³⁴⁸ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 294; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 84.

³⁴⁹ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 291; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 78–79.

illustrates, however, is that those who adopted the opposite stance to migration, which was not only that of the majority of the population but also the normative and religiously condoned option, were bound to justify and legitimize their stances in a variety of ways.

Another claim that those who decided to remain in town made was related to their refusal to abandon the urban realm. Afaylāl, convinced as he was of the illicit nature of staying in Tetouan under Spanish rule, denounced that some urban inhabitants refused to leave on the grounds of their unwillingness to move to the countryside. He wrote: “those who were willing to be governed by Christians said: ‘we do not approve of living in the countryside’.”³⁵⁰ In light of the aforementioned hierarchized cleavage that separated urban and allegedly ‘civilized’ Tetouan and the neighboring Jbala countryside and its people, it is not inconceivable that some Tetouanis reportedly declared that living in the countryside “[w]as something [they] would not bear.”³⁵¹

In fact, among the Tetouani migrants, the wealthy settled in Tangier, the majority did so in the village of Chefchaouen, and only few of them did so in the countryside proper.³⁵² Indeed, leaving Tetouan did not only involve abandoning the social and family entourage, but also leaving behind the urban ‘civilized’ lifestyle. What Afaylāl condemned was some Tetouanis’ preference to being governed by ‘Christians’ than moving to the countryside. Chapter Seven will show that Afaylāl himself found it difficult to do without the stimulating possibilities that Tetouan offered to him. Although he suffered much, Afaylāl never considered returning to occupied Tetouan. Moving into the city occupied and ruled by the ‘infidels’ would have been outrageous for him, but that was not the case of other Tetouanis.

The historian Daoud questioned the veracity of Afaylāl’s reported accounts. Daoud held that the majority of the Tetouanis “migrated as is religiously prescriptive, and nobody remained in Tetouan under the Spanish rule except for a few individuals who can be counted on the fingers of one hand, all of whom had mobility problems.”³⁵³ Although he elsewhere condemned the criticism which those who remained in Tetouan

³⁵⁰ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 29.

³⁵¹ Afaylāl, 29.

³⁵² Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:227–30.

³⁵³ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, IV:127.

received from their exiled contemporaries,³⁵⁴ Daoud reinforced the argument by which remaining in Tetouan during the Spanish occupation was a form of treason or, to put it in Afaylāl's words, the reflection of the 'weakness of Islam.' By counter-arguing that only those few Muslims with mobility problems did not choose the path of *hijra*, Daoud's influential historical work conveyed the idea that Tetouanis – Muslims, for that matter – chose by majority one path, which he undoubtedly thought of as the 'right' one.

Furthermore, Afaylāl reported that some of those who refused to move to the countryside stated: "our women are not the kind [of people] who depart for rural areas."³⁵⁵ Daoud once more considered Afaylāl's attribution of these phrases to Tetouanis as "mistaken."³⁵⁶ The historian added, however, that *if* the declarations were true, then it meant that those were "half men" (*anṣāf al-rijāl*). That Daoud considered the men who claimed the unsuitability of 'their' women in the countryside a sign of their lack of 'proper' (or 'entire') manliness shows that his conception of what it meant to be a 'proper' (or 'complete') man entailed that he put the 'protection' of 'his' woman ahead of any preference for being in the city rather than in the countryside. But what did 'protecting' women entail? Precisely, that 'protection' is what needs to be historicized in order to understand the different and entrenched motivations that lie at the core of the different decisions and attitudes of Tetouanis.

After the looting which followed the Moroccan army's breakdown at the Battle of Tetouan, Aḥmad b. 'Alī Aba'yīr led the retinue which asked the entry of the Spaniards into town. Several sources affirm that Aba'yīr was particularly motivated to inquire the Spanish entry, due to the fact that his house was looted and his daughter "offended."³⁵⁷ According to the historian Ibn Zaydān, the Tetouanis who requested the Spanish entry into the city did so because they were "afraid of the disclosure of the mantles [of modesty] and their women's access" (*khawfan min hatak al-astār wa mass al-ḥarīm*).³⁵⁸ The Tetouani men who sought the Spanish entry into Tetouan, then,

³⁵⁴ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:231.

³⁵⁵ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 29.

³⁵⁶ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, IV:128.

³⁵⁷ Muḥammad al-Ḥaddādī in: Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 121; Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 100.

³⁵⁸ Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a'lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥāḍira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, III:464.

alleged the ‘protection’ of ‘their’ women from the forms of gendered violence that the looters displayed.

Conversely, those who abandoned the city also alleged they did so “to prevent that their women [be accessed]” (*li ‘ajl tamnī‘ ḥarīmihim*).³⁵⁹ Thus, on the one hand, those who felt the persistent threat of the access to ‘their’ women and the feminized realm if the looting were to continue sought the protection of the Spanish, while, on the other, those who believed that the menace arose from the Spanish seizure urged to take ‘their’ women out of the city that was about to be captured.

Tetouani men’s ‘protection’ entailed preventing looters’ or Spanish occupiers’ *penetration* to the monopoly of both ‘their’ women and the feminine domain. It entailed defending their ‘proper’ masculinity, that is, their control over gender privileges from other men, be them looters or Spanish. What the fallacy of the ‘protection’ of women concealed was that women’s spaces, bodies and sexuality signalled male honor or shame, and thus became the terrain for intra-male competition. Although notions of ‘honor’ and ‘shame’ also apply to non-Mediterranean cultures, what remains peculiar to the societies of the Mediterranean basin is its association with sexual roles and gender divisions.³⁶⁰ The different Arabic words that share the syntactic and semantic root of ḥ-r-m, women and women’s realm are linked to the notions of ‘holiness,’ ‘inviolability,’ ‘separation’ and ‘prohibition.’³⁶¹ The ‘protection’ of Tetouani women and the feminine realm thus referred to making sure that they remained inviolable and inaccessible to the looter or the Spanish men.

Tetouani men’s standpoint was also informed by the fact that the Spanish shared their views on women. In most of the Arabic sources, Tetouani women appear as objects who are taken out of the city together with the rest of the men-subjects’ possessions; a formula which has continued to be used in the most important twentieth-

³⁵⁹ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 294.

³⁶⁰ For the Mediterranean “honor and shame” scheme, see the seminal Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, “Honour and Social Status,” in *Honour and Shame*, ed. John G. Peristiany (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), 19–77. See also: John G. Peristiany and Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); David D Gilmore, *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1987); Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*, 1986.

³⁶¹ *Ḥarīm* means women, *ḥarām* signs the religiously illicit, and *ḥaram* refers to an inviolable space, used for the harem but also for each of the shrines of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

century historical works on the subject.³⁶² The Spanish commander Leopoldo O'Donnell used the exact same formula in the letter he addressed to the governor of Tetouan on February 5, in which he urged the city authorities to surrender it, assuring that “people, *your women*, your properties, and your codes and customs will be respected.”³⁶³ The patriarchal consideration of women as what defined men’s condition as ‘property’ but also as what defined their ‘honor’ or the lack of it was shared by the Spaniards.

Intriguingly, the statement in the Manuscript of Madrid whereby the city was emptied following men’s endeavor to prevent ‘their’ women’s access is one of the few which the Spanish translator changed. Reginaldo Ruiz Orsatti must have unequivocally made a conscious choice when, instead of referring to the prevention of women’s access, he wrote that Tetouanis left “to enjoy freedom” (*a disfrutar de libertad*).³⁶⁴ Given that the translation was made in the mid-1930s, when the Spanish Protectorate of northern Morocco was at its height, it can be speculated that Ruiz Orsatti aimed at veiling Tetouani men’s self-identification as ‘protectors’ of the women present in Tetouan, as it implicitly incriminated Spanish men in the trespassing of gendered norms, which could be viewed as inappropriate, and in the exercise of brutality.

Thus the Tetouanis who decided to leave the city, who were the majority of the Muslims and a number of the Jews, foresaw that the colonial situation could resignify the gendered honor and shame cultural scheme. The customary patriarchal male competition would in the event of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan come to interact with the category of ‘race’ that mediated hierarchically between the ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ males. Mid-century Tetouanis must have been familiar with the anxious perceptions of both Egyptian and Algerian men during the European colonial interventions, and I argue they aimed at avoiding the sense of emasculation that the Egyptian and Algerian men conveyed.

³⁶² Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:91; Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, IV:167. Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a’lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥādira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, III: 464.

³⁶³ Leopoldo O’Donnell’s letter transcribed in: Manuel Pablo Castellanos, *Historia de Marruecos (Tangier: Imprenta Hispano-Arábica de la Misión Católico-española, 1898)*, 527; See also: Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 449.

³⁶⁴ Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 84. The original is in: Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 294.

During the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon's army, interracial coupling, most frequently between French men and Egyptian Muslim women, was perceived as involving some threat to Muslim male privilege.³⁶⁵ Al-Jabārtī's chronicle, which surely reached the eyes of the Tetouani knowledgeable classes and the ears of the rest, depicted foreigners' relations with Egyptian women as involving an alteration of the power relations between the sexes. In Algeria after 1830, men perceived the colonial intervention as emasculating, as well as physically and morally debasing.³⁶⁶ The many Algerian refugees who settled in northern Morocco and particularly Tetouan must have shared their views concerning changed in gender relations under French rule. This does not mean all men had the same concerns, but it shows such concerns did exist and that they circulated.

Older historical cases also existed. The aforementioned *fatāwā* recommending *hijra* that was issued on the occasion of the early-modern Christian Reconquista dealt with relations between Muslim women and Christian men. Given that many of the mid-century Tetouanis were descendants of the Andalusis who had emigrated from reconquered Iberia and that these *fatāwā* were recovered with the French invasion of Algeria after 1830, they were probably known to at least the educated elite in Tetouan. The confirmation of the obligation to migrate that the 'Marbella *fatwā*,' issued in 1491 by Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī, contained included the reference to the so-called Mora Zayda (in Spanish) or Zā'ida the Andalusian (in Arabic), daughter-in-law of the ruler of the *tā'ifa* of Seville when Toledo fell to Alfonso VI, King of Castile and León in 1085.³⁶⁷ She converted to Christianity, married Alfonso VI, and bore him one son, Sancho. The reference to the case of a Muslim woman who enabled the continuation of the Christian dynasty exemplified the most undesirable and threatening situation that the prevention of 'access' to Tetouani women aimed to avoid.

Backed by historical references and anticipating the "sense of emasculation under conditions of colonial subjugation" which can be traced through al-Jabārtī's writings, the twofold aim of the majority of Tetouani men was to avoid the possibility of women 'changing sides' and, by so doing, bestow and reinforce the power of the equally patriarchal enemies. The sense of emasculation was related to the risk that the

³⁶⁵ Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 188.

³⁶⁶ Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence*, 53–54.

³⁶⁷ The translation of the "Marbella *fatwā*" in: Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's *Asnā Al-Matājir* Reconsidered", in Appendix B.

Spanish occupation and the changes it might incur for Tetouani men's monopoly of the patriarchal privileges. In essence, men's emasculation, as a metaphor of disenfranchisement, was constituted in their sense of encountering obstacles in their ability to assert themselves patriarchally, as bell hooks has put it.³⁶⁸

An excerpt from Afaylāl's diary confirms that the multiplicity of ways in which the Spanish occupiers denigrated Tetouani men included their access to Tetouani women's privacy and intimacy. After mentioning the names of the Tetouanis who remained in the city under the Spanish rule, Afaylāl declared that "Christians use and force them to carry rubbish on their shoulders, as well as to sweep the streets. They suffer the uttermost humiliation and indignity for they are hit and their faces spat at, *and their women are seen in their privacy*" (*al-dukhūl 'alā ḥarīmihim*).³⁶⁹

The Tetouani men who took 'their' women out of the city sought to contest Spanish men's ability to control the powerfully symbolic gendered realm of colonialism.³⁷⁰ By impeding Spanish male access to 'their' women and the intimate realm, that sensitive terrain remained not under occupation. This could therefore be considered a form of resistance consistent upon the control of Tetouani women's sexuality and, as such, it would fit one of the main aforementioned motivations of *hijra*, understood as enabling *jihād* in order to restore the occupied city to the abode of Islam. This explains that, within the patriarchal rationale whereby the inviolability of women's bodies and spaces signified male honor, preventing their access to the 'enemies' became a sort of *jihād*.

Still, the fact that Tetouani men's honor *vis-à-vis* Spanish colonizers was conditioned by women made its absolute maintenance an impossible project. This, of course, shows the vulnerabilities and instabilities that any power structure faces. As in any other patriarchal society, women had ways of coping with or subverting such a patriarchal system, and their own share of power was also crosscut by other structures, prominently by class, religion and age. Unfortunately, the historical sources do not provide detailed factual proof of the ways in which different Tetouani women dealt with the announcement of the Spanish war on Tetouan, its occupation, and the patriarchal

³⁶⁸ bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston, MA: Pluto Press, 1981), 22.

³⁶⁹ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 35. Emphasis added.

³⁷⁰ Gwen Bergner, "Who Is That Masked Woman? Or, the Role of Gender in Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks," *PMLA* 110, no. 1 (1995): 81.

premises upon which the different stances of Tetouani men relied. Still, there are indications that Tetouani women did not necessarily conform to patriarchal norms.

Sometime between August 1860 and February 1861, *‘ulāma* from the Qarawiyyīn mosque pronounced a *fatwā* stating that all the virgin women living in Tetouan under Christian rule were bound to abandon the city.³⁷¹ It is likely that news about the interracial couplings that had happened in Tetouan reached Fes, and reinforced religious scholars’ will to deliver a firm order and stance against the ‘outrage’ that such mingling could provoke. That Tetouani women, especially the unmarried – and, thus, supposedly virgin – ones could embody new versions of Zā’ida the Andalusian was a risk that Fasi scholars must have willingly aimed at avoiding. Ultimately, the index of masculine reputation that women’s virginity represented could and was to some extent jeopardized, because mixed offspring did come to existence during the Spanish occupation.

More often than not, men’s decisions on the control of women’s bodies and sexuality were framed within an Islamic paradigm and conveyed in a religious language. Aḥmad al-Jinwī, for example, claimed that men “protect[ed] their women as religion require[d].”³⁷² The Fasi religious scholars’ *fatwā* was also framed within Islam. Contrarily, as I have argued, these decisions and discourses were fundamentally shaped by gender politics, which are not necessarily religious or secular *per se*. Although men’s anxieties were expressed through religious language, what informed them was the fear of patriarchal disenfranchisement. As with the analysis of Afaylāl’s chronicle, I argue that the religiously-embedded claims and the discursive framework need to be desacralized.

Much scholarship on Morocco has tended to attribute the greater part of socio-political Moroccan phenomena to Islam. Fatema Mernissi, whose interdisciplinary, pioneering and courageous work is remarkably inspiring, is a good example of that tendency – at least in the early part of her long scholarly career.³⁷³ However, I believe

³⁷¹ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 60.

³⁷² Ahmed al-Jenwi in: Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 9.

³⁷³ Some of the outstanding works which attribute an essentially oppressive role to “Islam” gender-wise are: Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Fatima Mernissi, “The Meaning of Spatial Boundaries,” in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (New York: Routledge, 2003), 489–501; For a different approach, see her *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women’s Right in Islam*, trans. Mary Jo Lakeland (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

that it is necessary to disassociate religion – which also served as a remarkable axis around which power relations were structured, for example, between Muslims and Jews – from other axes of power such as gender, class and prestige, or sexuality. In that regard, comparative analyses across the Islamic world can offer enlightening examples, which prove that Islam could be and indeed was used to reinforce ideas that did not exclude women from a wide variety of disciplines.

During the Fulani war that led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in West Africa in the first decade of the nineteenth century, women followed in the wake of the army and fought together with men. As shown by Jean Boyd,

*the women drew courage from the examples set by the Prophet's family and other Muslim women of this era – Aisha who had carried leather bags of water to quench the thirst of the wounded on the battlefield of Uhud, Rabi who had assisted the wounded from the scene of conflict, Fatima who had wiped the blood from the Prophet's sword, Umm Raqida who had dressed wounds, Umm Amarah who, sword in hand, had fought at Uhud and Umm Attiya who had cooked for the Prophet's companions at seven battles.*³⁷⁴

West African women's participation in war was inspired by examples of the Islamic legacy, and the strong tradition of women's leadership and education were also backed by *aḥadīth*.³⁷⁵ These examples and compilations of the prophet's sayings and deeds were not employed in the calls for fight against the Spanish. Yet throughout Islamic history, various *'ulāma*, including Moroccan ones, affirmed that *jihād* was a compulsory duty for women. Eight years before the Spanish war on Tetouan, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Khūja wrote a letter on military reform in which he affirmed that, in certain occasions, *jihād* was a compulsory duty “even for the woman.”³⁷⁶ In 1840, the chief judge of Fes ‘Abd al-Hādī al-‘Alawī also asserted that *jihād* was the individual responsibility of all, including women.³⁷⁷ And in 1844, on the eve of the

³⁷⁴ Jean Boyd, *The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u (1793-1865), Teacher, Poet, and Islamic Leader* (London, England; Totowa, N.J.: F. Cass, 1989), 11–12.

³⁷⁵ Boyd, 42.

³⁷⁶ See Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Khūja's letter in: Muḥammad Mannūnī, *Mazāhir Yaḡza-t al-Maghrīb al-Ḥadīth (Manifestations of Modern Morocco's Awakening)*, vol. I (Beirut; London; Casablanca: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami wa al-Madaris, 1985), 154.

³⁷⁷ Hendrickson, “The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's Asnā Al-Matājir Reconsidered,” 258.

Battle of Isly, the Moroccan Sultan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān informed the governor of Tangier that *jihād* was “no longer a communal responsibility (*farḍ kifāya*) which could be fulfilled by Makhzan forces, but had become the personal responsibility (*farḍ ‘ayn*) of all Muslims, including women and youths.”³⁷⁸

The sources on the Spanish war on Tetouan reveal, in contrast, that women were not urged to enact *jihād* against the Spanish. The *khuṭba* or sermon that the Fasi scholar ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Fāsī al-Fihri pronounced after Tetouan was occupied, in fact, suggests that women were not considered entitled to perform *jihād* themselves. Al-Fihri encouraged “Muslims” to kill the ‘infidel’ enemies by signalling the negative form of his understanding of *jihād*, as embodied by the feminine: “do not limit [yourselves] to winning as women do, by means of tears, regret, lament, complaint and tedium.”³⁷⁹ Al-Fihri’s call invoked gender and at the same time reinscribed the implicit understanding of the attitudes considered to embody the ‘feminine’ and, therefore, also the ‘masculine.’ By so doing, al-Fihri suggested the irrelevance of women to any notion of politics and to *jihād*, and reinforced the hierarchized value that the dichotomy presented. His sermon also veiled the central role that women’s bodies and sexuality bore in the contention and resistance against the Spanish occupation of Tetouan that Tetouani men exerted.

However few, some hundreds of Muslims and little more than a thousand Jews remained in Tetouan. Drawing on Afaylāl’s and Daoud’s reports of different Tetouanis’ statements, it seems that not moving to the countryside was one important reason for those who remained in town to legitimize their decision. By building on the aforementioned argument, i.e. “our women are not the kind who depart for rural areas,” I suggest that the difference in gender politics between the urban and the rural worlds might well have informed the decision of some Tetouanis to stay in town. I do not suggest that the decision to remain in town amidst the multi-faceted violence which hit Tetouan can be taken to have been only shaped by gendered concepts and dynamics. Specifically, going against the dominant pro-*hijra* stance must have been challenging for the Muslims, while the Jews must have feared to be singled out as ‘natural’ traitors.

My concern is drawing some light on the gendered motivations of Tetouanis’ different stances, in order to complicate the interpretation of the conflicts which erupted

³⁷⁸ Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 117.

³⁷⁹ ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Fāsī al-Fihri’s *khuṭba* in: Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:237.

upon the war announcement. Gender politics, as other aspects related to lifestyle and habits, were similar across religions in the urban and the rural domains in Morocco. Mohammed Kenbib has noted that Tetouani Muslim and Jewish women wore the same jewelry, especially during festivities, and pursued fattening diets before marriage, to adjust to the canons of female beauty.³⁸⁰ In many ways, the differences were more pronounced across the rural-urban cleavage. That was certainly the case with the gender politics, where the two main differences involved the gender segregation system, and body politics.

In the city, both in the Muslim madīna and in the Jewish millāḥ, the spatial separation between women and men could be maintained more strictly than in the countryside, where the existence of physical walls was reduced. Mervat Hatem has shown that ancient Judaic, Greek, and Byzantine societies resorted to segregation as they became increasingly sedentary, since “[i]n the older more mobile tribal settings, sexual segregation had proven difficult to enforce.”³⁸¹ While many Tetouani women did labor at home (combing and spinning wool, sewing, doing laundry, pastry-making) or worked as domestic workers, rural women mostly engaged in agricultural work, which allowed for a greater porosity in terms of spatial gender segregation. The rural realm entailed larger degrees of female mobility than the urban world, as well as greater exposure to both sexual intercourse and rape.³⁸²

Gender segregation systems were different in the city and the countryside, and also across urban social classes. Rurality certainly entailed the lack of comfort that urban upper-class households offered. In the cities, impoverished women did paid work and, although they performed most of the labor at home, complete seclusion was impossible because their houses were too small to allow for it.³⁸³ However, even if rigorous segregation was a practice restricted to middle- and especially upper-class

³⁸⁰ Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc, 1859-1948* (Rabat: Université Muhammad V, 1994), 75–76.

³⁸¹ Mervat Hatem, “The Politics of Sexuality and Gender in Segregated Patriarchal Systems: The Case of Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Egypt,” *Feminist Studies*, 1986, 253–54; For a literary account with an autobiographical inspiration, in which the different urban and rural segregation systems are well illustrated, see: Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*, trans. Ruth V. Ward (Basic Books, 1994).

³⁸² Mohamed Monkachi, “Lecture des mœurs de la femme rurale marocaine à travers les nawazil de Ziyati: la région de Ghomara au XVIIe siècle,” in *Femmes rurales*, ed. Aïcha Belarbi (Casablanca: Editions le Fennec, 1996).

³⁸³ Sarah Graham-Brown, “The Seen, the Unseen and the Imagined: Private and Public Lives,” in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (New York: Routledge, 2003), 504.

urban Moroccans, it was regarded as the ideal among lower-status urbanites and by rural townfolk, too.³⁸⁴ The prestige of harems was surely grounded on the huge economic assets that they required. In addition, harems were prestigious because they represented the paradigm of homosociability that was seen as ideal.³⁸⁵

This reveals, on the one hand, the power of class in defining hegemonic gender models across different social strata in both the rural and the urban realm. On the other, it shows that the maintenance of gender boundaries was relevant enough as to have caused mistrust among some Tetouani men. Therefore, the option of *hijra*, which could entail having to settle in the countryside, where the rigid gender boundaries were absent, might have constituted a weighty enough argument, or at least one reason, to opt to remain in Tetouan.

The second main difference between the urban and the rural realms related to the gendered body politics. While urban women would veil when they went out in the street, different legal responses and personal accounts dealing with the rural world point out that the women in the Moroccan countryside often left many of their body parts uncovered.³⁸⁶ Although it is risky to generalize this trend to the whole of the Moroccan townfolk, the different sexual mores that guided the rural and the urban realms seem to be neither the product of Orientalist male fantasies nor an exclusive Moroccan phenomenon.³⁸⁷ Together with the stricter urban gender segregation and women's seclusion, the rural gendered body politics appear as yet another reason which might

³⁸⁴ Malika El Belghiti, "Les relations féminines et le statut de la femme dans la famille rurale: dans trois villages de la Tessaout," *Etudes sociologiques sur le Maroc recueil d'articles*, 1978, 58. See also: Hatem, "The Politics of Sexuality and Gender in Segregated Patriarchal Systems," 255–56; Marcia Claire Inhorn, *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies, and Islam in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 43.

³⁸⁵ Anonymous, "The 'Manuscript of Tetouan,'" I referred to Muḥammad al-Khatīb, who in the beginning of the war lost power and independence, by saying that he "remained as the woman of the hapless, neither divorced nor imprisoned (*ka mar'ā-t al-manḥūs la muṭallaq la maḥbūs*)." The saying confirms that, within the northern Moroccan patriarchal society, divorce and seclusion – unattainable if married to a hapless or impecunious man – were envisioned as situations which entailed female power and independence.

³⁸⁶ Monkachi, "Lecture des mœurs de la femme rurale marocaine à travers les nawazil de Ziyati," 125; José María de Murga Mugartegui, *Recuerdos Marroquíes Del Moro Vizcaíno / José María de Murga ; Edición de Federico Verástegui.*, Viajes Y Costumbres (Madrid: Miraguano, 2009), 64, 182–84; Manuel Juan Diana, *Un prisionero en el Riff: memorias del ayudante Álvarez : obra geográfica, descriptiva, de costumbres y con un vocabulario del dialecto rifeño*, 1859, 195; Manuela Marín, "Mujeres, Burros Y Cargas de Leña: Imágenes de La Opresión En La Literatura Española de Viajes Sobre Marruecos," in *El Protectorado Español En Marruecos. Gestión Colonial E Identidades*, ed. Elena de Felipe and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano (Madrid: CSIC, 2002), 104.

³⁸⁷ For the Algerian case, see: Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence*, 26-27; 29-34.

have dissuaded urban Tetouani men from moving to the countryside on the eve and during the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

Urban men might have felt that the mingling of ‘their’ women with rural townsfolk, particularly with women, could entail the adoption of customs that jeopardized their urban conception of masculine honor, which made remaining in Tetouan appear to them as a more suitable option. To be sure, they argued to be ‘protecting’ ‘their’ women by remaining.

To be sure, this does not mean that women did not actually have agency, by means of weeping and lamenting, as al-Fihri’s sermon indicated, or through recourse to any other means. In fact, a Spanish journal published a drawing of a rural woman who had been injured and captured in a battle, which suggests she might have been fighting. (See Appendix, p. 346) My focus on the structure of social organization and action is not meant to suggest that women did not take decisions, intervene in those of their male relatives or the Spanish occupiers, or negotiate or subvert them. The fact that the historical reconstruction that the available sources enable us to construct is absolutely male-centred is already a sign of the patriarchal social structure under review. The reconstruction of such events, therefore, shall depart from this acknowledgement which, far from suggesting that women had no agency, shall stress that men – as gendered historical subjects – possessed privileges that they were unwilling to lose. By which multiple means they tried to do so has guided the inquiry of this section. Further chapters will show that men’s endeavours, will, and attitudes were not only diverse, but frequently also inconsistent, unsuccessful, and ambivalent.

The only two Tetouani women who experienced the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan took place and for whom I have been able to compile scarce information are the namesakes Amīna Bint Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ghaylān and Amīna Bint Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ghafūr b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Qarrīsh. Both women belonged to the *khāṣṣa*, and they represent the two predominant stances that the Tetouani population adopted with regards to the Spanish. While the former remained in the occupied city, at least during the initial period, the latter most likely fled the city on the eve of the Spanish seizure. Amīna Ghaylān was a saintly woman whose mausoleum is kept in

what was then established as the first district.³⁸⁸ Her father was *qāḍi* or judge of Tetouan during the first eight months of the occupation, before he died in October 1860. Amīna b. Qarrīsh was a *faqīha* or a learned woman, and she belonged to a prestigious and wealthy family.³⁸⁹ As the culmination of this section, the allusion to the fragmented information on both Amīna-s serves as a reminder of the eloquence of silence regarding women and their agency.³⁹⁰

These women not only embodied each of the confronting positions that prevailed in the conflicts and the disunity that erupted in Tetouan upon the declaration of the Spanish war on the city, but they also embodied the historical gendered polarization of prestige. Interestingly, their reputation was somehow in conflict with their stance towards the dominant pro-*hijra* discourse. Amīna Ghaylān, who remained in town, represented the pious and positive feminine qualities. In contrast, the exiled Amīna b. Qarrīsh's memory is linked to her "terrible reputation" as "evil," a "witch," and that "who makes trouble with men."³⁹¹ Eight years before the war, b. Qarrīsh had divorced the youngest of the likewise wealthy al-Razīnī brothers, 'Abd al-Karīm, whom she accused of having kept large sums of her money. As in other cultures, many Moroccan proverbs and legends voice the social tension created by witches and sorceresses – either real, that is, the women whose knowledge of herbs and plants was remarkable; or envisioned, that is, those whose power over men was symbolically perceived to stem from their magic rituals.³⁹² Given that b. Qarrīsh not only divorced her husband, but defamed him over her money, the popular memory reflected the gender-related anxiety relating to her 'magical' power over men.

3.4. Representing the Fall of Tetouan

In the first anniversary of the Spanish seizure of Tetouan, Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl composed a poem which became renowned afterwards. The poem blamed aeon (*dahr*)

³⁸⁸ Muhammad b. Azzuz Hakim, *Ṭiṭwāniyāt 'alā Madā Al-Tārīkh (Tetouani Women Through History)* (Tetouan, 2000), 61.

³⁸⁹ Nadia Erzijni, "Amina Bin Qarrish de Tetuan: registros da vida de uma mulher marroquina do século XIX," *Cpa Cadernos Pagu* 1, no. se (2008): 51.

³⁹⁰ As pointed at by the title of Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence*.

³⁹¹ Erzijni, "Amina Bin Qarrish de Tetuan," 50–51.

³⁹² See, for example: Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 151; Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil*, 42. See also: Deborah A. Kapchan, *Gender on the Market: Moroccan Women and the Revoicing of Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 254; Conway-Long, "Gender, power and social change in Morocco," 145.

for having degraded the city, which was said to have been more splendid than Fes, Cairo and Damascus, the three main religious, political and cultural capitals of the Arab and Islamic world.³⁹³ Poet Afaylāl called on his beloved city: “Destruction hit you with [evil] eye, as it did with Zarqā’ al-Yamāma.” Al-Yamāma, a pre-Islamic legendary warrior, is said to have possessed extraordinary vision, which she used to alert her tribe of the enemy’s approach. Yet, according to the legend, her call was neglected and, consequently, the tribe defeated. By resorting to the popular protagonist in Arab literary tradition and her vision and by depicting Tetouan as a victim of the evil eye, Afaylāl camouflaged the multilevel, multidirectional and straightforward criticism contained in his diary.

The fact that Afaylāl’s poem became celebrated is neither accidental nor inconsequential. Julia A. Clancy-Smith has affirmed that “[t]he poet was an important figure in the social landscape since he not only served as a barometer of public opinion but also shaped the communal moral consensus.”³⁹⁴ This suggests that Afaylāl’s poetic message both reflected and shaped the idea of the victimhood of Tetouan, and its implicit criticism and reformist appeal.

The following orally-transmitted account, collected by Edward Westermarck at the beginning of the twentieth century, can be considered to convey a popular expression of the Tetouani victimhood portrayal. The tale illustrates the popular hesitance regarding *hijra* and generally establishes that it was impossible for the Tetouanis to avoid the Spanish seizure. It involves Afaylāl’s master Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn, who was against the local authorities’ decisions which, as mentioned before, he confronted and disobeyed. It goes as follows:

[W]hen the Spaniards were marching on Tet[o]uan, the inhabitants of the town asked [Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn] (...) if he would advise them to remain in the place or leave it. He told them to watch, on the following morning, the gate through which people going to Tangier generally leave the town and kill the first person who went out by it; if they did this, he said, the Spaniards would not enter Tet[o]uan. They watched the gate, as the saint had advised them to do, but when the first

³⁹³ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 62.

³⁹⁴ Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, 44.

*person who passed through it in the morning was found to be the great [sharīf] of Wazzan, Sīdī [al-Ḥajj ‘Abd al-Salām], they did not dare to follow the instruction given them. They informed the saint about it, and he answered, ‘Now the Spaniards are coming’; and he was right.*³⁹⁵

A year after the evacuation of the Spanish from Tetouan, Sultan Muḥammad IV addressed a letter to Ibn Raysūn, who had not yet returned to Tetouan, requesting that he go back, which the saint eventually did.³⁹⁶ The account might have been formulated during his absence from the city, as it highlights the saintly power of Ibn Raysūn, which, precisely, local and Makhzan authorities had disregarded on the eve and during the war. Ibn Raysūn was mostly acclaimed among the *shurafā*’ in Tetouan, and he was also considered to be able to predict the future in his condition of *majdhūb*, as his prognostication of the unfeasibility of Tetouanis to stop the Spanish seizure of Tetouan shows.³⁹⁷ *Shurafā*’ “were often called upon by lay people to settle disputes and to act as mediators in conflicts”.³⁹⁸ The tale sets out that the saint proposed a sort of exorcism to his townsfolk supplicants, which would make emigration from Tetouan unnecessary due to its power to prevent the Spanish from entering Tetouan. Yet the impossibility of performing the ritual for reasons of *force majeure* confirmed both the Spanish seizure of Tetouan and Ibn Raysūn’s divinely sanctioned power.

As seen in Afaylāl’s historical reconstruction analyzed above, reform (*islāh*) and religious renewal (*tajdīd*) departed from and constructed a picture of moral and religious decay that introduced discursive elements aimed at explaining the military defeat and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan in this particular case. By so doing, these discourses presented a picture of general degeneration which, in turn, bolstered the consolidation of the power of certain individuals and collectives, i.e., saints, *shurafā*’ and, in this case, Ibn Raysūn. In light of this, I suggest that given that the saint’s extraordinary power was ignored by local and Makhzan authorities, the tale can be understood as the popular affirmation of the need to engage in a vaguely defined religious renewal aimed at preventing social disunity, political misdeeds and, ultimately, a foreign military aggression and occupation. Besides, I venture that Afaylāl’s veiled poetic criticism of the betrayal suffered by Tetouan as embodied by legendary Zaraqā al-Yamāma could

³⁹⁵ Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 158–59.

³⁹⁶ Assaoud, *Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century*, 72.

³⁹⁷ Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 159.

³⁹⁸ El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 12.

indeed be taken as a reference to the Tetouani and Moroccan authorities' ignorance of Ibn Raysūn's ability to foresee the tragic future destined for Tetouan.

Many other learned Tetouanis composed poems to express their feelings, views and positions.³⁹⁹ Sorrow, despair, pain and yearning prevailed in the writings of these Tetouanis. Some depicted the capture of the city as the result of a form of divine revenge, others as that of the evil eye, and yet others as being the result of rural folk's misdeeds. Yet a few authors also depicted the Spanish entrance into Tetouan as liberation from the looters' violence. More commonly, however, the victimhood of Tetouan and its inhabitants was represented through the contrast between the pre and post-occupation eras, whereby the city's past cast its beauty and quality of being a home to Islamic culture, knowledge and 'civilization,' in contrast to its present, which was symbolized by its denigration. Calls for endurance through hope, forbearance and the acceptance of divine destiny often ensued the authors' laments.

The element of the victimhood of Tetouan contained in the poems discloses several of the outstanding issues which have been discussed in this chapter. It reinforced the 'enlightenment' of Tetouan and its quality of center of Islamic knowledge and culture, which was not a mere literary device by means of which the authors stressed the magnitude of the 'catastrophe' of the Spanish seizure. It referred, rather, to the character ascribed to Tetouan insofar as it was a *ḥaḍārīyya* town that stressed its aura as a seat of Islamic knowledge and refinement, which in turn distinguished it from the surrounding Jbala countryside. The depiction of Tetouan as a victim of looting, foreign occupation, even political misdeeds – issues mobilized distinctly depending on the political views of the poets – also foregrounded an appeal for reform.

The victimhood of Tetouan was likewise represented by recourse to the historical representation of the 1492 'fall of Granada,' and its gendered symbolism. Faqīh al-Khumsī's 1860 poem described Prince Mawlay al-'Abbās' breakdown by asserting that "his eyes were drowned in tears and lament."⁴⁰⁰ The tears of the Prince, brother of the sultan and chief of the Moroccan army in 1860, evoke the lament of Muḥammad XII, the last sultan of Granada, as it has been transmitted through both Spanish and Arabic historiographies as well as through a popular legend. According to

³⁹⁹ See nine of these poetic compositions in Anonymous, "The 'Manuscript of Tetouan,'" 9–20. Another three poems can be read in Mohamed Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, Muhammad V University, vol. V (Rabat, 1964), 265–69.

⁴⁰⁰ Faqīh al-Khumsī in: Anonymous, "The 'Manuscript of Tetouan,'" 11.

these, Muḥammad XII (Boabdil, in Spanish) would have looked back at the city conquered by the Christians when fleeing and cried, while ‘A’isha al-Ḥurra, his mother, said to him: ‘Cry like a woman for what you were unable to defend as a man.’ Blacksmith al-Haddādī also affirmed that Mawlay al-‘Abbās “fle[d], passe[d] through Tetouan and cr[ied], and continued to cry and Mawlay Aḥmad also fle[d] and cr[ied].”⁴⁰¹

Both declarations can be understood to reflect popular discourse which, as suggested by al-Haddādī’s testimony, was transmitted all the way to at least the first decade of the twentieth century. The literary evocation established a clear connection between ‘the fall of Tetouan’ (*suqūṭ Tiṭwān*) and ‘the fall of al-Andalus’ (*suqūṭ al-Andalus*) or Reconquista. The gendered representation also invoked, reinscribed and naturalized the gender binary and thus the gender hierarchies. As the Epilogue will show, years later the scholar Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd al-Nāṣirī was to incarnate Mawlay al-‘Abbās in Muḥammad XII in his acclaimed history of Morocco.⁴⁰² The fact that mid-century Tetouanis already drew such parallelisms suggests that al-Nāṣirī actually made use of the popular discourse which had been coined in Tetouan, which already stressed the emasculation of the Moroccan Prince and military leader as a cause of Tetouan’s wretched fate, on the one hand, and as an element which needed to be reformed to avoid further misfortune, on the other hand.

3.5. Conclusions

Due to the complex historical Iberian-Maghribi relationships, the ambivalent nostalgia for al-Andalus and *jihād* receptivity was particularly salient in mid-century Morocco, especially in the north and in Tetouan. On the eve and during the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation, the cries to ‘recover’ al-Andalus aimed at encouraging Tetouanis to fight. Nonetheless, the truth is that not all of the Tetouanis were resolute to fight ‘the people of al-Andalus,’ at least not at all costs, and the different attitudes and decisions that they took enhanced the emergence of different quarrels. Accordingly, this chapter has shown the centrality of the uses of the *jihād* discourse, not only with regards

⁴⁰¹ Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 120–21.

⁴⁰² Ibn Khālīd al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90; See also: Eric Calderwood, “The Beginning (or End) of Moroccan History: Historiography, Translation, and Modernity in Ahmad B. Khalid Al-Nasiri and Clemente Cerdeira,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 03 (2012): 399–420.

to the historical enemies that ‘the people of al-Andalus’ engendered, but also against the internal political enemies on which the sources focused principally.

The different quarrels that the Spanish war on Tetouan aroused within Tetouan and between the city and the Jbala countryside thus display the quality of the ‘double front’ that the war and the discourse of *jihād* stimulated. The analysis of these political discords has also confirmed that the emphasis on the role of religion as all-defining obscures important elements in the configuration of nineteenth-century Moroccan politics. The productive use that religiously-embedded concepts of *jihād*, *hijra* and the ‘protection’ of women provided, however, veils the fact that what informed each of the stances that the Tetouanis adopted was related to maintaining the share in the privileges that the different power structures at work in mid-century Morocco provided to the parties involved, especially in terms of status and prestige, gender, and urbanity.

In the case of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, I have suggested that his narrative of the failure in the *jihād* against the Spanish was linked to the socio-religious decay he identified in the Moroccan army, but which was framed within a larger context. The link Afaylāl made between religious malpractice, political misdeeds and the disunity of the Muslim population eventually disclosed the meaning of his diagnosis of the defeat as a sign of the ‘weakness of Islam,’ as well as the reformist view that his narrative contained. Apart from his implicit call in favor of the implantation of a *nizamī* army, Afaylāl’s diary is the perfect example of the twofold force that the concepts of reform (*iṣlāḥ*) and renewal (*tajdīd*) bore: on the one hand, they were crucial to enhancing a common and shared ground for socio-political unity, while on the other they fostered the criticism of rivals who challenged the structures which awarded privileges to the reformist interlocutors. Undeniably, the socio-political unity that reform fostered was conceived of as Islamic, and the power structures being transformed were often based on religious signifiers and institutions. Yet the anxieties that permeated the reformist criticism were prominently related to the status (class and prestige) and gender privileges, entrenched in urbanity, that were perceived to be in peril as a consequence of the Spanish colonial intervention.

The polyvalent meanings and uses of *jihād* are also visible in the political discords that erupted on the eve of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. The authorities firstly banned migration (*hijra*) to ensure that the Tetouanis fought and to prevent defeatist theories from spreading across Morocco. I have aimed at disentangling the

gender grounds of many of the arguments that men employed, and argued that those who felt the threat of the perpetuation of gendered violence to ‘their’ women in the continuation of the looting inquired the entry of the Spaniards, whereas those who perceived that the menace came from the Spanish seizure urged that the women be taken out of the city that was about to be seized. I have contended that ‘infidel’ occupiers’ *penetration* of the intimate gendered realm represented the uttermost sign of men’s denigration and disenfranchisement, which were at the core of the Tetouani men’s action of taking ‘their’ women out of the city prior to its seizure.

After the Moroccan defeat in the so-called Battle of Tetouan, the majority of the political and religious authorities not only ceased banning *hijra*, but encouraged it. The emptying of the city enabled, once seized, different strategies of resistance *vis-à-vis* the Spanish to be displayed in order to, ultimately, restore Tetouan to the abode of Islam. The next chapter will show that, together with other discursive strategies, the establishment of a food blockage and the harassment of the surrounding populations, it contributed to the transformation of the colonial ambitions of the Spanish who were in Tetouan, who steadily came to conceive of the occupation as too costly and even impossible.

Insofar as the migration ban did not satisfy some of the Tetouanis, the pro-*hijra* calls launched when the ‘infidels’ occupation of Tetouan was seen as unavoidable did not content others. I have pointed to conceivable reasons that shaped the stance of those unwilling to leave Tetouan. Some of those men feared that the mingling of ‘their’ women with rural womenfolk would lead the former to adopt customs that represented a threat to their urban conception of masculine honor, in relation to both the looser gender separation and the body politics at work in the countryside. I have argued that, all in all, the ‘protection’ of ‘their’ women, whether within the religious framework or that of the Tetouani urban ‘civilization,’ entailed the ‘protection’ of men’s patriarchal privileges. The management of gender politics was at the core of the stances Tetouanis took with regards to migration.

Besides, Sīdī al-Makkī Ibn Raysūn’s and the anonymous author of the Manuscript of Madrid’s claims show that those who held non-normative positions were bound to justify their decision. The latter’s avowal displays that class status might have shaped some the Tetouanis’ decision to remain in Tetouan, and the former’s illustrates that they could reconceptualize the religiously-embedded entrenchment between *jihād*

and *hijra* which served to construct the hegemonic pro-*hijra* discourse. The poetic cries on the fall of Tetouan, most of which conveyed the idea of the city's victimhood, stressed the 'calamity' of the Spanish occupation of the center of Islamic knowledge that Tetouan embodied and, as such, fitted into the pro-*hijra* or at least anti-Spanish stance. The discussion of the influential work of Mohamed Daoud has shown that the normative quality of the pro-*hijra* stance has continued to prevail in historical reconstructions. The Epilogue will examine the biases which the historical works have reinforced in terms of gender, status, and urbanity.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SETTING OF THE SPANISH OCCUPATION OF TETOUAN

*The sight of the wounded borne from the field, and the burying of the dead, deeply impressed the young painter. A few days afterwards, he and his friend, having straggled from the camp, were surprised by a band of insurgent Moors, from Riff, who aimed at them and drew their yataghans. Happily M. Escriu had the presence of mind to (...) make them understand that they were travelers from Gibraltar. The fraud was successful and, fortunately, the Moors let them go. (...) During this first visit of two months and a half in Maroc, Fortuny made drawings, aquarelles, and sketches in oil: Arabs, soldiers, Catalans, volunteers, Jews, horses, landscapes, buildings, and interiors. One day, after dinner, he drew all the officers, seated around the General's table. These sketches were afterwards of great use to him.*⁴⁰³

Marià Fortuny used the sketches of his first and subsequent journeys to Morocco to produce many of his works, including his celebrated canvas painting entitled *The Battle of Tetouan*. He also drew inspiration from other works of art, as suggested by the Town Council of Barcelona, in particular from Horace Vernet's *Capture de la Smala d'Abdelkader*, which Fortuny saw at Versailles in 1860.⁴⁰⁴ In the 1843 battle that Vernet's painting represented, the French Army of Africa had captured many of the followers of the outstanding contender for power in French-occupied western Algeria after 1830, Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir. The Algerian leader thus fled to Morocco, and sultan 'Abd al-Raḥmān's protection of 'Abd al-Qādir the year after had triggered the French bombing of the Moroccan cities of Tangier and Essaouira in the 1844 Battle of Isly. Half a dozen years later and in occupied Tetouan, the protagonist of this chapter, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, at a luncheon offered by the nephew of Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir, assisted a merchant living in Tetouan.⁴⁰⁵ Among the attendees was Gaston d'Orléans, the grandson of King Louis Philippe I, who had sponsored French colonial expansion into Algeria and fought 'Abd al-Qādir.

This chapter will concentrate on the initial stage of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan in which, as the above quoted description shows, uncertainty and insecurity prevailed. My preliminary inquiry relates to the relationship between the Spanish and

⁴⁰³ Baron Davillier, *Life of Fortuny: With His Works and Correspondence* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1885), 30–31.

⁴⁰⁴ Davillier, 34.

⁴⁰⁵ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 577–82.

the Tetouani and Moroccans, to the way in which it was established and, especially, to the multiple and unexpected ways in which it developed – as the gathering of the luncheon offered by the nephew of Amīr ‘Abd al-Qādir suggests. I will explore the role that empathy played in the re-encounter between the Spanish and the Moroccans in the negotiations, and its relation to otherness. Like Fortuny, whom the above quote depicts as “deeply impressed” by his witnessing of the results of the violence of war, I am interested in grasping the extent to which the fact of being on the ground foregrounded the political transformations of the Spanish, who were “in the theatre of war,” as they termed it, a change that eventually shaped modern Spanish colonialism in Morocco.

The Spanish war on Tetouan and the subsequent occupation of the city have widely been considered as watersheds in the end of Morocco’s independence. Certainly, Spain consolidated its influence in Morocco throughout the second half of the nineteenth century thanks to the favorable conditions established in the several treaties that followed the peacemaking. The Treaty of Wad Ras led to the establishment of new borders through which Spain gained territory, not only around the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, but also – at least nominally until 1934 – in southern Ifni or, as the Spanish had called it in 1476, when they established it as a trading post, Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña. (See Appendix, p. 337) The treaty of Wad Ras also led to new commercial agreements, similar to the 1856 Anglo-Moroccan convention which enabled “an unprecedented extension of capitulatory rights to natives.”⁴⁰⁶ It likewise eased the reinforcement of the presence of Spanish Catholics in northern Morocco, which were allowed to found a mission in Fes and enjoyed the protection of the sultan.⁴⁰⁷ Finally, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was redefined as a temporary warranty until Morocco would have paid the war indemnity of 20 million *reales*. But as the Makhzan was unable to pay the sum, new treaties were signed throughout 1861 which established the Spanish – and British – intervention of eight customs offices in coastal Morocco, which continued until the mid-1880s.⁴⁰⁸

It is not my aim, therefore, to deny that Spain’s penetration into Morocco was favored by the treaties that followed the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation. Rather, I intend to offer a historical explanation of the negotiations, the contradictions,

⁴⁰⁶ Kenbib, “The Impact of the French Conquest of Algeria on Morocco, 1830-1912,” 52.

⁴⁰⁷ Cagigas, *Tratados y convenios referentes a Marruecos*.

⁴⁰⁸ Rodríguez Esteller, “La Intervención Española de Las Aduanas Marroquíes (1862-1885).”

and the dynamic entrenchment of the structural as well as contingent elements that led to such Spanish consolidation. Both the triumphalist colonial narratives and the critical postcolonial ones have contributed to some sort of reification of the prowess of the Spanish colonizers and the powerlessness of the Moroccan colonized. By so doing, they have failed to account for the many anxieties and obstacles that permeated Spanish discursive and material colonization. They have also failed to acknowledge the means by which Moroccans limited such colonization.

My aim is to dispel such historiographical and theoretical narratives, to show the limits that permeated the initial bombastic colonialist declarations of the Spaniards, and to illustrate and explain the transformation of the initial warmongering calls. To do so, it is key to acknowledge the limits that Spain faced in both the European and the Moroccan realms. While Great Britain was an essential actor in constraining Spain's advancement in Morocco, I will mostly concentrate on both the Moroccan and the Spanish actors, assessing the restrictions that the different categories of Moroccans and the Spanish who were on the ground posed for the colonial enterprise as envisioned by Spanish peninsular politicians, press, and large sectors of society.

In spite of the fact that this chapter will mainly rely on Spanish sources, one of its principal goals is to illustrate the role that the Moroccan authorities and people played in the encounter and process of negotiation. I will thus look at the ways in which Makhzan diplomacy, on the one hand, and the Tetouanis who remained in the occupied city, on the other hand, contributed to the creation and expansion of the anxieties that permeated Spanish colonial ambitions and practice.

Although I will also point to other texts and authors, I will principally focus on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and his 800-page *Diary of a Witness of the War of Africa*. The *Diary* was published in serial form during the war and the initial occupation, and became a best seller when it was later published in a single volume. Born in 1833 in Guadix (Granada), Alarcón was a seminarian during his childhood and youth. Having abandoned the ecclesiastic domain, he moved to Madrid in 1854, where he founded an antimonarchist and revolutionary paper. Later on, Alarcón discarded liberal ideas and, from 1875 on, he held different positions within O'Donnell's *La Unión Liberal*, both in Spain and abroad. (See Appendix, p. 346)

Alarcón's work has been studied by many scholars, who have looked mostly at his jingoistic nationalistic and imperialistic cries. Some scholars, as Víctor Morales Lezcano, mention that the chronicler turned to pacifist positions towards the end of his stay in Tetouan without, however, explaining what might have driven him to do so.⁴⁰⁹ For his part, Francisco Márquez Villanueva holds that Alarcón's final "conversion" to peaceful stances was an "opportunistic" gesture that aimed at aligning himself with General O'Donnell's interests.⁴¹⁰ In contrast, Susan Martín-Márquez has contended that the chronicler's change in attitude is related to his religiously inflected colonial ideology, and that "Alarcón's call for war is lowered when he understands Jewish and Muslim will not convert [to Christianity] (...) [and] he must abandon the theatre of war in order to avoid his own dramatization of colonial conquest."⁴¹¹

In my opinion, such interpretations fail to place the text in its complex context and, consequently, brand the discursive fractures that signal Alarcón's political transformation toward the end of his *Diary* as eccentricities. My goal is instead to dispel such linear or homogenizing depictions of both the texts and the complex historical subjects which produced them. I wish to highlight and explain the transformation that took place in Alarcón's – and others' – attitudes, and to show that it was partly the result of the influence that the Moroccan authorities and common people had on him and others.

By focusing on the detailed sources produced by Alarcón and other military and civilian Spaniards and placing them at the center of the narrative, I will elaborate the principal twofold contention of this chapter: on the one hand, that the Spaniards' alleged prowess was limited while that of the Moroccans was larger than scholars have thus far acknowledged, and, on the other, that the categories of the 'colonizers' and the 'colonized' emerge as deeply problematic once the complex entanglement of various other categories and signifiers, particularly gender, are scrutinized and incorporated into the transformation of the Spanish "in the theatre of war."

⁴⁰⁹ Víctor Morales Lezcano, "Pedro Antonio de Alarcón en el torbellino de la Guerra de África," in *Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y la guerra de África: del entusiasmo romántico a la compulsión colonial*, ed. José Antonio González Alcantud and Manuel Lorente Rivas (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2004), 61–84.

⁴¹⁰ Benito Pérez Galdós, *Aita Tettauen: Estudio preliminar, edición y notas*, ed. Francisco Márquez Villanueva (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL, 2004), 27.

⁴¹¹ Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, 112–13.

Zooming in on the accounts produced by Alarcón and other civilian and military Spanish figures who experienced the capture of Tetouan and the preliminary stage of the occupation of the city enables us to identify their increasing empathy, self-identification, validation and admiration of the Moroccans. While mimicry has most commonly been identified as a strategy used by subaltern colonized populations,⁴¹² I contend that throughout the first month and a half of the occupation of Tetouan it was the Spanish ‘colonizers’ who delved into the construction of sameness and the mimicking of the ‘colonized.’ From the seizure onwards, partly due to their face-to-face contact with the Moroccan authorities and common people, the Spanish ceased to refer to Moroccans as the ‘enemy.’ More importantly, they humanized them. As the Spaniards became more aware of their limitations, they started to ventriloquize the Makhzan envoys and the Tetouani inhabitants. They also claimed to share some of the positive qualities that the Spanish often ascribed to them, namely patriotism and virility.

The Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter, mediated by recurrent associations with past events and encounters, thus proffered two joint processes that I aim to illustrate throughout the following pages. As a result of their condition as witnesses to what happened ‘in reality,’ the Spanish who were in occupied Tetouan developed empathy, the ability to self-identify with those who had hitherto been conceived of as ‘enemies,’ which paved the way for constructing sameness. At the same time, their contact with different categories of Moroccans led the Spanish to validate, ratify, and admire some of the latter’s (speech) acts, particularly those of the Muslim urbanite males. The Spanish on the ground, unlike the majority in the peninsula, embraced pragmatic positions that weighted the colonial ambitions and the limitations. Their initial warmongering calls were thus steadily transformed, as they came to conceive of Moroccans as ‘unyielding.’ Ultimately, some of the civilian and military Spaniards admitted the difficulty, even the impossibility, of the Spanish colonialist venture.

While these Spanish certainly presented subversive stances with regards to the colonialist sectors in the peninsula, their pragmatism was what ultimately enabled the signature of the Treaty of Wad Ras and, consequently, of those that followed, the gains of which eventually eased the Spanish colonial penetration into Morocco throughout the

⁴¹² Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*; Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 152–60.

second half of the nineteenth century. Consequently, I contend that, in the long run, the restraint that such Spaniards advocated was beneficial for the Spanish colonial project in Morocco. Yet this is no invitation to a teleological reading of history; indeed, this chapter aims precisely at illustrating the complex, dynamic and contradictory ways in which the Moroccan and Spanish historical subjects and the colonial historical processes developed through an encounter that was commonly depicted as the continuation of past events and relations.

As shown in Chapter Three, several mid-century Tetouanis and later the historian Aḥmad Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī conveyed ‘the fall of Tetouan’ (*suqūṭ Tiṭwān*) as a new edition of the Muslims’ fall before the Christians at the ‘fall of al-Andalus’ (*suqūṭ al-Andalus*).⁴¹³ This association was presented through the incarnation of the chief of the Moroccan army, the prince of the blood Mawlay al-‘Abbās, through the defeated Muḥammad XII (Boabdil, in Spanish), the last sultan of Granada. This simile bolstered the power of the colonizers and the powerlessness of the emasculated colonized. Interestingly, in one of the encounters of the peacemaking negotiations that Alarcón attended at the end of February 1860, the chronicler embodied Mawlay al-‘Abbās as the antithesis of tearful Muḥammad XII/Boabdil. Strikingly, Alarcón represented the prince of the blood Mawlay al-‘Abbās as incarnated in Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān, who in both Christian and Muslim historiographies represents the epithet of the courageous virile leader who stirred resistance to the Christian capture of Granada.

This chapter will endeavor to disentangle the apparent paradox by which Mawlay al-‘Abbās represented Muḥammad XII/Boabdil for the ‘colonized’ and Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān for the ‘colonizers.’ I am particularly interested in scrutinizing the principal signifiers that each of the legendary characters epitomizes, i.e., the attitude towards the Christian occupiers and the gender symbolism, as well as their interrelatedness. I will mainly devote the second part of the chapter to this critical reading, where I qualify some of the cornerstones of the Spaniards’ political transformation, as will be illustrated in the first part. I contend that the Spaniards’ empathy, self-identification, and mimicking of what they conceived of as Islamic gender politics produced a transfer of ‘racial’ hierarchies to gendered ones. By so doing,

⁴¹³ Faḳīh al-Khumsī in: Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 11. Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 120–21. Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā’ li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90. For more on this association, see section 3.4 in Chapter Three.

I aim at showing that not only was the colonizers' power more limited and that of the colonized greater than has previously been perceived and asserted, but also at showing how easily the very categories of 'colonized' and 'colonizer' can be blurred when other axes of power and hierarchies such as gender are explored.

4.1. Colonization through Negotiation

The fluttering of the Spanish flag on top of the citadel of al-Manzarī, named after the leader of the exiled Moriscos who had reestablished Tetouan in the fifteenth century, signaled the seizure of the city on February 6, 1860. The whole Army of Africa, scattered in different locations, celebrated the feat to the sound of the music played by the military orchestra. (See Appendix, p. 347) Pedro Antonio de Alarcón cheered:

*Tetouan for Spain! This magical cheer which I heard this morning, my forehead uncovered, tears in my eyes, patriotic faith in my heart, and a fervent hymn on my lips; [I proffer] a hymn of gratitude and praise to God as Columbus offered [it] in the Antilles, Cortés in the Andes, Balboa as he discovered the Pacific sea, Gama in Calcutta, and Magallanes in the Philippines; this cheer of triumph, glory and fortune will reverberate now in the whole universe, and it will awake the echoes of our name which still roam all over, in all the latitudes and all the continents through which our armies went awhile; and from America, Flanders, France, Germany and the whole of Italy, Greece, Constantinople, Asia and farther Oceania, from all the towns and cities in which the Spanish blood ran and in which the ashes of our ancestors sleep a glorious sleep, will turn their sight onto Spain.*⁴¹⁴

For his part, the doctor Nicasio Landa, who had taken the injured and choleric Spanish military personnel to the Andalusian coast, arrived just in time to attend the inauguration of the Christian temple. Sīdī 'Abd-Allah al-Baqāl's *zāwiya*, located in the main square, had just been consecrated as a church under the name of *Nuestra Señora de las Victorias* (Our Lady of the Victories) as a tribute to the temple which Cardinal Cisneros –the prominent advocate of Andalusis' mass conversions, the burning of Arabic manuscripts in reconquered Granada, and colonial expansion in the Maghrib –

⁴¹⁴ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 430–31.

had consecrated in sixteenth-century occupied Oran.⁴¹⁵ The first mass took place on February 12, 1860. Photographer Enrique Facio took a snapshot, one of the first photographs taken in Morocco. Landa asserted: “How could one not feel transported to the times of our ancestors, when they [Christians] conquered the cities of Andalucía [and] they consecrated to the Lord the mosques as though the first sign of victory (...)!”⁴¹⁶ (See Appendix, pp. 348-9)

The exclamatory celebrations that followed the seizure of Tetouan point to two main elements in Spanish colonialism in Morocco. On the one hand, Alarcón’s cry discloses the imperial anxieties that permeated nineteenth-century Spanish discourses, in general, and the campaign of the war on Tetouan, in particular. Especially after the ‘loss’ of the majority of the American colonies in the past decades, in which military prestige was tarnished and Spain’s imperial ‘grandeur’ undermined, the seizure of Tetouan was perceived as a confirmation of the “illusion of a new kind of colonialism” centered in the African continent.⁴¹⁷ On the other hand, Landa’s utterance illustrates the sound example that the Reconquista provided of a precedent for a Spanish victory against Islam. The war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan were depicted as a continuation of such an enterprise. Since 1830, Spanish Africanism conceived ‘Africa’ – mainly used as an eponym for Algeria and Morocco – as an extension of Spain and, thus, as the locus of the new Spanish imperial anxieties.⁴¹⁸

The symbolic associations between ‘the fall of al-Andalus’ and ‘the fall of Tetouan’ permeated the urban space. Other than the homage to Cardinal Cisneros, a number of gates, streets and public spaces were renamed after the early modern combats between Christians and Muslims in Iberia and Reconquista. The Gate of the Blueberries (*Bab Tūt*) and the sizeable street that led to it were baptized after El Cid, an eleventh-century Castilian military leader appropriated as a Christian model warrior against the Muslims in their conquest of Iberia. Besides, the Gate of the Dried (*Bab Jīāf*) was called after Alfonso VIII, the Spanish king who in 1212 led the army that defeated the

⁴¹⁵ Alarcón, 569; Gaspar Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas: Guerra de África, 1859-1860*, ed. María Antonia Fernández Jiménez (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2003), 231. Eisenberg, “Cisneros Y La Quema de Los Manuscritos Granadinos.”

⁴¹⁶ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 166.

⁴¹⁷ Josep Maria Fradera, “Prólogo: La Formación de Un Espacio Colonial Repensada,” in *Marruecos Y El Colonialismo Español [1859-1912] De La Guerra de África a La “penetración Pacífica,”* ed. Eloy Martín Corrales (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 10.

⁴¹⁸ Morales Lezcano, “Las Relaciones Hispano-Marroquíes En El Siglo XIX,” 183.

Almohads in the acclaimed Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (al-‘Uqāb, in Arabic), an important turning point in Reconquista. The Gate of the Icons (*Bab al-Rumūz*) was named after the Catholic kings, whose policies the Muslims who reestablished Tetouan in the fifteenth century had fled.⁴¹⁹

Immediately after the capture was accomplished, the so-called Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan started to construct forts, widen streets and paths, and create new medical, religious, cultural and military establishments. The urban physiognomy was rapidly transformed, as the Spanish army “demolished what did not match their taste and separated houses from the city walls”.⁴²⁰ Several of the most impoverished inhabitants were evicted. In actuality, the promptness with which the works were performed suggests the Spanish will to assert their dominion over Tetouan. Rather than interpreting them as a *sign* of the Spaniards’ prowess, I suggest thinking of the establishments and the recreation of Reconquista as *tools* used by the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan in order to make them appear invincible.

Immediately after Tetouan was occupied, the Spanish ‘disguised’ such difficulties and aimed at actually erasing them by means of appearing strong. The jingoistic calls that followed the seizure of Tetouan and the recreation of Reconquista that the renaming of key elements in the urban space simulated aimed precisely at curtailing the Spanish obstacles to colonizing. To be sure, “[e]mpires perpetrated violence because they were strong and because they were weak.”⁴²¹ I therefore contend that the resurrection of the phantom of Reconquista should be interpreted neither as the exercise nor as the sign of unlimited Spanish colonial power, but rather as the very means by which Spanish force and power were constructed, emphasized, and performed in the unstable, precarious, and difficult endeavor that the occupation of Tetouan constituted, particularly in its initial phase.

The peacemaking negotiations began six days after Tetouan was occupied. In the first encounters, the Spanish adopted a boastful attitude. The Spanish ‘conquistadors’ presented themselves as harbingers of technical command and performed military

⁴¹⁹ Ricard, “Cartas de Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti a Galdós Acerca de Marruecos (1901-1910),” 12. A detailed list of the pre- and post-occupation names of towers, gates, streets, mosques and other public places can be found in: Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:321–24.

⁴²⁰ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:95.

⁴²¹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, 157.

power and force. Increasingly, however, due greatly to the influence of Makhzan officials, their pretentious self-presentation turned into an acknowledgement and reinforcement of their own limits. The chroniclers who initially aggrandized the Spanish colonialist venture steadily turned to more moderate positions. The admiration for Tetouani Muslims' 'unyielding' character also played an important role in that transformation. Such political change was a multi-faceted process. For the sake of clarity, I will narrate it in a 'compartmentalized' way, the different aspects of which I envision as interrelated and interdependent. I shall begin with the peacemaking encounters between the chiefs of the Army of Africa and the Makhzan envoys.

The four emissaries who acted on behalf of Mawlay al-'Abbās approached O'Donnell's general headquarters on February 11, 1860, and asked about the aims of the campaign and the conditions for peace.⁴²² The general in chief of the Army of Africa answered that he would inquire about them from Queen Isabel II and that the response would be available in five days' time. O'Donnell also complained about the "barbaric cruelty" with which the Spanish soldiers were treated during the war, but the Makhzan envoys exonerated themselves of all responsibility, and responded that it was the "fierce tribes" who had committed such deeds.⁴²³ After some diplomatic talk and compliments, the emissaries visited the tents of several Spanish generals, where they were offered coffee and cigarettes, and after exchanging guns they left.

Five days later, on February 16, the emissaries returned and the second encounter was celebrated on the outskirts of Tetouan. The conditions dictated by the Spanish queen had arrived the day before. Among them was the incorporation into the Spanish monarchy of Tetouan and all of the surrounding territory that the Spanish army had traversed.⁴²⁴ According to Alarcón, the whole army had considered this particular condition an "imprudence." The chronicler from Guadix also believed that it would entail the continuation of the war, which would be too costly.

In addition, Alarcón mentioned that both the Muslims and the Jews in Tetouan had assured him that such a condition would never be accepted by the Makhzan. Even if it was, he continued, "all the tribes of the empire will surround Tetouan (...) and will

⁴²² Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 558–60.

⁴²³ Alarcón, 559.

⁴²⁴ Alarcón, 583.

harass us day and night.”⁴²⁵ Alarcón’s narrative suggests that the tribes embodied a group that was mobilized by Moroccan urbanites as a threat to the Spanish. The alterity of rural townsfolk for urban Tetouanis shown in Chapter Three appears here as being employed strategically by both the Makhzan appointees and Tetouani individuals, Muslim and Jewish alike.

O’Donnell read the document with the Spanish preliminary conditions out loud, and when the provision of the incorporation of Tetouan to the Spanish monarchy was heard, the faces of the envoys of Mawlay al-‘Abbās changed.⁴²⁶ When the reading was completed, the customary present exchange took place, and the emissaries requested to spend the night in Tetouan.

In the afternoon, General Ríos took the delegates around the occupied city. They entered from the renamed Queen’s Gate, where the soldiers “firmly” greeted the general, and they traversed “all of Tetouan, so that they could get an idea of the means of attack and defense that [the Spanish] owned, as well as of [Spaniards’] culture.”⁴²⁷ The chief of the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan took the Moroccan diplomats to the office where an electric telegraph had been set up, and to the ovens. At the telegraph station, General Ríos explained in great detail how the apparatus worked.⁴²⁸ Although the intermediaries displayed no interest, the general continued in his endeavor to impress them. According to Alarcón, General Ríos insisted that Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ envoys try out the telegraph, so he invited them to ask the near-by station of the likewise occupied customs of Aduana something.

*- We do not wish to know anything -answered the Muslims.
- Anything... even if you are not interested in knowing it -insisted the former.
- Ask if any ship is heading for Gibraltar -declared the governor of Tangier.
When we heard those words, we all looked at each other so as to check if they were intended to humiliate us. I think so. Muslims, passing through their lost city today, find no other solace to their pride than to think that victorious Spain also sees a foreign flag flutter over the walls of one of its cities.*⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ Alarcón, 583.

⁴²⁶ Alarcón, 585.

⁴²⁷ Alarcón, 586.

⁴²⁸ Alarcón, 586; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 235.

⁴²⁹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 587.

While General Ríos aimed at making an impression on the Makhzan envoys by means of elucidating new technical devices, the latter did not lose the opportunity to remind the Spanish of the British occupation of Gibraltar. The British dominion of the southern Iberian city, a particularly sensitive issue, was both a direct allusion to the British backing of the Makhzan and a reminder of the British supply as well as training of the Moroccan army (British weapons had been found in the proximity of dead Moroccans).⁴³⁰

After the visit to the telegraph station, the emissaries were taken to have a look at the ovens that the Spanish had installed in the eastern part of the first and the largest district.⁴³¹ On that occasion, too, when General Ríos affirmed that the dough had only taken half an hour to turn into bread, the governor of the Rif replied that the oven in his garden took half the time to roast a chicken.⁴³² Moroccan intermediaries, as can be seen, not only showed no signs of being impressed by the installation of the new facilities, but answered back with much sarcasm and disdain.

In the evening, a *soirée* was held at the mansion where General Ríos had lodged. The arrival of Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ envoys was accompanied by music. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Aba’yīr, who had already been appointed representative of the Muslims in the mixed city council, acted as the interpreter.⁴³³ The owner of the house, the wealthy merchant Aḥmad al-Razīnī, also attended the gathering. Coffee, liquors, wine, sweets, snacks and cigarettes were offered to the guests. Alarcón as well as his friend Yriarte passionately described the “feast” and the extraordinary “luxury” that the “banquet” represented after the privations of the campaign, a situation which continued for the majority of the military and civil settlers in the occupied city.⁴³⁴

After some informal talk, General Ríos reasserted the strength of the Spanish army if the war was to be continued.⁴³⁵ The emissaries, for their part, assured him that even if the sultan wanted the peace, he was facing opposition in the empire, and that letting the Spanish keep Tetouan would heighten the risk of a civil war and that the

⁴³⁰ Alarcón, 120–21; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 100–101; Charles Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage* (Paris: Morizot, 1863), 725.

⁴³¹ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 236.

⁴³² Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 588.

⁴³³ Alarcón, 590.

⁴³⁴ Alarcón, 589–90; Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 213–14.

⁴³⁵ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 594.

sultan would be overthrown, a situation of “anarchy” that would not benefit the Spaniards. Aba‘yīr proceeded to clarify what the emissaries were suggesting:

- *If the emperor (...) loses Tetouan, the parties overthrow the emperor, and if they overthrow the emperor, there will be a civil war in Morocco, and disorder and anarchy for many years, and you will have no one to address, and even if you address some, the others you will not accomplish, and you will be compelled to keep fighting forever with no result whatsoever.*
- *He who wants Tetouan does not will for peace -weightily judged the governor of the Rif.*⁴³⁶

There existed at least three ‘Alawī rival claimants to the throne that the new sultan Sīdī Muḥammad held, and the Moroccan population was increasingly divided. The sultan’s elder brother rose up in the south and tried to reach Marrakech.⁴³⁷ Sultan Muḥammad IV’s reputation was tarnished by the 1844 defeat in the Battle of Isly against the French, when he was in charge of the Moroccan army. Instead, Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd-Allah, who after Isly was in active support of the *jihād* party against the French in western Algeria, was calling for *jihād* against Spaniards in the northeast of Morocco.⁴³⁸

The truth is that it was mostly foreign writers who mentioned the opposition to Muḥammad IV’s throne. Some Spanish and French newspapers as well as chroniclers Alarcón and Núñez de Arce mentioned the risk of a “civil war” in Morocco, and explained the difficulties that such a scenario would cause for Spain.⁴³⁹ The accessed Arabic manuscripts and poems do not give an account of these pretenders; only the anonymous author of the so-called Manuscript of Madrid affirms that the Spaniards chose to declare and pursue the war at “the moment in which, after the sultan died, a

⁴³⁶ Alarcón, 594.

⁴³⁷ Martínez Antonio, *La otra Guerra de África*, 73.

⁴³⁸ Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 121–23.

⁴³⁹ La Presse, 09/09/1859 and La España, 18/09/1859, cited in: Martínez Antonio, *La otra Guerra de África*, 73; Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 659; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 241. Apart from Alarcón and Núñez de Arce, in Martínez Antonio, *La otra Guerra de África*, 76–77 the sources mentioned are: Evaristo Ventosa, *Historia de la guerra de África: Españoles y marroquíes*, vol. II (Barcelona: Manero, 1860), 29; Gerhard Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco and Journeys through the Oases of Draa and Tafilet* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 2009), 175–76; Jean Jules Henri Mordacq, *La Guerre En Afrique. Tactique Des Grosses Colonnes. Enseignements de L’expédition Contre Les Beni Snassen (1859). Par Le Commandant Mordacq* (Paris: Librairie Chapelot, 1908), 76; Victor Bernard Derrécaigaix, *Le général de division comte de Martimprey. Avec sept planches hors texte et cinq cartes.* (Paris: Librairie Chapelot, 1913), 311.

new one *who was not well accepted by his subjects* was designed.”⁴⁴⁰ Moroccan writers might have avoided referring to these internal threats because they could be interpreted as a sign of the weakness of the Moroccan government, whose sovereignty was in part menaced by external – Spanish and other European – agents. It is also plausible, however, that the sultan’s emissaries mobilized around this issue in order to restrain the Spanish demands in the peace negotiations. As Thérèse Benjelloun and Mourad Zarrouk have argued, Makhzan diplomacy displayed a wide variety of dissuasive tactics that included stressing and even exaggerating internal disunity.⁴⁴¹

The point is not to insinuate that the rival claimants to the throne did not actually exist. The rivalry of the ‘Alawī claimants to the throne emerged on various other occasions throughout history, especially when some social sectors estimated that the sultan was not engaging in his duty to enact *jihād*, and was folding with the pressures of the foreign powers.⁴⁴² My argument is rather that the Moroccan envoys utilized and probably maximized the existing obstacles in order to limit the conditions that the Spaniards were trying to impose after the defeat and seizure of Tetouan. In a similar way to the menace that the ‘fierce tribes’ were said to represent for the Spanish, the Makhzan diplomacy productively invoked the phantom of the perils that a ‘civil war’ would entail for the Spanish. Indeed, it was a successful strategy.

The *soirée* went on for three hours, and the emissaries left the next day, on February 17, promising they would be back in a week’s time with the sultan’s answer to the conditions. Three days later, however, Ibn ‘Abdū, one of the military chiefs who composed the delegation of Mawlay al-‘Abbās, returned to ask that the date to resume the negotiations be postponed. O’Donnell strongly rejected the demand as, according to Alarcón, he feared “or they ha[d] induced him to fear” that Moroccans were buying time to reorganize their army.⁴⁴³ The Makhzan’s “diplomacy of wearing down” the enemy included trying to postpone the meetings, which invigorated the fears the

⁴⁴⁰ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 279; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 64. Emphasis added.

⁴⁴¹ Thérèse Benjelloun, *Visages de la diplomatie marocaine depuis 1844* (Casablanca: Editions EDDIF, 1991); Mourad Zarrouk, *Los traductores de España en Marruecos, 1859-1939* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2009).

⁴⁴² El Mansour, *Morocco in the Reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 20; 89-98. Bennison, *Jihad and Its Interpretations in Pre-Colonial Morocco*, 27–33.

⁴⁴³ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 603.

Spaniards were starting to harbor, partly as a result of the envoys' warnings.⁴⁴⁴ Alarcón acknowledged the persuasiveness of the envoys' power on O'Donnell; at the same time, his writing suggests that he also found the emissaries' theses convincing.

Eventually, the encounter took place on February 23. On that occasion, it was the representative of the sultan to the foreign powers, who was responsible for the negotiations that preceded the war declaration, Tetouani Muḥammad al-Khatīb, who categorically rejected the incorporation of Tetouan into Spanish territory. When O'Donnell replied that the Spanish army would then march toward Tangier, al-Khatīb asserted that "Europe w[ould] not consent to it."⁴⁴⁵ The Tetouani diplomat's answer was as powerful as it was concise. Al-Khatīb implied that Spain was not European and, by so doing, stated that the Moroccans were well aware of Spain's status as a second-order power. Besides, the allusion to the likely British opposition to the Spanish advancement toward Tangier was blatantly taken advantage of, once more. In the previous weeks, al-Khatīb had been in charge of the negotiations to purchase British military supplies, and was in permanent contact with the British consul Drummond Hay.⁴⁴⁶

O'Donnell responded that they could enthrone "that S[ulaymān] who is so stirring."⁴⁴⁷ Within such a dialectic battle, the Spanish chief aimed at bringing into play the contests that he had learnt were taking place among claimants from the 'Alawī family for his own interest. Yet, once everyone had calmed down, the commander in chief admitted to Mawlay al-'Abbās that he could not let the Moroccans use the extra time to rearm and become stronger.⁴⁴⁸ The negotiations were thus suspended, the war was resumed, and the campaign toward Tangier was prepared. Yet the bad weather conditions prevented both Spanish contingents and munitions from arriving at the northern African coast, so the march was delayed.

⁴⁴⁴ Zarrouk, *Los traductores de España en Marruecos, 1859-1939*, 26.

⁴⁴⁵ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 587, 615, 725; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 252; Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 243.

⁴⁴⁶ See the letters on the arrival of munitions at Safī in December, 1859: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a'lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥādira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, vol. III (Rabat: 'Abbās al-Tinnānī, 1929), 492–95.

⁴⁴⁷ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 616.

⁴⁴⁸ Alarcón, 617.

For her part, Queen Isabel II asked O'Donnell to continue the campaign to Tangier and banned him from negotiating the evacuation of Tetouan.⁴⁴⁹ In the Spanish peninsula, the liberal press ratcheted up the bellicose cries which had bestowed them considerable political gain during the campaign. Particularly the most progressive papers, whose ideology did not match the O'Donnell-led *La Unión Liberal*, pushed the warmongering and conquest theses. The general in chief of the Army of Africa, caught between these forces, decided to make use of a further tool to press the Moroccans to accept the Spanish conditions. On February 25 and 26, in the middle of terrible weather conditions that impeded the attack on Salé and Rabat and after suffering great technical difficulties, the Spanish navy bombed the ports of Larache and Asilah.⁴⁵⁰

A number of inhabitants left each of the cities, and horrified Tetouanis commented on the news of the burning houses that the bombings had caused in the two northern Moroccan cities.⁴⁵¹ Still, the anonymous author of the Manuscript of Madrid aptly wondered why the Spanish did not disembark in Asilah after bombing it, and he added: "If they had had enough power, they would have bombed it and disembarked in it, for that is [real] prowess."⁴⁵² The consideration of the anonymous writer of the manuscript fits one of the arguments of this chapter, whereby the Spanish Army of Africa pretended to have a hard power that their actions showed it lacked.

In a similar vein to al-Khatīb's allusion to "Europe," the small merchant who authored the manuscript also pointed at Spain's position in the world order, and he affirmed that it was the "weakest of all [the Christian nations] in force, courage and provisions."⁴⁵³ The anonymous writer aimed at belittling the Spanish by praising French "works of public utility" in Algeria and British "organization" and "methodology" (*tadbīr*) in India; and, for that matter, by signaling the lack of the power and 'civilization' that the Spanish claimed to possess.⁴⁵⁴ 'Civilization,' as it has widely been argued, constituted the main cornerstone of the modern imperial transnational

⁴⁴⁹ Isabel Burdiel, *Isabel II: una biografía (1830-1904)* (Madrid: Taurus, 2010), 633.

⁴⁵⁰ Assaoud, "Ḥarb Isbānīā 'Alā Al-Maghrib 'Ām 1860 Wa 'Awāqibiha Al-Wakhīma (The Spanish War on Morocco in 1860 and Its Serious Repercussions)," 133.

⁴⁵¹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 621–29.

⁴⁵² Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 281; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 66.

⁴⁵³ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 279; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 64. Emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁴ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 288; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 75.

discourses, which Spanish Africanism countered by alleging its ‘historical rights’ in Morocco.

Meanwhile, the situation in occupied Tetouan worsened as the days went by. The perceived difficulties regarding both the risk of a civil war and the possibility that Moroccans be rearmed with British aid were intensified by various material obstacles. Hostilities with the neighboring Busemeler tribe increased by the end of February and the beginning of March. Moreover, a blockage on the entry of food supplies was imposed on the city.⁴⁵⁵ Members of the sultan’s ‘Abīd al-Bukhārī corps wandered around the outskirts of Tetouan to stop anyone from entering the city. People were hungry and did not how know long they could survive if the situation continued in this way. Soldiers were killed on the roads at the outskirts of Tetouan and within the city.⁴⁵⁶ The once warmongering chronicler Alarcón affirmed:

*There is no defense against this, (...) not even forty thousand soldiers established both in the inner and the outer side of this stronghold would be able to guarantee the life and the property of its inhabitant from the perfidy (or the patriotism!) of Muslims (...) Moors’ attitude with regards to the Spanish invasion is the same as we adopted towards the French invasion – think of what happened back then in the peninsula and make a guess of what can happen to us in Africa.*⁴⁵⁷

This was a critical point in the initial phase of the occupation. As Alarcón’s words suggest, the influence of the envoys’ use of both internal and external menaces to intimidate the Spanish was taking effect. Moreover, the context of disunity that reigned in peninsular Spain, particularly the warmongering calls that the opposition parties were mobilizing, affected the Spanish in the so-called ‘theatre of war,’ who steadily shifted to defending the need for a cautious diplomatic and military policy. In view of the various limitations, the Spanish adopted a less triumphalist tone. This is clear in Alarcón’s recognition of the Spanish difficulty in ensuring security in occupied Tetouan.

Alarcón’s words show not only how different these declarations sound from his previous colonialist exclamations, but they also reveal his admiration towards the

⁴⁵⁵ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 619–22. Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 247–61; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 251, 269, 276, 283–85.

⁴⁵⁶ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 619–620; 630.

⁴⁵⁷ Alarcón, 620–21.

Moroccans' attitude, and his blurring of Hispano-Moroccan differences by resorting to analogy. First, what the chronicler saw that the Spanish could not fight was preliminarily identified as Muslim "perfidy." Immediately after, however, he added a parenthesis with an antithetical and positively connoted term, i.e., patriotism, followed by an exclamation. Second, the following sentence constructed similarity between the Spanish and the Moroccans on the basis of patriotism, or resistance, against foreign occupiers. Strikingly, Alarcón referred to one of the modern episodes in Spanish history in which patriotism and nationalism was most prominently constructed: the so-called War of Independence against the Napoleonic occupation of Spain (1808-1814).⁴⁵⁸ By equating the Spaniards' attitude against the French and the Moroccans' against the Spanish, Alarcón not only expressed his fear ("make a guess of what can happen to us in Africa"), but also legitimized the Moroccans' attitude and stance toward the Spanish occupiers.

Yet Alarcón's empathy and self-identification with the Tetouanis can be located well before the peacemaking negotiations, the food blockage and the harassment of the tribes had started. While especially during the first battles Alarcón poeticized violence and outrageously praised war as a heroic and enjoyable practice, from the moment he walked in the streets of the just captured Tetouan he began to empathize with the Tetouanis. When he witnessed the evidence of the mass looting, he admitted that the Spanish were, to a certain extent, the cause of the destruction he contemplated. The passage below shows that he recognized that beneath the ruins over which he and the military personnel walked and stepped might lie the result of the owners' hard work and inheritance. The chronicler expressed pity when he imagined the affection that the Tetouani owners may have felt for and within what appeared to him as only waste:

It was a pity to effectively contribute to the culmination of so much ravage, so much destruction. We had to a certain degree been the cause of such disasters, and far from commiserating with them – by lamenting them, perhaps – we heightened it with our devastating march. Each of those piles of ruins represented the fortune of a family, a fortune accumulated throughout long

⁴⁵⁸ José Alvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: la idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 2001), Chapter 3.

*years of work, transmitted from parents to children and annihilated in [just] one moment.*⁴⁵⁹

Another of the signs of the transformation I am trying to illustrate is that the Moroccans and particularly the Tetouanis ceased to exclusively be regarded as ‘enemies,’ and came to incarnate humans. By acknowledging the Spaniards’ responsibility in the perpetuation of the violence that affected the Tetouanis, and by explicitly recognizing the forms and the effect of such violence, then, Alarcón recognized the Tetouanis on the basis of their humanity and vulnerability *vis-à-vis* violence. His humanization of the Tetouanis ultimately entailed a sort of ‘human mimesis,’ or the construction of sameness in the human condition which the colonial discourses often denied.⁴⁶⁰ The different allocation of grievability – that is, who is and should be mourned – shapes the exclusionary conception of humanity that is at work in the (re)production of violence, and Alarcón’s wondering in the aftermath of the occupation of Tetouan show that his grieving and humanization were part of a transformation that did advocate some restraint to the violence of (immediate) colonialism.⁴⁶¹

Another prominent feature of the transformation in the Spanish stances is their admiration for the attitudes of the Tetouanis, and those of some of the Moroccan authorities. The chroniclers praised what they perceived as Moroccans’ ‘indifference’ and ‘ignoring’ of the Spanish occupiers. A few days after the seizure of the city, Alarcón affirmed the following about the local inhabitants: “They are neither fearful nor provocative. Their conviction that they will never be our slaves is sufficient for them.”⁴⁶² It is true that presenting the ‘enemies’ as unyielding gave more value to the self-proclaimed heroism of the “conquerors.” Still, there is more than an attempt to dignify the Spanish conquest in the praiseworthy value that he awarded to the stances of the Tetouanis who ‘overlooked’ the Spanish. In fact, Alarcón affirmed that Muslims’ attitude of resistance *vis-à-vis* Spanish colonizers was proof of their supreme degree of “civilization”, “rationality” and “superiority”:

⁴⁵⁹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 451. He also accounted for the imprint of battleship, violence, and death in Alarcón, 454 and 649.

⁴⁶⁰ Margot Norris, *Writing War in the Twentieth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 38–48.

⁴⁶¹ Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London; New York: Verso, 2004).

⁴⁶² Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 527–28.

*Great silence, deigned proudness, majestic indifference, heroic disdain. Oh! The attitude of these savages is sublime (...) Savages, I said, and the truth is that I cannot conceive of a greater degree of civilization than the one Muslims reveal (...) this indestructible superiority that their unblemished religious faith gives them (...) they exert their rational faculties with as much wisdom as Socrates and Cato, or as the Christian martyrs. All of this proves that Moors are unconquerable.*⁴⁶³

Alarcón strikingly praised the “superiority” of Muslims’ religious conviction, which he linked to their prowess in overcoming the so-called “primitive *nature*.” For him the attitude of the Tetouanis was not only “characteristic of ancient Rome and immortal Sparta,” but it also signaled their supreme “degree of civilization.”⁴⁶⁴ That soon after the Spanish seizure of Tetouan Alarcón asserted Muslims’ unconquerability and other positively connoted qualities shows that the transformation of his colonialist standpoint was well under way before the envoys began to effectively raise the specter of the Spanish ensnarement. In my view, the above references in Alarcón’s text, including the allusions to the past empires and figures, are not to be understood as examples of the widespread European nineteenth-century colonial portrayals that referred to colonized peoples and cultures as despicably anachronist.⁴⁶⁵ Muslims’ “silence,” “proudness” and “indifference,” on the contrary, deployed the sign of their “civilization,” and their strength *vis-à-vis* the Spanish conquerors.

In that regard, not every occasion that the Spanish in occupied Tetouan and particularly Alarcón linked the Moroccans to past events and conceptions did this function as the assertion of their lack of ‘civilization,’ making them thus ‘colonizable.’ ‘Civilization’ was the token of the imperial discourses in the nineteenth century, and was employed to construct ‘racial’ hierarchies based on the degree of ‘civilization.’ As explained in Chapter One, however, particularly due to the ‘civilized’ character attributed to the Andalusí past, the modern historicism which in other localized colonial discourses and practices functioned as what posited cultural hierarchies does not always fit Hispano-Moroccan colonialism.⁴⁶⁶ Going back to Alarcón, he found precisely the

⁴⁶³ Alarcón, 527–28. Italics in the original.

⁴⁶⁴ Alarcón, 450.

⁴⁶⁵ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 25–115; Hunt, “Modernity.”

⁴⁶⁶ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 7.

deliberate ignorance of the Moroccans, which “prove[d] that Moors [we]re unconquerable,” to be the supreme sign of their ‘civilized’ quality.

Captain Eduardo Soler y Ovejero provided similar insights. His *Descriptive Memory of an Itinerary Project from Tetouan to al-Kasr and Fes*, the result of the espionage journey he completed during the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, included information regarding the Moroccan military, administration and politics, demographic as well as geographic data. In it, Soler y Ovejero provided clear and explicit indications as to how to proceed with an eventual occupation of Morocco. In his final colonialist call, nonetheless, his syntactic ambivalence suggested Moroccans were unyielding:

*A European power will easily be able to dominate the country by occupying the coastal ports: the populations of the interior will be obliged to relate to Europeans in order to have their products exported and to increase their trade, and little by little civilization would start [to penetrate], as it has due to our occupation of Tetouan so adequately been channeled, for any other people is subjected to civilized customs more easily than the Mohammedan.*⁴⁶⁷

Soler y Ovejero’s declaration of the “easy” way in which any European power could conquer Morocco contrasted with the last sentence. Introduced by the causal conjunction “for” (*pues*), what one hopes to read is that by means of the occupation of the ports, ‘civilization’ – in this case, brought by the Spaniards – would “little by little” penetrate the people. Even if Soler y Ovejero considered ‘civilization’ as what the Europeans would bring to Morocco, the crucial insight is that what Soler y Ovejero ended by stating was that Muslims were *not* easily subjected to “civilized customs” (*costumbres civilizadas*). Perhaps unwillingly, the Catalan captain affirmed that Moroccan Muslims’ unyielding attitude made their colonization more difficult than that of “any other people” (*cualquiera otro pueblo*).

His perhaps inadvertently ambivalent use of the verbal tenses also confirms his final conclusion. Soler y Ovejero firstly employed the future tense, thus signaling that the proclaimed issue was expected to happen: “A European power *will* easily be able to dominate the country” (*una potencia de Europa podrá fácilmente dominar el país*), and he then turned to the conditional mode, thus marking the greater unlikelihood of its realization: “civilization *would* start [to penetrate]” (*poco á poco comenzaria la*

⁴⁶⁷ Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez*, 57.

civilizacion). While one syntactical error might well stem from the nature of the conditions in which Soler y Ovejero carried out his task, these two lapses are probably not by chance.

Like Alarcón and Soler y Ovejero, the chronicler Núñez de Arce affirmed that “it is not easy to civilize these people who consider themselves automatons of destiny”.⁴⁶⁸ Despite the fact the arguments on which this difficulty was grounded disavow (“They lack activity and will to progress and sentiment; as men, they only vegetate; as a people, they are a cadaver; even less: a shade”), the fact remains that these Spaniards acknowledged and declared the existence of considerable obstacles to the colonization of Muslims. Despite the conception according to which the Moroccans were said to be in need of a foreign power in order to become ‘civilized,’ which was one of the key legitimations and discursive colonial tools, the fact remains that the Spanish recognized the difficulty of colonizing Muslims, while at the same time they praised the very quality which was an obstacle to their colonization.

The Spanish ascribed such praiseworthy quality to Muslim Moroccans, but not to Jews. Indeed, the latter were deemed to embody the opposite: a sort of abasement. Although I will give a more thorough analysis in the following section of the chapter, it is necessary to clarify here that, following the chronicles, Tetouani and Moroccan Jews were not considered as representatives of the generic ‘Moroccans.’ Nor did they stir the Spaniards’ admiration, as Muslims did. Upon the Spaniards’ entrance into Tetouan, Jews were said to have welcomed the Army of Africa with cheers for the queen.⁴⁶⁹ After the initial surprise and ease, the Spanish writers began to complain about the Jews’ harassment and adulation of the Spaniards. Alarcón exclaimed: “What dignity in the Agaren! What miserable abjection in the Israelite!”⁴⁷⁰

The discursive and political transformation of the Spaniards that I am illustrating in this chapter was gradually shaped by the various interrelated issues I have outlined: the astuteness of the Makhzan envoys, the fearful position onto which the food blockage and the harassment of the surrounding populations put the Spanish in Tetouan, and the impression that the attitude of the remaining Muslim population in Tetouan inspired in

⁴⁶⁸ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 280.

⁴⁶⁹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 452–54; Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 173–74.

⁴⁷⁰ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 453; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 221–22.

the Spanish. Empathy and self-identification played a role in the increasingly humanized depictions that the Spanish made of the Tetouanis who, as shown, ceased to be – at least exclusively –termed as ‘the enemy.’ Moreover, the Spanish perceived Muslim Moroccans’ attitude as reflecting their ‘untamable’ or ‘unconquerable’ nature.

The Spanish were not unique in their appraisal of Tetouanis’ ‘disdain.’ Muslims’ stance produced similar reactions among the French in Algeria. At about the same time, the head of the Arab Bureau of Laghouat in southern Algeria noted that “[a]mong the Arabs and even in the lower classes, one notices a decency, a natural dignity, and a sort of nobility in their facial expressions and actions worthy of the most aristocratic classes of our pseudo-civilized Europeans. Nothing like this exists among the middle classes of Europe.”⁴⁷¹ How can this be explained?

In my view, what bewildered Alarcón, Soler y Ovejero and Núñez de Arce, and the French military administrator in occupied Algeria was the result of expressions of *inkimāsh*. A form of internal *hijra*, *inkimāsh* consisting of an “inward religio-spiritual movement or withdrawal employed by those Muslims who lacked the will or the means to depart from their homeland.”⁴⁷² As Chapter Three has shown, following the calls of the religious and political authorities, most of the Tetouani population fled the seized city and settled elsewhere. Some of the Muslims who lacked the will or the means to depart from Tetouan, however, resorted to different forms of *inkimāsh*. I contend that *inkimāsh* was both a strategy of coping and a form of political action that contributed to the transformation of the views of the military and civilian Spanish, who now made the boastful and performative cries they proffered prior to and during the war more nuanced.

Far from constituting immobility or political passivity, as the official and hegemonic discourses which encouraged Tetouanis to move away from unbelief suggested, some of the inhabitants who remained in town during the Spanish occupation adopted stances which affected and altered Spaniards’ conceptions of their colonial power and aspirations. In fact, the Spanish acknowledged that the Muslim Tetouanis’ deliberate ignorance of the Spanish colonizers was indeed a form of resistance. Alarcón, in his increasing construction of similarity and analogy, compared it to the Spanish

⁴⁷¹ Pierre Boyer, *La vie quotidienne à Alger à la veille de l'intervention française* (Paris: Hachette, 1963), 160, cited in: Marnia Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question* (Psychology Press, 1994), 24.

⁴⁷² Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, 7.

resistance to the French occupation in the preceding decades, which he undoubtedly considered unreservedly praiseworthy.

In the aftermath of the seizure of Tetouan, according to the anonymous author of the so-called Manuscript of Tetouan, Faqīh al-Khumsī decided to not speak any other language than Arabic. He then fell into a pit, and stayed there until he was pulled out by an Arabic speaker, three days later. When he encountered his rescuer, al-Khumsī reportedly exclaimed: “They killed us with their ignorance (...), so I decided to fall silent”.⁴⁷³ For his part, the Spanish doctor Nicasio Landa explained in his memoirs that he, together with his friends, found in the entourage of Tetouan a man in a well, and that after offering him some food and obtaining no response, the man answered that he wanted to die.⁴⁷⁴ The Spanish then resorted to two Algerian men who, after conversing with him, informed them that the old man was a learned scholar (al-Khumsī’s name indicates he was a *faqīh*, that is, a jurisprudence scholar), and that he had declared he was tired of life and was willing to die in that pit. Landa concluded the story describing the way in which one of the Algerians took the old man out of the well.

The Spanish military doctor continued to narrate another episode, in which a “starving man” they had encountered had not wanted to accept anything from them, and only agreed to take a crust of bread that the Algerians offered to him. This man and al-Khumsī, among others, stayed in Tetouan and adopted individual strategies, which did not entail political passivity. Some Tetouani settlers’ *inkimāsh*, or the varied forms that internal exile they may have adopted, were both “means of coping and therefore of endurance,” and of “safeguarding the potentialities of Islam.”⁴⁷⁵ They also had considerable effect on several Spanish chroniclers as well as military chiefs, and their colonial ambitions. Ambivalently stunned at what they perceived to be Tetouani Muslims’ attitude of “disdain,” the Spanish increasingly came to conceive of the Moroccans as unyielding and to admit the difficulty, even the impossibility, of the Spanish colonialist venture.

The war chronicles by Alarcón and his fellow colleagues Carlos Navarro and Gaspar Núñez de Arce reflected these insights. Yet in the increasingly tense political

⁴⁷³ Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 10.

⁴⁷⁴ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 279.

⁴⁷⁵ Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, 7. Jacques Berque, *L’intérieur du Maghrib, XVe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 419.

context in peninsular Spain, the defense of moderate positions in their articles did not satisfy many sectors. In fact, the liberal newspaper *La Iberia* branded them the “apostles of peace.”⁴⁷⁶ The correspondents, for their part, claimed a position of authority based on their first-hand experience. The writers of the early modern Spanish chronicles which narrated the empire-building events, as Barbara Fuchs has shown, claimed their authority as eyewitnesses who “saw” what happened “in reality,” and opposed it to the “imagination” that supposedly shaped other subjects’ understanding of what imperialism entailed.⁴⁷⁷ A similar phenomenon is to be found in some Spaniards’ writings on the Spanish war on Tetouan and, particularly, of the setting of the occupation. Alarcón stated that only from being in “the theatre of the war” could one comprehend what such an enterprise entailed. He particularly criticized the politicians in Madrid who dictated the ways in which to proceed in the campaign and the peacemaking, and affirmed that they lacked knowledge of “what only having a close view can be understood.”⁴⁷⁸

On March 11, as the Army of Africa finally advanced toward Tangier, a bloody battle took place in the plain of Samsa against some newly arrived Rifian contingents.⁴⁷⁹ The day after the Moroccan defeat, the emissaries of Mawlay al-‘Abbās approached the Spanish camp. They insisted that if the Spanish won another battle the empire would collapse, and such a “cataclysm” would be counter-productive for the Spanish.⁴⁸⁰ The envoys also apologized for the attack of the Rifians which, they held, contradicted Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ orders. The “Rifian warriors” were said to have ignored the warning of the prince of the blood, after having condemned Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ unwillingness to fight the ‘infidels’ as cowardice.⁴⁸¹ Again, Makhzan authorities pointed to rural tribesmen and their contradiction of the Prince – ergo, one of the highest Makhzan authorities – as the source of the conflict to coerce the Spanish into insisting on keeping Tetouan.

O’Donnell proceeded to ask the queen to reconsider the incorporation of Tetouan into the Spanish lands, and on March 17 the new provision arrived. It

⁴⁷⁶ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 29.

⁴⁷⁷ Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, 39.

⁴⁷⁸ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 561.

⁴⁷⁹ Alarcón, 653–58.

⁴⁸⁰ Alarcón, 559.

⁴⁸¹ Alarcón, 659–60.

established that Tetouan would be occupied until the war indemnity was completed. Although the status of the occupation had been modified to a temporary one, Alarcón considered it an expression of “the rancid Spanish traditions by which all wars must become conquests.”⁴⁸² He who had passionately defended the conquest of ‘Africa’ now considered keeping Tetouan too costly, economically and in terms of the loss of human lives, and of no utility.⁴⁸³ Our chronicler also declared, as al-Khatīb had suggested three weeks before, that the British would not allow the Spanish to reach Tangier.

For his part, General Prim, the hero of the campaign, “the brave[st] of the braves,”⁴⁸⁴ addressed a letter to his politician colleagues, suggesting that those who waved the conquest thesis in the peninsula were “ignorant.” Partly replicating the words of warning that the Moroccan authorities had pronounced during the various encounters, General Prim mentioned the many disadvantages and the few advantages that the incorporation of Tetouan into the Spanish monarchy would entail. He insisted:

*The mission of honor that brought the Army [here], is it not abundantly accomplished? (...) Do we at all need these valleys and mountains? (...) How many people would be necessary to keep these valleys and mountains from African ferocity? (...) And Tetouan, what is its value, what does it entail in the present and the future? Nothing more than a dirty and immoral dump, now, then and later.*⁴⁸⁵

As is obvious, not only the chronicler Alarcón’s but also General Prim’s words remind us of the warnings that the Makhzan envoys had been repeating for weeks. Alarcón and Prim posited the high cost in human resources that would be necessary to protect Tetouan from “African ferocity.” While the historiography has generally attributed the construction and use of these tropes to European imperialist narratives, I contend that the Makhzan envoys, who were normally privileged urbanite men, also contributed to their inception. The tropes were based on European prejudices, but they were also related to the localized Tetouani and Moroccan socio-political structures and cleavages signaled in Chapter Three. The mimicking of the Makhzan envoys’ use of such tropes by the Spanish as an argument for restraint in peninsular colonial ambitions suggests

⁴⁸² Alarcón, 662.

⁴⁸³ Alarcón, 663.

⁴⁸⁴ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 204.

⁴⁸⁵ Biblioteca-Museu Víctor Balaguer, [Juan] Prim a ¿...?, 8, April 1860. 1860/ Doc. 1^a, cited in: Burdiel, *Isabel II*, 635.

that it was an efficient strategy. To be sure, these tropes would in the long run be used by European agents to further and legitimize colonization. In the 1860 Hispano-Moroccan peacemaking negotiations, however, they were employed, and successfully so, to limit the Spanish peninsular dictates.

On March 21, negotiations were once again suspended after the Moroccan delegates refused the temporary occupation of Tetouan. As the army prepared a new march to Tangier, the so-called “apostles of peace” decided to depart for the peninsula. Alarcón was convinced that “the war of Africa, after having forged the glory of the nation w[ould] end up, if it [went] on, causing its ruin.”⁴⁸⁶

The march toward Tangier began on the eve of the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan in the year 1276 on the *hijri* calendar, March 23 on the Gregorian one. The Moroccan army prevented the Spaniards’ advance across the plain of Wad Ras, where another bloody battle took place. Mawlay al-‘Abbās requested a meeting, only to later send an emissary to inform O’Donnell that the prince would not be able to attend due to the praying prescriptions of Ramadan. O’Donnell refused and so the encounter eventually took place two days later, on March 25, and O’Donnell and Mawlay al-‘Abbās signed the preliminary peace treaty. The official ratification was to take place a month later, on April 26, two months and twenty days after the Spanish had seized Tetouan. (See Appendix, pp. 350-1)

The new battles that the “apostles of peace” convincingly decided to fight in the peninsula related to the widespread ‘conquest fever’ that they had come to reject as a result of their stay in occupied Tetouan. By the time they disembarked, however, the marked disillusionment that followed the signing of the treaty became a different sort of challenge. The last article of *La Iberia*’s correspondent Núñez de Arce was censored, although it was finally published in *El Clamor Público* and *La Época*. *El Clamor* explained that *La Iberia*’s refusal to publish it was due to the fact that he “energetically defended the preliminary [conditions] agreed upon by General O’Donnell and Khal[ī]fa [al-‘]Abb[ā]s.”⁴⁸⁷ Written in Madrid on March 29, Núñez de Arce had also stated that he had returned to Spain to defend “the dear interests of the Homeland, insanelly put in danger by temerarious and useless enterprises in order to divert [public] opinion” (*los caros intereses de la patria comprometidos localmente en temerarias e inútiles*

⁴⁸⁶ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 673.

⁴⁸⁷ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 282.

empresas por el extravío de la opinión).⁴⁸⁸ Two days later, Navarro suggested in *La Época* that “honor” shall not be mixed up with “interests.” He highlighted the legitimacy of the original cause of the war, as stated by O’Donnell in parliament, and the wrongdoing of aspiring to pursue colonial interests in Morocco.

The opposition parties, in their struggle against the figure of O’Donnell and his *La Unión Liberal*, insisted on the negligible gain that such a bombastically enhanced war offered Spain, and they coined the maxim ‘the great war of petty peace’ (*la guerra grande de la paz chica*).⁴⁸⁹ The Spanish war on Tetouan that the party of the now Duke of Tetouan had staged in an attempt to achieve the party’s governmental consolidation turned out, in the end, to represent a threat to it. In the aftermath of the peacemaking, the very colonial expectations that the warmongering discourses had contained before and during the campaign stimulated the reemergence of disunity among the multiple Spanish political and social fractions. O’Donnell, by keeping track of the occupation and the complications that further arose, continued to fight the dialectical wars in a parliamentary battle. In June 1860, he replied to the deputy González Bravo’s plea in the Spanish Cortes by making the sultan’s envoys’ words his own:

*Does Your Honor know why I renounced the capture of Tangier? Because the occupation of Tangier would have involved overthrowing the Moroccan sultan, and a civil war would have erupted in Morocco. And this, which seems a great advantage to us, entailed a major disadvantage; I do not know where it could have led us. On the day in which no government existed in Morocco an eternal war would have begun against that empire, during which our convoys would have been intercepted, our detachments attacked; we would have been harassed and obliged to fight. How long? This I know not.*⁴⁹⁰

4.2. Hispano-Muslim Manly Mimesis and Homosociability

“[T]he Muslim, evil or good, is a man.”⁴⁹¹

Antonio Vera Salas, the author of the above quote, served in the wars that followed the official establishment of the Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco in

⁴⁸⁸ Núñez de Arce, 284.

⁴⁸⁹ Ameller y Vilademunt, *Juicio crítico de la guerra de Africa, ó, Apuntes para la historia contemporánea*.

⁴⁹⁰ Cited in: Garrido Quijano, “Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 241–42.

⁴⁹¹ Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 219.

1912. The axiom he expressed points to the continuity of the paradigm of virility that the Muslim men represented for the Spanish throughout the pre-Protectorate period. During the war and especially the initial stage of the occupation of Tetouan, the Spanish stressed the manly character of Moroccan – specifically Muslim – men. Moreover, Vera Sala’s affirmation included a gendered comparison between Jews and Muslims, a distinction between “effeminate” Jews and “virile” Muslims that also appeared in the Spanish narratives of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

The aim of this second part of the chapter is to examine gender in order to unveil the extent to which conceptions of masculinity shaped the process of political transformation I outlined in the first part. I aim at qualifying the admiration that the Tetouanis who adopted forms of *inkimāsh* stirred in the Spanish, and at showing that mimesis, in terms of masculinity, drove Alarcón to build a trans-racial camaraderie with Muslim men. My goal is to show that the recognition of sameness in manhood produced a transfer of racial hierarchies onto gender ones. Hispano-Muslim manly mimesis also functioned to reinforce the misogynist ideal of male homosociability, as a space inhabited only by males, in which women neither disturbed nor tempted men.

I will show that Alarcón’s depiction of Mawlay al-‘Abbās as Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān is to be understood as the reflection of his admiration of Muslims’ virile resistance to the Spanish colonization, which was informed by the localized experience of the initial stage of the occupation, including the encounter with the Makhzan emissaries. I shall argue that the transfer from the colonially-informed ‘racial’ hierarchies to the gender ones is to be conceived of as the convergence of the transnational and local gender conceptions, and Alarcón’s own historical and cultural background, which led him to stage the modern re-encounter by making use of the mythicized protagonists of the early modern one. Ultimately, Alarcón’s anxious longing for practices based on and constitutive of gender hierarchies unveils that the camaraderie he established with Muslim males was for the misogynist Spanish one way of reinscribing colonial patriarchy.

During the war, the Spanish chronicles most frequently depicted Moroccan soldiers as warriors. Such representation paved the way for the highlighting Spaniards’ technical and military superiority over the Moroccans. The conceptual changes entailed in the building of modern armies required -at least in theory- that the “haphazard, instinctive ‘art’ of warfare” become the “planned, hierarchical ‘science’ of war,” and

that the warrior be replaced by “the disciplined, trained soldier.”⁴⁹² Just as historian al-Nāṣirī would do a couple of decades later, the Spanish and other Europeans’ works on the war abounded with descriptions of the Moroccans’ “disorder” *vis-à-vis* the Spaniards’ “order” and “discipline,” the latter being considered as what “bestow[ed] European armies an undeniable superiority.”⁴⁹³

The notions of discipline, order and organization thus functioned to construct hierarchized difference between the Spaniards and the Moroccans. According to Soler y Ovejero, “the Moroccan military [has] no discipline, no instruction nor organization; the secret of their tactic lies in their knowledge of the land (...) Their numbers make up for the science with which we multiply our forces.”⁴⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the warrior archetype evoked notions of virility that the disciplined soldier did not, and the highlighting of the disorder of the Moroccan army frequently went hand in hand with the recognition of Moroccan warriors’ virile character.

From the entrance and the establishment of the Spanish forces in Tetouan, the representations of the Moroccan population became more sophisticated and, at the same time, stereotyped, in the sense that men and women were considered not as individuals but as ‘types.’⁴⁹⁵ Certainly, most of the observations and categorizations are more telling of the Spanish masculine models than are descriptions of the Tetouani or Moroccan men. The Spanish in Tetouan mostly related Moroccan Jews, Algerian refugees, and high-class Muslim Tetouanis, but came to conceive of the Muslim common people as ‘the’ representative of Morocanness. Due to their linguistic abilities, the Spanish communicated with the Algerians, who spoke French, and the Tetouani Jews, who spoke Judeo-Spanish *haketia*, a language that was perfectly understandable for the Spanish. Due to their need or will to establish different kinds of relationships,

⁴⁹² Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cairo; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 116.

⁴⁹³ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 53, 69, 82, 87, 88, 116, 122, 145, 219, 230, 303, 399, 681, 685.; Rafael del Castillo, *España Y Marruecos: Historia de La Guerra de África Escrita Desde El Campamento*, ed. Jesús Gracia (Cádiz: Imprenta de La Revista Médica, 1859), 133; Antonio Ros de Olano, *Leyendas de África*, vol. I (Madrid: Gaspar y Roig, 1860), 16; Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 94–95, 102–3, 108, 241.; Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 5, 66, 83, 103, 133, 133, 146, 156, 191, 235, 299; 13, 90, 208, 220; Frederick Hardman, *The Spanish Campaign in Morocco* (Edinburgh and London, W. Blackwood and sons, 1860), 156, 157, 209, 315.

⁴⁹⁴ Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez*, 54.

⁴⁹⁵ George L Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2010), 6.

during the initial stage of the occupation the Spanish also encountered several well-to-do Muslims. And yet, the ‘true’ Moroccans were considered to be those who did not mingle with the Spanish, those whose adoption of *inkimāsh* bewildered them.

These Muslims, who were a minority of the total Muslim population of Tetouan, were not only taken to represent a sort of ‘true essence’ of Morocanness. The Muslims who ‘ignored’ the Spanish in their engagement of different forms of *inkimāsh* embodied a respectable and unyielding manliness. Thus, from the seizure of Tetouan on, the praiseworthy and manly warriors-at-battlefield became, so to speak, warriors-in-defeat-and-under-occupation. These ‘warriors’ embodied a praiseworthy manliness that the Spanish admired, and which came to constitute a model – the paradigm of virility signaled by Vera Salas’ above quote – that the Spaniards set to imitate, and whose virility they claimed to share.

In contrast, Tetouani Jews were juxtaposed with the generic ‘Muslims’ or, for that matter, the generic ‘Moroccans.’ The welcoming and flattering attitude Jews were said to show was, as previously illustrated, considered to embody abasement. In terms of gender, Jewish men were considered emasculated; for Alarcón, they were “feeble and effeminate.”⁴⁹⁶ For Núñez de Arce, they were “false, low, mistrustful, distrusting, self-interested, liar and effeminate.”⁴⁹⁷ As noted by Mosse, “the word *effeminate* came into general usage during the eighteenth century indicating an unmanly softness and delicacy.”⁴⁹⁸ For the Spanish in occupied Tetouan, the ‘softness’ attributed to Jewish men was linked to their alleged adulation of Spaniards, as opposed to the praiseworthy robustness and manly resistance against the occupiers assigned to Muslims.

Chapter Five will show the ambivalent character of the discourses on the interracial relations that developed during the occupation of Tetouan. Interestingly, the Spanish mobilized the idea that they embodied the ‘saviors’ of the Jews from the ‘tyranny’ of the Muslims, but then repudiated Jews’ attitudes of supposed eager collaboration. The anti-Jewish discourses of the Spanish, as the quoted declarations display, relied on various tropes. For the focus of this section, however, the relevant

⁴⁹⁶ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 452.

⁴⁹⁷ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 221–22; See also: Ortega, *Los hebreos en Marruecos; estudio histórico, político y social*, 103.

⁴⁹⁸ Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 9.

insight is that the condition of effeminate ascribed to Jews created a gender hierarchy between ‘unmanly’ Jewish and ‘manly’ Muslim Moroccans. As Núñez de Arce stated:

*[T]he character of the enemy that Spain fights is worthy of consideration and respect. In Morocco there is no nation, nor people; but there are men. Their [Muslims’] dignity, their eloquent silence, the very scowl with which they look at us powerfully contrasts with the humiliated and abject condition of the Jewish race, which surrounds us, encloses us and harasses us with its impertinent chat, which adulates us and loots us. This is the truth.*⁴⁹⁹

Jews’ “humiliated and abject” condition was what led them to “surround,” (*rodea*) “enclose,” (*cerca*) “harass,” (*acosa*) and “loot” (*saquea*) the Spanish, according to the chronicler Núñez de Arce. Jews’ state of “humiliation” was frequently attributed to the Muslim ‘tyranny.’⁵⁰⁰ Insofar as they were ‘victims’ of such oppression, Jews were considered to be characterized by an “abject” condition that was also “effeminate.” Muslims, in contrast, were ‘savages,’ and ‘tyrannical,’ but in a manly way. They represented the generic Moroccans that the Spanish were fighting against; Jews were not perceived to embody Moroccaness. And for Núñez de Arce Morocco, as an eponym of Muslim population, lacked a “nation” (*nación*) and “people” (*pueblo*), but was made of “men” (*hombres*). According to the chronicler, the qualities of such men “powerfully contrast[ed]” with those of the Jews; manhood thus entailed “dignity” (*dignidad*), an “eloquent silence” (*elocuente silencio*) and the “scowl” (*ceño*) with which they looked at the Spanish. Núñez de Arce’s statements clearly refer to the manly character that the performances of *inkimāsh* were considered to embody.

The appraisal that the Muslims’ masculinity induced in the Spanish who were in Tetouan was in line with the entrenched concepts of patriotism and virility that were transnationally at work in the mid-century. In France, as in Spain, the citizen-soldier incarnated the masculine civic virtue.⁵⁰¹ During the war, Alarcón himself had joined the

⁴⁹⁹ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 233.

⁵⁰⁰ Núñez de Arce, 221–22; Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 452.

⁵⁰¹ Jennifer E Sessions, *By Sword and Plow: France and the Conquest of Algeria* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), 127–28; See also: Robert A Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998). See also: W. E. B Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*, 1935, 110.

Army of Africa as a soldier as a result of his ‘patriotic drive.’⁵⁰² It is therefore no surprise that he considered the warriors-in-defeat-and-under-occupation represented by the Muslims who engaged in *inkimāsh* as a paradigmatic model of virility. Given that patriotism – which encapsulated the notion of resistance to a foreign occupation – and virility were interdependent, the flattering attitude of Jews was straight away perceived as effeminate.

I hold that the mid-century Spanish fascination with Muslim masculinity should be conceived of in relation to both local and global ideas of manhood and gender relations. In addition to the entanglement between the mid-century notions of patriotism and virility, the imperial gender discourses also informed Spaniards’ manly mimesis. The mid-century transnational idea of masculine regeneration was linked to the “excesses of modern civilization.” Such ‘excess’ referred to the emasculating character attributed to ‘civilization.’ This idea is perfectly illustrated in Núñez de Arce’s declaration: “our enemies are tenacious and brave, perhaps because the spirit of civilization has neither emasculated nor weakened them yet.”⁵⁰³ Moroccan Muslim masculinity was thus considered to be endowed with a positively-connoted unfamiliarity with ‘civilization.’

The Castillian chronicler’s appraisal of Moroccans’ ‘uncivilized’ masculinity had its parallels in other geographies. In the United States, middle-class white men’s concerns led them to construct omnipotent manhood in terms of both ‘civilized manliness’ and ‘primitive masculinity.’ Although white men’s ‘civilized’ character rendered them superior to ‘savage’ dark-skinned men, Gail Bederman has shown that the former “linked powerful manhood to the ‘savagery’ and ‘primitivism’ of dark-skinned races, whose ‘masculinity’ they claimed to share.”⁵⁰⁴ Similarly, according to E. Anthony Rotundo, by 1870 middle-class white men’s letters and diaries in the United States had become infused with a new sense of ‘primal masculinity’ that they claimed ‘civilized’ men shared.⁵⁰⁵ Note that both Bederman’s and Rotundo’s formulations by which white men in the United States “claimed to share” the manly virtuosity ascribed

⁵⁰² Julio Romano, *Pedro Antonio de Alarcón: el novelista romántico* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933), 118.

⁵⁰³ Núñez de Arce, *Crónicas periodísticas*, 88.

⁵⁰⁴ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 22.

⁵⁰⁵ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 227–32.

to black men conforms with my argument of the mimetic identification and appropriation which operated in the Spanish stances towards the Muslim Moroccans.

All in all, the Spanish in occupied Tetouan mostly related to the Jews, and they also met and gathered with some upper-class individuals who remained in the city. Alarcón offered in his *Diary* detailed descriptions of two upper-class men he personally met, one he called “Chorby” and the other Aḥmad “Fucay.”⁵⁰⁶ During his stay in Tetouan, the chronicler spent some time with both in the former’s house, where five Spanish military officials had established their residency. Alarcón affirmed that he on several occasions received invitations to ‘spend a day in the countryside,’ as they referred to spending the day at Chorby’s mansion. Given the insecurity that reigned in Tetouan during the setting of the occupation, the guests, including Alarcón, not only gathered there during the day, but also stayed overnight.

These well-off Tetouanis represented a middle way between the praiseworthy manly Muslims who performed *inkimāsh* and the emasculated Jews. The wealthy Muslims’ lack of manly prowess was, instead, implicitly put. Given that these Muslims did not properly embody the praiseworthy patriotism Alarcón praised so much, although their virility was not explicitly denied, it was implicitly questioned. According to our chronicler, upon the occupation Chorby had agreed with the Spanish officials that they could live in his house but he would in turn be allowed to go every day and spend some time in one of his rooms, writing. Alarcón described Chorby as a highly learned man of means. Occasionally, the wealthy Tetouanis were also assimilated to Andalusian or Spanish aristocrats, who in the peninsula were commonly depicted as lacking manly vigor.⁵⁰⁷

A banker and a cloth merchant, the man was said to have memorized the Qur’ān as well as Tafsīr – commentaries and interpretations of the Qur’ān – and read travel books. Alarcón affirmed that Chorby was knowledgeable of astronomy and astrology, medicine, geography and politics and, “although confusingly,” the history of al-Andalus. The Spanish chronicler thought that Chorby was an “admirable man,” and categorized the Tetouani merchant as “the classical Arab,” “the generous host,” and “the Muslim

⁵⁰⁶ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 639–43. The following quotes are all from these pages.

⁵⁰⁷ Alarcón, 591; Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez*, 17. Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, “*Los invisibles*”: una historia de la homosexualidad masculina en España, 1850-1939 (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2011), 173–74.

according to the [Qur'ān].” The chronicler reproduced Chorby’s reported criticism of his compatriots’ lack of interest in the printing system in broken Spanish in the *Diary* (note that the Tetouani was said to apply the Spanish category of Moor to refer to Muslims): “Turkish Moors, Persian Moors, Indian Moors, Chinese Moors... have it [the printing system] and these... invent. But Moroccan Moors [belong to the] countryside, eat and sleep with woman, hunt, fish, and fight, and return home tired... no need for print!”

Alarcón most likely agreed with Chorby’s criticism, as he had made similar judgments himself.⁵⁰⁸ Yet, given Alarcón’s appraisal of patriotism, he probably felt skeptical about Chorby’s criticism of his fellow ‘countrymen.’ Moreover, while he did not explicitly condemn Chorby’s lack of fight on the battlefield, his description of the way in which this man avoided fighting bore a subtle disdainful connotation. As the local authorities imposed the requirement to fight on all Tetouanis, Chorby was said to have joined the troops, fled on the battlefield and, as Sīdī Mufaddal Afaylāl affirmed many Tetouanis had done, climbed the mountain heights and watched the battles from there before joining the troops once the fighting had ended.⁵⁰⁹ Perhaps due to Chorby’s age and the qualities that rendered him “admirable,” Alarcón was not too judgmental of him.

On the contrary, the description our author offered of Aḥmad Fucay, baptized “the dandy of Tetouan,” clearly reveal the characteristics that Alarcón praised in men, and which he projected onto his representation of Mawlay al-‘Abbās. The Spanish chronicler described Fucay as “young,” “very handsome,” and “elegant.” Alarcón acknowledged the external beauty of Fucay, whose aura, clothes, and perfume offered room to literary descriptions. He also considered that Fucay’s mentality belonged to “the present century.” Nonetheless, he flatly rejected his lack of patriotic and religious scrupulousness. The fact that Fucay ate ham, drank sherry, and told the Spanish not to reveal these practices to his fellow Tetouanis led Alarcón to pass the judgment that the young Tetouani “does not love his homeland, nor has he fought for it, nor does he respect the religion of his parents. He is no more than a *charming* man, as is customarily said in Paris.”

⁵⁰⁸ Alarcón and Rinaldy, “El Eco de Tetuán.”

⁵⁰⁹ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaddal Afaylāl,” 31.

It is here where Alarcón's ambivalence is most apparent. On the one hand, he considered Fucay's liberal mentality a positively connoted exception. On the other, however, Alarcón straightaway asserted that Fucay was a "dishonorable exception," because his actions made him an unpatriotic and irreligious person. Given the association that our author made of patriotism or, for that matter, resistance to foreign occupation, and virility, as informed by global discourses on manhood and its relationship with imperialism, Fucay's and Chorby's inadequate manhood was implicitly put. Instead, the portrayal of Mawlay al-'Abbās and his eventual incarnation of the chief of the Moroccan army in Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān shows not only the manly qualities that Alarcón praised in Muslim Moroccans, but the elements which shaped his individual taste.

The focus on Alarcón as an individual enables us to recognize the trans-imperial and trans-historical elements that shaped his mentality. Alarcón's categorization of Moroccans and their virility, including Mawlay al-'Abbās, reveals both local and transnational discourses on manhood, its relation to militarism, patriotism, 'civilization,' and their interrelatedness. Alarcón's depiction of the Prince also aligned with his overall political transformation and pragmatism, which drove him to discourage the Spanish venture into Morocco. Historian Ibn Zaydān also affirmed that the Spanish predisposition to peace was visible in "the reverence, the admiration, and the respect" that General Leopoldo O'Donnell showed to chief Mawlay al-'Abbās.⁵¹⁰ But this is not to say that it was a well-thought strategy. The political transformation I am illustrating in this chapter was a complex and multisided one, in which different categories and processes converged. That Alarcón projected various political concerns onto his depiction of Mawlay al-'Abbās means neither that it was a conscious process nor a rational-logical and synchronic one.

Alarcón saw the prince of the blood for the first time in the meeting that Mawlay al-'Abbās attended on February 23. Our author proffered his description in the *Diary*, and he sent it to the peninsula together with his friend Yriarte's sketch.⁵¹¹ (See Annexes, p. 41) He started delineating Mawlay al-'Abbās' bodily constitution: "he is a tall, strong, and vigorous man, though he is not corpulent; [he has] a noble handsomeness, refined

⁵¹⁰ Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a'lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥādira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, III:464.

⁵¹¹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 611–14. The following quotes all refer to these pages.

appearance and delightful manners.” Our author continued to describe Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ simple garment, which he believed did not “interrupt the severity of that elegant and artistic figure that seemed sculpted in Greek marble.” From the second half of the eighteenth century, the increasingly visually-oriented Western European culture tended to classify men with regards to standards of classical beauty that are noticeable in Alarcón’s, and others’, work.⁵¹² In this context, the ideal of modern manly beauty symbolized virtue.⁵¹³ In fact, Alarcón admitted that Mawlay al-‘Abbās possessed the qualities of “the true southern beauty,” and elaborated on a detailed description of the Prince’s features: his dark skin; his black, long, and silky beard, which “waved at the mercy of the wind;” and a well-defined countenance, in which the chronicler distinguished a “proportionated nose, a noble forehead; and a somewhat African mouth, although markedly large, which suggests a dentition that is so white and so sparkling that it seems made of nacre.”

The Orientalist touch that the chronicler’s description gave to Mawlay al-‘Abbās is unmistakable. Yet the virtue that beauty symbolized was not enough if not accompanied by other manly qualities. Alarcón affirmed of Fucay: “I haven’t seen a Moor as handsome as him, nor as elegant,” but the lack of patriotism and religiosity rendered the young Tetouani man dishonorable in the eyes of Alarcón. The Prince, unlike Fucay, was “dispirited, but solemn; sad, but decent and respectable; defeated, but not domesticated; humiliated, but without having lost esteem for himself (...) his humility was resignation; his docility, patriotism.”⁵¹⁴ Clearly enough, the qualities of patriotism and dignity that Alarcón perceived in Mawlay al-‘Abbās were similar to those he admired in the Tetouanis who adopted *inkimāsh*.

The patriotic, respectable, and decent attributes of the Prince ultimately matched Alarcón’s final observation: “I might have seen him with the eyes of an artist, and I personified him in the wretched and brave M[ūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān], who is still worthy of the love of the twentieth grandsons of the conquerors of Alhambra in Granada.”⁵¹⁵ Before disentangling the core signifiers of the reference to the epic character of Mūsā, I

⁵¹² See also the references to classical Roman and Greek figures in the descriptions of Moroccans that Eugène Delacroix offered in his personal letters, in: Eugène Delacroix and André Joubin, *Viaje a Marruecos y Andalucía* (Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta, 2012).

⁵¹³ Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 5.

⁵¹⁴ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 613.

⁵¹⁵ Alarcón, 613.

would like to draw attention to the trans-historical character it bears. The Hispano-Moroccan re-encounter that the war on Tetouan and its subsequent occupation eased was, according to Alarcón and other historical subjects who experienced it, conceived of within the historical framework of the Ibero-Maghribi relations and encounters. It also shows that, insofar as the recreation of the Reconquista was a powerful tool to construct and reinforce the Spanish dominion in Tetouan, Alarcón's portrayal of Mūsā, too, reinforced the unyielding character he ascribed to Muslims and, for that matter, to the generic Moroccans.

In both the Arabophone and the Hispanophone narratives of the fall of Granada, Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān constitutes the epithet of the courageous virile leader who stirred resistance to the Christian capture of Granada. As such, Mūsā embodies the antithesis of the tearful Muḥammad XII/Boabdil. The chief of the defeated Moroccan army was, according to Alarcón, a patriot who did not lose his dignity. In fact, in the words Alarcón attributed to Mawlay al-'Abbās, the virile resisting quality can be noted: "God wishes not that we be victorious (...) but He would not want us to abandon our cause, either. This war would cause great harm to our peoples if we insisted on carrying it on."⁵¹⁶ The Moroccan chief's supposed words contained elements of the discourse attributed to Mūsā, and especially the very thesis Alarcón presented to defend and which the sultan's envoys had insistently put forth during the previous gatherings.

Moreover, while the characterization of Mawlay al-'Abbās as Muḥammad XII departed from and consolidated the gendered qualities of retreat and crying as synonymous of Moroccans' defeat and emasculation, his personification in Mūsā functioned in an opposite way, and it came to represent Moroccans' virile resistance. Several contemporary accounts in peninsular Spain incarnated the Tetouani or Moroccan population in Boabdil.⁵¹⁷ In contrast, the influential Alarcón significantly turned upside down the embodiment of Moroccans in the passively defeated personification of Boabdil.

Gender can and at times does function as a symbolic category that deals not with women and men as individuals or collective players but with assumed qualities, skills, abilities and professional qualifications. When in the fifteenth century the capitulations

⁵¹⁶ Alarcón, 614.

⁵¹⁷ See, for example: Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, "Tetuán Cristiana," *El Museo Universal*, December 12, 1860.

of Granada reached the Muslim authorities, it is said that many in the council could not avoid weeping. Among them, Mūsā b. Abī al-Ghasān is said to have declared: “Sirs, leave that useless cry to children and delicate females; let us be men, let us still have a heart not to weep, but to spill until the last drop of our blood.”⁵¹⁸ Mūsā’s reported speech differentiated the sphere of the feminine and minors (marked by weeping) from that of men (resisting, fighting); just as Alarcón, who observed that unlike the elderly, women and children, “Moroccan male warriors, pertinacious and obstinate as ever, yet struggle and will continue to do so until the last minute.”⁵¹⁹

The gendered conceptions of masculinity and femininity are not only relational, but are both based on and reproductive of gender hierarchies. As stated in Chapter One, no notion of masculinity or femininity would make sense if not within a dichotomically and hierarchically ordered system. The reinforcement of the gender binary in Mūsā and Alarcón’s discourses relates to a wider gender framework that is only visible once the misogynous element is identified in Alarcón. The admiration that the chronicler professed toward Muslims’ virility was linked to their ‘patriotic,’ religious or, for that matter, resisting quality. But such a conception of virility, and the transnational concern with the regeneration of a manhood that was perceived to be menaced by ‘civilization’ was, ultimately, linked to gendered power relations. The peril that emasculation and effeminacy produced was related to a fear of disenfranchisement. Alarcón’s mimesis of Moroccan Muslims’ virility was, likewise, based on and an agent of gender binaries and hierarchies.

The following account is illustrative of the transfer of racial hierarchies to gender ones. It also shows the trans-racial misogynous camaraderie which Alarcón thus came to establish with Muslim men. In the days he spent in Tetouan, the chronicler came to empathize and self-identify with an aspect of the gender dynamics which distinguished Moroccan urban Muslims, i.e., women’s enclosure. I contend that Alarcón’s misogynous mimesis was informed by a sense of longing related to the emasculation that ‘civilization’ was considered to produce, and the risk which men’s privileges were therefore seen to be. Eventually, Alarcón empathized and praised

⁵¹⁸ José Antonio Conde, *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* (Barcelona: Imprenta de D. Juan Oliveres, 1844), 665. Conde was the first great Spanish Arabist who used Arabic sources for his historical reconstruction of Reconquista (published in 1820-1821). Conde’s work served that of other authors in subsequent years and decades, including that of the celebrated Washington Irving.

⁵¹⁹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 244–45.

women's enclosure, a distinguishing feature of the gender dynamics he attributed to the Tetouani Muslims.

The anecdote, Alarcón the splendid narrator warned the readers, was a story of “friendship... although at a respectable distance” that he engaged in with a Muslim woman, whom he termed both “my girlfriend” and “my odalisque.”⁵²⁰ Alarcón explained that he once climbed to the terrace of a house, from where he saw a woman standing on the opposite rooftop. According to him, “the Muslim woman await[ed] until her husband ha[d] left in order to climb to the roof,” where she took her veil off. He was certain that she surfaced because “she wanted to see the conquistadors who made much noise in the city.” The chronicler of Guadix, who addressed the reader in the second person singular, endeavored to arouse suspense by declaring: “this is promising!”, “you will not believe me if I tell you that (...) she was a wonder of beauty.”

Proceeding with the tale, our author explained that he threw some sweets at her, after which she disappeared, and then returned. At the height of the “dramatic interest,” Alarcón saw her mouth move, and concluded that “the daughter of Eve had already eaten *an apple*.” In addition to her lack of redemption by Jesus Christ, this for our author represented the Muslim woman's “lack of prudishness,” and the proof of her “irrational” and “soulless” being. More important and enlightening, however, is his conclusion: “For the Muslim woman of the rooftop my sweets were a question of her corporal senses. My presence in her house would have been the same. I understand, thus, that Muslim men lock their women up.”

Alarcón's misogyny negatively connoted women but at the same time considered them beautiful, which rendered them doubly dangerous and threatening to chastity, deemed to be the ideal state for both men and women. Fatima Mernissi elucidated that the system of segregation practiced among urban Muslims responded to a notion of women's active sexuality.⁵²¹ Alarcón's idea of the sexual peril that women, as potential Eves, represented for men is undoubtedly related to a conception of an active female sexuality in which gender-based segregation and homosociability represented suitable ways of channeling its perils. The domestic enclosure of women, in fact, was considered the best ‘antidote’ against women's perturbing character in Fray Luis de León's *La Perfecta Casada*. First published in 1583, the essay was reprinted

⁵²⁰ Alarcón, 643–47.

⁵²¹ Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil*, 27–67.

numerous times in the eighteenth century, and at least twelve times during the nineteenth century, which suggests the acceptability of its ideas in the nineteenth century.⁵²²

Through Alarcón's account of his wanderings and residence in occupied Tetouan, his descriptions and the reported 'encounters' with Muslim and Jewish women emanate an exoticized eroticization of them. However, the chronicler's will to embody chaste manhood pushed him to conclude such tales with expressions of rejection and condemnation of those whom he designated "the voluptuous slaves of the Orient." All in all, Alarcón aimed at emphasizing the impossibility of his fondness for non-Christian women.⁵²³ He also excused his "curiosity" by claiming it as a *fruit* of literary works such as those of Cervantes, Byron, or Fromentin.⁵²⁴

Not surprisingly, Alarcón employed a religiously inflected language but, as was the case with the Tetouanis in the previous chapter, I argue that religion was the tool to articulate his gender discourse rather than what actually informed it. In fact, it was not only in relation to the Muslim women that our author made such misogynous statements. In the early days of the campaign, he had stated that the lack of women's presence at the campsite created "among men greater harmony, better will, more confidence; they are, so to speak, good Adams free of Eves and tempting serpents."⁵²⁵ Although he affirmed that "the woman" embodied "society, work, inspiration, and the man's soul," Alarcón's misogyny came to signal male homosociability as the ideal social space, free of the damaging temptation to which women could drive men's feeble nature.⁵²⁶

Again, Mernissi's contention that homosociability responded to a misogynist conception based on the fear provoked by the active nature of female sexuality concurs with the chronicler's views. Alarcón empathized with Muslim males in their incarceration of women, and gave way to a mimesis based on a misogynous camaraderie that emphasized men's same sex quality rather than their 'racial' differences. bell hooks has elucidated the camaraderie-like bonds that black and white men established in the context of the early twentieth-century United States, and she has

⁵²² Raúl Mínguez Blasco, *Evas, Marías y Magdalenas: género y modernidad católica en la España liberal (1833-1874)* (Madrid: Asociación de Historia Contemporánea: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2016), 84.

⁵²³ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 486–88, 573.

⁵²⁴ Alarcón, 542.

⁵²⁵ Alarcón, 59.

⁵²⁶ Alarcón, 60.

emphasized the “sympathy,” “empathy,” and ties of “solidarity” which united men in the defense of their male privileges.⁵²⁷ Along these lines, Alarcón’s male mimesis and camaraderie, produced by his empathic self-identification, the sympathy, solidarity, and admiration were an implicit tie that united male ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ in the defense of their male privileges.

Not all the Spanish authors conveyed such manly mimesis, however. Contrary to Alarcón’s fascination with Muslim males’ incarceration of women, the doctor Nicasio Landa stressed the pronounced power imbalance that reigned between Moroccan women and men. Instead of praising the manly virtuosity of Moroccans, Landa, empathizing and self-identifying with them, posited a hierarchy on the grounds of the functioning of gender politics. Following Montesquieu, who defined a nation’s degree of ‘civilization’ according to the ‘treatment’ it provided to ‘its’ women, Landa represented the Moroccan gender system as opposite to modern understandings of ‘civilized’ ones, in which women embodied the social network:

*[T]he condition of the woman who has not been redeemed by Christianity is that of an object, rather than of a human. She has no proper rights at any age, and is pushed into the harem of her master –not her husband. Social life is almost unknown [to her], which contradicts [the very fact] that only a woman can create and sustain multiple relationships in our civilized world.*⁵²⁸

The trope of the Oriental despotic government and manliness functioned in Landa’s work to create a fundamental cleavage between the Tetouani-Moroccan and the Spanish social and gender archetypes. Landa referred to the harem - an institution which was limited to the urban upper-class - and condemned what he considered as men’s mastery, rather than companionship, over women. Although it did not constitute the most widespread strategy among mid-century Spaniards, the use of the argument of Muslim women’s oppression to legitimize modern colonialism would increase during the following decades.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁷ hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman*, 87–117.

⁵²⁸ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 176–77.

⁵²⁹ Gemma Torres Delgado, “Arquetipos masculinos en el discurso colonial español sobre Marruecos,” in *Feminidades y masculinidades: arquetipos y prácticas de género*, ed. Mary Nash (Alianza Editorial, 2014), 75–102; Gemma Torres, “Discurso de género en la representación del pueblo Marroquí. La mujer marroquí como esposa,” in *Los límites de la diferencia: alteridad cultural, género y prácticas sociales*, ed. Mary Nash (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2009), 47–62; Marín, “Mujeres, Burros Y Cargas de Leña.”

Still, Alarcón's ideal framework of male homosociability informed by misogyny and conceived of as stemming from premises shared by Muslims also seems to have continued to echo throughout the twentieth century. Jo Labanyi's interpretation of the 1941 Spanish film *Harka!* is that the repudiation of women is something that the Spanish military male is implicitly shown to need to learn from the Moroccans. According to Labanyi, "the film constructs the Arab world as an all-male culture, driven by an untamed warrior spirit but also by inviolable rules of chivalry."⁵³⁰ The film, produced in the early Francoist era and not long after the "pacification" of the northern Moroccan zone of the Spanish Protectorate had finally been achieved, proposed a male bonding and Spaniards' mimicking of Moroccan gender politics that, as I have shown, makes the reification of the prowess of the colonizers and the powerlessness of the colonized very problematic. It also urges us to conceive of the categories of the 'colonized' and the 'colonizers' in a dynamic way, and within a complex and intersectional analytical framework, so as to investigate power relations, among which gender seems to be exceptional for the Hispano-Moroccan case.

4.3. Conclusion

In 1887, almost three decades after Alarcón had lived in occupied Tetouan, he held a conversation with the writer and intellectual Emilia Pardo Bazán at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. When she recommended to him that he should attempt to lose weight, he replied: "You know I am a Moor... and, consequently, a fatalist. Allah is Great, and He will make of me what He wills."⁵³¹ Alarcón's mimesis continued after he returned to Spain, however. The chronicler claimed to be a *maurista* and a descendant of the Moriscos of the Alpujarras in Granada, popularly known for the successive revolts against the Christian Reconquista.⁵³² These examples of the performance of his identity, at the core of which lay Alarcón's self-identification with unyielding Moroccan

⁵³⁰ Jo Labanyi, "Masculinity and Impossible Love: Spain's Ambivalent Relationship to Arab Culture," in *Jahrbuch 2002/2003 Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut* (Essen: Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut, 2003), 239. See also: Susan Martin-Márquez, "Performing Masculinity in the Moroccan Theatre: Virility, Sexuality and Spanish Military Culture from the African War to the Civil War," *European Review of History* 11, no. 2 (2004): 225–40.

⁵³¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Alarcón; estudio biográfico*. (Madrid: D.A. Avrial, 1891), 58.

⁵³² Although *maurista* does not have a clear meaning in Spanish, I would suggest it stands for Moorophile. Sánchez-Mejía, María Luisa, "Barbarie Y Civilización En El Discurso Nacionalista de La Guerra de África (1859-60)," 10–11.

Muslim men, would probably make little sense if his change in attitude regarding Spain's enterprise in Morocco was not acknowledged.

After Alarcón's death, the newspaper *El Heraldo de Madrid* attributed his radical revolutionary phase not only to his youth but also to his "Muslim blood."⁵³³ Some of the obituaries lamented the phase of Alarcón's political radicalism, and provided a variety of explanations. *El Heraldo's* blaming of his "Muslim blood" could have referred to the above illustrated performance of identity that Alarcón continued to make well after the Spanish occupation of Tetouan; in that case, it would have constituted a reprobation of Alarcón's political claim, which had been shaped by the transformation I have detailed in this chapter.

The reproach in *El Heraldo* could also have been related to Alarcón's Morisco progeny, in which case it would have signaled a 'biological' ascendancy which was perceived as the source of a revolutionary and unyielding 'character,' which Alarcón himself praised, and claimed. Perhaps both meanings were included. Be it as it may, the postulate in *El Heraldo* shows the general negative connotation borne by things related to Islam, a category that had an enormous historical and political weight in Spain. This, on the one hand, confirms the subversive character of Alarcón's mimesis and, on the other, shows the contrasting difference between the stances of the Spanish 'in the theatre of war' and in the peninsula.

In the preceding pages I have argued that the increasing humanization and admiration of the 'enemy' displayed in the works of the Spanish who were witnesses of the war and the occupation is to be understood as the result of the multi-faceted process that they lived. Such process was shaped by the appraisal of certain Tetouanis' forms of *inkimāsh* and by the anxiety triggered in them by the discourses of the Makhzan diplomats. Besides, the critical situation that the Spanish forces lived in the last weeks of February and the first ten days of March heightened their reservations with regards to the premises defined in the preliminary peace conditions.

The hostilities with the Busemeler tribe, the murder and robbery of Spanish military troops and the food blockage constituted turning points in the transformation of their political stances. The Spanish on the ground increasingly criticized the peninsular politicians and the social sectors which encouraged the persistence of the military

⁵³³ Pardo Bazán, *Alarcón; estudio biográfico.*, 24.

campaign. Their political transformation was informed by their empathy, self-identification, admiration and longing for Moroccans and some of their socio-political structures and stances. The transformation is visible in their mimicking of Muslim men, and identifiable in the discursive analogy, the erasure of difference, and ventriloquism they enacted.

To explore the ways in which the Spaniards who were ‘in the theatre of war’ changed their viewpoints and tried to place constraints on the colonial ambitions harbored in the peninsula entails problematizing the linear or homogenizing accounts of the colonial historical events and processes. As Patti Lather comments, “[w]e live in both/and worlds full of paradox and uncertainty where close inspection turns unities into multiplicities, clarities into ambiguities, univocal simplicities into polyvocal complexities.”⁵³⁴ My focused look at the initial phase of the Spanish setting of the occupation of Tetouan and the peacemaking negotiations offers a contextualized and dynamic interpretation of the chronicles and the complex historical subjects which produced them. It also enables us to acknowledge the critical role that Moroccans, both authorities and common people, played in shaping such political transformation and, ultimately, the form that the peacemaking agreement adopted.

More generally, I have aimed at dispelling the historiographical accounts which have stressed the prowess of the colonizers and the powerlessness of the colonized. Although in this chapter I have mainly relied on Spanish sources, I have highlighted the role that different categories of Moroccans played in shaping the Spaniards’ stances and speeches. Furthermore, I have endeavored to reject not only the simplistic and ahistorical allocation of power and agency along the colonizer-colonized divide, but the binary itself. By focusing on gender, I hope to have unveiled the fiction that is produced when only the colonially-informed category of ‘race’ is explored. Mimesis did not only arise along the axis of Spanishness and Moroccanness, but also along masculinity and gender.

Alarcón’s representation of Mawlay al-‘Abbās/Mūsā, his appraisal of the ‘decent’ Muslims who engaged in forms of *inkimāsh*, and his empathy with Muslim men’s enclosure of women highlighted Hispano-Muslim colonial and homosocial similarity rather than difference. The Spaniards, especially Alarcón’s, admiration of some

⁵³⁴ Patricia Lather, *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/In the Postmodern* (New York: Routledge, 1991), xvi.

Tetouanis' forms of *inkimāsh* was not a result of the Spanish 'inability' to impose a gender hierarchy between 'manly' Spanish and 'feminine' Moroccans.⁵³⁵ Rather, it was the result of the transnational concepts of manhood and their interrelatedness with imperial discourses. Given the interdependence of the notions of patriotism and virility, and the emasculating peril that 'civilization' was conceived of as carrying, some Spaniards conceived of Moroccan Muslims' 'warrior' manliness as particularly attractive.

The gender representation and the 'manly mimesis' occurred during the turbulent peacemaking, and was informed and at the same time shaped the political transformation of the Spanish 'in the theatre of war.' Rather than attributing the lack of feminization of the Moroccans to any sort of 'weakness' in Spain's ability to colonize, I hold that the rendering of Moroccan and specifically Muslim men as virile was the result of both the distinct Spanish and Moroccan gender configurations, and of the combination thereof with the colonial politics of class, race, and sexuality. Besides, it opened up a space of possibilities for reassurance for the misogynous Spanish men. It also paved the way for the construction of a misogynist discursive camaraderie which highlighted 'colonizer' and 'colonized' men's same-sex quality rather than their 'racial' difference. Ultimately, highlighting shared virility with Moroccan Muslim males was for the misogynist Spanish one way of reinscribing colonial patriarchy.

Insofar as the civilian and military Spanish 'in the theatre of war' presented subversive stances towards the peninsular and especially the liberal colonialist sectors, it was their pragmatism in weighing the colonial ambitions and limitations which ultimately enabled that the Treaty of Wad Ras to be signed. Those who were unaware of or unwilling to acknowledge Spain's limitations were not satisfied by the conditions of the treaty, but it was effectively those premises and the ones in the treaties that followed which eventually eased the Spanish colonial penetration into Morocco in the second half of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the restraint that such Spaniards advocated, by means of the effect that especially the Makhzan envoys and the Tetouani Muslims who adopted varying forms of *inkimāsh* had on them, was eventually beneficial for the Spanish colonial project in Morocco.

⁵³⁵ Giulietta Stefani, *Colonia per maschi: italiani in Africa orientale, una storia di genere* (Verona: Ombre corte, 2007), 116.

The diplomatic strategies used by the Makhzan envoys, on the one hand, and the Tetouani people's warnings, on the other, sometimes built upon as well as reinforced the Spanish prejudices about the 'uncontrolled anarchy' which dominated the Moroccan socio-political landscape, and Moroccans' 'savagery' and extreme religious 'fanaticism.' In the long run, European powers legitimized colonial rule on their ability to control the allegedly uncontrolled. Such strategies thus proved lethal eventually, but were successful in the immediate run. Different categories of Moroccans navigated the complicated equilibrium between the ambition to resist colonization and the awareness of the limitations that rendered an absolute opposition unviable. Frequently, they did so by reinforcing Europeans' prejudices, which leads us to questioning the historiographical claims of the European monopoly over the construction of such tropes.

Historiographical (post)colonial narratives have often reproduced such colonial discourses and uniquely attributed their inception to European colonial agents. Instead, to recognize the ability not only of the Makhzan but also of the Tetouani commonality to shape the course of the events means that their part in the construction of the narratives that eventually favored colonial rule be acknowledged. Even the colonial discourses which shaped colonial rule were a polyphonic construction of different Spanish and Moroccan agents living in a shared imperial discursive framework. The following chapter will focus precisely on the colonial rule and practices that came to light with the consolidation of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan in the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras.

CHAPTER FIVE: COLONIAL RULE AND PRACTICES

This chapter will delve into the occupied city of Tetouan, to explore the contours of colonial rule and practices. After the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras at the end of April 1860, the Spanish occupation of the city and its immediate surroundings was fully established. A series of urban and demographic transformations, which had already begun during the peace negotiations, was consolidated. These changes were politically relevant, and shaped the evolution of various aspects of the occupation. Of these, I will shed particular light on interracial (Hispano-Tetouani) and interreligious (Jewish-Muslim) relations.

Due to the critical economic and political situation which the Makhzan faced by virtue of the conditions stipulated in the Treaty of Wad Ras, a new Hispano-Moroccan treaty was signed in Madrid in 1861. The first section of this chapter will contextualize the inter-agreement period and the contentions it gave rise to, while it will also explain the new stipulations previewed in the 1861 treaty. The scope of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was reduced to a shorter temporary phase in the revisionist agreement, and in exchange a larger intervention program which guaranteed Spanish penetration into Morocco for more than two decades was established. Paradoxically enough, although the British had opposed and limited the reach of the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation, the 1861 treaty also benefitted the British presence in Morocco throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Some British and French fortune-seekers also took advantage of the Spanish occupation to establish different sorts of businesses. Indeed, the body in charge of the administration of the occupied city had quickly set up a plan to make modifications to the urban landscape, and these included the opening of venues in which several Europeans found a niche of opportunity. The variety of works, protocols, and institutions that the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan established are revealing of the sort of colonial discourses and practices that were put in place. The urban intervention indicates that certain pre-occupation physical and symbolic structures were transformed or torn down, while others were maintained – because the Spanish rulers needed them, or because they were not sure they could do without them. They thus show the strengths, the weaknesses, and the malleability which defined colonial power, as well as the multi-agent formation that colonial rule constituted. The

multi-agency aspect will be particularly highlighted in the last section of the chapter, when the politics of the interracial and interreligious relations will be addressed. As the dissertation more generally contends, the colonized were agents who shaped the dominant colonial discourses – if they did not construct them in the first place.

But the Spanish colonial rule over Tetouan did not only nor principally have the colonized as subjects. Within a year of the capture of Tetouan, the demographic transformations which had occurred meant that the majority of the population living in Tetouan was Spanish, both military and civilians. Among the latter, some were well-to-do fortune-seekers but most were impoverished women and men (who will be scrutinized in greater detail in Chapter Six). The second largest population group living in occupied Tetouan were Tetouani Jews who, unlike in the pre-occupation era when they constituted a religiously-defined minority which suffered certain restrictions, became the majority among the local population. Together with other historical processes that will be sketched throughout the chapter, these demographic shifts conditioned the nature of colonial rule and practices in occupied Tetouan.

5.1. From Wad Ras to the Treaty of 1861

While the urban and demographic transformation and the building of the colonial practice was taking place in occupied Tetouan, a Moroccan delegation travelled to Spain in August 1860 to seal the peace treaty between the two countries. The journey of the Moroccan diplomats was postponed for some days, as the Spanish court had been endeavoring to receive the embassy with “greater solemnity” in Madrid instead of in Aranjuez, where the queen was at that particular moment.⁵³⁶ The Moroccan cortege arrived in Valencia on August 14 and made its entrance into the peninsular capital eight days later, surrounded by carriages drawn by elegant horses and full of gifts borne by servants.⁵³⁷

The embassy was pompously received in Madrid by Queen Isabel II on September 5, who apparently did not conceal her disdain.⁵³⁸ Sīdī al-Sharfī delivered his

⁵³⁶ Ignacio Bauer y Landauer, *Papeles de mi archivo. Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860 (Marruecos)* (Madrid: Editorial Ibero-Africano-Americana, 1923), 104–5.

⁵³⁷ Bauer y Landauer, 109; 112-3; Ildfonso Antonio Bermejo, *La estafeta de palacio: historia del último reinado; cartas trascendentales dirigidas al rey Amadeo*, vol. III (R. Labajos, 1872), 529.

⁵³⁸ Burdiel, *Isabel II*, 636.

discourse, which was translated into Spanish by Saturnino Calderón Collantes.⁵³⁹ Al-Sharfī's discourse highlighted the will of the Makhzan to maintain good relations with Spain. Previous and familiar events were productively brought up, namely the signing of the treaties by Sultan Mawlay Sulaymān, Muḥammad IV's grandfather, and King Carlos III, Isabel II's great-grandfather, in 1776 and 1780.⁵⁴⁰ (See Appendix, p. 352)

In addition to the gifts, the Moroccan embassy carried a letter from the sultan to the queen. In it, Sīdī Muḥammad referred to the difficulties that the Makhzan was facing. Sīdī Muḥammad requested from his royal counterpart greater laxity in the payment of the war compensation.⁵⁴¹ He also insisted on the prompt evacuation of the Spaniards from Tetouan. The truth is that the payment of the first installment of the war indemnity had left the central treasury (*dār al-māl*) empty.⁵⁴² After consulting various religious scholars (*'ulamā'*), the sultan had imposed the unpopular tax known as *maks*, a direct levy on the merchandise entering the cities that was paid at the city gates.⁵⁴³ This policy added a remarkably conflictual dimension to the economic crisis and the already politically compromised nature of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

Even though the missive contained several requests, none of the Moroccan envoys possessed the authority to agree any of the terms of a new agreement. This suggests that, as shown in the previous chapter, Makhzan politics predominantly relied upon delaying matters. Gaining time was necessary in view of the domestic political opposition and the situation of bankruptcy that the newly ascended sultan faced. Given that al-Sharfī was not authorized to engage in negotiations to establish new provisions, the power to reach a new agreement was passed onto the plenipotentiaries in Tangier.⁵⁴⁴

Throughout the following months, the crisis the Makhzan faced persisted. In addition to the establishment of the *maks*, the sultan requested monetary contributions

⁵³⁹ Bermejo, *La estafeta de palacio*, III:529–30.

⁵⁴⁰ Bermejo, III:530; See on these embassies: Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *Política Marroquí de Carlos III*. (Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto Jerónimo de Zurita, 1946), 69–89; 285–304.

⁵⁴¹ Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860*, 121; 128–130.

⁵⁴² Daoud and Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān Mukhtaṣar (The History of Tetouan -Abridged)*, 180.

⁵⁴³ Germain Ayache, "Aspects De La Crise Financière Au Maroc Après L'expédition Espagnole De 1860," *Revue Historique* 220, no. 2 (1958): 293.

⁵⁴⁴ Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860*, 131.

from the tribes and the city notables.⁵⁴⁵ The Spanish, for their part, pressured the Makhzan to proceed with the further and already considerably delayed installments.⁵⁴⁶ The tensions further increased by April and May 1861, and the threatening tone and dispositions of both parties led to an antebellum situation that was finally resolved with the envoy of a Moroccan legacy to Madrid, and the signing of a new treaty in October 1861.

The “Treaty to Repair the Disagreements due to the Accomplishment of the Melilla Border Agreement of 1859 and the Peace Treaty of 1860” foresaw that Tetouan would be evacuated when half of the indemnity was paid. In order to assure payment of the other half, half of the income from eight coastal ports in Morocco was to be used to settle the debt.⁵⁴⁷ Accordingly, Spanish civil servants were to be present at the customs houses of these ports, as were British officials, given that Morocco had acquired a British loan in order to fulfill the payment of the compensatory sum. From 1862 to 1884-5, British and Spanish civil servants would settle in the ports of Tetouan, Tangier, Larache, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Eassaouira. The unexplored issue of the residency of these civil servants, their activities and relationship with the Moroccan socio-cultural and political *milieu* in which they lived would, in my view, expand our knowledge of the way in which colonialism and colonial intervention evolved in the pre-Protectorate era in Morocco.

In spite of the ratification of the temporary status of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan that the 1861 treaty entailed, a number of works continued to be undertaken in the occupied city. From the beginning of the occupation, the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan propelled several urban and administrative changes, which attracted the migration of a considerable number of Spanish civilians into the city. This, however, should not be interpreted as a sign of the stability that reigned during the post-Wad Ras era. On the contrary, much uncertainty surrounded the timing and the terms by which both the occupation and the evacuation would be carried out. In the many social gatherings that took place in the cafés and squares of Tetouan, the return to peninsular

⁵⁴⁵ Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a'lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥādira-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, III:513–14; Ayache, “Aspects De La Crise Financière Au Maroc Après L’expédition Espagnole De 1860,” 276–77.

⁵⁴⁶ Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860 (Marruecos)*, I:219–89.

⁵⁴⁷ Garrido Quijano, “Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 247–65; Rodríguez Esteller, “La Intervención Española de Las Aduanas Marroquíes (1862-1885).”

Spain constituted the main point of conversation even months after the peace deal had been signed.⁵⁴⁸ According to the anonymous author of a Tetouani manuscript, the Spanish press continued to announce that Tetouan would be incorporated into the Spanish domains.⁵⁴⁹

5.2. Urban and Demographic Transformations

The physiognomy of Tetouan upon the Spanish capture of the city had been shaped half a century before. Three main urban elements formed the city: the Qaṣba or the Citadel on top of Jbel Dersa; the Millāḥ or the Jewish quarter; and the Madīna or the Islamic city, which consisted of five different areas. In 1790, the newly appointed sultan al-Yāzīd had ordered a pogrom against the original Millāḥ, which was situated within the Madīna established by a group of Andalusis who had arrived in the north of Morocco after the ‘fall of Granada’.⁵⁵⁰ Almost two decades after the destruction of the original Jewish quarter, Mawlāy Sulaymān stipulated that a new Millāḥ be built in the terrains of the fertile area known as *al-riād*. The new Millāḥ stood out for its square shape and straight streets, and it formed a distinct neighborhood separated by the walls which separated the Jewish population from the rest of the old town. Although in some Moroccan cities the Qaṣba was the quarter inhabited by the ruling elites, the Tetouani one was uninhabited.⁵⁵¹

The fields where the nineteenth-century Millāḥ was built belonged to the city notables, most of whom were Muslims of Andalusī descent. After selling them and taking advantage of the available space that the transfer of the Millāḥ had left, the wealthy Tetouanis built luxurious mansions in the neighbourhood of al-Bilād.⁵⁵² In addition to their palaces, the well-to-do financed the construction of other buildings. The Great Mosque, built in 1807, was located in the middle of the labyrinth of al-Bilād. Interestingly, tradition recounts the story the other way round, whereby the plans to

⁵⁴⁸ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 24/08/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 24, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; “Varios: Despachos,” n.d., File 946, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta. See letters on 21/08/1860.

⁵⁴⁹ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 278; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 63.

⁵⁵⁰ Moisés Garzón Serfaty, *Tetuán: relato de una nostalgia* (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Sefardíes de Caracas de la Asociación Israelita de Venezuela, 2008), 19.

⁵⁵¹ Daniel J Schroeter, “The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City,” in *New Horizons in Sephardic Studies*, ed. Yedida Kalfon Stillman and George K Zucker (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 73–74.

⁵⁵² Miège, Benaboud, and Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine*, 85.

reconstruct the Great Mosque informed the building of the new Millāḥ. The Muslim residents would have accordingly complained that, because the Jewish quarter was adjacent to the Islamic house of worship, the Jews would then be the ones who would hear the call for prayer.⁵⁵³

After the capture of Tetouan, the Spanish military commanders and officials settled in the mansions of al-Bilād. The commander in chief of the Army of Africa, Leopoldo O'Donnell, as well as his wife Manuela Bargés – during the three weeks she spent in the city – lodged in the house of Muḥammad al-Razīnī, the wealthy Moroccan consul in Gibraltar. (See Appendix, p. 354) For his part, the General of the Forces of the Occupation, Diego de los Ríos y Rubio, settled in the mansion of Aḥmad al-Razīnī, the consul's brother, while the doctors Narciso Ullibarri and Nicasio Landa lodged in Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Brīsha's palace.⁵⁵⁴ The area where the fifteenth-century settlement of the town was located was mainly comprised of medium-sized and large houses, shops, the tanneries, and religious temples. Among the latter the *zāwīya Raysūnīyya* stood out, built in 1793 in honor of a member of the venerated saintly family, of which the aforementioned Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn was a member. This was – and still is – the most popular *zāwīya* in town. (See Appendix, p. 354)

The lodging of the members of the Army of Africa did not entail a huge problem, as the massive emigration of Tetouanis had left much room in the city. Before the first major evacuation after the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras, the Spanish troops were lodged in barracks, such as the ones located in the eastern part of al-Bilād. Some contingents were also located at Aduana, and in the harbor town of Martil.

After the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras, and the occupation having been fully established, the city was immersed in non-military activity, and in developing the civil administration which had been set up in the first days after the capture of Tetouan. Following the hygienic dictates that were applied in the peninsula, which aimed at making the cities 'liberated' spaces in which goods, ideas and people could circulate, the Spanish army had "demolished what did not match their taste and separated houses

⁵⁵³ Mohamed Daoud, *Tarīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, Muhammad V University, vol. III (Rabat, 1964), 238–39, cited in: Schroeter, "The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City," 71.

⁵⁵⁴ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 168.

from the city walls.”⁵⁵⁵ Several of the most impoverished Tetouanis living in the extramural suburb of al-Ḥawmāt were evicted and their houses demolished. Due to the instability which marked the initial stage of the occupation, the preliminary construction of forts, the widening of streets and paths, and the lodging of new medical and military establishments aimed at achieving greater security. The Spanish rulers also endeavored to ease communication with the areas that connected the city to the customs houses of Aduana, the harbor of Martil, and Ceuta.

A variety of public works, protocols and novel institutions had been established even before the war was concluded. Administration-wise, a mixed city council with six Muslim and six Jewish representatives had been set up. The new body was composed of two mayors, Aḥmad Aba‘yīr and Lévy A. Cazes, ten councilors and two secretaries.⁵⁵⁶ In the post-Treaty of Wad Ras era, the arrangement of urban activities expanded. The market, which had been looted before the capture of Tetouan, was rebuilt, the decimal metric system was adopted, an inspector of weights and measures was designated, and a delegation of provisions in charge of controlling the quality of diverse food supplies was set up.⁵⁵⁷ Tetouani and Spanish people became integrated through the administrative bodies and urban institutions, such as the night watchman, the urban police, and the workforce in charge of lighting, cleaning, and the leveling and paving of some floors. Councilor Abendoshan suggested that the available Jewish workforce be hired and paid one *peseta* a day.⁵⁵⁸ For its part, the plumbing trade was in charge of inspecting that there was no deterioration in the public sinks and baths.⁵⁵⁹

What the Spanish Forces of the Occupation set out was not, as they claimed, necessarily new nor technically superior. The majority of the houses and mosques in Tetouan had their own fountains, and upon their arrival the Spaniards found a complex system of water distribution that Nicasio Landa considered “a culturally praiseworthy

⁵⁵⁵ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḡṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:95. For the Spanish urban hygienist concepts, see: Leoncio López Ocón, “Ciencia y progreso durante la época bajoisabelina, 1854-1868,” in *La redención del pueblo: la cultura progresista en la España liberal* (Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2007), 322.

⁵⁵⁶ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 122–23.

⁵⁵⁷ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 472; Alarcón and Rinaldy, “El Eco de Tetuán”; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 28, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 16/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 16, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁵⁸ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 123.

⁵⁵⁹ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860.”

condition” that “still very few Spanish cities possess.”⁵⁶⁰ The system of subterranean networks for water distribution separated potable water coming from the river from undrinkable water, mainly used for washing.⁵⁶¹ This water channeling system, which furnished different city spots, dated back to the (re)foundation of Tetouan at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶² The Moriscos replicated their native architectural and urban models in a number of cities not only in Morocco, but also in other Maghribi locations. Most probably, the system owes its name, *skundu*, to that of the Segundo family who was originally in charge of the hydraulic network.⁵⁶³ It would be interesting to explore if the Spaniards exported to the peninsula ideas relating to water management as inspired by the *skundu* system.

The Tetouani urban physiognomy suffered a notable accelerated transformation during the Spanish occupation. The names of the gates, streets and public spaces were renamed after Spanish towns, provinces, and regions, as well as after the early modern combats between Christians and Muslims in Iberia and Reconquista. As Chapter Four showed, the symbolic associations between ‘the fall of al-Andalus’ and ‘the fall of Tetouan’ permeated the urban space, which indicates that the urban intervention partly aimed at both constructing and reinforcing the prowess of the Spaniards. The Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan also divided the city into three different districts, thus blending the different areas in which the Madīna was divided together with the Millāḥ. The aristocratic neighborhood of al-Bilād formed the second district. The more popular quarter of al-‘Uyūn and al-Ṭrankāt, northwest of al-Bilād, was designated as the first district. The third one comprised the Millāḥ and the area of al-Swīqa, so-called for the small market of grain and the abattoir it hosted. (See Appendix, p. 353)

Between al-Bilād and al-‘Uyūn was the Puerta de la Victoria or the Gate of the Victory, from which the Army of Africa had penetrated the city on February 6, 1860. The Arabic name of the gate, Bāb al-Maqābir, signaled the way to the Islamic and Jewish cemeteries that extended up the hill to the Citadel of al-Mandārī. The Spaniards

⁵⁶⁰ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 176.

⁵⁶¹ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 18/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 18, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁶² M’hammad Benaboud, “Tetuán, La Otra Orilla de Al-Ándalus,” *Estudios Sobre Patrimonio, Cultura Y Ciencias Medievales*, no. 7–8 (June 14, 2014): 19–30; Hassan Radoine, “An Encompassing Madina: Toward New Definition of City in Morocco” (University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 86.

⁵⁶³ Fundación Columba Pacis, “El Agua de Skundo | Tetuan.org,” *Tetuan En Red, La Página de Tetuán* (blog), 2007, <http://tetuan.org/la-ciudad-de-tetuan/el-agua-de-skundo/>.

established most of the political, administrative, and service- and leisure-related institutions in al-‘Uyūn. To the west were more barracks, the military gymnasium, the livery stable, and the Administration ovens. The headquarters of the military engineers, several storehouses, hospitals, and the printing house were located in the surroundings of the central square. The residence of the head of the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan was in the Meshouar Palace, which had historically been home to various rulers of dynastic families, such as al-Mandārī, Naqṣīs and Ash‘āsh. During the Spanish occupation, it became the headquarters of the Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Occupation. At the entrance to the palace, a sign with the motto ‘Christianity is civilization’ was hung.⁵⁶⁴

Outside the walls of the third district extended lush fields, which did not correspond with the sandy desert descriptions that filled the peninsular war propaganda. In these areas off the river Martín, the Tetouani nobility had their country homes. (See Appendix, p. 355) Following the river which runs into the Alboran Sea, the farther western part of the Mediterranean, was the customs house of Aduana. At the outmost eastern part of this district was one of the seven gates of the city, Bāb al-‘Uqla, for which the Hispanophone Tetouanis nowadays still use the name it was given in 1860 and maintained throughout the Protectorate (1912-56), namely the Puerta de la Reina or the Gate of the Queen, so-called because the guards of Queen Isabel II were established there.

East of the Administration ovens, bordering the walls of the buildings pertaining to the quarter of al-‘Uyūn and those of the Millāḥ were the largest open spaces in town. At the intersection of the three districts were the Feddān, renamed Plaza de España, and what was turned into the Theatre Square. (See Appendix, p. 356) The former hosted important establishments, such as the military casino, the telegraph station, the residence of the military governor, and the occupied *zāwīya* of Sīdī al-Baqāl, which was turned into Nuestra Señora de las Victorias. In the latter, a wooden theatre was built. Chapter Six will take up the theme of the urban spaces and institutions of occupied Tetouan, in order to show the way in which socio-spatial dynamics and relations worked. It will also demonstrate that the authorities’ colonial aims and symbolic hierarchical public display notwithstanding, the different dwellers of occupied Tetouan

⁵⁶⁴ Antonio Freán, “La Correspondencia de España 16/06/1860,” June 16, 1860, 4.

could and indeed did make different uses of it, including at times overturning such an intended set of meanings.

The urban, administrative, and commercial transformation of Tetouan, Aduana and Martil expanded the opportunities for labor, which triggered a considerable migration flow from the Spanish peninsula and other European as well as Maghrebi locations. Even before the peacemaking was reached, merchants from Málaga had already started negotiations with local landowners to build houses in the central square. A considerable number of Spanish bricklayers as well as unskilled workers also went to Tetouan in order to carry out the preliminary fortification works under the supervision of the military engineers and technicians.⁵⁶⁵

The demographic transformation entailed several convergent population shifts. The first major change derived from the migration of the majority of the Tetouanis out of the city. The evacuation of the Tetouanis was predominantly Muslim, because even if many Jews also left Tetouan prior to or during the war, some of them returned once the occupation had been fully established. This shift entailed a change in the pre-occupation balance of the religiously-defined Muslim and Jewish Tetouani communities. The Jews, who had been the minority until then, came to represent the largest community among the local population. The next section will elaborate on the political impact that this demographic change resulted in.

The second major demographic transformation concerned the establishment of Spaniards in the occupied city. After the signing of the peace treaty, two convergent migration flows took place within the Spanish population: the evacuation of the majority of the military personnel on the one hand and the incorporation into the city of a number of Spanish civilians on the other. After the return of the majority of the forces to the peninsula, most of the plebeian privates who remained in occupied Tetouan were reallocated to the uninhabited houses of the majority of the exiled Tetouani population. So were the civilian Spanish and Europeans, whose trickle migration and settlement also shaped the urban landscape and the socio-political dynamics of occupied Tetouan, as the next chapter will thoroughly detail.

⁵⁶⁵ Antonio Ros de Olano, "Fortificaciones Del Ejército de África," August 3, 1860, *Diversos Colecciones*. 419. N° 25, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

While word of mouth must have been one means for many such civilian migrants to know what the needs in occupied Tetouan were, the press constituted another important means of information. On March 1, 1860, the chronicler Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and the interpreter Aníbal Rinaldy published *El Eco de Tetuán*, the first of the two Spanish newspapers which saw the light in Tetouan between 1860 and 1861.⁵⁶⁶ The directors grandiloquently announced the “glory of being the first to bring to Africa (...) the greatest inventions of civilization,” and hoped that one day such a contribution would “rightly” be attributed to the “learned, civilized, Christian friend of Humanity” that Spain represented.⁵⁶⁷ The second newspaper, which circulated under the name of *El Noticiero de Tetuán* in August 1860, was published until February 1861. (See Appendix, p. 357)

Three weeks after Tetouan was occupied, *El Eco de Tetuán* informed its readers that a wealthy merchant from Catalonia was on his way to sell “costumes and the Moorish stocks that the inhabitants of Tetouan fancy so much, and that Jews sell at a high price.”⁵⁶⁸ *El Noticiero* also provided much information about consumer patterns and venues; it frequently insisted on the lack of certain products and even suggested the establishment of promising businesses. In October 1860, for example, it recommended the creation of a travel agency that would create travel routes to different peninsular locations.⁵⁶⁹ In January 1861, it denounced the fact that the major part of the luxury products that were imported came from Gibraltar.⁵⁷⁰ The editor, Manuel García y Contilló, suggested that Spanish merchants, especially from southern Andalucía, take the lead and supply Tetouan with such products.

Some wealthy entrepreneurs and various kinds of male and female Spanish and European fortune-seekers moved to Tetouan during the first months of the occupation. Catalan Modesto Montesinos, for instance, opened his own pharmacy in occupied Tetouan.⁵⁷¹ Víctor Sampé managed a popular café, called “of the two nations” (*Café de*

⁵⁶⁶ Alarcón and Rinaldy, “El Eco de Tetuán.”

⁵⁶⁷ Cited in: García Figueras, *Recuerdos centenarios de una guerra romántica; la guerra de Africa de nuestros abuelos, 1859-60.*, 23. Emphasis added.

⁵⁶⁸ Alarcón and Rinaldy, “El Eco de Tetuán.”

⁵⁶⁹ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 30/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 30, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷⁰ Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 30/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, January 30, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷¹ “El Restaurador Farmacéutico 31/03/1860,” n.d., 4; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/09/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, February 9, 1860, 4, Biblioteca Nacional de España;

las dos naciones), later renamed after “the Union” (*Café La Unión*).⁵⁷² European merchants and entrepreneurs also opened various factories, commercial venues, and inns in the occupied city.⁵⁷³ A Frenchman set up a plant for the production of soda water, syrup and liquors, and by October 1860 he was said to be planning on setting up an oil factory.⁵⁷⁴ Besides, another Frenchman was breeding bulls, and an Englishman cultivated vegetables. A certain Mr. Barriè had by the beginning of 1861 inaugurated the Inn of Europe.⁵⁷⁵ By July 1861, as reported by the director of commerce Isidoro Millás, around five hundred shops existed in Tetouan, mainly run by Europeans and Tetouani Jews.⁵⁷⁶

Novel entertainment and leisure venues were also established. Barely half a year after the occupation had been completed, a theatre, a military casino and a gymnasium had been set up.⁵⁷⁷ (See Appendix, p. 358) Rides from the occupied city to coastal Martil in carriages, calashes or on beasts were also rented out.⁵⁷⁸ These forms and spaces of entertainment and sociability embodied the decent, profitable and delightful qualities of a middle-class leisure that was increasingly expanding in the Spanish peninsula.⁵⁷⁹

Still, not all the Spanish immigrants were from the middle classes. On the contrary, most of the civilians were impoverished, mainly coming from southern Andalucía and the eastern Mediterranean Levante, and worked in providing different

Antonio Población y Fernández, *Historia médica de la guerra de África* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Manuel Alvarez, 1860), 57.

⁵⁷² Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 05/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, May 12, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 09/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, September 1, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷³ Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 12/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, December 1, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/02/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, February 2, 1861, Instituto Cervantes de Tetuán.

⁵⁷⁴ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 23, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷⁵ Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, January 23, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷⁶ Isidoro Millás, “Report 17/07/1861,” n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

⁵⁷⁷ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 16/08/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 16, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/09/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 9, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷⁸ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 11/09/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 9, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁵⁷⁹ Jesús Cruz Valenciano, *El surgimiento de la cultura burguesa en la España del siglo XIX*, 2014, 286.

services to the army. Shoemakers and cobblers, laborers and publicans went to the occupied city immediately after it was occupied.⁵⁸⁰ As already mentioned, there was much uncertainty regarding the duration and the way in which both the occupation and the evacuation would evolve. Yet still, Spanish civilians did not cease to migrate to and settle in Tetouan. Whether Tetouan was formally integrated into the Spanish possessions – as per the preliminary conditions that the queen had aimed at imposing – or not – as was the case in the end – does not seem to have been so relevant to these migrants. Chapter Six will consider the plausible reasons and aims of these Spanish civilians’ migratory projects.

After the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras, several censuses were completed in Tetouan. Throughout April and May 1861, various governmental documents including form templates urged the military authorities to write down the number of births, marriages and deaths as they occurred in seized Tetouan.⁵⁸¹ (See Appendix, p. 358) The nineteenth century had witnessed not only the increase of the Spanish population, but also the interest in knowing, measuring and classifying it.⁵⁸² The first modern periodical censuses were carried out in peninsular Spain from the mid-century on. The resonance of such practice can be seen in occupied Tetouan.

The demographic sources that have been accessed offer dissimilar figures for the Spanish population living in Tetouan. The main methodological concern with the use of censuses as sources relates to the “‘illusion’ of rigor and certainty” that they provide.⁵⁸³ Demographic registers are constructed artifacts insofar as census enumerations depend on units which have to be defined and ‘identified.’ I myself have ‘counted the women and the men’ by relying solely on their names. Censuses also have important political aims, as frequently the information collected about the individuals and their locations

⁵⁸⁰ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 21/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 21, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 23, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Isidoro Millás, August 5, 1862, Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

⁵⁸¹ “Registro Civil: Circulares, Modelos Y Fichas,” 1861 1860, File 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta; Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860 (Marruecos)*, I:300.

⁵⁸² “Evolución demográfica moderna de España,” *Wikipedia, la enciclopedia libre*, December 27, 2015; “Evolución demográfica de los municipios de España,” *Wikipedia, la enciclopedia libre*, February 15, 2015.

⁵⁸³ Hernán Otero, “La Inmigración Francesa En Tandil. Un Aporte Metodológico Para El Estudio de Las Migraciones En Demografía Histórica,” *Desarrollo Económico* 32, no. 125 (1992): 89.

served, and at the same time undermined, the power of governing institutions.⁵⁸⁴ Accordingly, the numbers and the categories under review will be considered with caution, and will be used to provide a delineation of the Spanish population living in Tetouan during the Spanish occupation. Chapter Six will focus particularly on the women among the impoverished migrants, and will explore their diverse and neglected contributions to the Spanish colonial project in Morocco.

One of the sources on the population in Tetouan is a letter addressed to the Spanish First Secretary of State by Isidoro Millás, director of commerce during the occupation.⁵⁸⁵ In it, Millás affirmed that the total number of inhabitants in occupied Tetouan in July 1861 was 11,000. He stated that Jews came to 5,000 to 6,000, and that the Muslims amounted to a little less than 1,000. Millás also affirmed that there were a few Italian and French persons living in the city, although he believed they were “scarcely worthy of consideration.” Despite the inexactitude of his figures, Millás claimed to have extracted the data from a census that the Spanish authorities undertook. However, his high estimation of the Spanish population as between 4,000 to 5,000 persons doubles the figures provided by the two other sources that will be discussed below. Millás was director of commerce at the time in which he communicated these numbers to the Spanish government. It is likely therefore that he hoped to please the Spanish authorities by presumably inflating the figures in order to receive a promotion in his diplomatic career, as he in fact did after the Spanish evacuation of the city in May 1862, when he became the Spanish consul in Tetouan.

The second available source on the Spanish population in occupied Tetouan is an article in the newspaper *El Noticiero de Tetuán*, which on January 30, 1860 published demographic data corresponding to a record “carried out by [the Spanish] authorities in Tetouan.”⁵⁸⁶ The figures, verified by the then director of the publication Manuel García y Contilló, referred to the Spanish population who lived in Tetouan on December 25, 1860; that is, about seven months before the aforementioned Millás reported the cited figures. *El Noticiero* gave the figure of 2,358 Spaniards, divided into

⁵⁸⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 163–70. Sumit Guha, “The Politics of Identity and Enumeration in India C. 1600–1990,” *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist. Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 01 (2003); Norbert Peabody, “Cents, Sense, Census: Human Inventories in Late Precolonial and Early Colonial India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 4 (2001): 819–50.

⁵⁸⁵ Millás, “Report 17/07/1861.”

⁵⁸⁶ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 30/01/1861.”

six districts: the three districts of the city of Tetouan, plus the vicinities of Aduana, Fort Martín and Bahía. Unfortunately, the original source has not been found. Interestingly, however, the figures published in *El Noticiero* offer further information, as they are disaggregated by gender as well as civil status. It registered a total sum of 1,391 men, of whom 836 were single, 498 married and 57 widowers; and 967 women, of whom 539 were said to be single, 323 married and 105 widows.

The third and last demographic source is the ecclesiastical census contained in the Archive of the parish of Santa María de los Remedios in Ceuta.⁵⁸⁷ The record is ordered by streets, classified according to the three Tetouani districts, and the data are disaggregated by civil status. In each of the streets, the building number is indicated, so the number of people living in the same house can be known. The census also accounts for the entry and, at times, the departure date of the different inhabitants, and it likewise records internal mobility, namely the relocation of a person or a group from one house or district to another. The register was carried out between 1860 and 1861, and entries of people go as far as December 21, 1861.⁵⁸⁸ There is no doubt that these numbers included the military personnel, as the recorded entries go back to the day in which the forces of the Army of Africa occupied Tetouan, on February 6, 1860. While the total number of Spaniards accounted for and given in the final pages of the census is 2,250, although my own recount comes to 2,092.⁵⁸⁹

Other sources indicate that additional censuses were either done or at least were intended to be done. As is inferred from a letter written by the chaplain Luis García to Vicar Carlos José de Córdoba, a census was carried out in July 1861, which was intended to report exclusively on the Spanish military personnel.⁵⁹⁰ The chaplain confirmed that it would be disaggregated by military classes (soldiers, petty officers, and senior officers) and corporations (artillery, infantry, etc.). In addition, in December 1860, *El Noticiero* published a notice stating that a specific census of the local population was being carried out.⁵⁹¹ Unfortunately, I have been neither able to locate it nor access it, but the fact that the Spaniards sought to be aware of the numbers of the local inhabitants and other information gathered by censuses, such as the location of

⁵⁸⁷ “Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán,” and 1860 and 1861.

⁵⁸⁸ “Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán,” 209.

⁵⁸⁹ “Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán,” 222.

⁵⁹⁰ “Varios: Despachos,” 1861, File 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta, on 29/07/1861.

⁵⁹¹ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 05/12/1860.”

their residence, civil status, and gender, shows the Spanish interest in collecting information on the local population.

In one of his books, the Tetouani historian Muhammad ibn Azzuz Hakim stated that a compilation of manuscripts existed containing the information that the Spanish collected on the “noble” families of Tetouan and, particularly, on the women.⁵⁹² Such a compilation could be a census, an appendix to it, or a completely different file. Unfortunately, access to the deceased historian’s archive has not been possible. Nonetheless, its putative existence confirms that even if after April 1860 the occupation was limited to a transitory phase, the Spanish were interested in acquiring information about the local population, in general, and of notable local families in particular.

Several preliminary conclusions can be extracted from these data. Firstly, the enumeration of the population was divided into two committees: one for the three Tetouani districts, which I have accessed, and another one encompassing the Spanish population in neighboring Aduana, Fort Martín and Bahía, the figures of which *El Noticiero* reported but which I have not found (neither in the archive in Ceuta, where the ecclesiastical census was located, nor in the military archives in Madrid and Segovia). Secondly, the majority of the Spanish population settled in Tetouan in the course of the first ten months of the occupation. According to the figures published by *El Noticiero*, if the 336 individuals that reportedly lived in Aduana, Fort Martín and Bahía are subtracted, a figure of 2,022 individuals appears to have been living in the urban perimeter of Tetouan by the end of 1860. This implies that between December 1860 and December 1861 the increase in Spanish settlers came to 228 (according to the number written in the census) or to 70 (according to my recount). Of course, some people left and others were expelled throughout that year, so this number is less than the actual number of people who moved into the city in that period. Still, the fact remains that most of the Spanish immigrants arrived and were allowed to settle in Tetouan during the first months of the occupation.

Despite the arrival of many civilians, the Spanish population in Tetouan was mainly composed of military personnel.⁵⁹³ Some of them were religious figures; in particular, seventeen military priests formed part of the Army of Africa, and the superior ecclesiastical authority was Vicar José Fernández de Córdova, who lived in

⁵⁹² b. Azzuz Hakim, *Tiṭwāniyāt ‘alā Madā Al-Tārīkh (Tetouani Women Through History)*, 8.

⁵⁹³ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/02/1861.”

Ceuta.⁵⁹⁴ A number of volunteer nuns and civilians, and about half a dozen Franciscan friars also resided in Tetouan. In June 1860, fifteen nuns arrived in the occupied city to take care of the ill and the wounded, and to “spiritually” assist the population of Tetouan.⁵⁹⁵ The war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan constituted the perfect conjuncture to consolidate the renewal of the Franciscan order, which had supplied the Spanish Catholic Missions in Morocco since 1225.⁵⁹⁶

The Franciscan pastoral order had been in decline since the late eighteenth century, and the penetration of France into Algeria had stimulated an interest in reactivating it. In August 1859, a couple of months before the declaration of war, the prefect José Antonio Sabaté arrived in Tangier with two friars and two lay brothers to substitute the only missionary who had remained in Morocco since 1849.⁵⁹⁷ By order of Queen Isabel II, the Franciscans joined the Army of Africa in Cádiz in December 1859, and when Tetouan was occupied friar Gregorio Martínez and another four lay brothers were incorporated into the city from the peninsula.⁵⁹⁸

Father Sabaté consecrated the church of Our Lady of the Victories in February 1860, and when he died from cholera he was replaced by Gregorio Martínez as the head of the Franciscans in Tetouan. The military priests thought that the friars would only stay in Tetouan temporarily, and assumed that they would eventually head for Tangier, where the headquarters of the Missions were located.⁵⁹⁹ Instead, the Franciscans remained in Tetouan, where they endeavored to play a central role, something that caused several severe conflicts with the military priests.

The friction erupted in the very first moments of the establishment of the occupation. What was at stake was the control of the parish, which involved delivering the mass, and performing the burials and the baptism ceremonies which yielded

⁵⁹⁴ “Varios: Despachos,” n.d.

⁵⁹⁵ “Varios: Despachos”. See the letter on the order of the Ministry of War to issue passports to fifteen nuns on 18/06/1860.

⁵⁹⁶ Ricardo Castillo Larriba, “Los Franciscanos Y El Colonialismo Español En Marruecos: José María Lerchundi Y Francisco María Cervera (1877-1926)” (Universidad de Alcalá, 2014), 145–46. Fortunato Fernández y Romeral, *Los franciscanos en Marruecos* (Tánger: Tipografía de la Misión Católica, 1921), 247–51.

⁵⁹⁷ Fernández y Romeral, *Los franciscanos en Marruecos*, 234.

⁵⁹⁸ Fernández y Romeral, 242.

⁵⁹⁹ José Luis Gómez Barceló, “La Iglesia de Ceuta Durante El Conflicto Y La Ocupación de Tetuán,” in *Ceuta Y La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, XII Jornadas de Historia de Ceuta* (Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios ceutíes, 2011), 251.

influence and economic power. The resolution of who was in charge of the jurisdiction of the post of Tetouan only came in September 1861, when Propaganda Fide confirmed that the military status of Tetouan meant that the military priests were accountable, not the Franciscans.⁶⁰⁰ Meanwhile, tensions and direct clashes took place both between them and among the military personnel.

The archival documentation shows that some priests even tried to bypass Vicar Carlos José de Córdoba.⁶⁰¹ Moreover, the non-religious military personnel often appreciated the austere Franciscans, who had long provided a warranty for the Spanish presence in North Africa.⁶⁰² Between April and May 1860, several objects were stolen from the church on up to three consecutive occasions, which resulted in a large volume of correspondence traveling from Tetouan to Ceuta, where Vicar Córdoba lived. The military priests both implicitly and explicitly accused the Franciscans of committing these burglaries, but the military chiefs tended to turn a deaf ear to the latter's charges.⁶⁰³

5.3. The Politics of Interracial and Interreligious Relations

Before the occupation, Spaniards who were in the military and Spanish journalists had already established contact with some Moroccans. On November 25, 1859 the newspaper *La Época* informed its readers of the conversion to Christianity of the Tangerine Moisés Azancot, who had become the godchild of Leopoldo O'Donnell, represented by the president of the Casino of Cádiz.⁶⁰⁴ For their part, Mesod ben Sacar and Judah Abecasis elaborated an urban nomenclator that was helpful for the Spanish authorities in order to organize the lodging of the members of the army after the capture of Tetouan.⁶⁰⁵ Such contacts helped the Spaniards to become familiar with the Tetouani

⁶⁰⁰ Esteban Bajarty, "Solicitud Y Resolución Sobre La Jurisdicción de Tetuán," April 13, 1861, Legajo 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

⁶⁰¹ "Varios: Despachos," 1861. See the letter on 05/09/1861.

⁶⁰² Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe, 1830-1894*, II:466; Castillo Larriba, "Los Franciscanos Y El Colonialismo Español En Marruecos: José María Lerchundi Y Francisco María Cervera (1877-1926)," 173.

⁶⁰³ "Varios: Despachos," n.d. See the letters on 15/04/1860, 21/04/1860 and 13/05/1860.

⁶⁰⁴ "Crónicas de La Guerra de África," *La Época*, November 26, 1859, 2; Pedro José Nogueroles, Miguel Ángel Ruiz Jiménez, and Antonio Burgos Ojeda, *El Casino Gaditano ante las crisis sanitarias del Cádiz decimonónico* (Cádiz: Servicio Publicaciones UCA, 1999), 27.

⁶⁰⁵ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 122–23. Ibn Khālid al-Nāshirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā li-Akhhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:92.

Jews' situation and idiosyncrasies, including learning that they spoke Judeo-Spanish *Haketia*, understandable for the Spaniards. (See Appendix, p. 358)

Other Hispano-Jewish encounters also took place during the long peacemaking process that began after Tetouan had been occupied. Juan Pérez Calvo, himself an envoy of O'Donnell's messages to the court in Madrid, described some of the scenes he witnessed at the Spanish campsite. Among his reflections, he reported some dialogues that took place between several Jews and Spanish soldiers:

Every soldier was thought to have become a missionary, and in their own way preached to them [the Jews] so as to induce them to convert. I spent some delightful and joyful time listening to them. When they [the Jews] shouted 'Long live the Queen!', 'Welcome Sirs!,' the Spaniards were determined to have them exclaim 'Hurray the Immaculate Virgin!' But the ragamuffin Jews replied: 'not that one, not that one.' But they [the Spaniards] tried to convince them and told them that if they had come to save them, they owed it to the Virgin who protected them. And they showed them the scapulars and the medallions, but resolute in their faith and their wrongdoing, [the Jews] burst into laughter and always replied: 'not that one, not that one.'⁶⁰⁶

These reported dialogues reflect the previously mentioned tensions with regards to the change in the definition of the role of religion in colonialism, and they provide room to nuance the Spanish claim on their 'religious tolerance' in Tetouan. They also show the effect of the war propaganda during the patriotic fervor on which Chapter Two focused, whereby the soldiers of the Army of Africa had been acclaimed as the accomplishees of some sort of continuation of the early modern Reconquista. More interestingly, the proselytizing trials of the soldiers compelled the Jews to acclaim the Virgin Mary on the grounds that she had been the one who had enabled the Spaniards to "come to save them." This section aims at unraveling the politics of the interracial and interreligious relations, an important part of which such claims encapsulated.

The demographic transformations that the occupied city underwent, as pointed out earlier, resulted in the majority of the population of Tetouan becoming Spanish.

⁶⁰⁶ Juan Pérez Calvo, *Siete Dias En El Campamento de África, Al Lado Del General Prim* (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1860), 85.

More pertinently, the population shifts also altered the percentage of the two religiously-distinct native communities in Tetouan. Due to the mass emigration of Muslims out of Tetouan, the Jews came to represent the majority of the local population living in the city. Such change was politically relevant, given that the pre-occupation Jewish community was not only a minority numerically, but also in terms of status. For that reason, a large part of the historiography has focused – as will I in what follows – on the Jews, the evolution of Muslim-Jewish relationships during the war and the occupation, and on Hispano-Jewish relations.

The Jews in Morocco, as in other territories governed by a Muslim ruler, held the status of *dhimmīs*. Theologically, *dhimma* was reserved for non-Muslims who were identified as *ahl al-kitāb* or the People of the Book, and it established the protection of the sultan in exchange for a tax called *jizya*. In the Maghrib, the disappearance of the indigenous Christian communities in the early modern period led to the narrowing of the concept of *dhimmī* to mean only the Jewish population.⁶⁰⁷ In the Ottoman Empire, the Tanzimat reforms since 1830 had begun to annul most of the *dhimma* restrictions.⁶⁰⁸ In Morocco, although Jews remained legally *dhimmīs* during the nineteenth century, de facto changes in their economic, social, and cultural status drove them to reach status parity, if not superiority, *vis-à-vis* their Muslim counterparts.⁶⁰⁹

In general, *dhimma* regulations aimed at differentiating Jews from Muslims, and they particularly concerned issues such as clothing and the public display of religion. Jews were excluded from military service, as pointed out in Chapter Three, but other restrictions that affected them had different degrees of application throughout Moroccan history. Their status as *dhimmīs* reinforced their dependence on the sultan, and it often made them attractive as potential advisors and intermediaries on his behalf.⁶¹⁰ *Dhimma*

⁶⁰⁷ Stillman, *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, II:71–72.

⁶⁰⁸ Sharon Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 193.

⁶⁰⁹ Susan Gilson Miller, “Dhimma Reconsidered: Jews, Taxes, and Royal Authority in Nineteenth-Century Tangier,” in *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco*, ed. Susan Gilson Miller and Rahma Bourqia (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 119–20.

⁶¹⁰ Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint*, 212; Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultan’s Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

was often a double-edged sword.⁶¹¹ It represented the means by which “the government could protect the Jews while at the same time humiliating them.”⁶¹²

In Tetouan, Jews were part of the urban population and shared Iberian descent with their Muslim counterparts.⁶¹³ The Jewish memories of the Spanish war highlight the ‘savage’ character of the rural townsfolk in the pillaging that preceded the capture of Tetouan by the Army of Africa and which, as analyzed in Chapter Three, reflected and constructed the prominent cleavage and power relations between the rural and the urban realms.⁶¹⁴ As urban Tetouanis, they shared identity, culture, and politics with their Muslim neighbors, but as *dhimmīs*, they suffered some limitations. Tetouani Jews – as did many, but not all Moroccan Jews – had to reside in the Millāḥ; in turn, the Millāḥ was off bounds for the Muslims.⁶¹⁵ Specific bans that prohibited Jews from leaving the quarter were issued at times. Due to the residence constrictions and the impossibility of expanding the walls of the quarter, the mid-century Tetouani Millāḥ suffered notable overcrowding.⁶¹⁶ This also enhanced the migration of Jews, not only of the impoverished, but also of the well-to-do.⁶¹⁷ The emigration of most of the Muslims from Tetouan and the consequent majority position that the Jews came to attain during the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was, thus, even without taking the Spanish actions into account, a transformation which was to shape interreligious relations during Spanish rule.

The parity of composition of the religiously-mixed city council established by the Spanish authorities entailed that the Jewish Tetouanis came to be part of the decision-making body that the council represented. That was exceptional insofar as such an institution was in charge of the general city management. In the pre-occupation era, Jews had institutions which enjoyed large legal and administrative autonomy, but the jurisdiction of which only applied to the Millāḥ. These included the Council of the notables, the communal Treasury for educational, sanitary, and other public bodies, and

⁶¹¹ Jessica M. Marglin, “A New Language of Equality: Jews and the State in Nineteenth-Century Morocco,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 2 (2016): 164.

⁶¹² Schroeter, “The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City,” 70.

⁶¹³ Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc, 1859-1948*, 74.

⁶¹⁴ Isaac Benarroch Pinto, *El indiano, el kadi y la luna* (Tetuán: Editorial Marroquí, 1951), 25–26.

⁶¹⁵ Schroeter, “The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City,” 71.

⁶¹⁶ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 45.

⁶¹⁷ Vilar, 55–75.

the Rabbinical Court of Tetouan, the jurisdiction of which applied to Tangier, Ceuta, Melilla, and Gibraltar.⁶¹⁸ *Dhimma*, therefore, entailed generalized but not total social inferiority, and restricted but not a complete lack of representation. Incidentally, the city council was mixed in terms of religion, but not of gender. All the members were male, which means that women's exclusion from the institutional realm was absolute. Although stating this might seem a truism, the total exclusion of women from the administration of the city is, among other areas, a way to assess the patriarchal nature of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, and to conclude that patriarchy was upheld during the occupation, as suggested in Chapter Four.

The Spanish occupation of Tetouan thus nullified *dhimma*, and this changed the terms by which the relations between Muslims and Jewish had hitherto been regulated, at least in theory. In spite of the exceptionality of the measure, the council was not representatively proportionate, given that the resident Jews were more numerous than the Muslims. The Spaniards were certainly aware that they had to navigate the existing community tensions and power relations if they were to control Tetouan. Soon after their establishment, the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan urged the exiled local population to return to the city, or else their properties would be confiscated.⁶¹⁹ Some Muslims and Jews did in fact go back to Tetouan – mostly Jews, who had received positive reports from their co-religionists in town.⁶²⁰

During the occupation, Jews became the majority of the population. They could easily communicate with the Spanish due to the similarities between peninsular Spanish and the Judeo-Spanish that they spoke, and *dhimma* regulations had been nullified. In addition, influential western European Jews initiated relief funds and multi-directional lobbying. Doctor Philip Hauser y Kobler, an Austro-Hungarian doctor who had been sent to Tetouan by the Rothschild family in 1858 to take care of Jews' health, explained that the London and Paris *Alliance Israélite* sent him considerable sums of money to purchase food supplies in order to alleviate the terrible famine situation in which the

⁶¹⁸ Vilar, 111.

⁶¹⁹ Vilar, 124.

⁶²⁰ Pérez Calvo, *Siete Días En El Campamento de África, Al Lado Del General Prim*, 84. Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 50; Ortega, *Los hebreos en Marruecos; estudio histórico, político y social*, 101.

community found itself after the war.⁶²¹ Some Gibraltar and French commercial houses likewise made important donations.⁶²²

The intervention by European Jews is to be understood within a larger spatial and temporal framework, namely within what Daniel Schroeter has defined as the beginning of the end of the Sephardic world order.⁶²³ Since the last decades of the eighteenth century, western European Jews had steadily gained political emancipation. The Jews in France, England, Holland and Germany in particular had become members of civic society and, at least until the Dreyfus Affair erupted in the last years of the nineteenth century, they had steadily come to identify with the secular nations.⁶²⁴ Western European Jews had therefore begun to display a paternalistic attitude toward the Asian and the African Jews, whom they considered to be ‘primitive,’ as opposed to their self-alleged state of ‘enlightenment.’ While the Sephardic Jews had felt themselves to be “part of the same trans-national identity,” national affiliation and modern Enlightenment concepts steadily came to be more prominent among European Jews. Such discourse, too, notably affected the Moroccan Jews and Muslim-Jewish relations during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In their visits to Morocco in the early 1860s, Moses H. Picciotto, Sir Moses Montefiore and Albert Cohn promised donations for schools, hospitals, and other good works. Montefiore, who was a member of the British Board of Deputies and a prominent member of London’s Jewish community, funded the ‘Morocco Relief Fund.’ According to local oral history, Montefiore actually distributed money on the streets, scattering “handfuls of silver coins to eager onlookers.”⁶²⁵ After his visit to Tetouan in June 1860, Cohn addressed a missive to the Spanish cabinet in order to express his recognition of “the exemplary humanity with which our brothers have been treated.”⁶²⁶ Of course, the words of compliment to the Spanish *modus operandi* aimed at persuading the Spanish to treat the Jews favorably – in the way in which liberal-minded European

⁶²¹ Philip Hauser y Kobler, “Mi Vida En Tetuán (1858-1861),” *Raíces: Revista Judía de Cultura* 29 (1996): 56–57.

⁶²² Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 109–10.

⁶²³ Daniel J. Schroeter, “Orientalism and the Jews of the Mediterranean,” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 4 (1994): 185; Schroeter, *The Sultan’s Jew*.

⁶²⁴ Boum, *Memories of Absence*, 100.

⁶²⁵ Miller, “Dhimma Reconsidered: Jews, Taxes, and Royal Authority in Nineteenth-Century Tangier,” 122.

⁶²⁶ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 110.

Jews conceived that to be. In his response, O'Donnell assured Cohn that Jews would be granted free passports in order to settle in the peninsula. Such an assertion is all the more striking given that residency in Spain was by virtue of the 1845 Constitution limited to Catholics. To better apprehend O'Donnell's offer, it is worth acknowledging that the House of Rothschild was one of the main mid-century economic investors in the Spanish railway system. The Rothschild family welcomed the coup led by O'Donnell with the hope that it would bring some sort of stability after decades of political turbulence.⁶²⁷

Wealthy European Jewish figures thus acted on behalf of the Tetouani Jews in various ways. On the one hand, they provided material means and supplies, organized funds, and encouraged others to follow their path. On the other hand, they exerted pressure on and influenced the policies of the Makhzan, the Spanish government, the Forces of the Occupation in Tetouan, and other foreign diplomats present in Morocco, especially British and French. On August 1, 1860 the British consul wrote a letter to the sultan's envoy in Tangier requesting that Tetouani Jews be treated properly after the evacuation of the Spaniards and the return of Muslim rule.⁶²⁸

One of the vantage points from which to observe how the interracial relations unfolded in occupied Tetouan is the Spanish newspaper published during the central period of the occupation. The chronicles and essays published in *El Noticiero de Tetuán* are not unproblematic, as they convey a specific and normative view that often tells more about the editors than about what they purportedly described. Still, it is one source that, together with extracts from other types of documents and publications, is helpful for understanding the dynamics and the politics of the interracial and interreligious relationships in Spanish Tetouan. Having described the context of the multi-faceted transformations which the Jewish population specifically experienced as a result of the war on Tetouan, the analysis now returns us to the proselytizing trials of Spanish soldiers with Moroccan Jews.

The soldiers, O'Donnell's envoy assured, urged the Jews to proclaim allegiance to the Virgin Mary because she had aided them and had "come to save them." How should, at this point, such claims be understood? Almost two decades ago, Frederick

⁶²⁷ Miguel A. López-Morell, *The House of Rothschild in Spain, 1812–1941* (New York; London: Routledge, 2016), 102.

⁶²⁸ Daoud and Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān Mukhtaṣar (The History of Tetouan -Abridged)*, 177.

Cooper and Ann L. Stoler encouraged colonial historians to “confront the more elusive methodological problem of connecting what was written to what was said and to what was done, of exploring the relationship of the language of the written documents to the language of the people who were the objects of bureaucracy but the subjects of their own life.”⁶²⁹ I believe this is a key methodological insight, which can considerably change the interpretation of what appears in the sources, in this case, regarding the Tetouani Jews, their or the Spaniards’ claims about their relationship, the nature of what informed such claims, as well as the goals that they were trying to pursue by means of making them. Importantly, this way of looking at the sources also enables us to assess the extent to which mimesis – as ventriloquization, imitation, and appropriation of discourses – played a role in colonial politics.

Upon the Spanish seizure of Tetouan, Jews were said to have cheered the Spanish queen and welcomed the army. In October 1860, *El Noticiero* acclaimed that a Jew called Serfaty-Nahon had placed a sign above his store, on which ‘Long live Isabel II’ could be read.⁶³⁰ Similarly, on the occasion of the festivities celebrated on the Spanish queen’s name day on November 19, 1860, the editor Francisco Salazar considered that the lighting which distinguished the Jewish *Millāh* “blatantly prove[d] how satisfied they [Tetouani Jews] [we]re of the reception they ha[d] received from the Spaniards.”⁶³¹ I advocate a different reading of such acts, and hold that these actions do not only nor necessarily predominantly reflect what Tetouani Jews *thought of* the Spaniards, but also or rather distinctly what they aimed at *achieving from* them.

In light of the aforementioned change in the Tetouani Jews’ situation from the pre-occupation era, it is incumbent upon us to consider whether the Spaniards and their specific attitude were as relevant as the editor Salazar claimed. To put it differently, the Spaniards might have been important insofar as their capture of Tetouan and rule had unleashed a number of transformations that were politically relevant, but what Tetouani Jews’ acclaiming of the Spanish queen reveal is their imitation Spaniards’ patriotic manifestations that probably aimed at producing a sense of self-identification that minimized the perception of Hispano-Jewish difference.

⁶²⁹ Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, “Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule,” *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 4.

⁶³⁰ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 11/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 10, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶³¹ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 21/11/1860.”

In his early-twentieth-century book on Moroccan Jews, Manuel L. Ortega transcribed a letter in which a so-called Jacob Lévy requested O'Donnell's assistance to prevent the confiscation of his store by "those who [we]re strong."⁶³² Ortega argued that Lévy's letter demonstrated that the Spaniards had inspired in Tetouani Jewry an enormous "faith" and the "dawn of their liberation." My interpretation both concurs with and challenges this proposition. Before anything else, no reference to the source is included in Ortega's transcription of the letter and, partly because of this, we know nothing about the outcome of Lévy's request. In my view, then, what the request reveals is that Lévy considered as plausible in order to gain Spanish support or, at the least, he did not dismiss such a possibility.

Ortega's argument demonstrates that he saw the Jews' attitude towards the Spaniards as a mere reaction to the occupiers' supposedly favorable attitudes with regards to Tetouani Jewry. By stating that "those who [we]re strong" wanted to confiscate his store, Lévy appealed to his individual and collective 'weakness' as a Jew, and sought to have the situation overturned. This shift, although it might seem insignificant, does introduce an epistemological change with regards to Ortega's and other historians' views on the historical construction of Hispano-Jewish relationships, for it stresses Jews' agency. I hold that Jews made an active contribution in building the discourse of their victimhood (from which the Spanish soldiers claimed to save them), and they did so not *because* they found the Spaniards to be exceptional, but *in order* to persuade them to be so. Circular discursive mimesis entailing trans-national and local conceptions of the oppression that religious minorities suffered under Islamic rulers were at work in such claims, which were mobilized by the Spaniards and the Jews.

Some scholars have argued that the Spanish occupation "put an end" to the "degrading" situation that the Jews suffered in mid-century Tetouan, and that the Spanish "good occupation" constituted "a blessed period of freedom" for Tetouani Jewry.⁶³³ These narratives are historically problematic, and politically disturbing. Firstly, they fail to highlight the anti-Jewish attitude of the Spaniards. At best, Spanish attitudes display "a mixture of curiosity and wariness."⁶³⁴ The Spanish writers constructed a

⁶³² Ortega, *Los hebreos en Marruecos; estudio histórico, político y social*, 103.

⁶³³ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 121, 127. Sarah Leibovici, "Tétouan, Une Communauté Éclatée," *Les Nouveaux Cahiers* 59 (80 1979): 13; Sarah Leibovici, *Chronique des juifs de Tétouan: 1860-1896* (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984), 39.

⁶³⁴ Díaz-Mas, *Sephardim*, 152.

gendered hierarchy between Tetouani ‘effeminate’ Jews and ‘virile’ Muslims, as Chapter Four has shown. Among other offenses, Alarcón termed them “ferocious deicides,” as he considered them the “descendants of those who crucified Jesus Christ.”⁶³⁵ In the pages of *El Noticiero*, too, the trope of the greedy Jews was ubiquitous. Moreover, after Aníbal Rinaldy left Tetouan in June 1860, the Spanish population demanded that Jacob Benzaquen, who was appointed as the official interpreter of the military government, be substituted by a Spanish one.⁶³⁶ It seems that Benzaquen was not ultimately dismissed, but the anti-Jewish element prevalent in the popular demand is not to be overlooked.

The historical accounts which stress the beneficial character of the occupation for the Jews also contribute to the homogenization of Jews, to their absolute victimization, and to the reinforcement of Muslim tyranny, all of which were key issues on which the legitimation of colonial intervention relied. In *El Noticiero*, Salazar asserted that Jews “were *never* able to form a homogeneous unit with the sufficient strength to emancipate themselves from *all kinds of oppression*.”⁶³⁷ Salazar confined Jews to one single category of victims, as if all Tetouani Jews’ experiences were the same and were only and absolutely mediated by their shared victimhood. By stressing Jews’ victimhood, they become dispossessed of all agency.

Jews’ alleged victimhood also presupposed the Muslims’ ‘tyranny.’ The Spaniards conveyed the idea that the Muslim Tetouanis embodied a kind of ‘ferocity’ and ‘savagery’ – which was not always negatively connoted, particularly in terms of masculinity, as Chapter Four has shown – which they enacted in their oppression of Jews. Frequently, the Spaniards linked Jews’ alleged “abject” character to Muslims’ supposed “tyranny,” and argued that Jews were effeminate and engaged in self-abasement towards the Spaniards *because* they were victims of the Muslims. By highlighting Muslim ‘fanaticism’ and tyranny over Jewry, the Spaniards claimed their

⁶³⁵ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 639, 637.

⁶³⁶ Zarrouk, *Los traductores de España en Marruecos, 1859-1939*, 28; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860.” Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 278; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 62. See also the recommendation that Spanish consulates manage without the services of Jews: Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez*, 34.

⁶³⁷ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 30/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 30, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Emphasis added. See also: Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 129.

‘civilized’ superiority *vis-à-vis* the Moroccans’ ‘barbarity.’⁶³⁸ Yet this was not a unique feature of the colonial propaganda in occupied Tetouan. In French Algeria, the resonant claim of Jewish emancipation from Islamic despotism was deployed to justify and bolster French domination, and legislate new hierarchies.⁶³⁹ The European intervention in Ottoman domains likewise relied on discourses that signalled Islamic ‘tyranny.’⁶⁴⁰ In 1860, a socio-political conflict erupted in Damascus, which led to the deaths of several thousand Christians at the hands of a Muslim mob.⁶⁴¹ The European press was filled with detailed descriptions and images of the massacre, and both the peninsular press and *El Noticiero de Tetuán* were no exception to this.

The situation of religious minorities in Muslim-majority countries enabled links to be made between the situation of the Christian Druze in Ottoman Damascus and the Jews in Morocco. *El Noticiero de Tetuán* mentioned the Damascus massacre in various articles. One of the seven separate articles that made up an essay entitled *The Jewish people before societies*, which was published in instalments from November 14, 1860 to December 3, 1860, explicitly connected the Damascus affair with the situation of Moroccan Jewry. Salazar mentioned the initiative of a Mr. Cremieux, a French Jew, who had made an important donation to the Syrian Christians, and elucidated that “the Jews who live in civilized countries are not different from the indigenous population except in their religion,” whereas “those who live in the nations which seem to go backwards toward primitive barbarity (...) continue to be victims of (...) the yoke.”⁶⁴²

This article is revealing for a number of reasons. Firstly, it shows the use that the Spaniards made of the Ottoman conflict to construct the oppression of Jews that served to legitimize colonial rule in Tetouan. Secondly, it clarifies that Jews themselves – in this case, the Frenchman Mr. Cremieux and the unnamed others who were said to have followed his ‘solidarity path’ – mobilized around the issue and, by so doing, stressed the

⁶³⁸ Población y Fernández, *Historia médica de la guerra de África*, 54. See also: Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 31.

⁶³⁹ Joshua Schreier, *Arabs of the Jewish Faith the Civilizing Mission in Colonial Algeria* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 2.

⁶⁴⁰ Saba Mahmood, “Religious Freedom, the Minority Question, and Geopolitics in the Middle East,” *Comp Stud Soc Hist Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 02 (2012): 418–46.

⁶⁴¹ Eugene Rogan, “Sectarianism and Social Conflict in Damascus: The 1860 Events Reconsidered,” *ARAB Arabica* 51, no. 4 (2004): 493–511; Salo W Baron, “Great Britain and Damascus Jewry in 1860-61: An Archival Study,” *Jewish Social Studies* 2, no. 2 (1940): 179–208.

⁶⁴² Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 28, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; See also: Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 24/08/1860”; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860.”

shared oppressive paradigm of Christian and Jewish minorities in the Muslim Mediterranean. This is related to the aforementioned post-Enlightenment discourse which European Jews began to articulate with regard to the Asian and African Jews. Thirdly, it deploys the multiple trans-historical and trans-local conceptions and ideas involved in the imperial mid-century discourses that focused on religious minorities living under Islamic rule.

The article also shows the noteworthy multi-agent and multi-local quality of mimesis, as imitation and appropriation of discourses, claims, and colonial rule – including journalistic practices. The trans-national discourse of religious minorities living in Muslim-majority countries had specular effect on the local Spanish rule on Tetouan, where the specificities of the Jewish population were examined. Not only in that specific article but also in others, Salazar distinguished the situation of the Jews in the “civilized” and “religiously tolerant” countries, where he argued they enjoyed equal rights to the non-Jewish individuals, and the one under which they suffered in the “backward countries,” where they were considered to be in a condition of “semi-slavery.”⁶⁴³ This is all the more incongruous, given the already mentioned Spanish constitutional restrictions on religious liberty. It is worth elaborating on the interrelatedness of the imperial concepts of “civilization” and “primitive barbarity,” and the verbal paraphrases “to go backwards” and “continue to be the victims” in Salazar’s text.

The Spanish editor turned to past times, and admitted that both during the decadent Roman Empire as well as among the early modern Christian nations, the Jews had been considered inferior.⁶⁴⁴ Salazar did not explicitly mention Reconquista or the expulsion of the Jews from Iberia, although the veiled reference can be noticed in his conclusion, in which he highlighted that “intolerance” and “fanaticism” were for the Christians features caused by past “religious exasperation,” which vanished as soon as “equality,” “Enlightenment” and “reason” took off.⁶⁴⁵ Whereas Salazar conceived of Christian prejudice as temporary, as a feature of the past, in the case of the Muslims

⁶⁴³ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 14/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 14, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶⁴⁴ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 16/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 16, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 26/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 26, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶⁴⁵ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 26/11/1860”; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/11/1860.”

these characteristics were “a fixed and permanent system,” related to “their beliefs and their backwardness in civilization.”

Salazar’s rationale corresponds to the ‘modern historical consciousness’ which postcolonial scholars have discussed considerably in the last decades. Such modern historicism fundamentally consisted in the positing of historical time as a measure of cultural distance, which in turn established uneven degrees of development that were traced in accordance to the concept of ‘civilization.’⁶⁴⁶ Teleological readings of history thus established a linear trajectory, in which previous times were increasingly associated with ‘traditional’ practices and attitudes, which were conceived to have been interrupted and modified with the arrival of the Enlightenment and modern ‘civilization.’⁶⁴⁷ According to Salazar, the liberal and Enlightenment ideas of “equality,” “reason,” and “religious tolerance” had transformed the previous European and Christian “religious exasperation,” while those countries which instead of advancing had gone “backward,” remained (“continue[d] to” be) as fanatical as in pre-modern times. Morocco, as one of the countries of the Muslim Mediterranean, thus formed part of the space that was “inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.”⁶⁴⁸

As did other imperial powers in the Muslim Mediterranean, the Spaniards mobilized the discourse of ‘religious equality’ to portray Morocco as undeserving of sovereignty and, thus, to legitimize colonial intervention. At the same time, this was neither a Spanish nor a Western creation. Rather, it was the result of the interrelated local Tetouani/Moroccan and global imperial politics. The imperial powers were able to mobilize successfully around such issues precisely because the religiously-informed cleavages were meaningful across the Muslim Mediterranean, and thus at times Jews reinforced them in order to pursue privileges that were out of their reach under Islamic rule. Again, I argue that such local-cum-global discourses and practices were bi- or multi-agent. Although they had different political aims, claims and attitudes were continuously mimicked and appropriated.

On the other hand, the Spaniards stressed Muslim ‘tyranny’ and ‘fanaticism.’ In the essay entitled *Of Mohammedan Fanaticism*, published between December 5, 1860 and December 21, 1860, Salazar contended that every religion produced fanatical

⁶⁴⁶ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 7.

⁶⁴⁷ Hunt, “Modernity,” 115.

⁶⁴⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 40.

people, but Islam produced them in greater quantities.⁶⁴⁹ Muslim fanatics were at odds with ‘civilization,’ and stemmed from a society which was “in decay.” Chapter Four has shown that Makhzan officials also mobilized claims related to Muslim fanaticism, and that ‘playing’ with European prejudices was a diplomatic strategy that was useful – at least, in the short run. In order to dissuade the Spaniards from continuing the campaign, the Makhzan envoys argued that the Moroccans, especially the rural and tribal ones, were ferociously fanatic. In requesting that an encounter be postponed, an envoy of Mawlay al-‘Abbās also alluded to the Prince’s prayer obligations of the holy month of Ramadan. The mimetic reproduction of claims and practices was a multi-faceted recourse. O’Donnell then ventriloquized the Makhzan diplomats at the parliament in Madrid.

However, for the Spanish in Tetouan, the Muslims represented more than ‘tyrants’ and ‘fanatics.’ Indeed, the Muslims and the Spaniards were also perceived as ‘brothers,’ in different ways. Again, the Spaniards were not the only ones who put forth such discourses. As with the Jews, I advocate a reading of the sources that relates to colonial and global imperial practices, and to the socio-political structures and practices that prevailed in pre-colonial Tetouan, Morocco, and the Ibero-Maghribi trans-regional and trans-historical frameworks. Let me elaborate.

In November 1860, Salazar highlighted that those who had been “enemies” in wartime had become “brothers” in peace. This was so, he stated, because the Moroccans had seen that the Spaniards were “unconquerable” in the battlefield, and “generous conquerors” after victory; in other words, the Moroccans had come to realize that the Spaniards were “brave warriors, and enlightened propagators of the century’s advancements.”⁶⁵⁰ The editor of *El Noticiero* thus claimed that the Hispano-Muslim ‘brotherhood’ was based on the Muslims’ admiration of the Spaniards’ manly and ‘civilized’ characteristics. Curiously enough, these manly features were also at the core of the admiration that the Spaniards had come to profess for the Muslims. Salazar himself admitted elsewhere that he admired Moroccan Muslims “as men.”⁶⁵¹ As the chroniclers and military personnel who were on the ground during the establishment of

⁶⁴⁹ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 05/12/1860.”

⁶⁵⁰ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 19/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 19, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶⁵¹ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 07/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, July 12, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

the occupation of Tetouan also did, the editor of *El Noticiero* acknowledged his admiration for Muslim Tetouanis' virility. This, as was suggested in Chapter Four, signals the extent to which the Spanish continued to postulate their manly character as being modelled on the image and likeness of Muslims.

Salazar also alluded to Muslims' "apathy" and "impassivity," which he considered a sort of "passive resistance," only to note that it had brought no tangible results whatsoever. Although Salazar avowed the lack of efficiency in the Muslim resistance, as the previous chapter has shown the attitude of the Muslims who engaged in forms of *inkimāsh* did partly shape the political transformation of the Spaniards who were 'at the theatre of war' which, in turn, shaped the temporary occupation of Tetouan and the conditions of the Treaty of Wad Ras which enabled the Spanish consolidation in Morocco during the second half of the nineteenth century. The "passive resistance" that the Muslims adopted, as the mobilization that the Makhzan envoys made of Moroccans' 'fanaticism' and 'savagery,' paves the way for the argument that Moroccan Muslims, as did the Jews, played a role in shaping these colonial discourses. Although both the Makhzan diplomats and the Tetouani common people's actions were informed by and sought to produce different political claims, the fact is that they did mould, in some way or another, the contours of the discourses which are here being scrutinized, and which inform the aforementioned criticism toward the historiographies which continue to convey the passivity and lack of agency of the colonized, be they Jews or Muslims.

The 'brotherhood' between the Spaniards and the Muslims was also considered as stemming from a shared history. On the anniversary of the war declaration, the pages of *El Noticiero* lauded the Spanish courage and conquest, the 'seeds' of which Salazar attributed to Pelayo, one of the mystical protagonists of the eighth-century Iberian resistance to the expansion of al-Andalus. Pelayo (681-737) is known as the leader of the conquerors of the Umayyads in Covadonga, in the north of the Iberian peninsula. By retreating to earlier Spanish victories against the Muslims, Salazar pictured the Spanish occupation of Tetouan as the continuation of a series of past Spanish conquests over Islam. Yet, intriguingly, the editor recognized certain qualities as common to both the Muslim and Christian 'races.' Salazar affirmed:

from the rough rocks of the temple [of Covadonga] to Granada, from Ceuta to Tetouan, the land fertilized by the blood of the sectarians of Mohammed (Mahoma) and the sons of Christ is starting to harvest the

*tree of the peace that unites these two races, enemies for conviction and sisters by nature, given that they both harbour in their chests the same courage and grandeur.*⁶⁵²

The celebration of the Spanish victory over the Muslims enabled Salazar to create a particular historical genealogy that stretched throughout the Iberian and the northern African territory – from Covadonga in 622 to Granada in 1492, from Ceuta in 1668 to Tetouan in 1860. To be sure, Salazar’s genealogy had literary and political appeal. It was more problematic historically, given that it established a ‘racial’ dichotomy whereby the Umayyads, the Andalusis from Granada, and the Muslims from Ceuta and Tetouan formed a unity understood to be in opposition to the followers of Pelayo, those who reconquered Granada, Ceuta, and the Army of Africa which had recently occupied Tetouan.

Even so, and notwithstanding the power of this parallelism, Salazar emphasised the ‘racial sisterhood’ that, “by its nature,” united the Christians-cum-Spaniards and the Muslims-cum-Moroccans in their shared “courage” (*valor*) and “grandeur” (*grandeza*). Gender conceptions were an important part of the admiration that the Muslim Moroccans (unlike the Jews) inspired in the Spanish. Clearly enough, both parties’ harbouring of courage “in their chests” points to a shared virility, and to the claim of a common Hispano-Muslim manliness. As for the “grandeur,” it points to a majesty that bears an imperial undertone. But how should the recognition of a shared “grandeur” be understood?

Together with the concepts of masculinity and gender politics, the milestones of this shared history shaped the understanding of the Hispano-Muslim re-encounter in occupied Tetouan. In fact, this was not a strategically constructed and deployed discourse. In the Spanish case, it stemmed from the interrelated processes of the nineteenth-century intra-European imperial rivalries, the ‘rediscovery’ of al-Andalus, the ‘loss’ of the majority of the American colonies, and the development of Africanism which Chapter Two highlighted. Particularly noteworthy is that, within the framework of the above analyzed modern historical consciousness, al-Andalus represented a reference point which somewhat destabilized the modern colonial progress-led historical narrative. Accordingly, although Islamic ‘fanaticism’ and ‘tyranny’ were

⁶⁵² Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 19/11/1860.”

certainly stressed, the historical reflections which ran across al-Andalus forced the Spaniards to ‘recede.’

On the one hand, then, the ‘tyranny’ of the Muslims was reinforced as Jews’ victimhood was highlighted. That, in turn, laid stress on Muslim ‘savage’ virility, and shaped Jews’ alleged ‘effeminacy.’ On the other hand, however, the intricacy between the past Andalusis and present Moroccan Muslims worked against a totalizing and fixed understanding of Islamic tyranny. Again, Salazar’s historical elucubrations are illustrative. After claiming the exceptional ‘fanaticism’ of Islam, he wrote:

*In spite of all, Islam has been and still is a very tolerant religion with the rest of the religions (...) One of the most rapid and happy conquests made by the Muslims when they were beginning to know the refinement of civilization was the Iberian Peninsula (...) they allowed the defeated to live under soft conditions (...) they made honorable capitulations (...) by which Christians could have their churches and practice their cult (...) Christians, therefore, lived peacefully in the middle of that people (...) On the contrary, the Church at that time produced a multitude of martyrs; they were people who had too much of an Evangelic zeal.*⁶⁵³

Al-Andalus represented an example of the ‘civilization’ that Muslims had produced. Thus, the praising of their “grandeur,” which Salazar claimed was a shared Hispano-Muslim quality. Al-Andalus was the result of “the most rapid and happy conquests” that Muslims made “when they were beginning to know the refinement of civilization.” In accordance with the previous quote, Salazar conceived of al-Andalus as something foreign, as a civilization worthy of appraisal achieved by “the Muslims.” Such past civilization and the Muslims of the past, moreover, had the two main characteristics which in the present moment Muslim Moroccans allegedly lacked, and the Spaniards supposedly possessed: a general kindness in victory, because “they allowed the defeated to live under soft conditions,” and a considerable ‘religious tolerance,’ visible in the capitulations, in that the “Christians could have their churches and practice their cult” and “lived peacefully” among them. In contrast, the Christians of that time were too zealous, and that exaggerated fervor produced numerous “martyrs.” As already seen in Chapter Two, the peninsular liberal media during the campaign presented these two

⁶⁵³ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 10/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 12, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

premises as what Spain should do in ‘Africa,’ and they were considered the imperative qualities for Spain to be able to ‘prove’ how wrong Lord Palmerston was in accusing Spain for being crueller, thus less ‘civilized,’ than Morocco.

Al-Andalus, then, encouraged in the Spanish (liberals) an interruption in the customary linear narratives which highlighted the unstoppable force of modern progress, and which Salazar himself produced, and then somehow subverted. Such subversion is perceptible in the narrative, namely in the fact that Salazar’s exposition of Islamic fanaticism was followed by the contradictory phrase that opened the above quotation: “*In spite of all*, Islam has been and still is a very tolerant religion with the rest of the religions.” So the previous totalizing claim of an exceptional Islamic fanaticism, understood in ontological and the most enduring terms, turned into the opposite affirmation by which the editor claimed the exceptional tolerance of Islam. The destabilization is also noticeable in Salazar’s extension of tolerance from the past to the present: Islam “*still is* a very tolerant religion.”

Instead of destabilizing the colonial foundations of the modern historical consciousness analyzed above, this narrative reinforced it: conquest and civilization thus appeared as inextricably linked, and civilization was connected to both a kindness in victory and religious tolerance. What changed was that this narrative propelled a rather circular, instead of linear, conception of history, which could accommodate the mimetic ‘brotherhood’ claims. The circularity encapsulated an alternation of the characters and their qualities across time: the ‘Muslim race’ had been civilized in the past, and had thus made “happy conquests” such as of the Iberian peninsula. It had then decayed and turned into the opposite of the kindness and tolerance which had characterized it, which in turn distinguished the present Spaniards, who had in the past displayed “too much of an Evangelic zeal,” but who had become ‘civilized’ with time and, thus, were the ones who were legitimized to make the conquests.

This circular understanding of history that the discussion of al-Andalus stimulated was grounded in the aforementioned essentialist conceptualization of the ‘parties,’ namely the Muslims and the Christians, and yet foregrounded an un-essentialist understanding of colonization. The ‘parties,’ in fact, were not conceived of as embodying eternal or absolute attributes of civilization and thus of conquest. Rather, the very historical consciousness that first led to history being conceived as a force of progress led by ‘enlightened’ Europeans (including the Spanish), then turned the

narrative to a cyclical one, whereby the Spaniards-cum-Christians were the ‘civilized’ conquerors, just as Muslims-cum-Moroccans had been in the past. Such circularity paved the way for stressing the Hispano-Moroccan similarities, according to which the Spanish and the Moroccans were “enemies by conviction” but they shall see that, in peace, they were sister ‘races.’

But al-Andalus and the shared past did not only play an important role for the Spaniards. As shown in Chapter Three, Tetouani identity was based prominently on the triad of urbanity, Andalusí ancestry, and through its enlightened and civilized quality it represented a *ḥaḍārīyya* town. Andalusí ascendancy was conceived in opposition to the rural and tribal domain and people, who were conceived of as ‘ferocious’ in opposition to ‘enlightened’ Tetouan. The Andalusí ascendancy was not only a prominent mark of the Tetouani aristocracy, but it also bore an element of prestige within and outside Tetouan. Arguably, given that these dichotomies existed before the Spaniards’ arrival, the Hispano-Muslim mimesis that stressed ‘brotherhood’ ties was not uniquely and fully a Spanish construct, but rather an element that was also mobilized, and perhaps the first to be, by the Muslim Tetouanis who remained in town during the occupation.

At the beginning of 1861, Manuel García y Contilló explained in *El Noticiero* how the settlement of the inhabitants of Granada in the north of Morocco after its Christian conquest had happened. Among those families, the editor affirmed, was one called Páez. Upon their arrival in the late fifteenth century, García y Contilló proceeded, the newcomers had “feared the fury of the tribes, who looked at them with resentment, as if they were foreigners, even if they professed the same religion.”⁶⁵⁴ Thus they settled on the slope of a hill, and reestablished the city of Tetouan. García y Contilló asserted that the Páez were among the town’s founders, and that they had maintained their surname intact. More importantly, he assured that “aware of their origins, they are more solicitous in lavishing us, and their house is always open to Spaniards, whom they receive in brotherhood.”

The way in which García y Contilló narrated the story suggests that a member of the Páez family informed him. The personal, informal, and inaccurate tone implies that the journalist did not base the account on books or historical dissertations. Rather, it seems plausible to think of his source as an oral account produced in the first place by

⁶⁵⁴ Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 06/02/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, June 2, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

the editor's informant, which the Spanish journalist would have subsequently reproduced in a mimetic manner. Again, given the historical urban-cum-Andalusi-cum-civilized *versus* rural-cum-ferocious-cum-tribal at work in the north of Morocco, it is not odd to think of a Tetouani living under the Spanish occupation making such socio-genealogical claims. As with the Jews, I contend that the fact that a member of the Páez family might have claimed that the Jbālī rural folk displayed hostility is related to the urban-rural historical cleavage at work in pre-colonial and pre-occupation times, which was deployed as a strategy to obtain Spanish favor. By highlighting the shared Andalusi origins and antinomy to rural folk, Hispano-Muslim difference became reduced, and cooperation ties were legitimized.

In August 1860, Salazar commented that some Tetouani Muslims played music, and “with the heroic resignation of their vanquishing,” thanked and praised the “courage” and “generosity” of the Spaniards, who had saved them from “the fury of the sons of the mountains, [and] preserve[d] for them their saintly and mysterious city so that they exercise their cult and the pleasure of their customs.”⁶⁵⁵ Again, the editor acknowledged the “heroic” attitude of the Muslims’ “resignation,” but contended that it was they who admired the Spaniards. As already indicated in the previous chapter, the Spaniards praised the Muslims for their virility and passive resistance as exercised through *inkimāsh* but held that it was the Muslims who admired them. Similarly, in the pages of *El Noticiero* the Spaniards claimed that they were saving the Jews (from Muslims) and the Muslim Tetouanis (from rural folk), and said that this was what the Jews and the Muslims praised them for.

These statements and their analysis can become confusing due to their speculative character. Who says what, on behalf of whom, and how can these mimetic allusions be disentangled? At this point, several issues should have become clear. First, the Spaniards claimed to have a more important role than they actually had. Indeed, they often mobilized around issues which were meaningful in Tetouan and Morocco – including the Andalusi ascendancy, a source of prestige throughout Morocco and the greater Maghrib, as well as the rural-urban cleavage, and the restrictions that the legal status of Jews as *dhimmīs* represented. Yet they continued to claim brotherhood ties, especially with the Muslim Tetouanis, as the latter, at least a section of whom resided in town during the occupation, did with the Spanish rulers. But these issues were

⁶⁵⁵ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 24/08/1860.”

mobilized by Spaniards and by Tetouanis – Jewish and Muslim alike. They were also mobilized for different ends.

While the Andalusí past was mobilized to convey an idea of the ‘harmonious’ character of interracial relations, it was also employed to convey the complete opposite idea. According to the anonymous author of the Manuscript of Madrid, the inhabitants of occupied Tetouan, both Spanish and Tetouanis, at times emphasized the disharmonious character of the shared past. Whenever Muslims reproved the Spanish soldiers for the cutting down of trees or the demolition of houses, the soldiers would reply: “This is what you did in Spain.”⁶⁵⁶ The Spanish soldiers, asserted this Muslim Tetouani, alluded to what the Muslims did in al-Andalus in order to defend themselves from the deeds that locals accused them of. This reported informal conversation is interesting because it shows the weight al-Andalus had in shaping the relationship between Spanish and Moroccan common people, including those which took place on the street and among ordinary people. It also deploys the notion that al-Andalus was a malleable cornerstone which could be employed ambivalently: to construct and legitimize friendly bonds, as well as hostile relations.

For his part, the writer of the manuscript followed the narration of this anecdote by depicting Andalusí Muslims as kind conquerors *vis-à-vis* the Spaniards in Tetouan. While the latter embodied the tyranny, ambition, and vanity in present Tetouan, “Muslims [in al-Andalus] proceeded with supreme kindness, for that is what the Legislator ordered to them.”⁶⁵⁷ The Tetouani writer responded to the accusation of the Spanish soldiers by turning the aspects of kindness (to which Salazar also referred) and justice upside down. The Andalusí past was evoked in order to present the idea of a friendly ‘brotherhood,’ or to claim a historical enmity and reciprocal oppression and injustice.

What is particularly interesting is that each ‘party’ overturned the terms of the dichotomy, but reproduced the binary and thus mutually consolidated it. The liberal and educated Spanish editors, the plebeian soldiers, the Tetouanis who reproached the Spanish and the anonymous writer of the manuscript; all of them reinforced the idea

⁶⁵⁶ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 283; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 70.

⁶⁵⁷ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 283; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 70.

that the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was an extension of an old historical interaction, in which there existed two distinct sides, namely the Christian and the Muslim ‘races,’ who cyclically represented one of the binaries of the ‘colonizers’ and the ‘colonized,’ and thus alternately embodied the qualities attached to ‘civilization.’ The historian Mohamed Daoud argued that the locals who heard about the “brotherhood of the two neighbor peoples” dismissed it and considered it “absurd [and] wearing.”⁶⁵⁸ He also affirmed that most of the Tetouanis did not pay attention to such an “embellished discourse.” It is true that there are few sources for what the Tetouanis, the authorities and the common people, thought or made of the ‘brotherhood’ discourse. Yet the above cited references show that not all Tetouanis dismissed it. Moreover, Daoud mentioned this issue only in passing, and he did not offer examples or source-driven arguments for his positions.

The past and the present, the Christians and the Muslims, the conquerors and the conquered, all formed part of the historical genealogies that were productively used to interpret the present, on the one hand, and to make sense of the different political positions that each of the individuals adopted, on the other. The ubiquity of the binaries confirms the multiplicity of actors involved in the construction of the genealogy of Hispano-Moroccan cyclicity – although the binary precluded the acknowledgment of the third ‘party,’ namely the Jews. The allusions to the Andalusí trope of *convivencia* (peaceful cohabitation) that filled the pages of *El Noticiero* were thus inadequate, precisely because the reinforcement of the binaries excluded Jews, Judaism, Sefarad, and the Jews of Morocco.⁶⁵⁹

As argued, the ‘brotherhood’ discourses were less essentializing as they were informed by circular or alternating conceptions of history, and thus did not allocate fixed and unchangeable qualities to each of the ‘parties.’ However, they also reinforced essentialist and binary conceptions of the ‘parties,’ in which the Jews were not accountable. The conceptualization of the ‘parties’ was binary in both its ‘racial’ or ‘religious’ sense, thus the Jews did not fit into either of the essentialist national-cum-religious constructs, namely the Spanish-cum-Christians and the Muslims-cum-Moroccans. Within these conceptions, the Jews were conspicuous by their absence.

⁶⁵⁸ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:318.

⁶⁵⁹ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/02/1861.” Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 274.

They were not considered representatives of either al-Andalus/Sefarad or Morocco. Therefore, they did not fit the brotherhood, at least not completely, nor the historical enmity. Under the illusion of the threesome of *convivencia*, there was only room for two.

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the colonial rule and practices in occupied Tetouan. It has shown that the contours of colonial management were shaped by both Tetouanis and Spaniards. At the core of the discourses and the practices which informed colonial rule was the management of interracial relationships, which were contingent upon the urban and the demographic transformations that occurred from the beginning of the Spanish capture of Tetouan, which in turn changed the basis of the interreligious relationships between Tetouani Jews and Muslims.

It is difficult to know the exact number of Tetouanis who lived in the occupied city, but what is certain is that more Jews lived there than Muslims. Such demographic upheaval was politically meaningful, as was the fact that the Spanish nullified *dhimma*, and that influential European Jews offered material support and actively lobbied the Spanish and other European consuls. As I have shown, these issues made the Tetouani Jews, who likewise lacked language barriers to communicate with the Spanish, more prone to cooperating with the occupation authorities. And yet, the Spanish held anti-Jewish prejudices, and were aware that they could not rule without involving the Muslims.

Spanish colonial rule and practices in Tetouan were both locally and globally shaped. The imperial discourse of the oppression that religious minorities suffered in countries under Islamic rule was accommodated to the claims and the policies that were implemented in Tetouan with regard to the Jews. Besides, the Ibero-Maghribi historical framework shaped the colonial management of the Spaniards in the northern Moroccan city. Some of the Tetouani Muslims who remained in town reinforced their urban identity, antinomy to rural Moroccans, and their Andalusian ancestry, and stressed the similarities between the two peoples by putting forth claims of Hispano-Muslim 'brotherhood.' By stressing the Andalusian origins of many urban Tetouani Muslims, the Spanish, too, highlighted Hispano-Muslim similarity and legitimized friendly 'brotherhood' ties. The shared past, however, also paved the way to articulating claims

about a historical enmity between both ‘races.’ Some Tetouanis and Spaniards thus highlighted the conflictual nature of the historically-shaped Hispano-Moroccan relations.

Colonial rule depended on the management of categories of difference and similarity, and relied upon notions that enabled ambivalent interpretations and different political uses. The recourse to the Andalusí past was significant for much of the populations living in occupied Tetouan, not only because past evocations stemmed from and informed present politics, but because some of the existing socio-political structures and dynamics were related to such past. Tetouani nobility’s Andalusí ancestry, the force of the latter in creating an essentialist cleavage between the urban and the rural realms, the receptivity of *jihadist* ideas, and the Spaniards’ perception of al-Andalus as an epitome of ‘civilization’ were thus not only strategically used, but were key in the mimetic identifications between the Muslim Tetouanis and the Spaniards.

Highlighting similarity or difference on the grounds of a common past or on the basis of ideological affinity served different political ends. It also enabled the construction of physical and symbolic barriers that were, however, porous and thus surmountable, as the next chapter will show. Ultimately, Hispano-Muslim mimesis gave way to circular conceptions of history. The circularity un-essentialized imperial notions of ‘racially’ stable hierarchies, because it foregrounded that the Spanish were the ‘civilized’ ‘race’ which was to make the conquests in the present, just like the Muslims had been the ‘civilized’ ‘race’ in the past and conquered the Iberian peninsula. Chapter Two has examined similar discourses that were related to the development of the Africanist paradigm which legitimized Spanish colonialism in Morocco on the grounds of ‘geographical’ and ‘historical rights.’ These Africanist tenets were voiced by liberal Spaniards who, unlike the conservatives, had come to acclaim the ‘civilization’ that al-Andalus represented in the past of Spain.

Spanish colonial rule in Tetouan was led by the army officials, who were liberals. Among the Tetouani Muslims who remained in town, there were those who, as suggested in Chapter Three, had preferred to stay under Spanish rule than settle in the countryside. The ‘brotherhood’ discourse thus reinforced the qualities of ‘civilization’ of the self-proclaimed ‘enlightened’ members of both shores of the Strait of Gibraltar. The un-essentializing premise of such interracial relations lied on their understanding as historically cyclical. However, the altering quality of colonization that informed the cyclical understandings of the Hispano-Moroccan formation was grounded on

essentialist and binary conceptions of the peoples, the religions, and the cultures that inhabited each of the shores, for it equaled past and present Christians and Muslims. Importantly, the ubiquitous binaries precluded the exclusion of Jews from the Hispano-Moroccan trans-historical equations.

The colonial rule and its practices, then, were historically constructed, as were the historical subjects which produced them, and they fitted into the concrete historical and spatial realm of occupied Tetouan from 1860 to 1862. I would thus be reluctant to state that such discourses had any kind of influence or validity beyond the Tetouani realm and, particularly, in peninsular Spain. At the same time, they were conceptions and practices that were biased, as the problematic exclusion of the Jewish element outstandingly shows. They were also biased in other respects, as the understanding of each of the 'races' was androcentric, as the next chapter will show. The management of colonial rule was multilayered, because the management of the interreligious and interracial relations under review in this chapter was contingent upon other socio-political structures, such as class and gender, which will be explored in the following chapter. Precisely the malleability of the interracial and interreligious discourses and the attitudes, and their relation with class and gender conceptions, spaces, and dynamics enhanced the establishment of boundaries and barriers that shaped the politics and the daily lives of the inhabitants of occupied Tetouan as much as the events at the macro level, such as the signing of treaties and the establishment of economic and political conditions explored in the first section of the chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: SUBALTERN INHABITANTS OF SPANISH TETOUAN

[A]t the foot of the watchtower of Sidi [al-]Mandri, a snake charmer was making [the animal] dance to the sound of a reed flute; a storyteller was narrating the tale of the favorite woman of an ancient Sultan of Meknes, and various effeminate dancers, with white muslins on their orange and green caftans, were performing (...) a dance from the mountains by slightly moving their toes and agitating their shoulders in a way in which napes and heads were shaken and thick locks of black hair fell.⁶⁶⁰

This is an excerpt from a novel written by Luis Antonio de Vega y Rubio, a writer, journalist, and prominent Arabist born in Bilbao in 1900. De Vega y Rubio served as director of the Arabic school in Larache after 1926 and in Tetouan after 1934, and was a prolific author of Orientalist poetry and best-selling novels of romance and intrigue set in the Spanish Protectorate of northern Morocco.⁶⁶¹ The quoted excerpt is an extract from his novel *Amor entró en la Judería* (*Love entered the Jewish quarter*), set during the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation, seen from the specific location of the Millāḥ.

The remarkable exoticism notwithstanding, the descriptions and the characters that inhabit the literary account can offer some hints of the dynamics which took place in occupied Tetouan. Rather than conceiving of the literary recreation as what ‘truly’ occurred, it can be used as a resource to mentally traverse and imagine Tetouani spaces about which other historical sources are silent. Excerpts such as the one above also enable us to think about the gathering of diverse people, for example of urban and rural music players, storytellers and dancers, and the heterogeneous passers-by and spectators in the urban spaces of occupied Tetouan.

⁶⁶⁰ Luis Antonio De la Vega, *Amor entró en la Judería* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1944), 15.

⁶⁶¹ Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity*, 232; “Luis Antonio de Vega Rubio,” Euskomedia, accessed May 11, 2016, <http://www.euskomedia.org/aunamendi/141880>.

The excerpt quoted above, as with other literary passages, can stimulate thinking about the socio-spatial relations which took place at the interstices of occupied Tetouan. Both the colonial and the postcolonial historiographies have marginalized the behaviour of a large number of individuals, especially the impoverished classes, religious minorities, and the women of all classes, both Maghribis and Europeans, who experienced, shaped, reacted to and lived the colonial enterprise in many different ways.⁶⁶² People's actions have customarily been confined to the resistance *versus* collaboration dichotomy, which has produced a narrow definition of political action. How different would our understanding of occupied Tetouan be if, instead, we conceived of the possibility of a crowd of Spanish soldiers watching a street performance and cheering rural Moroccan artists?

The aim of this chapter is to go beyond two particular dichotomies: the one that distinguishes categories of people between the 'colonizer' and 'colonized,' and the one that divides their attitudes with regard to colonial regimes as either 'collaboration' or 'resistance.' I thus intend to expand the notion of political action in the urban space. For this purpose I will look at the physical and the symbolic boundaries that configured occupied Tetouan, and at the ways in which the heterogeneous city inhabitants traversed them. I will especially focus on the sites, the practices, and the everyday difficulties as well as the agency displayed by lower-class and female Tetouanis and Spaniards.

My twofold assumption is that changes that took *place* in the urban landscape of the city of Tetouan and its surroundings were institutionally planned, and they certainly played an important role in the building of the Spanish colonial apparatus. And yet, the urban space was produced, appropriated, and reproduced in the practice of everyday life by the common people, and not only by institutions. Following Doreen Massey's insight whereby the social should be thought of in terms of "the multiplicities of space-time," I will stress the notions of multiplicity, heterogeneity, and simultaneity that characterized occupied Tetouan.

As the title already indicates, the protagonists of the chapter are the subaltern populations. The condition of subalternity is grounded on social and political structures. Subalternity thus refers to the subordinated people on the basis of status, 'race,' gender,

⁶⁶² Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghrib: History, Culture, and Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2000).

office, or any other axis of power.⁶⁶³ Since power dynamics are relational, subalternity is understood as a dynamic quality rather than a fixed one. The intersectional approach shows that the position and the experiences of a given subject were shaped by the convergence of more than one structure on which power relies. Besides, paying attention to the agency of the subaltern population living in Tetouan discloses the porosity of the physical and symbolic socio-spatial barriers. In other words, the subalterns both faced and surmounted the restrictions and the violence that the social and the political spatial boundaries posed for them.

It is not always easy to account for these phenomena, especially for the agency and the manifold ways in which the political action of the urban inhabitants was manifested. This chapter therefore also offers some methodological insights. Power structures engender different types of oppression and violence. Invisibility in the sources, for example, is a particularly gendered issue. Although some women held a much more subaltern position than others – depending on their wealth and prestige, on their being Spanish or Moroccan, rural or urban – the vast majority of the women are absent from most of the sources. Thus virtually all the women are subalterns with regard to their silencing in the sources, as are their actions and contributions. To overcome such limitations, I propose a conscientious use of multilingual oral and literary sources that combines educated and historicized guesswork with evidence from more conventional sources.

6.1. Socio-Spatiality in occupied Tetouan

*[T]hose days three distinct religions
simultaneously celebrated their principle
solemnities within Tetouan; in the Cathedral, in the
Mosque and in the Synagogue three diverse people,
three different races proclaimed – each in their
manner and their language – praises to the unique
God that, even if mistakenly, Moors and Jews also
recognized.⁶⁶⁴*

⁶⁶³ Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 35.

⁶⁶⁴ Landa, *La campaña de Marruecos*, 274.

The words of the previously mentioned military doctor Nicasio Landa testify to the heterogeneity of the population of occupied Tetouan. They also show that coexistence was not incompatible with hierarchy. Landa admitted that the members of three distinct religions celebrated their specific cults “in their manner and their language,” and in their correspondent religious temples. He also – not surprisingly, and yet blatantly – awarded them a different value: Christians, Muslims, and Jews all shared the monotheist principle, although the latter did so “mistakenly.”

The fragment is an implicit allusion to the Andalusí literary rather than the historical trope of *convivencia* (peaceful cohabitation), which this chapter will show was only part of the story of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. The relevance of the quote lies in that it illustrates the main point of interest of this section of the chapter, and that is the concurrence of different people, and practices – including linguistic and discursive – in one single space: occupied Tetouan. How to think the social “in terms of the real multiplicities of space-time” is not self-evident.⁶⁶⁵ Neither are the outcomes of such an endeavour. The last section of the chapter will offer insights with regard to female socio-spatiality. Space is, of course, gendered, and in societies like the Tetouani where gender segregation was strict, ignoring women-only spaces certainly precludes the recognition of the historical, social, cultural, and political structures and dynamics that were key to the urban functioning.

Women were not only confined to certain women-only spaces, however. If we turn to the central Feddān or the renamed *Plaza de España*, for example, what is interesting is that it was a differently used and peopled space both simultaneously and depending on the time of the day, of the week, and of the year. It was a place of mere transit for the pedestrians who wanted to take a short cut to go from one side of the city to another. It was also a privileged site to watch the fireworks that took place every Sunday, and the location of many novel cafés, commercial and leisure establishments, and inns that proliferated during the occupation of the city.

The position of the *Plaza de España* at the very core of the city, and its openness were important characteristics that shaped its configuration, use, and representation. Its centrality rendered it a space of transit but also, symbolically, the location of many of the important institutions. Its name, a common denomination of Spanish central squares,

⁶⁶⁵ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2013), 268.

bore a clear imperialist significance. The worshipers who did not fit into the interior of the medium-size *zāwīya* which had been turned into the church, occupied part of the square on the occasion of the Sunday mass. Other important institutions, such as the electric telegraph station, the military casino, and the residence of the military governor of Tetouan were also located in the northern part of the square. Its centrality, too, shaped the preference of the authorities to intervene in it. The leveling of the surface in front of the abovementioned establishments began in November 1860.⁶⁶⁶

In turn, its open – roofless – character made *Plaza de España* suitable for a number of activities and people. Plazas are multi-purpose, and ordinary people appropriate them for their own purposes, be they trade, recreation, interaction, and political mobilization.⁶⁶⁷ At the beginning of the occupation, the neuralgic square was turned into a bull ring where the military troops were entertained with bullfights.⁶⁶⁸ The fine cafés, the military casino, and the new inns of the square probably attracted middle-class people and the authorities. At the same time, local and Spanish street vendors crowded the square. While the former headed there to gather and stroll, the latter must have sold goods, beverages or tobacco.⁶⁶⁹ The fact that it was an open space meant that it simultaneously hosted a multiplicity of activities and people and, therefore, a considerable number of languages, ways of communicating and interacting, diverse sounds, colors, and paces.

Squares, as with many other spaces, can also be made use of in unexpected ways.⁶⁷⁰ For example, an investigation undertaken on the occasion of the case against the chaplain Ysidro Ávila enabled the military authorities to discover the existence of a ‘ladies’ society’ (*sociedad de señoras*), which purportedly begged for donations for the church on the outskirts of Our Lady of the Victories.⁶⁷¹ The supposed society was banned, as the authorities adduced that the state already financed the religious

⁶⁶⁶ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, November 23, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁶⁶⁷ Benjamin W Stanley et al., “Urban Open Spaces in Historical Perspective: A Transdisciplinary Typology and Analysis,” *Urban Geography* 33, no. 8 (2013): 1103.

⁶⁶⁸ Freán, “La Correspondencia de España 16/06/1860.”

⁶⁶⁹ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 24/08/1860”; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/09/1860”; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 11/09/1860.”

⁶⁷⁰ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 266.

⁶⁷¹ “Expediente Criminal. Causa Instruida Contra El Presbítero D. Ysidro Avila Capellán Del Regimiento Infantería de Yberia Por Haber Proferido Palabras Inconscientes En Un Sermón,” 1861, Legajo 623, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

institution, and there was therefore no reason for these women to collect money from the “pious soldiers.” Interestingly, the authorities had not noticed the presence of these women even though they carried out their activity in the very *Plaza de España* itself.

The class barriers among Spaniards manifested themselves in everyday activities, the places frequented, and the consumption habits. While luxury creams and perfumes were shipped in from Paris or London to the hairdressers’ in *Plaza de España* and silver and gold were sold at a silversmiths’ in the same square, common soldiers engaged in popular bull fighting, cock-fighting and pigeon shooting, and attended the taverns run by Spanish civilians.⁶⁷²

The middle-class rulers and journalists perceived some of these forms of entertainment and consumer practices to be more decent than others, and tried to ‘indoctrinate’ the common folk in a variety of ways. This applied to both military and civilian Spaniards, although the sources reveal the existence of an important cleavage between the plebeian members of the army and the impecunious civilian immigrants. After all, the soldiers had a job, and were part of the military body. The powerfully hierarchized nature of the army established a severe discipline that assured certain control over their activities, unlike that of civilian individuals.

The press functioned as a speaker for the services that were most needed in Tetouan, which constituted calls for certain supplies, including taverns. At the same time, however, the middle-class ruling classes and journalists condemned the fact that most of the immigrants limited their activities to ‘indecorous’ or ‘unhygienic’ ones. The editors of *El Noticiero* viewed disparagingly the fact that the majority of the establishments managed by Spaniards were taverns and small corner shops. They also exposed the damaging effects of the high consumption of alcohol through enjoyable jokes and humorously written tales.

In October 1860, Francisco Salazar argued that “[w]hile foreigners take great pains to come to Tetouan to sell devices of public utility in which human knowledge is involved, our country folk are devoted only to canteens and tobacco shops which are

⁶⁷² Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 20/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, January 20, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 06/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, June 11, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/11/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 11, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 294; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 84.

prodigiously spreading.”⁶⁷³ In the mid-century, the claim to perform works of “public utility” bore a functionalist imperial resonance. ‘Public utility’ was frequently linked to ‘civilization,’ and to the notions of ‘progress,’ ‘order,’ and ‘discipline,’ and was often deployed to legitimize colonial rule.⁶⁷⁴ The Spanish government prioritized the financing of works of “public utility” in Tetouan, as the example of the theatre will illustrate in the following pages.

The Spanish occupation of Tetouan, as with colonial aspirations and practice in general, was legitimized by recourse to the Spaniards’ alleged ‘civilization.’ The classes that claimed to be ‘civilized’ thought of themselves as having reached a more developed condition, culture, and ‘race,’ and advocated that colonization was a “civilizing mission” that could ‘bring in’ such progress to the colonized. At the same time, however, the Spanish, as with the other imperial powers, had to deal with the fiction of presenting the ‘colonizer race’ as homogeneous. To problematize the dichotomy between the colonizers and the colonized, therefore, entails acknowledging the historically-constructed nature of such social categories, and their shifting definition and significance.

The decision-makers considered part of the Spanish population, especially the impoverished classes, to be engaged in activities that did not fit the standards of ‘public utility.’ This was problematic in terms of colonial legitimacy, because it disclosed the existence of ‘uncivilized’ individuals of the Spanish ‘race.’ The ruling classes thus tried to prevent the presence and the visibility of the insurgent and the impoverished Spaniards in occupied Tetouan. What was at stake was that the latter could damage the image and prestige of the ‘colonizers.’ This could lead the Tetouanis to challenging the notion that the Spanish did not embody the ‘civilized race’ that could be trusted to bring to Tetouan and its ‘uncivilized’ population works of ‘public utility.’

This was the argument of the anonymous writer of the Manuscript of Madrid, when he asserted that the Algerians had welcomed the French settlement in the country due to the latter’s “works of public utility,” unlike the Spanish in Tetouan.⁶⁷⁵ The

⁶⁷³ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/10/1860.”

⁶⁷⁴ So argued the exiled Arab writer and intellectual Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidīyāq, in his 1863 work *Revealing the hidden in European civilization*, cited in: Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity Literary Affects and the New Political* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 61.

⁶⁷⁵ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 288; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 75.

Spanish authorities aimed at avoiding having the Tetouanis see the variety of degrees of ‘civilization,’ as they framed it, among the Spanish. Ultimately, their goal was to prevent the Moroccans from drawing conclusions such as the ones that the author of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid’ reached:

*There are more poor people among you than in our country (...) You burden your people with much exaction, therefore many have decided to disseminate in other countries, and there is no country in the world that lacks great numbers of Spanish workers. If you proceeded with equity, so many poor people would not be expatriated.*⁶⁷⁶

The author of the manuscript considered that the migration of poor Spanish people into Tetouan and other countries of the world proved the ‘tyranny’ of the Spanish government and authorities. This Tetouani small merchant depicted the Spaniards as tyrants *vis-à-vis* the Moroccan sultan, who epitomized justice and compassion. He denounced the fact that the works carried out in the occupied city had been created with “the sweat of [the Spanish] needy subjects.”⁶⁷⁷ He also noticed that the soldiers’ uniforms had makeshift repairs.⁶⁷⁸ Relevant to the contention that there was a specific ‘racial prestige’ that the Spanish authorities aimed at protecting is that the anonymous writer acknowledged the class and power disparities that reigned among the Spaniards in the peninsula and in occupied Tetouan and, particularly, the fact that there were fewer poor people in Morocco than in Spain. That this was seen as being able to work against the Spaniards’ contention that they exported ‘civilization’ to Morocco underscores the class nature of the definition of ‘civilization’ and the ‘civilized’ classes.⁶⁷⁹

The insurgent, the aged, the insane, and the impoverished were thus deported from or imprisoned in Tetouan. The press accounted for the incarceration and the deportation of Spanish individuals, although the causes were not explicitly signaled.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁶ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 282; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 69.

⁶⁷⁷ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 284; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 71. Emphasis added.

⁶⁷⁸ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 295; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 85.

⁶⁷⁹ See also: Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 278; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 63.

⁶⁸⁰ Although normally fewer, Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 18/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 18, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España stated that in the previous days 49 people had been expelled.

Manuel García y Contilló argued that “some individuals who lack[ed] a real way of life [had] abandoned the homeland in order to look for means of subsistence” in Tetouan.⁶⁸¹ The editor claimed that the latter had “taken advantage of moments of tolerance” to carry out their migration project, which suggests that the authorities might have taken measures to limit the opportunities for impoverished people to migrate or settle in Tetouan.

Some decades later, the authorities of the Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco would similarly try to prevent what they called ‘loss of prestige’ (*desprestigio*), by banning Spaniards from performing jobs which were perceived as subordinate to them, such as domestic service or shoe shining.⁶⁸² The colonial elites in the Dutch Indies and British India also restricted, whenever possible, the presence of nonproductive people and of those individuals who could undermine the image of a healthy, empowered, and ‘vigorous’ race.⁶⁸³

The moral-spatial ‘transgressions’ of impoverished Spaniards did not disturb only the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan and middle-class journalists, however. The writer of the Manuscript of Madrid made similar observations with regard to the misconduct that he attributed to soldiers. He disapproved of soldiers’ use of insults, and their lack of “modesty” (*al-ḥayā*). He deplored the fact that they farted and then laughed for having done so, and he censored their generalized harassment of Tetouani women.⁶⁸⁴ He went on to observe:

*They [the Spanish] very much enjoy amusement and parties, to the point that their women dance and weave their hands with men’s, and even when their brothers or fathers see them dance or talk to a man who is not their mahram, they are in no way jealous. Spanish women go to markets with their faces unveiled, they sell and buy and they have their own shops.*⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸¹ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/02/1861.”

⁶⁸² Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, “Una Hermandad En Tensión: Ideología Colonial, Barreras E Intersecciones Hispano-Marroquíes En El Protectorado,” *Awraq* 5–6 (2012): 85.

⁶⁸³ Ann Stoler, “Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 1 (1989): 150.

⁶⁸⁴ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 284; 293; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 71; 83.

⁶⁸⁵ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 292; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 81.

In this passage, the writer discredited the Spanish gender dynamics and women's use of space. Spanish men's control of women, he suggested, was insufficient: they were not "jealous" (*la ghīra fi dalika*) when they saw women dancing with men that were not their *maḥārim* (sing. *maḥram*), that is, the male relatives whom Muslim women could not legally marry and have sexual intercourse with. Moreover, he considered Spanish women's use of public space as inadequate, for their faces were uncovered (*makshufīn al-ujūh*), they engaged in trade activities, and had their own shops.

The observations made in the Manuscript of Madrid conveyed the idea that the Spanish occupation of Tetouan enhanced the transgressing of the moral values of the use of space at work hitherto. Such transgressing was linked to a lack of "modesty," including speech and the 'liberation' of corporal flatulencies; to partying, which included alcohol consumption and mixed gender sociability; and to Spanish women's unveiled presence and commercial interaction. These practices disrupted the implicit rules (*qā'ida*) that abided in the urban realm of 'enlightened' Tetouan, where, as in mid-century Tunis, "[p]ublic moderation, tranquility, and circumspection were the behavioral attributes prized by the medina's largely, but not exclusively, Arab Muslim residents."⁶⁸⁶

This reflected the extent to which the ideology of street use in nineteenth-century Tetouan was infused by gender proscriptions, which were perceived to be put at risk by the occupation. Yet some of these practices, especially those related to the new social and entertainment institutions, were also contested in peninsular Spain. Some of the conservative sectors among the Catholics also perceived many of the middle-class leisure venues with contempt. Renowned advocates such as Joaquin Roca y Cornet and especially Antonio María Claret, the confessor of Queen Isabel II, particularly attacked the practice of dancing. The latter termed it the "devil's invention to take souls to hell."⁶⁸⁷

Conversely, the Manuscript of Madrid distinguished between the soldiers whose attitudes and behavior in the public space he condemned and the officers. He noted that a large part of Spanish officialdom was formed by "honorable and gallant people" (*ahl*

⁶⁸⁶ Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, "Gender in the City: Women, Migration and Contested Spaces in Tunis, C. 1830-81.," *Africa's Urban Past.*, 2000, 192; Assaoud, *Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century*, 84.

⁶⁸⁷ Claret, Antonio María: "Avisos muy útiles a las casadas," cited in: Mínguez Blasco, *Evas, Marías y Magdalenas*, 98. See also: 121-124.

al-murū'a), who had respect for the hierarchies which marked their position.⁶⁸⁸ Affirmations such as these compel us to problematize the distinct categories of the 'colonizer' and the 'colonized.' The values that this Tetouani small merchant endorsed were to some extent convergent with those of the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan, and those of the conservative Catholics in the peninsula. Class barriers separated but also united people across 'racial' (and gender) lines.

So on the one hand changes did occur during the occupation, some of which dramatically transformed urban spaces and dynamics. On the other hand, however, some important practices were maintained. For example, cannon shots fired from the citadel marked the beginning and the end of daily activity.⁶⁸⁹ This was a Tetouani custom which reflected the Tetouani conception of publicly announcing the beginning and the end of both daily activity and nighttime retreat. The cannon shot also concurred with military discipline and the will of the authorities to maintain the racial prestige on which the legitimacy of the Spanish colonial rule rested.

Other spaces in occupied Tetouan similarly capture the tension caused by the rulers' efforts to preserve the Spanish racial prestige. The theatre was one such space, in which contested meanings and practices merged. On the one hand, the military authorities considered that the hardship that the members of the Army of Africa faced during their stay in Tetouan could lessen their "patriotic" spirit, and undermine the colonial enterprise; so they urged that it be minimized in different ways, including making their access to the hitherto banned theatre possible. On the other hand, the military authorities tried to render the Spanish army more homogeneously 'civilized,' a contention that was core to the colonial legitimation, and which was enabled by allowing plebeian soldiers to access the theatre.

The Isabel II Theatre was built in the open space next to *Plaza de España*, which the Spanish named *Plaza del Teatro*. In the pre-occupation era, the main building in the square was an abattoir. (See Appendix, p. 356) Within the first five months of the occupation, the engineers of the Army of Africa built a wooden theatre capable of

⁶⁸⁸ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 289; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 77.

⁶⁸⁹ Francisco Salazar, "El Noticiero de Tetuán 19/09/1860," *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, September 19, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Schroeter, "The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan City," 73.

hosting up to 1,600 people.⁶⁹⁰ Later on, the square was paved and refurbished with some lighting and a fountain.

Although the date of the construction of the theatre is unknown, the fact that on March 1, 1860 *El Eco de Tetuán* explained that a drama company of Ciudad Real had expressed its will to move into Tetouan indicates that the idea of the building of a theatre was known in peninsular Spain by the end of February, a month before the signing of the peace treaty, which confirmed the temporary occupation of Tetouan.⁶⁹¹ In the end, it was a lyric drama company formed ad hoc in the coastal towns of Andalucía that was to perform in the theatre.⁶⁹² The first performance took place on June 29, 1860.

The theatre had economic problems from the very beginning of its existence, a common phenomenon in the peninsular theatrical industry.⁶⁹³ A deficit of 66,654 *reales* was accumulated (an approximate equivalent nowadays of 400,000 euros⁶⁹⁴), and thus performances were suspended on August 29, 1860.⁶⁹⁵ Two months later, a new company resumed the artistic exhibitions.⁶⁹⁶ While the Spanish government assumed the initial default, an impresario called Mr. Brotons, whom the head of the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan, José Antonio Turón, persuaded to join the enterprise was in charge of the second ensemble.⁶⁹⁷ Two actors (José García and Francisco Pérez) and one actress (María Jauregui) in the newly-arrived company had formed part of the preliminary one and were familiar to the audience. In the two-month gap, some amateurs and a gymnastic-acrobatic company under the direction of a certain Mr. Miranda offered several performances to the eager spectators.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁰ José Turón, August 21, 1860, 21, Sección 3^a, División 3^a, Archivo General Militar de Segovia; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860.”

⁶⁹¹ Alarcón and Rinaldy, “El Eco de Tetuán,” 4.

⁶⁹² “Teatro Isabel II,” August 21, 1860, 4, Sección 3^a, División 3^a, Archivo General Militar de Segovia.

⁶⁹³ David Thatcher Gies, *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁶⁹⁴ The value of one *real* at that time is equivalent to six euros (in 2011), according to Albusu Andrade, *La Guerra de África, 1859-1860 la División Vascongada (el 2º tercio)*, 22.

⁶⁹⁵ “Teatro Isabel II,” August 21, 1860, 5.

⁶⁹⁶ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 16/10/1860.”

⁶⁹⁷ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 26/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 26, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Dora Bacaicoa Arnáiz, “El teatro en Tetuán en el año 1860,” *Revista de literatura*, 1953, 92 (note 20). Bacaicoa Arnáiz affirms that Tomás García Figueras reported Turón’s actions, as told by Tomás Brotons, son of the impresario.

⁶⁹⁸ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/09/1860”; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 25/09/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, September 25, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

The Isabel II Theatre hosted a heterogeneous audience. The majority of the spectators, as with the population in occupied Tetouan, were military personnel. The Muslim and Jewish appointees and notables also attended the theatre. On the occasion of the Spanish queen's name day, for example, *El Noticiero de Tetuán* informed its readers that "elegantly dressed" Jewish women had appreciated a performance at the theatre.⁶⁹⁹ For the heterogeneous audience to include the common soldiers, the authorities accommodated the price of the tickets to their economic possibilities.

After the evacuation of the majority of the Spanish forces in the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty of Wad Ras, the majority of the members of the army who remained in town belonged to the "less favored" classes.⁷⁰⁰ In August 1860, José Turón y Prats reported to the General Military Administration that the most economic ticket for the common soldiers had been set at one *real* for a seat, whereas officers would pay five for the front stalls, and the superior personnel would pay twenty to be located in the gallery.⁷⁰¹

Accordingly, even if the arrangement within the theatre was dependent upon their rank as petty officers, officers and senior officers, the plebeian soldiers who could not access the theatre in the peninsula could attend it in Tetouan. Class barriers differed in the peninsula and occupied Tetouan. By why was that so? Why did the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan set the theatre ticket prices at levels accessible to the common soldiers? There were several reasons for this, and they were all crucial to the legitimacy and the functioning of colonial rule. On the one hand, the military authorities aimed at homogenizing the Spanish army in terms of class and prestige, in an attempt to prevent the undermining of the prestige of the colonizing 'race.' This shows, as the discussion above has already sketched, the important role that class played in the construction of 'racial' categories. On the other hand, allowing plebeian soldiers into the theatre was a means to guarantee that the soldiers were effective in performing their duties.

Following mid-nineteenth-century hygienist thinking, according to which nostalgia was an illness capable of lessening soldiers' "patriotic" duty, in the aftermath of the occupation of the city, the authorities rushed to provide privates with different entertainment venues. As already mentioned, immediately after the capture of the city

⁶⁹⁹ Salazar, "El Noticiero de Tetuán 21/11/1860."

⁷⁰⁰ García y Contilló, "El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/02/1861."

⁷⁰¹ Turón, August 21, 1860, 22.

the central square of *Plaza de España* was turned into a bull ring. The soldiers also practiced the more popular games of cock-fighting and pigeon shooting. After a few months, a military gymnasium started to be built. The adjustment of the prices of the theatre tickets to accommodate the plebeian soldiers is partly to be understood within this ‘therapeutic’ framework.

That the military officers feared that the effective performance of their privates would decline if they were not given certain leisure venues meant that army members mobilized the additional burden of their destination as a strategy to gain social and military ascent. Indeed, the Spanish military and religious personnel used their ‘African’ location in their requests to acquire awards, promotion, and a better destination in the future.⁷⁰² In their requests, they claimed merit for having dealt with the suffering produced by the ‘African’ precariousness *vis-à-vis* the ‘civilized’ conditions of comfort that they could supposedly enjoy in Spain. That way, they profited from and reinforced the connections that were common in the mid-century between the space (European, African) and the quality of life (civilized, uncivilized) it offered.

In advocating for the construction of a theatre, the then chief of the Forces of the Occupation, Diego de los Ríos y Rubio, alluded to the necessity of providing “a social and decorous escape” for the army, and one which constituted “one of the most efficient means recommended by hygiene.”⁷⁰³ In his response, the director of the General Military Administration had stressed the priority that financing “public utility” endeavors had for the government, “especially when it comes to a leisure venue that is moralizing.”⁷⁰⁴ He assured:

there is nothing more convenient than providing [the army] with the means for entertainment that can enliven the hardship, privations and suffering that the Army of Africa must have undergone, especially during its present permanence. For that reason, the establishment of a theatre in Tetouan was a happy idea, an occurrence that is consonant with the European civilization, and a necessity as others that the cultured man

⁷⁰² “Varios: Diligencias Y Expedientes,” n.d., Files 623, 783, 946, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

⁷⁰³ Turón, August 21, 1860; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/08/1860.” “Teatro Isabel II,” August 21, 1860, 3.

⁷⁰⁴ “Teatro Isabel II,” October 31, 1860, 8, Sección 3^a, División 3^a, Archivo General Militar de Segovia.

*has created. With compliance we hope that the government of HM can contribute to such a laudable purpose.*⁷⁰⁵

The written words of the Spanish director of the General Military Administration are indicative of the manifold meanings the theatre bore in occupied Tetouan. Firstly, it was the most appropriate means for enlivening the “hardship, privations, and suffering” that the members of the army had gone through, not only during the campaign, but “especially during the present permanence” in Tetouan. This points to the instability and multi-faceted difficulties that the Army of Africa, however pompously it presented itself, suffered in the initial stage of the occupation of Tetouan, as shown in Chapter Four.

In addition, the director of the General Military Administration noted that the establishment of a theatre was harmonious with “the European civilization.” The theatre was thus not only an effective way of animating military personnel, but also the reflection of the social distractions that suited “the cultured man.” In nineteenth-century Europe, the theatre constituted one of the outstanding new forms of middle-class entertainment. These burgeoning leisure venues, and the transformations related to material culture and the reshaping of the urban landscapes were associated with the creation and expansion of a new middle class in peninsular Spain. Together with the cafés, clubs for social gatherings, cultural centers such as athenaeums, parks and promenades, theatres constituted the spaces of sociability where the peninsular middle classes and their identity consciousness was formed in the nineteenth century.⁷⁰⁶ Although these were not new socio-cultural artifacts, their use and value was steadily changing, as they spread to wider segments of society. Throughout the eighteenth century and the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, they had remained confined to more reduced aristocratic environments. With time, they extended to the new middle classes.

This emerging class was both numerically weak and heterogeneous in nature in peninsular Spain, but its common feature was its will and claim to embody modernity, namely that it epitomized ‘civilization,’ the notion of a historically-driven ‘progress’ that was believed to signal a more advanced or ‘refined’ condition than those who were

⁷⁰⁵ “Teatro Isabel II,” 9.

⁷⁰⁶ Cruz Valenciano, *El surgimiento de la cultura burguesa en la España del siglo XIX*, 286.

‘uncivilized.’⁷⁰⁷ As the previous contention contained in the Manuscript of Madrid showed, the notion of ‘civilization’ which informed and legitimized colonization was very much embedded in class. Accordingly, the fact that impoverished and non-productive Spaniards lived in Tetouan was seen as a threat to the colonial discourses and practices.

The liberal high ranks of the army stood out among the small portion of middle-class Spaniards, and the theatre reflected and recreated the values and the practices of these emerging middle classes. The “moralizing” aspect and function of the theatre to which the director of the General Military Administration alluded consisted in spreading ideas, notions, and identities that matched with the “European civilization” and “the cultured man.” The Egyptian modernizers, too, conceived of the theatre as a tool of mass popular civic instruction, “effectively teaching modernity despite widespread illiteracy.”⁷⁰⁸ Illiteracy was certainly a problem among the members of the Army of Africa, given that almost 60% of the Spaniards who were in Tetouan before the signing of the peace treaty knew neither how to write nor how to read.

The Isabel II Theatre featured *zarzuela* rooted in Italian opera, and the plots of the plays revolved around marquises, marchionesses, counts and countesses.⁷⁰⁹ Military heroic deeds were also staged. Military doctor Nicasio Landa’s chronicle, cited in the previous chapters, was represented in various fascicles in December 1860.⁷¹⁰ The patriotic, liberal, and colonialist views of Landa surely served to reinforce Spaniards’ victory and their alleged military, moral, and modern ‘civilized’ superiority over Moroccans. (See Appendix, p. 362)

Nonetheless, attending the theatre was certainly not only a question of entering the wooden building. Rather, it involved a range of rituals that extended to the theatrical functions in both space and time. Whenever a performance was to take place, two music bands would traverse the city in order to attract spectators and draw them toward the

⁷⁰⁷ Cruz Valenciano, 21–23. See also: Jerrold E Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France and Germany since 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁷⁰⁸ Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa, Europe, and the Ottoman Empire in an Age of Migration, C. 1800-1900*. (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2011), 325.

⁷⁰⁹ Bacaicoa Arnáiz, “El teatro en Tetuán en el año 1860,” 97.

⁷¹⁰ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 15/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, December 15, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

edifice.⁷¹¹ When the function finished, several forces would accompany the civilian spectators to their residences. Presumably, these rituals were as important, in terms of the construction of a ‘sense of one’s place,’ to use Bourdieu’s felicitous term, as entering the theatre itself.⁷¹² The social orientation that being part of the audience of the Isabel II Theatre provided was one that was marked by class as well as ‘race,’ two prominent indices at work both within the theatrical realm and between those who attended it and those who did not.

Still, the public of the Isabel II Theatre had to deal with different sets of difficulties. The wooden building was inundated when the winter rain was heavy, and the lighting was defective.⁷¹³ Moreover, the central chandelier would from time to time drip wax onto the spectators. In addition, the theatre chronicle and the play reviews published in *El Noticiero* frequently bemoaned the constant repetition of plays. The editors also advised the company to rehearse more often in order for the quality of the performances to improve.⁷¹⁴

All in all, the socio-urbanistic transformations that the military Spanish rulers projected onto occupied Tetouan included the setting up of a lifestyle distinctive of the new ‘civilized’ middle classes. By reducing the price of the tickets for entry to the Isabel II Theatre, the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan enabled every member of the Army of Africa to access a space that was out of reach in the peninsula. British, Dutch, and French colonial policy makers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries designed pay scales, housing, medical facilities, marriage restrictions, and labor contracts such that the colonial enterprise remained a middle-class phenomenon.⁷¹⁵ The same can be said of the Spanish authorities who, by virtue of the policy of reducing the prices for the tickets of the soldiers, could purport to offering a more homogeneous image of the Spanish colonizing army – in terms of class, and prestige.

⁷¹¹ Bacaicoa Arnáiz, “El teatro en Tetuán en el año 1860,” 93.

⁷¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 468–69.

⁷¹³ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/09/1860”; Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 28/10/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, October 28, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 23/11/1860.”

⁷¹⁴ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 30/10/1860”; Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 26/11/1860”; Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 31/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, December 31, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁷¹⁵ Stoler, “Rethinking Colonial Categories,” 150.

Even if access to the realm of the theatre symbolically signaled belonging to a middle-class ‘civilized’ modernity that the authorities in occupied Tetouan endeavored to extend to the whole army, the internal barriers that configured the theatrical entertainment differentially shaped the experience, the positioning, and the access to resources of the diverse spectators. A plebeian soldier, for example, paid one *real* to enter the Isabel II Theatre and was situated in simple seats, and then escorted the wealthy or middle-class civilians on their way to their homes. The middle-class civilians or the superior military commanders, instead, paid either five or twenty times more than the private to get into the theatre, where they enjoyed a more comfortable seat in the stalls and a rather privileged view of the stage; among them, the civilians were then accompanied to their residences by a group of common soldiers.

Class barriers were maintained and reproduced. But they were also softened in order to foster the ‘racial’ prestige that was at the core of what allegedly distinguished the Spanish from the Moroccans. The fictional maintenance of the equally fictional cleavage between ‘civilized’ Spaniards and ‘uncivilized’ Moroccans, which formed the core legitimation of the occupation of Tetouan, depended on the concealment or at least the mitigation of the internal barriers that permeated the Spanish community.

The building of a gymnasium in the eastern terrains of the first district can also be similarly interpreted. The soldiers played ball, bar and bowling games, activities which underscore the nineteenth-century peninsular military developments in the practice of sports. In line with hygienist concepts, sports were understood as a means to affirm health and vigor.⁷¹⁶ Besides, modern sport was increasingly taken to benefit not only the individuals, but also the nation and the nation’s international projection *vis-à-vis* others.⁷¹⁷ Practicing sports was, therefore, linked to the patriotic and imperial aspect of the army, as well as to the domain of masculinity, and men’s bodily constitution was key to the definition of the army as a powerful representation of the virile and imperial nation.

⁷¹⁶ Cruz Valenciano, *El surgimiento de la cultura burguesa en la España del siglo XIX*, 371–72. See also: Rafael Fernández Sirvent, “Memoria y olvido de Francisco Amorós y de su modelo educativo gimnástico y moral,” *RICYDE. Revista Internacional de Ciencias del Deporte*. 3, no. 6 (2007): 26–40.

⁷¹⁷ Fernández Sirvent, “Memoria y olvido de Francisco Amorós y de su modelo educativo gimnástico y moral,” 41.

In November 1860, *El Noticiero* informed its readers that a Muslim man (*un moro*) had been playing a ballgame with some Spanish soldiers in the gymnasium.⁷¹⁸ It is difficult to know how often this type of sporting interreligious mingling occurred in the ‘public’ realm. The newspaper reported the event in a tone that suggested it was exceptional. As the next section will show, the military authorities tolerated interracial mingling only under particular conditions. Surely, the fact that a Muslim practiced sports – as hygiene recommended – with some Spanish soldiers in the eyes of others was not seen as a dangerous liaison. Rather, it emphasized the ‘civilized’ customs that the Spanish were ‘introducing’ to Tetouan.

6.2. Porous Boundaries in Occupied Tetouan

As already seen, the dichotomy of the colonizers/colonized was a historically-constructed social category. In order to problematize the dichotomy as well as its ubiquity, it is necessary to, first, historicize it and recognize its dynamism. Second, it is compelling to acknowledge the interdependent and interrelated nature of the categories of ‘race’ and class. The aforementioned discussion on the racial prestige that the Spanish ruling classes aimed at preserving has disclosed the relevant weight class had in the definition of ‘civilization.’ At the heart of the ‘racial’ categories which legitimized colonization and colonial rule, then, was constructing class homogeneity, to present the category of the colonizer – and the colonized – ‘races’ as unitary. This section will continue to sketch some of such boundaries, although the main interest will be to signal their porous and thus surmountable quality. I will thus account for the different institutionally-planned and socially-sanctioned barriers, as well as for the subaltern agency which navigated and trespassed them.

Spanish rulers passed certain policies which were ‘racially’ differentiated, and which imposed particular restrictions on the Moroccan common people. Tetouanis’ mobility, for example, was more restricted than that of the Spaniards. While the Spaniards could access the city from any of its seven gates, Tetouanis could do so only from the renamed Gate of the Queen (*Bāb al-‘Uqla*) or that of Fes (*Bāb al-Nawādir*).⁷¹⁹ These gates were located at opposite sides of the city, the former being orientated to the

⁷¹⁸ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 08/11/1860.”

⁷¹⁹ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 03/12/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, March 12, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

east (thus being the entrance to the city from the customs or Aduana, and the port of Martil) and the latter to the west (thus from the road coming from Fes, as its Spanish name indicated, or the region of Jbāla).

Those who wanted to enter the city also had to present a letter of safe passage. (See Appendix, p. 362) Such a procedure could entail much time, as the Manuscript of Madrid denounced.⁷²⁰ Being a fruit and vegetable hawker, the restrictions related to movement in and out of Tetouan were particularly strenuous for this Tetouani writer. This author explained that on one occasion part of the fruit merchandise he was transporting was stolen while his permission was being checked. Besides, while being temporarily absent from the city, his house was allegedly looted by some Spanish officials.⁷²¹

The difficulties entailed in the procedure to exit and enter Tetouan on an everyday basis and the physical or verbal violence that afflicted the majority of the few local dwellers who remained in the city is one of the multiple aspects that shaped Tetouanis' experience in the city. These restrictions and the differentiated treatment that the majority of the Tetouanis received were beyond the stipulations captured in the official decrees. They signaled the socio-spatial and imperial hierarchies on which the materialization of the occupation relied, and were everyday physical and symbolic boundaries that marked the lives of some of the Tetouanis in the occupied city.

The symbolic violence of the occupation and the transformation of several institutions that went with it, and the way in which it affected their way of life is reflected in the poems written by locals. The author of the Manuscript of Madrid condemned the desecration of mosques and tombs by Spaniards. He also reproached the fact that only five houses of worship had been left open for religious purposes, while the rest were turned into “storehouses, stables, places to eat or drink wine and every sort of abominable and depraved uses.”⁷²² Another anonymous author lamented the destruction

⁷²⁰ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 289; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 76.

⁷²¹ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 291; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 79.

⁷²² Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 279. See also: 293; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 64. See also: 82.

of markets and houses, as well as the increase in prices.⁷²³ For his part, the author of an unsigned poem expressed that he felt lonely and he missed his exiled beloved ones.⁷²⁴

The prevailing class and military hierarchies among the Spanish also affected the common Tetouanis. The Manuscript of Madrid affirmed that the Tetouanis were obliged to transport manure, and dead bodies.⁷²⁵ He also explained that Spanish officials mistreated soldiers, who in turn struck out at the Tetouanis. He wrote:

*these incidents were even more frequent when they [the soldiers] were obeying or enforcing an order as, for example, that of sweeping the streets. Therein the least they would do to those who walked close to them was to pour all the rubbish onto their shoes, if not to beat them with their brooms (...) God – let Him be praised – has given them [the soldiers] officers who treat them harshly, that is, who beat and insult them.*⁷²⁶

It seems plausible that Spanish soldiers, who were subject to abuse from their own superiors, found in Tetouani common people among the colonial subalterns whom they could subject to their own mistreatment. And yet, writing the manuscripts and the poems which allow us to acknowledge their experiences were also ways for the Tetouanis to channel the violence they suffered. Writing was, for the learned, also a means to express their humiliation, while avoiding a direct and probably more costly confrontation with the Spanish. The writer of the manuscript declared: “We tolerate [the excuses you allege when we object to your practices], although in our heart we deplore them (...) We keep silent about many issues in order for you not to spill your anger on us, and we only write about a few of your actions that merit reprobation.”⁷²⁷

This Tetouani author thus showed not only the restrictions that he, as did others, encountered in expressing his disapproval of the Spaniards’ despicable deeds, but he also found in writing the means to express his anger and frustration, and to leave behind

⁷²³ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:267–68.

⁷²⁴ Daoud, V:267–68.

⁷²⁵ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 278; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 63.

⁷²⁶ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 295; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 85–86.

⁷²⁷ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 283; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 70–71.

some evidence of his own experience. Hence, this manuscript constitutes the mirror of both the occupation's oppressive boundaries and the agency of Tetouanis as exerted through writing.

Other forms of agency included the solidarity among subalterns. The writer of the Manuscript of Madrid reported a situation in which some Jews who were being beaten by Spanish soldiers went on to praise the Muslims as "courageous" and "virile."⁷²⁸ The anonymous author also explained that those Jews also praised the French and the British, "as a way to lessen the Spaniards." The fact that other similar references appear in this manuscript seems to indicate that to compare the French and the British with the Spaniards – on the grounds of their difference in 'order,' 'organization,' 'military prowess,' and 'public utility' – was customarily used to undermine the Spaniards. Chapter Four showed that the Makhzan used similar allusions, but what this suggests is that the Moroccan common people, too, were well aware of the second-rate power that Spain embodied.

Colonial rule, in general, and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, in particular, introduced 'racially'-differentiated policies that generally disfavored the Tetouanis, as illustrated above. The colonial discourse by which the Spaniards were allegedly 'civilized' and they thus represented a more developed 'race' than the Moroccans was extremely violent, and it foregrounded forms of discrimination and harassment, both physical and symbolic. And yet, some individuals who might have suffered similar doses of violence in pre-occupation times on the basis of their rural or impoverished condition or on the grounds of their political views, might well have considered the Spanish occupation as a chance to subvert their 'wretched' position.

This is indeed what is suggested by a bundle of notes and letters that Muslim personalities and common people addressed to captain Eduardo Soler y Ovejero. These seven letters, which are kept in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid, were written in Arabic between 1861 and 1862.⁷²⁹ The military captain and his informants met in person and knew each other. Characteristic of the missives is the pompous language of respect and sometimes praise, combined with a considerable number of

⁷²⁸ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 287, 293–94; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 73, 83.

⁷²⁹ Letters to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero. Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid). Catalog number (signatura): 26-IV-5.

Moroccan dialectal words and expressions, which reveal that the authors were not highly cultured men. The Spanish captain responded to his interlocutors after he had had the letters translated into Spanish, as some of the translations found with the original letters demonstrate.

Soler y Ovejero went on a journey to Tangier, al-Kasr and Fes during the occupation of Tetouan, as mentioned in Chapter Four. He compiled information regarding the Moroccan army, the functioning of the administration and politics, and gathered some demographic as well as geographical data. He was commissioned on this espionage journey by general José Turón y Prats, whose adjutant he was.⁷³⁰ The text was completed in March 1862, but his investigations seem to have begun *circa* September 1860. It is likely that the information he gathered from his Tetouani informants was useful for him to write his work, even if he diminished their contribution by resorting to the already well-known trope of Muslims' 'wariness.'⁷³¹

Most of the missives were written by a man called Aḥmad Jabūr, although one letter corresponds to one Muḥammad al-Jazīrī wa 'Azīz, and another one to the judge (*qāḍi*) Muḥammad Ghaylān. Al-Jazīrī wa 'Azīz wrote to Soler y Ovejero to inform him that he would not be able to meet him the following Friday, which implies they had made that appointment and might later make a new one.⁷³² Ghaylān, as Jabūr, offered to assist Soler y Ovejero, and requested his favor. In his missive, Ghaylān asked the Catalan captain if he could provide him with a copy of a book, although what type of book it was is not specified.⁷³³

Jabūr's letters are more varied. Some are short and limited to the offer of services and the request for favors. Others are lengthier, although considerably abstract. In one message, Jabūr described the robbery of a stable. It seems that it affected him personally, and although he did not ask for anything specific, it is clear that Jabūr

⁷³⁰ Fernando Ballano Gonzalo, *Exploraciones secretas en África* (Madrid: Nowtilus, 2013), 1874.

⁷³¹ Soler y Ovejero, *Memoria Descriptiva de Un Proyecto de Itinerario de Tetuán a El Alcázar Y Fez*, 7.

⁷³² Muḥammad al-Jazīrī wa 'Azīz, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," February 1, 1862, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan.

⁷³³ Muḥammad Ghaylān, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," November 16, 1861, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan; Aḥmad Jabūr, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," November 16, 1861, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan; Aḥmad Jabūr, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," April 23, 1862, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan.

sought the influence of Soler y Ovejero, perhaps to bypass the local authorities.⁷³⁴ On another occasion, Jabūr sent his son to deliver a gift and a letter to the military captain.⁷³⁵ In it, he told Soler y Ovejero that he wished to ask him for a favor, which he did not specify, and asked him not to reveal it to any Tetouani. By the end of April 1862, only thirteen days before the Spaniards evacuated the city, Jabūr requested the captain's signature as a kind of protection "more valuable than all the money in the world."⁷³⁶ The Tetouani explained that he feared reprisal for having stayed in the city during the Spanish occupation, and mentioned that some Muslims might cut his throat, "for you know the degree of injustice and oppression that they practice." He finally offered to continue to provide Soler y Ovejero with information or any other thing he might be interested in through the Spanish consulate.

As was the case with the Jews' denunciation of oppression by the Muslims analyzed in the previous chapter, the recourse of Jabūr to "Muslims' injustice" was a means to achieve the protection of the Spanish authorities. Jabūr admitted that he feared reprisal for having remained in Tetouan during the occupation, which made his request for Soler y Ovejero's 'protection' more pressing. It is not surprising, therefore, that he ventriloquized the language of the Spaniards' on Muslim 'barbarity.'

These letters reveal the cooperation ties that existed between some Tetouanis and the Spanish military authorities. The specific terms on which their bond was established are quite vague, but two things are clear: the lack of a public exposure of their bond and communication, and the *quid pro quo* basis of their relationship. These missives, however, show only one aspect of such ties. When the evacuation of Tetouan was reaching its end, the Spanish consul-to-be Isidro Millás addressed a letter to the Commercial Direction in Madrid in which he inquired whether the governor could proceed to employ "the Arab resident of this post Hach Abdeslam Cachof" for "the many services provided until today."⁷³⁷ Millás suggested that Cachof could be contracted as concierge of the consulate that was to be inaugurated in Tetouan after the

⁷³⁴ Aḥmad Jabūr, "Letter to Eduardo Soler Y Ovejero," n.d., Instituto Valencia de Don Juan.

⁷³⁵ Jabūr, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," April 23, 1862.

⁷³⁶ Aḥmad Jabūr, "Letter to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero," April 22, 1862, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan.

⁷³⁷ Isidoro Millás, "Report 25/04/1862," n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

evacuation in May 1862. The affirmative response included the advice that Cachof receive “the minimum wage of seven *reales* per day.”

When the rulers changed as a result of the colonial establishment, some people took the opportunity to ascend socially and economically. These were, of course, the people who could indeed achieve such gains in relation to the pre-occupation era and system. As much as the elites feared that the system which privileged them might change, those who did not have such privileges aspired to achieve a more convenient position, or at least to endeavor to do so. The historiographical narratives which allocate a sort of ‘false consciousness’ to those individuals who ‘collaborated’ with the ‘enemy’ are grounded on the assumption that pre-colonial rulers and socio-political systems were necessarily beneficial – or at least better, less oppressive – than colonial ones, for everyone among the colonized.

These conceptions have also led to the establishment of a dichotomy between those who have been considered to have ‘collaborated’ and those whose position has been termed as ‘resistance’ to colonial rule. The dichotomy is problematic not only for the above mentioned epistemological implications, but also because it does not truly capture the variety of positions and attitudes that colonized peoples, especially the subalterns, displayed. These were themselves dynamic, and thus changed depending on the time and space coordinates, and were also signaled by different degrees of coercion, willingness, strategy, consciousness, and capacity to negotiate – that is, of politics.

The anonymous author of the so-called Manuscript of Tetouan stated at the beginning of the twenty-page manuscript that he was writing the account of the war to comply with the request of a “Catalan lord” named Soler.⁷³⁸ He explained that he had argued that he was not suitable for that endeavor, but that the captain had not approved of his “excuse” (*al-‘uḍr*). According to his account, he thus proceeded to inquire of God the Almighty and ask some friends about the dilemma. Ultimately, he decided to comply with the request in the hope that his good words and deeds would be well received by God. This two-sentence introduction is revealing in a number of ways. It shows that the variety of services and information that the Spaniards were interested in gathering included Tetouanis’ ‘version’ of the war. Besides, it suggests that the anonymous writer might have stated his dilemma and the procedure he followed to

⁷³⁸ Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 1.

make the decision in order to comply with the occupiers' orders as a disclaimer to avoid reprisal from this coreligionists, which Jabūr and others explicitly mentioned. It is also plausible, however, that the writer faced a real dilemma regarding the writing of the account, perhaps due to his fear of a sanction or hope for a reward from both Soler y Ovejero and God.

The multiplicity of factors which shaped this man's action is encapsulated by the term 'porosity of the barriers.' The multiplicity of barriers can be seen as the different norms and constraints that the writer of the commissioned manuscript faced, and their porous quality can be ascribed to the different factors that he considered – or claimed to have considered – in his decision making. Ultimately, accounting for subalterns' political actions beyond the colonial and nationalist categories of 'collaborator' and 'resister' entails acknowledging the diverse manifestations of historical agency.

The porosity of the architectural and symbolic barriers extended to the so-called 'private' realm, where the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan endeavored to limit interracial mingling, only to find that the common people contravened such limitations. In August 1860, chaplain Pedro Forgarell was accused of having engaged in "prestidigitation" – sleight of hand, or the performance of magic tricks – in the houses of Jews.⁷³⁹ From what can be inferred from the declarations of three different witnesses and his own statements, the disturbing issues which aroused the authorities' misgivings were both the chaplain's involvement with tricks, which might have included gambling, and his gathering with Jews in their homes. Forgarell, as did the witnesses, assured the investigators that he had only gathered with the Jews who were hosting him.

The authorities probably feared some sort of alliance between subaltern Tetouanis and Spaniards. The abovementioned maintenance of racial prestige, too, is likely to have played a role in the authorities' mistrust toward informal interracial gatherings. The maintenance of a certain degree of prestige was also necessary to enforce authority, both within the Spanish community and the Tetouani one. That the Tetouanis witnessed the Spaniards engaging in activities that did not meet the 'standards' of hygiene and 'civilization,' and indeed that the Tetouanis shared them with the Spaniards could be considered risky, because it might arouse some sort of challenge to the colonial rule.

⁷³⁹ "Expediente de Oficios Contra Pedro Forgarell Capellán Del Batallón de Cazadores de Tarifa Sobre Sucesos," November 1860, File 622, record 14, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

Although it is difficult to discern the type of relationship that informed some of these kinds of gatherings in the private realm, the fact remains that evening and night get-togethers between Tetouani and Spanish women and men occurred, even after the Spanish evacuation.⁷⁴⁰ The nature of the boundaries that the authorities tried to impose was, therefore, porous. The common Tetouanis and the impoverished Spanish immigrants also shared the use of some spaces, given that they often engaged in similar activities and lived in modest or shabby houses. Such shared socio-spatiality was not limited to the city of Tetouan, but also extended to the other occupied neighboring territories. In January 1861, *El Noticiero* informed its readers that the customs or Aduana were becoming a town, that a Jewish merchant had established a store in which he sold fabric, sweets, and other odds and ends, and that a Spanish publican lived with his family in a house “made of salt meat tins.”⁷⁴¹ (See Appendix, 362)

More pressing was the issue of interracial intimacy. Interracial love or sexual bonding was celebrated as long as it occurred within the boundaries of marriage, implying conversion to Christianity. Such was the case of a few weddings which took place between Spanish men and local Jewish and Muslim women. In September 1860, *El Noticiero* announced the conversion to Catholicism of a Jewish woman who was to marry a Spanish man. The achievement of the groom-to-be was defined as a “double conquest,” one made for religion and the other one for love.⁷⁴² Although in this case it was the Jewish woman who converted to Christianity, at least one case of a Spanish soldier who converted to Islam to marry a Muslim woman is also known.⁷⁴³ The couple separated and the woman was said to be rejected by her family even after returning to Islam, so the Spanish authorities considered making an exception in the rigid Spanish legislation to allow her to settle in the peninsula despite being a Muslim.

Indeed, conversion was for some people a migratory strategy. In December 1861, the chaplain Ysidro Senpau informed Vicar Carlos José Fernández de Córdoba that a Muslim man wished to embrace Christianity and seek shelter in the peninsula due to

⁷⁴⁰ Isidoro Millás, “Report 13/08/1862,” n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

⁷⁴¹ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 12/01/1861.”

⁷⁴² Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 11/09/1860.”

⁷⁴³ “Problemas de Separación de Matrimonio Interracial,” 1861, Legajo 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta. See letteron 04/11/1861.

“political” reasons, together with his mother whom he declared was a “poor widow.”⁷⁴⁴ Besides, conversion to Christianity seems to have been used as a strategy to achieve family compromises. The file issued against chaplain Ysidro Ávila for having supposedly removed a Jewish young woman from the bosom of her family suggests that the woman wanted to oppose her family by converting to Christianity and abandoning the family household, or threatening to do so.⁷⁴⁵ The Spanish occupation of Tetouan thus seems to have opened up the possibility for some Tetouanis, especially women, to negotiate family obligations. A letter that a woman addressed to the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan from Madrid requiring that the authorities intercede so that her military husband, who held an important position in the Forces of the Occupation and from whom she wanted to be formally separated, pay her a pension also indicates that women found different means to make their claims – even from the Spanish peninsula.⁷⁴⁶

At the same time, most interracial sexual relations took place outside of the legal marriage framework. The military chaplains tried to prevent the cohabitation of unmarried couples, both interracial and non-interracial, but they did not always succeed.⁷⁴⁷ Other newborns resulted from rape. The fact that the Spanish authorities were forced to open a maternity house to deal with an infanticide problem resulting from illegitimate births is an indication of the existence of interracial extra-marital sexual relations, and of Tetouani families’ reluctance to accept these illegitimate children.⁷⁴⁸

The fact that many Jewish and Muslim families did not accept mixed offspring leads to several hypotheses: firstly, some of the pregnant women may have carried out self-induced abortions or gone into forced exile; secondly, others may have faced the consequences of the patriarchal conceptions that signified women’s bodies as the markers of family and community honor, which the mixed offspring were considered to

⁷⁴⁴ Ysidro Senpau, “Conversión de Un Moro Y Solicitud de Traslado a La Península Por Dificultades Políticas,” n.d., File 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta. See also: Isidoro Millás, “Report 08/06/1863,” n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional illustrates the conversion of two Jewish women. Ramón Gómez, “Conversión Del Moro Gúa Amar,” February 24, 1861, File 783, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

⁷⁴⁵ “Expediente Criminal. Causa Instruida Contra El Presbítero D. Ysidro Avila Capellán Del Regimiento Infantería de Yberia Por Haber Proferido Palabras Inconscientes En Un Sermón.”

⁷⁴⁶ See letter on 18/01/62 in: “Varios: Despachos,” n.d.

⁷⁴⁷ “Varios: Despachos”; “Varios: Despachos,” 1861.

⁷⁴⁸ Bauer y Landauer, *Consecuencias de la campaña de 1860 (Marruecos)*, I:247.

tarnish; thirdly, some women are likely to have opposed the negative consequences that their interracial sexual relations may have raised among family and neighbors. Might the Jewish girl whom Ysidro de Ávila accused of having taken away from her family have aimed at negotiating her family's intervention in her extra-marital relationship, or in a possible pregnancy?

The news about the mixed offspring also triggered reactions from across Morocco. Sometime between August 1860 and February 1861, the 'ulāma from the Qarawiyyīn mosque issued a *fatwā* stating that all the virgin women living in Tetouan were obliged to abandon the city.⁷⁴⁹ That this edict was issued indicates the threat that interracial coupling was perceived to pose for male privilege, as Chapter Three discussed in more detail. The fact that the edict targeted unmarried – thus supposedly virgin – Teṭūānīyyāt is important in that it illustrates that some of them did not abide by the patriarchal notions that prevailed within family and community arrangements.

6.3. Women in Occupied Tetouan

In the first days of February 1860, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Charles Yriarte visited Muḥammad al-Razīnī's mansion. The then head of the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan Diego de los Ríos issued a special permit for those who were curious to see what the houses of Tetouani notables looked like. Alarcón and Yriarte were bewildered by the luxurious decoration they found in the interior of al-Razīnī's palace.⁷⁵⁰ A guard showed them around the mansion but skipped the harem, which was located behind a curtain. Alarcón, however, furtively entered the "Arabic gynoecium," where he found a "black odalisque." A perplexed Alarcón recorded:

I counted on it that when she saw me she would scream, run away, or that at least she would be overwhelmed by terror... Nothing like that [happened]. She looked at me fixedly with the immobility with which blacks stare, and she smiled in a sweet manner (...) that half-way stupid and half-way tender smile revealed to me the following thoughts of the Nubian [sic] (...) 'you've entered; I hadn't seen any Spaniards. The guard of the palace says you hurt no one. I'm not to blame for the fact

⁷⁴⁹ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 60.

⁷⁵⁰ See on this visit: Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 530–34; Yriarte, *Sous la tente. Souvenirs du Maroc; récits de guerre et de voyage*, 203–4.

*that you opened the curtain; I'm curious as well, thank you for having compromised for the benefit of both of us.*⁷⁵¹

Alarcón's presumptions regarding the reactions of the woman he found in the harem were contradicted by what he encountered. Instead of feeling terrorized and behaving as Alarcón would have imagined, the woman looked at him intently. The Romantic writer's Orientalist exoticization is visible in the inventive recreation of the woman's thoughts and intentions. The daring attitude Alarcón ascribed to the woman also matched the lust and licentiousness which Western writers and travellers attributed to harem women – although most of them were not allowed to enter and see them – in the Muslim Mediterranean.⁷⁵² It also coincided with Alarcón's misogynistic conception of womanhood which, as Chapter Four showed, was crystallized in the idea that all women were potential Eves who tempted men to eat the forbidden fruit.

This passage is valuable for the history of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan in a number of ways. Women are seldom mentioned in the sources. The majority of the sources are silent about the spaces, the activities, and the roles that women performed, let alone of the different ways in which their political action developed. The excerpt cited above takes us to one of the various women-only spaces which existed in occupied Tetouan. This section will traverse other women-only spaces, something that will require the use of different sources, including both oral and literary. Moreover, a reading of the sources that privileges the potential of educated guesswork over, or rather in addition to, 'proof' is likewise compelling.

The passage on Alarcón's furtive incursion into the harem also urges us to acknowledge that curiosity was not restricted to the colonizers. The people who remained in town after the occupation are likely to have felt as curious as the Spaniards were about them, their houses, their customs, and their physiognomies. The excerpt, moreover, draws attention to the specifically gendered aspect of such a plausible curious attitude. In the urban realm, Moroccan women suffered mobility restrictions that aimed at preventing gender mixing, and that is one more reason for them to be curious about the strange occupiers. The black woman in the al-Razīnī household was probably a servant who had stayed in the city, unlike most of the members of the family, who had

⁷⁵¹ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 532.

⁷⁵² Leila Ahmed, "Western Ethnocentrism and Perceptions of the Harem," *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 3 (October 1, 1982): 521–34.

left and settled in neighbouring Chefchaouen.⁷⁵³ The intriguing literary lucubration of Alarcón notwithstanding, the woman is likely to have wanted to grasp something about those who had occupied Tetouan and turned the lives of many inhabitants upside down.

Certainly, the occupation was a major generator of the feeling of gendered disorder. The mixed gender sociability that the occupation entailed was already a source of distress among the urban Tetouanis. As Chapter Three has shown in greater detail, gender politics operated in a different manner across social classes and in the urban and the rural realms. Rural women performed work outside the household, had greater mobility options than the urban ones, and gender segregation was not so rigorous. In the cities, impoverished women also worked outside the household, and would normally cover up when they went out onto the street. In the modest houses of the humble Tetouanis, the strict rules of urban segregation would often entail that men would go out of the house for social purposes. The houses of the well-off, instead, accommodated gender segregation vertically – the lower parts of the multi-story Andalusí houses being reserved for men, and the upper ones for women. Gender politics were classed and differed between the urban and the rural realms, and less so across religious distinctions between Jews and Muslims.

Whether they worked outside the household, as rural and impoverished urban women did, or not, as was the case with the affluent urban female, women performed the reproductive and care work. Besides, this was true not only for Moroccan or Tetouani women, but also for the Spanish women. As the previous chapter showed, a considerable number of Spanish women migrated to and lived in occupied Tetouan. Although most of the sources I have accessed hardly ever mention women, the ecclesiastical census discussed in Chapter Five put their numbers at almost half of the total Spanish population, to *circa* a thousand women. (See Appendix, pp. 360-1) The presence of so many women that other historical sources do not reflect offers new perspectives, and sets of questions: who were these women? What were the motivations of their migratory projects? Did they cross the strait and settle in Tetouan on their own or were they accompanied? In the latter case, whom did they go with? What roles did they fulfill in the occupied city?

⁷⁵³ Erzijni, “Amina Bin Qarrish de Tetuan.”

To acknowledge the gendered nature of work is key to grasping, first, the way in which women lived during the occupation, second, the way in which their work and lifestyle was perceived, and third, the way in which that work contributed to the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. My twofold aim in this section is to present my argument regarding women's contribution to the shaping of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan as well as to contend that the various limitations that the sources present can be overcome by means of hypotheses and educated guesswork based upon suggestive evidence.

The gendered aspect of the division of labor has historically foregrounded the feminization of reproductive and care work. It has also informed the historical scarce value of such tasks. It is therefore a double silencing that we are facing: the silencing of women and their reproductive and care work, and the silencing of the relevance of such work for virtually every realm of human activity – including military deeds and colonization. What is at stake when the reproductive feminized work is unearthed, then, is also double: making women visible and pointing to the magnitude of reproductive and care work during the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. This double silencing is quite a trans-national phenomenon, although specificities distinguish different cultures. During the occupation of Tetouan, the different cultural backgrounds of the heterogeneous inhabitants of the city coexisted, and although they conflicted at times, they coalesced at others.

Feminist scholarship and activism have long discussed the implications of taking the gendered nature of work seriously. Since the 1980s, feminist academics have demonstrated the importance of integrating feminized reproductive work into the study of political economy. Most have concentrated on unpaid reproductive work, namely the tasks of cleaning, cooking, and taking care of the domestic functioning and the well-being of dependant people, and have thus stressed the nonmarket value produced in households.⁷⁵⁴ The affective realm of the domestic and care work has also been the subject of scholarly discussion. By building on critiques of the individualized and androcentric conceptions of political economy, feminist scholars have more recently

⁷⁵⁴ Marilyn Waring, *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* (San Francisco: Harper, 1988); Nancy Folbre, “‘Holding Hands at Midnight’: The Paradox of Caring Labor,” *Feminist Economics (Print)*, 1995, 73–92; Chris Beasley, *Sexual Economy: Conceiving a Feminist Economics* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994).

come to emphasize the importance of care work for the sustainability of life.⁷⁵⁵ They have emphasized the interdependent nature of human beings, on the one hand, and the fact that ‘productivity’ can only come forward when basic human needs are met through reproduction, on the other.

Following these insights, I wish to highlight the importance of women’s roles in sustaining men’s well-being and their productive work during the occupation of Tetouan. This will endeavour not only to discuss and make women’s experiences visible, although there is that too. By shedding light on women’s work, I aim to uncover the structures on which the whole colonial enterprise relied. I thus argue that the fulfilment of both the material (the bodily and the physiological) and the immaterial (the emotional well-being) needs that women fulfilled was essential to the Spanish colonial venture in Morocco. The section will discuss the different forms that reproductive and care work adopted, and the diverse considerations that it accordingly stimulated.

Historically, feminized reproductive work has taken various forms, depending on the relationship between the person providing it and the one receiving it, which at the same time signalled the degree of social acceptability the same service enjoyed. Tetouani and Spanish women’s work was thus more or less formal, more or less visible, and more or less paid – if at all – depending on the structure within which such work took place. Marriage was the socially-sanctioned framework within which these tasks were performed. Within marriage, the reproductive work represented work that was taken for granted, which was also unpaid. Without marriage, reproductive and care work were commodified, although depending on the different formula it adopted, it was more or less socially acceptable.

Some women in Tetouan were married, and it is likely that they were the ones taking *care* of the necessary reproductive tasks. Some Spanish female immigrants carried out family reunification, and so joined their husbands in the occupied city. The record in the census of both the entrance date and the complete name of the migrants is particularly helpful in order to establish the traditional family links among them. For example, Juan Gallego Jaén (married) entered Tetouan on February 6, and Concepción

⁷⁵⁵ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); María Jesús Izquierdo, “Del Sexismo Y La Mercantilización Del Cuidado a Su Socialización: Hacia Una Política Democrática Del Cuidado” (Cuidar cuesta: costes y beneficios del cuidado, Donostia: Emakunde, 2003); Amaia Pérez Orozco, “Amenaza tormenta: la crisis de los cuidados y la reorganización del sistema económico,” *Revista de Economía Crítica*, no. 5 (2006): 7–37.

Montero Valencia (married) along with Antonia, José, María, Juana, Joaquina and Luisa Gallego Montero (all single) joined him at 16, La Reyna street nearly two months later. Juan entered Tetouan with the Army of Africa, and it is obvious that his wife and six children settled with him afterwards.⁷⁵⁶

Some Spanish heterosexual couples were also formed and married in occupied Tetouan. The so-called Montepío military pension deposits, which had been created in the eighteenth century, obliged members of the army to marry the daughters of military personnel, so some such couples were formed during the occupation.⁷⁵⁷ The women were either peninsular or from Ceuta. Again, they are likely to have performed the reproductive or care work necessary for the fulfilment of the so-called productive tasks which men led, and for which they received recognition. In the case of the well-to-do among these women, they might have been in charge of allocating such tasks to the domestic servants whose services they were able to pay for.

But not all the women were married, nor was marriage the only way for them to provide reproductive and care work – although it was one of the most socially accepted forms for doing so. Some women had arrived in the city with the Army of Africa.⁷⁵⁸ Although the chroniclers hardly ever accounted for their presence during the war, at least several dozen women and families travelled with the army during the campaign. From the seventeenth century on, the increasing professionalization and masculinization of European armies resulted in the major exclusion of women by the nineteenth century.⁷⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the wives and families of some army members, *cantinières* who assisted the soldiers, as well as nuns and sanitary female volunteers traveled with the Army of Africa.

In his *Diary*, Alarcón mentioned the presence of a civilian Frenchwoman who assisted the ill and wounded, as she had previously done in Crimea and Italy.⁷⁶⁰ He also praised the beauty of the *cantinières* who travelled with the Catalan volunteers, and he

⁷⁵⁶ “Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán,” 83.

⁷⁵⁷ Carmen de la Rasilla, “El Montepío Militar: La Asistencia Social En El Ejército de La Segunda Mitad Del S. XVIII,” *Revista de Historia Militar* 63 (October 1, 1987): 123–60; “Expedientes Matrimoniales,” n.d., File 159, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.

⁷⁵⁸ For example, in “Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán,” 34, 35.

⁷⁵⁹ Thomas Cardoza, *Intrepid Women: Cantinières and Vivandières of the French Army* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 3–4; John A. Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 228.

⁷⁶⁰ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 130–31.

expanded on the most well-known *cantinière* of the campaign, Ignacia Martínez, including a drawing of her that was reproduced in other publications in peninsular Spain (see Appendix, p. 363).⁷⁶¹ These women performed reproductive and care work either as a paid job, as the *cantinières*, or as unpaid voluntary work, as the religious or secular philanthropist women. These were in general socially-sanctioned ways of providing reproductive and care work, although the *cantinières* were at times stigmatized due to their perceived gender ambiguity. The *cantinières* often lived both inside and outside the accepted parameters of womanly propriety and activity: inside because they performed reproductive work; outside because they inhabited a masculine sphere that anticipated their courage and physical strength.⁷⁶² Alarcón underscored Ignacia Martínez's quality as "the mother of soldiers," and highlighted her "manly visage."⁷⁶³

Some of these women must have remained in Tetouan. But of the almost a thousand Spanish women living there, the majority were impoverished immigrants. Their reasons to move to Tetouan were both common to men's and specifically gendered. A large scholarly literature has demonstrated that gender explains historical variations in global migratory displacements. Among the theses of the non-economic and gendered reasons for women to migrate, a prominent role has been awarded to domestic violence.⁷⁶⁴ Some of the Spanish women might have moved to Tetouan to escape from abusive men. Still, given that the majority of the migrants belonged to impoverished classes of southern and south-eastern Spain, finding a way to make a living was probably the central concern for the women and men who settled in occupied Tetouan. But economic reasons and solutions, as already explained, were also gendered.

Some of them worked in the shops and the establishments that provided specific services for women, as the author of the Manuscript of Madrid strikingly mentioned. Others earned their daily bread working in the clothes shops or at the hairdresser situated in the *Plaza de España*.⁷⁶⁵ Still others were probably employed in the numerous taverns of Tetouan, Aduana, and Martil, where they prepared food or served drinks. Yet

⁷⁶¹ Alarcón, 378, 116–17.

⁷⁶² Lynn, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, 95.

⁷⁶³ Alarcón, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, 116.

⁷⁶⁴ Hamilton Siphon Simelane, "The State, Chiefs and the Control of Female Migration in Colonial Swaziland, C. 1930s-1950s," *The Journal of African History* 45, no. 1 (2004): 103–24.

⁷⁶⁵ Anonymous, "Transcription of the 'Manuscript of Madrid,'" 292; Ruiz Orsatti, "La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época," 81; Francisco Salazar, "El Noticiero de Tetuán 21/08/1860," *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, August 21, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

it is also likely that a section of the female immigrants earned money as inn keepers, which included offering a variety of feminized services – domestic and care work, including sex work.

In nineteenth-century Spain, especially in areas where masculinized labor sectors such as the military one operated, inn keeping (*pupilaje*) constituted a widespread although invisibilized economic sector.⁷⁶⁶ Inn keeping could include some or all of the reproductive work, namely shopping, food preparation, laundry, sewing, cleaning, household maintenance, and caring – which might, or might not, include sexual intercourse. As some scholars have demonstrated, the income of the *pupileras* could at times surpass their male family members' salaries.⁷⁶⁷ It is likely that some of the Spanish migrant women offered such reproductive and care services in the houses that were left empty after the migration of the majority of the Tetouani population, where themselves lodged.

According to the ecclesiastical census, most of the households were inhabited by several people who arrived in the city at different moments. This is not surprising considering that the traditional Tetouani houses contain several floors. Besides, the fact that different people shared a habitable space is no clear indication of their bonding; in fact, the ties among many of the people who lodged together are beyond the bounds of possibility of being known. For example, on August 22, 1861 three married women entered Tetouan and six days later two single men moved into the same house.⁷⁶⁸ Other cases among many include a single man who joined a widowed man, a married woman who moved in with a widowed man, and two single women who moved in together.⁷⁶⁹ These people could be complete strangers, acquaintances, relatives, neighbors, friends, lovers, or different things at different times.

⁷⁶⁶ Enriqueta Camps i Cura, "Las migraciones locales en España, siglos XVI-XIX.," *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica* 11, no. 1 (1993): 31; María del Carmen Borrego Plá, "El comercio del vino y el Puerto de Santa María en la crisis del noventa y ocho," in *Andalucía y América en el siglo XIX: actas de las V Jornadas de Andalucía y América*, ed. Bibiano Torres Ramírez and José Jesús Hernández Palomo (Sevilla: Editorial CSIC, 1986), 469; Jean-Louis Guereña, "La reglamentación de la prostitución en Galicia en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX (1867-1889)," in *Recherches en littérature et civilisation européennes et hispano-américaines: mélanges Gérard Brey*, ed. Angelo Colombo (Paris: Presses Univ. Franche-Comté, 2009), 73–82.

⁷⁶⁷ Mercedes Arbaiza Vilallonga, "La Construcción Social Del Empleo Femenino En España (1850-1935)," *Arenal: Revista de Historia de Mujeres* 9, no. 2 (2002): 24.

⁷⁶⁸ "Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán," 65.

⁷⁶⁹ "Padrón Eclesiástico de La Plaza de Tetuán," 5, 7, 181 respectively.

These and other examples show that unmarried women in Tetouan were not only there with their families. Some women, as the couple above, arrived on their own in the seized city. Men in occupied Tetouan probably thus shared a household with women whose services they paid for. Indeed, such a structure can be seen as one space in which to locate individual and collective female agency, especially since theirs was not a migratory project that involved too much of a risk. In order to travel to Tetouan from the peninsula a mere residency card (*cédula de vecindad*) was needed. Besides, it was a short-distance migration, given the proximity between Tetouan and peninsular Andalucía and the Levante from where most of the migrants came.⁷⁷⁰ This means that if the economic, social, political, or emotional expectations were not met, the cost would not be too high.

Editor Salazar recognized that the Spanish migrants whom he disdained provided an “extremely important service to the army by bringing in certain things to which the military personnel [we]re used and which [we]re almost completely absent” in Tetouan.⁷⁷¹ He did not specify sexual or care work, but I suspect there exists wide consensus in that he would have not considered these activities noteworthy, let alone as work. Ann Stoler has argued that the reasons for the ‘unwritten’ in historical sources can be varied, namely that “it could go without saying and ‘everyone knew it,’ (...) it could yet not be articulated, and (...) it could not be said.”⁷⁷² I suggest that the generalized silence regarding Spanish women and their work was due to a mixture of these reasons.

For his part, the author of the Manuscript of Madrid claimed that prostitutes gradually went to Tetouan shortly after the arrival of the Spanish troops.⁷⁷³ The press and the cultural production of both the peninsula and occupied Tetouan also attest for the request for female sexual services. *El Noticiero* voiced numerous laments on the absence of ‘the beautiful sex’ in Tetouan, and some of the popular musical and theatrical compositions which saw the light of day in Spain after the seizure of Tetouan

⁷⁷⁰ Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 137.

⁷⁷¹ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 20/01/1861”; Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 16/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, January 16, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁷⁷² Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Thinking through Colonial Ontologies* (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3.

⁷⁷³ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 286; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 72.

implicitly requested sex workers. The lyrics of one such musical opera read: “The girl who to Morocco wishes to come will be awarded a position of barmaid / If she’s pretty she’ll become rich by selling wine and flesh (*carne*).”⁷⁷⁴

The Manuscript of Madrid not only stated the arrival of sex workers in the city, but it referred to the practice of cohabitation as linked to prostitution, immorality, and depravation. The author affirmed that Jews had hosted the Spaniards, and that consequently “unprecedented debauchery [had] spread among Jewish women (...) and few of them [had] avoided fornication (*zinā*).”⁷⁷⁵ The Tetouani writer’s argument was that the Jews’ adultery (*zinā*) was due to their “adoration of money,” which they shared with the Christians. Contrarily, Muslim women “even when they have no coin for their expenses, *if they are honorable*, resort not to prostitution (*zinā*).”⁷⁷⁶ The writer dismantled his prior argument whereby the women fell under the category of ‘honorable’ or ‘dishonorable’ depending on their religious affiliation. His final statement ended with the conundrum that Muslim women did not carry out sex work *unless* they were ‘dishonorable.’

The author commented on the physical appearance of the sex workers who arrived in Tetouan. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the presumed presence of identified sex workers in the streets represented a scandal for Tetouanis, because I have not been able to gain insights about the forms that prostitution adopted in pre-occupied Tetouan. Scholars have shown that the French colonial system in Algeria and Tunisia regularized and homogenized into the brand of ‘prostitutes’ different categories of women who in the pre-colonial times were providers of different services which included sex. The most well-known cases in Algeria were the *Nāilyyāt* and the ‘*Aṣriyāt*. The latter were “orphaned, divorced, repudiated, widowed [women] or unable to marry at the appointed age [who] became dance performers and engaged in sexual activity

⁷⁷⁴ *Escenas de campamento; La niña que a Marruecos venir se quiera. A propósito dramático, representado en el Teatro del Príncipe, después de la toma de Tetuán* (Madrid: Carrafa y Sanz, 1860); See also: Juan José Pastor Comín, “El Conflicto Con Marruecos En La Música Española,” in *La Guerra de Marruecos Y La España de Su Tiempo (1909-1927)* (Ciudad Real: Sociedad Don Quijote de Conmemoraciones Culturales de Castilla, 2009), 198–200.

⁷⁷⁵ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 287; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 73.

⁷⁷⁶ Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 286; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 72. Emphasis added. The term *zinā* terms adultery in the legal sense, and fornication or sex work in its more general sense.

with their patrons until they found a husband.”⁷⁷⁷ The Nāiliyāt worked in their home towns, whereas the ‘Aṣriyāt were itinerant. Importantly, the Nāiliyāt were well accepted in the southern rural areas where they lived, but their reputation was bad further north, where they were considered ‘shameless’ – being called a Nāiliya became an insult among the northern Algerians.⁷⁷⁸

Similar forms of work which included performance and sex work might have existed in Morocco, but they were probably not as visible in *haḍārīyya* Tetouan. As in northern and urban Algeria, the puritanical morale was particularly strong in Tetouan. Some Tetouani men were reluctant to leave their town on the eve of the Spanish capture, even though flight was presented as a religious duty. In Chapter Three I argued that those men probably aimed at preventing ‘their’ women from living according to rural gender stipulations and thus enjoying more mobility and less segregation. Yet by remaining in town, Tetouani men also lived forms of social interaction and street practices which they perceived as scandalous. As already suggested, the Spanish military chaplains also shared some of these views. All in all, the socio-spatial urban rules (*qā’ida*) were remarkably gendered, and sex work outside of marriage was in particular not acceptable. From the perspective of the author of the Manuscript of Madrid, Jewish women’s inn-keeping for Spanish soldiers was an even more outrageous depravity.

In the case of the married women or even the relatives of men living in Tetouan, their tasks were unpaid but within the realm of Spanish and Tetouani respectability. In the case of the inn-keepers and the sex workers, their work might have not been visible to everyone and, despite being paid, they probably did not earn much. At the core of the invisibilized and devalued nature of reproductive work is its gendered aspect, namely that these were activities mainly performed by women and thus they had less value than those performed by men, and vice versa: it was because they were performed by women that they had less value.

On the other hand, what unearthing this work permits us to do is, first, to feminize the war and the occupation, against the androcentrism that prevails in both the

⁷⁷⁷ Lazreg, *The Eloquence of Silence*, 33.

⁷⁷⁸ Lazreg, 30; For the Tunisian case, see: Dalenda Larguèche, *Marginales En Terre d’Islam*, Collection Enjeux (Tunis: Cérés Productions, 1992).

sources and the historical accounts. Second, to acknowledge that the Tetouani and Spanish women – as wives, inn-keepers or plain sex workers – enabled the sustainability of the Spanish military occupation and colonial rule in Tetouan across time. Ultimately, the Spanish colonization of Morocco, which began with the war on Tetouan, its occupation, and the consolidation of Spanish influence that the Treaty of Wad Ras and subsequent treaties facilitated would not – as with any other colonization – have been possible without the reproductive and care work generally performed by women.

Many other questions remain unanswered regarding many of these women's experiences. In the case of the impoverished Spanish immigrants, one wonders how the migration project may have altered their social networks, not only in Tetouan, but also back in their hometowns. Some of may have left their families in the peninsula and, as recent literature on migration has pointed out, relied on 'other mothers' (grandmothers, elder daughters, aunts, neighbors) to raise their children or dependent relatives.⁷⁷⁹ Did these practices, if existent at all, change and reshape the concept and practice of motherhood? One might also imagine – even desire – that migration momentarily suspended the 'patriarchal contract' which some scholars have identified in other migratory cases.⁷⁸⁰

As importantly, some of these questions could be extended to the Teṭūāniyyāt who left the city on the eve or during the Spanish capture. Their migration out of Tetouan and the settlement in a different social context might have involved the temporary suspension of the gender rules at work in 'normal' circumstances. Unfortunately, many of these hypotheses cannot be verified. Still, this chapter underscores the fact that 'proof' is not the only valuable insight in writing history, and that the different sketchy pieces of information can be put together and analyzed by

⁷⁷⁹ Leah Schmalzbauer, "Searching for Wages and Mothering from Afar: The Case of Honduran Transnational Families," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66, no. 5 (December 1, 2004): 1317–31; Hoang LA et al., "Transnational Migration, Changing Care Arrangements and Left-behind Children's Responses in South-East Asia," *Children's Geographies* 13, no. 3 (2015): 263–77.

⁷⁸⁰ Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Sarah Gualtieri, "Gendering the Chain Migration Thesis: Women and Syrian Transatlantic Migration, 1878-1924," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1 (2004): 67–78; Ulrike Freitag, "Playing with Gender: The Carnival of Al-Qays in Jeddah," in *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective on Ottoman Urban History*, ed. Nazan Maksudyan (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 71–85.

making use of informed reasoning in order to weave plausible theses about the way in which the different historical subjects lived, (inter)acted, and positioned themselves.

Particularly relevant is unearthing different ways of action that different women put forth. In so doing, however, it is important not to impose certain ‘teleologies of liberation’ based on naturalized but still historically-constructed concepts about what freedom, or empowerment, might have looked like.⁷⁸¹ After all, silence about women can be eloquent about *why* it prevails in the sources and the archives; perhaps less about *how* that silence might be ‘replaced.’ In any case, the following pages will show the creativity that characterized the agency of the female subalterns, which is a reminder of the fact that the women in occupied Tetouan exercised their agency in ways that are unimaginable for twenty-first century scholars.

Many sources keep silent about the issue of harassment and gendered violence. The Manuscript of Madrid tells us that “a woman could not walk alone amongst the [Spaniards] without being harassed or subjected to dishonorable comments.”⁷⁸² At times, the author continued, “[men] would touch their breasts taking advantage of the absence of a crowd, even if the same could have happened in front of many people, for no one would have tried to avoid it.” This man’s declaration might indicate that harassment was not a commonplace practice in pre-occupied Tetouan. The fact that this author’s references to women were only related to their bodies and sexuality, however, shows the extent to which women and women’s bodies were markers of men’s honor.

Oral narratives provide ways of thinking of the type of political action that women displayed *vis-à-vis* sexual and gendered harassment. An orally-transmitted story accounts for a Jewish woman called Hadri, who was chased after by a Spanish officer during the absence of her husband, Rabbi Samuel Anahory.⁷⁸³ It is said that the pregnant Hadri pretended to be deaf and mute in order to avoid the officer, and that upon his insistence the woman sought refuge at a Muslim female neighbor’s house,

⁷⁸¹ Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁷⁸² Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 293; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 83. Note that while the Arabic original explicitly states it was the “breasts” (*furūj*) of the women what Spaniards touched, the Spanish translation mentions Spaniards “outraged” (*ultrajar[on]*) them.

⁷⁸³ Françoise Teboul et al., “Histoires tetouanaïses de nos familles Fimat et Garzon, Anahory et Barchilon,” in *Mosaïques de notre mémoire: les judéo espagnols du Maroc*, by Sarah Leibovici (Paris: U.I.S.F., Centre d’études Don Isaac Abravanel, 1982), 189.

where she eventually gave birth. After the husband's return, the couple is said to have fled to Oran and then settled in southern Mascara. The tale, which is likely to have been transformed through its oral transmission, shows the different resources a harassed woman might have used. In any case, the account shows that such strategies, including the complicity of Jewish and Muslim women, might have been conceivable.

The tale exposes the solidarity of women in a patriarchal society in which gendered harassment occurred. It illustrates the noteworthy creativity involved in Hadri Anahory's simulation of her inability to hear and speak, first, and her recourse to a Muslim neighbor, later. That the harasser was a Spanish officer must have complicated dealing with the issue, and perhaps also made the woman's successful escape a remarkable one that has transcended throughout the generations. Particularly interesting is the fact that the story offers an alternative narrative to the customary conception of the relations between the Muslim and the Jewish Tetouanis/Moroccans as only or mainly shaped by religious affiliation. This tale urges a nuancing of the sharply dichotomized accounts of Muslim-Jewish relations in a colonial situation, as it suggests that Muslim and Jewish women, given their shared experience of gender-based harassment, might have shared their struggle against or avoidance of it.

The tale is also interesting in that it takes place in different locations. Hadri's home, on the one hand, which the Spanish officer is said to have penetrated, and the Muslim neighbor's house, on the other, where Hadri is said to have sheltered and given birth. The inter-space between these two women's houses was the rooftops. Despite the fact that in Tetouan the houses of the Madīna and the Millāḥ were separated, the tale accounted for Hadri's traversing from one rooftop to another until she reached her Muslim neighbor's. The rooftops were usually spaces frequented and used by the women of the household, and in this multi-spatial tale the rooftops also served as an escape route from the Spanish officer's harassment. Although women – as Jews – had mobility restrictions in the public space of the madīna, the men were also 'banned' from women's spaces, such as rooftops – as Muslims were banned from the millāḥ. Women's defiance of female mobility restrictions, therefore, occurred in the upper side of the city.

Importantly, the tale suggests women's creative political action, female solidarity across religion, and the uppermost space of the city of Tetouan as a relevant site for female action against patriarchal restrictions. The orally-transmitted tale which brings the chapter to a close is thus also a corrective to the first section of the chapter

which explored the urban spaces as the locations of multiple social relations, but which left women-only spaces unexplored. Space is always gendered, but gender being such a relevant category of social difference in Tetouan, socio-spatiality was equally heavily gendered. The gender politics entailed restrictions – mostly for women – that, however, were porous. Many Arabic tales, traditionally recounted by women, depict men as fools.⁷⁸⁴ Some of them account for women’s trespassing of boundaries without men noticing. The frequency with which women defied mobility and other restrictions is open to speculation, but if rooftop walls or other sources could talk, we might find that the depiction in the tales of men as fools was not only a literary recourse.

6.4. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the experiences, the practices, the oppression and the agency of the subaltern classes living in occupied Tetouan. It has especially focused on the varied socio-spatial structures, conceptions, ideals, and practices of lower-class and female Tetouanis and Spaniards. The analytical traversing through the occupied city has underscored prominent physical and symbolic ‘racial’ boundaries, class barriers, and gender discrimination and harassment, as well as the different ways in which subalterns trespassed them. The chapter has also offered some methodological proposals, not only regarding the use of literary and oral sources but also related to the reading of sources and of scattered information to offer plausible interpretations of different situations, and the unfolding of forms of political action.

One of the dichotomies that the chapter aimed at problematizing is that dividing the colonizers from the colonized. The initial part of the chapter has shown that the colonial legitimation relied on racial conceptions that were embedded in class, and that colonial practice entailed the racialization of class. The legitimacy of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan relied on the claim that the Spanish ‘race’ was superior to the Moroccans and the Tetouanis, for being ‘civilized.’ However, the ruling classes who considered themselves ‘civilized’ despised the impoverished and ‘uncivilized’ among their ‘race.’ In order to maintain the ‘racial’ prestige which was at the core of the colonial legitimation, the Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan worked on being able to

⁷⁸⁴ Hasna Lebbady, *Feminist Traditions in Andalus-Moroccan Oral Narratives*. (New York; Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Hejaiej, *Behind Closed Doors: Women’s Oral Narratives in Tunis*.

present a homogeneous image of the Spanish ‘race’ – in terms of class status and prestige. They thus expelled or jailed the ‘uncivilized’ poor immigrants, and they also softened the class barriers within the Army of Africa. To be sure, the Tetouanis, or some of them, for that matter, drew the conclusions which the politics of ‘racial’ prestige aimed at preventing.

This shows the instability of both historical colonial legitimacy and the problematic nature of the historiographical focus on the ‘colonizer’ and the ‘colonized’ as though they are clear-cut categories. To acknowledge the *constructing* nature of the ‘racial’ categories, however, does not mean that specific ‘racially’-informed policies did not exist. On the contrary, the attempts of the military authorities at homogenizing the Spanish ‘race’ were also dependent on homogenizing its counterpart, namely the Tetouani Moroccans. These categories of difference fostered hierarchy, thus much of the everyday life of some of the Tetouanis who remained in the city during the Spanish occupation included forms of exclusion, discrimination, and varied degrees of formal and officially-sanctioned restrictions, as well as informal violence.

Acknowledging the violence that marked some Tetouanis’ lives does not preclude unearthing other experiences lived by others, however. Highlighting the simultaneous multiplicity that the urban space of occupied Tetouan harbored shows that oppression was one among many other aspects that defined it. The Jewish and the Muslim Tetouanis who had suffered social and political restrictions before the occupation, for example, endeavored to change their situation during Spanish rule, at times with the aid of the Spanish rulers. Still, not everyone was so clear about their position and attitude, and in fact the chapter has shown different tonalities of urban political action. Going beyond the categories of the colonizers and the colonized as homogeneous clusters, in fact, entails acknowledging the dynamic and unlike types of strategies, feelings, perspectives and consciousnesses which are to be found within each of the clusters.

Grasping the historical agency beyond the ‘collaboration’ and ‘resistance’ dichotomy has been the other main aim of this chapter. In fact, recognizing diversity and plurality as features of occupied Tetouan coalesces with the concept of ‘porous boundaries’ that the chapter has put forth. The porous quality of the physical and the symbolic barriers within the city points at the agency of different subalterns in overcoming both the institutionally-planned and the socially legitimized boundaries. I

have argued that there existed ‘racially’-defined subaltern solidarity, sorority across religious lines against gendered harassment, that conversion was a strategy that some Tetouanis and Moroccans used to emigrate to the Spanish peninsula, as well as to negotiate family impositions, and to form socially-repudiated interracial couples. I have also contended that the learned people exerted agency through writing manuscripts to express their humiliation while avoiding direct verbal confrontation with enfranchised groups or individuals, or queries to obtain a military decoration or a better location. Agency is likewise to be found in the cooperation ties that different Tetouani individuals ‘secretly’ established with the Spanish authorities, in their endeavor to achieve social or economic ascent and a better life, despite the fear of reprisal.

The Spanish occupation of Tetouan both changed and maintained structures and dynamics at work in the pre-occupation era. Whether the exceptionality of the war and the occupation entailed some kind of destabilization of the patriarchal social contract remains a hypothesis. The chapter has considered some such hypotheses and advocated the value for the writing of history of considering plausible situations and actions wherever ‘proof’ is unavailable, or biased. This applies particularly to women’s experiences and actions, given the silence of most of the sources regarding both women and the feminized domain. By unearthing the gendered work performed by women in occupied Tetouan, I have underscored its relevance and contribution to the military occupation (and the war), an endeavor which provides a less androcentric view of the historical episode under review in this dissertation. It would seem an obscene truism to have to claim that grasping women’s experiences, actions, spaces, and their personal and political consciousness is pressing because they constituted a great and fundamental part of the Tetouani and the colonial urban, social, cultural, and political structures and dynamics; and yet, androcentric historical perspectives and analytical categories still prevail, especially in the realm of warfare and military conquests.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SPANISH OCCUPATION OF TETOUAN FROM ACROSS MOROCCO

*May God restore Tetouan to be Dār al-Salām [the House of Peace] (...) May God hasten our release from [Chefchaouen] (...) May God halt us from the evilness of its population.*⁷⁸⁵

Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl witnessed several battles and recorded his poor impression of the state of the Moroccan army, as seen in Chapter Three. He opposed the idea of living under the rule of Spanish ‘infidels,’ so he joined his family in the village of Chefchaouen before the Army of Africa captured Tetouan. (See Appendix, p. 345) But life in the mountainous town did not satisfy Afaylāl. The “evil” Tetouani migrants, he wrote, extended “corruption” to the village.⁷⁸⁶ He even accused them of having let Tetouan fall under Christian rule. Afaylāl lamented that the only thing that the émigrés cared about was money and power. He wrote that he felt “ignored” (*fī ṭayyī al-ihmāl*), much like “a copy of the Qur’ān in an unbeliever’s house,” ergo alone, useless, and undervalued.⁷⁸⁷

The anxieties that Afaylāl expressed regarding the ‘evil’ Tetouanis point to his contempt for the common Tetouani folk who had settled in Chefchaouen, and whose “evilness” he implored God to halt. One of the main causes of his longing for Tetouan was the fact that he missed his ‘enlightened’ social circle. Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl was a learned man (*‘ālim*), a jurist (*faqīh*), the prayer leader (*imām*) in al-Swīqa Mosque in Tetouan, and a merchant of Sufī and artistic inclinations. Afaylāl was also a descendant of the greatly venerated Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salām b. Meshīsh, heir to his *baraka* or his divine and spiritual force, and of the blessed prophetic line of descent he held as a *sharīf*.⁷⁸⁸

This chapter is concerned with the misfortunes that Afaylāl experienced during his exile from Tetouan. I will highlight both his suffering and sickness, and his agency

⁷⁸⁵ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 29.

⁷⁸⁶ Afaylāl, 52.

⁷⁸⁷ Afaylāl, 66.

⁷⁸⁸ Ābū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ruhūnī, *‘Umda-t al-rāwīyyīn fī tārikh Tiṭāwīn (The Major Storytellers of the History of Tetouan)*, ed. Ja‘far Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulāmī, vol. IV (Tetouan: Tetouan-Asmīr Association, 2012), 212–13.

in overcoming them, which display important spaces, ties, and ways to enact political action in mid-century Morocco. In addition, I will use Afaylāl's reflections to test the socio-political reactions that the Spanish war on Tetouan and the occupation had across Morocco. Afaylāl's diary offers valuable information regarding his own experience as well as that of others. His account allows us to see the multiplicity of emotions and action that lie at the heart of an experience of exile, and to acknowledge them at two levels, the individual and the collective. Afaylāl's diary is a privileged source for assessing the views that the Moroccan elites harbored regarding the wider imperial penetration that was taking place at the time, of which the Spanish occupation was only a part.

Afaylāl's personal diary is as valuable as it is difficult. The manuscript is full of passages from the Qur'ān, of supplications, of descriptions or mere accounts of major and minor events, and especially of poems. Afaylāl composed and transcribed poems, in and through which he conveyed his thoughts, his emotions relating to the suffering as well as the gratification that he felt when traveling, stories and morals related to jurisprudence or commerce matters, the love for God, and the lyrics of the religious songs and litanies he sang with his Sufi companions and chanters. He also wrote the narrative-cum-poetic chronicle analyzed in Chapter Three, and his experience of exile under review in this chapter.

In his time away from Tetouan, Afaylāl was able to gain knowledge of the processes and dynamics that formed the imperial framework within which the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was located. His transcription of what he saw, heard, and said enable a deeper understanding of the individual traits of Afaylāl's personality, life, trajectory, and social and political position, on the one hand, and a more general view of the Moroccan elites' reactions to the transformations that were taking place as a result of the colonial encroachment into Morocco, including the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, on the other hand.

By focusing on Afaylāl's misfortunes, the multifaceted features of his experience will shift the discussion to terrains beyond the dichotomically-ordered discourses. The multifaceted grievances of exile were related to the fact of not being in Tetouan and the consequent longing for a lifestyle that he could not replace, to his non-participation in the fight against the Spanish, and to his contempt toward the Tetouanis who inhabited Chefchaouen, where he settled with his family. His misfortunes also

related to the peril of disenfranchisement that he and his peers feared. In this sense, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan mirrored larger changes that could and certainly would transform the social and the political structures upon which power and prestige relied in Morocco.

To a certain extent, his affliction was related to the implicit reformist thought contained in the war chronicle and the elegy discussed in Chapter Three. Afaylāl inhabited a world that was undergoing prominent changes. The signs of such transformations caused a reaction, as well as emotional and physical ailments. But this chapter goes beyond the analysis of such anxiety-ridden narratives, as it examines the spaces, the rituals, and the mindset that informed the discourses and the practices of both Afaylāl and some of his peers, the common people he encountered, and the ‘infidels’ who increasingly peopled Morocco. In other words, this chapter is predominantly interested in unearthing and explaining the political behavior of Afaylāl and the people he saw, heard, and spoke to.

7.1. The Misfortunes of Exile in Sīdī Mufaddal Afaylāl’s Diary

By the beginning of March 1860, a month after his exile from Tetouan, our writer departed for Tazroute, where he stayed with his friend and master Sīdī ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Raysūn. (See Appendix, p. 366) As we have already seen, Ibn Raysūn was one of the most acclaimed saints in Tetouan. Like Afaylāl, Ibn Raysūn had confronted the local authorities and disobeyed their decisions on the eve of his departure from Tetouan. As explained in Chapter Three, Ibn Raysūn confronted the local authorities, and only returned to Tetouan a year after the Spanish evacuation, after Sultan Muḥammad IV asked him to do so.⁷⁸⁹

The immediate weeks after the capture of Tetouan were a time of uncertainty. Nobody knew how long the occupation was going to last, nor what terms the occupiers might impose. The peacemaking negotiations discussed in Chapter Four were underway, and contradictory news and rumors circulated both within and without Tetouan.⁷⁹⁰ In mid-March, after hearing that the Muslims had defeated the ‘infidels,’ Afaylāl departed

⁷⁸⁹ Abdelaziz Assaoud, *Titwān fī al qarn al-tāsi’ ‘ashar: musāhama li dirāsa-t al-mujtama’ al-maghribī* (Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century: A Contribution to Moroccan Social History), 1996, 72.

⁷⁹⁰ Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 24/08/1860”; “Varios: Despachos,” n.d.. See letters on 21/08/1860. Anonymous, “Transcription of the ‘Manuscript of Madrid,’” 278; Ruiz Orsatti, “La Guerra de África de 1859-1860, Según Un Marroquí de La Época,” 63.

from Chefchaouen with a group of exiled Tetouanis toward their city, only to find that the Spanish had managed to take over the whole territory surrounding Tetouan.⁷⁹¹

While his family remained in Chefchaouen, our author visited his relatives in the countryside in the central part of northern Morocco. In the surroundings of Jbel Lahbib, from where his family originated, Afaylāl found a ruined house, which he decided to rebuild in order to live in it.⁷⁹² Yet when he went to the mosque on the Friday and found neither religious scholars nor believers, he abandoned the idea. He thus returned to Chefchaouen, and soon after left again. Afaylāl spent the next three weeks, two of them during the holy month of Ramadan, sojourning at the houses of friends and relatives among the tribes of the region of Jbala, and the city of Tangier. He visited saints' mausoleums, and spent a joyful time engaging in recitation and chants together with Ibn Raysūn and chanters of religious anthems (*munshidūn*).

Afaylāl and Ibn Raysūn also spent time reading works such as al-Suyūfī's fifteenth-century dissertations on autopsy and anatomy, and al-Ghazālī's medieval books on esoteric science, parts of which he transcribed and sketched into his diary.⁷⁹³ (See Appendix, p. 343) As recorded in his personal diary, Afaylāl's readings were comprised of essays and studies on astronomy, engineering, grammar commentaries, and history, poetry and works of literature, as well as compilations of traditional remedies and the aforementioned medicine and esoteric sciences treaties by a number of acclaimed Islamic authors.

Despite or precisely because he spent joyful moments elsewhere, his return and stay in Chefchaouen became increasingly difficult. After having engaged in stimulating activities with people he appreciated, his return to the mountain town strengthened his will to move out of the village. His grievances increased with his difficulty to find a suitable place, and Afaylāl fell sick. As he explained:

I spent 55 days at home in Chefchaouen, assigned to what destiny would provide me with, and in that period of time I witnessed the bad deeds of its people, a consequence of the emigration (hijra) from their land. I thought of moving to another place to settle there, so I wrote to shaykh [Ibn Raysūn] in Jbel al-'Alam and told him about the uncertainty and

⁷⁹¹ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 52–53.

⁷⁹² Afaylāl, 52.

⁷⁹³ Afaylāl, 54–55.

sorrow that overwhelmed me. I consulted him about my idea of moving to Qasr Ktama, and he answered that in Jbel Lahbib there was wheat and milk. I could not [settle] in the enlightened city, [but had to] inhabit the countryside. [I could not] refrain from abstinence in food and clothing. How can the one who could not fight the enemy go against himself...? I fell sick because of a countering wind and so I rested for three nights during which my family despaired for my life.⁷⁹⁴

This account discloses the multifaceted nature of both Afaylāl's sickness and its etiology. His frustrating inability to fight "the enemy" and his unpleasant stay in Chefchaouen, where the Tetouani immigrants committed "bad deeds" as a consequence of their emigration from Tetouan, merged with his failed attempts to find a proper place to settle. He thought of moving to different places, but his search was unsuccessful. In addition to the frustration caused by his inability to move out of Chefchaouen, Afaylāl found it difficult to accept that he would have to live in the countryside, where "scarcity" and "austerity" (*taqashshuf*) characterized the lifestyle.

The austere countryside lifestyle was the opposite of that of Tetouan, which he termed the "enlightened city" (*al-imāra al-rānīya*). The adjective *al-rānīya* signals the 'refined' and 'civilized' character of the urban space of Tetouan, in which Afaylāl could satiate his knowledge and restless curiosity and activity. The singular identity of Tetouan and its urbanity as opposed to the tribal countryside, as explained in Chapter Three, emerged in the fact that Afaylāl missed Tetouan and his life there. The combination of these factors enhanced Afaylāl's feeling of "uncertainty," "sorrow," and having to "go against himself."

Afaylāl also admitted that he had not been able to "fight the enemy." This statement not only entails that he recognized that he had been in the battle camp only as a witness and had not fought the enemy by bearing arms, as is clear from his own previously analyzed account. It also reveals Afaylāl's disdain toward the common Tetouanis who had settled in Chefchaouen, whom he accused of having done nothing to prevent the occupation of Tetouan. As a *sharīf* and well-known religious authority, mingling with common Tetouanis in an 'unenlightened' town did not satisfy our author. And yet, his attempts to move out of Chefchaouen also proved fruitless. The profound

⁷⁹⁴ Afaylāl, 55.

emotional pain and restraint, ultimately, provoked his sickness and near-death experience.

The “countering wind” (*al-rīḥ al-ma’kūs*) that afflicted Afaylāl is likely to refer to health conceptions related to humourism. Afaylāl recorded several readings related to medicine in his diary, and he transcribed remedies for several ailments, which suggests that he was familiar with the different medical traditions in Morocco.⁷⁹⁵ According to humourism, currents of wind caused cold illnesses, which were in turn understood to be the result of the rupture in the balance of the different elements of both the macrocosm (the universe) and the microcosm (the body). Such imbalances could be the result of a variety of factors, including emotional and mental ones. The “countering wind” that aggrieved Afaylāl is thus likely to refer to a cold illness caused by the ‘wind’ that the upheaval of the occupation of Tetouan caused in our author. Yet, he never considered returning to occupied Tetouan.

The recovery from the emotional and physical illness entailed several transformations, which display his likewise varied ways of overcoming the interrelated misfortunes of exile. Firstly, Afaylāl changed his attitude in that he concentrated on accepting God’s destiny (*qadr*) through forbearance (*ṣabr*). His decision to emigrate from Tetouan, albeit difficult and painful, was to be accepted until its final consequences as both a form of *jihād* and God’s destiny. Secondly, he performed a series of therapeutic rituals. Although visiting sanctuaries and worshipping saints was part of Afaylāl’s routine in the pre-war era, the exceptionality of the situation drove him to choose symbolically charged places and activities. Thirdly, Afaylāl devoted himself for this to traveling. Again, while traversing the north-western region of Jbala was a customary activity in our author’s life, his recovery and his determined attitude led him to farther places which he had never visited, such as Salé, Marrakech, and Essaouira. Let us explore these therapeutic practices in greater detail.

As soon as he returned to “relief” (*faraj*), Afaylāl left Chefchaouen “fraught with prowess and compliance” (*tafwīḍ wa istislām*). Our author adjusted his way of seeing things, both at the micro level, that is, his own personal situation; and on the macro one, namely the Spanish occupation of Tetouan and the consequences it had caused. Afaylāl became increasingly convinced that the Moroccan defeat, the Spanish

⁷⁹⁵ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *Salud y ritual en Marruecos: concepciones del cuerpo y prácticas de curación* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2010), 184. See on this: 171-203.

occupation, and his emigration were divine destiny, and he became determined to accept it. But that did not entail passivity. On the contrary, it heightened his determination, and encouraged him to endeavor to change his painful situation.

Afaylāl wisely constructed his diary narrative by going back to past events which encouraged him to practice forbearance so as to accept divine destiny. He sought to compile stories and interpretations that could satisfactorily underscore his determination. A year before the war on Tetouan, he explained, he had identified two particular stars that he then thought were signs of a future catastrophe.⁷⁹⁶ (In fact, he continued, that year a drought, price rises and the death of the sultan took place.) Eventually, Afaylāl encountered a learned man who advised him not to use these types of astrological signs, and who instead encouraged him to abandon himself to God's will. Afaylāl thus proceeded in his account by stating that the occupation of Tetouan was God's will, and he prayed for the Spanish to leave as they had arrived.⁷⁹⁷ Afaylāl sought the learned man's advice to bear his own fate with forbearance.

While in Tangier in July 1860, several people suggested to him that he abandon the city in order to avoid being infected by the plagues that were ravaging it. Afaylāl explained that he had responded: "If I die, I will be one of the martyrs."⁷⁹⁸ This statement, followed by a *ḥadīth* or a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad on the merits of forbearance in God's will illustrates the extent to which Afaylāl considered himself a martyr. Not only did he accept whatever fate had in store for him, he also conceived of his possible infection and death as a consequence of the war and the Spanish occupation of his hometown. On the one hand, the cholera epidemic had begun with the first battles of the war; on the other, his stay in Tangier was aimed at finding a new place to settle and, thus, was a result of the forced emigration. Afaylāl's acceptance of God's destiny did not entail passivity, and indeed made him a martyr and, therefore, an honorable *jihād* fighter.

Before reaching Tangier, Afaylāl made two visits to two different sanctuaries. The first one was his grandfather's mausoleum, where, according to his own account, his feeling of "uncertainty" (*ḥīra*) and "revenge" (*intiḳām*) disappeared. Then he continued to Tazroute, where he encountered his enlightened friend and master Ibn

⁷⁹⁶ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 46.

⁷⁹⁷ Afaylāl, 47.

⁷⁹⁸ Afaylāl, 56.

Raysūn and was reunited with several religious men. In this second *zāwiya*, Afaylāl participated in chanting religious anthems and praying with those men.⁷⁹⁹ Devout Sufis believed that chanting could extract negative bodily humors. The person reciting God's names, litanies, supplications, and poems got closer to God, which enabled him or her to balance their corporal humors. The mystical aspect of Sufi brotherhoods and gatherings has attracted less scholarly attention than their socio-political roles.⁸⁰⁰ In my view, however, the spiritual part played a very important role in Afaylāl's healing process.

Our author's multiple afflictions and their healing, however, are best understood if taken together. In the *zāwiya* in Tazroute, Afaylāl also bathed in the pond. Indeed, visiting the sanctuary entailed a particular pilgrimage which consisted of various rituals. Normally, the visit aimed at vowing, and requesting the saint's grace, protection and recovery.⁸⁰¹ In various sanctuaries, the visit concluded with hydrotherapy, also considered helpful for transforming corporal humors. Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste argues that sanctuaries were "polysemic therapeutic spaces," and this is precisely how Afaylāl used them. His passage by and stay in both sanctuaries, his grandfather's and Ibn Raysūn's family's, involved worship and diverse healing practices that were both individual and collective.

All in all, his individual determination with the acceptance of the hardship caused by the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was complemented by the collective gatherings, chanting and praying sessions. The company of religious men and particularly his esteemed Ibn Raysūn probably played a fundamental role, given the spiritual bond which united those men. The emotional links among them remain, for the most part, inexplicit. Afaylāl did not specify whether he shared with his companions his near-death experience or any of the other aspects that shaped his misfortunes. It would seem reasonable, however, to speculate that they must have commented on the quarrels that spread in Tetouan on the eve of and during the war. Whether Afaylāl, Ibn Raysūn, and the other men discussed what they lived through, heard, or thought about the specific issues related to the Spanish occupation of Tetouan or not, collective sharing

⁷⁹⁹ Afaylāl, 56.

⁸⁰⁰ This critique can be found in: Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi: The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint*; Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*.

⁸⁰¹ Mateo Dieste, *Salud y ritual en Marruecos*, 201.

constituted an integral part of Afaylāl's – probably also others' – overcoming the misfortunes of exile.

From Tazroute, Afaylāl headed to Tangier, where he stayed at Muḥammad al-Khatīb's "elegant house." In the beginning, Afaylāl considered moving to Tangier. However, al-Khatīb discouraged him on the grounds that the Spanish departure from Tetouan would take place soon. Al-Khatīb's affirmation was far from accurate, as the occupation went on for another twenty-one months. Our author remained in Tangier for twenty days, after which he became certain that it was not a suitable place to settle with the family.

Afaylāl noted that "Jews and Christians have taken it over and the Muslims are like their prisoners."⁸⁰² The situation of Muslims in Tangier was, according to our author, one of "abjectness and indignation." Afaylāl was expressing an anxiety related to a situation that he perceived as threatening, as well as exceptional. The first statement indicated that Christians and Jews were numerous; indeed, in 1860 Tangier there were more 'Christians' – European foreigners – and local *protégés* – who were mainly Jews – than anywhere else in Morocco. The second statement expressed his anxiety that social dynamics had been overturned, namely that religious minorities had become more numerous and, more importantly, more powerful than the Muslim majority. Let me elaborate on what this phrase encapsulated, and on the importance it bore with regards to Afaylāl's interpretation of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

Since 1770, Tangier had been the consular headquarters of the empire, after sultan Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb had moved it from Tetouan. The Western representatives were increasingly acquiring prerogatives on issues such as the supervision of health conditions and customs fees in ports, and they exerted pressure on the Makhzan to pursue certain reforms.⁸⁰³ Afaylāl's host al-Khatīb, the representative of the sultan *vis-à-vis* the foreign powers in the recently created bureau of *Dār al-Niyāba*, must have been more aware than anyone else of foreign consuls' gradual acquisition of power, noticeable in the increasingly menacing language they employed.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰² Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaddal Afaylāl," 56.

⁸⁰³ 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Timsamānī al-Khallūq, "Dār Al-Niyāba Al-Sa'īda Bi Ṭanja (The Dār Al-Niyāba Al-Sa'īda in Tangier)," *Dār Al-Niyāba: Moroccan Historical Studies*, 1984, 22–24.

⁸⁰⁴ Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe, 1830-1894*, II:386.

In this context, the 1856 Anglo-Moroccan treaty, as well as the Treaty of Wad Ras, enabled an “unprecedented extension” of capitulatory rights to Moroccan subjects.⁸⁰⁵ The system of consular protection exempted the ‘protected’ people from several legal and economic duties, which in turn reduced the sovereignty of the local and Makhzan authorities. Often, the Moroccans to whom the different forms of consular capitulations were applied were Jews. This was partly due to their commercial and linguistic knowledge, and partly due to Jews’ generally greater proclivity to relating to foreigners – from whom, as seen in Chapter Five, they sought to obtain prerogatives that had generally and hitherto been inaccessible to them as *dhimmīs*.

Afaylāl’s statement should be understood within this context, which our author indubitably interpreted as a threat to the structure which had ensured his – and his *shurafā’* and notable peers’ – historical privileges. The historically enfranchised Muslims were fully aware of their loss of power. As already seen, some Moroccan Jewish communities, including the Tetouani, were organized internally, and they also increasingly received the assistance of wealthy and influential European Jews. These initiatives, which in 1860 were only beginning to take shape (or perhaps precisely because of that), were enhancing the change in the status of the Jews and also their historically rather subordinated condition as *dhimmīs*.

In 1853, the Tangerine Jewish community funded an assembly, which included representatives of the small yet powerful group of Jewish entrepreneurs who were acting as middlemen for European trading houses.⁸⁰⁶ Besides, influential European Jews lobbied both the European powers present in Morocco and the Makhzan demanding measures to protect their coreligionists. Afaylāl’s contention is set against the backdrop of this historical process whereby, by 1875, the Tangerine Jewish community had achieved “a de facto parity with their Muslim counterparts.” Indeed, although legally still *dhimmīs*, “they were moving rapidly out of a subordinate status to a superior one,

⁸⁰⁵ Kenbib, “The Impact of the French Conquest of Algeria on Morocco, 1830-1912,” 52.

⁸⁰⁶ Susan Gilson Miller, “Dhimma Reconsidered: Jews, Taxes, and Royal Authority in Nineteenth-Century Tangier,” in *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 109. Among other activities, the Tangerine *Junta* sponsored in 1860 a society to clothe Jewish refugees from the Spanish war on Tetouan. See: Mitchell M. Serels, “Aspects of the Effects of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in Morocco,” in *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, ed. Yedida Kalfon Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999), 109.

marked by greater collective wealth, better education, more social mobility, and improved health standards in comparison with their Muslim neighbors.”⁸⁰⁷

Afaylāl was thus conveying his anxiety that the religious minorities had “taken over” the city of Tangier. Unsurprisingly, Afaylāl expressed his reflections in a religiously-inflected language. In Morocco, religious affiliation had for centuries foregrounded a socio-political order and status, in which generally the Muslim majority had been privileged. Afaylāl was a prominent member of the Muslim community, whose prestigious status and authority was based on his condition as learned person (*‘ālim*) and *sharīf*, not on his wealth. The religious terminology and discursive framework encapsulated the share of power that such religious affiliation entailed or precluded. Afaylāl’s discourse, in short, was not anti-Jewish (or anti-Christian, for that matter) ‘in a religious way,’ so to speak. Rather, it was related to the transformations in the allocation of power and prestige that the imperial configurations, discourses, and practices were reinforcing in mid-century Morocco.

In many ways, the situation in Tangier also embodied a macro-scale manifestation of the ‘calamity’ of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. On the one hand, it mirrored the Spanish (Christian) rule over a majority of (Jewish) Tetouanis, yet on the other hand it had a larger chronological as well as spatial scope. It was foreseen that the Spanish, as established in the Treaty of Wad Ras, sooner or later were going to leave – although this was never a completely certain fact. But the foreign penetration and the consequent changes in the relationship between Moroccan Jews and Muslims seemed to be taking place – and were suspected to be on the rise – at least in neighboring Tangier, even without a formal occupation.

This colonization process without a formal occupation – beyond Tetouan – was multifaceted. It included the 1861 treaty which established the Spanish and the British involvement in eight Moroccan customs houses. As a result of this treaty, itself a consequence of the War on Tetouan, and of similar ones in the second half of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of impecunious Europeans settled in various Moroccan ports. The presence of such European folk who bore different cultural norms and uses of space, was already visible in Tangier when our author was there in 1860.

⁸⁰⁷ Miller, “Dhimma Reconsidered: Jews, Taxes, and Royal Authority in Nineteenth-Century Tangier,” 119–20.

Perhaps Afaylāl's observations also reflected the kind of reactions the author of the Manuscript of Madrid expressed with regard to the moral-spatial 'transgressions' he accused the plebeian Spaniards of committing in occupied Tetouan. As shown in Chapter Six, such 'transgressions' mainly included alcohol consumption, mixed gendered dancing, unveiled women's presence in the streets, and the latter's running of shops and taverns. Even if Afaylāl did not witness them himself, he might have heard news or rumors about such or similar practices. It is all the more plausible that Afaylāl's views were shaped by the insights he must have received from al-Khaṭīb.

From Tangier, Afaylāl departed for Rabat. His journey was probably meant to sound out both the general state of affairs and the impression that the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was producing across the empire. Afaylāl described the difficulties of the journey by resorting mainly to poetry. His poems narrated the dirtiness of the lodgings and the number of flies and insects which prevented him from sleeping and resting, and he also lamented being so distant from his hometown. The sight of the al-Ḥassan Mosque in Salé, however, put an end to his condemnation of traveling and transformed his poetry into praise. Afaylāl transcribed two verses of the fourteenth-century Ibn al-Khaṭīb – “the last great intellectual, writer, and statesman of Muslim Spain,” according to Daniel Eisenberg – on the delight of such a mosque.⁸⁰⁸

Afaylāl then went to Fes, where he heard news about the situation in Tetouan. The accounts produced considerable anxiety in him, and reinforced his desire to return to his hometown. Our author transmitted the impression that corruption had spread in occupied Tetouan, and religion had been abandoned. He reported news about people stealing and misbehaving in the market. He also heard that *sharī'a* was no longer followed, and that humble Tetouanis had turned into “righteous pretenders” (*muddi'ūn li al-ṣalāh*), who gathered in mosques and *zawāya* to dance and play music.⁸⁰⁹ Afaylāl also mentioned the story of a man who falsely claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad, and for a young boy who claimed to be Jesus of Nazareth.

These pieces of news and rumors constitute yet another facet of Afaylāl's misfortunes of exile. For one thing, Afaylāl's dismay due to the general and religious decay in his hometown was a reflection of the fear that such 'disorder' put his own

⁸⁰⁸ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 58; Daniel Eisenberg, “Ibn Al-Khaṭīb,” *Encyclopedia of Medieval Iberia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 416.

⁸⁰⁹ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 60.

position as a *sharīf* and religious authority at risk. In times of crisis or political upheaval, as noted by Julia A. Clancy-Smith, “the ranks of holy men and women tended toward inflation.”⁸¹⁰ As much as those who held privileges were anxious about losing them, those who did not hold them aspired to ascend the social ladder. For another, the fact that this news reached Fes, and Afaylāl’s circle of intellectual religious scholars of the Qarawiyyīn mosque, reveals the far-reaching scope of the occupation of Tetouan in Morocco.

The news about transgressions in the markets, a central institution in Morocco, and the existence of ‘ignorant charlatans’ in the Christian-occupied city underline the anxieties that the occupation produced with regard to the emergence of new dynamics capable of subverting the way in which the social organization had been established hitherto. As with Afaylāl’s observations of Tangier, the rumors which circulated with regard to the city occupied by the Spanish show the fear harbored by the elites in relation to the alterations in the *status quo* and, thus, in their privileged condition. Michel de Certeau has argued that those who hold positions of power tend to “transmute the misfortune of their theories into theories of misfortune,” and make ‘catastrophes’ out of their bewilderment.⁸¹¹

It is plausible to think of such accounts as magnified by, precisely, the anxious content they conveyed and their broad scope. And, again, albeit partly embedded in religion, the socio-cultural structures that Afaylāl and his peers feared would change were fundamentally informed by status. Afaylāl, as well as the religious scholars in Fes, occupied the highest ranks in the Moroccan social pyramid; they embodied the so-called “people of tying and untying” (*ahl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd*), thus both their says and deeds counted for local and trans-local decision-making bodies and institutions. For this reason, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan and the larger imperial dynamics that were spreading into Morocco and the Islamic *umma* were perceived as a menace to their remaining in positions of power and authority.

While in Fes, Afaylāl explained that he gathered with the ‘*ulāma* from the Qarawiyyīn to discuss matters related to the menstrual period, and issued a *fatwā* stating

⁸¹⁰ Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, 39.

⁸¹¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, California: Univ. of California Press, 2008), 96.

that all the virgin women living in Tetouan under Christian rule were obliged to abandon the city.⁸¹² Interestingly, in this case our author did not explicate what informed the pronouncement of such a religious edict. He mentioned the re-action, which consisted in banning the unmarried – and, thus, supposedly virgin – women from remaining in the occupied city, without explaining the action, or its motivation. It is likely that news about the interracial couplings and offspring which occurred in Tetouan reached Fes, and reinforced religious scholars' will to deliver a firm order and stance on the 'outrage' that such mingling could provoke. As explained in Chapter Three, women's virginity embodied an important index of masculine reputation. If any man 'accessed' it prior to marriage – or worse, if 'infidels' *occupied* it, male honor was tarnished.

As with the previous cases, I contend that the religious edict and the religious justification of such a measure should be interpreted as the means by which the patriarchal control of women's bodies was legitimized. What informed such sexual policing were the gender privileges of Tetouani Muslim men over 'their' women, privileges that were perceived to be threatened by the Spanish men and their occupation and penetration of the gendered space of intimacy.

After having gone through personal and health issues, and after witnessing and hearing of situations which he interpreted as calamities, Afaylāl decided to travel southward. Perhaps it was the news about the 'chaos' that spread in Tetouan which led him to board a ship to Marrakech. It is plausible that our author wished to test the general mood that the Moroccan defeat in the war, the Spanish occupation of Tetouan, and the harsh conditions stipulated in the Treaty of Wad Ras had produced across the empire. Afaylāl probably traveled in order to better grasp the state of other Moroccan cities and people.

To go to Marrakech, Afaylāl boarded a French ship in Tangier. Although some uneasiness can be felt in the text, the only thing he stated in his diary related to the fact that he traveled in a French ship was that he "was alone among the infidels."⁸¹³ In order to make his way back home from southern Essaouira, Afaylāl embarked a British frigate heading for Gibraltar, a journey that took ten days. Regarding this journey, he wrote: "I saw bizarre curiosities (*'ajā'ib*) and war instruments, with which if the sultan had had

⁸¹² Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 60.

⁸¹³ Afaylāl, 68.

even the slightest experience, the war would not have proved difficult for him.”⁸¹⁴ It would seem that Afaylāl was neither impressed by nor curious about the “bizarre curiosities.” In fact, the only thing he commented was that the sultan’s knowledge and use of those war instruments could have resulted in the avoidance of both the defeat and the subsequent occupation of Tetouan.

The explanations and poems in his diary exalted his experience during the journey to Marrakech in many other ways: the music, the different localities he visited, and the hospitality he received from his peer scholars and religious personnel.⁸¹⁵ His encounters with French and British sailors, in contrast, were barely deserving of any space or dedication in Afaylāl’s notes. Presumably, had Afaylāl wished to avoid boarding with the ‘infidel’ French and British he could have done so, although travelling to southern Marrakech and Essaouira by land would have involved a longer and harder trip. On the contrary, if genuine curiosity had led to Afaylāl’s decision to travel in foreign ships, he would likely have dedicated more space to and written more about his impressions of the people and their manners, the modern vessels, the military and other technological devices, installations and facilities, the food, or any other aspect of the “bizarre curiosities” he did not proceed to detail. But he neither avoided traveling on the French and British ships, nor did he provide lengthy descriptions of his experiences.

Tarek El-Ariss has argued that the literary and poetic elements in Egyptian Rifa‘a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s Arabic text on his mission to France between 1826 and 1831 deploy al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s systematic “attempts to contain the shock experience.”⁸¹⁶ It could be argued that Afaylāl’s ‘silence’ with regards to the time he spent among ‘infidels’ was equally a way to restrain his shock. Perhaps he wished to omit the impressions of the rather direct encounter with the ‘infidels’ in order not to even risk (un)veiling his various anxieties. Afaylāl might also have aimed at gaining knowledge about those who were increasing in number and influence in Morocco.

In light of his narration of the misfortunes of exile and his overcoming them, then, how should we understand Afaylāl’s relationship with regards to the increasing numbers and influence of the ‘infidels’ and the imperial framework in which these

⁸¹⁴ Afaylāl, 72.

⁸¹⁵ Afaylāl, 73.

⁸¹⁶ El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity Literary Affects and the New Political*, 27.

discourses and practices were set? The political behaviour of religious notables during colonization has conventionally been classified into four categories: those who ignored the colonial powers and their influence, those who fiercely resisted them, those who collaborated with them, and the fence-sitters. Afaylāl does not quite fit any of these categories. He did not ‘ignore’ the colonial powers, their penetration, and the effect that it had on the individual and collective realms; quite the contrary, as Chapter Three and this one have shown, his narrative reveals an awareness and doses of anxiety that are explicitly related to the imperial encroachment Morocco experienced in the mid-century. Nor did Afaylāl embody the ‘last-ditch resistor’; on the contrary, he witnessed the battles of the war from afar and then somehow blamed himself for not having fought ‘the enemy.’ Lastly, our author was neither an ‘accommodator’ nor a ‘collaborator’; conversely, Afaylāl fiercely criticized the Tetouanis who remained in Tetouan, and he branded them as ‘Christianized’ (*mutanāšira*).

It is useful to look at two events, different in nature and in chronology, in order to consider Afaylāl’s position, or rather his political actions (in plural), which changed over time and were shaped by a multitude of agents and events; some, although not all, of which his diary enables us to trace. The first case relates to his bonds with members of the Tetouani elite, and the ideological incompatibility which marked his relationship with them. The second example shows the different ways in which Afaylāl dealt with a health problem he suffered seven years after his migration from Tetouan. What these two sets of accounts reveal is that Afaylāl’s position was shaped by his affiliation to a religious elite characterized by a principled reformist thought, which was reinforced by the Spanish occupation of Tetouan and the increasing colonial penetration that Morocco was undergoing in the nineteenth century.

Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl fulfilled the socio-cultural requirements that usually led the male elites through Makhzan officialdom. He also personally knew and related to the Tetouanis who held official positions within the Makhzan. It may thus seem striking that our author did not follow that path. I argue that his personal-cum-political views were incompatible with the elites who held ties with the Makhzan, whom he knew and occasionally frequented. The Spanish war on Tetouan and the occupation, including his misfortunes and his own transformation, as seen in this chapter, reinforced his lack of engagement with the official central – and increasingly centralizing – Makhzan.

The Moroccan ruling class was built on a meritocratic model, although promotion was contingent on loyalty, achievement, and blood and social ties.⁸¹⁷ Afaylāl, indeed, had the cultural capital and the social background necessary for becoming integrated into Makhzan officialdom. He was an important and well-known person in Tetouan, and Tetouan was a city that provided the Makhzan apparatus with its members.⁸¹⁸ He had obtained his higher education in the Qarawiyyīn mosque, after which he became a teacher in his home town. Afaylāl also cultivated his juridical, literary, linguistic and scientific knowledge through his readings, both individually and with his master Ibn Raysūn, and he inherited the position as the *imām* of the al-Swīqa Mosque from his father, who was a venerated pious man. As already mentioned, but perhaps most importantly in defining his social position, Afaylāl was a descendant of the revered saint Mawlay ‘Abd al-Salām b. Meshīsh, and heir of his *baraka* or the divine and spiritual force which he held as a *sharīf*.

As a student in the Mosque of the Upper Fountain in Tetouan, Afaylāl had been pupil of Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, who after having pursued a career in teaching and jurisprudence became the sultan’s confidential secretary, and later on attained the highest position in the ranks of the Makhzan bureaucracy, namely that of First Minister.⁸¹⁹ Afaylāl also knew Muḥammad Ash‘āsh, a member of the family that governed Tetouan for more than seventy years, who was the envoy to Sultan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to France in 1844, and whose memoirs al-Ṣaffār had written.⁸²⁰ As already seen, Afaylāl was also a close friend of Tetouani Muḥammad al-Khatīb, and was an acquaintance of al-Ḥājj al-‘Arabī Brīsha and other notables on whom sultan Muḥammad IV relied to deal with the payment of the war indemnity to Spain. Last but certainly not least, Afaylāl was the close disciple of ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn, whose mediation was key in the promotion of these Tetouanis to the highest ranks of the Makhzan bureaucracy.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁷ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 33–34.

⁸¹⁸ Ābū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ruhūnī, *‘Umda-t al-rāwiyyīn fi tārikh Tiṭāwīn (The Major Storytellers of the History of Tetouan)*, ed. Ja‘far Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulāmī, vol. I (Tetouan: Tetouan-Asmir Association, 2012), 209–21.

⁸¹⁹ Muḥammad Ṣaffār and Susan Gilson Miller, *Disorienting Encounters. Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846: The Voyage of Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣaffār* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). See page 38 and note 91 for the connection between as-Saffar and Afaylal.

⁸²⁰ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 97; Miège, Benaboud, and Erzini, *Tétouan ville andalouse marocaine*, 77–79.

⁸²¹ Assaoud, *Tetouan in the Nineteenth Century*, 71.

By the end of September 1859, Afaylāl traveled with some of the aforementioned and other religious and political Tetouani and Jbālī notables to Fes to deliver the *bā'ya* to approve of Muḥammad IV as the new sultan.⁸²² He was appointed to compose the oath, which he proudly transcribed in his diary, and specified that he had written the original one with golden ink. The Makhzan sought to attract people whose Arabic literary proficiency was outstanding.⁸²³ Afaylāl's linguistic knowledge was certainly masterful, as were his artistic skills.⁸²⁴ (See Appendix, pp. 364-5) The fact that he was a member of the northern Moroccan committee in charge of the approval of the sultan is relevant, given that peer recognition was key in the absence of a state-sponsored system of a corporate group of '*ulamā*', as was the case in the Ottoman Empire.⁸²⁵

Afaylāl described the journey of the committee to Fes in both prose and poetry. The spirit of the committee was so low due to the difficult journey that, once Sīdī Muḥammad had learnt through correspondence of the situation in which the northern notables found themselves in, the sultan himself went to Meknes, where in the end he received the oath of the discouraged committee. Among the most prominent poetic compositions was one in which Afaylāl narrated the impression that the encounter with the sultan provoked in him. Afaylāl's poem highlighted his feeling of "high praise" (*majd*) toward Sīdī Muḥammad.

Other types of impressions and criticism were the subjects of several other poems. Afaylāl described the hardship of travel, which prominently included thirst and hunger, and the pain caused by the long hours sitting on a donkey.⁸²⁶ Such difficult conditions, he explained, had revealed the "avaricious" character (*ṭama'*) of many members of the committee, whom he even termed "greedy" (*bukhalā*).⁸²⁷ Afaylāl explained that the committee entered a town asking for food and drink, which had led the townsfolk to defame them; Afaylāl's ironic pen suggested that he sympathized with the humble folk (*busaṭā'*), to whom members of the notability (*al-'ayān*) had gone

⁸²² Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 47–51.

⁸²³ Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 88.

⁸²⁴ Bu 'Abid Buzid, *Qirā' Fi Al-Makhṭūṭāt Al-Muzkhrafa Li Rā'id Al-Tashkīl Bi Tiṭwān Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl (A Reading of the Ornamental Production of the Artistic Pioneer in Tetouan: Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl)*, Tetawin-Asmir Association (Tetouan, 2007).

⁸²⁵ Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints*, 58.

⁸²⁶ Afaylāl, "The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl," 50–51.

⁸²⁷ Afaylāl, 49.

begging for food. The lack of supplies, our author noted, also led to quarrels among the committee members.

Our author most emphatically condemned the unethical values of most of the members of the committee, particularly the elder ones. The committee was comprised of different sorts of elite individuals. It included one or more members of some of the most notable and wealthy Tetouani families, such as ‘Azīmān, al-Ṭurrīs, al-Libbādī or al-‘Arbī, and it also encompassed learned and pious saints such as ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Raysūn. Those who belonged to the first group might not have been as used to traveling as Afaylāl, and they probably did not relate much to the countryside folk. Afaylāl, on the contrary, driven by his restless curiosity, constantly traveled and visited saints’ mausoleums, and met and stayed with religious authorities’ wherever he went, as his journeys were enabled by and at the same time shaped a trans-local religious network. Besides, trade and travel were two interrelated realms for a period of his life, for between 1851 and 1855 he ran small shops in Tetouan and Martil, but also engaged in trade while travelling, in northern Moroccan coastal al-Jadida and interior Ouezzane.⁸²⁸

Afaylāl’s criticism of some of the members of the northern Moroccan notability reveals his lack of harmony with them. He mainly stressed their lack of malleability in tolerating the conditions of travel, and their lack of decency and respect in begging humble people for food and drink. To a considerable extent, his incompatibility was ideological. As seen in Chapter Three, Afaylāl interpreted the Moroccan defeat in the war as a sign of the ‘weakness of Islam.’ Such diagnosis, in turn, activated an implicit call for reform. The ‘weakness of Islam’ was the result of the interrelation between religious malpractice, political misdeeds, and the disunity of the Muslim population. The religious malpractice of both common people and military officials, governor Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād’s misdeeds, and the consequent disunity among the Muslims, suggested Afaylāl, were at the heart of the Moroccan inability to defeat the Spanish.

His incompatibility with the members of the committee in charge of delivering the oath of allegiance to Sīdī Muḥammad could be interpreted in similar terms: they did not handle the abstinence and the difficulties of the journey well, on the one hand, and their request for supplies from the humble people could represent misconduct on the part of those who should lead by example. In addition, Afaylāl’s criticism of the

⁸²⁸ Afaylāl, 39, 86.

authorities was reinforced upon the arrival of the war declaration a month later. The conflicts that emerged among Tetouanis over the suitability of *hijra* rendered Afaylāl's criticism toward his political opponents much harsher. As shown in Chapter Three, he condemned local and Makhzan authorities for facilitating the occupation by the 'infidels,' and collaborating with them. At the same time, he became the target of others' criticism for having taken his family to Chefchaouen, after which he decided to end his leadership of prayer "forever."⁸²⁹

His witnessing of the battles of the war, as well as the misfortunes that this chapter has analyzed also point to our author's distancing from those individuals with some sort of institutional affiliation. This does not mean he 'became of the common people,' so to say; as seen at the beginning of this chapter, during his exile Afaylāl fiercely criticized the "evil" Tetouanis who had settled in Chefchaouen. His terminology does suggest he bore certain contempt toward the 'populace,' and his anxiety with regard to the possibility that his privileges might diminish is noteworthy. Rather, what this suggests is that Afaylāl both fitted and did not fit into what Ira M. Lapidus has called "the Sunni-Shari'a-Sufi tendency," similar to what Vincent Cornell has termed "juridical Sufism," that is, a praxis-oriented and jurisprudentially validated form of mysticism which was "epistemologically subservient to the authority of religious thought."⁸³⁰ While his epistemology was certainly deferential to the authority of religious thought and practice, Afaylāl could also be considered a kind of 'free soul.' He might well have decided to work on the ground, and decided to make his contribution to reform by means of devoting himself to teaching, to Sufi activism, and to cultivating the religious network both in Tetouan and across northern Morocco.

Still, both his position and his choices were set in and shaped by the changing world he inhabited. The following account is telling of the transformations that he, as well as the wider social and political dynamics and structures underwent in the half dozen years after the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. Almost seven years after his exile from Tetouan, at the age of 42, Afaylāl suffered a new health problem. His way of dealing with it differed ostensibly from the individual and collective healing processes described above. He wrote:

⁸²⁹ Afaylāl, 29.

⁸³⁰ Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 192–224; Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 17, 67.

On 24 Jumāda al-Thānī 1283 [2, November 1866], some stones came out from my penis onto the head of it, so the doctors of the time hurried to treat it. They remained in for four days, and when I despaired of my life the French doctor declared that he could not extract them if not by cutting the head of the penis. When he determined so, I became polite and kind to him until he provided me with his tools. I went to my house and I resorted to breaking them, until after some time and force God facilitated the matter and I managed to break them where they were and to take them out one by one. May The Subtly Kind, All Aware and All Able of anything He wishes be exalted. May God honor our prophet Muḥammad and grant him peace.⁸³¹

More than four years after the occupation of Tetouan had come to an end, the way Afaylāl chose to deal with his urological ailment appears considerably different from the earlier ‘countering wind’ discussed above, which afflicted him at the beginning of his exile, while he was in Chefchaouen. His narrative suggests that he neither particularly visited symbolic sanctuaries, nor did he engage in collective praying and chanting, as he had done years before. He does not seem to have tried any of the many herbal remedies he had written down in his diary, either. Surely, the emotional distress caused by both the occupation of Tetouan and what his settlement in Chefchaouen had brought about was considerably different from the urological problem and it would consequently have made sense that he dealt with it differently.

However, it might also be that the changes that occurred in Moroccan sanitary conceptions and practices as a result of the irruption of European biomedicine that had started to take place in our author’s mind. According to his narrative, he first resorted to “local doctors,” but the persistence of the stones and presumably also the pain drove him to consult a French one. It is likely that Afaylāl took recourse to a French doctor in Tetouan, although he did not specify it. From the war on Tetouan on, Sultan Muḥammad IV authorized that different foreign countries send consular doctors to Morocco in order to take care of the European population that lived there.⁸³² Together with the establishment of individuals, different sorts of institutions, including the

⁸³¹ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 79.

⁸³² Mateo Dieste, *Salud y ritual en Marruecos*, 204.

medical one, started to be founded. In 1864, a French hospital was founded in Tangier. In 1886, the Franciscan prefect José María Lerchundi (1836-1896) and the military doctor Felipe Óvilo Canales (1850-1909) established a school of medicine in the same city.⁸³³

The most interesting issue, however, is that although Afaylāl was not satisfied by the operation that the French doctor suggested, he was strategically kind to him in order to obtain the tools and handle the issue on his own. While in this case the strategy aimed at solving a personal health problem, it is plausible that our author employed similar strategies for different ends. Afaylāl's piety and erudition might certainly have been "infused by a large dose of realpolitik," as was the case with his Tunisian counterparts Shaykh Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim's and Zaynab bint Shaykh Muḥammad's.⁸³⁴ As Julia A. Clancy-Smith has shown, both the leader of the Tunisian Raḥmanīyya *ṭarīqa* and his saint daughter made unspoken pacts with the French authorities to attain a number of concessions which enabled them to perform what she terms 'the politics of cultural redemption,' that is, the cultural survival of the Muslim community, the maintenance of a number of trans-local networks, and their worldview.

7.2. Conclusions

At the beginning of his exile, Afaylāl felt sorrow, loneliness, and frustration in Chefchaouen. He longed for his life and his social circle in Tetouan, but did not consider returning to the occupied town. Not having been able to "fight the enemy" and change his situation by settling in a different place eventually drove him to sickness and a near-death experience. His recovery led to a change in attitude which drove him to accept the situation as God's destiny, and at the same time to endeavor to modify the most pressing aspects with determination. Afaylāl thus devoted himself to various therapeutic rituals both individually and collectively, and traveled to Tangier, to more southern Salé and Rabat, to Fes, and then to Marrakech and Essaouira. Most likely, he aimed at testing the general mood that the Moroccan defeat in the war, the Spanish

⁸³³ Francisco Javier Martínez Antonio, "The Tangiers School of Medicine and Its Physicians: A Forgotten Initiative of Medical Education Reform in Morocco (1886-1904)," *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine* 10–11 (2011): 80–87; Francisco Javier Martínez Antonio, "Regeneracionismo, sanidad y discurso racial: Felipe Ovilo Canales y la confluencia entre España y Marruecos a finales del siglo XIX," *Dynamis (Granada, Spain)* 29 (2009): 73–96.

⁸³⁴ Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)*, 228.

occupation of Tetouan, and the harsh conditions established by the Treaty of Wad Ras had and continued to produce across the empire.

In these wanderings, he both witnessed and heard of situations which he interpreted as calamities. The rumors on the situation in occupied Tetouan conveyed a picture of social, religious, political, and sexual ‘chaos.’ At the same time, the situation in Tangier revealed, in his eyes, the oppression Muslims were doomed to suffer. Both events were interrelated, and linked to the transformations that the increasing colonial penetration was causing in Morocco. The wide circulation of such rumors and conversations thus shows the far-reaching scope of the Spanish occupation, understood as yet one manifestation of the imperial formations that were taking place in nineteenth-century Morocco. Precisely due to the larger impact that such social and political dynamics bore, Afaylāl’s words can be taken as representative of what the elites felt like in the Muslim Mediterranean. Within the framework of such changes, the hitherto privileged sectors felt distressed, while those who had been underprivileged harbored hope.

All in all, the study of the personal diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl urges us to consider the multiplicity of emotions, afflictions, and agency that lie in the heart of an experience of exile. It leaves many questions unanswered, however. Besides, it precludes strong and precise claims around his own position and many of his views and feelings. But perhaps it is precisely the lack of certainties which foregrounds an important claim, namely, that the manifold contours of the experience of the complex historical subjects are at times not fully accessible. Even when they partly are, as in the case of the rich and complicated source that Afaylāl produced, providing clear-cut interpretations might be a risky overstatement.

What does seem clear in the case of our author is that his views and actions did not respond to any sort of political passivity, in spite of the fact that he fitted none of the categories which have traditionally been deployed to classify religious notables’ attitudes toward the imperial penetration of the Islamic *umma*. Afaylāl did not ignore the colonial powers and their influence, nor did he fiercely resist them, nor collaborate with them, nor accommodate them in a sea of strategical ambivalence. On the contrary, Afaylāl might well have done a bit of all of the above, although in ways not customarily considered representative of each of these behaviors.

EPILOGUE

The Spanish Evacuation of Tetouan, ‘the White Dove’

After twenty-seven months, the Spanish Forces of the Occupation evacuated Tetouan on May 5, 1862. Some minutes after six in the morning the Spanish troops marched in *Plaza de España*. ‘Abd al-Qādir Asha‘āsh had been dismissed as governor of Tetouan in 1851 and was reappointed for the post-occupation era. As soon as Asha‘āsh entered the square, a salute was fired and the Spanish flag on top of the citadel was replaced by the Moroccan one.⁸³⁵ An hour and a half later the last Spanish soldier left the post. The remaining Franciscan missionaries, several military engineers and civil servants gathered at the new headquarters of the Spanish consulate.

The military evacuation of Tetouan took place after the Makhzan had paid the second installment of the war indemnity. According to the 1861 “Treaty to Repair the Disagreements due to the Accomplishment of the Melilla Border Agreement of 1859 and the Peace Treaty of 1860,” Spain was to collect the remaining sum of the indemnity from the deposit of eight Moroccan customs houses.⁸³⁶ The British, who had provided the Makhzan with a loan to pay part of the indemnity, were to join the Spanish civil servants at the customs of the ports of Tetouan, Tangier, Larache, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Essaouira, where they would collect half of the entry fees to settle the debt. The Spanish *recaudadores* had begun their endeavor by the end of 1861.

Isidoro Millás, who had been director of commerce during the occupation, was nominated Spanish consul after the evacuation. In his report to the Spanish Secretary of State, he affirmed that few of the Tetouanis who had been in exile during the occupation entered the city on the day of the evacuation of the Spanish forces. Millás also mentioned that the atmosphere remained calm throughout the day, that the commercial activity and other establishments proceeded with normality, and that no Spanish individuals were harassed.

The experience of the war might have changed the lives of the soldiers who integrated the Army of Africa in ways that probably go beyond imagination. Bruno

⁸³⁵ Millás, “Report 02/05/1862.”

⁸³⁶ Garrido Quijano, “Aproximación a Los Antecedentes, Las Causas Y Las Consecuencias de La Guerra de África (1859-1860),” 247–65; Rodríguez Esteller, “La Intervención Española de Las Aduanas Marroquíes (1862-1885).”

Pujol Canal, who was only seventeen when he was forced to enlist into the Catalan corps, returned back home from Tetouan only to find out that his family and friends had assumed that he had died, and that his former girlfriend was involved in a new relationship. So Pujol Canal decided to move to the Basque province of Gipuzkoa, where probably one or some of his war mates lived. The Catalan soldier married Josefa Oyarzabal Michelena in 1863 in the town of Oiartzun, where a collective revolt against enlistment by draw had taken place, as seen in Chapter Two. Their great-grandson, Iñaki Gabilondo, is nowadays a well-known journalist in Spain, and the research team of a Basque TV program managed to unearth the origins of Gabilondo's second surname, which were unknown to the family, tracing it back to the episode under review in this dissertation.⁸³⁷

Still, a number of Spanish civilians remained in Tetouan in the aftermath of the military evacuation. Migrants of modest substance continued to arrive in the city, too.⁸³⁸ According to Millás, the migrants and the authorities of the Spanish localities from which they departed acted “as if Tetouan was still [under] Spanish [sovereignty].”⁸³⁹ The civilian migrants travelled with a mere residency card, onto which the authorities wrote down they were intending to work in the constructions taking place in Tetouan. Millás added that governor Asha‘āsh had mentioned to him that the city seemed to still be more Spanish than Muslim, so the consul suggested to restrict the affluence of the Spaniards who did not have a valid passport. The response of the Secretary of State approved Millás’ proposal to limit the arrival of “rootless” Spaniards in Tetouan.

Migrations had taken place the other way round, too. A considerable number of Jewish families were established in the coastal towns of the southern Iberian peninsula when the war declaration had reached Tetouan. Many of them settled in Gibraltar, but an important Jewish colony was also formed in Sevilla, and smaller ones in Málaga, Cádiz, and Madrid.⁸⁴⁰ Besides, when the maternity shelter which had been established

⁸³⁷ “Video: Iñaki Gabilondo. Todos Los Apellidos Vascos | EITB Alacarta | Televisión Y Radio a La Carta,” accessed August 20, 2017, <http://www.eitb.tv/eu/bideoa/todos-los-apellidos-vascos/4270442537001/4493809083001/inaki-gabilondo/>.

⁸³⁸ Isidoro Millás, “Report 13/08/1862,” n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

⁸³⁹ Isidoro Millás, “Report 05/08/1862,” n.d., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

⁸⁴⁰ Ángel Pulido Fernández, *Espanoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid: E. Teodoro, 1905), 342–50.

in occupied Tetouan was closed in May 1862, the unwanted children who were born subsequently were baptized in Tetouan and sent to maternity houses in the southern Spanish peninsula.⁸⁴¹ Yet some mixed offspring remained in Tetouan as, according to Millás, the practice of child-murder had ceased and the single mothers who wished to keep their children had increasingly become accepted. Other Tetouanis, especially Jews, had also migrated to neighboring Algeria, to Portugal, and to the Americas during and after the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.⁸⁴² The memory of the city of Tetouan, called after ‘Little Jerusalem,’ has been orally transmitted in many such cases.⁸⁴³

In the present, the most widespread sobriquet of Tetouan is ‘the white dove.’ The epithet might have been coined by Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl. As already seen, Afaylāl wrote his elegy in the first anniversary of his exile away from home in February 1861, as he endeavored to heal from the physical and emotional pain that the exile from Tetouan had drawn him into.⁸⁴⁴ As seen in Chapter Seven, Afaylāl’s experience in exile was marked by both the misfortunes he faced and the healing processes he underwent, all of which is captured in his poem in the specific figure of the dove. In Arabic and Sufi poetry, birds and especially doves appear as symbolically invested figures. Doves tend to proxy the lovelorn poet, and also often appear as the harbingers of death.⁸⁴⁵ According to Terry De Young, the linkages that the figure of the dove propels between love – whether divine or human – and death converge in “the ‘prequel’ to a traditional Arabic elegy: the stage of unprocessed emotive expression before beginning the work of finding consolation.”⁸⁴⁶ Although it is possible that Tetouan was termed after ‘the white dove’ before the Spanish war on the city, the connections between the figure of the dove and Afaylāl’s emotional and political processes are striking.

⁸⁴¹ Millás, “Report 08/06/1863.”

⁸⁴² Abd al-‘Azīz Shahbar, *Dirāsāt ḥawla Yahūd Taṭāwīn (Studies on Tetouani Jewry)* (Tetouan: Association Tetouan-Asmir, 2000), 86. Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*, 55–75; See also: Susan Gilson Miller, “Kippur on the Amazon: Jewish Emigration from Northern Morocco in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*, ed. Harvey E. Goldberg (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 190–210.

⁸⁴³ For the ones which include the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation, see: Benarroch Pinto, *El indiano, el kadi y la luna*; Teboul et al., “Histoires tetouanaïses de nos familles Fimat et Garzon, Anahory et Barchilon.”

⁸⁴⁴ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 62. See section 3.4. in Chapter Three.

⁸⁴⁵ Terry De Young, “Love, Death, and the Ghost of Al-Khansā’: the Modern Female Poetic Voice in Fadwā Tūqān’s Elegies for Her Brother Ibrāhīm,” in *Tradition, Modernity, and Postmodernity in Arabic Literature: Essays in Honor of Professor Issa J. Boullata*, ed. Issa J. Boullata, Kamal Abdel-Malek, and Wael B. Hallaq (45-75: BRILL, 2000), 60.

⁸⁴⁶ De Young, 61.

Most likely unaware of such significance, these days a statue of a white dove presides a roundabout, called the White Dove Square, in the modern part of Tetouan. The shape of the new football stadium which is being built in the outskirts of the city also symbolizes “a white dove spreading its wings over west.”⁸⁴⁷ A search in Google for *Tétouan*, “*la colombe blanche*” gives 260,000 results, whereas it gives 110,000 for *Tiṭwān* “*al-ḥamāma al-baiḍā*” and 39,400 for *Tetuán* “*la paloma blanca*.” Many other streets, squares, institutions, and urban elements in Tetouan and around Spain – including the colonies which formed part of the Spanish empire in the mid-nineteenth century – still have names or symbolic and material links to the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation.

Imperial Legacies: The Case of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*

The process of bringing the Spanish occupation of Tetouan to an end entailed preparing the transition to an era in which Spain’s presence and influence in Morocco was to be notably different from the pre-war epoch. By the time the evacuation took place, the construction of a new church was in the process. Still, the new house of worship was only consecrated on June 19, 1866, when Sīdī ‘Abd-Allah al-Baqāl’s *zāwiya* was given back to the Muslim Tetouani community.⁸⁴⁸ The project of building a railway that connected Tetouan and Ceuta, instead, remained unaccomplished. The rail tracks which had been established were left in their place, and the endeavor was only undertaken and completed during the Spanish Protectorate (1912-56).

Not only Spain took advantage of the infrastructures set in place during the occupation of Tetouan, however. As already seen, some British and French fortune-seekers profitted the Spanish occupation to establish different sorts of businesses in the city. Besides, although the British had opposed and limited the reach of the Spanish war on Tetouan, the 1861 treaty also benefitted the British presence in Morocco throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (*Kol Israel Haverim*, in Hebrew), founded in Paris in 1860, established its first world-wide school

⁸⁴⁷ “Design: Grand Stade de Tétouan – StadiumDB.com,” accessed August 19, 2017, http://stadiumdb.com/designs/mar/grand_stade_de_tetouan.

⁸⁴⁸ Gómez Barceló, “La Iglesia de Ceuta Durante El Conflicto Y La Ocupación de Tetuán,” 257.

in Tetouan in December 1862.⁸⁴⁹ That was possible because the Spanish occupation of Tetouan had already summoned a community of Jews who had attended school.

Under the direction of the Franciscan friar Gregorio Martínez, a primary school had been established in the first months of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan. By the end of August 1860, the newspaper *El Noticiero de Tetuán* affirmed that eighteen boys and three girls attended the school. *El Noticiero* urged the Tetouani Jews to send their children, especially their sons, “to drink the first drops of the unending richness of education.”⁸⁵⁰ By January 1861, a female teacher had arrived in town because, merely a year after the capture of Tetouan, the number of schooled children was high enough to establish a separate girls’ school.⁸⁵¹ The initiative followed the recommendations of the 1857 Spanish Moyano decree to foster the “proper separation” among genders whenever possible.⁸⁵²

Tetouan was the location chosen to establish the first *Alliance* boys’ school due to the existing infrastructure and, especially, of Jewish children who had already been schooled in a European-style education center. Still, the *Alliance* had to deal with several difficulties. The establishment of French, which was the language of the *Alliance*, as the schooling language was a complex and slow endeavor.⁸⁵³ The mother tongue of the Tetouani Jews was Judeo-Spanish Haketia, and the Spanish occupation had also had a linguistic impact that led to the “re-Hispanization” of Haketia.⁸⁵⁴ The *Alliance* faced claims to receive education in Spanish in other northern Moroccan towns, too, where the Jewish population was exclusively Sephardic and thus, found Spanish easier than French. That was the case in Tangier, where an *Alliance* school was opened in 1864. In other places where Jews spoke Judeo-Arabic or Judeo-Berber, Arabic and

⁸⁴⁹ Hermann Cohn and S Munk, *Mœurs des Juifs et des Arabes de Tétuan (Maroc)* (Paris: Lipschutz, 1927), 2–3.

⁸⁵⁰ Francisco Salazar, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 22/09/1860,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, September 22, 1860, Biblioteca Nacional de España; Manuel García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/01/1861,” *Imprenta de García Y Contilló*, February 1, 1861, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

⁸⁵¹ García y Contilló, “El Noticiero de Tetuán 02/01/1861.”

⁸⁵² Article 103, in: Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, *Colección legislativa de España: (continuación de la colección de decretos). Tercer trimestre de 1857*, vol. LXXIII (Madrid: Imprenta del Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, 1857), 286.

⁸⁵³ Irene González González, “La política educativa española en el Norte de Marruecos (1860-1912),” in *Regenerar España y Marruecos: ciencia y educación en las relaciones hispano-marroquíes a finales del siglo XIX*, ed. Irene González González and Francisco Javier Martínez Antonio (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2011), 222.

⁸⁵⁴ Díaz-Mas, *Sephardim*, 61.

Hebrew were used as the main teaching languages, at least in the beginning.⁸⁵⁵ In most cases, the transition from Spanish or Arabic and Hebrew into French took place only steadily.

Other challenges to the establishment of French as the schooling language were related to new conceptions on the relationship between the Jews and the Spanish which the occupation had seeded. In 1869, Lévy Cazes, who had been the Jewish mayor in the mixed city council of occupied Tetouan, insisted that Spanish should be taught at the *Alliance* school. Cazes highlighted the usefulness of Spanish for the Moroccan Jews, who could find “their bread in Spain, which opens its arms and wishes to bring together those who in previous times it burnt.”⁸⁵⁶ Cazes’ statement bears resonances of the Philosephardic movement which developed from the second half of the nineteenth century, whereby the Hispano-Jewish brotherhood ties were claimed.⁸⁵⁷

The *Alliance* school in Tetouan, as elsewhere in Morocco, likewise faced other sorts of problems. Some members of the rabbinic leadership regarded that the religious studies and sentiment were put in jeopardy with the introduction of secular studies.⁸⁵⁸ Besides, the *Alliance* girls’ school in Tetouan first opened in 1868 but it closed soon thereafter, and only reopened in 1882.⁸⁵⁹ In the long run, the *Alliance* schools provided an education venue that, together with other aspects related to the transformations mentioned in the dissertation, bestowed the Jewish community, albeit still *ahl al-dhimma*, a number of economic, mobility, and cultural resources that were not available to their Muslim neighbors.

Imperial Legacies: Economic and Political Crisis in Morocco

The Spanish and British civil servants in charge of the collection of half of the sum entering the customs houses of eight Moroccan ports had begun their endeavor by

⁸⁵⁵ González González, “La política educativa española en el Norte de Marruecos (1860-1912),” 223.

⁸⁵⁶ Leibovici, “Aproximación Hispano-Judía En El Marruecos Ochocentista (Tetuán, 1862-1896),” 62–63.

⁸⁵⁷ Pulido Fernández, *Espanoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* was one of the forefathers of Spanish Philosephardism.

⁸⁵⁸ Saul I. Aranov, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bension Collection of Sephardic Manuscripts and Texts* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta, 1979), 36.

⁸⁵⁹ Frances Malino, “Prophets in Their Own Land? Mothers and Daughters of the Alliance Israélite Universelle,” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender Issues*, no. 3 (2000): 70.

the end of 1861, and were to continue to do so until 1884-85. The monetary crisis and the bankruptcy of the Moroccan Treasury had driven the Makhzan to sign the 1861 treaty, but the problems did not cease over time. The monetary crisis led to large-scale depreciation of the Moroccan currency. Over the next ten years, an alarmingly tangible fourfold increase in the price of wheat was to take place.⁸⁶⁰ The multi-faceted crisis was ultimately to alter “the cohesion of the *bay‘a*,” or the nature of the contract which conditioned the reign of Muḥammad IV, and his heir Ḥasan I.⁸⁶¹

Sultan Muḥammad IV decided to establish a direct tax (*maks*), which consisted in a levy for most of the merchandise that entered and departed from the cities, in order to collect the money necessary to complete the indemnity payment.⁸⁶² Before imposing it, Sīdī Muḥammad had queried the ‘*ulamā*’, or the religious scholars, regarding the way to tackle the economic dilemma.⁸⁶³ The legal argument to justify a new tax had to show that its implementation was indispensable for the good of the Islamic community, and that the burden of taxes would be evenly distributed.⁸⁶⁴ The ‘*ulamā*’ offered ways to legitimize the imposition of the unpopular tax, and in fact most of them denied that the levy was actually a *maks*.⁸⁶⁵ The measure, of course, caused social unrest.

In 1873, a revolt erupted in Fes. One of the issues against which the population protested was the *maks*. 1873 was the year of the death of Sīdī Muḥammad, and the removal of the levy was put as a condition of the people of Fes to deliver the oath of allegiance to Sīdī al-Ḥasan.⁸⁶⁶ The revolt, which had various phases and different political dimensions, was led by the powerful tanner’s guild, and upheld by much of the common people of Fes. Other social and political factors which added to the economic crisis and which led to the protests in Fes were related to some of the major changes which had been set in motion in the previous decades. The payment of the indemnity

⁸⁶⁰ Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints*, 58.

⁸⁶¹ Abdallah Laroui, *Orígenes sociales y culturales del nacionalismo marroquí (1830-1912)* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1997), 289.

⁸⁶² Ayache, “Aspects De La Crise Financière Au Maroc Après L’expédition Espagnole De 1860,” 293. See also: Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a’lām al-nās bi-jamāl akhbār ḥādīra-t Miknās (A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes)*, III:513–14.

⁸⁶³ See their answers in: Mannūnī, *Mazāhir Yaqza-t al-Maghrīb al-Ḥadīth (Manifestations of Modern Morocco’s Awakening)*, I:263–81.

⁸⁶⁴ Laroui, *Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain, 1830-1912*, 291–94.

⁸⁶⁵ Rodríguez Esteller, “La Intervención Española de Las Aduanas Marroquíes (1862-1885),” 82.

⁸⁶⁶ Abdelahad Sebtī, “Chronique de La Contestation Citadine: Fès et La Révolte Des Tanneurs, 1873-1874” 29, no. 2 (1991): 283–312.

put considerable burden on the common folk. Besides, the system of power share that had existed for over two hundred years between the Makhzan and the notable *shurafā'* families was being steadily transformed by the colonial intervention and the Makhzan reforms.

From the midcentury onward, the reforms increasingly centralized the administration and the authority of the Makhzan, which at the same time dealt with the pressures of foreign powers to pursue such reforms, and intensified distress among the traditional elites, especially the *shurafā'*. The traditional elites lost ground to new social forces and to a new coterie of European advisers, diplomats and businessmen, and Moroccan merchants, who filled positions in the expanding bureaucracy the Makhzan created.⁸⁶⁷ Illustrative of the changes in the activities and actors who became increasingly enfranchised in the aftermath of the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation are the customs inspectors who integrated the *umanā'* corps, an institution created by Sīdī Muḥammad in 1861.⁸⁶⁸ Another novel institution of the time was the Ministry of Complaints (*Wizāra-t al-Shikāyāt*), aimed at relieving the social distress that the Spanish war and occupation of Tetouan arose.⁸⁶⁹ The first Minister of Complaints was Tetouani Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, whose “task was to receive all kinds of complaints, answering some himself, ‘according to the Sultan’s will’, referring others to the ruler.”⁸⁷⁰

Probably the setting in motion of the modernization of the Moroccan military system was one of the most relevant reformist consequences of the defeat in the Spanish war on Tetouan. Top-down state-led reforms of the military and the administrative system had taken the lead in some other countries of the Muslim Mediterranean in the eighteenth century. The military reforms propelled by both Mehmet ‘Alī’s Egypt and the Ottoman *Tanzimat* were especially well-known and influential.⁸⁷¹ In Morocco, the reform of the army had begun in the second half of the eighteenth century, under the

⁸⁶⁷ Bazzaz, *Forgotten Saints*, 29.

⁸⁶⁸ Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (Abingdon; New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 235–39. See also: Mannūnī, *Mazāhir Yaqza-t al-Maghrīb al-Ḥadīth (Manifestations of Modern Morocco’s Awakening)*.

⁸⁶⁹ Mannūnī, *Mazāhir Yaqdhāt al-Magreb al-Ḥadīz (Manifestations of Modern Morocco’s Awakening)*, I: 29.

⁸⁷⁰ Ṣaffār and Miller, *Disorienting Encounters*, 46.

⁸⁷¹ A detailed study of the former is: Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*.

rule of Sultan Muḥammad III (reigned 1757-1790). But it was the defeat by the French in 1844 and by the Spanish in 1860 that truly motivated the implementation of the Moroccan military reform.

The aftermath of the war and the Spanish occupation of Tetouan is commonly termed ‘the age of reform.’ It was certainly an age of state-led reform, although not only. As this dissertation has shown, reformist thinking was not limited to the Makhzan and the central administration. The analysis of the personal diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl has shown that the scholar included observations related to the military organization. As did other contemporary authors in the Maghrib and the larger Muslim Mediterranean, Afaylāl’s multilayered criticism of the Moroccan army revealed reformist concerns related to larger social and political dynamics and structures in Morocco.

The Politics of History

History was not unconnected from the politics of Moroccan reform. The war and Spanish occupation of Tetouan, as well as the harsh conditions established in the treaties, were indeed the object of analysis of several major historical works in Morocco, which put forth reformist and nationalist agendas. The following pages focus on two influential scholars, mainly on reformist Aḥmad Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, and less so on nationalist Mohamed Daoud, and examine the urban and gender biases that their works put forth. My contention is that it is necessary to critically assess influential historical narratives such as theirs, and deconstruct the biases that they, as the political projects within which they were embedded, posited. Such critical perspective enables us to identify some of their methodological pitfalls, understand the historically-constructed historiography, and move on in the quest of writing a history that explains complex phenomena in the past.

Aḥmad Ibn Khālid Al-Nāṣirī is best known as the author of a comprehensive history of Morocco, contained in the colossal *The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco* (heretofore, *al-Istiḳṣā*).⁸⁷² Through the different volumes, al-Nāṣirī narrated Moroccan history since the Islamic conquest until the epoch of Sultan

⁸⁷² Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*.

Ḥassan I (reigned 1873-1894), to whom he mostly devoted his oeuvre.⁸⁷³ One chapter of *al-Istiḡṣā* is dedicated to the Spanish war on Tetouan, under the title of “The Breakdown of the Peace with the Spanish and Their Capture of Tetouan.”⁸⁷⁴ In order to write the chapter, al-Nāṣirī went to Tetouan sometime in the 1880s, and interviewed locals about the events. Al-Nāṣirī’s work, in fact, contains ‘echoes’ of some of his Tetouani informants. All in all, the fight against the external enemies (foreign, European, and ‘the people of al-Andalus’) and the internal ones (rural and lower class folk, and women) in the scholar’s work will emerge as the two faces of the same reformist coin – which, after all, recall the double front that the declaration of war aroused in Tetouan, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd Al-Nāṣirī (1834-1897) was born to a saintly father in the intellectually-reputed urban center of Salé, and became a scholar who embarked upon a career of government service in the mid-1870s.⁸⁷⁵ Al-Nāṣirī received a traditional religious education, and he also accessed the scientific and novel literary editions and translations from the *Mashriq*, especially Egypt. After serving as a modest official in the law court and as a mosque teacher, he benefited from the expansion of the government bureaucracy that the reforms led by the Makhzan propelled in the reign of both Sīdī Muḥammad and Sultan Ḥasan I. He also spoke some European languages, read scientific journals in Spanish and French, and met European diplomats and civil servants living and working in Morocco.⁸⁷⁶ Indeed, for about twenty years al-Nāṣirī served either as notary or chief agent at several customs houses, where Spanish and British officials were established.⁸⁷⁷ Apart from acquiring a good share of wealth, his career shaped his standpoint, resolute to show that reform was necessary in order to

⁸⁷³ Calderwood, “The Beginning (or End) of Moroccan History: Historiography, Translation, and Modernity in Ahmad B. Khalid Al-Nasiri and Clemente Cerdeira”; Muhammad Al-Nasiri, “Shahada-T Sahib Al-Istisqa Ala Harb Titwan (The Testimony of the Author of Al-Istisqa on the War of Tetouan),” in *Nadwah Dawliyah: Harb Titwan, 1859-1860 (International Conference on the War of Tetouan, 1859-1860)* (Rabat: Mandūbiyah al-Sāmīyah li-Qudamā’ al-Muqāwimīn wa-A‘dā’ Jaysh al-Taḥrīr, 2010), 77–89.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibn Khālīd al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḡṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:84–102.

⁸⁷⁵ Kenneth Brown, “Profile of a Nineteenth-Century Moroccan Scholar,” in *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 128–29.

⁸⁷⁶ Calderwood, “The Beginning (or End) of Moroccan History: Historiography, Translation, and Modernity in Ahmad B. Khalid Al-Nasiri and Clemente Cerdeira,” 400.

⁸⁷⁷ Brown, “Profile of a Nineteenth-Century Moroccan Scholar,” 130.

preserve Morocco's identity – its religion, culture, language, and independence – from the menace of European penetration.⁸⁷⁸

Al-Nāṣirī thus envisioned reform as aiming at preventing foreign interference, embodied by the Spanish at the war on Tetouan, and that entailed reforming the Moroccan realm, in a number of ways. For one thing, al-Nāṣirī was a convinced supporter of military reform in his country. As with some of the pioneer reformists in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, al-Nāṣirī made an Islamic appeal for modernity and reform. But his quest for military reform was not just that. Bettina Dennerlein and Susan G. Miller have argued that al-Nāṣirī used the military reform to express wider social reform proposals.⁸⁷⁹ That is also clear in the chapter devoted to the Spanish war on Tetouan, where fighting internal 'enemies' emerges as important as acquiring modern technical skills – as was the case with Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl. The internal front was represented by rural folk and the 'populace,' on the one hand, and the realm of the feminine and the emasculation of Moroccan men, on the other hand.

When discussing the military techniques of Spaniards and Moroccans, al-Nāṣirī turned to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*. The historian considered that the Moroccan army lacked "order" and "discipline," and that their technique of 'attack and withdrawal' was inefficient.⁸⁸⁰ Al-Nāṣirī thus reproduced the medieval scholars' views on the greater effectiveness of the attacks pursued by means of the 'in line' formation, generally used by European modern armies and by the Spanish in the war on Tetouan.⁸⁸¹ By quoting the khaldunian connection between military organization in lines and both the arrangement that worshippers form when praying and the recommendation contained in the Qur'ān that wars be fought in lines, al-Nāṣirī put forth the idea that order and effectiveness were not an exclusive European invention or acquisition.⁸⁸² By retreating

⁸⁷⁸ Brown, 137.

⁸⁷⁹ Dennerlein, "South-South Linkages and Social Change," 60; Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 40.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:87. Emphasis added.

⁸⁸¹ Abd al-Raḥman Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn and Darwīsh Al-Juwaidī, *Muqaddima (Prolegomena)*, Al-Maktaba al-'Aṣrīya (Beirut, 2011), 248; Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:87–88. Other treaties in favour of adopting military reforms in Morocco also had Ibn Khaldūn's work as their main reference. See: Al-Kardudī Al-Fasī, Muḥammad, *Kashf al-Ghumma bi-Bayan inna Harb al-Nizām Haqq 'ala al-Umma*, cited in: Bennison, "The 'New Order' and Islamic Order: the Introduction of the Nizami Army in the Western Maghrib and its Legitimation, 1830–73," 14.

⁸⁸² Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:88. For the Qur'anic verse translated into English, see:

to the recommendations of the great Maghribi scholar and the holy Qur'ān, the historian legitimized the Islamic appeal for the modernization of the Moroccan army.

Yet the analysis of the war on Tetouan and the Spanish occupation of the city offered room for the discussion of issues that went beyond the military techniques. As already seen, on the eve of the Spanish capture a terrible looting hit Tetouan. The primary sources convey a multiplicity of versions about who the perpetrators and the victims of the pillage were. Some primary sources pointed at rural populations' involvement in the looting.⁸⁸³ Some others or the same authors in other excerpts, denounced local authorities' responsibility, and others pointed at the Spanish exploitation of the pillage.⁸⁸⁴ Yet some Tetouanis depicted rural populations and impoverished urbanites of rural origins as perpetrators but also as victims of the looting.⁸⁸⁵ Al-Nāṣirī attributed the pillage to “the people of the mountains, Arabs and riffraff” (*ahl al-jabal wa al-'arab wa al-awbāsh*).⁸⁸⁶

The Tetouani blacksmith Muḥammad al-Haddādī declared that al-Nāṣirī was paid to lie in his writings, so it could be speculated that the historian was asked to omit local authorities' responsibility in the pillage.⁸⁸⁷ That the rural and tribal populations functioned as scapegoats implies that their embroilment in the enactment of the violent episodes indemnified other, probably more powerful, urbanite responsible actors. Al-Nāṣirī's blaming of the rural populations for the looting of Tetouan might therefore have been shaped by his Tetouani informants, a majority of whom likely belonged to the elites. Yet al-Nāṣirī's impugning of the rural and tribal folk is also in keeping with “his exaltation of urban elites and his denigration of the ignorant lower classes.”⁸⁸⁸ While Afaylāl diagnosed that the defeat was due to the ‘weakness of Islam,’ al-Nāṣirī identified, together with religious scantiness, the lack of national sentiment and unity as

Muḥammad Asad and Aḥmad Moustafa, *The message of the Qur'an: the full account of the revealed Arabic text accompanied by parallel transliteration*, 2008, Aya-t as-Ṣaff, 61:4.

⁸⁸³ Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 3; Aḥmad al-Jinwī in: Anonymous, 9; Muḥammad al-Salāsī in: Anonymous, 15.

⁸⁸⁴ Afaylāl, “The Diary of Sidī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” 35. Faqīh al-Khumsī in: Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 10; Anonymous, 3. Hardman, *The Spanish Campaign in Morocco*, 261.

⁸⁸⁵ Muḥammad al-Haddādī, in: Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 121–22.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibn Khālīd al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḡṣā' li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90.

⁸⁸⁷ Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 122.

⁸⁸⁸ Brown, “Profile of a Nineteenth-Century Moroccan Scholar,” 143.

the deficiency that devastated Tetouan.⁸⁸⁹ To underline his argument, al-Nāṣirī highlighted the individually-driven attitudes of rural and tribal soldiers, which were also deemed to have motivated the plundering of Tetouan.

Discussing al-Nāṣirī's oeuvre is particularly important because *al-Istiḳṣā* is hardly ever omitted in the Moroccan, and even in the Spanish, works that deal with the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation. As al-Nāṣirī did, some other historians have either implicitly or explicitly pointed to rural townsfolk's 'savagery', 'anarchy' and 'irrationality,' that is, the qualities which have repeatedly been considered to represent rural populations *vis-à-vis* urbanites.⁸⁹⁰ In the most important and influential contemporary work on the history of Tetouan, Mohamed Daoud affirmed that townsfolk "always" engaged in warfare, while the inhabitants of Tetouan were mainly dedicated to industry and commerce. According to this historian, the Tetouanis were unable to engage in warfare because they constituted "the remnants of Andalusī people, the people of civilization (*ahl al-ḥaḍar*), quietude (*al-hudū*), peace (*al-amān*), opulence (*al-rafaḥīyya*), waters (*al-miyāh*), shades (*al-ḡalāl*), and basil (*al-riḥān*)."⁸⁹¹

Narratives such as these, and the categories which inform them, need to be problematized. First, they have no explanatory force. Second, they reinscribe the cleavage between the rural and urban realms, which favors the urban realm. Moroccan rural townsfolk's depiction by urban historians has conveyed a moral and political alterity and, as such, its contours are nothing more than a partial and biased account of their subjecthood. The urban-centered historical enquiry and the reproduction of the binaries which have historically reigned between the urban and the rural realms have

⁸⁸⁹ The combination of the religious and national elements can be seen in his explicit military reform proposal and, particularly, in: Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (*The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco*), 9:106.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a'lām al-nās bi-jamāl akḥbār ḥāḍira-t Miknās* (*A Presentation of Enlightened People with the most beautiful Reports of the City of Meknes*), III:261–64. Abdelaziz Assaoud, "La Guerra de Tetuán: Sus Repercusiones Y Consecuencias Sobre Marruecos" (Coloquio: la Guerra de Tetuán (1859-1860), Martil: Centro cultural Lerchundi, 2008); Assaoud, "Ḥarb Isbānīā 'Alā Al-Maghrib 'Ām 1860 Wa 'Awāqibiha Al-Wakhīma (The Spanish War on Morocco in 1860 and Its Serious Repercussions)"; Shahbar, *Dirāsāt ḥawla Yahūd Taṭāwīn* (*Studies on Tetouani Jewry*); García Figueras, *Recuerdos centenarios de una guerra romántica; la guerra de Africa de nuestros abuelos, 1859-60.*; Vilar, *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo (1850-1870)*; Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc, 1859-1948*, 85–88; The Spanish translation of al-Nāṣirī's *al-Istiḳṣā* was one of the main sources for Galdós' historical novels centered on the Spanish war on Tetouan and its occupation: Benito Pérez Galdós, *Episodios nacionales. Cuarta serie: Aita Tettauén* (Madrid: Hernando, 1954); Benito Pérez Galdós, *Episodios nacionales. Quinta serie: Carlos VI en la Rápita* (Madrid: Hernando, 1954).

⁸⁹¹ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān* (*The History of Tetouan*), 1964, V:218.

their *raison d'être*, for history has also historically been a discipline dominated by urban male elites.

To be sure, my goal is not to reject the implication of a majority of rural townfolk in the action of looting Tetouan. Given the uneven power relations between the rural and the urban realms, it seems cogent to think of the looting of the city as the violent means of action deployed by rural subjects against urban oppression; including of the Tetouanis with rural origins that belonged to the impoverished and marginalized strata. As was the case of the aforementioned belated alliance with the army that the Jbala tribes offered to fight the Spaniards in response to the detrimental policies of the Tetouani governor during the cereal crisis, the pillaging could be understood as a way in which rural townfolk avenged the city, its properties, and its dwellers and their values; according to which Tetouan was denuded of “the robe of modesty” (*jilbāb al-ḥayā*).⁸⁹² The rage did not only target the powerful Tetouanis, but instead was particularly vented on class, gender and religious minorities.

The issue at stake is that the unreasoned ascription of the looting to rural and impoverished individuals by dominant historiography obscures the reasons and the social structures within which these actions are to be framed.⁸⁹³ Such accusations were based upon and reinforced the hierarchized dichotomy that was prevalently assumed to exist between the rural and the urban which, precisely, informed the power relations which might have triggered political action. Such accusations, ultimately, shaped the political projects – reformist and nationalist – within which historical narratives themselves were set. But such a cleavage also shaped colonial rule and practices. As the dissertation has shown, the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan mobilized issues which were meaningful for locals, including the antagonism between the urban and the rural populations. Besides, in their endeavor to dissuade the Spanish, Makhzan diplomats stressed, amongst other things, the ‘savagery’ of rural townfolk.

The second realm that al-Nāṣirī identified to be in need of reform was the gendered one. Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ lamenting in his passage through Tetouan prior to the Spanish capture evoked the attitude of Muḥammad XII, the last sultan of Granada, in

⁸⁹² Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḡā’ li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90.

⁸⁹³ An exception is: al-Bayād, “Ḥarb Tiṭwān Fi Al-Maṣādir Al-Maghribiyya (The War of Tetouan in the Moroccan Sources),” 125, who briefly mentions that the framework in which rural townfolk’s actions are to be set is one of general urban oppression against the rural world.

the capture of the city that entailed the fall of al-Andalus.⁸⁹⁴ The crying, lack of fight, and flight attributed to Mawlay al-‘Abbās thus stressed the emasculation of the Moroccan military leader, and symbolically all Moroccans. Both Spanish and Arabic historiographies as well as popular oral literature recorded that Muḥammad XII (Boabdil, in Spanish) looked back at the city conquered by the Christians when fleeing and cried, while ‘A’isha al-Ḥurra, his mother, said to him: ‘Cry like a woman for what you were unable to defend as a man.’ Al-Nāṣirī used the culturally meaningful gendered metaphor of the emasculated leader and, by so doing, reinscribed the gender distinctions and hierarchies.

I argue that al-Nāṣirī’s incarnation of Mawlay al-‘Abbās in Muḥammad XII and the connection between the ‘fall of Tetouan’ (*suqūṭ Tiṭwān*) and the highly emotionally charged ‘fall of al-Andalus’ (*suqūṭ al-Andalus*) aimed at persuading the reigning Sultan Ḥasan I that reform was necessary if he wanted to avoid Mawlay al-‘Abbās’ fate. Mawlay al-‘Abbās epitomized the Makhzan that Sultan Ḥasan I presided at that moment, and was also the reigning sultan’s father. As already explained, mid-century Tetouanis drew similar parallelisms between Mawlay al-‘Abbās and Muḥammad XII, which confirms that al-Nāṣirī actually made use of the already present popular discourse.⁸⁹⁵ Decades later, the historian Daoud also mentioned that the Spanish occupation of Tetouan constituted for the descendants of the expelled Muslims and Jews “a new version of al-Andalus.”⁸⁹⁶

Yet al-Nāṣirī’s reincarnation aimed at persuading the sultan about the need to strengthen the manly qualities which he considered to have partly triggered the defeat against the Spanish. Indeed, the modern Moroccan army which al-Nāṣirī envisioned had to put together religious practice, principles of order, organization, rank, and values among which “manly virtue” stood out.⁸⁹⁷ The emasculation of Moroccans was a political concern for the historian from Salé, and one which his reform agenda certainly aimed at tackling. When in 1885 Mawlay al-Ḥasan requested legal advice concerning

⁸⁹⁴ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣṣā’ li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsa (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 9:90.

⁸⁹⁵ Faqīh al-Khumsī in: Anonymous, “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan,’” 11. Vera Salas, *Porvenir de España en Marruecos*, 120–21. See section four in Chapter Three.

⁸⁹⁶ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:235.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣṣā’ li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco)*, 8: 121, cited in: Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, 40.

the tenacious European demands for trade concessions, al-Nāṣirī asserted that given Muslims' weakness and confusion there was no sense in opposing them. The historian highlighted that "people ha[d] become so weak and concerned with their food, drink, and clothing that there remain[ed] no difference between them and their women."⁸⁹⁸

Ultimately, al-Nāṣirī's text propped that the "chaos" (*fawḍā*) and "strife" (*fiṭna*) that reigned in Tetouan during the looting came to an end with the Spanish seizure; all in all, his account "position[ed] O'Donnell as the de facto savior of Tetouan."⁸⁹⁹ Daoud continued al-Nāṣirī's depiction, by affirming that "the surrender is what saved Tetouan from destruction."⁹⁰⁰ Thus both the prominent reformist al-Nāṣirī and the major nationalist Daoud criticized the Spanish occupation of Tetouan on the grounds of religious and nationalist arguments, but reinforced the colonialist idea by which the city, unable to defend itself from its internal enemies or its own emasculated being, was in the end saved by the occupiers. This historiographical narrative stressed that the front represented by rural and impoverished people, and the feminine in its symbolic meaning constituted the main cause and threat for Tetouan, more than Spanish colonialism.

The references to the Reconquista and more specifically the 'fall of Granada' also take over the current Spanish cultural and the political scene every now and then. They at times relate to questions of religious or national identity in relation to the Moroccan or the Islamic Others, but the metaphors are also productively used to mark other types of ideological and gendered boundaries.

By the end of October 2016, when the internal quarrels seemed to annihilate the Spanish socialist party, a well-known political opponent wrote a media article entitled *The tears of Boabdil when he lost Granada*.⁹⁰¹ Although the obvious link between the leader of the PSOE, Pedro Sánchez, and Boabdil/Muḥammad XII were Sánchez's sobs in the press conference in which he announced he was leaving office, the representation had an additional implicit gender dimension, as the main menace to Sánchez's

⁸⁹⁸ Brown, "Profile of a Nineteenth-Century Moroccan Scholar," 138.

⁸⁹⁹ Calderwood, "The Beginning (or End) of Moroccan History: Historiography, Translation, and Modernity in Aḥmad B. Khālīd Al-Nāṣirī and Clemente Cerdeira," 407.

⁹⁰⁰ Daoud, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān (The History of Tetouan)*, 1964, V:220.

⁹⁰¹ Juan Carlos Monedero, "Las Lágrimas de Boabdil Al Perder Granada," *Comiendo Tierra* (blog), October 29, 2016, <http://blogs.publico.es/juan-carlos-monedero/2016/10/29/las-lagrimas-de-boabdil-al-perder-granada/>.

permanence in office was a powerful woman. Even more than al-Nāṣirī and Daoud did, the self-proclaimed progressive Juan Carlos Monedero reinscribed gender binaries and hierarchies by highlighting Sánchez's outrageous defeat and his double emasculation due to his lamenting and his defeat against a woman.

Reconquista is also at the core of the acclaimed Spanish TV series 'The Ministry of Time,' which follows a patrol of the fictional ministry whose duty consists in traveling in time to intervene whenever Spanish History faces the risk of being changed. The Ministry of Time, according to the plot, is kept secret since Reconquista, when its existence and the map of the doors of time were revealed to Isabel la Católica by a certain Abraham, a Jew who was condemned by the Inquisition to being burnt, and who obtained the queen's absolution in exchange of his revelation. In the first episode of the series, when the director instructed the newly formed patrol, he emphasized that past and present should not be merged, and affirmed: "It would be outrageous if al-Q[ā'i]da could contact Boabdil."⁹⁰² Such contact would jeopardize the Christian capture of the last bastion of al-Andalus, which would pose a hazardous threat to Spanish History, and Spanish identity. The fiction captures the importance of the mythical Reconquista in the construction of Spain's identity as a Christian country and part of the Western world, *vis-à-vis* the Islamic world.

Moreover, global racism and Islamophobia take on in Spain the specter of the 'repetition' of the Islamic conquest of Iberia. The growing Muslim population in Spain provokes long-standing anxieties about the possibility that Moroccans reinvade Spain, and "further unmoor Andalusia from Spain and Europe."⁹⁰³ In the last days of July 2017, a well-known Spanish model and TV presenter published a photo of herself wearing a headscarf, and her social media account soon became a discursive battlefield.⁹⁰⁴ Some defended her right to coiffeur freely and exalted her beauty. Others denounced her promotion of the allegedly oppressive *hijāb*, accused her of "assisting Islam in its conquest of Spain," and yet others lamented the lack of resurrection of the mystified Cid el Campeador and the Catholic Kings.

⁹⁰² "El Ministerio Del Tiempo," *El Tiempo Es El Que Es*, February 24, 2015.

⁹⁰³ Mikaela H Rogozen-Soltar, *Spain Unmoored: Migration, Conversion, and the Politics of Islam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 225.

⁹⁰⁴ "Eva Gonzalez (@evagonzalezoficial) • Instagram Photos and Videos," accessed July 31, 2017, <https://www.instagram.com/evagonzalezoficial/>.

Weeks later, after the attacks in Barcelona and Cambrils, some journalists and right-wing politicians claimed the need to expel ‘Moors’ from Spain, and made historically problematic associations with the early modern expulsions which they considered worthy models.⁹⁰⁵ This dissertation has set out to challenge uninformed uses of the past, including the Manichean notions of colonialism, historical Islam, multiculturalism, or Muslims’ ‘integration’ in Europe that often the allegedly progressive sectors mobilize.

⁹⁰⁵ Isabel San Sebastián, “Malditos seáis, islamistas hijos de... Ya os echamos de aquí una vez y volveremos a hacerlo. España será occidental, libre y democrática.” Tweet, @isanseba (blog), August 11, 2017, <https://twitter.com/isanseba/status/898252410396606464>; Enrique Álvarez, “El Islam Y El Mal,” Claudio Acebo: El Portal de las Noticias de Santander y Cantabria, accessed August 28, 2017, <http://claudioacebo.com/claudioacebo2/web/columnistas/82/el-islam-y-el-mal>.

CONCLUSIONS

The Prologue has described the events under review in the dissertation. The analytical chapters are chronologically ordered, and can stand on their own insofar as the general view of the events and its context provided in the Prologue are acknowledged.

Chapter One has set the ground of this dissertation, by arguing that to understand the Hispano-Moroccan colonial formation it is necessary to historicize Spain as well as Morocco, the Ibero-Maghribi historical relations, the nineteenth-century imperial context, as well as the local one. The chapter has specified the interrelated scholarly realms to which the dissertation is intended as a contribution – the study of Spanish colonialism, of colonial Middle East and North Africa, and Hispano-Moroccan historiographies. It has also stated that provincializing Europe is one of the main aims and methodologies of the dissertation, which involves recognizing the agency of the ‘colonized’ and the limits of the ‘colonizers,’ and acknowledging the importance of the local notions, dynamics, and spaces in the establishment of colonial rule and practices. Looking at colonial power from an intersectional perspective entails recognizing the polysemic nature of colonialism for different historical subjects – whose ‘voice’ entails adopting several methodological creative tools and approaches, including the use of an array of multilingual sources of diverse nature.

Chapter Two has examined the multi-layered nature of the campaign of the war on Tetouan in peninsular Spain. The force of national unity and the illusion of a new imperial enterprise in Morocco converged in the war propaganda, and triggered an exceptional patriotic fervor. The chapter has shown the different discursive forms that the patriotic-cum-imperialist cries adopted across ideologies, and also across the social position of different individuals and groups. The conservative sectors stressed the historical revenge against the historical enemies that the ‘Moors’ embodied, and put forth the important role of Christianity in both the imperial and the increasingly jeopardized domestic realm. The liberal sectors articulated Africanist discourses, thus claimed Spain’s ‘civilized’ character and its ability to colonize Morocco, by underscoring the Hispano-Moroccan historical, geographical, and ‘racial’ proximity. The maxim to embrace science, reason, and progress through the colonization of Morocco also reinforced the liberal domestic political agenda. Yet this bi-directional

scope of the hegemonic discourses, namely the national and the imperial, has been complicated when the analysis of the war propaganda has shifted to the local and the regional domain, on the one hand, and beyond the institutional realm, on the other. In the case of the Basque ruling elites, who upheld but also challenged liberal conceptions, the mobilization of the war has emerged as the means to negotiate the relationship between the provincial-cum-regional and the central administrations. The focus of the chapter on some individuals, such as intellectual Concepción Arenal and the young male candidates to enlist in the Basque corps of the Army of Africa, has further nuanced the significance of the imperial war across the social spectrum. These cases have shown the multi-locality of coercion and oppression, as well as the ubiquity of agency and political action.

Chapter Three has looked at the war from Tetouan, where from the announcement of the declaration of war intense quarrels divided the population. The cries to fight against the so-called ‘people of al-Andalus’ were meant to encourage Tetouanis to fight. The truth is, however, that for some of the inhabitants of Tetouan fighting the Spaniards was not a priority, or at least it was a matter that needed to be weighted with the consequences that the fight, and especially the dominant and religiously-sanctioned option of *hijra* or migration would entail in terms of the politics of status, gender, and urban ‘civilization.’ Tetouan was thus immersed into quarrels on the eve of its capture by the Spaniards. Often, the Tetouanis legitimized their different decisions by recourse to the religiously-embedded concepts of *jihād* and *hijra*. Men’s stances and actions relating to the control of women’s bodies and sexuality were also frequently framed within an Islamic paradigm. Historicizing these claims and unveiling what informed them beyond the pompous religious discourses has been one of the aims of the chapter. I have argued that the stances that the Tetouanis adopted, as Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl’s chronicle, reveal that they were defending the share in the privileges that the different power structures at work in mid-century Morocco provided to them, especially in terms of status and prestige, gender, and urbanity. The analysis of Afaylāl’s personal notes has shown his historicist and reform-minded diagnosis of the defeat against the Spanish, within which he envisioned the military breakdown and especially the occupation of his beloved city as the consequence of previous and endogenous social, political, and religious malpractice. Afaylāl harshly condemned the Tetouanis who remained in town, but the chapter has shed some light onto the

motivations of those who stayed in Tetouan, particularly in terms of gender. This analysis has also revealed some of the prominent Tetouani social categories and power structures which are helpful to understand the contours of colonial rule. The chapter has ended with the analysis of the representation of the 'fall of Tetouan' that mostly the exile Tetouanis conveyed, on which the Epilogue has continued to elaborate.

Chapter Four has focused on the initial phase of the Spanish setting of the occupation of Tetouan and the peacemaking negotiations. I have argued that the Spaniards who were 'in the theatre of war' changed their initial viewpoints, and tried to place constraints on the colonial ambitions harbored by the politicians and the public opinion in peninsular Spain. Moroccans, both authorities and common people, played a critical role in shaping such political transformation and, ultimately, the form that the peacemaking agreement adopted. The increasing humanization and admiration of the 'enemy' displayed in the works of the Spanish who were witnesses of the war and the occupation is to be understood as the result of the multi-faceted process that they lived, which included material obstacles, the specter of the menaces that the Makhzan envoys voiced, and the increasing empathy they developed with regard to Tetouanis. The Hispano-Moroccan mimesis which highlighted similarity over difference was prominently based on gendered notions and practices. Thus the focus on gender has shown that power relations were not only structured along the axis of Spanishness and Moroccanness, but on the contrary relied prominently on both local and transnational concepts of manhood and their interrelatedness with imperial discourses. Given the interdependence of the notions of patriotism and virility, and the emasculating peril that 'civilization' was conceived of as carrying, some Spaniards conceived of Moroccan Muslims' 'warrior' manliness as particularly attractive. This paved the way for the construction of a misogynist discursive camaraderie which highlighted 'colonizer' and 'colonized' men's same-sex quality rather than their 'racial' difference, which ultimately informed the stances that military and civilian Spaniards adopted with regard to the Spanish colonization endeavor. As Spaniards, different categories of Moroccans navigated the complicated equilibrium between the ambition to resist colonization and the awareness of the limitations that rendered an absolute opposition unviable. The chapter has shown that Moroccans and Tetouanis shaped the course of the events, including the restriction of the occupation of Tetouan to a temporary phase, although in

the long run some of the Moroccans' strategies which were successful in the immediate run proved lethal eventually.

Chapter Five has focused on colonial rule and practices in occupied Tetouan, and specifically on the multi-layered construction of the interracial and interreligious politics that were at the core of colonial management. Spanish colonial rule on Tetouan was both locally and globally shaped, thus imperial notions merged with the impact of the urban and demographic transformations that the occupation enhanced. One of the main arguments of the chapter is that both Tetouanis and Spaniards shaped the contours of the interreligious (Jewish-Muslim) and interracial (Hispano-Moroccan) politics. I have argued that ventriloquization, imitation and appropriation of claims were constantly at play among the 'colonizers' and the 'colonized.' Spaniards' use of the religious cleavage at work in Morocco was embedded in imperial discourses about the religious minorities' oppression under Islamic rule, but it was also shaped by the *dhimmi* Jews who aimed at improving their socio-political situation under Spanish rule. Similarly, the recourse to the Andalusí past was significant for much of the populations living in occupied Tetouan, not only because past evocations stemmed from and informed present politics, but because some of the existing socio-political structures and dynamics were related to such past. The recourse to the Andalusí past was ubiquitous, used by different historical subjects with differing political standpoints and aims. It paved the way for circular conceptions of history which were un-essentialist with regard to conceptions of stable 'racial' hierarchies, but foregrounded essentialist religious-cum-national concepts that were also problematically binary. The scope of the Spanish occupation of Tetouan was reduced to a shorter temporary phase in the revisionist agreement signed in 1861, and in exchange a larger intervention program which guaranteed Spanish penetration into Morocco for more than two decades was established. The understandings of the Hispano-Moroccan relations in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth would have their seeds in the discourses and the practices that characterized the Spanish colonial rule of Tetouan during twenty-seven months.

Chapter Six has discussed the experiences, the practices, the oppression and the agency of the subaltern classes living in occupied Tetouan. It has especially focused on the varied socio-spatial structures, conceptions, ideals, and practices of lower-class and female Tetouanis and Spaniards. By doing so, it has expanded the considerations

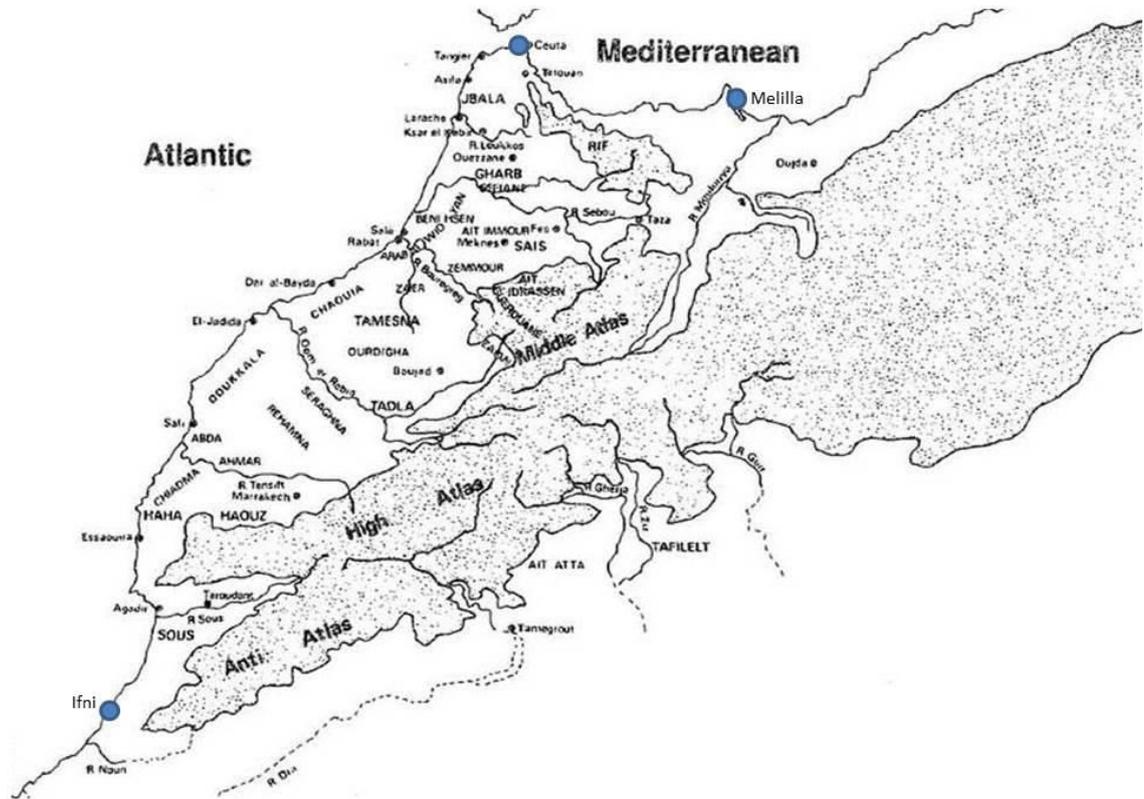
regarding colonial rule and practice in Chapter Five, particularly with regard to the *constructing* nature of ‘racial’ categories. Colonial legitimation relied on ‘racial’ conceptions that were embedded in class, and colonial practice entailed the racialization of class. One of the main arguments of this chapter has been to show that within the existent multiplicity (of experiences, of people, of socio-political positions), Spanish colonial rule entailed opportunities for some, and disenfranchisement for others. Going beyond the categories of the ‘colonizers’ and the ‘colonized’ as homogeneous clusters has entailed acknowledging the dynamic and unlike types of strategies, feelings, perspectives and consciousnesses which are to be found within each of them. The chapter has illustrated different tonalities of urban political action. It has also suggested that the use of literary and oral sources is necessary in order to ‘hear’ the ‘voices’ of the silenced subalterns, and that the value for the writing of history, especially *herstory*, is also in drawing the contours of plausible situations and actions from sketchy information and informed guesswork wherever ‘proof’ is unavailable, or biased. This chapter has also shed light onto the female population living in occupied Tetouan, and by examining the different frameworks within which they carried out reproductive labor, it has highlighted women’s contribution to the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.

Chapter Seven has analyzed the Spanish occupation of Tetouan as seen from across Morocco. It has focused on the experience of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl on exile, on the misfortunes that he faced and the multiple ways by which he tackled them. This chapter has shown that the Spanish occupation of Tetouan mirrored larger changes that could and certainly would transform the Moroccan social and the political landscape. Such changes entailed transformations in the structures upon which power and prestige relied in mid-century Morocco. The chapter has thus focused on Afaylāl’s personal experience and attitudes, but it has also argued that his diary is a privileged source for assessing the views that the Moroccan elites harbored regarding the wider imperial penetration that was taking place at the time, of which the Spanish occupation was only a part. The increasing colonial penetration and the Makhzan reforms transformed the power-share of traditional elites, and the impact of such changes became more and more tangible with time. Yet the chapter has explored more than the anxiety-ridden narratives of the Moroccan elites, and it has shown the spaces, the rituals, and the mindset that informed the discourses and the practices of both Afaylāl and some of his peers, the common people he encountered, and the ‘infidels’ who increasingly peopled Morocco.

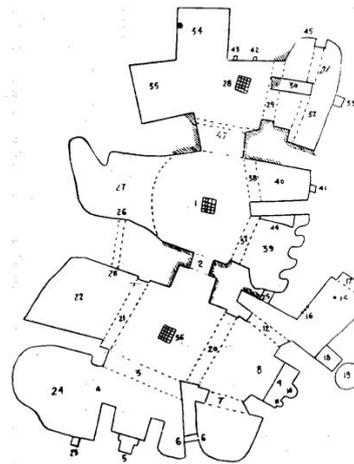
All in all, by relying on the rich and difficult source produced by this multi-talented scholar, the chapter has disclosed the complexity and multiplicity of emotions, afflictions, and agency that lie in the heart of an experience of exile. I have argued that, although Afaylāl fitted none of the categories which have traditionally been deployed to classify religious notables' attitudes toward the imperial penetration of the Islamic *umma*, his action entailed no political passivity.

The Epilogue has sketched some of the processes which followed the evacuation of the Spanish Forces of the Occupation of Tetouan from the city in May 1862, and a few legacies of the events which have been under review in the dissertation. Among the imperial legacies, I have highlighted the establishment of the first school of the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Tetouan in December 1862, as well as the difficulties that the institution faced due to the influence that the Spanish occupation had had linguistically, and in Tetouani Jews' conception of their relation to Spain. As for the economic and political legacies in Morocco, they were critical and led to the outburst of popular protest in the following decades. The last section of the Epilogue has examined the politics of history, and it has shed particular light on the biases which informed the work of the reformist and influential scholar Aḥmad Ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī. The uses of history, in general, and the evocations of the Reconquista were productive for al-Nāṣirī, for nationalist historian Mohamed Daoud, and other Moroccan and Spanish historians. But they continue to be useful outside history as well, as the discussion of the polarized discursive battlefield that global Islamophobia takes in twenty-first century Spain has illustrated.

APPENDIX



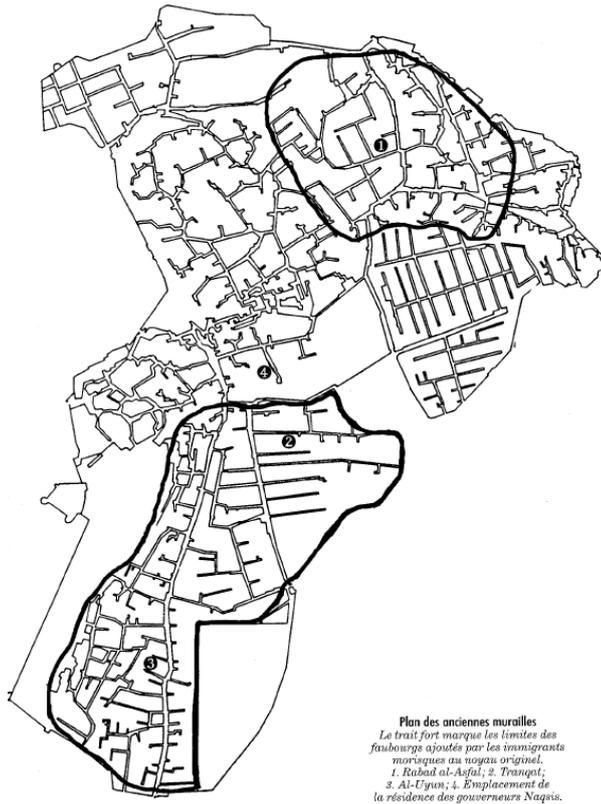
In terms of territory gain, the Treaty of Wad Ras established the transfer of southern Ifni to the Spanish, and enlarged the borders of the northern African Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.



PLANTA DE LAS MAZMORRAS DE TETUAN

Escala 1:100

Map of the Tetouani dungeons, reproduced in Enrique Gonzálbez, *Tetuán: Arqueología, Historia y Patrimonio* (Asociación Tetuán-Asmir, 2012), p. 253.



The encircled top quarter is the original fifteenth-century settlement, while the one below is the one built by the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century. Map reproduced in Jean-Louis Miège, M'hammad Benaboud and Nadia Erzini, *Tétouan, Ville Andalouse Marocaine* (CNRS Editions, 2001), p. 36.



Drawing of an Andalusian renegade, said to be in charge of the cleaning of the city, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 1, 1860, p. 188.



DIBUJO AUTOGRAFO

Lit de J. Doran Madrid

RETRATO DEL PRINCIPE

المولى
عبد
العباس

MULEY EL-ABBAS

(El-Abbas-firma autógrafa)

Portrait of the Mawlay al-'Abbās, published in Castelar et.al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África*, Madrid, 1859, p. 208



Engraving portraying Queen Isabel II being guided by Isabel la Católica, reproduced in Bravo Nieto, Antonio, “El sepulcro del Duque de Tetuán y la iconografía marroquí en el arte español del siglo XIX,” in *Fiestas y mecenazgo en las relaciones culturales del Mediterráneo en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, 2012), p. 362.



A Carlist flag with the slogan ‘God, Country and King’. Picture taken from the Zamalakarregi Museum (Ormaiztegi, Gipuzkoa).



“Expediente relativo al armamento, vestuario y demas prendas y utiles para los Tercios de las Provincias Vascongadas decretado formar por sus respectivas Juntas generales para la Brigada del fuerte de 3000 hombres con destino à la guerra contra el Imperio de Marruecos”, ALHATHA, DH- 90-9



New York Public Library, reproduced in the Digital Archive of Museo Zumalakarregi Museoa (<http://www.zumalakarregimuseoa.eus/>)

التي كانت 23 منه فقلت مرة منك الرغبة 13 اخذت عن شيخنا المذكور في منك من اهل علومنا ستم فوات عليه
الاصول في علم النفس والاعجاب للشيوخي واخذت عند منك الاعراب في



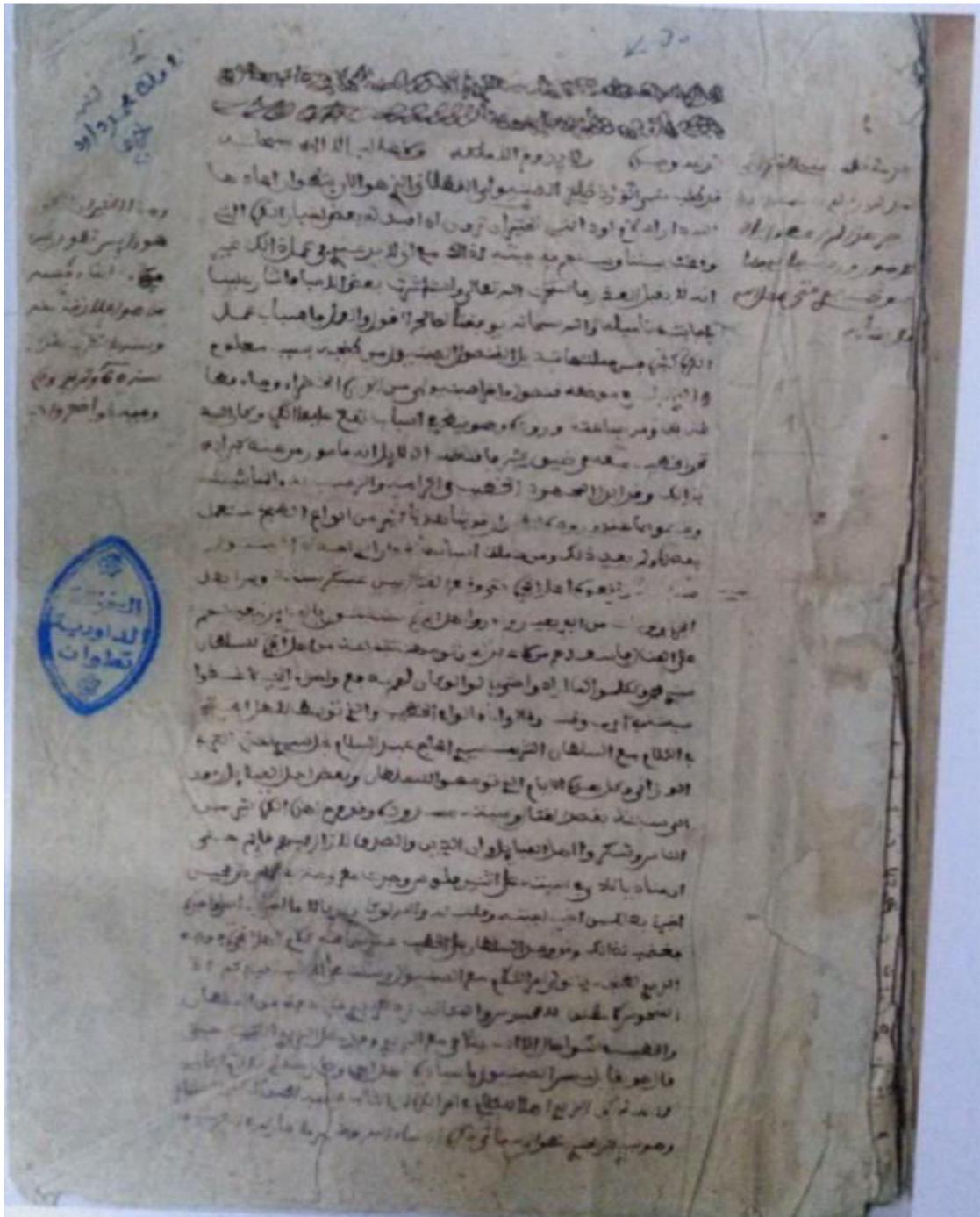
ب	ح	د
ز	هـ	ج
و	ا	ع

التفحات 7 كالتفحات والمانية ترجع للاوى كما ان الحركات سبع
يقع الاجتماع في السابعة وفي 8 يحل الاجترار سائله رجل عن صبي تورث
لهوى رجليه فقال له ان كان اليمير فاجعل عليهما النخلة مغموخته مع الغن

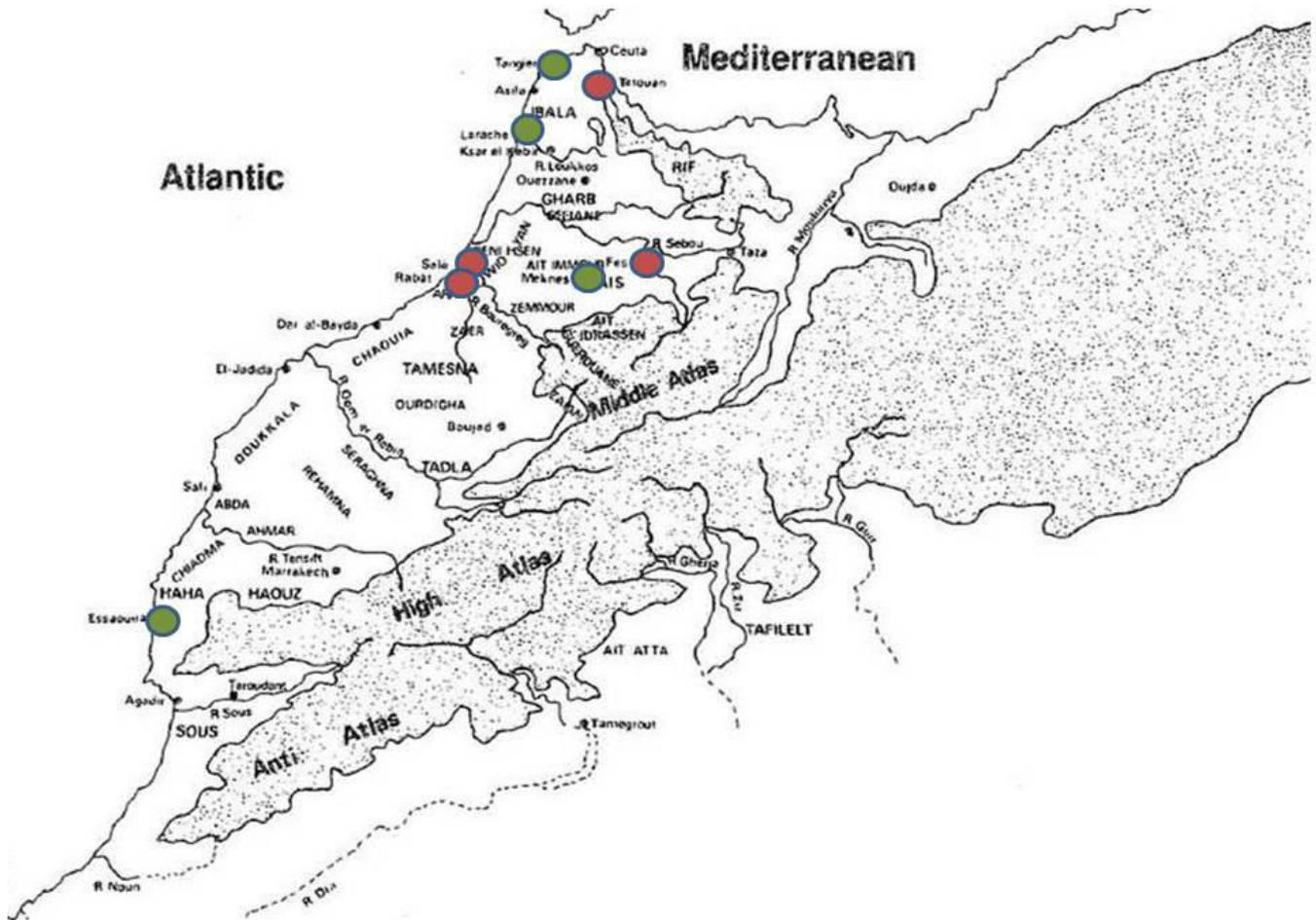
او ما يفوق مقامه من الحوامث وان كانت السمك جرح جعل عيشها الغنمة مع القلوب بسا الله عن ابرو بينهما فقال
لانا ليمير من ناحية الكبر مما تدا حارة واليسار من ناحية الكفاح وهو باره في علاج كل بصره واتلاه انسان
فوانت بعنت بطنه وتغير لونه جامره ان يرمى بطنه بل غسل ويجعل عليهما فربما مسحوظا وسكنسيرا او موق
الكل صوفية ويرجع على التجميع ثم فله في الفعرة تعتبرها البرودة وكثرة الشرب فتعجز عن البصر ان يكون بحارة الكبر
والريز جابزم مسخى وسنك الامور مسخنة بلذا افوى العكس معها عيش بماء الحليب المصير بل الحماض
وفك في الدعي محروفي تستعمل المعوية تتلذذ بل ماء عند الشرب بلذا الشرب انسانا عجب التعب الذي يخرج
الحرارة مع الظلم تبرد المعوية وتعجز محمد وينفي لذة العروفي متسوية للماء فتلذذك وحرمه ويكثر
جربله فتتسع اجوارهما جينساع ذك اللسان عيشه الفاه انما واه له الاموات وسعته يقول احمي كلها
نار تشتعل في العفونات بلذا العشت الروح بما وكانت لها قوة صرقت الى الغلب ويبقى الجسد
خاليا منها مبيده ويعطل له ان تعاشق شراجه شيئا جيشا حتى تستعمل فيه تارما وتغوى الحار في البرن
وان تم تبعا للروح قوة يمشي معها العوار جسي المكلفة تاخذ الروح والبرن وتفهم الجميع وان يترجمها
في الجير الناعم مع الفليس يستنقى بخارج وبشرب وفه ويكلس لحمه واخرج للريح
الامن يحيى ويكفي في ماء الناعم او ان يفسس المعصور بجره فيه يحق ويسمى ويجعل مع العصف

شرب غسل حارة يبل ما يعفوه في العدة الخفيفا يسكنه الغنفل
سباحة وزيارة تافرتنا منك ان يلا في المباركة الفتى في سبعاون نحو يوم
تازا الزار وعضوا ليا تخرج به الافراد شاسر في منك انما مر مستا واسلها ما يوجب الحجوة من ارضهم وتجزئ
في تعبير الكبر ان انتقل اليه ليا ستيكمان وكنبت لسيخبا يجبل العلم وذكرك له ما التاميه والحيرة والناع والثرنا
له بعض العامة علم فكر تامة فاجاب بلان في جبل حبيب البشر والحليب فلم تكا وعنه (امارة الرنية على
استيكلان البرينة امتنعت من التفسح في الماكول والمبوشوش لم يفر على محاربه العرو وكيعا يناف
النبوشوش وال في الام حتى مرضت بالي في المعكوش وان من كلك ليا حتى ايسر من هيلة (اسل واربعيال

One of the pages in Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl's diary. The drawing corresponds to the magical square popularized by the scholar al-Ghazālī, known as "al-Ghazālī's triangle." Accessed in al-Khizāna al-Dawūdīyya (Daoudian Archive), Tetouan.



The first page of the so-called Manuscript of Tetouan (1860). Accessed in al-Khizāna al-Dawūdiyya (Daoudian Archive), Tetouan.



Ḥaḍārīyya towns are indicated in red and Makhzan towns in green. Map taken from Thomas K. Park and Aomar Boum, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham; Boulder; New York: London Rowman et Littlefield, 2016), p. 254.



Chefchaouen, the mountainous town where Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, his family, and the majority of the Tetouanis sought shelter on the eve or during the Spanish occupation of Tetouan.



An old woman, injured and captured by the Spanish army at the Battle of Samsa, in March 1860. Reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 2, 1860, p. 64.



Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Spanish best-selling chronicler of the War on Tetouan. On the left he wears military uniform, while on the right he is dressed in Moroccan costume. The difference in the decor may indicate that he had these pictures taken when he was back in Spain and the success of his *Diary* had been achieved. Picture taken from Sarrionandia, *Moroak gara behelaino artean?*, 51.

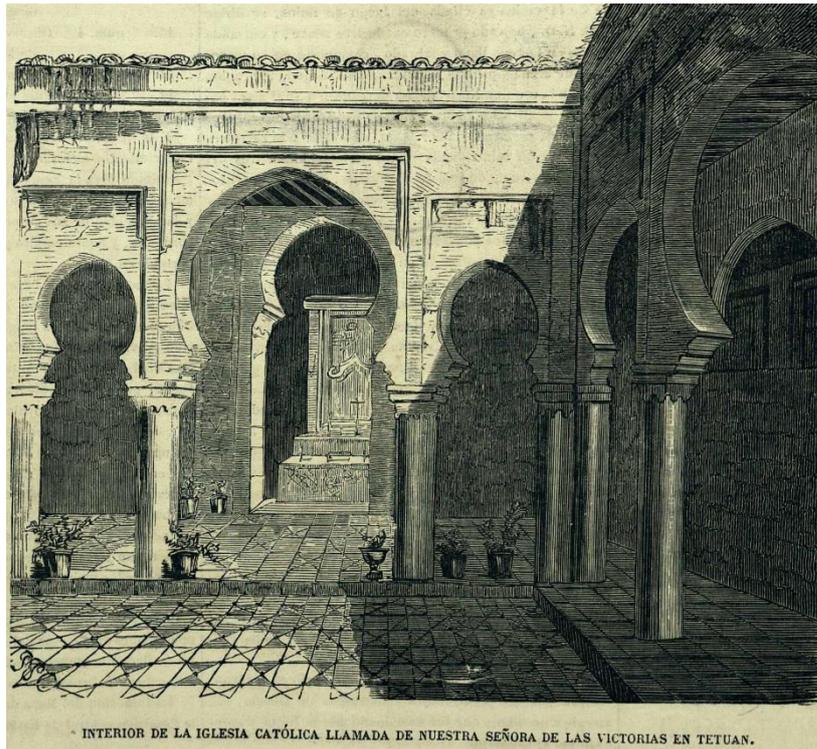


View of the central and northern part of Tetouan. On the right, the fifteenth-century walls, and the tops of the buildings in the oldest quarter of Tetouan which stood out, including the Great Mosque. In front, the Spanish troops and the abattoir. Behind, the eastern part of the city, built in the seventeenth century, the Meshouar Palace, and the citadel on top of Jbel Dersa. On the left, the Feddan or *Plaza de España* and the church of *Nuestra Señora de las Victorias* (see details below).

Drawing and lithography by J. Velasco and J. Vallejo, reproduced in *Cuerpo de Estado Mayor del Ejército, Atlas Histórico y Topográfico de La Guerra de África Sostenida Por La Nación Española Contra El Imperio Marroquí En 1859 y 1860 Con Presencia de Los Documentos Oficiales Y Demás Datos Recogidos Por Dicho Cuerpo Durante Las Operaciones*, p. 95.



Illustration of the sanctification of the church of *Nuestra Señora de las Victorias*, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 1, 1860, p. 132.



The interior of the *zāwiya*-church, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 2, 1860, p. 69.



Photograph of the first mass in *Plaza de España* in occupied Tetouan, by Enrique Facio (AGP), reproduced in: Antonio David Crespo Plama, "Enrique Facio y el nacimiento de la fotografía de guerra en España," *Fotocinema. Revista científica de cine y fotografía*, no. 9 (2014), p. 315.



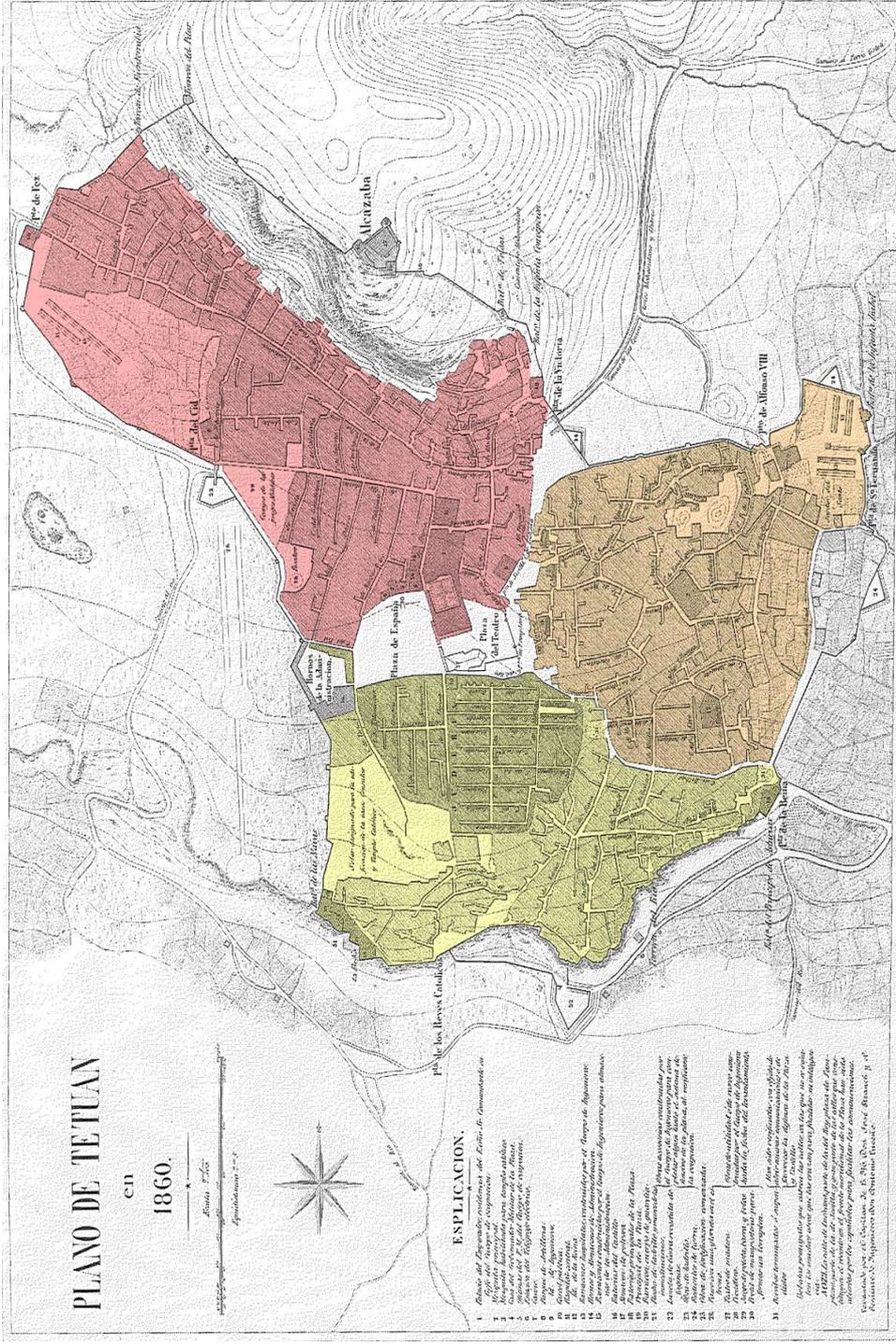
Territory occupied by the Army of Africa, from Ceuta to Wad Ras, reproduced in *Cuadro de Estado Mayor del Ejército, Atlas Histórico y Topográfico de La Guerra de África Sostenida Por La Nación Española Contra El Imperio Marroquí En 1859 y 1860 Con Presencia de Los Documentos Oficiales Y Demás Datos Recogidos Por Dicho Cuerpo Durante Las Operaciones*, pp. 40-41 (here merged).



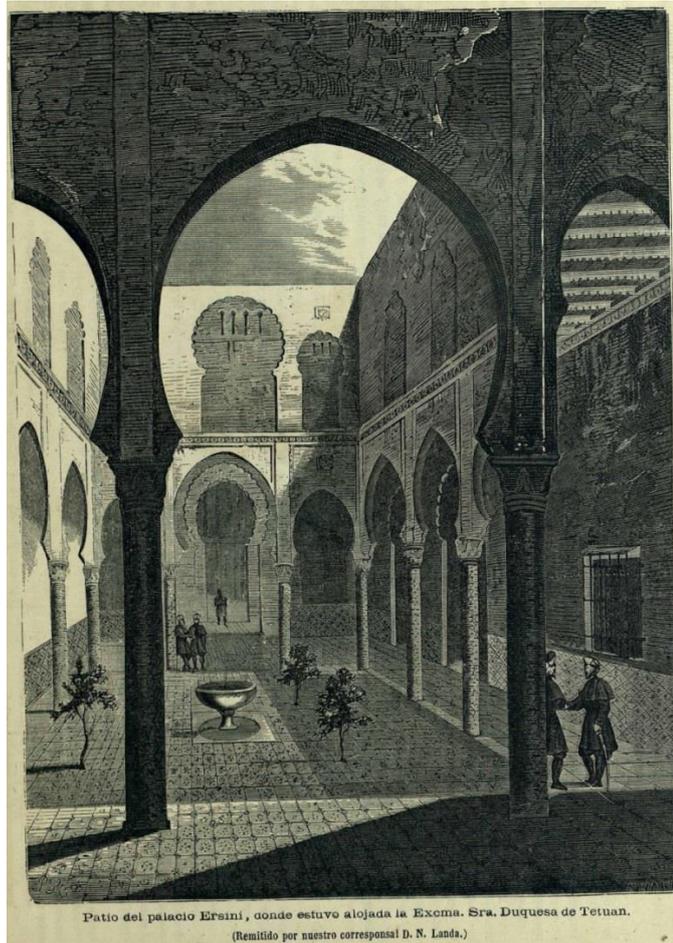
The Moroccan embassy in Valencia, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 2, 1860, p. 80.



Engraving of the reception of the Moroccan embassy by Isabel II and Francisco de Asís, reproduced in Bravo Nieto, Antonio, “El sepulcro del Duque de Tetuán y la iconografía marroquí en el arte español del siglo XIX,” in *Fiestas y mecenazgo en las relaciones culturales del Mediterráneo en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, 2012), p. 365.



The three districts into which Tetouan was divided. The first one is shown in pink, the second in orange, and the third in yellow. Map taken from Cuerpo de Estado Mayor del Ejército, *Atlas Histórico y Topográfico de La Guerra de África Sostenida Por La Nación Española Contra El Imperio Marroquí En 1859 y 1860 Con Presencia de Los Documentos Oficiales Y Demás Datos Recogidos Por Dicho Cuerpo Durante Las Operaciones*, p. 51.



The courtyard of al-Razīnī mansion, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 1, 1860, p. 176.



Two views of the *zāwīya Raysūnīyya*. Pictures taken by Itzea Goikolea Amiano.

TIETUAN.

ATLAS DE AFRICA



VISTA 65

A view of Tietuan from the south-eastern part of the city, reproduced in Cuerpo de Estado Mayor del Ejército, *Atlas Histórico y Topográfico de La Guerra de África Sostenida Por La Nación Española Contra El Imperio Marroquí En 1859 y 1860 Con Presencia de Los Documentos Oficiales Y Demás Datos Recogidos Por Dicho Cuerpo Durante Las Operaciones*, p. 93.



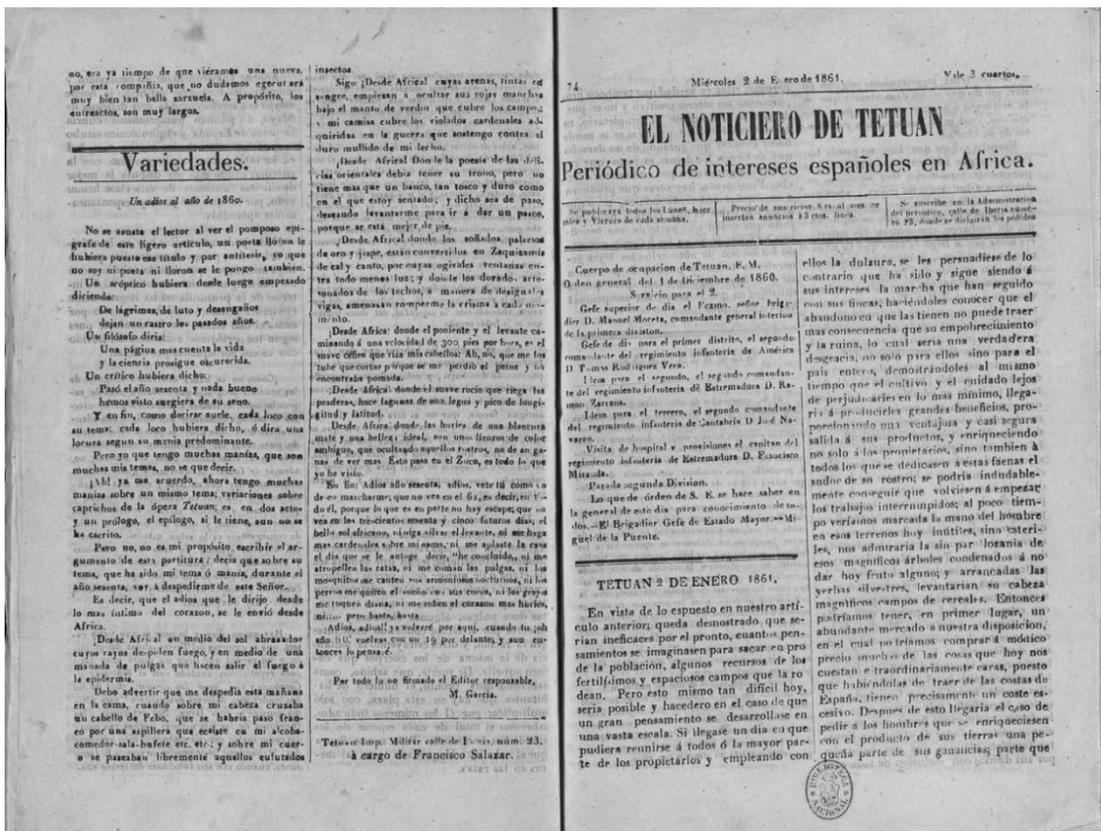
Detail of the central area of Tetouan. The Feddān/Plaza de España on the left, and what was turned into the Theatre Square on the right. The main building in the latter is the abattoir. Drawing and lithography by J. Velasco and J. Vallejo, reproduced in *Cuerpo de Estado Mayor del Ejército, Atlas Histórico y Topográfico de La Guerra de África Sostenida Por La Nación Española Contra El Imperio Marroquí En 1859 y 1860 Con Presencia de Los Documentos Oficiales Y Demás Datos Recogidos Por Dicho Cuerpo Durante Las Operaciones*, p. 95.



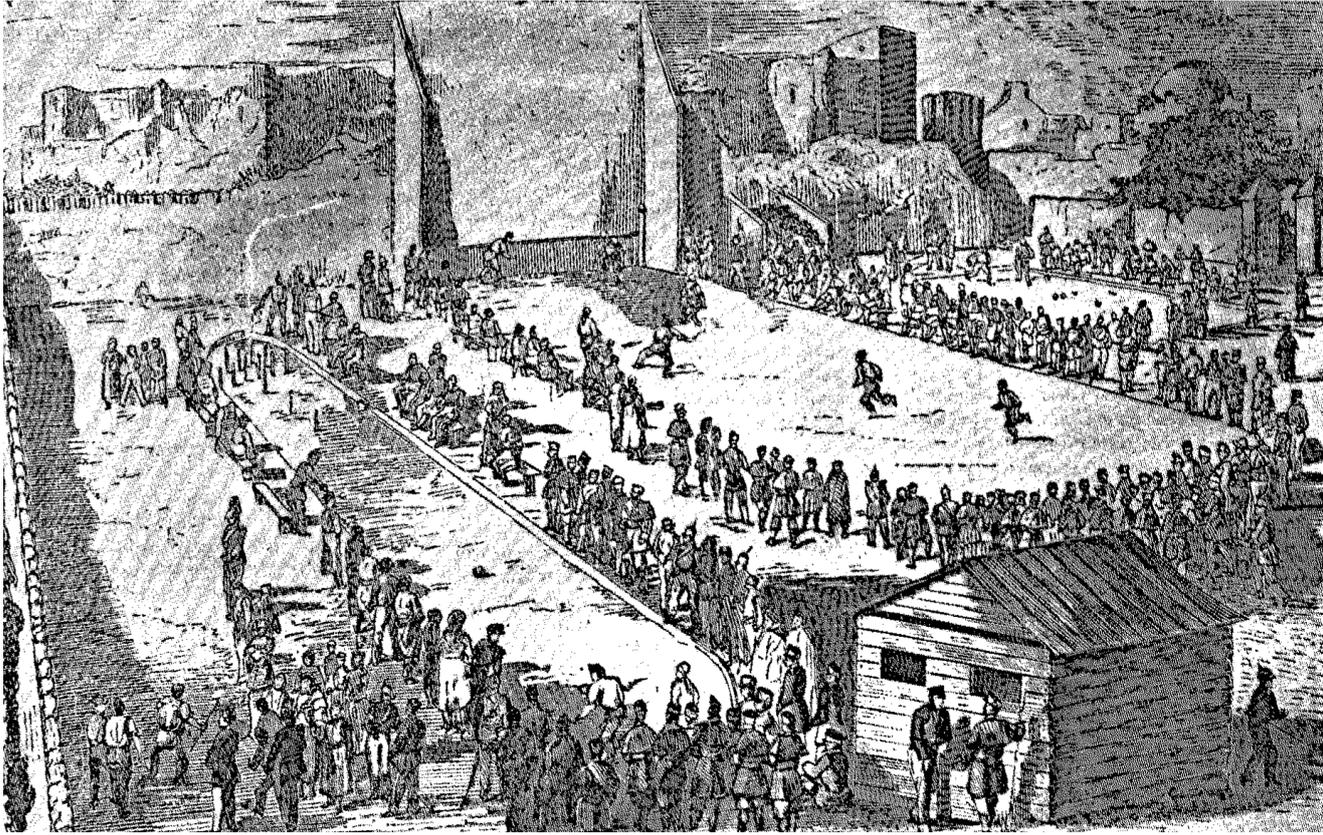
On the left, the detail of the Feddān/Plaza de España, which appear on the left-hand side of the above reproduced lithograph. On the right, a drawing of a Tetouani coffee shop, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 1, 1860, p. 260.



Picture of the sample of the four-page *El Eco de Tetuán*, accessed in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.



An issue of *El Noticiero de Tetuán*, accessed in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.



A drawing of the gymnasium built in eastern Tetouan, reproduced in Maldonado, Eduardo, "El teatro en Tetuán en 1860," in *África* (1960), p. 111.

ORDEN de los señores Duques de Sarracena, Administradores y Directores de las dehesas pertenecientes a sus Altas Reales Cortes, y de los señores Gobernadores de las provincias de la presente provincia de Ceuta.

NACIMIENTOS		FALLECIDOS	
Nombre del niño	Edad	Nombre del difunto	Edad
MATRIMONIO		FALLECIDOS	
Nombre del esposo	Nombre de la esposa	Nombre del difunto	Edad
MATRIMONIO		FALLECIDOS	
Nombre del esposo	Nombre de la esposa	Nombre del difunto	Edad
MATRIMONIO		FALLECIDOS	
Nombre del esposo	Nombre de la esposa	Nombre del difunto	Edad



TIPOS JUDIOS DE TETUAN

On the left, model of the civil register that the Spanish authorities in Tetouan were urged to fill in throughout 1861. File 783 in Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta. On the right, drawings of Tetouani Jews, reproduced in Castelar et.al., *Crónica de la Guerra de África*, Madrid, 1859, p. 233.

Population living in occupied Tetouan

SOURCE	DATE	DATA																		
Letter to the First State Secretary by the Director of Commerce in Tetouan Isidoro Millas (Archivo Histórico Nacional)	17/07/1861	<p style="text-align: center;">Total population in Tetouan: 11,000 Disaggregated by 'race':</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin: 10px auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Jews 5,000 – 6,000</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Muslims Less than 1,000</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Spaniards ("the rest") 4,000 – 5,000</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Italians and French (probably including Algerian French): few</td> </tr> </table>	Jews 5,000 – 6,000	Muslims Less than 1,000	Spaniards ("the rest") 4,000 – 5,000	Italians and French (probably including Algerian French): few														
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Census reported by <i>El Noticiero de Tetuán</i> (Biblioteca Nacional)	25/12/1860	<p style="text-align: center;">Total Spanish population: 2,358 Disaggregated in 6 districts:</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin: 10px auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Tetouan 1st 1,091</td> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Tetouan 2nd 440</td> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Tetouan 3rd 491</td> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Aduana 67</td> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Fort Martín 74</td> <td style="width: 16.6%;">Bahía 195</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">Disaggregated by gender:</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin: 10px auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">1,391 men</td> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">967 women</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Disaggregated by civil status:</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Disaggregated by civil status:</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black;"> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Single 836</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Married 498</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Widows 57</td> </tr> </table> </td> <td style="border: 1px solid black;"> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Single 539</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Married 323</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Widows 105</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	Tetouan 1 st 1,091	Tetouan 2 nd 440	Tetouan 3 rd 491	Aduana 67	Fort Martín 74	Bahía 195	1,391 men	967 women	Disaggregated by civil status:	Disaggregated by civil status:	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Single 836</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Married 498</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Widows 57</td> </tr> </table>	Single 836	Married 498	Widows 57	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">Single 539</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Married 323</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Widows 105</td> </tr> </table>	Single 539	Married 323	Widows 105
Tetouan 1 st 1,091	Tetouan 2 nd 440	Tetouan 3 rd 491	Aduana 67	Fort Martín 74	Bahía 195															
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Single 836	Married 498	Widows 57																		
Single 539	Married 323	Widows 105																		

<p>Letter from military chaplain Luis García to the military Vicar José de Fernández de Córdova (Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta)</p>	<p>29/07/1861</p>	<p>An exclusively military census is reportedly being carried out. It is said to be disaggregated by military classes (chiefs, officials and soldiers) and corporations (artillery, infantry, etc.)</p>																																
<p>Ecclesiastical census (Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta)</p>	<p>21/12/1861</p>	<p>Total Spanish pop.: 2,250 according to the number penned in the source; 2,092 according to my recount. Ordered by streets. Other information: residency address, internal mobility, entry and departure date (sometimes). Disaggregated in 3 districts (the first figures are the ones penned in the census; the second ones are my recount):</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="694 1008 805 1646"> <tr> <td>Tetouan 1st</td> <td>Tetouan 2nd</td> <td>Tetouan 3rd</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1,004 / 942</td> <td>642 / 600</td> <td>604 / 550</td> </tr> </table> <p>Disaggregated by gender according to my recount:</p> <p>WOMEN: 1,005 = 48,04% of total population</p> <p>Disaggregated by civil status and districts:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="981 784 1236 1635"> <tr> <td colspan="2">Single: 391 (39,45%)</td> <td colspan="3">Married: 484 (48,83%)</td> <td colspan="3">Widows: 130 (13,11%)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1st</td> <td>2nd</td> <td>3rd</td> <td>1st</td> <td>2nd</td> <td>3rd</td> <td>1st</td> <td>2nd</td> <td>3rd</td> </tr> <tr> <td>123</td> <td>114</td> <td>154</td> <td>215</td> <td>139</td> <td>130</td> <td>55</td> <td>36</td> <td>39</td> </tr> </table>	Tetouan 1 st	Tetouan 2 nd	Tetouan 3 rd	1,004 / 942	642 / 600	604 / 550	Single: 391 (39,45%)		Married: 484 (48,83%)			Widows: 130 (13,11%)			1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	123	114	154	215	139	130	55	36	39
Tetouan 1 st	Tetouan 2 nd	Tetouan 3 rd																																
1,004 / 942	642 / 600	604 / 550																																
Single: 391 (39,45%)		Married: 484 (48,83%)			Widows: 130 (13,11%)																													
1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd																										
123	114	154	215	139	130	55	36	39																										

MEN: 1,087 = 51.95% of total population

Disaggregated by civil status and districts:

Single: 460 (42,31%)		Married: 582 (53,54%)			Widows: 45 (4,13%)			
1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
34	32	4	92	60	30	3	9	3

Women in the 1st district: 393

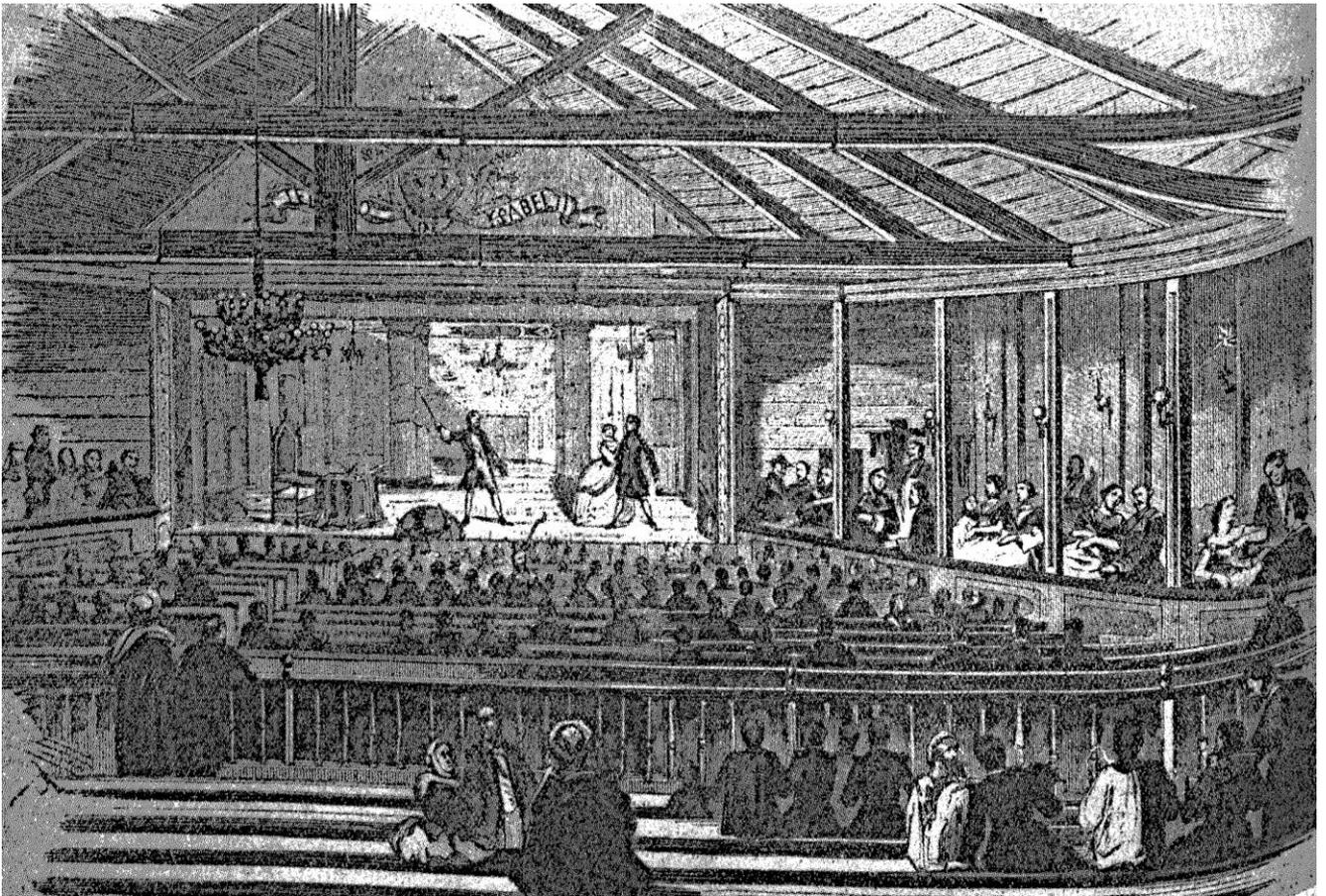
Women in the 2nd district: 289

Women in the 3rd district: 323

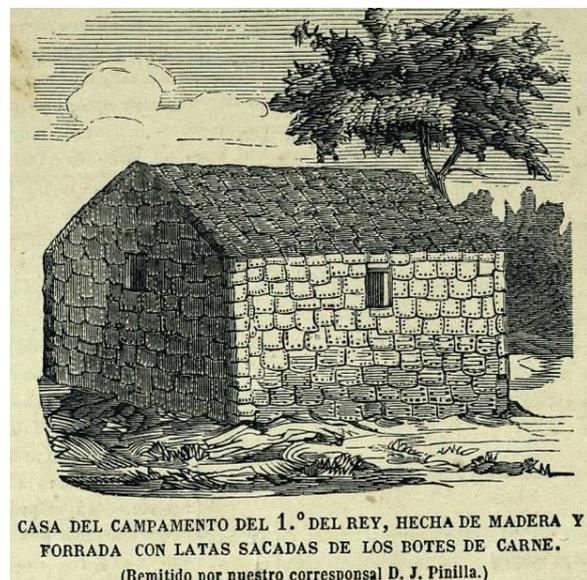
Men in the 1st district: 549

Men in the 2nd district: 311

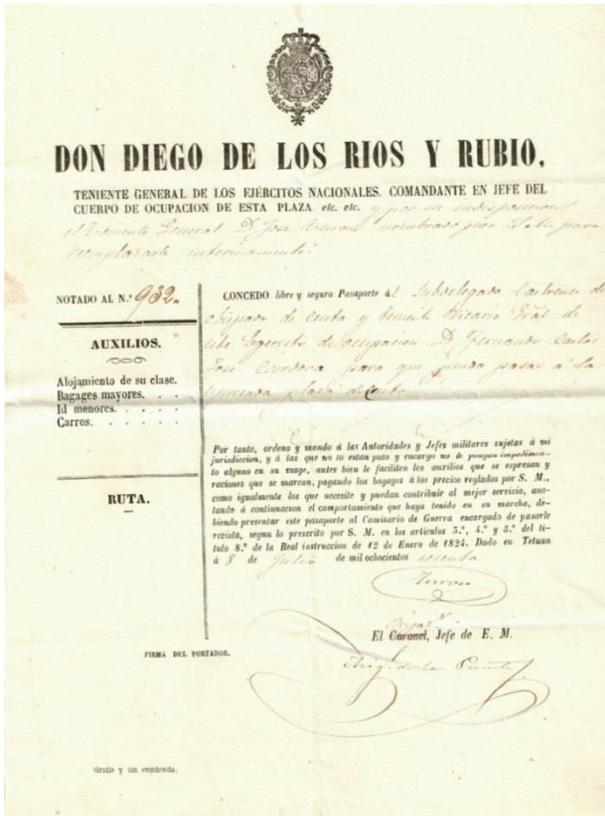
Men in the 3rd district: 227



An illustration of Theatre Isabella II, reproduced in Maldonado, Eduardo, "El teatro en Tetuán en 1860," in *África* (1960), p. 110.



Drawing of the house built with meat tins, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, Volume 2, page 8.

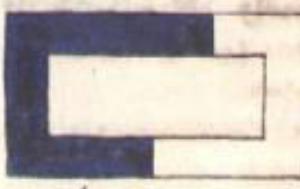


Sample of the letter of safe-passage needed to enter and exit Tetouan. File 946, Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.



Drawing featuring the most well-known *cantinière* of the Army of Africa, Ignacia Martínez, reproduced in *El Mundo Militar*, 1860, Volume 2, p. 68.

فلتوا فلامه تنسا عوہ علم رب الانسان با الفاع
بقان احسنها حل الاحسان • وما الا نساء لولا الانسان • جباله الہ ما سلکتها منک العجیبة • تقوم
لکما علی ای عیبة • قلت کاند اردت • کربنا عینی ما سرت • قال اجل • والجمیل العجیل • قلت ما بان
ما یز • بلا نعصیما ابر • قال ان معزا الوالی • صلحت علی یوم احوالی • وکثرت بعکما باہ اموالی • ما بان
اسعیتما حقیقت • وارد قمارن تو دی یا خوفه • بل یقل اعز قما • اتتمیبتہ بن فاع الشمس الی یوم
الکمال • وعلی اجزال ثوابه عند انکلا • والاخر فی الصلحة بعد امت عمل • وکملوع عینی الہ بلال یس
یوم بلال • وفلت علی سبیل الازقیال • واییر موزن با کار تعال •



عیبان لنته واطلا علی • عکرا سیر الی و سیر علی
وزیر عشر اصغار حوہ • تامل من تری عینی الغنی
یز فزه کل نلاد نواله • وینجز العجم یوله انزی
دیوزة الطالیر بنر سمع • بوال جعله جمع الوالی
وینش و الارا و انقام • فتمسبه علیهم کالولی

وہ حر ان عزالت یرو کیا • جما یبقی لویم من کسی
ویرسی و انقور و ضرور نوم • بریح کما بقا سرع النفسی
لہ اصحت را و یقہ الغوالی • و ما فزکت ارومسی روی
وعلمت العوی قیہ صیبا • و مل یوی العوی قلب الصبی
واشوی و سما قلبه سناله • همتی رکت بان قلب السنحی

وعل جوده عقیله کما • همتی منک بان عقل الذکی
ما صبح قیہ شع لا یصلما • و سیر یقاسر از شایطی
واذ فی الشعر ما مراد ثیا • واعلی الشعر مراد علی
برنک م ترن تخار یعی • در لیک شفا ما م کل کسی
وہ شعر بچار الیعی منہ • شمس من شامش و الشهبی

معانیه و انما و نسج • خبی عی خبی عی خبی
ولا کین لما او جعت جیب • انز شد عر العسر العسی
انک عرو صرا و کل مجزعا • فبذله کله زین و رسی
بشمع ما یکر کدر سراس • و س من تہ الہ عیبر معنی
و دہ و اعنی و انما عند الامیر الہا شمسی الی و لوی
والعین و عیبرک الیای عی • سما ق التمه و الملک العلی

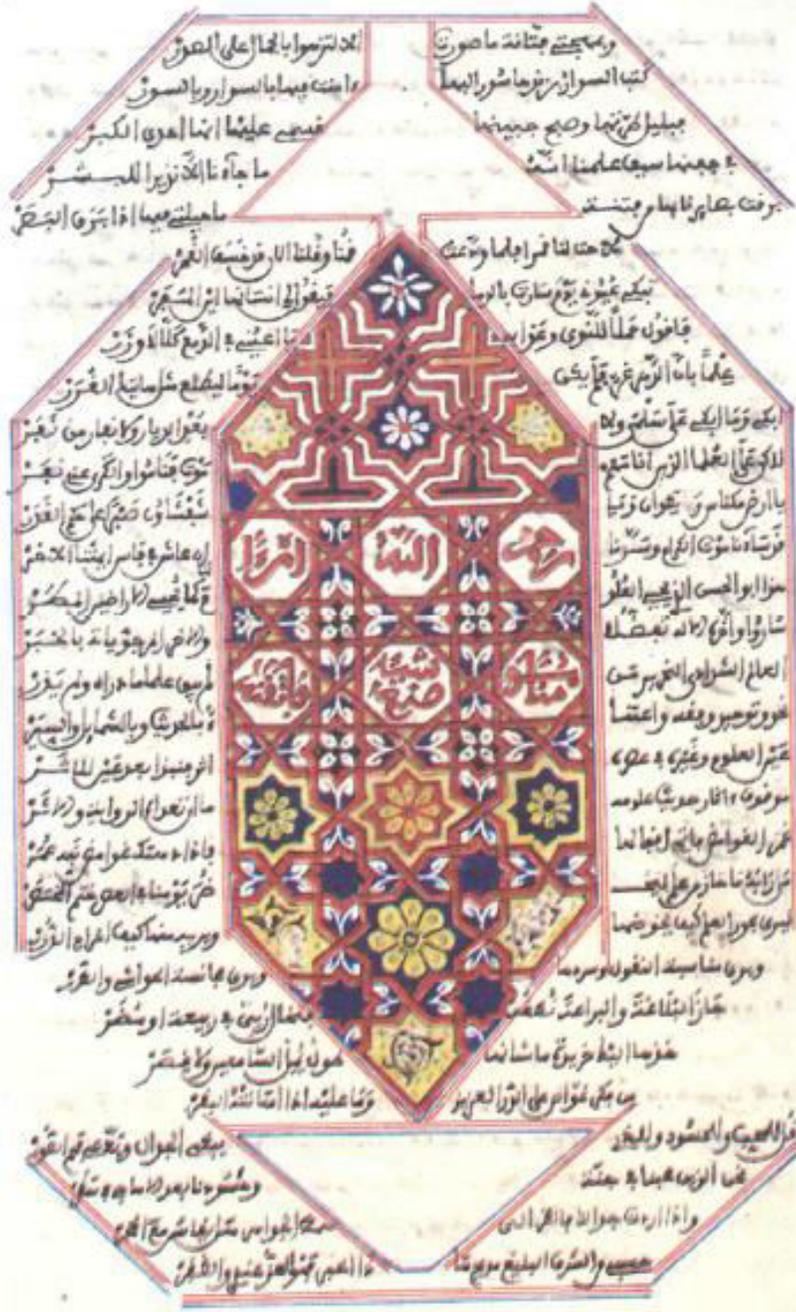


بلال القاصی

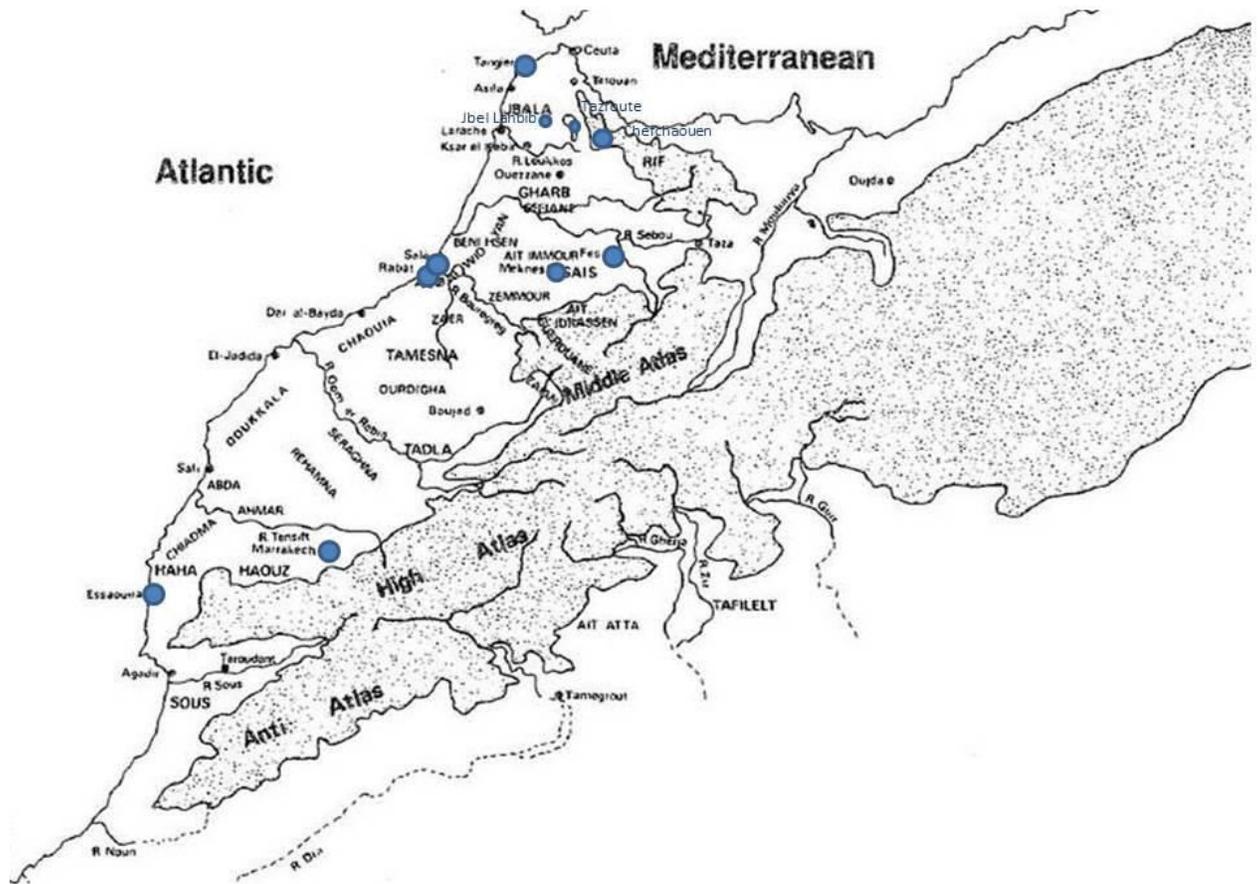
الما حوہ و الی عینی • با بلال الوزی و الی
لوقنت بهمته العالی • کما حج الودود الی

صاحت

A piece of work by Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, reproduced in Bu ‘Abid Buzid, *Qirā’ fi al-makhtūṭāt al-muzkhrifa li rā’id al-tashkīl bi Ṭiṭwān Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl* (A Reading of the Ornamental Production of the Artistic Pioneer in Tetouan: Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl), Tetawin-Asmir Association (Tetouan, 2007), p. 33.



A piece of work by Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, reproduced in Bu ‘Abid Buzid, *Qirā’ fi al-makhtūṭāt al-muzkhrifa li rā’id al-tashkīl bi Tiṭwān Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl* (A Reading of the Ornamental Production of the Artistic Pioneer in Tetouan: Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl), Tetawin-Asmir Association (Tetouan, 2007), p. 32.



The locations which Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl visited in his journeys while in exile.



This plaque signals the house that one of the sons of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, built in the old city of Tetouan. In it, our author's well-known character as a scholar and poet is highlighted. Pictures taken by Itzea Goikolea Amiano.

LIST OF CONSULTED ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

- ‘Abd al-Khāliq Torres Archive, in Tetouan.
 - Consulted material: different manuscripts (nineteenth and twentieth centuries), and secondary sources.
- ‘Abdellah Gannoun Library, in Tangier.
 - Consulted material: Secondary sources, the bilingual *Revue Dar al-Niaba*, *Etudes d’Histoire Marocaine* in particular.
- Al-Khizāna al-Dawūdīyya (Daoudian Archive), in Tetouan.
 - Consulted material: “The Diary of Sīdī Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl,” “The ‘Manuscript of Tetouan’,” “Nāzila”
- Arabako Lurralde Historikoaren Agiritegia-Archivo del Territorio Histórico de Álava (ALHA-ATHA), in Vitoria-Gasteiz.
 - Consulted material: DH-79-8, DH- 90-9, DH- 224-2, DAH- 4480, DH -367-2
- Archivo de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, in Ceuta.
 - Consulted material: “Padrón eclesiástico de la Plaza de Tetuán.”
- Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta, in Ceuta.
 - Consulted material: Files 159, 621, 622, 623, 783, 946
- Archivo Diocesano, in Tangier.
 - Consulted material: Boxes 1-30, 31, 33, 34, 36-70, 102, 136, 182, 293, 299, 400-541.
- Archivo General de la Administración, in Alcalá de Henares.
 - Consulted material: Inventory IDD (15)017.000, boxes 81/00327, 81/00268, 81/00247, 81/00327, 81/00247
- Archivo General Militar de Segovia, in Segovia (materials acquired by mail).
 - Consulted material: Sección 3^a, División 3^a
- Archivo Histórico Nacional, in Madrid.
 - Consulted material: Diversos. Colecciones. 419., Ministerio de Exteriores H 2077
- Azkue Biblioteka eta Artxiboa, in Bilbao.
 - Consulted material: collections of poetry (bertso paperak).

- Biblioteca Instituto Cervantes, in Tangier.
 - Consulted material: Secondary sources and compilations of oral literature.
- Biblioteca Instituto Cervantes, in Tetouan.
 - Consulted material: *El Eco de Tetuán* and *El Noticiero de Tetuán*, registro nº 18, 67, 84, 85; and secondary sources.
- Biblioteca Islámica de Félix María Pareja, in Madrid.
 - Consulted material: secondary sources.
- Biblioteca Municipal Bidebarrieta, in Bilbao.
 - Consulted material: An original copy of the first edition of *Recuerdos marroquíes del Moro Vizcaíno*, and secondary sources.
- Biblioteca Nacional de España, in Madrid.
 - Consulted material: R/8954, 3/103351, AFRGF/2903, AFRGFC/46/5, VC/19921/8, B 40 ARAB, AFRC/7170/9; and secondary sources.
- Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, CSIC, in Madrid.
 - Consulted material: secondary sources.
- Biblioteca Universidad de Deusto/Deustuko Unibertsitateko Liburutegia
 - Consulted material: *Porvenir de España en Marruecos: impresiones de Campaña* (with transcription of M. al-Ḥaddādī's oral testimony).
- Bizkaiko Foru Aldundiaren Agiritegi Historikoa- Archivo Histórico de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia (BFAH-AHFB), in Bilbao.
 - Consulted material: Registro nº 29, 30, 31, Q- 01981/112, Q- 0213/095
- Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, in Madrid.
 - Consulted material: Moroccan manuscript essay and anonymous letters to Eduardo Soler y Ovejero, ref. 26-V-19.
- King Abdul-Aziz Al Saoud Foundation for Islamic Studies and Human Sciences Library, in Casablanca.
 - Consulted material: secondary sources.
- National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, in Rabat.
 - Consulted material: secondary sources.
- Sancho el Sabio Fundazioa, in Vitoria-Gasteiz.

- Consulted material: secondary sources.
- Zumalakarregi Museoa.
 - Consulted material: Secondary sources and illustrations of the Basque Corps.

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- “Expediente de Oficios Contra Pedro Forgarell Capellán Del Batallón de Cazadores de Tarifa Sobre Sucesos,” November 1860. File 622, record 14. Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.
- “Expediente Relativo Á Los Recursos Con Que Atender a Cubrir Los Servicios Espontaneos Y Voluntarios Ofrecidos Á La Corona Por El Pais Vascongado Con Motivo de La Declaración de Guerra Hecha Al Imperio de Marruecos,” 1859-1860. DH- 224-2. ALHA-ATHA.
- “Expediente Sobre El Pensamiento Propuesto Por La Diputación General de Guipuzcoa En Su Comunicación Semi Oficial Reservada de 19 de Setiembre Acerca de Que Por Las Tres Provincias Hermanas Se Ofrezca Al Gobierno de S.M. El Servicio de Gente Y Metalico Para Auxiliar a La Defensa de La Dignidad Nacional, Caso de Que Se Declarase La Guerra Al Emperador de Marruecos Por Consecuencia de Los Insultos Causados Por Sus Súbditos,” 1859. DAH- 4480. ALHA-ATHA.
- “Expediente Sobre Las Disposiciones Adoptadas Para La Presentación de Diferentes Mozos Del Valle de Aramayona, Ausentes Antes Y Después de La Designación de Los 26 Que Les Correspondieron Para La Formación Del Tercio Alavés Para Marruecos,” 1860. DH - 367-2. ALHA-ATHA.
- “Expedientes Matrimoniales,” n.d. File 159. Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.
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- “Problemas de Separación de Matrimonio Interracial,” 1861. Legajo 783. Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.
- “Registro Civil: Circulares, Modelos Y Fichas,” 1861 1860. File 783. Archivo Diocesano de Ceuta.
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