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ABSTRACT IN ARABIC

تندرج هذه الرسالة في سياق نقاش عام حول صدام / حوار الحضارتين الإسلامية والمسيحية حيث شكل نموذج مضيق جبل طارق ,بالنسبة للبعض، ابرز تجليات الحدود الصريحة بين هذين الكيانين الحضاريين المتباينين، بينما يعتبره اخرون خير مثال يجسد كثافة التفاعلات المتبادلة بين هاتين الحضارتين ويشهد على تطور العلاقات بينهما. وهكذا تركز هذه الاطروحة بوجه خاص على فهم الكيفية التي عملت من خلالها العلاقات التاريخية المغربية مع جبل طارق بين 1704 و 1912 على تقويض هذا "الحد" الفاصل و المصطنع؛ حيث شملت هذه العلاقات مجموعة آليات إجرائية وسياسية تهدف الى وضع حد لظاهرة القرصنة في حوض المتوسط، وإنشاء أجهزة إدارية لإضفاء الطابع المؤسساتي على العلاقات البريطانية والمغربية من خلال إطلاق قنصلية مغربية دائمة في جبل طارق. كما تعزز هذا الوضع بفضل سياسات موازية قائمة على إرسال بعثات دبلوماسية وعسكرية وتعليمية بغرض الاستفادة من الخبرة الأوروبية في الشؤون العسكرية والمدنية على حد السواء. وبالإضافة الى ذلك، فقد توطدت الروابط الثقافية والاجتماعية مع جبل طارق بفضل الترخيص للمغاربة بالإقامة وممارسة انشطة تجارية رغم الحظر الذي فرضته إسبانية وفق ما تنص عليه معاهدة أوتريخت. وهكذا تأسست الأرضية الخصبة لتلاقحات ثقافية واجتماعية تمظهرت ذروتها في حالات زواج مغاربة من نساء بريطانيات. وبالموازاة مع ذلك، شكلت الجماعة اليهودية/اليهود المغاربة -باعتبارهم اقلية في بلاد المسلمين- حالة صريحة تترجم الدينامية الاجتماعية الداخلية للمغرب من جهة والتدخلات الخارجية من جهة أخرى، وتعكس واقعا ثقافيا يهوديا بصبغة خاصة في منطقة جبل طارق. ينطلق هذا البحث من الفرضية التي تقول بان منطقة جبل طارق -باعتباره فضاء للاحتكاك والالتقاء الثقافيين- يمثل نموذجاً مبكراً للتواصل الثقافي بين الانا المغربي و الأخر المسيحي والتي تدحض بعض النزعات التي تحاول التكريس لفكرة "حتمية" الصدام بين الحضارات. وحاولنا ابراز قيمة "التاريخ الثقافي" كمقاربة لإعادة قراءة العلاقات المغربية-البريطانية من خلال تسليط الضوء على تاريخ الافراد أكثر من تاريخ الدولتين. ومن الناحية المنهجية، تنتقل هذه الرسالة عبر الأحداث التاريخية والارشيفات لإماطة اللثام عن هذا التاريخ الثقافي للتلاقي في جبل طارق وذلك عبر مستويين متكاملين. المستوى الزمني، عبر تفريغ المراجع والمصادر في خط زمني تصاعدي من جهة، والمستوى التأويلي من خلال اعادة قراءة هذه المصادر الارشيفية.

الكلمات المفاتيح: المغرب، جبل طارق، الهوية، المسلمين، اليهود.

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISH

This dissertation is presented within the context of a global debate revolving around the clash/dialogue between Islamic and Christian civilizations. The Strait of Gibraltar, for some, is the ubiquitous illustration of the dividing line between these dissimilar civilizational entities. Nevertheless, this same Strait actually illustrates, for others, the tense interactions between the two civilizations and provides evidence on the development and progress of these ties. Precisely, this dissertation addresses the question of how the various layers of Moroccan historical relations with Gibraltar (1704-1912) undermine this constructed dividing limit. These relations comprehended implementing mechanisms and policies to stop piracy in the Mediterranean and establishing administrative apparatuses to institutionalize the Anglo-Moroccan relations through launching a fix consulate in Gibraltar. Other policies were built upon dispatching diplomatic, military and educational delegations to learn the European ways in the military and civil welfare. Also, the cultural and social ties with Gibraltar grew denser after Moroccans had been allowed to settle and trade there in spite of the Spanish prohibition as the treaty of Utrecht had indicated. This window paved the way for pertinent cultural and social encounters resulting, occasionally, in Moroccans getting married to British women. Meanwhile, the Jewish community, being a minor cohort in a Muslim land, presented a significant case illustrating the internal social dynamics of Morocco, on one hand, and the external interventions on the other hand. Also, this minor community had a noteworthy cultural experience in Gibraltar. I argue that the contact zone of Gibraltar provided an early manifestation of the cultural encounters between the Moroccan Self and Christian Other that go beyond the calls for the "inevitable" clash between cultures. I stress on cultural history as a tool to re-read the Anglo-Moroccan relations through shedding light on micro-histories more than macro-histories. Methodologically, this thesis moves through historical events and archives to uncover the cultural history of the encounters in Gibraltar. This is done chronologically with a focus on archival materials collected from various resources and interpretively across the readings of these archival documents.

Keywords: Morocco, Gibraltar, Identity, Muslims, Jews.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAMT– Almaktaba al‘Aamma wa al-Mahfothat Tetuan.

MWM – Mudiryyat al-Wathaiq al-Malakiyya.

INTRODUCTION

More intensive than before, the closeness between the East and the West has become inevitable mainly in the momentum of the 21st century, when technology, immigration, refugee waves, and trans-national terrorism have posed serious pressures on world nations and institutions. In this condense context, the encounter between all that is Oriental and Occidental has become inevitable and overwhelming. Hence, the closeness that is taking place fast on a global scale between the various cultures and religions of the world compels researchers in all areas of study to reconsider the inherited traditions that crossed with humanity to the new century such as Orientalism, representation, hegemony, and discourses of Alterity…etc. Certainly, Orientalist representations still remain par excellence the most salient tradition that is inherited and still performs as a demarcating apparatus between Oriental and Occidental cultures. In the same vein, the existence of a parallel discourse to Orientalism that is initiated in Muslim lands and targets the Occident emerges as a new chapter in the history of the encounter between these entities. In other words, the West and the East, in the Orientalist discourse, were in conflictual relation throughout their history as Huntington and Lewis elaborate. Meanwhile, some post-colonial Arab intellectuals tackle the same encounter between the two components with quite different approaches such as Matar, al-Azmeh, Majid, Khalidi…etc. leading to a formulation of the concept of Occidentalism. Anyhow, the results remain similar. The reproduction of systems of thought based on structural binarisms such as Orientalism and Occidentalism render the historical encounters between the East and West dramatic.

Definitely, Orientalism and Occidentalism emerge as two 'parallel' politicized discourses that build upon the notions of Alterity and enmity. They are both the result of power relations in Foucault's sense. This last claims that:

> We should admit, rather, that power produces knowledge (…) that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the

> correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.[1]

It is Western imperialism that had produced the kind of knowledge about the Muslim Other and that was institutionalized as Orientalism in academia before other titles spread newly to name the scientific study of the Orient such as area studies, Oriental, and ethnic studies. Said eloquently argues that "imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental."[2] By the same token, while imperialism had provided the context and pretext for the production of this knowledge about the Muslim Other, post-colonial and nationalist context and pretext have played a significant role in the production of Occidentalism as knowledge about the Euro-Christian other. This was rather, a self-definition in the light of historical research. By attempting to define the encounter between Muslims and the West, post-colonial Arab intellectuals delve into defining an Arabo-Islamic identity in the pre-colonial era. This post-colonial and nationalist context of power relations with the ex-colonizers influenced the knowledge produced by these intellectuals namely Occidentalism. When Lewis strives to reinforce the rigidities of Orientalism, mainly about Islam, Aziz al-Azmeh and other post-colonial Arab intellectuals perpetuate the same cultural practice and reinforce other rigidities.

The rigid system of thought of Orientalism rise has produced knowledge about the Muslim other filled with ideological representations and clichés such as 'fanatism', 'violence' and 'lust'...etc.; and these representations can hardly be objective or nonpolitical as Said suggests[3]. This version of knowledge is a human failure since it seeks to demarcate limits and boundaries as well as asymmetric cultural relations. This is exactly what Said meant by: "I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one."[4] Meanwhile, the other

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[1] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 27.

[2] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), p. 336.

[3] Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (England: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 328.

face of the coin is that knowledge about the Euro-Christian other which is developed by Arabo-Muslim scholars in the post-colonial era. That knowledge about that cultural other is labeled Occidentalism by al-Azmeh and Hannafi or Orientalism in reverse as suggested by Sadiq Jalal, and it seeks to reinforce the same limits and boundaries through claiming that the Arabs and Muslims widely produced clichés and representations in a discursive manner similar to Orientalism. These clichés comprehended images of 'barbarism', 'inferiority' and 'filthiness'...etc. Therefore, the same note by Said remains applicable.

Yet, at the end of his seminal work *Orientalism,* Said insinuates the possibility and urgency of an alternative system that does away with the inherited tradition of Orientalism; he suggests names such as Anwar Abdel Malek whose contributions in Area Studies stands important. Said's ultimate aim, as he reveals it in the final lines of his remarkable book, resides in describing the Orientalist system of ideas but without the intention of altering it or providing a new system of ideas as he eloquently states that his "project has been to describe a particular system of ideas, not by any means to displace the system with a new one".[5] By the same token, Occidentalism is also not the best answer or as he warns:

> if this book has any future use, it will be as a modest contribution to that challenge, and as a warning: that systems of thought, like Orientalism, discourses of power, ideological fictions- mind-forged manacles- are all too easily made, applied, and guarded. Above all, I hope to have shown my reader that the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism.[6]

This intellectual stance that Said adopts reflects his very intimate revolutionary dream to dismantle all forms of power and authority in academia as well as in all aspects of life. This stance is much inculcated throughout this thesis along with the notion of dismantling the elitist approach to history and to voice the voiceless subalternized ones in that history.

[5] Ibid., p. 327.
[6] Ibid., p. 328.

Moreover, what is the West after all but a floating signifier that has undergone serious epistemological changes and re-definitions. It has lost its geographical reference since the consideration of Tokyo and Sidney two Western cities comes to direct contrast with geographical knowledge as it is. Japan and Australia are in the West with respect to whom? If they are East to the near-East, how can they and many other countries be Western in the full sense of the word? The same can be said about the East. The variables that shape these two geographical entities are more than to be defined and located. Raymond Williams cleverly notices that "there are now some interesting uses of Western and the West, in international political description. In some cases, the term has so far lost its geographical reference as to allow description of, for example, Japan as a Western or Western-type society."[7]

Indeed, the referentiality of these terms has come to zero degree creating a sense of ambiguity and undecidability. This ambiguity is a definitive outcome of political interference in knowledge production and dissemination. That is, the cultural definition has been challenged by today's politics. The West and East as terms "come overlaid (…) with a long sedimented history of ambiguous usage."[8] Williams concludes that these terms and rigidities are overdetermined by politics over cultural geographies. In this sense, North African countries are Eastern even when they lie in the West of most of the European countries; and Latin America is excluded from the West even when it is a few kilometers south to America and surely West to all Eastern countries. It is this striking ambiguity that led Shohat and Stam to "call attention to the arbitrariness of the standard cartographies of identity for irrevocable hybrid places."[9]

The politics that engineer such a blurred definition of the West practice a sort of hegemony of what is Western and what is not. For instance, science, technology, feminism, poststructuralism, and deconstruction…etc. are all Western even if they are practiced in non-Western geographies. The knowledge that the West claim and cling to is but an outcome of borrowing and translation of

[7] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Ney York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 264.

[8] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.13.

[9] Ibid.

other civilizations such as Muslim, China, and Aztec…etc.[10] and the blurred limits of what is called "Western knowledge" renders demarcations impossible though. This knowledge is a product of hybridity or as Shohat and Stam rephrase it: "The "West" and the "non-West" cannot, in sum, be posited as antonyms, for, in fact, the two worlds interpenetrate in an unstable space of creolization and syncretism."[11]

Briefly, the blurred definitions of West and East and the hybrid nature of knowledge deconstruct the mythical perspective of an antagonistic and binary opposition between the two. Both of the: "Myth of West" and the "Myth of East" form the verso and recto of the same colonial sign"[12] as elegantly put by Shohat and Stam. Equally, the Myth of Orientalism and the Myth of Occidentalism signify the same thing.

Nevertheless, the "unstable space of creolization and syncretism" that Shohat and Stam argued for is similar to that of Bhabha's third space. This third space or hybridity unfolds two complementary ideas. The first is related to individuals and groups who are in state of migration and Diaspora which is a sort of micro-scale for the West and East relations today; and the second is related to the nature of knowledge as process that is in constant action of borrowing and translation from all cultures and nations which is a macro-scale for the same relations. Thus, individuals and knowledge are the recto and verso of the same coin which is a signifier of the post-colonial and post-modern state, and even before these two.

Thus, this dissertation is presented within this context of the academic debate revolving around the clash/dialogue between civilizations and cultures. The civilizational or cultural approaches that tend to tackle the Muslims relations with the Christians and vice versa usually reduce these relations and encounters into duality and opposition. The Strait of Gibraltar, in these approaches, is the ubiquitous illustration of this dividing line between two dissimilar civilizational entities: Islam and Christianity. Nevertheless, this same Strait actually illustrates the dense creolization and interactions between the two civilizations; and provides evidence on the development and progress of these ties as well as the historical surging agency in Morocco.

[10] Ibid., p.14.
[11] Ibid., p.14-15.
[12] Ibid., p.15.

Indeed, Gibraltar was subject to different colonial powers through its history. When Tarik Ben Zeyad crossed in 711 from Morocco to Spain, it was Gibraltar that witnessed the first landing of the first Muslim conquerors; and from then on, it was named after him. Muslims settled there for centuries before their authority in all Andalusia was coming to a dramatic conclusion. Undeniably, with the rise of the ideology of the Reconquista, once the Vandals lands, became Spanish again and Muslims were driven out of Gibraltar and never allowed to settle or dwell. Yet, in 1704, Great Britain rose as a modern Empire and colonized Gibraltar to control the Strait. Then, the Moroccan Muslims and Jews were allowed to settle, trade and benefit from the early liberal way of life in Gibraltar. In other words, Mordecai Noah cleverly notices:

> From the present barren appearance of Gibraltar and the sterile aspects of the Rock, it would seem that it never had been cultivated. The Moors, however, made it a perfect garden; and with their accustomed industry, they not only cultivated every spot capable of producing vegetable life, but they planted groves of oranges trees on the spot, outside of the walls, where now a barren waste of sand appears. While the Spaniards possessed this place, they crowded it with houses, convents, churches, &c. the British quickly reduced the number, turned their convents into barracks, and rendered it, what, from its strength and position[…] a garrison town.[13]

This rich history offers a copious experience that presented an early example of cultural encounters between the East and the West that is beyond rigidities and alterity. Precisely, this dissertation provides new substantiation about the Moroccan relations with Britain starting from 1704, which marks the British annexation of the Rock of Gibraltar, till the French protectorate in Morocco in 1912. Special focus is devoted to the development of Moroccan ties with Gibraltar mainly in fields such as diplomacy, military, commerce, and culture…etc. This substantiation is used to re-evaluate the prevailing argument about the Moroccan lack of curiosity and isolation

[13] Mordecai Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States, in the Years 1813-14 and 15* (New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1819), p. 114.

tendency, on one hand, and to undermine the argument of the enduring and inevitable clash between Islam and Christian civilizations on the other hand.

The Moroccan strong ties with the British garrison of Gibraltar present considerable evidence on the historical development and progress of Morocco during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Despite the sporadic incidents that disturbed the foreign policy of Morocco and the differences in terms of personality between the monarchs, these successive sultans kept quite a steady policy concerning discovering the European other; also, they kept relatively stable political, commercial and cultural openness.

In this context, the dissertation analyzes the development of these ties and the different mechanisms and policies implemented by Morocco to strengthen them and to match the goals of development and progress. These mechanisms and policies comprehended efforts to stop piracy in the Mediterranean and establishing administrative apparatuses to institutionalize the Anglo-Moroccan relations through establishing a fix consulate in Gibraltar. Other policies were built upon dispatching diplomatic military and educational delegations to learn the European ways in the military and civil welfare. Also, the cultural and social ties with Gibraltar grew denser when Moroccans were allowed to settles and trade in Gibraltar regardless of the Spanish prohibition as the treaty of Utrecht, by which Spain waived Gibraltar to Britain, indicated. This opportunity paved the way to rich cultural and social encounters resulting, occasionally, in Moroccans getting married to British women. Meanwhile, the Jewish community, being a minor cohort in a Muslim land, presents an important case illustrating the internal social dynamics in Morocco, on one hand, and the external interventions on the other hand. Also, this minor community had a significant cultural experience in Gibraltar.

In general, this dissertation comprehends a theoretical discussion of influential scholars who tackled issues related to the cultural encounter between the East and West, identity, discourse, Occidentalism…etc. such as Lewis, Huntington, Matar, Said, Majid, Hall…etc. This theoretical discussion is an extensive reviewing of major contributors to those notions. The thesis, also, contains a profound analysis of how Moroccan Muslims and Jews, rich and poor witnessed the encounter between their home country and Britain. The abundant experience of Moroccans in British Gibraltar since 1704 until 1912 ranged from ambassadorial and consular relations to

matrimonial encounters. The two major parts of the theses provide a ground for a deeper rethinking of the encounter between the East and West.

PART ONE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

I. DECONSTRUCTING THE DISCOURSES OF ORIENTALISM AND OCCIDENTALISM: PROSPECTS FOR ALTERNATIVES

1. Undoing the Clash of Cultures: Orientalist Images of Cultural Borders and the Constant Reiteration

a. Undoing the Argument of the Inevitable Clash between Islam and Christianity

Raymond Thomassy, one of the leading voices of colonialism in the nineteenth century France, wrote a bulky book where the early manifestations of the contemporary theory of the clash between civilizations find its grains. The superiority of the French civilization and 'La Mission Civilisatrice' that the French took on their shoulders was blatantly declared in Thomassy's account. He inaugurated his book stating:

> The populations of Africa and Asia do not have like us the free paths of civilization, large navigable roads neither the railways, which compensate for the absence of rivers or the impossibility of channels; but for the lack of rolling and diligence, locomotives and steamships, they employ the caravan; and to drive it through sand oceans, they

> have the camel, this ship of the desert, which the nomad likes to boast of never having been shipwrecked.[1]

The French colonization of Algeria in 1830 embodied their colonial appetite in North Africa, and their unfair war against Morocco in Isly 1844 and the peace treaty inscribed after Isly were the culmination of that French appetite as far as Morocco was concerned. In this historical context, Thomassy's colonial fervor fueled his account; and his view about how Islam had been playing important roles in the common consciousness of both Algeria and Morocco led him to conclude that it was wiser for France not to interfere in this spiritual field since it could lead to unpleasant results for the French military forces spread on the ground. Yet, it would be soon that France was to be forced to deal with this force as Thomassy explained that "these difficulties (Largely Caused by Islamism) are sure to arise again, have always made the Christian negotiations with Muslim princes extremely difficult to fulfill."[2]

The secular division between the spiritual and the political that the French nation embraced finds no similarity in the unity of those two fields in Morocco. This inseparability between the two renders the mission of the French negotiators more delicate and the military generals and soldiers more risky since the sultan can declare *jihad* against an invading army especially if the army is Christian. Thus, what should be done to weaken this unity and power of Islam in the social structure of the colonized or potential colonies?

Thomassy urged his mother nation to focus on more peaceful, but effective means for conquering Morocco. He elucidated that "France will necessarily be called to represent Christianity there, and fight as a soldier of civilization. It must, therefore, hasten to know the battlefield, where anyways even more glorious destinies await it that they will be less bloody and a more durable triumph that it would have been won with more peaceful weapons."[3]

La *Mission Civilisatrice* of France is Christian in essence and modern in the manifest. This religiously driven mission must come to a conflictual end as assumed by Thomassy. This conflict

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[1] Raymond Thomassy, *Le Maroc Et Ses Caravanes, Ou: Relations De La France Avec Cet Empire* (Paris: F. Didot frères, 1845), p.1.

[2] Ibid., p.85.

[3] Ibid., p.92-93.

could be avoided through the deployment of the well-known tactic: divide and rule; or, as suggested by Thomassy "science is one of these weapons."[4]

If France, the "hero of civilization", is to guarantee its durable conquest in Muslim territories, Islam ought to be annihilated as suggested by Thomassy who spared no efforts in showing to France's colonial apparatuses that Islam would stand in the face of its colonial projects. He clarified:

> As we must not believe too much neither that Islamism would leave us to die of starvation, without making a supreme effort, without delivering its last fight; and on the other hand, as Morocco is its rearguard in Africa, and one of his reserve armies, we must still prepare for the final struggles which this empire will perhaps one day be the theater.[5]

Indeed, Islam has always been the opposing force that bonds peoples spreading from Fez, Timbuktu to Istanbul and south Asia. The pre-colonialism Western intellectuals were aware of this fact; and Orientalists, who Thomassy happens to be a leading figure in France, had always rung the bell of this vast growing and powerful religion. It goes without saying that this same foe was brought to the scene after the dramatic collapse of the adversary Soviet Union in the 1990s. Many Westerners were attracted by the lure of the Orient and its religion but many others, such as Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis adopted Thomassy's view with respect to this opposing force.

In the same vein, an anti-Islam discourse can easily be perceived in international media. Unparalleled, media, consciously or unconsciously, intensifies this discourse through focusing on images of Christians who suffer under Muslim violence in Muslim lands; and Muslims under Christian violence in Western land as well. The examples are many just to mention few; the Charlie Hebdo case in France, Boko Haram killings in Nigeria, the murders committed by Jihadists of Islamic State, the three Muslim students killed in North Carolina, the paintings of the Prophet in

[4] Ibid., p. 93.
[5] Ibid., p. 92.

European press…etc. This intensification by the media aims at constructing a collective feeling of ongoing conflict and boundaries between the Muslim 'East' and the Christian 'West'. This engineering of public opinion both in the East and West recalls the claims for the clash between civilizations and religions: I am referring to Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis respectively. Why this focus on these incidents by the media? The answer to this question is not simple but the consequences are materialized and tangible today. The outcome of this media focus has two folds: an increase in Islamophobia in the West and a parallel increase in the collective feeling of injustice by the Muslims in the East. Meanwhile, the new conservative tendency and discourse in the West fuels this clash and boundaries between the East (Islam) and the West (Christianity) through establishing two distinct structures based on civilization identities/entities, overlooking the hybrid nature of both civilizations caused by the late mass migration in the mid-20th century as Homi Bhabha argues in *The Location of Culture*.

Briefly, Huntington states that "the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be culture."[6] This focus on establishing boundaries between a supposedly two distinct cultures and styles of life is strongly advocated, in the first place, by the prominent scholar Bernard Lewis who delves deep back in Islamic history to stress on the same claim. Not only do the claimers for the clash between cultures make use of the present to maintain their theory but also re-visit history to reason for the same assumption. The same insistence on constructing two distinctive worlds that have never been in touch in the past emerges in Lewis' argument as he posits: "despite its importance for them, Muslims showed remarkably little interest in the world of Christendom."[7] Clearly, history has become a space for discursive battles. This is accurately what Tarek Mitri means when he defines history. He suggests:

> History, as it is present in the public arena, is neither an ancestral memory nor a collective tradition. It is mediated by contemporary education and communication. Hatred is inculcated as much, or even more, by a modern discourse than by memory.

[6] Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72:3 (1993), p.22.
[7] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton,1982), p.68.

> It is often stirred up by radio broadcasts, articles in the press and television programs, rather inherited from parents.[8]

Unlike what is propagated in media and historical interpretations, that aim at creating a collective false awareness of a deadly and fatal encounter between two 'opposite' blocks, evidence of a counter-discourse remain strong. Before the massive and intensive military encounter caused by colonialism, the mobility of goods, ideas, and people from the East and West were the main attributes of the relation between north and south of the Mediterranean basin. In this context, numerous Western travelers, anthropologists, and merchants have traveled to the Islamic Orient; and several of them have constructed and consolidated stereotypes about it. They have fallen in the binary division between the West which is 'superior', 'powerful', 'civilized' …etc., and the East which is 'fanatic', 'emotional', 'stagnant'…etc. However, this East was not as stagnant as it was conventionally depicted or lacking the curiosity to discover and explore.

As discussed, in his landmark book *Orientalism*, Edward Said's analyses of Orientalist discourse brings it out of the traditional academic field into the political and the ideological depth. That traditional view has, for quite a long time, pretended the purity of knowledge about the Orient when politics and ideology were at play latently within the Orientalist texts. Thus, through his reading of the relationship between the signifier/signified, Said assumes that the text always has social and political dimensions (*in* and *out* of the text); and that textuality or the reading *into* the text does not quench his thirst. Hence, in the limelight of this model, Said presents numerous definitions to Orientalism; and one pertinent description that he suggests discerns that "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident"."[9]

This clear cut between the Orient and the Occident, as posited by Said has demarcated the way Western philosophers, economists, novelists… etc. viewed and encountered the Orient. That is, these have embraced what is Oriental as a completely distinct entity from what is Occidental

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[8] Tarek Mitri, "Christians and Muslims: Memory, Amity, and Enmities," in Aziz Al-Azmeh et al., eds. *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity, and Influence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.17.

[9] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.

and they have built upon the differences in order to elaborate theories, epics, and novels …etc. It is the kind of relationship that is based on dichotomy and binary opposition and the claim of superiority, power, and authority over the "radically" different Oriental Other. The second definition of Orientalism that Said argues for is crucial and innovative as far as the postcolonial studies are concerned. It argues that Orientalism is "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient."[10] This institutionalized relationship between the Occident and the Orient has produced asymmetric relations of power characterized mainly by hegemony and dominance as Said states that "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony."[11]

Oppositely, in his article "The Question of Orientalism" published in 1982 which is included in his collection *Islam and the West*, Lewis posits that "the success of this book (*Orientalism*) and the ideas or, to be more precise, the attitudes that it expresses, in spite of its science fiction history and its lexical Humpty-Dumptyism, requires some explanation."[12]

The "science fiction history" and "lexical Humpty-Dumptyism" that Lewis claims to characterize Said's work finds no support in academic critics of the work; and the numerous critics that studied Said's theory advanced logical and productive criticism such as Robert Young, Dennis Porter, Sara Mills...etc. In spite of this criticism, Said's *Orientalism* undermined a long tradition of institutionalized asymmetric relations of power and subjugation and paved the way to fertile critical terminology for the postcolonial theory and cultural studies as well as subaltern studies. But this seems not to suffice Lewis who claims that the popularity of the book/theory by Said is due to the oversimplification or as he puts it:

> the book appeals by its use of the ideas and still more of the language of currently fashionable literary, philosophical, and political theories. It meets the world's growing need for simplification by reducing all the complex national, cultural, religious, social,

[10] Ibid., p. 3.
[11] Ibid., p.5.
[12] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.114.

> and economic problems of the Arab world to a single grievance directed against a small group of easily identified and immediately recognizable malefactors.[13]

Dissimilar to the aforementioned critics, Lewis submerges into the deep waters of Edward Said but fails to emerge and escape personal emotions and simplified linguistic structures as when he accuses Said's interpretations of "projected sexual fantasies."[14] The 'arbitrariness' of the choice of Said, as far as the Orientalist texts are concerned, haunts his analysis and leads to 'incorrect' conclusions as Lewis presumes that "the arbitrary rearrangement of the historical background and the capricious choice of countries, persons, and writings—still does not suffice for Mr. Said to prove his case, and he is obliged to resort to additional devices." [15] The other devices are the reinterpretation of passages to suit his argument and the series of startling accusations and the omitting of German and Russian Orientalist.

Despite Lewis' criticism, many intellectuals, following Said's conception of Orientalism, have written about the dynamics that govern the relationship between the West and the East namely: David Spurr who claims that the colonial discourse employs rhetorical tropes to represent the colonized objects. Spurr's argument is an attempt to map the various tropes that the European writers in the 19th and 20th centuries quoted from each other such as the gaze or visualism, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, and debasement …etc. In the same context, Rana Kabbani wrote a pertinent book tracking Edward Said's firm theoretical assumptions. She posits that Christian Europe produced an anti-Islamic polemic enhanced by the mental barrier between the Christian Occident and the Islamic Orient. This polemic was systematized to serve the Christian Occident interests. The first strategy for that polemic was to attack the symbols of Muslims Muhammad who was associated with sex and depicted as transgressor religious with infernal powers. Even more; the Europeans inflated the Quranic verses especially the ideas of paradise to support the idea of voluptuous East. Beside Spurr and Kabbani, one that has become a classic in postcolonial studies is Homi Bhabha whose *The Location of Culture* gathers insightful

[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., p. 111.
[15] Ibid., p. 112.

critical tools and concepts that build on Said's theory and trespasses it to further problematic questions. Bhabha clarifies that "the exercise of colonialist authority, however, requires the production of differentiation, individuation, identity effects through which discriminatory practices can map out subject populations that are tarred with the visible and transparent mark of power."[16]

The same hegemonic mode of representation that Said forwarded is obvious in Bhabha's conceptualization of how discriminatory practices and differentiation are embedded in the colonial discourse. Yet, hybridity, as Bhabha suggests, "profoundly unsettles the demand that figures at the center of the originary myth of colonialist power."[17] At the moment when the colonized subject or the termed "almost the same but not quite"[18] subject embraces the possibilities of resemblance, menace, ambivalence or double vision emerges to haunt the colonial discourse.

b. Undermining Orientalist Terminology of Clash: Moving from Clash of Cultures to Clash of Definitions

The debates that revolve around the notion of culture attract much of the intellectual attention on the world scale today. The re-definition and re-location of the role of culture in international relations have gained a key position in academia. One realm of these debates focuses on Islamic and Christian relations. Yet, these debates are not contemporary ones but a continuum to the long historically-rooted reciprocal relations between Muslims and Christians. These Islamic-Christian relations varied historically from economic competition, treaties of friendship and bilateral commercial and cultural exchanges to direct military engagements which engendered huge human lost. Alongside, these ambiguous relations were sometimes rendered as fiction where truths were re-written and loss turned into gain. Moreover, Orientalism tended to represent the cultural Other, especially Islam, as 'villain', 'backward' and 'uncivilized'; and Edward Said's contribution to the deconstruction of this literature is undeniable. Meanwhile, theories of a potential clash between civilizations appear to reiterate and recycle the assumptions, stereotypes,

[16] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 111.
[17] Ibid., p. 115.
[18] Ibid., p. 122.

and boundaries that were inherited from the discourse of Orientalism. The insistence on the binary opposition between the Western and the non-Western gains much attention from theorists such as Samuel Huntington.

Huntington claims, in his much-debated article, that the world is witnessing a new era where civilizations map the world. Samuel Huntington posits from the very beginning of his article that the new human relations will be shaped and ordered by means of cultural belonging. He states that "the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural."[19] He takes a stance that tends to be more politically subjective than academically objective. He continues stating that "the fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."[20] Huntington, then, moves to define civilization with a very uncritical reluctance suggesting that civilizations are broader than cultures; he concludes that "a civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity."[21]

He argues for the idea that civilizations will be the center of gravity around which peoples will gather and identify with in the future. He states, as previously mentioned, that civilizations existed in the past; and he resorts to the study of Arnold Toynbee *A Study of History* to clarify that 21 major civilizations existed in the past from which, he states that "only six of them exist in the contemporary world."[22] He does not deny the fact that civilizations existed in the past but argues that they will be at the center of conflicts between peoples in the future. If civilizations did not clash in the past, why would they clash in the future, unless this clash is fueled and backed to serve political and economic interests?

Huntington endeavors, in his article, to set up boundaries between peoples and civilizations which do not exist in a concrete sense but in his imagination. Thus, he suggests that the world is becoming a smaller place which does not mean for Huntington that the boundaries are subverted or blurred but, on the contrary, he perceives these borders as being more practiced and reinforced. Individuals, according to Huntington, are growing more aware of cultural and civilization differences. He states that "the world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between

[19] Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" p.22.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., p. 24.
[22] Ibid., p. 25.

peoples of different civilizations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations."[23]

Huntington is reluctant to accept the fact that the boundaries, mainly cultural ones, are blurred in a post-industrial world; and that identities are not essential in the sense that they are fixed around a civilization belonging.

Stuart Hall is a prominent figure whose contributions to the discussions of identity remain of significant importance. Hall defines identity in a different way from that of Huntington. He states:

> Identity is not as transparent and unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead of, identity as a "production", which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.[24]

The problematic nature of identity that Stuart Hall elaborates subverts the essentialist definition of identity that Huntington calls for. The identity which is based on civilization, as Huntington alludes to, is not as 'transparent' or 'unproblematic' as it may seem. I will be discussing Hall's genuine definition of cultural identity later. Thus, the major controversial argument in Huntington's article is that he takes identity as being an essential and already established entity. He points out that "as people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an "us" versus "them" relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion."[25]

Whether Huntington is aware or not, he is the one who insists on the binary opposition between the "us" and "them". The cultural identity, which used to be taken for granted in

[23] Ibid., p.25.

[24] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), pp. 222.

[25] Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" p. 29.

modernism and universalism in the European humanist and Orientalist discourses, is deconstructed, redefined and reshaped by many critics just to mention a few: Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall…etc. Huntington, by essentializing and fixing the definition of identity, re-tells, and re-cycles the same Orientalist discourse that has a long tradition of establishing boundaries between the European/Western Self and the cultural Non-Western/Other. Huntington discusses the identity of individuals in the same way he does vis-à-vis the identity of nation-states. The essentialist and already established identities that will revolve around civilization-consciousness will trigger, according to Huntington, clashes between different civilizations. This vision of the clash of civilizations that Samuel Huntington is alluding to and 'predicting' does overlook the problematic feature of identity and engages in a politicized stance that emanates from the narrow ideological background of the neo-conservatism.

By his analysis of the relations between civilizations, Huntington reaches the same conclusion assumed by Bernard Lewis. That is to say, civilizations, mainly Islam and the West, are unavoidably and inexorably in their way to clash. Huntington states that "on both sides, the interaction between Islam and the West is seen as a clash of civilizations."[26] Huntington claims that the next opposing power to the West is going to be the Islamic civilization. His conviction, even if it is not grounded on real evidence but mere assumptions, leaves no alternatives to dialogue or cooperation between civilizations. His stance, as a defender of Western civilization, allocates violence to Islam and denies it to the Western secular civilization. He considers that "the Crescent-shaped Islamic bloc, from the bulge of Africa to central Asia, has bloody borders."[27] This same meaning is encoded in Lewis' historical analysis of Islam and its civilization as I will be explaining more soon.

The similarities between Thomassy's declarations and Huntington's argument are strikingly blatant. In 1845, Thomassy endeavored to explain to the French nation, army, politicians, intellectuals, and commoners, the "dreadful" Islam and its power to order Muslims against the French Mission Civilisatrice stating that "as we must not believe too much neither that

[26] Ibid., p 32.
[27] Ibid., p. 34.

Islamism would leave us to die of starvation, without making a supreme effort in delivering its last fight."[28]

Similarly, Huntington strives, in the same vein, to convince the West and all of its social, political and intellectual layers of the clashing force of Islam. His idea seems to be an updated version of a long Western tradition of establishing Islam as a foe to be annihilated.

Germain Ayache, a prominent Moroccan historian, explains how French intellectuals, mainly Jacques Ladreit De Lacharrière, stress on the idea of fault lines. The same fault lines that Huntington claims to hold proof of the clashing nature of Islam with other civilizations in history. Ayache translates De Lacharrière who urged France to "survey the crack that should be deepened inside of the bloc in order to dismantle it."[29]

As shown by Ayache, it was/is the European colonizer who abused the cultural and ethnic differences to trigger conflicts within Islamic societies and with Muslim neighbor countries. The example of the French historian De Lacharrière who urged France to use fault lines in order to dismantle Islamic societies' resistance against his mother nation in Algeria and Morocco resembles that of Huntington and Lewis. As clarified by Thomassy and De Lacharrière, Islam stands as a driving force that resisted the French colonial projects in North Africa; and equally, Huntington updates the same tendency to see Islam as a stubborn foe standing as a firm dam against American projects in the entire region from Morocco to Pakistan.

In a nutshell, it is the colonizer who strongly insists on the need to divide for the sake of ruling. Ayache, through his detailed and deep analysis of the history of colonialism in Morocco, argues that the tendency to put borders and binarism such as Arab/Berber, *bled Mekhzen/bled Siba*, rich Morocco/poor Morocco…etc.,[30] is a slogan praised by most of the French intellectuals who wrote about Morocco and advocated the idea of being targeted by French forces under the pretext of "La Mission Civilisatrice". This binarism is deeply engrained in the colonial discourse and is updated in new forms by neo-conservatives such as Huntington and Lewis, and these traditions are

[28] Raymond Thomassy, *Le Maroc Et Ses Caravanes*, p. 92.

[29] Germain Ayache, *Dirassat fi Tarikh Al Maghreb* (Rabat: Charika Al Maghribia li Nashirin Al Motahidin, 1986), p. 17.

[30] Ibid., p. 11-32.

highly challenged by committed intellectuals from the Arab world such as Germain Ayache and Edward Said …etc.

The theory of Huntington drew strong criticism from Edward Said who answers back. Said clarifies from the beginning that "Huntington's terms of argument seemed compellingly large, bold, even visionary."[31] The "civilizations identity" that Huntington alludes to is ambiguous for Said who points out that "most of the argument in the pages that followed relied on a vague notion of something Huntington called "civilization identity."[32] The politically loaded argument of Huntington pushes Edward Said to take a critical stance against both of Huntington and Lewis since "neither Huntington nor Lewis has much time to spare for the internal dynamics and plurality of every civilization."[33] He claims that "Huntington is an ideologist, someone who wants to make "civilizations" and "identities" into what they are not."[34] Thus, the criticism that Said addresses to Huntington's article- the book also drew Said's attention but not as strongly as the article- revolves around the fact that the latter endeavors to load civilizations and identities with a meaning that serves his ideology. Thus, the clash, according to Said, becomes not between civilizations but between definitions. The boundaries that Huntington constructs as if they were lucid and unquestionable, are re-questioned by Said who clarifies:

> How finally inadequate are the labels, generalizations and cultural assertions. At some level, for instance, primitive passions and sophisticated know-how converge in ways that give the lie to a fortified boundary not only between "West" and "Islam" but also between past and present, us and them, to say nothing of the very concepts of identity and nationality about which there is unending disagreement and debate.[35]

Indeed, the blurred lines between civilizations, identities, and nations subvert and undo the claims for the growing "civilization-consciousness" that tend, ideologically and politically, to

[31] Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation,* Oct. 22 (2001), p. 11.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., p. 12.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

establish and reinforce limits and binaries. The impossibility to define the identity of the Self and the Other, in the post-modern context, defies the static and stagnant claims of a given civilization identity.

Furthermore, one pertinent notion around which debates are revolving, as well, is that of history. Huntington deals with history through the politics of inclusion and seclusion. He includes the historical details that suit his claim and excludes the ones that defy or even undermine his thesis of the clash of civilizations. These politics of inclusion and seclusion follow discursive patterns that aim at delimiting and creating imagined barriers. In this respect, Said ends his article by promoting the claims for subverting the boundaries and re-reading history without the pre-conviction of establishing limitations. Said concludes:

> we are swimming in those waters, Westerners and Muslims and others alike. And since the waters are part of the ocean of history, trying to plow or divide them with barriers is futile. "The Clash of Civilizations" thesis is a gimmick like "The War of the Worlds," better for reinforcing self-pride than for critical understanding of the bewildering interdependence of our time.[36]

Said, in this sense, is criticizing the aim behind the article by Samuel Huntington. It is this Ego-centric perception of the Western authoritative Self that should be negotiated and undermined. It is the authoritative power over the knowledge that blinds Huntington's comprehension of cultures and identities. Even though, Huntington claims that his contribution in this article will be to help with drawing the map that would facilitate the understanding of the international relations after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the United States as the only superpower in the world, but his denial of the "bewildering interdependence of our time" dismantles his Orientalist/essentialist understanding of identity and culture.

Before Huntington, Lewis argued for the clash between cultures; and precisely, he claimed that Islam has been in a clash with Christendom and other cultures along his borderlines. In 2002,

[36] Ibid., p. 13.

Lewis wrote an article with the provoking title "The Roots of Muslim Rage". Bernard Lewis endeavors in this attempt to trace the psychological and historical backgrounds in order to reveal the origins of the Muslim hatred of the West. His return to history, as a field where Islam and Christendom were enemies for fourteen century, is pregnant with a discursive vision that re-shapes the same history to support his Manichean vision of the inevitable religious borders. In the article, the history of the relationship between Islam and Christendom seems to be characterized by violence, wars, and enmities. Thus, with Lewis, we witness fourteen centuries of relationship that revolved around clashing and rivalry. He starts his article by praising Islam as being "one of the world's greatest religions;"[37] however, his attitude towards Islam and Muslims grows ambiguous in his article. Sometimes, he praises Islam but most of the time he attacks it as Said eloquently puts it: "the academic whose work purports to be liberal objective scholarship but is in reality very close to being propaganda against his subject matter."[38] Bernard Lewis ambivalently concentrates his point of view about Islam when he posits that:

> There is something in the religious culture of Islam which inspired, in even the humblest peasant or peddlers, a dignity and a courtesy toward others never exceeded and rarely equaled in other civilizations. And yet, in moments of upheaval and disruption, when the deeper passions are stirred, this dignity and courtesy toward others can give way to an explosive mixture of rage and hatred which impels even the government of an ancient and civilized country- even the spokesmen of a great spiritual and ethical religion- to espouse kidnapping and assassination, and try to find, in the life of their Prophet, approval and indeed precedent for such actions.[39]

He seems pro-Islam in the beginning; but he suddenly changes his mind to suit an Orientalist mindset that triggers images of violence, terrorism, and fanaticism about Muslims. The same pattern of images and clichés are embedded in the neo-Orientalism of the USA that rotates

[37] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," *Policy*, Summer (2002), p. 17.
[38] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 316.
[39] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," p. 25.

around an Islamophobia "but this should come in no surprise to anyone familiar with the history of Orientalism; it is only the latest-and in the West, the most uncriticized-of the scandals of scholarship."[40]

Lewis, being preoccupied with the assumed clash between religions, mainly Islam and Christendom, as the maker of the new phase in human interaction claims:

> It is interesting that in earlier times, both sides for quite a long time refused to recognize this as a struggle between religions — that is, to recognize the other as a rival universal religion. They saw it rather as between religion —meaning their own true faith — and the unbelievers or infidels (in Arabic, kafir).[41]

Whereas both sides, he is referring to Islam and Christendom, refuse to accept that there is an ongoing clash between the two religions; Bernard Lewis strives to formulate the relationship between the two sides as a clash that existed from the very beginning of Islam. With this approach, it would be for the general interest of humanity if Islam is wiped out from earth or had never existed from the very beginning.

c. Manichaeism, Intertextuality: Deconstructing the Politics of Clash

The notion of Manichaeism implies that the nature of two entities, primarily referring to the realms of spirits and that of matter, are always split and can never be linked which denotes a sever sense of structural binarism. The colonial discourse has been built upon the binary opposition between the 'civilized', 'modern', and 'logical' West and the 'primitive', 'decadent' and 'spiritual' East. The term was coined to be a key concept in the post-colonial studies and was firstly used by Frantz Fanon to depict the implacable opposition between the relationships of the colonizer and colonized. He undermined the Manichean allegory that made out white as 'good' and black as

[40] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 316.
[41] Bernard Lewis, "Europe and Islam," AEI: (Washington: AEI, 2007), p. 4.

'evil'. In Fanon's words "white and black represent the two poles of a world, two poles in perpetual conflict: a genuinely Manichean concept of the world."[42]

As Frantz Fanon's concise statement suggests "the colonial world is a Manichean world". That is, in Fanon's words as well "the principle "it's them or us" is not a paradox since colonialism, as we have seen, is precisely the organization of a Manichean world, of a compartmentalized world.[43] In fact, this was not a mere allegory but rather a deep commitment to the discourse and practice of empire. The concept of Manichaeism is widely used in the postcolonial criticism when it comes to identifying the troops used by colonial literature in its representation of the Other; and it refers to the "process by which imperial discourse polarizes the society, culture and very being of the colonizer and colonized into the Manichean categories of good and evil.[44]

The concept of Manichean unfolds two major and complementary meanings. The first is Self-affirmation of Western superiority and leadership by virtue of reason and the second meaning refers to the inferiority of the Other by virtue of categorization. Thus, the Western Ego has always backed its discourse by the logic of categorization of human races, a discourse that culminated by the outstandingly unscientific conclusions made by Arthur de Gobineau in his *Essai sur L'inégalité des Races Humaines* in 1853. The inevitability of the process of Alterity here lies in the heart of the colonial discourse about the Self and Other at the same time. These same meanings are, one way or another, the implications of what JanMohammed meant when stating that:

> instead of being an exploration of the racial Other… affirms its own ethno-centric assumptions; instead of actually depicting the outer limits of 'civilization', it simply codifies and preserves the structures of its own mentality. While the surface of each colonialist text purports to represent specific encounters with specific varieties of the racial Other, the subtext valorizes the superiority of European cultures, of the

[42] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam. Markmann (New York: Grove, 1967), p.44.

[43] Frantz Fanon, et al., *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 2007), p.43.

[44] Bill Ashcroft, et al., *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007), 120.

> collective process that has mediated that representation. Such literature is essentially specular: instead of seeing the native as a bridge toward syncretic possibility, it uses him as a mirror that reflects the colonialist's self-image.[45]

Indeed, the native/colonized is not but a sight whereby the colonizer exercises his authority and authoritative lust for power and representation. The elegant use of Jacque Lacan's mirror stage by Jan digs deep in the sub-consciousness of the colonizer to reveal his tendency for binarism and Manichean lenses through which the world is seen as being divided into two distinct entities: Western/Eastern. By the same token, Bernard Lewis beholds the same binary structure deep in his unconscious use of the language while narrating the "bloody" and "unfriendly" history of Islam in its relationship to the West. Manichaeism seems the skeleton of his discourse on Islam and its civilization, peoples, and history. The West/Europe is the beacon of civilization, reason, secularism, and freedom …etc. while Islam and Muslim civilization are the source of primitiveness, spirituality, hatred, and chaos that threaten world peace. The unconscious play of Manichean allegory in Orientalist discourse in general and in Lewis's textual constructs and representations is central and its flagrant manifestation is the ambivalence of this discourse or as JanMohamed maintains that "ambivalence" is, in fact, a product of deliberate, if at times subconscious, imperialist duplicity, operating very efficiently through the economy of its central trope, the Manichean allegory.[46]

Certainly, the tropes of binary opposition embedded in Lewis' textual discourse are loaded with deception and assumed truths that he never took on his shoulder to explain as if the mere assuming can suffice and replace explanation.

The pitfall of Lewis's discourse about Islam is that it presupposes the existence of a binary opposition between the West and Islam, between geography and religion. The arguments of Muslims lack of curiosity to discover Europe, Muslim rage, Muslim hatred, and Muslim anti-Semitism…etc. are constructed upon a fictional allegory of opposition and Manichaeism which the

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[45] Abdul JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," *Critical Inquiry,* 12:1, (1985), p. 65.

[46] Ibid., p. 61.

very fact of binary structure that Lewis upholds keeps feeding in vain. He is presenting to the reader a textual discourse of Alterity and Manichaeism, and he presupposes that the reader would take his discourse for granted. Said considers the discourse constructed on Islam to be a logical outcome of the consumerist tendency of the West and mainly America. Islam as a commodity for entertainment is targeted by the Manichean binary of good against evil or West against Islam. genuinely notices that Bernard Lewis and others satisfy a 'market' for representations "of monolithic, enraged, threatening, and conspiratorially spreading Islam' which is much greater, more useful, and capable of generating more excitement, whether for purposes of entertainment or of mobilizing passions against a new foreign devil."[47]

It is the driving force of the economy that pushes Lewis and others namely Samuel Huntington to construct this antagonistic binarism between the West and Islam. The representation of Islam as a malicious antagonist entity or identity that stands in an opposing direction assumes that there is a historical, rather ahistorical, clash between Islam and the secular and modern West. This is presented as truth- at least in the neo-conservatism mode of reasoning. As Chris Barker eloquently states that "truth is not so much found as made and identities are discursive constructions. That is, truth and identity are not fixed objects but are regulated ways that we speak about the world or ourselves."[48]

Despite the fact that Barker is discussing the irony behind the scientific certainty as claimed by structuralism and post-structuralism, but the claims of Lewis as far as Islam is concerned show up to be more ironic than the claims aforesaid. The lack of universal foundations to support his claim cannot but weaken his textual discourse. In fact, establishing the opposition between the West and Islam as two contrasting signifiers for the sake of constructing the meaning of conflict and clash cannot be easily decoded through the structural Manichean allegories. It is ethically and logically incorrect. The meaning that Lewis presents to his readership implies conflict and clash where/whenever the two constructed signifiers are at work in his discourse. Thus, Barker explains that "meaning is generated through the organization of signs that are held

[47] Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (London: Vintage, 1996), p. xxxviii.

[48] Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (2012), p.161.

together by cultural convention."[49] This cultural convention for the Western readership is not the same as for the non-Western readership; and, consequently, the meaning that Lewis sought to convey is "is continually deferred and supplemented."[50]

Meanwhile, besides Manichaeism, Intertextuality surfaces as another discursive means embedded within Lewis' discourse about Islam. Intertextuality is a key concept that has been developed in literary criticism with the very early insightful contributions made by the well-known Julia Kristeva in her "Word, Dialogue and Novel" and "The Bounded Text". The main idea in Kristeva's conceptualization of Intertextuality is that the text is in a constant and dynamic intersection with other texts. Besides, reading one text implies a reading of other ones within that text. In Kristeva's words "each word (text) is an intersection of other words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read."[51]

This revolutionary reading of the text as being in dynamic mingling with other texts on the terrain reshaped the orthodox understanding of texts as closed systems of meaning and the claims of the autonomy of texts. New horizons were explored with the elaboration of the function of Intertextuality in literary criticism. As Maria Alfaro pertinently suggests:

> There are always other words in a word, other texts in a text. The concept of intertextuality requires, therefore, that we understand texts not as self-contained systems but as differential and historical, as traces and tracings of otherness, since they are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structure.[52]

The text is always space where other texts are at play and referentiality is at its highest level. The old text referred to in the new text may exist within the latter but in different contexts or as Kristeva puts it: "Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., p. 160.
[51] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. Thomas Gora et al., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 66.
[52] María Alfaro, "Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept," *Atlantis*, 18: 1/2 (1996), p. 268.

and transformation of another."[53] Barker explains that "the concept of intertextuality refers to the accumulation and generation of meaning across texts where all meanings depend on other meanings generated and/or deployed in alternative contexts.[54]

This new approach to the text inaugurated what Roland Barthes declared later on in his famous essay as "The Death of the Author". Without a doubt, Roland Barthes remains one influential critic today and his theorization of the impossibility of tracking the voices in the process of writing and the dissolve of identity as well as he claims that "writing is that neuter, that composite, that obliquity into which our subject flees, the black-and-white where all identity is lost, beginning with the very identity of the body that writes.[55]

The search for meaning within the self-confined structure of the text is no longer at work since the outcome meaning generated by a text differs extremely from one reader to another depending not on the structure of the text but on the degree of external referentiality or intertextuality it contains. Barthes maintains that:

> any text is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of code, formulae, rhythmic models, fragments of social languages, etc., pass into the text and are redistributed within it, for there is always language before and around the text. Intertextuality, the condition of any text whatsoever, cannot, of course, be reduced to a problem of sources or influences; the intertext is a general field of anonymous formulae whose origin can scarcely ever be located; of unconscious or automatic quotations, given without quotation marks.[56]

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[53] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. Thomas Gora et al., p. 66.

[54] Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies*, p. 111.

[55] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. 49.

[56] Roland Barthes, *"The Theory of the Text,"* in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Routledge & Kegan Paul, (1981), p. 39.

Indeed, the proliferated emphasis on the way texts are dialoguing, intersecting and referring to each other hastened the shift of critical theories from the text itself to the way these texts relate to each other. This shift was genuinely made by Edward Said in his *Orientalism*.

Dissimilar to the literary criticism that stresses on the textuality and intertextuality in the light of art and creativity, Said highlights the extent to which the rhetoric of intertextuality can be politicized. Edward Said's reflections on the critical concept of intertextuality is highly political; and he claims that the humanistic scholars who are "happy with the notion that texts exist in contexts"[57] confirms the limits of authors' creativity in writing due to the pressures of conventions, predecessors, and rhetoric styles, but these scholars are reluctant to "allow that political, institutional, and ideological constraints act in the same manner on the individual author"[58]. This distance between intertextuality and political domain refers to the claims of the "purity of knowledge" as Said strongly suggests that "this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical."[59] Henceforth, as Balzac was influenced by the conflict between Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Cuvier when he wrote *Comédie Humaine* and famous philosophers such as John Locke and David Hume were influenced by the racial theory on slavery and colonialism,[60] it would sound methodologically inaccurate to deny the political and ideological influence of post-Soviet politics on Lewis's texts. Intertextuality is highly at work with the French Thomassy's presence in Lewis' and Huntington's arguments.

By the same token, it goes without saying that texts are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures as Kristeva and Barthes suggest; and in the same way, Bernard Lewis's essays and books are concerned as text despite the difference in genre. His texts are not autonomous from their cultural and historical context but rather the outcomes of these. They are repetitions and transformations of other textual structures and genres and sometimes visual genres as well. Nevertheless, this rhetoric of intertextuality in Lewis' texts is not a strategy but rather a tactic and highly ideological. As Massignon had repeated the French Orientalists,[61]

[57] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 13.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., p. 10.
[60] Ibid., p. 13.
[61] Ibid., p. 271.

Joseph Conrad had repeated Flaubert[62] and the prophet Mohammed is repeated through history and nations in Orientalist texts, Lewis's arsenal of depictions and adjectives and allegories are mere repetitions of early and contemporary Orientalist. Lewis delves in the process of writing about Islam with the whole Orientalism legacy, a legacy which he does not deny to be one of, in mind and jotted down in his textual construction with "unconscious or automatic quotations, given without quotation marks"[63] as Barthes has described intertextuality. This last haunts Lewis's texts and denies them authenticity since the original writer is not Lewis and this latter's texts are not but mere repetitions and transformations of other textual structures and genres as Kristeva authentically declares. Even if intertextuality grants texts richness and depth, but Lewis' one weakens and unveils his tendency to perpetuate asymmetric relations of power.

Quoting Orientalists consciously or unconsciously reproduces the same patterns of power relations. This intertextuality reproduces once more the Orient as the West has perceived it not as it is in reality; that is, the Orient is once again "almost a European (American) invention"[64] or more precisely "an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West.[65]

Firstly, the most salient feature of Orientalist textuality is the subjugation of the Orient/Islam and rendering it a mere subject for study and terrain for Alterity. This positioning of the Orient into the subject matter has always been the same as Said explains:

> the Orient and Orientals (are considered by Orientalism) as an "object" of study, stamped with an otherness-as all that is different, whether it be "subject" or "object"-but of constitutive otherness, of an essentialist character…. This "object" of study will be, as is customary, passive, non-participating, endowed with a "historical" subjectivity, above all, non-active, non-autonomous, non-sovereign with regard to itself.[66]

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[62] Ibid., p. 186.
[63] Roland Barthes, *"The Theory of the Text,"* p. 39.
[64] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p.1.
[65] Ibid., p. 5.
[66] Ibid., p. 97.

Secondly, besides the subjugation of the Orient and Orientals, the denial of voice to them remains another significant trait of Orientalist discourse. It has been perpetual since the Greek, Latin and Roman times to render the subjected Others voiceless; and this rhetorical practice knew its culminating point after the Muslim conquest of Spain causing a state of shock and trauma because "they could not understand how a "false" religion could possibly triumph over a true faith"[67] as genuinely explained by Bekkaoui. The immediate reaction to this swift conquest was taken by the church which declared that the enemies "must not be allowed to speak for themselves"[68] as put by Norman Daniel. The religious passion triggered the first rhetorical tactic against Muslims, and the communication was interrupted causing a one-way communication instead of double-ways one. Unilateral communication where the Westerner holds the ability to speak for himself as well as the audacity to speak on the behalf of others and to re-tell these Others (hi)stories and message. This was a spontaneous reaction to the speedy conquest which turned into more institutionalized intertextuality and discourse whereby a stream of power hegemony spread in the veins of the European knowledge about itself and others. Bell Hooks elucidates how Western discourse monopolizes the ability to speak:

> No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still colonizer the speaking subject and you are now at the center of my talk.[69]

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[67] Khalid Bekkaoui, *Signs of Spectacular Resistance: The Spanish Moors and the British Orientalism* (Casablanca: Najah El Jadida, 1998), p. 1.

[68] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 12.

[69] Bell Hooks, "Marginality as a site of resistance," in R. Ferguson et al. eds, *Out There: Marginalization and contemporary Cultures* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1990), p. 241.

Authentically, Hook observes the way the colonizer practices power over the voiceless colonized through dumping the latter down; and even more; the colonizer solicits the story of the colonized for the sake of re-telling his own story in such a way that it becomes the white man's story. It is not enough to dump down the others when you can steal their (hi)stories.

In the same vein, Bernard Lewis denies voice to the Muslim Other and still re-tells the history of Muslims to the West as well as to the Muslims themselves and to the whole world of course. The question here does not revolve around voicing the Muslim Self from within Lewis's texts but rather from without. Muslims should study themselves and present their historical identity to the West. Nonetheless, a great deal of the Muslim cultural and textual heritage still reside in the West due to various complex historical reasons mainly colonialism that drained the libraries, historical sites and private archival collections in the Muslim lands. Moreover, hundreds of years before that, the Muslim expulsion from Andalusia and Sicily engendered great loss in Muslim heritage; and European piracy aggravated this loss. The Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El escorial where the famous library is situated for centuries in Spain stands tall as a historical testimony for how a great deal of Muslim cultural and textual heritage still resides in Western archives. Accordingly, because of these complex historical reasons, Muslims are denied first-hand access to these archives which Bernard Lewis and other scholars, on the other hand, enjoy and (mis)use with the mindset of an Orientalist. I will be discussing this extensively in the next section.

2. Re-Questioning the Argument of Muslim Lack of Curiosity and Discovery: Unveiling Muslim History of Discovery

a. Euro-Centrism and Islam: Deconstructing the Western Hegemony over Muslims' History

Accurately, history has become a space for negotiating the relationship between the East and the West. Though, this negotiation takes many shapes and dimensions that could range from incriminating that same history or liberating it from all claims or manipulations. The ab/use of history serves very narrow visions that are shaped by immediate political or ideological agendas. Meanwhile, the re-construction of history can also be used for humankind interests that are far beyond immediate, narrow or personal claims. This re-reading of history serves the appeals of reconciliation and dialogue of peoples, races, civilizations, and nations. It serves, more precisely, the individual beings as being part of a more interacting, communicating and interdependent world. The re-construction of history, thus, is a two-edged sword that could be employed either for humanity ruin and fragmentation or for the calls for dialogue and collaboration. It all depends on the ends and goals behind each interpretation of history.

Accordingly, history is being taught and transmitted through means of education, communication and family stories as Mitri puts it.[1] Alas, this process of teaching and transmission of history is loaded with discourses that make history say more than it knows about itself; in the sense that the discursive readings of history, through the politics of inclusion and seclusion, engrave hatred in the memory of civilizations and peoples. Tarek Mitri continues "if the past does not meet the needs of the present, another one can always be invented."[2]

[1] Tarek Mitri, "Christians and Muslims," p. 7.
[2] Ibid., p.17.

Nevertheless, the crusades and the geographical proximity have pushed the Arabs and European Christians into a sort of destiny that made the encounter of the two inevitable. After the Abbasid failure to conquer Constantinople, the Ottomans, later, succeeded in this mission and pushed Christian Europe further within its own inlands. Constantinople, then, was re-inscribed a new name Istanbul and the Christian identity converted to be Islamic. The failed attempt to conquer Vienna in 1683 had slowed down this vast Ottoman spread but Vienna awoke the next day to find the Muslim neighbor at doors. Besides, the crusades had played an important role in tracing the development of Muslim awareness about the Christian other. Morocco, the Muslim Westernmost part, had also, received a great portion of the Moriscos who held significant knowledge about Europe and suffered forcible expulsion from Andalusia; and the geographical proximity to Christendom, had made this Muslim nation a target for early European imperialism starting with the Portuguese attacks and outposts and followed by the Spanish who inherited the Portuguese colonies in Morocco. The British, as well, took their share in Moroccan through seizing Tangier from 1661 till 1684.

With this European imperialism and early modernism, Arabs grew more concerned with the European neighbor who spared no effort to conquer them. Numerous accounts are found in archives held in almost all Arab libraries from Almaghreb in the West to Syria and Turkey in the East. Accounts of captives, letters, embassies…etc. engraved within them the Arabs description of early European modernity including the way of life, politics, military, and economy…etc. These accounts varied from admiration to detest even within the same account. Meanwhile, many historians argue that Muslims did show little interest in European modernism; this includes Bernard Lewis and others who followed the spirit of Lewis mainly Stuart B. Schwartz whose book reinforced the Euro-centric tendency to make out of Europe the center of history. Stuart's book is an anthology on European history and Europe in the eyes of non-European nations. This history and perception did not include the Arab lands as if those geographical ethnical other/neighbor did not exist less or more. When Lewis shows the lack of curiosity among Muslims to discover and know about Europe through tackling the "rare", as he purports, sources where few Muslims had talked about Europe, Schwartz, reluctantly, did not include any material by Muslims on Europe in his anthology as if the chapter on the history of the encounter between Muslims and Europeans

was tiny enough to be invisible to attract the attention of Schwartz and the other scholars in his collection.

The twenty scholars who took part in Schwartz' anthology on the reciprocal representation of Europe and the rest showed little or no interest in the encounter and representation of Europe in Muslim accounts. This remarkable lack of interest among these twenty scholars overlooks a huge body of literature and archives that took Europe as its subject matter. At least, the answer-back provided by post-colonial Arab scholars such as Nabil Matar, Aziz al-Azmeh, Said ben S'aid…etc. creates a kind of balance vis-à-vis this important chapter in the history of Europe as well as a significant one in the history of Muslims.

Nevertheless, the Muslim presence and influence in the perception of Europe in other cultures remained significant. Chandra Richard de Silva, one of the historians in Schwartz' anthology, traces the influence of Muslim merchants from the near East and Moorish North Africans on the way the people of South Asia's perceived of the European Portuguese at the time of this latter's massive expansion. At the bay of the south Asian ports, Vasco da Gama hesitated to land and sent one of his men ashore at Calicut where he "was taken to two north African Muslims who could speak Castilian and Genoese."[3] These two Moorish Muslims and others were worthy trustees for the south Asian portal cities' rulers; and they were, besides other near Eastern Muslims, reliable references to whom these South Asian peoples had constructed their representation of European nations. Indeed, at the time of the European arrival to the Pacific Ocean and South Asian ports, hundreds and thousands of Muslims from North African and Near East were already established as trustworthy fellows. Schwartz clarifies:

> When the Portuguese first came to the East, they brought with them a tradition of hostility to Islam. They hoped to find the kingdom of "Prester John," a Christian ally who would help turn the flank of the Islamic assault on Christendom. Instead, they

[3] Stuart Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.295.

found Muslim merchants, including some of their old enemies, the "Moors" of North Africa, dominating the trade of the Indian Ocean.[4]

Even when the anthology fails to notice the importance of Muslim representation and knowledge of Europe, Muslims worldwide played crucial roles in influencing the way other nations and peoples perceived of Europe. It was a "Tunisian Muslim who met the first member of da Gama's crew to go ashore at Calicut;"[5] and when da Gama went ashore and had an audience with the king of Calicut, it was another Muslim who "provided him with a nights' lodging in his own house."[6] If they had influenced the perception of South Asian peoples of Europe, how could not the Muslims develop an important body of literature about Europe? This should not be reluctantly overlooked when European history in relation to other nations and peoples happens to be the scope of the study.

Without a doubt, geography, as one of the ancient sciences, has been at the center of interest of Muslims. It goes without saying that geography reached its high watermark with the works of Ptolemy; yet, denying the substantial contributions and leading works of Muslims in this field of research when this field was doomed to vanish when the Dark Ages set in is either a reluctance or conscious politics of exclusion. If Muslims lacked curiosity in Europe as a site for exploration, as Lewis argues, Europeans, in the other bank of the Mediterranean Basin, did the same "under the influence of the Biblical outlook we find men denouncing the desire for investigation, and curiosity for knowledge and science, as vain and called such pursuit magic art."[7]

Indeed, when the church had shackled European search for knowledge in the Dark Ages, Islam, on the opposite, encouraged Muslims to explore Allah's creations and to travel in order to see His Mighty on earth as many verses in the Quran directly incited.[8] Besides, the pillar of Hajj in Islam encouraged thousands of Muslims to cross thousands of kilometers and "the itineraries and

[4] Ibid., p. 297.
[5] Ibid., p. 298.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Walled Al-Monaes, "Muslim Contributions to Geography until the End of the 12th Century AD," *GeoJournal*, 25:4 (1991), p. 393.
[8] Ibid., p. 394.

topographical descriptions of the ninth and following centuries were a natural product of the "Hajj" as the pilgrimage was called."[9] Not only the Divine incitement but also the expansion of political power, trade and the support of Caliphs had played a significant role in boosting the geographical research.

With these Divine and earthly push factors, Muslim scholars dominated the geographical domain. Ibn Fadlan was sent by the Caliph Al-Mugtadir in 921 to the king of Volga Bulghars, and he wrote an account of the Volga-Caspian regions. Ibn Hawqal who lived between 943 and 973, was one of the most prominent travelers; Al-Mas'udi, also, figures as an indispensable source for today's scholars who seek to know about Muslim travel and geographical knowledge. His travels to, India, Sind, Punjab, KonKan, Malabar, the China Sea, Zanzibar, and Madagascar…etc. are recorded in his book *Maruj AI Dhab wa Maadin Al Jawahe*. Al-Madisi "was another famous traveler whose geography was widely recognized in the West;"[10] he took upon him the duty of collecting data from all parts of the Muslim dominion and write them down for Muslims to be guided by them. Additionally, the Tangerian Ibn Battuta who started his long journey from Tangier to the near and far East passing through Alexandrian, Turkestan and reaching Asian Minor, Russia and "perhaps reached Siberia."[11] All of these, and other literature on *al-Masalik wa-Almamlik/Routes and Kingdoms* and Astronomical and Mathematical geography, enriched the Muslim geography.

Finally, at the time of the decline of the Greek and Roman, Persian …etc. leading positions in the domain of human knowledge, Muslims, as a rising dynamic component, took upon themselves the task of leadership in all fields; and geography took its share in Muslims interests. One might ask, why few Muslim scholars are mentioned when it comes to the discovery of Europe which is the main argument of Bernard Lewis in his seminal work "The Muslim Discovery of Europe". Besides, the claim that Muslim jurists forbade Muslims from traveling to non-Muslim lands is misunderstood by Lewis in *Islam and the West*. The rich literature produced by Muslim

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 396.
[11] Ibid.

travelers and geographers reflects the true nature of the Islamic civilization: that of exploration and knowledge.

Nevertheless, Bernard Lewis, who has established himself as an authority in the Muslim affairs be it political, historical or cultural and geographical…etc., disagrees with that and claims that Muslims lacked interest in discovering Christian Europe. His contribution to the scholarship on Muslim territories and populations raises imperative questions vis-à-vis the history and present of the mutual relationship between the Christian West and Muslim East and the various manifestations of these relations: conflicts, peace or truce times. His numerous academic productions provide a worthy platform for relative negotiation and re-writing of the history of the two aforementioned entities-if one could liberate him/herself from asymmetric and Eurocentric traditions of taking the East as an object of study with a relative or complete denial of the emancipation of the subaltern East in this unbalanced case. His whole project, yet, falls dramatically in what Edward Said describes as Orientalism but in academia. To read Bernard Lewis from a subaltern perspective opens horizons for critical authenticity that seeks to undo a long tradition of imperialism and Orientalism and, by the same token, strives for the liberation of the Self from the Western hegemony over knowledge and by logical reasoning overpower. The various discourses that differ in time and place that sought to represent the history of the subaltern, as Ranajit Guha genuinely elaborates which will be tackled in a while, are still in practice and reinforcing the same rhetoric of empire.

Lewis, more famous as a historian of Islamic civilization, delves into studying the history of the relationship between Islam and the West. His contributions to the re-reading and revisiting of history foreground and fuel the same Manichaeism of binaries and ideological assumptions that are discussed intensively in Said's *Orientalism*. One of his earliest articles, which he inflated into a book twenty-five years later with total fidelity to the original title, is *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. The article covers the medieval and crusades era until the 14th century. The main argument here is that Muslims lacked and rejected any interest in discovering Europe. He argues that Muslim writers devoted little space in their accounts of the ninth and tenth centuries on Europe and the so few pages that were to relate the European peoples and geographies were loaded with adjectives that denote the nature of barbarism. This, and other views, inscribed in Muslim

literature of the world originated from the Greek as an effect of translation; and amongst the most prominent names, although few as claimed by Lewis, of the ninth century was Sa'id ibn Ahmed the Qadi of Toledo who wrote in 1068 a geographical account where he divided the human race into two major categories. The first comprises the Arabs, Persians, Egyptians, Jews…etc. who concerned themselves with sciences, and the second category was constituted of the white Northern/Frankish Europeans and the black Southern Africans who did not show as intelligence as the peoples of the first category.[12] The second Muslim scholar was the Arabophone Persian Ibn Khurradadhbeh whose work in the postal service urged him to write his geographical account where he named the four major parts that compose what he called the 'inhabited world': Europe, Libya, Ethiopia, and Scythia.[13] Besides, his contemporary Ibn Rosteh added some details about Europe, precisely, the twelve islands that compose what is known as Bratiniya. In the tenth century, "rather fuller information was available among well-informed circles in Baghdad."[14] Building on an account written by a Frankish bishop, the knowledgeable Masudi "was able to attempt a rather unflattering description of the northern peoples."[15] Lewis advances that through these and other accounts, a scene of what the pre-Crusades Europe looked like in the eyes of Arab and Persian writers is palpable. "Wild and primitive Christian tribes called Galicians and Basques", "a savage people called the Lombards" and "fire-worshiper" such were the "barbarian" Europeans in the Muslims' eyes.

Besides, the scarcity of Muslim texts on Europe stems out from what Lewis calls the "iron curtains- between Islam and Christendom"[16] that the medieval religious fervor had constructed except for some commercial and diplomatic missions. The famous embassy of al-Gazal from Gordova to the land of the Vikings and the much-studied account of Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub al-Israili to Otto through France, Germany, and the Slav lands illustrates this. Lewis claims, meanwhile, that the "few intrepid travelers whom business or diplomacy took across the border seem to have been

[12] Bernard Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 20:1/3, (1957), p. 409.
[13] Ibid., p. 410.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 411.

mainly Jews or Christians"[17] while the Mohammadans would not care for crossing the 'religious limits' to the lands of the infidels. Even the long centuries stretching from the twelfth to the fourteenth shows how little the Muslims had known about Europe except what Western parts namely the Andalusian and the Sicilian had to supply in terms of literature even if Idrisi and ibn Sa'id had provided significant information on Italy and Frankish Europe. In effect, unlike the vast interest shown by the Muslims to the Greek, Syriac, and Persian at the beginning of their era, "not a single translation into a Muslim language is known of any Latin or Western work before the seventeenth century."[18]

Lewis provides explanations for these 'frustrating' rarities in the Muslim knowledge of Europe. The first explanation is that "Christian Europe had little or nothing to offer, but rather flattered Muslim pride with the spectacle of a culture that was visibly and palpably inferior;"[19] the second explanation lies in the fact that the Muslims rejected Christianity since it was an earlier and imperfect sort of religion succeeded by a perfect final religion which is Islam; consequently, Muslims rejected its civilization by virtue of the logic. In brief, "Christian Europe was still an outer darkness of barbarism and unbelief, from which the sun-lit world of Islam had little to fear and less to learn."[20]

Many have been influenced by Lewis's spirit. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod comes to the same conclusions as Lewis. He, through examining the history of the Arabs in the Levant comes up with the same proposal of lack of interest in Europe; and this shortage of curiosity was generated by the feeling of superiority in the Middle Ages among the Muslims. It was the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon that triggered the alarm of the weakness of the Arabs contrarily to what they have been assuming for centuries. Quite similarly, Charles Philip Issawi claims that the lack of interest in Europe was due to the feeling of hostility towards Europeans which drove the Arabs to write but a few accounts on that religious foe. Issawi's argument revolves around tracking the history of the "clash between cultures" in the Near East; and the pattern of these conflicts dates back to 2000 years ago as he claims that "alien, dynamic and intellectually more advanced' societies seek to

[17] Ibid., p. 413.
[18] Ibid., p. 415.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., p. 416.

dominate 'less advanced' societies."[21] The examples he presents are numerous just to mention few; the clash between the Greek and Semitics and the Muslim and European cultures…etc.

On the other hand, Tahar Labib argues for another vision. He claims that Muslims were not interested in discovering Europe in the medieval era because the latter did not offer them what other destinations did. A destination such as Asia was favorable since developed and important Empires and civilizations, in terms of scientific and institutional organization, existed then such as Persia, China, and India. Tahar Labib clarifies the lack of curiosity that Bernard Lewis was reluctant to clarify through stating that "the West – i.e. Medieval Europe – which was not of interest to the Arabs (not because they were not curious enough about it, but rather because the West did not have anything to offer them)."[22] Unlike those claims, Labib refutes the idea that Arabs lacked the curiosity to discover Europe; and explains that Europe was not the best destination for exploration for Muslims. That was mainly due to the fact that Muslims were far more developed than the European civilization which was submerged in the Dark Ages.

The binaries and boundaries that existed between the Islamic and European Civilizations are mere ideological assumptions that are constructed at this contemporary phase of history. That is to say, they are made plausible to serve those who allude to the clash between Islam and Christendom. Lewis' argument along with Huntington's adheres to the 1980s political atmosphere that required new explanations to fit in with the Iranian Islamic Revolution and the Arab oil embargo in 1973. In brief, Muslims lacked interest in discovering Europe just because, as Lewis maintains "that one reason is certainly its anti-Westernism—the profound hostility to the West."[23]

In 1992, Lewis wrote a rather deep analysis of the "real" reasons behind the lack of curiosity shown by Muslims in history towards Europe. Thus, the shallow explanations forwarded earlier seem to reflect an early tendency to generalize over the Islamo-European debate which himself rectified later on in his interesting article "Legal and Historical Reflections on the Position

[21] Issawi Charles, *Cross-cultural Encounters and Conflicts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 3-4.

[22] Tahar Labib, *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), p.v.

[23] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, p. 114.

of Muslim Populations under non-Muslim Rule" in 1992. He reproduced the same article in the anthology *Islam and the West* two years later.

Bernard Lewis inaugurates this book by tracing unfamiliar affinities between Islam and Europe or rather the sisterhood relationship that ties Islam to Christianity/Europe as he states that "compared with the remoter cults and cultures of Asia and Africa, Islam and Christianity are sister religions, with an immense shared heritage and with a shared—or more often disputed—domain.[24]

Indeed, the shared heritage existed along with vastly disputed domains as a second face of the argument-unlike his first argument about the lack of curiosity yet the Manichean model is still prevailing in his discourse. Affinities and tensions tainted the encounter between Islam and Europe in the realm of history. Around this double vision, Lewis constructs his argument in the eleventh chapters/articles of which the book is made.

The anthology provides many readings in the history of Islam and Christian Europe ranging from the terminology of *Jihad* and Crusades that were the ultimate manifestation of the two religions' view of each other at the time when both were/are considering themselves as the final revelations of God/Allah to humanity and, by this comes, that they both sought deliverance fulfillment of God/Allah's destiny on earth. The two considered each other the infidel who must be brought to God/Allah's truly universal and exclusive faith or be subjugated to perish. Lewis conjectures that the conflicts "arose not from their differences but from their resemblances."[25]

Furthermore, the study of the legal reactions of Muslims scholarship to the growing Muslim minority in Christian lands included other episodes of the encounter between the two civilizations. Here, a profound tracing of the origins of lawmaking in the Muslim context took much of Lewis's endeavors. Starting from Quran, *Hadith*, *Sunna*, and ending with *Ijma'*, Muslims religious scholarship has managed to cope with the different exigencies that faced Muslim individuals a communion *in* and *out* of the Muslims lands: the *in* denotes *Dar al-Islam*/The House of Islam and *out* denotes *Dar al-Harb*/The House of War. There are two cases at play here; the first is of a convert from Christianity to Islam who lives in *Dar al-Harb*: should he travel to *Dar al-Islam* or stay; and the second case is "the question of a Muslim traveler to the lands of the

[24] Ibid., p. vii.
[25] Ibid., p. 175.

infidels for a voluntary or involuntary, brief or protracted visit was of more practical concern and receives more attention.[26]

Apart from travelers, others such as captives who were seized during war or in the sea were also targeted by this branch of religious scholarship and jurists offered substantial answers to how these wretched should act under these unnatural conditions. In the Maliki School, three main categories of jurists reacted differently to the issue of those Muslims who would travel voluntarily to the other Christian shores. The first category declares that "it is forbidden in all circumstances to trade with the infidel;"[27] the second category, more openly, invokes "the principle of *darura*, necessity, allows trade and travel only in order to secure supplies of foodstuffs in times of shortage;"[28] and the third category, supposedly hold a more tolerant attitude, allows "a Muslim to accept *aman* from a non-Muslim government and stay for a while in a non-Muslim country, with the status of *musta'min*."[29] Similarly, the concept of immigration that Muslim jurists had developed maintained that all Muslims who happen to be in Muslim lands and these lands are conquered by non-Muslims, they must immigrate to Muslim lands as what happened in Andalusia and Sicily when:

> No less a person than Ibn Rushd, *qadi*, and *imam* of the great mosque of Cordova and grandfather of the philosopher known in Europe as Averroes, laid down that the duty of *hijra* is eternal and that a Muslim must not remain where he is subject to the jurisdiction of the polytheists; but he must leave and go to the lands of the Muslims, where he will be subject to Muslim jurisdiction.[30]

Lewis' article concludes by a challenge to the contemporary Muslim jurists on how they would answer the category of the Muslim immigrants to the West today; Lewis is referring to the "Muslim minority communities formed by voluntary migration from Muslim lands to

[26] Ibid., p. 149.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., p. 54.

predominantly Christian countries that have never at any time formed a part of the House of Islam."[31]

b. Muslims Discovery of Europe: Re-Questioning Occidentalism

The hegemonic nature of the Orientalist discourse as discussed earlier and in the limelight of the Saidian theory of culture and imperialism leaves tiny spaces for other voices to speak and represent themselves in a polyphonic world. The flagrant "denial of coevalness, or allochronism" as genuinely developed by Johannes Fabian and which finds its genesis in the Orientalist anthropological legacy reflects this asymmetric relation of power. If the two much-debated West and East have anything in common today is that they share the same time, and this can be reinterpreted in fiction but not in reality. With this asymmetric power relation and Ego-centricity, the reproduction of discursive practices of binarism are everlasting as long as the balance of power is pro-West and the political dimension is engrained in the production of knowledge. The double-structure view would be overtaken in a progressive world where hybridity emerges a synthesis in the Hegelian sense.

In this scope, some promising voices surge to dismantle the structural traditions. Anouar Majid, who is one of the fine voices just mentioned, argues that "hybridity (the cause of so much trauma in the Third World) and syncretism are proposed as the best available models to dismantle the unproductive polarizations inherent in the totalizing narratives of difference."[32] Majid's aim in his book is to urge "a challenge to the West to re-imagine and re-understand Islam as a progressive world culture and a participant in the building of a multicultural and more egalitarian world civilization".[33] Meanwhile, he questions European capitalism, colonialism, nationalism, and secularism, as the whole set of concepts that tar the Eurocentric mindset; and he issues a call to the Arab and Muslim intellectuals to consider a post-colonial and post-Eurocentric world. The

[31] Ibid., p. 58.

[32] Anouar Majid, *Unveiling Traditions: Postcolonial Islam in a Polycentric World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), p.35.

[33] Ibid., p.12.

imagined Islam that seeks to annihilate the West throughout history needs to be re-discovered by Europeans themselves, and the duty of that task remains on the shoulders of Arab and Muslim intellectuals nowadays.

In the meantime, when Lewis strives to construct an image of Muslims who take full responsibility for their ignorance of Europe in the past, Matar strikes at the heart of Lewis' argument. The reasons advanced by Lewis to unveil the remarkable rarity of traveling to Europe among Muslims and to discover Europe are challenged by Nabil Matar. Lewis claims that the lack of curiosity and the injunctions of Muslim jurists forbidding traveling and trading with the infidel foes are behind the scarcity of records about Muslim travelers to Europe. Matar, on the other hand, argues that "trade and travel by Muslims to Christendom remained limited, but more because of the hostility of Europeans than the opposition of jurists."[34]

Besides the European hostility, these unfriendly fellows denied most of the Muslim travelers maritime transportation since they owned the vessels that roamed the seas. Even Muslim diplomatic dispatches were to wait for the European ships to set sail in their ports to be taken to their European destination as authentically put by Matar that "Muslims, from both the Mashriq and the Maghrib, were at the mercy of the Europeans since they could neither visit nor conduct diplomatic or commercial initiatives independent of the transporter."[35]

Furthermore, Europeans' fear of Muslim curiosity and interest in learning in general and the fluency of Muslim ambassadors, such as the one sent by Muley Ahmed al-Mansour to Queen Elizabeth in 1600 who was "conversant in European affairs,"[36] denotes the curiosity of visitors and travelers. Also, the Europeans grew uncomfortable about the amount of information that Muslims could gather once allowed unrestricted travel to their countries. Finally, Muslims feared captivity once they would arrive in the lands of the Christians. It was the fear from the *nasara* that restricted the great majority of Muslims to cross from the house of peace to that of war as Matar posits:

[34] Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p.10.
[35] Ibid., p. 11.
[36] Ibid.

> The captivity of kinsmen and kinswomen was a constant source of terror for Muslim relatives at home, a terror that was augmented by the arrival of the Morisco exiles, who brought with them tales, poems, and memories about torture and burnings that indelibly scarred the Magharibi mind about the lands of the Christians.[37]

Yet, the other face of the coin remains still ambiguous when it comes to unveiling the way Orientals perceived of the European Other. Here, problematic questions rise to unsettle the one direction discourse namely Orientalism as discussed earlier; and pave the way to the possibilities of another "parallel" discourse entitled Occidentalism as some Arab scholars tend to posit. One pertinent question then articulates: to what extent can we discern a "parallel Occidentalist" discourse produced in the East and targeted the West?

Many have attempted to determine the definition of Occidentalism and some have reluctantly associated it with Islam and violence. Ironically, the belated travelers that Ali Behdad has unmasked have managed to come out of the magical hat of Orientalism but in other fields not less artistic than travel writing. Several writings have been produced after the unexpected and quick collapse of the Soviet Union, the "villain" who stood against the American dream, follow the model of belated Orientalists. These belated Orientalists borrow, intertext and even go further to the extreme right in order to invent unprecedented spectrums of stereotypes about this new "villain" who stands in the shoes of the Communist bloc. Name such as Jamal Malik answers back to those who allocate Occidentalism to Islam and the rejection of the Western civilization mainly Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit's reductionist book *Occidentalism The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies.* Malik rephrases their argument stating that "they (Buruma and Margalit) conclude, Occidentalism is part of the counter-Enlightenment, a revolt against rationalism and secularism, but also against individualism, as well as against a soulless society addicted to creaturely comforts, animal lusts, self interest and security."[38]

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[37] Ibid., p. 13.

[38] Jamal Malik, "Orientalism and Occidentalism: The Case of Earl of Gleichen," *Islamic Studies*, 51:2 (2012), p. 127.

In other words, the structural vision that Lewis and Orientalism centuries before him has constructed still shapes the Western mindset when it comes to Islam and the Orient. The pre-assumption that a certain Islamic bloc or structure has always been in the oppositional direction to the Western bloc or structure is an epistemological and political strategy that re-produces the villain other for the sake of the internal audience and market especially after the downfall of the Soviet Union. This structural dualism is understood clearly in Lewis's theory of the secular West (Us) against the Muslim East (Them); and the main concern of this Muslim foe, as clear in his literature and historical discourse of Occidentalism, is to wipe out the infidel West. To be fair, Occidentalism in this sense of the other comprehends not only Islam but also all what is Occidental be it Chinese, Russian or Indian. In consequence, Occidentalism is not completely a Muslim discourse but a global Occidental spectrum that the "Islamist contribution to this track of Occidentalism is seen in the religious vision of purity according to which the idolatrous West simply has to be annihilated."[39] In brief, defining Occidentalism in Buruma and Margalit's way becomes: "Occidentalism according to this reading, is anything which is against the achievements of the West."[40]

Nevertheless, Malik assumes that the Arab and Muslim literature about the West can never be compared or be equal to a parallel discourse in the sense of Edward Said's definition of Orientalism; and this literature does not demarcate epistemological distinctions between the Occident and the Orient. Malik declares that "Occidentalism is neither comparable to modern academic knowledge of Occidental societies in the Saidian sense, nor is it an approach based upon ontological and epistemological distinctions between the Occident and the Orient."[41]

In fact, Malik's definition, which is more of a political and intellectual position than simply an argument, resembles Edward Said's hope at the end of his *Orientalism*. This re-production of the same system can only give birth to another failure of humanity which has always been the dreaded nightmare that haunted Said and many post-colonial intellectuals.

[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 125.

However, debating and challenging has always been a human attribute par excellence especially in academic field. Important Arab scholars have challenged Said and Malik's view that denies the existence of a parallel Occidentalist discourse that starts from the Orient and considers the Occident as a subject matter; and opted for the other path that confirms the historical reality of this parallel discourse of Alterity. Indeed, their argument is challenged by Aziz al-Azmeh who argues that the Arabs had constructed a discourse of Alterity against Others in his pertinent excavating article "Barbarians in Arab Eyes". Straightforwardly, he starts his article by a declaration that stresses on the human societies tendency to cultivate contraries basing on deviation and inversion as well as normality and pathology; he states that "historical masses thrive on the cultivation of contraries. States, civilizations and cultures expend much energy, not commensurate with, in fixing moral boundaries, consolidating their difference from outsiders, and otherwise encircling themselves with frontiers impermeable to the exotic."[42]

This cultivation of boundaries finds its fuel equally in oral as well as written cultures. His main purpose is to trace how the Arab culture had constructed a discourse of Othering in the Middle Ages by focusing on the notion of barbarism and how the Arabs had fostered this notion. All in all, given that Muslim and non-Muslim authors shared and perpetuated the same discourse, but religion played little or no role in this construal of the other as argued by al-Azmeh.

He maintains that the Arabs did not produce the notions of barbarism even if the cultural folklore included some images similar to that notion. Alternatively, he stresses on the idea of borrowing the conception of barbarian peoples from the widely disseminated knowledge of this kind in the Mediterranean. Specifically, he denies the European origins and tends to shed light on the syncretistic origins of Hellenistic, Iranian and Semitic, Chinese and Indian beginnings. Indeed, Europe, as al-Azmeh posits, was not familiar with the notion of barbarism and exoticism till the book of Idrisi was given as a gift to the king Roger of Sicily in 1154 which contained exotic descriptions similar to those of Pliny and Strabo about other far societies.[43]

[42] Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes," *Past & Present*, 134 (1992), p. 3.

[43] For an extensive discussion about the origins and development of these topoi of barbarism, see Ashis Nandy et al., *Barbaric Others: A Manifesto on Western Racism* (Londres: Pluto Press, 1993).

The Arab literature celebrated and even canonized these topoi and ethnographic representations as maintained by al-Azmeh. As early as the ninth and tenth centuries, the Arab accounts were established as canons when it comes to the ethnographic representations. Europeans as filthy peoples were also present in the Arab such as the Cordoban traveler who described the Galicians as people "who wash once or twice a year, and even then only in cold water"[44] and the Moroccan Al-Himyari who used the same images and statements in his geographical dictionary.

It is undeniable that Muslims translated numerous Greek and Roman accounts from which they drew the conception of the inhabited world. The Arab ethnology and ethnographic writings based their view of the different societies of the seven zones or *aqalim* on these translated sources. Therefore, the climatic determinism stressed in the theory of humor by the Greeks, was central in the ethnographic categorization of the inhabitants of the seven zones. The four climates, dryness, humidity, heat and cold worked together to "cook" different tempers and societies that are categorized mainly into four scales: "somatic humours of blood (hot and humid), phlegm (cold and humid), bile (hot and dry) and atrabile or black bile (cold and dry)."[45] According to these ethnographic interpretations, the third and fourth central zones included Arab land, North Africa, Iranian Lands, parts of China and the northern Mediterranean. The northern and the southern zones are mainly characterized by cold and hot climate and distempered inhabitants. The sixth zone is inhabited by the Frankish, Slavic, Turkic, Russians who are "melancholic and splendid folk, given to savagery and the cultivation of the arts of war and the chase to the exclusion of properly civilized pursuits;"[46] and might have some aspect of civilized societies. The barbarousness, as described by Ibn Fadlan in 921, of these peoples was manifest through three indices: filth, profligate sexuality and lack of jealousy and finally funerary rites. On the opposite, the Chinese and the Indians were depicted as highly civilized peoples capable of consummately civilized skills.[47]

[44] Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes," p. 6.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., p. 7.
[47] Ibid.

The inhabitants of the first zone are mainly black and this "blackness of colour caused by excessive exposure to the sun" caused a state of disnature[48]. The influence of the hot climate pushed the Negroes to develop erratic behavior, levity, and prodigious sexuality; and "much disposed to dance and rhythm."[49] These temperaments were reported and agreed by most of the commentators such as Mas'udi in the tenth century and later on by the celebrated Ibn Khaldun in the fifth century. Equally, the inhabitants of the northern zones were called the black of the north by virtue of "the action of opposites". Nature had played its coercion on them causing their eyes to be small and narrow nostrils. They were "a distortion of human standards."[50] All in all, the Arab writers for example Maqdisi, Dimashqi, Al-Idrisi…etc. represented most of the European peoples and others as barbarians and savages. In other words, the Khotan Turks were "cannibals", the Kirghiz Turks were "like animals" and savage, people of Norway were "savage" and inhabited the wild, Finns and Russ' saunas were "regarded as a makeshift dwelling to which these peoples would repair during their long winter hibernation."[51] At the time when it was the darkness and arctic cold that "reinforced the sense of barbarity", it was "the scorching sun which generated barbarism"[52] for the black and southern peoples.

The exotic representations of different inhabitants of earth go further to the extreme periphery of humanity in the Amazonian Islands where wonders and extreme exoticism were taking place to the end embodied in the antithesis of humanity. This antithesis was the Antichrist (*al-dajjal*) who waited in the Eastern parts of the Indian Ocean for release and the people of Gog and Magog as narrated by Ibn Khurdadhbih and Dimashqi.[53] The Antichrist and the people of Gog and Magog were the marginal forms of humanity. For the Arab-Islamic Culture, Gog and Magog were the antitheses of culture about whom a great deal of literature was collected. Gog and Magog were descendent of Japheth; and some Arab writers said that they were a cross between Turks and

[48] Ibid., p. 8.
[49] Ibid., p. 9.
[50] Ibid., p. 10.
[51] Ibid., p. 12.
[52] Ibid., p. 13.
[53] Ibid., p. 15.

Chinese but what was certain was that they "were short of stature, with broad noses."[54] In short, Aziz al-Azmeh, through the discussion of the various representations of the exotic Other, barbarian, savage, antithesis of culture, attempts to argue for the importance of *Adab* in the Arab culture to create a sense of unity. Through the use of these aesthetics of culture, the normative Self, who is the Arab in this case, was set against its antithesis; and this Self belonged to a higher culture and held a vantage point enabling a firm creation of boundaries and a discourse of exclusion.

Al-Azmeh's argument unfolds two main points. Firstly, through mining the Arab archives, he managed to bring Bernard Lewis's argument about the lack of curiosity among Muslims to discover Europe to demise. The ninth and tenth centuries Arab scholars, geographers and ethnographers that are discussed extensively in his article dismantles those claims forwarded by Lewis mainly about the rarity of the Arab source that took Europe as their matter of study. Even if Lewis discusses some Muslim texts from the tenth till the fourteenth century such as Ibn Sa'id and Idrissi…etc. but he always uses politics of exceptions to show that rarity is the rule and the exception would be to find Muslim texts on Europe. The relevance of al-Azmeh's article lies in the fact that it re-positioned the richness of texts on Europe as the rule and rendered the exceptions to its logical place. The general statements that Lewis issues such as: "It is remarkable that this is the only personal description of Western Europe that we have, by a named traveler from the Islamic world"[55] does not reflect the rarity of Muslim texts as much as it mirrors his reluctance and lack of the spirit of a historian to dig deeper and mine the archives instead of those authoritative declarations. Yet, the richness of the literature on Europe that challenges Lewis' assumptions and fuels what al-Azmeh calls a discourse of Alterity; and this happens to reproduce the same system of representation and power relations of the powerful and the powerless that Said has warned the Arab intellectuals to do. This is the Second point that al-Azmeh's article unfolds. His argument demarcates a total disagreement with Edward Said's warning that we cannot displace a system by a new one.[56] Whereas al-Azmeh maintains that the Arabs have constructed a discourse of Alterity

[54] Ibid., p. 16.
[55] Bernard Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," p. 413.
[56] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 327.

similar to Orientalism that Said had dismantled, this latter finished his book with a hope stating: "I hope to have shown my reader that the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism."[57]

The richness of the Arab archives about Europe is undeniable- the rarity is the exception- yet, is it accurate to assume the existence of a parallel discourse to Orientalism? To what extent can we discern a homogeneous ad monolithic rigid discourse named Occidentalism?

c. Muslim Discourses and Representations of Europe

On the opposite, Nabil Matar disagrees with Huntington and Lewis's arguments and theory about the potential clash between civilizations or religions and the rarity and lack of curiosity as exhibited by Muslims in discovering and traveling to Europe. Besides, Matar trespasses the argument maintained by al-Azmeh about the monolithic parallel discourse of Occidentalism as well. That is to say, the question of traveling and discovering has always been a sign for power and curiosity to knowledge denoting a sense of superiority and modernity that many of the Western scholars, namely Lewis, have associated with the West and denied to the East. Nevertheless, as shown by al-Azmeh, Arabs had translated a wide variety of accounts that were originally Greek, Roman, Persian, Indian as well as Chinese; and had added to these accounts a great deal themselves via traveling to other geographies. Thus, traveling was never a Western attribute as many have attempted to claim but rather a shared action practiced by almost all societies and cultures. Matar explains that "western historians, cultural analysts, and literary critics have viewed the record of early modern travel and exploration as exclusively Euro-Christian, demonstrative of modernity, superiority, and advancement."[58]

This is a pertinent remark that Matar has shed light on since this practice of exclusivity entails a hegemonic tendency and a flagrant denial of the Other's literature of traveling and discovery. The blatant and unexcused prevalence of rarity of the Arab-Islamic travel, exploration and geography accounts is (ab)used by these historians and cultural analysts to argue for a shortage

[57] Ibid., p. 328.
[58] Nabil Matar, *In The Lands of the Christians* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xiii.

in curiosity to knowledge by Muslims instead of taking the burden of digging deep in the archives to unveil the truth about Muslim exploration that has been buried under layers of historical oblivion. It is even deplorable to exclude the long history of the Ottomans whose dominion reached from the North African regencies in the West till the Russian and Chinese borders in the East, the golden age of Andalusia whose scholars, travelers and embassies had ventured in almost all of the European parts at the time when this later was sinking in the dark ages; and finally the Moroccan merchants and embassies who were sent by almost every celebrated sultan to European nations. This rich history, when both of the banks of the Mediterranean basin were exhausted by Muslim and Arab travelers, geographers and ethnographers…etc., cannot be dismissed by the mere pretext of shifting the power balance in favor of the West. In 1611, Ahmed bin Qasim, still bearing in mind the Spanish expulsion of Andalusians, went on an embassy to ransom some Muslim captives in Spain and met a Dutchman who conversed with the Moroccan ambassador and concluded, in an amazed tone: "We are amazed at you: you know languages, read books, and have traveled in the cities and countries of the world. And yet, you are a Muslim."[59] Ahmed Bin Qasim stands for the persona of the Muslim Self who has been denied agency, exploration, and knowledge by the reluctant Western historians and cultural analysts with whom Matar inaugurated this seminal book. Instead of constructing a Muslim identity that was anti-exploration and enclosed, these Western voices, as well as Arab ones, should mediate the Muslim identity that Ahmed bin Qasim truly represents: a Muslim endowed with knowledge, multilingualism, agency and most of all subjectivity.

Yet, bin Qasim and other Muslim and Arab scholars did intertext and quote each other through space and time which confirms to some extent al-Azmeh's argument of a discourse.

Dissimilar to al-Azmeh, Matar argues that Muslims have constructed a wide variety of discourses on the non-Arab and non-Muslim Others; yet, these discourses were not as institutionalized and rigid as the controversial Orientalism. Matar foregrounds his argument through revisiting Aziz al-Azmeh's standpoint which suggests that all societies- Occidental and Oriental- tend to formulate a discourse of Alterity toward the others. Matar also refutes the claim

[59] Ibid.

of Sadiq Jalal al-Azm who posits that the Arab literature has developed a discourse similar to Orientalism which al-Azm calls "Orientalism in Reverse" or "Occidentalism".

Sadiq Jalal sharply criticizes Edward Said and leftist Arab intellectuals for their constant infatuation by Islam mainly after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and he describes them as "a revisionist Arab line of political thought."[60] These "revisionists", including some Arab former radicals, ex-communists, unorthodox Marxists and disillusioned nationalists and names such as the famous poet Adonis, Anouar and Malik and Ilias Khoury, shared, according to Sadiq Jalal, a central thesis that states "the national salvation so eagerly sought by the Arabs since the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt is to be found neither in secular nationalism (be it radical, conservative or liberal) nor in revolutionary communism, socialism or what have you, but in a return to the authenticity of what they call 'popular political Islam'."[61]

He criticizes this post-Iranian revolution Arab movement for its hybrid ideological belongings as well as for the shared central thesis that perpetuates the same discredited Orientalism apparatus it sought to bring into demise mainly the separation between the East and the West. In other words, the literature produced by these Arab intellectuals on the Occident reproduced the same binary opposition that Edward Said ostensibly sets on deconstructing.

Along his criticism of these Arab intellectuals whom he labels *Islamanic trend*, Sadiq Jalal opposes Said's methodological approach especially when this later associates Orientalism with the European Renaissance and declares that this Cultural-Academic and Institutional Orientalism "can hardly be said to have existed, as a structured phenomenon and organized movement, prior to the rise, consolidation, and expansion of modern bourgeois Europe."[62] Moreover, Said digs deep in the history of Orientalism and traces it back to Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Dante. Accordingly, it is methodologically inaccurate to maintain an ambiguous attitude towards the history and original dating of the academic and institutionalized Orientalism. Also, Said never discusses the historical ascent of this phenomenon; or, precisely, "he does not consistently adhere to the above approach either in dating the phenomenon of Orientalism or in interpreting its historical origins

[60] Sadik Jalal Al-Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin*, 8 (1981), p. 22.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., p. 6.

and ascent"[63] as put by Sadiq Jalal. Said's conception of Orientalism seems to be unilinear and flowing straightforward from Homer to modern American Orientalism.

Having that said, the Arab intellectuals whom Sadiq Jalal criticizes for constructing a discourse on the West that perpetuated the binarism of Orientalism have to some extent reacted the post-colonial context they have been routinely facing. Nevertheless, if those have produced a discourse of Alterity and dualism similar or reverse of Orientalism, what can we say about pre-colonial Arab travelers, geographers, and scholars who took the Occident as their subject matter?

Quite differently, Nabil Matar mines in Western and Eastern archives and trespasses the post-colonial intellectuals discussed by Sadiq Jalal for the sake of bringing to the presence what the East/West relationship was like. Matar resembles Anouar Majid's outstanding argument, as discussed earlier along with Edward Said, which states that the Islamic world is an example of hybrid society par excellence and a groundbreaking model for multiculturalism and syncretism in the polycentric world of the twenty-first century. Distinct to what Sadiq Jalal posits, deconstructing the binaries in academia remains the synthesis to the dualism of Orientalism and Occidentalism as perceived by one more post-colonial Arab intellectual that escaped Sadiq Jalal's *Islamanic trend*. Hybridity as a synthesis, in this sense, surfaces as "the best available models to dismantle the unproductive polarizations inherent in the totalizing narratives of difference"[64] as genuinely put by Anouar Majid.

In his pertinent article "The Question of Occidentalism in Early Modern Morocco", Nabil Matar argues that Muslims have constructed a wide variety of discourses on the non-Arab and non-Muslim Others; he, also, delves in constructing a new argument in respect to the Arab and Islamic perception of the others especially the European one. He posits that Muslims have built different discourses about the others "depending on the religious or ethnic Others with whom" they were engaged.[65] That is to say, Morocco had to deal with specific Others namely the "peaceful religious Other (the Jews)" and the adversarial European Christians as well as the ethnic group of Berbers. Other parts of the Muslim lands had to engage with Jews, Christians and other far Eastern societies

[63] Ibid.
[64] Anouar Majid, *Unveiling Traditions*, p. 35.
[65] Nabil Matar, "The Question of Occidentalism in Early Modern Morocco," in *Postcolonial Moves, medieval through Modern*, eds. Ingham & Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003), p. 155.

and ethnic groups. Besides the regional and ethnic conditions, schools of jurisprudence and other circumstances have influenced the construction of Islamic discourses about Others. All in all, Matar, through focusing on Morocco, argues that "the discourse that Islam constructed of the West/Europeans/Christians was not a discourse of oppositionality and dichotomization"; and Muslims could not "produce a regime of rigid and discursive stereotypes in the manner of Orientalism."[66] Based on Said's conceptualization of the Orientalist discourse, mainly, the play of religion and media, Matar attempts to dig deep in the 'archeology of knowledge' in Muslim lands about the Others so that he could detect a dichotomizing discourse which he could not locate. Indeed, Orientalism "could not have emerged without the oppositionality toward the religion of the Other, and the material power to express in print, and therefore replicate, that oppositionality in societies where information had become centralized, mass-produced, and consumer-Oriented."[67]

These material conditions that the West witnessed were not available in Muslim contexts. Instead of perceiving Christianity as an opposite religion, Muslims considered it as a former revelation from God that was rectified by a final religion/Islam. This lack of oppositionality with the shortage in printing technology in Muslim lands did not produce the material conditions similar to the European context for a discourse of hostility that sought to quench the readership thirst for alien and exotic others.

In the tradition of Orientalism, binaries were set the extent to which they had become "structural and ontological" as Matar suggests. Ironically, the claims of the lack of points of contact between the Muslim East and the Christian West made it quite impossible for the two worlds to encounter each other let alone giving a chance to a love story such as that that characterized *Othello* and Desdemona's relationship to grow in these hostile contexts. Based on Foucault's reading of European history, Matar concludes that a discourse of difference, discrimination, and Alterity had superseded the discourse of resemblance and similitude which paved the way for the inevitability of confrontational contacts between the two polarized worlds. The seventeenth-century Europe engaged in a religious and national identity defined itself at the expense of excluding Muslims. These politics of inclusion and seclusion reigned over the

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p. 156.

European perception of the Self and the Other during the 17th century. In the other bank of the Mediterranean basin, this European stance toward possible Muslim citizens within was nothing like the Muslim theological framework concerning Christian and Jewish inhabitants of the Islamic lands. These politics of seclusion and inclusion that shaped the European Self-identification were not ingrained in Islamic thought and Self-identification especially when a wide variety of ethnic and religious groups inhabited within Islamic territories and under Islamic political rule and jurisprudence.

Dissimilar to the European discourse of Alterity, difference and vilifying, Muslims and mainly Moroccans, as maintained by Matar, did not construct a discourse of imaginary Others and did not agree upon a vilifying and discriminatory set of images and stereotypes towards the Europeans. Matar unfolds two chief reasons that prevented Moroccan travelers, geographers, and embassies…etc. from such a discredited cultural practice of Alterity and discrimination. The first leading factor that shaped Muslims' representation of the Europeans is mainly religious or as Matar puts it: "Muslim respect for the "prophet" of the Christians."[68] Thanks to the Quranic and *Hadiths* teachings, Muslims in general, not only jurists and travelers, were forbidden from vilifying Jesus the way Europeans did with the prophet Mohamed; on the opposite, respect was the most salient attribute of Muslim representation of Jesus. In the same context, the Christian Others were never demonized and dehumanized by Muslim writers as it was the case in the long tradition of Orientalism. Accurately, they fell in two categories: "they were either affiliated People of the Book who pay the *jizya* (tax) and are protected within the Islamic polity or misguided unbelievers who need direction and enlightenment."[69]

The comparative approach that Matar applied on two texts written in the 16th century by a Muslim and Christian led him to draw some noteworthy conclusions mostly about the extent to which the two representations and the process of Othering in both of them are quite dissimilar proving the absence of a unified Occidentalist discourse while the Christian text is loaded with vilifying Orientalist discourse. The first Mohammad Al-Majruti (1593) left for Istanbul in a diplomatic mission which he recorded and in which he included some descriptions of the Christian

[68] Ibid., p. 158.
[69] Ibid.

pirates. For Al-Majruti, "the Christians were the undifferentiated enemy, and adversarial horde that attacked and enslaved Muslims just because they were Muslims."[70] Opposite to Al-Majruti was Anthony Munday a British who re-wrote the captivity account of his countryman John Fox in Turkey. The captivity story was loaded with hatred and enmity towards Muslims which is quite reasonable on the behalf of a Christian enslaved subject. Yet, the newer version by Munday was quite different from Fox's in the sense that it was overloaded with animalization and dehumanization even if Munday might have never met a Turk.

Matar explains "such animalization stems from a theological model that underpinned the Euro-Christian, especially, discourse about Islam."[71] Religion as a driving force in the human perception of Others played a major role in the structural dehumanizing and animalization representation of Muslims in the 16th and 17th Europe; meanwhile, Muslim representation of the Christians was never similar to the Western one and religion did not fuel a tradition of animalization as it did in Europe. Even if some Muslim, mainly Moriscos, described the Christians as dogs but this was never a structural tradition in Muslim writings about the European Others as Matar summarizes this meaning through arguing that "animalization was not canonical."[72] This notion is quite different from Aziz al-Azmeh's main argument as discussed earlier. Whereas Matar denies the existence of a canonical animalization and dehumanization in the Arab discourse about the Christian Other, al-Azmeh maintains that the Arabs had, historically, developed a discourse of Alterity and canonized the notion of barbarism especially when they described Europeans.

The examples such as the Moroccans Ahmad bin Qasim (1603), Muhammad al-Guwazir (1610) and Mohammad abd al-Wahab al-Ghassani (1690), and the same goes for other Muslim nations, did not essentialize the Christians as animals but rather "retained a niche of hope for them" for converting to Islam and redeem themselves. In the same context, Matar genuinely notices the perpetuation of the word *Mahabba* (love/affection) in most of the official and diplomatic letters issued from Magharibi Muslim rulers to their Christian counterparts from the 13th to the 18th century.

[70] Ibid., p. 159.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., p. 160.

The second factor that restricted the negative representations of Europeans in Muslim, chiefly Moroccan texts, is the absence of print technology. Historically speaking, while the early discovery and use of print in Europe date back to the sixteenth century, print technology was not a common means in the Moroccan and major parts of Muslim milieu. Unquestionably, print in Europe, including engravings, woodcuts, and lithographs, had developed along with advertising as readership there had increased significantly after the European Renaissance. Writers and publishers had to convince their readership by the means and tropes of the imaginary, alien and strange plots; and the Orient was the site, better yet the setting, where this readership thirst can be slaked. That's why, this print apparatus has become a powerful resource for dissemination of information, literature, and works of art as well as social hegemony in Europe and better yet "a medium of propaganda"[73] as Matar eloquently puts it. That is to say, the print had "internationalized the representation of the Muslim", as Matar argues, because of the linkage created through printing between European nations. Subsequently, the same representations, images, and tropes were received and assimilated by French, Italian, Spanish…etc. intellectuals and writers who appropriated and reproduced them and intertexted the same spectrum of metaphors; and the same texts crossed national borders and gender differences to arrive in each book or art lover; as a result, "such repetition and inter-appropriation served to confirm prejudices and anxieties, while reprints served to consolidate them."[74]

Indisputably, Matar invokes the role of Islam in forbidding pictoriality which led to the nonexistence of the tendency to demonizing the Christian *nasara* and the limited circulation of texts about these last. This absence of print lessened the dissemination of knowledge about the European Others and "prevented the establishment of canonical texts/writers who would mediate stereotypes of power and domination."[75] Instead of print culture that is based on lies and imagination due to the market forces, Muslims developed a culture of manuscripts.

[73] Ibid., p. 163.

[74] Ibid., p.164. The same idea is further debated by Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016).

[75] Ibid., p. 165.

In brief, the "tolerationist" theology of the Qura'n and the absence of the printing press in Morocco", the same goes for all Muslims, prevented Moroccans, as well as Muslims all over the place, from essentializing and dichotomizing the European other. Instead, *Mahabba* and friendship was a prevailing demand on the behalf of Moroccan rulers as shown by Matar when he discusses how Muley Ismail had sent his ambassador Ibn Aicha to ask the daughter of Philip XIV for marriage, and how the letters of the same sultan to Britain included requests for alliance and peace. Matar clarifies that "in his mind (Muley Ismail), the reason for the North African-European/Muslim-Christian conflict was not theological essentialization of the Other but the usurpation of Muslim-Moroccan land."[76]

In a nutshell, on the opposite to what al–Azmeh has argued for when he posits that Muslims have developed a rigid discourse of Alterity towards the Christian European which was largely characterized by tropes of barbarism, Matar denies the existence of this structural Alterity or Occidentalism in the Islamic tradition. That is, according to Matar, when Occidentals have developed Orientalism and represented Arabs and Muslims as barbarians and sub-humans, Oriental Muslims, mainly Moroccans, were refrained from developing such a discourse of Alterity by virtue of religion and lack of material conditions to disseminate such a discourse. By the same token, if Muslims did not produce such a discourse in the pre-colonial era, how could they produce it in the post-colonial period? Sadiq Jalal's argument of the Arab intellectual's Occidental discourse after the Iranian revolution finds no historical origins as shown by Matar.

Moreover, in his article "Spain through Arab Eyes, c.1573-1691", Matar applies once more a comparative approach to scrutinize two Arab texts about Spain which are diverse in time in order to undermine the binary discourse alluded to by proponents of both Orientalism claimers such as Bernard Lewis and Occidentalism theorists such as Aziz al-Azmeh. Matar's foremost aim, yet again, is to prove that Muslims did not develop a rigid system of thought against Europeans; and to clarify that the early modern Arab voices were ignored causing a lack of historical approach vis à vis the Muslim heritage and perception of the Christian Other. With the exception of a few scholars namely: Tarif Khalidi's article "Islamic Views of the West in the Middle Ages",

[76] Ibid., p. 167.

Muhammad Nur al- Din Afaya's *Al-Gharb al-Mutakhayyal*, Abdallah Ibrahim's *Al-Markaziyya al-Islamiyya* and Thabit Abdullah's article "Arab Views of Northern Europeans in Medieval History and Geography" …etc., Matar argues that contemporary historians have ignored, better excluded, to study the Muslim perception of the European Christendom through history. These historians, instead, tend to generalize and assume that Muslim travelers, explorers, and geographers…etc. were mostly interested in the East, not the North; and that they were not curious about European geography, politics, and languages. This concerns, for the most part, Bernard Lewis who posits that Muslims were not interested in learning European languages. They were, Bernard Lewis argues, interested mainly in learning Arabic because it is the divine language and the language of all Muslims who want to practice Islam. Muslims, in addition, translated merely Greek philosophy and Roman books that dealt with institutions and organizations. Later on, the Persian language was allowed to be a secondary language and Turkish after that. Bernard Lewis, after he had elaborated on the European interest in learning languages, commerce and diplomacy to show European modernity and superiority, he claims that:

> there was no comparable interest on the Muslim side. While some Muslims, particularly in North Africa, appear to have acquired a working colloquial knowledge of French, Spanish, or Italian, this was purely for practical purposes and, in the main, at a low level of society with little or no cultural influence.[77]

Ahmed bin Qasim had described in his account how his Dutch interlocutor was shocked by the fluency and multilingualism of this Muslim fellow from Morocco in 1611. Bin Qasim reported the Dutchman's astonishment: "We are amazed at you: you know languages, read books, and have traveled in the cities and countries of the world. And yet, you are a Muslim."[78] The examples of these fluent and multilingual Muslims were numerous; and their fluency was not only for the sake of profession but also for translation, bridging the gap that Lewis endeavors to dismantle. Lewis continues:

[77] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 81.
[78] Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, p. xiii.

> knowledge of foreign languages was not an esteemed qualification-if anything, the reverse-and it did not lead to high office. Rather was it a specialized craft belonging to the non-Muslim communities and, like some other such occupations, marked with a stigma of social inferiority.[79]

On the opposite, fluent and multilingual Muslims and Jews who lived under Muslim rule were highly esteemed by Muslim rulers from Moroccan sultans till Caliphs in Medina, Damascus, Baghdad and later Istanbul. It was, also, Muslims from the Near East and North Africa who bridged the linguistic gap between the first Europeans, Portuguese to arrive at the Indian Ocean through their mastery of European languages as discussed earlier.

Matar analyzes the texts by Al-Ghassani, whose hostility towards the Spanish would be taken for granted as a hostile Muslim discourse against Europe, and Ibn Zenbel, whose text includes a tolerant view, illustrates for the heterogeneous nature of Muslim discourse. Matar argues that Al-Ghassani's view stemmed out from the political and religious violence leveled upon the Muslims in Andalusia and this view "was neither deeply ingrained nor inherent in Arab-Islamic culture and writings."[80] The intensity of the trauma and aftermath of the 1492 and 1609 acts had influenced Al-Ghassani's text on Spain. Ibn Zenbel, on the other hand, being a geographer, relied on religious legends and quoted from many Muslim geographers, historians, and ethnographers; besides, he relied on Spanish informants for more details. In brief, his account, although contained only a few pages about Spain, was loaded with admiration, wonders and Spain "appeared to him to be a land enjoying "divine favor"."[81] Ibn Zenbel was submissive to the course of history and did not wish, as other Muslims did, for the return of Andalusia to Islam; on the contrary, he admitted the continuity of history and as Muslims did by conquering Spain, Christians did the same thing. In short, his account did not comprehend denigration, hostility or antipathy

[79] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 81.

[80] Nabil Matar, "Spain through Arab Eyes, c.1573-1691," in *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters*, eds. Chatterjee, Kumkum, and Clement Hawes (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 124.

[81] Ibid., p. 126.

toward Spain; and as an alternative, it did stress on "the commercial enterprises that tied Spain to the Maghrib."[82]

Back to al-Ghassani, Matar explains how al-Ghassani was impressed by the modernity that Spain enjoyed such as the postal system, salaried workers, educational system…etc.; nevertheless, he never praised what he saw during his long stay in Spain and always yearned to the golden age of the Muslims in Andalusia and stressed on the eminent victory of Islam. This is genuinely put by Matar: "as he stepped on Spanish soil, he was stepping back into the golden age of Islam."[83] Indeed, al-Ghassani had his text filled in with Islamic zeal and nostalgia towards lost Andalusia; and he saw the Islamic civilization still in the place as he recalls the names of cities, rivers, mosques …etc; and wherever he turned, "al-Ghassani looked for and saw the greatness that had been Islam."[84]

Yet, the history of the Islamic civilization was overshadowed by the presence of the Spanish modernity which he had to doom by resorting to Ibn Khaldun's theory of the rise and decline of dynasties; that is, this presence was coming to a deadly end as much as the aged Spanish Dynasty was. Basing on Ibn Khaldun, al-Ghassani provided two factors that would lead to the collapse of this dynasty as he was an eye witness himself; the first was the inequality between the modern prosperous Spanish cities and the surrounding poor and pre-modern rural areas. The second factor was the decaying religion that falsified Jesus' teachings and changed the religion to trinity and celebration of the crucifixion…etc. This same factor with the help of Allah would assist the Muslims to re-conquer the lost land by virtue of the holy lineage of the virile Muley Ismail who was descendant of the prophet Mohammad. In this sense, despite the generosity of his hosts in Spain, al-Ghassani put limits and boundaries between him and them; and these limits were mainly religious as he was "proclaiming religion as the most distinguishing divider from his hosts."[85] Albeit, the Spaniards had done well in the worldly affairs but the Arabs, holders of the sacred Quran and true religion, would prevail.

[82] Ibid., p. 127.
[83] Ibid., p. 130.
[84] Ibid., p. 131.
[85] Ibid., p. 135.

Matar stresses on the differences of sensibility between Ibn Zenbel and al-Ghassani towards the lost Andalusia. Ibn Zenbel considered its loss as a self-inflicted result caused mainly by the wars waged between Muslim rulers there; and that Allah had stopped His support for the Muslims. This meant that the Christians had nothing to do with that unforgettable lost; and "there was nothing inherently adversarial or aggressive about the *nasara.*"[86] Al-Ghassani, on the other hand, blamed the Christian Spaniards for the unfair forced conversion and expulsion of his coreligionists; and he invoked Allah's destruction to be laid upon them and asked Allah to assist Muley Ismail to regain back Andalusia as the first *fatihin/*conquerors- Tarek Ibn Zyad and Mosa Ibn Nosair- had managed to do centuries ago.

In short, the expulsion of Muslims from all of Spain had left a memory of pain in all Muslim societies. Yet, the exiled Moriscos, "revolutionized the nature of the Magharibi encounter with Christendom since earlier Muslim historiographers had written next to nothing about contemporary "Europeans"" [87] as plainly put by Matar.

Almost all Muslim scholars, writers, and historiographers did not include Europe in their Writings except some travelers namely al-Ghazal in the 9th century, who wandered into Western and Central Europe, and Ibn al-Farid in the 10th century who visited Eastern Russia as detailed by Matar. Most of the rest did not show interest in Western Europe as was the case of Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Battuta, Muhammad bin Omar, Ibn Yaqoub al-Wallali… etc. However, with the Moriscos, Muslims grew aware of different nationalities in Europe such as *ingleez* (English), *ifranj* (French), *ajam* (Spaniards), *alman* (German)…etc.; and most of the exiled spoke Spanish beside Arabic which made of Spanish the language of diplomatic and ambassadorial exchanges for centuries. Moreover, the role of the expulsed Moors remains central in the development of Muslims, mainly North Africans, knowledge about European nations. This refutes Lewis' argument. It goes without saying, then, that the ninth and tenth centuries, as explained by Aziz al-Azmeh earlier, unfolded many Muslim texts.

To sum up, the literature produced by Muslims and Arabs with respect to Europe comprehended perplexing views; and many post-colonial Arab intellectuals namely Aziz al-

[86] Ibid., p. 138.
[87] Ibid., p. 128.

Azmeh, Sadiq Jalal, Anouar Malik, Nabil Matar...etc. have interpreted this body of literature differently. Rare or not, these ambassadorial accounts, captivity narratives, and official and sultanic records...etc. are indispensable materials in understanding the nature of the encounter between the Arabo-Islamic identities with the Euro-Christian ones. If these archives are worth anything, is that they either provide an outlet to free Muslims today from the clichés leveled upon them by Western and non-Western scholars such as Bernard Lewis or a prison that reinforces these clichés. That is, the rigid system of thought that Said and many others deconstructed has produced a knowledge about the Muslim other full of ideological representations and clichés such as 'fanatism', 'violence' and 'lust...etc.; and these representations can hardly be objective or in Said's words: "this knowledge is not therefore automatically nonpolitical."[88] This version of knowledge is a human failure since it seeks to demarcate limits and boundaries as well as asymmetric cultural relations. This is exactly what Said meant by: "I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one."[89] Meanwhile, the other face of the coin is that knowledge about the Euro-Christian other developed by Arabo-Muslim scholars in the post-colonial era. This knowledge about that cultural other is labeled Occidentalism by al-Azmeh and Hannafi or Orientalism in reverse as suggested by Sadiq Jalal, and it seeks to reinforce the same limits and boundaries through claiming that the Arabs and Muslims widely produced clichés and representations in a discursive manner similar to Orientalism. These clichés comprehended images of 'barbarism', 'inferiority' and 'filthiness'...etc.

In a nutshell, Orientalism, and Occidentalism, as two rigid systems of thoughts, share the same view about the knowledge that is completely politicized and ideologically constructed. The definitions of the Arabo-Islamic identity and Euro-Christian one that these two provide are ahistorical and essentialist. Intellectuals from both rigid systems such as Huntington and Lewis on one hand and al-Azmeh and Abu-Lughod, on the other hand, take cultural identities for granted overlooking the changes that these undergo. This is what will be discussed in the next section. Besides, the two systems of knowledge should be freed from ideological loads or as many critics claim: decolonized knowledge. This will be discussed extensively in the next section.

[88] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 10.
[89] Ibid., p. 328.

3. Decolonizing Knowledge from Binary Views: Orientalism, Occidentalism or Third Space

a. Undoing Rigidities: Euro-Centrism, Nationalism and Identities

Orientalism and Occidentalism emerge as two parallel politicized discourses that build upon the notions of Alterity and enmity. They are both the result of power relations in Foucault's sense. This last claims that:

> We should admit, rather, that power produces knowledge (…) that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.[1]

It is Western imperialism that had produced the kind of knowledge about the Muslim Other and that was institutionalized as Orientalism in Western academia before other titles spread newly to name the scientific study of the Orient such as Area studies, Oriental, and ethnic studies. Said eloquently argues that "Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental."[2]

By the same token, when Imperialism provided the context and pretext for the production of this knowledge about the Muslim Other, post-colonial and nationalist context and pretext have played a significant role in the production of Occidentalism as knowledge about the Euro-Christian other. This is rather, a self-definition in the light of historical research. By attempting to define the encounter between Muslims and the West, post-colonial Arab intellectuals delve into defining an

[1] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 27.
[2] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 336.

Arabo-Islamic identity in the pre-colonial era. This post-colonial and nationalist context of power relations with the ex-colonizer influencing the knowledge produced by these intellectuals namely Occidentalism. When Lewis strives to reinforce the rigidities of Orientalism, mainly about Islam, Aziz al-Azmeh and other post-colonial Arab intellectuals perpetuate the same cultural practice and reinforce other rigidities.

The hegemony over knowledge and archives undermines all claims for the "purity of knowledge" as Said has elaborated in his introduction to *Orientalism*. Knowledge is power, thus, this invests Lewis with the audacity to employ expressions that confirms his setting over Muslim cultural and textual heritage such as "the earliest reports we have purporting,"[3] "the only personal account,"[4] "there is only one document that has come down to us"[5]…etc. the examples are many that show the power position he speaks from. This power position does not mean Western superiority as much as it refers to the dark history of Reconquista, piracy, and colonialism led by the West. Moreover, going back to intertextuality, in the light of what has been discussed earlier, Lewis enjoys telling the history of the Islamic identity through intertexting and quoting other Western scholars who sought to bring to the surface some texts and records by Muslims from their libraries. In "Muslim Discovery of Europe", Lewis quotes C.A. Nallino, M. J. de Goeje, G. Levi Della Vida, E. Levi-Provengal, T. Kowalski …etc.; and in *Islam and The West*, he quotes Edward Seymour Forster, Rudolf Tschudi, William Penn, and C. Stewart…etc. Sometimes, Lewis quotes himself as if the whole textual construct does not complete unless he and other Western scholars are quoted and referred to. Lewis resembles or rather represents the white man who still consolidates his "mythical" authority over truth and knowledge. As Derrida puts it "the white mythology which reassembles and reflects the culture of the West: the white man takes his own mythology, indo-European mythology, his own *logos*, that is the *mythos* of his idiom, for a universal form of that he must still wish to call Reason."[6]

[3] Bernard Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," p. 411.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., p. 415.
[6] Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing, History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 11.

Though Spivak has criticized Derrida for his ethnocentric interpretations and his Indo-European logos that deny the Indian "millennial polytheistic tradition,"[7] still, his theoretical contribution remains outstanding.

How can we understand Islamic history through a discourse that bases itself on intertexting the same clichés over and over? Furthermore, most of these Western names edited or translated Muslim archival texts and added comments and interpretations that sought to represent the Muslim historical identity through the lenses of original writers; we are here facing two discourses: the first is that of the original Muslim writers and the second is one of the later Orientalists who studies, edited and translated these texts.

Meanwhile, those Arab intellectuals who cling to the claim of the parallel Occidentalist discourse are facing problems of accessibility since a great deal of Muslim cultural and textual heritage that deal with Europe is accessible through Western references. This epistemological problem needs some clarification though. Digging for an Islamic historical identity in respect to the perception of the Europe Christendom requires a search to bring to light accounts written about early Muslims and Arabs about Europe; and this is only accessible through the Muslim writers who happened to live during that historical moment and recorded what they saw or read about that geography then.

These early Muslim and Arab records are to be considered first-hand discourse that was influenced by the constraints of the historical moment; that is economic, cultural, political and even esthetic constraints which render this first discourse a direct first-hand representation of reality. Great deals of these records are found today within the Western archives. The first to study these records are Western Orientalists who have constructed a second discourse on Muslim identity through the lenses of the first one. Lately, a third contemporary discourse is emerging whose accessibility to the records is through the Orientalist discourse as well as the local national archives in Muslim lands. This last one is mainly led by scholars in the post-colonial era with the project to re-read Islamic history from out of the Western discourse. The overlapping discourses

[7] Gayatri Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 193.

here are problematic: how can we discern an Islamic identity in history in this case? These three discourses differ in time as well as in context. I will be elaborating more on this issue with the eminent contributions of the subaltern group later on. In a nutshell, the reading of Muslim history is an interpretation of the Western interpretation of the original texts/records that sought to represent the European other in a given historical moment.

By the same token, Lewis' writing about Islam and Muslims fails to escape the Orientalist mindset; and the intertextuality that his texts included manifestly or latently undermines his sense of 'purity', 'objectivity' and 'creativity'. The intertextuality and quoting of other non-biased Western scholars reproduce the same practice of asymmetric power relations, and one can conjure up the highly politicized knowledge he is presenting. Alternatively, native scholars are to be given space to voice themselves and be quoted when it comes to their history. It is this subaltern perspective that seeks to undo the Western hegemony over knowledge. Yet, this should not be understood as a call to assert the existence of a parallel discourse called Occidentalism by al-Azmeh or Orientalism in reverse as named by Sadiq Jalal. Edward Said's stance with respect to this question is of paramount importance in my argument.

The reason behind Said's constant criticism of Orientalism lies in the idea that the system of representation and asymmetric relations of power and the American hegemony over knowledge, politics, and economy…etc. is not a failure of the West but a general failure of humanity. He states: "I consider Orientalism's failure to have been a human as much as an intellectual one."[8] The rigid systematic subjugation of the so-called Other cultures does not fit along with the calls for democracy and freedom. Said's criticism of Western knowledge about the Orient is supported by Robert Young who states that "this racialization of knowledge demonstrates that the university's claim to project knowledge in itself outside political control or judgment cannot be trusted."[9]

Besides, at the end of his seminal work *Orientalism*, Said insinuates the possibility and urgency of an alternative system that does away with the inherited tradition of Orientalism; he suggests names such as Anwar Abdel Malek whose contributions in Area studies stands important.

[8] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 328.

[9] Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 61.

Said's ultimate aim, as he reveals it in the final lines of his remarkable book resides in describing the Orientalist system of ideas, but without the intention of altering it or providing a new system of ideas as he eloquently states that his "project has been to describe a particular system of ideas, not by any means to displace the system with a new one."[10] By the same token, Occidentalism is also not the best answer or as he warns:

> if this book has any future use, it will be as a modest contribution to that challenge, and as a warning: that systems of thought, like Orientalism, discourses of power, ideological fictions- mind-forged manacles- are all too easily made, applied, and guarded. Above all, I hope to have shown my reader that the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism.[11]

This intellectual stance that Said adopts reflects his very intimate revolutionary dream to dismantle all forms of power and authority in academia as well as in all aspects of life. This stance is much inculcated throughout this thesis along with the notion of dismantling the elitist approach to history and to voice the voiceless subalternized ones in that history.

b. Enhancing the Subaltern Voice and Deconstructing the Western Hegemony

The concept of subaltern has grown to a very crucial critical concept in the subaltern studies and postcolonial theory, and it originated in the works of Antonio Gramsci who theorized for those marginalized groups in societies that are subject to the ruling classes' hegemony. The subaltern refers to the people in inferior ranks within society such as peasants and workers who are denied power "since the history (official history) of the ruling classes is realized in the state,

[10] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 327.
[11] Ibid., p. 328.

history being the history of states and dominant groups, Gramsci was interested in the historiography of the subaltern classes."[12]

Because of the fact that the subaltern groups did not enjoy the means to control the way they represent themselves in culture and institutions, "the history of subaltern social groups is necessarily fragmented and episodic."[13] Gyan Prakash argues for the role that the Subaltern Studies have played in shedding light on the development of the subaltern consciousness and how the Indian subalterns broke away from schemes of relations of power that have relegated them to the margin. The aim of the subaltern studies is to give voice to the voiceless who was muffled in historiographic research following the lead of the Cambridge school, Marxist and nationalist contest for history; specifically, "the purpose of the Subaltern Studies project was to redress the imbalance created in academic work by a tendency to focus on élites and élite culture in South Asian historiography."[14]

Truly, it is this remarkable resisting stance against all forms of hegemony especially in academia that sparked the flame of a new discipline in historical research. It is noticeable, then, that "despite the great diversity of subaltern groups, the one invariant feature was a notion of resistance to élite domination."[15]

The subalternists' aim, mainly Ranajit Guha, is to "restore history to the subordinated"[16] and to trace "how the agency of the subaltern in history had been denied by elite perspectives anchored in colonialist, nationalist, and or Marxist narratives."[17] The conception of what is subaltern has witnessed significant shifts and many definitions came to the surface but "what has remained consistent is the efforts to rethink history from the perspective of the subaltern."[18] Meanwhile, Prakash explains that the subaltern refers to "subordination in terms of class, caste,

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[12] Bill Ashcroft, et al., *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 198.
[13] Ibid., p. 199.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., p. 200.
[16] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review*, 99:5 (1994), p. 1477.
[17] Ibid., p. 1478.
[18] Ibid.

gender, race, language, and culture and was used to signify the centrality of dominant/dominated relationships in history.[19]

In this sense, Prakash attempts to trace how the Subalterns' actions/reactions were explained by traditional historiographers to be the mere result of external insurgencies/experience not innate conscious actions. Goha, accordingly, advances three types of what he calls counter-insurgency texts/discourses that denied the action/agency and subjectivity to the subaltern peasants in India in this case. These three discourses differ in terms of order of appearance in time and the degree of their acknowledged or unacknowledged identification with the official point of view. The first is primary/colonial discourse or presence in the sense that it is based on immediate first-hand documentation and accounts written by officials. Secondary discourse is the nationalist discourse that reflects the transformation that comes in time after the first and which is based on transforming the first accounts into reports and memories. The tertiary discourse is the Marxist discourse or a redistribution discourse that is constructed by historians who have no official affiliation and are farthest removed from the time of the events. These historians tend to incorporate and redistribute reports and memories. All of the three discourses fail to read the innate conscious actions of the excluded other, subaltern and insurgent.[20]

To some extent, this interpretation resembles that forwarded earlier. that is, the texts produced by early Muslims about Europe such as Ahmed bin Qasim, bin Fadlan, Sa'id ibn Ahmed the Qadi of Toledo, Ibn Rosteh and Al-Ghassani...etc. are first discourses about Europe, and the Orientalists who brought these texts to the surface such as Lewis have produced the second discourse- Orientalism. While the third discourse is that of post-colonial Arab intellectuals who produced a third nationalist discourse basing on the archives they have found in their countries and sometimes on editing done by Orientalists who still hold a great deal of those early archives. This third discourse produced what we call Occidentalism. These two discourses, Orientalism and Occidentalism, construct an ahistorical Arabo-Muslim identity that is tarred with false representations. When Goha argues that the three discourses, that he elaborated earlier, deny

[19] Ibid., p. 1477.

[20] Ranajit Guha, "prose of counter insurgency," in *Selected Subaltern Studies*. eds. Guha, Ranajit, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 47.

agency and conscious action to subalterns, Orientalists, and Occidentalist construct a false identity and history with respect to Arabo-Islamic context.

On the other hand, history from below which emerged in the West is different from subaltern studies because the "subalternists search for a humanist subject-agency frequently ended up with the discovery of the failure of the subaltern agency: the moment of rebellion always contained within it the moment of failure."[21]

The very definition of subalterns signifies the impossibility of autonomy. This notion of autonomy triggers Gayatri Spivak to re-question the subalternists by suggesting that this term "concedes the diversity, heterogeneity and overlapping nature of subaltern groups."[22] Ashcroft explains that:

> no act of dissent or resistance occurs on behalf of an essential subaltern subject entirely separate from the dominant discourse that provides the language and the conceptual categories with which the subaltern voice speaks. Clearly, the existence of post-colonial discourse itself is an example of such speaking, and in most cases, the dominant language or mode of representation is appropriated so that the marginal voice can be heard.[23]

The absence of texts produced by subalterns led Goha to resort to textual/structuralist and post-structuralist readings of colonial records to trace the history of these subalterns. Thus, the question that emerged stated: should we endeavor to recover the agency and subjectivity of the subaltern from outside of the elites' discourse or as an effect that exists from within? This has paved the way to a third stance that suggests that subalternity is an effect of elitist discourse yet we should not abandon the notion of the subaltern as the agent. This third stance, claimed by Florencia

[21] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," p. 1480.
[22] Bill Ashcroft, et al. *Postcolonial Studies*, p. 200.
[23] Ibid., p. 201.

Mollon, identifies subalternity as a "position of critique, as a recalcitrant difference that arises not outside but inside elite discourse to exert pressure on forces and forms that subordinate it."[24]

She further explains that "subalterns and subalternity do not disappear into discourse but appear in its interstices, subordinated by structures over which they exert pressure."[25] Any attempt to read the history of the subalterns without mediation is doomed to fail because they fell short to trace the 'real' subalterns that existed prior to discourses. That is, "placing the subalterns in the labyrinth of discourse, they (critiques) cannot claim an unmediated access to their reality."[26]

Prakash argues that "the academic discipline of history as a theoretical category laden with power"[27] and the subaltern studies are to decolonize knowledge from asymmetric relations of power. Some subalternists claim that perhaps for the first time since colonization, that "Indians are showing sustained signs of re-appropriating the capacity to represent themselves [within the discipline of history]"[28] as suggested by Chakrabarty. Yet, this is not entirely accurate when it comes to the field of knowledge and mainly history as a discipline authored and authorized by Europe. Chakrabarty argues:

> in so far as the academic discourse of history -that is, "history" as a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university- is concerned, "Europe" remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories (…). There is a peculiar way in which all these other histories tend to become variations on a master narrative that could be called "the history of Europe."[29]

Thus, following the European historical approach and methods relegates the non-European's histories to subalternity; and the modals of historical interpretations imposed on the elite's readings of local histories doom the results to failure. The European academic model of

[24] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies," p. 1481.
[25] Ibid., p. 1482.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 1483.
[28] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations,* 37 (1992), p. 1.
[29] Ibid.

historical research borrowed by third-world historians reflects this "European" Ego-centric hegemony over history and knowledge. It is in this sense referring to the fact that "other histories are matters of empirical research that fleshes out a theoretical skeleton that is substantially 'Europe'."[30] Thus, "Third-world historians feel a need to refer to works in European history; historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate."[31] This is what Chakrabarty calls a relative ignorance or an asymmetric ignorance of non-Western histories exhibited by Western historians. This ignorance is only part of a major theoretical paradox that haunts the human sciences that sought to embrace humanity when it was relatively or absolutely ignorant of the great majority of the humanity that it seeks to represent. Here, third-world historians and social scientists tend to borrow the aforementioned theories of the West and apply them to the third world societies in a flagrant paradoxical scheme. "Why can't we, once again, return the gaze?"[32] These two are the "symptoms" of "*our*" subalternity: 1) the relative ignorance and 2) the paradox of third world social scientists.[33]

This paradox leaves no room for third world historians. Yet, the mode of self-representation that they can adopt here is what Homi Bhabha has justly called 'mimetic'. This epistemic paradox stands at the face of those post-colonial and nationalist Arab intellectuals who cling to the concept of Occidentalism as an answer back to European Orientalism. They reiterated the same practices they sought to undermine; that is, representations, alterity, dualism, and binarism...etc. It is this reiteration that renders them to the mimic man situation explained by Bhabha. Indian history, even in the most dedicated socialist or nationalist hands, remains a mimicry of a certain 'modern' subject of 'European' history and is bound to represent a sad figure of lack and failure."[34] The process of the deconstruction of the Euro-centric knowledge of history:

> delves into the history of colonialism not only to document its record of domination but also to identify its failures, silences, and impasses; not only to chronicle the career

[30] Ibid., p. 3.
[31] Ibid., p. 2.
[32] Ibid., p. 3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p. 18.

> of dominant discourses but to track those (subaltern) positions that could not be properly recognized and named, only "normalized".[35]

This approach provides alternative possibilities that relocate the subalterns to the scale of human history. Its purpose is to bring those who were downgraded to oblivion out to remembering as eloquently suggested by Prakash that "the aim of such a strategy is not to unmask dominant discourses but to explore their fault lines in order to provide different accounts, to describe histories revealed in the cracks of the colonial archeology of knowledge."[36] However, the fault lines and cracks residing in the colonial archeology of knowledge leave but tiny spaces for negotiating different accounts. What remains is that "there is no alternative but to inhabit the discipline, delve into archives, and push at the limits of historical knowledge to turn its contradictions, ambivalences, and gaps into grounds for its rewriting."[37]

It is this alternative that the third world or the global south, as Ramon Grosfoguel names it, upholds in re-negotiating the Western hegemony over knowledge. Grosfoguel clarifies in a simple, yet not simplistic, direct language how the global South should engage with the North in a theoretical negotiation of knowledge based on decolonizing it from all sorts of power. His aim is a radical de-colonial critical theory that paves the way to an epistemological break out with the colonial dichotomy of power/knowledge. The attempts done by the Subaltern Group in India are of crucial significance in this domain; yet, the overuse of theorists from the North to name few: Foucault and Derrida…etc. by the subalternists and others constrains and sometimes contradicts the objectives set before by the subalternists. Accordingly, Grosfoguel stresses:

> Subaltern identities could serve as an epistemic point of departure for a radical critique of Eurocentric paradigms and ways of thinking. However, "identity politics" is not equivalent to epistemological Alterity. The scope of "identity politics" is limited

[35] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies," p. 1486.
[36] Ibid., p. 1486.
[37] Ibid., p. 1489.

> and cannot achieve a radical transformation of the system and its colonial power matrix.[38]

He argues that Euro-centrism and third world fundamentalism and nationalism reiterate the same mindset that implies the existence of an exclusively epistemic tradition that leads to an assumed essentialist truth. Colonial and post-colonial critics are at the heart of Grosfoguel's criticism. Similarly, Orientalists and Occidentalist tend to reproduce the same assumptions about history, identity and the encounter between the East and the West.

Alternatively, a universal decolonial perspective is of paramount importance; and this perspective requires three major demarches which are:

> a broader canon of thought than simply the Western canon (including the Left Western canon); 2) cannot be based on an abstract universal (one particular that raises itself as universal global design), but would have to be the result of the critical dialogue between diverse critical epistemic/ethical/political projects towards a pluriversal as oppose to a universal world; 3) to take seriously the epistemic perspective/cosmologies/insights of critical thinkers from the Global South thinking from and with subalternized racial/ethnic/sexual spaces and bodies.[39]

Despite Grosfoguel's genuine criticism of the Western knowledge and reactions towards it, yet, the nature of knowledge itself is hybrid. This hybrid nature of knowledge is an inevitable outcome of a long historical process of translation and borrowing that each civilization has practiced with respect to other civilizations.

What is West and East, north or south after all but mere floating signifiers that tend to change meaning according to different political contexts. I will be elaborating more soon.

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[38] Ramon Grosfoguel, "The Implications of Subaltern Epistemologies for Global Capitalism: Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality," in *Critical Globalization Studies*, eds. Appelbaum Richard et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 291.

[39] Ramón Grosfoguel, "The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond Political-Economy Paradigms," *Cultural Studies* 21 (2007), p. 212.

Meanwhile, the aftermaths of colonialism still haunt the encounter between the ex-colonizer and the ex-colonized. This resembles what Mary Louis Pratt has called the encounter in the contact zone. Knowledge, in this respect, exists within this framework of asymmetry; and mimicry is rather named transculturation within this framework.

Thus, mimicry, as explained earlier, is not always the only manifestation of the relationship between two cultures that happen to be in asymmetric relations of power. Dissimilar to Chakrabarty and Bhabha, Mary Louis Pratt alludes to the idea that using the language of a powerful cultural Other may seem as transculturation that reflects a subordinated or marginalized culture interaction with a dominant culture. This transculturation is a phenomenon of what she calls contact zones. The example of the American Indian Poma who was raised in Spain serves not as a mimic man but rather a flagrant manifestation of transculturation. Pratt states:

> Guaman Poma mirrors back to the Spanish (in their language, which is alien to him) an image of themselves that they often suppress and will therefore surely recognize. Such are the dynamics of language, writing, and representation in contact zones. Ethnographers have used the term transculturation to describe processes whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture.[40]

The borrowing of other's theories and language helps at deconstructing Western hegemony over language and representation. This answer back in the post-colonial time serves the same aim and Poma resembles the Arab post-colonial intellectuals who seek to represent their history and identity for themselves; and this, unconsciously, includes a mirroring back of the West's true self. This contact zone is the aftermath of the post-colonial era where asymmetric relations of power are at play. Pratt argues that contact zones "refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and

[40] Pratt, Mary Louis, "The Arts of Contact Zone," in *Negotiating Academic Literacies: Teaching and Learning across Languages and Cultures,* eds. Vivian Zamel et al. (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1998), p. 176.

grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today."[41]

In short, as famously declared by Michael Foucault, "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority with respect to power,"[42] yet again, this resistance can hardly pretend to exist interiorly in respect to power. The Western hegemony over knowledge and in this case Arab and Muslim heritage and history is challenged by numerous post-colonial Arab scholars and intellectuals from all parts of Arab and Muslim territories. When Foucault asserts the existence of resistance inside the dominant discourses, these post-colonial voices trigger resistance from outside the Western hegemonic practice of power over knowledge. It is in this scope of resistance from *without* that some post-colonial critics stand and cling to a parallel discourse of Occidentalism. This meaning is elegantly explained by Anil Lal and Vinay Lal:

> This resistance to the modern West's totalizing grip over knowledge systems has been countered by new social movements, besides taking the form, in the language of post-colonial critics, of writing back- to the center, the metropole, the reigning liberal consensus –by various activities, intellectuals, and cultural theorists, whether speaking on behalf of formerly colonized people or disaffected subaltern populations in the West.[43]

Nevertheless, the Euro-centric and nationalist perspectives set themselves in a dialectical relationship of power that requires settlement. The predicament of intellectual objectivity, at this moment, haunts academic research in the North and the South equally.

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[41] Ibid., p. 173.

[42] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), p. 95.

[43] Lal, Anil, et al. "The Cultural Politics of Hybridity," *Social Scientist*, 25:9/10 (1997), p. 67.

c. Beyond Rigidities of Boundaries: Hybridity, Geography, and Cultural Identity

What is the West after all but a floating signifier that has undergone serious epistemological changes and re-definitions. It has lost its geographical reference since the consideration of Tokyo and Sidney two Western cities comes to direct contrast with geographical knowledge as it is. Japan and Australia are in the West with respect to whom? If they are East to the near-East, how can they and many other countries be Western in the full sense of the word? The same can be said about the East. The variables that shape these two geographical entities are more than to be defined and located. Raymond Williams cleverly notices that "there are now some interesting uses of Western and the West, in the international political description. In some cases, the term has so far lost its geographical reference as to allow description of, for example, Japan as a Western or Western-type society."[44]

Indeed, the referentiality of these terms has come to zero degree creating a sense of ambiguity and undecidability. This ambiguity is a definitive outcome of political interference in knowledge production and dissemination. That is, the cultural definition has been challenged by today's politics. The West and East as terms "come overlaid (…) with a long sedimented history of ambiguous usage."[45] Williams concludes that these terms and rigidities are overdetermined by politics over cultural geographies. In this sense, North African countries are Eastern even when they lie in the West of most of the European countries; and Latin America is excluded from the West even when it is a few kilometers south to America and surely West to all Eastern countries. It is this striking ambiguity that led Shohat and Stam to "call attention to the arbitrariness of the standard cartographies of identity for irrevocable hybrid places."[46]

The politics that engineer such a blurred definition of the West practice a sort of hegemony of what is Western and what is not. For instance, science, technology, feminism, poststructuralism, and deconstruction…etc. are all Western even if they are practiced in non-Western geographies.

[44] Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, p. 264.
[45] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism*, p. 13.
[46] Ibid.

The knowledge that the West claim and cling to is but an outcome of borrowing and translation of other civilizations such as Muslim, China, and Aztec…etc.[47] and the blurred limits of what is called "Western knowledge" renders demarcations impossible though. This knowledge is a product of hybridity or as Shohat and Stam rephrase it: "The "West" and the "non-West" cannot, in sum, be posited as antonyms, for, in fact, the two worlds interpenetrate in an unstable space of creolization and syncretism."[48]

Briefly, the blurred definitions of West and East and the hybrid nature of knowledge deconstruct the mythical perspective of an antagonistic and binary opposition between the two. Both of the: "Myth of West" and the "Myth of East" form the verso and recto of the same colonial sign"[49] as elegantly put by Shohat and Stam. Equally, the Myth of Orientalism and the Myth of Occidentalism signify the same thing.

Nevertheless, the "unstable space of creolization and syncretism" that Shohat and Stam argued for is similar to that of Bhabha's third space. This third space or hybridity unfolds two complementary ideas. The first is related to individuals and groups who are in state of migration and Diaspora which is a sort of micro-scale for the West and East relationship today; and the second is related to the nature of knowledge as process that is in constant action of borrowing and translation from all cultures and nations which is a macro-scale for the same relationship. Thus, individuals and knowledge are the recto and verso of the same coin which is a signifier of the post-colonial and post-modern state, and even before these two. At this level, defining hybridity and the formation of identities seems to be of paramount importance here for methodological ends.

The rhetoric of hybridity or "mestijae" is undoubtedly tackled and highly scrutinized in most of the post-colonial studies. To begin with, hybridity does stand for the ongoing travel or crossover of identities generated by colonialism; it means that the history of the colonized is not static but in a constant and continuous flow of motion. Hybridity is seen as a constructed process rather than a pre-given entity. This could be patently elaborated in the limelight of what Stuart Hall

[47] Ibid., p. 14.
[48] Ibid., p. 14-15.
[49] Ibid., p. 15.

calls "cut-and- mix […] the process of cultural diasporization."[50] In this respect, postcolonialism provides a pertinent demarcation from the traditional definitions which were based on binarism. Anjali Prabhu genuinely argues that "postcolonial theories of hybridity do away with the old dichotomy of colonizer/colonized, which is substituted by ideas of multiplicity, plurality, and difference in a less specifiable way."[51]

Following Prabhu's argument, it becomes discernable that hybridity endeavors to provide a way out of binary thinking; or let's say, it attempts to dismantle power structures allowing the inscription of agency to the subaltern, and even permits a re-structuring and de-stabilizing of power. In privileging subaltern agency, hybridity then turns to be a possible resistive force to cultural hegemony. In plain words, embracing the hybridized nature of cultures steers us away from the problematic binarism that has, up till now, framed our notions of culture. That is, Orientalism and Occidentalism as two rigid systems of thought deny the hybrid nature of identity, and they seek to demarcate limits between Euro-centrism and post-colonial nationalist interpretations of the history of the encounter between West and East. Within their framework, dissimilarities triumph over similarities. However, hybridity stands as a third space where neither Euro-centrism nor Nationalist versions of knowledge can claim purity or hegemony over knowledge. In their book Geographies of Resistance, Pile and Keith, define third space as being:

> a location for knowledge which (a) elaborates the 'grounds of dissimilarity' on which dualisms are based and (b) acknowledge that there are spaces beyond dualisms; and (c) accept that this third space itself is 'continually fragmented, fractured, incomplete, uncertain, and the site for struggles for meaning and representation.[52]

Indeed, Bhabha describes the third space as a state that holds "assignations of social differences - where differences is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-*

[50] Stuart hall, "New Ethnicities," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morely et al. (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 448.

[51] Anjali Prabhu, *Hybridity: Limits, Transformations, Prospects* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), p. xiii.

[52] Steve Pile, et al. *Geographies of Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 109.

between"[53] this something else besides is the possible knowledge that is liberated or, in Grosfoguel's terms, decolonized from all sorts of dualism, categorization and mostly authority.

Whereas the trauma haunts the person living in a third space, it, instead, haunts those who cling to Euro-centrism and nationalism: Orientalists and Occidentalist. Accordingly, when Bhabha suggests that hybridity: "profoundly unsettles the demand that figures at the center of the originary myth of colonialist power,"[54] the same is applicable to nationalist essentialist perspectives as explained by Grosfoguel earlier. Quite similar to Bhabha, Stuart Hall defines the 'cultural identity' as a position of enunciation that is mainly characterized by change and mobility. It is mostly historical and contingent but never ahistorical and a completed fact. This re-defining of the concept of 'cultural identity' challenges a long tradition in the social conceptualization of identity that fails to notice the importance of culture in the formation of identity and opt for a materialist study of the social classes. That enunciating positioning status is constrained by the context of place, time, history, and culture leading henceforth to the fact that discourse itself is 'placed' within this positioning. Hall provides two definitions of cultural identity. The first traditional definition of 'cultural identity' suggests that it is "one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial and artificial imposed 'selves', which a people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common."[55]

This essentialist conceptualization of 'cultural identities' presumes that 'a people' share a common historical experience that is never subject to change or the wavering historical events; but rather, this shared 'cultural identity' of 'one people' is "stable, unchanging, and continues." This shared common referential history produces the 'oneness' of a people and trespasses the superficial and artificial divisions and differences. This conception of 'cultural identity' was central to the post-colonial re-questioning of the Self and the re-positioning of the marginalized ones in the forms of representation that resisted the colonial attitudes and authoritative discourse. It has supplied the post-colonial and other movements with a firm and essentialist theoretical background to re-define the Self. The essentialist definition and political stance continue to play major roles in

[53] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 219.
[54] Ibid., p. 115.
[55] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," p. 223.

most of the marginalized groups' lives. Through cultural practices that perpetuate this concept and definition, the marginalized and subjected peoples find a way to resist the dominating cultural practices and forms of representation of the colonizer. This resistance is mainly palpable when it comes to telling the history of the colonized ones. Post-colonial Arab intellectuals who defend this definition of identity fell in the trap of essentialism and ahistoricity the same way Orientalists did; they, along with those belated Orientalists, namely Lewis, claim that there was one unified Arabo-Muslim identity that time, colonialism or geography had no effect; and that this Arabo-Islamic identity tended to view the Euro-Christian other unchangeably through time. Yet, is not this a forced essentialist conception that suggests coherence and continuity?

Indeed, there is a second definition of 'cultural identity' that does not deny the existence of similarities that shape this identity; but it also assumes that there are 'differences' that intervened historically to re-shape the identity. Due to the 'play' of history, we cannot ask 'what we are?' but rather 'what we have become?' We cannot talk about a general Arabo-Islamic identity as a shared common referential point without talking precisely about what it has become due to historical ruptures- what of the 'uniqueness of the Caribbean identity? Similarly, what of the uniqueness of the Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian or Pakistani...etc. identity? Hall asserts that "cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past."[56] That is, 'cultural identities' are neither fixed eternally in the past and waiting to be 'discovered' nor are they "transcending place, time, history and culture;"[57] they are rather subject to the 'play' of history, culture, and power; in short, they undergo discontinuities and ruptures.

This second conceptualization of 'cultural identities' is highly linked to the trauma caused by the colonial experience as Hall suggests. Without this historical understanding of the 'cultural identities' we cannot understand ourselves; and we can neither unveil how the colonial regimes and forms of representations had managed to construct the colonized as a different 'Other', as Edward Said elaborated in his reading of Orientalism, nor how we had constructed ourselves as Others as well, as claimers of Occidentalism does. This inner expropriation reflects the imperialist

[56] Ibid., p. 225.
[57] Ibid.

hegemony and power of knowledge. Hall suggests that the essentialist definition of 'cultural identities' that tends to formulate a transcendent and continuous history can never suffice if we seek to understand the present. That is, 'cultural identity' "is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history had made no fundament mark."[58] Neither does the definition that tends to focus on discontinuities and ruptures overlooking the fact that there is a point of origin after all or as hall puts it "of course, it is not a mere phantasm either(…) it has its histories-and histories have their real, material and symbolic effects."[59] He argues that the black Caribbean identities "are 'framed' by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture."[60] This dialogic relationship between these two axes paves the way to a better understanding of the black Caribbean identities. The first axe gives some grounding and a sense of continuity with the past while the other axe triggers historical facts that caused rupture such as slavery, migration and colonialism…etc. Still, beneath the continuity there persists difference as it is the case of Martinique and Jamaica. These two countries belong to the Caribbean countries yet they are different in terms of culture and history. This 'doubleness' of similarity and difference shocks those who returns to the Caribbean as it did with Hall. Nevertheless, both remain the 'same' in the eye of the West. This difference, thus, has a huge effect on the cultural identities of the two Caribbean countries.

Similarly, history has played decisive roles in shaping and re-shaping Arabo-Islamic identity. As the Martinique and Jamaica differ in the eyes of their peoples, Morocco and each Arabo-Islamic nation differ in the Eyes of their peoples greatly but all of them are considered similar and one in the eyes of the West. Just a small example to illustrate for the influence of history: North African Muslims perceive of the Euro-Christian other differently from their near Eastern co-religionists. This difference is greatly generating from the nature of their encounter. When North African Muslims encountered the European Christians, it was mainly in the trauma of the Reconquista spirit that engendered dramatic human casualties on the Muslim sides. On the other hand, this had little influence in the Near East, who received but few Moriscos. The Near

[58] Ibid., p. 226.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

East witnessed another encounter embodied in the thousands of Euro-Christian soldiers who marched to colonize Al-Quds. That is, the crusaders were the Europeans in the eyes of Near Eastern Muslims.

The difference, as argued by Hall, is not pure 'otherness'. That is, drawing on Jacque Derrida's play of words –differance and difference- to suggest that the meaning "is never finished or completed, but keeps on moving to encompass other, additional or supplementary meanings."[61] Thus is the cultural identity of the Arabo-Islamic countries. It is always postponed and in motion. In short, cultural identities are characterized by hybridity and 'cut-and-mix'.

In the limelight of the canonical contribution of Stuart Hall, I adopt the second definition of the concept of "cultural identity" which Hall elaborated. Opting for the essentialist definition and conceptualization of 'cultural identity" would exclude the certainty that identities change in relation to time, place, culture and deny the inseparable relationship of power/knowledge.

d. Moroccanness of the Occidental Discourses on Europe: Nation, Time and Narration

Stuart Hall's definition of cultural identity challenges Huntington's assumptions over Muslim identity as discussed extensively before. The Oriental/Muslim identity that is understood in Huntington's, as well as Lewis' theory of the clash, is a 'pure', 'essential', 'complete', 'homogenous', 'ahistorical' identity when rather it is a heterogeneous, polyphonic and even conflictual cultural identity. History and 'la presence' colonial: French, British, Spanish, Italian…etc. had its influence on the cultural identities of the Muslim nations and the Moroccan identity is no exception in this respect. It is with this specificity of the Moroccan identity that has been influenced, shaped and re-constructed by various historical, political and economic...etc. factors that the heterogeneity of Muslim perception of the West stands. The claims of an unfriendly unified view and perception of Europe by Muslims as purported by Lewis or a homogenous Arab discourse of barbarism toward Europe as posited by al-Azmeh come to demise

[61] Ibid., p. 229.

with the contributions of Hall and Bhabha and other cultural critics. This Moroccanness of the encounter with Europe challenges all claims of essentializing Muslims in one unified entity or identity.

The heterogeneity of the Muslim discourse on Europe is highly influenced by the regional constraint as discussed by Matar in "The Question of Occidentalism". Yet, the Moroccanness of the discourse on Europe as it differs from the other parts of Muslim territories, it differs within the same geographical entity from one historical moment to another depending on the balance of power in the two banks of the Mediterranean. The account of Al Ghassani was written at the time when the balance of power was equal between the European nations and Morocco; and from that historical position, Al Ghassani was the plausible illustration for Self-esteem and pride. Yet, centuries later, other Moroccan accounts were going to document the shift of balance to the benefit of Europe leading henceforth to a reconsideration of the Self.

In the same vein, Said ben S'aid argues for the specificity of the Moroccan travel narrative toward Europe. Although, ben S'aid never refers to a Moroccan discourse on Europe but rather a variety of texts instead; and his main concern is not to prove whether Muslims have developed a discourse similar to Orientalism that can be called Occidentalism as argued by al-Azmeh or Orientalism in reverse as claimed by Sadiq Jalal but rather to trace the specificity of the Moroccan travel narratives that took Europe as a destination. He is not interested either in the aesthetics of these narratives but rather he takes on his shoulder the burden of a reliable historian to trace the different historical contexts that had influenced these narratives. The definite historical moments that have trembled the balance of power between Morocco and Europe had had a historical impact on the Self/Other relationship. Thus, the Moroccanness of the travel narratives stems from the specificity of the Moroccan experience with the European neighbors, which was exceptional; and these travel narratives were different from the other Islamic travels due to that. Nevertheless, Ben S'aid does not deny the correlation between the Moroccan travel experience and the general Islamic experience with the European Other. Ben S'aid explains these specificities as emanating from the geographical closeness to Europe and the historical experience. Geographically, Morocco is the closest Arabo-Islamic country to Europe. A few kilometers that distance Morocco from the other European side of the Mediterranean. Due to this geographical closeness, the encounter

between Morocco and Europe had been richer, more intense, and more importantly, historical- it dates back to centuries. Moreover, Morocco managed to liberate itself from other Islamic powers and keep a decent distance from the spiritual influence coming from the Muslim East. Due to these geographical characteristics, Morocco's encounter with Europe was remarkably outstanding and historically rooted.

Historically speaking, the Moroccan relationship with Europe is characterized by three main phases that shaped the encounter of Moroccan travelers with Europe. The first phase was characterized by the power of the Self and the Self-pride shown by the Moroccan travelers. The second phase was shaped by the defeat and the quest for exploring the European Other. The third phase was loaded with the experience of astonishment and the regaining of consciousness. Thus, each moment bears in itself an important sum of knowledge of the Other and aesthetic features that distinguish that moment from the others.

The first is the phase of the powerful Self and the Self-pride which is exemplified by the journeys of Mohammed ben Othman El Maknassi. His accounts *Al'kssir fi Fikak Al'asir* and *Albadr Assafir fi Hidayt Almosafir 'la Fikak Al'sara min Yadi L'adw Lkafir* are loaded with perceptions and representations of the Other that differs significantly from belated Moroccans such as Ejaaidi, El kardoudi, and el Ghassal, etc. Ben S'aid explains that "the difference exists mainly in the dissimilarity in the perception and awareness, and in the way of the observation of the "Other" on one hand, and the manner according to which the perception and the awareness of the Self is fulfilled on the other hand."[62]

This phase according to Ben S'aid had started since the reign of Muley Ismail and lasted till the dramatic defeat of Morocco in the battles of Isly in 1844 and Tetuan in 1860. Al Maknassi's travel accounts serve as examples to reveal the aspects of this power position. He was dispatched several times on different occasions during the reign of the powerful king Mohammed Ben Abdallah to redeem Moroccan captives from Europe. Furthermore, the Moroccan Subject in the accounts of Al Maknassi performed his superior identity in the background of the strength of Morocco and the attachment to Islam; and this solid background guided the encounter between the

[62] Said Ben S'aid, 'Alawii. Ūrūbbā fī mir'āt al-riḥlah : ṣūrat al-ākhar fī adab al-riḥlah al-Maghribīyah al-mu'āṣirah (Rabat, University Mohamed V., 1995), p. 29.

Muslim Self and the European infidel. Hence, the encounter of Al Maknassi with the Other in that context was, as Ben S'aid puts it:

> It is certainly true that the author of *AL'ksir* and *Albader Asafer* did not stop, in his accounts, to sense inside him a feeling of strength and superiority in contrast to an innate feeling of the inferiority of the Other. However, what the eye saw of the power of materialism and the superiority of European civilization disturbed the innate feeling of his superiority.[63]

However, this innate feeling of the superiority of the Europeans was intuition or rather a futurist prediction of a dramatic collapse of Muslim nations by these remarkable adversaries. Undeniably, the 19th century was pregnant of unpleasant surprises for Morocco and the rest of Muslim nations; and the picture of the European power culminated by a vast military, economic and political spread on the south side of the Mediterranean basin.

Accordingly, the Self-pride and strength position that fueled the perception and representation of the Other in this phase was ruptured by a historical event that shifted the power to the side of the European Other which took Morocco into a Self-reconsideration and evaluation. Hence, the effortless and quick defeat of the Moroccan army by the powerful French military forces in the battle of Isly in 1844 awakened Moroccan sultans, jurists, and officials and changed the lenses through which these used to perceive of Europe. This latter enjoyed the results of the industrial revolution, which took Europe to a developed phase, whereas Morocco remained lagging behind in the fixed memory of the phase of pride and Self-esteem.

Therefore, the second phase, according to Ben S'aid is that of defeat and quest for exploring the European Other. This phase started mainly by the industrial revolution in Europe. This revolution shifted dramatically the power relations to the benefit of the European foe. It made out of Europe the supreme power with no contestant in the basin. Thus, the re-consideration of the knowledge about the Self and the Other in Morocco revolved around a re-reading of the image that

[63] Ibid., p. 41

Al Maknassi drew in his accounts since this image was distorted and no longer at play then as Ben S'aid cleverly points out that "a phase whose main feature is the huge distortion in the image that Ibn Othman Al Maknassi drew about the Self and the Other according to which the relations between them was established.[64] The defeat was not only military which is exemplified by the lost battle of Isly but also on the scale of civilizations as well. It was the first shock that Morocco underwent by the French military arsenal. The significance of the shock lies in the fact that the Self realizes that what is needed for power and triumph was in the hands of the Other.

The second shock was after the defeat of Morocco in the battle of Tetuan by the Spanish army in 1860. The defeat was not only military, as in the case of the battle of Isly, but a civilization defeat as well as. Ben S'aid, bitterly, elucidates that the defeat was leveled on civilization scale; or more concretely, the lesson was deep in its civilization signification. The lesson was such because Morocco (…) understood that it is compelled to a total revision of its financial system."[65]

Thus, Morocco witnessed reforms that made it a target for European colonialism. In this context, the Moroccan king Hassan I launched a new phase of exploration through sending many ambassadors and students to different European countries in order to explore and attempt to understand the reasons behind the weakness of the Self and the power of the Other. There was a dominating feeling, in Morocco, of the need to explore the military, political and economic development in Europe. Accordingly, this phase was characterized by the "will to knowledge"[66] as Ben S'aid coins it from Michel Foucault. It is remarkably true how this notion of "will to knowledge" about Europe undermines that of the lack of curiosity developed and discussed earlier by Bernard Lewis. Many travels were conducted in this phase.

Ben S'aid focuses on the accounts written by Mohammed ben Abdallah Assaffar and Driss el'Amraoui. At this level, Ben S'aid compares between the account of Al Maknassi and these two. He concludes that "the discourse that we were used to in Al Maknassi's accounts of the obsession in the Self-esteem vanished completely. El'Amraoui talks, as Assaffar does before him, about the

[64] Ibid., p. 50.
[65] Ibid., p. 50-51.
[66] Ibid., p. 53.

images of the welcoming and good treatment that the Moroccan delegation enjoyed when it arrived.[67]

The difference is clear between the accounts of Assaffar and el'Amraoui on one hand and the accounts of Al Maknassi on the other hand. The shift of the focus from the Self-pride to the astonishment of the Other's way of life becomes obvious. The prevalent pattern in the Moroccan accounts, hence, was shaped by the astonishment with the European inventions in various fields such as industry, politic, arts…etc.

The third phase in the encounter between Morocco and Europe is the experience of astonishment and the regaining of consciousness. This phase is characterized by a continuity of the astonishment of the Moroccan Self vis-à-vis the European inventions; yet, the Self regained a new awareness of itself that pushed the wheel of modernization faster to some extent, even though the pace was slow because it was resisted by the conservative social structure of Morocco and the soon coming Protectorate halted it. The necessity to take the good side of European civilization such as economic system, arts, military, and social changes was alluded to by one main Moroccan traveler and scholar at the time. Mohammed Alhajoui called for modernizing Morocco and taking the European inventions to assist his homeland against the European colonial appetite. Ben S'aid elucidates:

> When we read *Arihla L'oropia*, we find a description about Europe and a call to take what it had developed in the fields of commercial system and the concern for sciences and arts; thus, we find an image of Europe that suits, what we can name an intellectual, social and economic project to him; that is to say, a reform-renewal project.[68]

This phase, according to Ben S'aid, witnessed a dramatic asymmetric relation shift between the Moroccan Self and the European Other. The multi-faced disorders that Morocco witnessed ranged from the uprising of Jilali ben Driss Zerhouni to the exacerbated intellectual and scientific

[67] Ibid., p. 54.
[68] Ibid., p. 71.

fields. It was undeniably noticed by Moroccans that their country was undergoing dangerous disturbances that required deep changes. In this context, Mohammad Alhajoui was preoccupied with the project of modernizing Morocco through the use of European inventions to meet the necessities of the period. Europe became the Other to aspire to be similar to. For Alhajoui, the Moroccan Self saw its backwardness when it crossed the boundaries to Europe. Alhajoui felt the same during his travels to Europe. He, according to Ben S'aid, "reads in it (Europe) the aspects of power as well as the manifestations of the weakness and belatedness of Morocco: as if the journey to him is similar to looking into a mirror where he sees his true image."[69]

The significance of Ben S'aid's argument of the three phases lies in the fact that the historical changes in the relationship between Morocco and Europe affected the perception of the Self and the Other equally. Hence, the ruptures in the representation of the Self and the Other problematize more the encounter between Europe and Morocco. However, without historicizing the encounter and relating it to its immediate political and economic context, the re-visiting of that history becomes superficial; and tends to lead to conclusions which are characterized by overgeneralizations and homogenization. Thus, the denial of the ruptures in the history of the Arabo-Islamic relationship with the Western Other would essentialize and de-historicize the encounter. Similarly, claiming that Muslims have developed a body of literature about Europe that perpetuated through history with no ruptures the same images of inferiority and barbarism as al-Azmeh and Lewis do is ahistorical. The political and economic contextualization of the encounter and their influence on the discourse of Alterity is crucial as elaborated extensively by Ben S'aid. By the same token, Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis did not contextualize the encounter between the Islamic civilization and the Western civilization; and they did not take into consideration the specificity of each Islamic country; and its experience with Europe. The Moroccan experience, specificity, and context undermine the claims of the clash between civilizations, the lack of curiosity among Muslims to discover Europe and the Occidentalist discourse of barbarism claimed by al-Azmeh. Both Lewis and Huntington share the same political

[69] Ibid., p. 78.

stance. The neoconservative political position deeply weakens the arguments advanced above by Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis. Thus, the political distorts academic objectivity.

The shifting equation of power and Self-defining has played major roles in the content of the Moroccan travelogues to European Christian lands. It is the political and regional contexts that had the most significant impact on the Moroccan texts about Christendom. That is, the *out* circumstances shaped the *in*. The three major historical phases, or rather ruptures, elaborated meticulously in ben S'aid's book, comprehend the extent to which power balance had the most effect on the way Moroccan travelers, embassies and jurists perceived the European peoples, cities, and modernity.

Besides, the perception of the Europeans had been tightly related in a dialectical relationship to the perception of the Self. Indeed, the superior and powerful Moroccan Self meant an inferior and weak European whereas the weak and decadent Moroccan Self meant a modern and amazing infidel other. Having that said, these historical phases had the deepest impact on the national definition of the Moroccan identity. The different texts written by Ibn Qasim, El meknassi, El'amroui, Essaffar…etc. reflect the development of the national feeling in Morocco along with a definition and re-definition of the identity that is in constant flux. It is from this changing identity that the specificity of the Moroccan discourse on Europe emanates.

In brief, Matar is quite reluctant in discussing how national identity in Morocco was a major player in the ambivalence of the Moroccan national discourse on Europe. Similarly, ben S'aid seems more concerned by the historical contexts especially in relation to the outer forces than the inner development of national feeling or identity, if one may dare to suggest. Both of them fail to notice how national identification in Morocco created an ambivalent discourse/narration about the European nations. Homi Bhabha's insightful discussions of the relationship between nation and narration are guidelines in this case. Bhabha remarkably suggests that "it is an exact (not a rhetorical) statement about nationalism to say that it is by nature ambivalent."[70]

In the limelight of Bhabha's definition of nationalism as ambivalent, the Moroccanness of the Occidentalist "legacy" finds its place. In other words, the oscillation between admiration and

[70] Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 2.

abhorrence and the wavering between a hostile language that conveys hopes for destruction to be laid upon the Christian infidels and a language of *Mahabba* or affection towards the same foe reflects the ambivalent nature of the Moroccan discourse on Europe. Bhabha tackles the impact of historical context and transitions, such as the phases discussed by ben S'aid, on the language and narratives of nations. He states that "if the ambivalent figure of the nation is a problem of its transitional history, its conceptual indeterminacy, its wavering between vocabularies, then what effect does this have on narratives and discourses that signify a sense of 'nationness'."[71]

The effect is surely conspicuous in the Moroccan narratives about Europe. These narratives, as they convey a sense of "nationness" and belonging to a Moroccan Muslim identity, reflect the development of the national perception of the Other nations that have existed on the other side of the Mediterranean basin.

By the same token, "To study the nation through its narrative address does not merely draw attention to its language and rhetoric; it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself."[72] Indeed, what national identity can we talk about in the Moroccan context and that is plausible or latent in these Moroccan texts about Europe? It is the critical reading of nation and narration relationship that hope to trace the identity position through which Moroccans perceived of their European antagonists and alter the binary position and structural clashing views of Islam and Christendom as claimed by Lewis, al-Azmeh and many others. Thus, reading these narratives implies an anthropological quest to understand the social, political and economic contexts that shaped the language and rhetoric of Alterity in these texts. Bhabha clarifies further this notion of studying nations through their narratives by enhancing the positive side in that cultural practice stressing that "its positive value lies in displaying the wide dissemination through which we construct the field of meanings and symbols associated with national life."[73]

Briefly, the ambivalence of the Moroccan literature, not to say discourse, about Europe is blatant. This ambivalent nature can also be used to describe the literature produced about the West in other Arab nations. This conclusion deconstructs the rigidities of Orientalism as discussed by

[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., p. 3.
[73] Ibid.

Said and Occidentalism as argued by al-Azmeh and others. It is high time to do away with dualistic perspectives that haunt the academic research and load it with political and ideological misguidance. Orientalism and Occidentalism are two opposing academic disciplines that resemble the Hegelian dialectic of the thesis and anti-thesis. Thus, following the same Hegelian dialectic, the outcome would be a synthesis; or hybridity. Similarly, Anouar Majid argues that:

> hybridity (the cause of so much trauma in the Third World) and syncretism are proposed as the best available models to dismantle the unproductive polarizations inherent in the totalizing narratives of difference.[74]

Even in academia, hybridity, interdisciplinarity or transculturation are to be the outlet to dismantle the polarizations inherited in totalizing disciplines. The first step for this scope is to decolonize knowledge from all political, Euro-centric and Nationalist influences.

[74] Anouar Majid, *Unveiling Traditions*, p. 35.

PART TWO: ANALYTICAL PART

II. MUSLIM MOROCCANS AT GIBRALTAR

The British acquaintance with the Muslim world dates back to the Elizabethan era as Matar and MacLean suggest in their pertinent book *Britain and the Islamic world, 1558-1713*. The huge body of literature that the British has developed concerning major capital cities in the Islamic world reaching from Marrakech, Fez, Aleppo, Cairo to Agra in the East…etc. furnished the British with a wide catalogue of images and representations or rather knowledge about these foreign lands. This knowledge, as claimed by some belated Orientalists, reflects the curious and adventurer nature of the Christian agency or civilization. On the other hand, it reflects as well, according to these claims, the lack of curiosity and adventurer spirit among the Muslims. Nevertheless, this does not really reflect the Western subject as always curious, adventuring and exploring since it rather reflects the growing economic needs of the British Empire triggering exploration behind the scene. That is, when the British required new markets and natural resources to coop with their growing imperial appetite, exploration was inaugurated; or as Matar and MacLean put it: "Britons were driven by commercial need and by the desire to trade- not by some curiosity peculiar to 'Western' Europeans, or a heroic spirit of 'adventurer'."[1]

The same goes for the other European Empires who set out to boost their worldwide trade. Thus, this growing knowledge of Islamic civilization reflects not only interest but also a historical rise of colonial craving in the Western Christendom.

On the other and, Muslims did not share the same 'curiosity' or 'adventurer' spirit when it came to exploring European lands since this latter did not present any king of interest for Muslims during the same period till decades before the industrial revolution took place. Only then, Muslims took Europe as a destination to be discovered in order to coop with the new world order where industry and commerce formulated the key to modernity. In this context, North Africans and mainly Moroccans had to rediscover the European neighbor from this perspective. This

[1] Nabil Matar, MacLean. *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.15.

rediscovery happened to coincide with the British colonizing of Gibraltar in 1704 a few kilometers on the other shore from Tangier.

With this change or rather historical drift from taking the East as a destination to explore by Muslims and Moroccans in particular for its spices, silk, Jewelry, wisdom and technology…etc., routes to Europe were set out to understand what happened that shifted the balance of power in favor for the Europeans. Moroccan emissaries to England and Gibraltar demarcated the swing of interest towards the European land, customs, laws, administration and society…etc. and reports showed perplex and sometimes ambivalent feelings as put by Pennel: "Moroccan feelings about Europe were ambivalent at best."[2] Thus, Britain emerged to be a promising destination to explore and with whom is to strengthen political, commercial and social ties.

Actually, the starting point of the Anglo-Moroccan relations dates back to the 13th century. However, the rule of the Alaouite dynasty will be the demarcating point in this dissertation. Taking the late 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century as a starting point will help much in tracing the immediate historical events that shaped the Anglo-Moroccan relations vis-à-vis Gibraltar. Even though, Khalid ben-Srhir prefers to start the Anglo-Moroccan relations from the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the reign of Muley Ismail, concretely, was fundamental since he was the first to suggest making Gibraltar, in the beginning of the 18th century, a free port for Moroccans to trade in. Yet, the British occupation of Tangier marked a serious event that slowed the growth of these relations. Ben-Srhir explains the historical context in which Britain had taken Tangier. He explains:

> At the time when al-Kader Ghaylan was trying to extend his influence over the region from Qsar al-Kabir to Tangier, the marriage took place in 1661 between Catharine of Braganza of Portugal and King Charles II. In accordance with the marriage settlement, the Portuguese port of Tangier was given to the English and they entered it on 30 January 1662.[3]

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[2] Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830: A History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2000), p. 63.

[3] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the embassy of John Drummond Hay 1845-1886*, trans. Malcolm Williams et al. (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 14.

Even when Britain left the city in 1684, the economic relations were not that favorable in comparison to other European states such as France. Nadia Erzini depicts the Anglo-Moroccan relationships and describes them as less developed than other countries in spite of the fact that there were British diplomatic missions in Morocco. She explains that "British consuls were based at Salé and Tetuan respectively from 1637 and 1657, and a certain amount of trade was conducted, although less than with the French and Dutch merchants in Morocco."[4]

In short, after Great Britain had annexed the Garrison of Gibraltar, it signed the treaty of Utrecht on13 July 1713 in which Spain endeavored to impose the article X that denied the Moors or Jews the right to trade or reside in Gibraltar. However, Great Britain declined the article and allowed the Moroccans to trade and to reside for a month in the garrison due to the request of Muley Ismail. The X article of the treaty states clearly:

> And Her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does consent and agree, that no leave shall be given under any pretence whatsoever, either to Jews or Moors, to reside or have their dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar; and that no refuge or shelter shall be allowed to any Moorish ships of war in the harbor of the said town, whereby the communication between Spain and Ceuta may be obstructed, or the coasts of Spain be infested by the excursions of the Moors.[5]

But the queen of Britain refused to deny the right to trade neither for the Moors nor for Jews because of the growing reciprocal economic interest between Britain and Morocco at that time. Due to these political and economic relations, the British were not ready to lose a strategic ally such as the Kingdom of Morocco. Thus, the treaty clarified in the same article that the Moors have the right to trade:

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[4] Nadia Erzini, *Moroccan-British Diplomatic and Commercial Relations in the Early 18th Century: The Abortive Embassy to Meknes in 1718* (Durham: University of Durham, Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2002), p. 3.

[5] Scott Truver, *The Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean*, vol.4 (The Netherlands: Sijthoff & Noorhoff, 1980), p. 247.

> But whereas treaties of friendship and a liberty and intercourse of commerce are between the British and certain territories situated on the coast of Africa, it is always to be understood, that the British subjects cannot refuse the Moors and their ships entry into the port of Gibraltar purely upon the account of merchandising.[6]

These efforts deployed by Muley Ismail to benefit from the British outpost came to fruition and the Moroccan relations grew stronger despite now and then difficulties. These complications such as piracy and captivity disturbed the Anglo-Moroccan ties and Gibraltar had to undergo these incidents. Nevertheless, violence was not the only feature of these relations, other features such as cooperation, intercultural encounters and diplomacy…etc. were rather the dominant plausible feature of the Moroccan relations with the British mainly at Gibraltar.

1. Moroccan Relations with Gibraltar: The Context of Piracy and Prospects for Cooperation

a. Circumstances of Piracy and Captivity: an Intense Encounter

Despite the efforts deployed by the sultan Muley Ismail to enforce the contacts and friendship with Britain, piracy, as an act of violent from the two sides, remained a serious impediment to his efforts. British corsairs and Moroccan ones did not abide literally by the friendship and diplomatic frameworks established by their states. In effect, between 1716 and 1726, piracy witnessed its peak and "during those decades, [that] the world experienced the most intense outbreak of seaborne banditry ever recorded."[7] This is apparently, but with reserve, a

[6] Ibid.

[7] Frank Sherry, *Raiders and Rebels: The Golden Age of Piracy* (New York: Hearst Marine Books, 1986), p. 7.

manifestation of clashing entities or as put by Clark: "the two sides of the Mediterranean were in the hands of two separate and inimical civilizations, different in religion, morals, law, economy and knowledge."[8] Yet, evidences show that these acts of piracy were not only between Christians and Muslims but mainly between Christian nations themselves as they preyed each other's ships returning from the new world; and that they were committed and driven by the force of economy and dreams of easy and rapid gains. That is, piracy was an international phenomenon by the scale of the 16th and 17th centuries and even during the late Middle ages. In the Mediterranean basin, it was "a growth industry, one that afforded handsome opportunities for financial gains, personal notoriety, and risky pleasures."[9]

As it was for business for the British privateers, it was so for Moroccan pirates in Tangier, Tetuan and the famous Sallee Rovers as well. Frequently, those pirates undertook fierce forays against vessels that resulted in captivity of Muslim and Christian fellows equally. Consequently, the treaty of 1721 was mostly pushed by the piracy ventures from both sides. On September 1720, Captain Charles Stewart, was appointed by the British King as commander in chief of a squadron of ships to cruise against the Sallee rovers; at the same time, he was nominated Minister Plenipotentiary to Morocco with instructions to negotiate a treaty and the redemption of British captives.[10] This ambassador "had offered the Moroccans 12000 barrel of gunpowder, 12000 gunlocks, and 160 piece of cloth for the release of 175 British captives, and a further 8500 dollar to Ben Hattar for having fed and looked after the ship captains."[11] The journey of John Windus to Meknes in 1725 comprised further details since he accompanied Ambassador Stewart to the Emperor of Morocco.

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[8] George Clark, *War and Society in the Seventh Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 105.

[9] Clifford Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, Religion, and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296-1337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 296.

[10] James Clarke, et al. *The Naval Chronicle: Containing a General and Biographical History of the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom with a Variety of Original Papers on Nautical Subjects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 279.

[11] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704—1783," *Transactions & Miscellanies (Jewish Historical Society of England)*, 26 (1974), p. 92-93.

Moses Ben Hattar, a prominent Jew from Morocco, played a chief part to make this treaty signed by the two nations. In fact, due to his commercial interests in Gibraltar, he deployed all his influence to convince the British of the importance of this treaty for their Garrison. He was once described as a "Jewish Merchant, who had been often employed in the former treaties, and was a person more artful and interested than any other in the country, and chiefly to be considered, in regard, he had it more in his power to make the negotiations successful, or defeat it as he had done that of others."[12]

Figure 1: Moroccan corsairs making a getaway near Gibraltar (19th Century - Otto Lusty).[13]

[12] Isaac Hassan, *Gibraltar Heritage Journal: Special Edition to Commemorate the Gibraltar Exhibition at the Jewish Museum London, 2004* (London: Friends of Gibraltar Heritage Society, 2005), p. 82.

[13] Neville Chipulina, (2014), "1720 - A Treaty of Peace - Never Mind Utrecht," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018), from https://gibraltar-intro.blogspot.com/2014/04/1720-treaty-of-peace-never-mind-utrecht.html

In the same context, the embassy of the Moroccan Cardenash to London in 1706[14] had had for its purpose to settle disagreements concerning piracy and captivity as well. For this purpose and to sweeten the atmosphere, Ahmed ben Ahmed Cardenash brought six lions with him from Muley Ismail to Queen Anne as a gift[15] to sweeten the deal.

Despite all these efforts, piracy and captivity continued; and all of the treaties afterwards included articles to weaken these two offensive practices. In 1728, the Scottish newspaper Caledonian Mercury published that 3 English men of war cruised before the port of Sallee and "entirely blocked up this port, and that they were not to depart from thence, until relived by others; they add, that the distraction among the Moors were as great as ever."[16]

A month later, the Ipswich Journal known also by the Weekly Mercury reported that one of the English men of war, he is presumably one of the three mentioned above, "returned to Gibraltar from Sallee."[17] Unexpectedly, the internal strife after the death of Muley Ismail, which was led by the Black army, continued and fueled the unrestrained Moroccan corsairs in different portal cities. In 1729, after the internal strife ended by the death of Abd el Malek and the throne went to Abdallah V., George II sent John Russel to Morocco to initiate negotiations for an agreement of peace. Russel managed to redeem twenty three of his English countrymen; and they departed to England with him.[18] In 1732, after the English ship the Eagle was captured by Moorish pirates, John Leonard Sollicoffre arrived to Morocco to ransom the ship and all its crew.[19] Hence, the treaty was not valid and violence inaugurated by piracy persisted and escalated from both sides. Two years after Sollicoffre's visit to Meknes, he had to return with gifts and a personal letter from his king to search for a truce. After two ships of the Royal Navy had attacked Mogador port and destroyed two Moroccan vessels, the Sallee rovers retaliated, again, and seized a significant

[14] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1993), p. 74-75.

[15] Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals* (London: Printed for T. Ward in the Inner-Temple-Lane, 1710), p. 233.

[16] *The Caledonian Mercury*, 24 October 1728, no. 1332.

[17] *The Ipswich Journal or The Weekly Mercury*, from 26 Oct. to 2 Nov. 1728, p. 429.

[18] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 88.

[19] Ibid.

number of British ships.[20] These acts of piracy from both sides worsened the Anglo-Moroccan relation and imposed fragile moments in these relations.

After Sollicoffre's failure to fulfill his promises concerning the ransom of the British captives, the Moroccan sultan grew angry against the British; and the Moroccan privateers used this as a pretext for more raids against British ships. The escalating events pushed the English to appoint a new consul general in Morocco named William Latton who was eager to solve the complications that Mr. Sollicoffre had caused. Nevertheless, Muley Abdallah asked for all the 12600£ that Sollicoffre "had undertaken to pay for the Englishmen whom he had redeemed from their captivity" [21] and which the sultan had received no penny. Mr. Latton, for security reasons, sent William Petticrew as his deputy in Tangier and settled in Gibraltar from which his negotiations were undertaken. Latton's approach to solve problems caused more trouble. After two years of his appointment, he crossed to Tetuan to inaugurate direct negotiations with its governor Kaid Mohammed Toomin who insisted on paying the money first and threatened the consul of the consequences of refusal. Toomin "declared to the ambassador that if he was not forthwith paid the whole sum, or had not his note of hand, engaging to pay it in eight or ten days, he had positive orders to carry him and the English slaves up to Fez.[22]

Thus, after some of these captives wrote in the "most languishing words" to Latton about their sorrow and miserable conditions, the latter concluded that he would pay 4399£ within ten days and 8201£ within two months. He wrote to the governor of Gibraltar entreating him to send the former sum of 4399£. The latter answered back sharply informing the Kaid that he would get no money. Unpredictably, the governor of Tangier Kaid Toomin ordered Latton to be confined at his residence in Tetuan and put some guards over him.[23] Consequently, the governor of Gibraltar Lieutenant General Bland sent Commodore Keppel to the bay of Tetuan with a squadron of warships to procure Latton who was sent after his release to England and then dismissed of his position. The British, willing to turn the page and resume negotiations of the treaty, paid the

[20] Ibid., p. 90.
[21] Ibid., p. 93.
[22] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol.19, 1749, p. 560.
[23] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 94.

remaining 8200£ to the sultan.[24] Thus, the deputy Mr. Petticrew was appointed consul general and managed to renew the treaty of peace and commerce with Morocco.

However, some inappropriate acts by the governor of Gibraltar led the prince Sidi Mohammed to put an end to the life of an English merchant in Rabat and to declare war against England through issuing and edict "that any English ship arriving in Moroccan ports should be seized."[25] The prince further declared that "with the aid of the Almighty God I will know how to revenge myself on the English of Gibraltar."[26] It was, as declared by Sidi Mohammed in a letter to George II of England, the governor of Gibraltar who authorized illegal trade to be conducted with the port of Asilah which triggered the wrath of the young Prince to whom his father delegated all his authority. In fact, the illegal trade with Gibraltar was with the rebelling uncle of the prince and exhibited the support of the British for the uncle against the inheritor of throne Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah.[27] It was not only depriving Mekhzen from tax incomes but also a flagrant intervention on the behalf of the British governor in Gibraltar with the internal Moroccan affairs. However, the British extreme need for the Moroccan alliance was far more crucial and vital than these small incidents. The long negotiations and many envoys who were sent to the newly appointed sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah proved constructive after many abortive attempts.[28] The fruitful negotiations ended up by confirming the treaty of peace and commerce which proved as a great advantage for the two nations and mainly for the British as they secured the provision of fresh provisions to their Garrison in Gibraltar.

The efforts of the young sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah to make his authority prevail and to modernize his maritime power were efficient in ending, or at least, weakening the skirmishes and random raids by the Moroccan privateers against Western ships. Yet, still some intolerable and calamitous incidents happened from time to time during the end of the 18th and along the 19th century caused by some Moroccan pirates and others. Still, these incidents were widespread through the Mediterranean basin which triggered the alarm for a European consent to

[24] Ibid., p. 95.
[25] Ibid., p. 97.
[26] *Pall Mall Gazette,* 30 June 1897, p. 7.
[27] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 98.
[28] Ibid., p. 98-103.

put an end to piracy. Indeed, in 1846, some Moroccan buccaneers seized a British "merchant brig, named the *Ruth*, (…), and the escape of the crew by boats."[29] Consequently, the governor of Gibraltar sent the warship called *Fantome* to retrieve the vessel which led to a confrontation between the British and Moroccans leading to fatal loses on the Moroccan side:

> Captain Nicholson commanded in person; and he and his small party were opposed by very considerable numbers of the Moors, who, armed with pistols, guns, and cutlasses, obstinately disputed his landing, and afterwards his advance on the strand, some of them fighting with great bravery. A great many were killed by the crew of the Fantome, and a large number must have suffered from the guns of the sloop covering the launching of the ship.[30]

Thus, the powerful maritime force played the foremost role in the fading of piracy in the whole Mediterranean Sea not only Morocco. It was this deadly retaliation that initiated the end of piracy; and needless to mention how the French army invaded and killed thousands of Algerians under the pretext of ending Algerian piracy too.

In 1853, the Gibraltar Chronicle reported that the Moroccan coast of Riff "is as unsecure as ever" when eight Moroccans had attacked a Spanish vessel causing destruction and death.[31] Two years before this incident, Riffian pirates had captured the British schooner *Emilia* along with many other vessels; and they engaged a Gibraltarian steamer near Tetuan bay. British newspapers reported the incident stating that "an engagement between Her Majesty's steam-frigate Janus and the Riff pirates, on the coast of Morocco, in which Lieutenant Powell, commanding the Janus, was seriously wounded, and seven of the crew more or less injured, by the destructive fire of the Moors."[32]

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[29] *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, 1846, p. 373-374.
[30] "The Barbary Pirates," *The Falkirk Herald*, 11 June 1846.
[31] "Piracy on the Coast of Morocco," *The New York Times*, 17 February 1853.
[32] "Engagement with Pirates near Gibraltar," *Essex Standard*, 7 November 1851.

The immensely powerful Gibraltar warship vanquished the Riffians and returned to Gibraltar where dispatches to the sultan were sent to put an end to his outlaw pirates[33]. Nevertheless, these piratical actions took place against all European merchant ships till the eve of the 20th century.

By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, there were newspaper reports, yet again, on piratical events led by Moorish subjects against European interests. "Piracy on the Moorish Coast,"[34] "Moorish Piracy Further Depredations,"[35] and "The Insurgent Moors: Attack on Stranded Ship Stopped,"[36] these are, beside others, titles that British readers were frequently receiving. Most of these events were triggered by Riffian pirates. Some other incidents, nonetheless, were caused by British subjects. For instance, in 1898, Major Albert Gybbon Spilsbury was arrested in London on a "warrant dated July 6, 1898, issued by Sir Arthur Nicholson, Her Majesty's Minister and Consul-general in Morocco, and endorsed for execution by Sir John Bridge."[37] He was "charged of piracy and of fighting the soldiers of the sultan."[38] The events took place as such "about January 13, 1898, on the Sus coast (…) in the steamer Tourmaline, with others to the number of three or more, unlawfully and riotously assemble, an riotously make an assault upon certain soldiers of the sultan of Morocco by firing on the sultan's ship named the Hassanie.[39] His trial, along with his crew, was held in Gibraltar where they were lightly sentenced. This case illustrated the extent to which the British were committed to themselves as far as fighting illegal acts and piracy are concerned as well as how the Moroccan alliance was remarkably sought to persist.

[33] For more on the efforts deployed by Hassan I to stop piracy, see his correspondences with his governor in Tangier: (AAMT FO 18/2507; AAMT FO 24/3012; AAMT FO 3/280; AAMT FO 24/3025; AAMT FO 24/3033; AAMT FO 24/3038).

[34] "Piracy on the Moorish Coast," *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 11 July 1896, p. 29.

[35] "Moorish Piracy Further Depredations," *South Australian Register*, 20 October 1896, p. 5.

[36] "The Insurgent Moors: Attack on Stranded Ship Stopped," *The West Australian*, 29 December 1913, p. 7.

[37] *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 28 April 1899, p. 6.

[38] "An Adventurous Life: Piracy Charge recalled," *The West Australian*, 29 Dec. 1922, p. 8.

[39] *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, p. 6.

Piracy and slavery were two sides of the same coin. Till the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, piracy and slavery remained a de facto[40] at least in Morocco; and because of its lucrative nature,[41] European nations and subjects conducted this trade extensively. It had always been a worldly phenomenon par excellence. Even after the widespread of intellectual and philosophical movement known by Enlightenment age which dominated the world, still slavery and slave trade fueled international commerce through the Atlantic Ocean the extent to which Africa suffered a huge demographic shift. Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah, too, was deeply affected by this trade and complained about the British ships which loaded hundreds of slaves from Agadir port. Actually, in 1787, the sultan complained to the French consul about the number of "black slaves shipped by England from Agadir, which he declared to be greater than that exported by all the other nations together."[42] The same year marked the prohibition of the Europeans from shipping Africans from Moroccan coastal cities.

On a smaller scale, after the British insistence on ending this trade, it was conducted secretly, though, by some British subjects and Moroccans across Gibraltar bay. In 1844, British correspondences unfolded the incident of 11 slaves smuggled by Hadji Hamed Marteen to Tetuan with the assistance of a British matriculated mariner from Gibraltar named Ramon Atalaya. The letters disclosed that on 21st of December 1844 the British steam-packet *Polyphemus* shipped 12 Moors from Egypt to Gibraltar; and these Moors were registered as 4 servants and 7 children with Hadji Hamed Mateen. Apart from the latter, all the remaining 11 were "Negroes and eunuchs, and therefore probably slaves"[43] purchased for the sultan as was assumed by Drummond Hay. The second day, Romon Atalaya took on board of the *St. Francis* boat in Gibraltar the 12 passengers "without any passports, health bills, or other documents whatever authorising their embarkation."[44]

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[40] Abd el-Aziz Al-Khamlichi, "Hawla Tijart 'Araqiq fi al-Maghrib khilala al-Qarn 19," Dar Nyaba, 7: Summer (1985), p. 37-43.

[41] Louis Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830–1894)*, vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), p. 265.

[42] James Meakin, *The Moorish Empire, a Historical Epitome* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1899), p. 287.288.

[43] Great Britain, Foreign and Commonwealth Office. British And Foreign State Papers. London: H. M. S. O, p. 620.

[44] Ibid., p. 621.

The same mariner had been prohibited by the Moroccan authorities from entering Moroccan ports due to the fact that he had been smuggling goods illegitimately to escape paying taxes. This irregularity, as described by Hay, did not pass without any consequences since it infringed Gibraltarian and British laws.

However, needless to say that piracy and slavery were the only features of Anglo-Moroccan relations. Mekhzen and Moroccans proved that friendship and collaboration also marked these relations mainly during the intense moments of the history of Gibraltar. Moreover, the role that the latter played in securing Moroccan pilgrims to Mecca on board of British ships when inland journeys were long and exhausting. I will be elaborating further on how assistance was brought to Gibraltar by Morocco during the perils of the four-year siege, known also by the Great Siege; besides, I will discuss who Gibraltar was the embarkation port for the Moroccan pilgrims and travelers to the East.

b. Tracing the Prospects of Cooperation

Indeed, by the time when Britain declared the official annexation of Gibraltar to the British Crown, the relations between Morocco and Great Britain were already favorable mainly after the British had left Tangier in 1684. For this reason, Britain was not ready to sacrifice a strategic ally such as Morocco even for the sake of the Spanish king. The British desired the Moroccan assistance and provisions to maintain their Colony of Gibraltar and enable it to stand and resist the Spanish attacks and sieges. On 29 March 1771, in one of his letters to Consul-General Sampson, the Secretary-of-State for the Southern Department, Lord Rachford, reminded him that "One principle reason of desiring to keep up a strict friendship with the Emperor is the convenient supply of the Garrison of Gibraltar."[45]

Spain, on the other hand, did not cease its efforts to regain back Gibraltar from the British. It had had many wars with England and one of the fronts of these wars was the Garrison of Gibraltar. Indeed, Spain launched a siege on Gibraltar in 1727 which lasted five months. However,

[45] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 108.

it did not manage to retrieve the port; and in 1779, it seized the opportunity of the war for independence in the United States (1775-1783) and the British military involvement in oppression the American Revolution and launched an attack to recuperate the Rock. It besieged the garrison for more than four years in what is known in history by the Great Siege of Gibraltar. The British colony repulsed the attacks and managed to resist the siege thanks to the Moroccan assistance in supplying the city with the necessary fresh provisions as was expected by the British. Allen Andrews provides tiny example of the risky and crucial role played by Moroccans during the siege:

> A Barbary craft took advantage of the absence of the Spanish men-of-war and slipped in with thirty-nine bullocks, though they were so knocked about that they died on the beach. But another Moorish vessel, and a Swede which appeared off the point the next day, were boarded by the galleys and their precious freight taken into Algeciras. The very slender supplies of fresh provisions which were reaching the garrison were at this time coming only from Bar-bary.[46]

This small event, beside other examples, as I will be discussing shortly, broke down the fierce blockade on the Rock and backed the British resistance. It clarifies in details the decisive role that Morocco played during the Great Siege of Gibraltar.

Due to this fact, Great Britain sought to reinforce the alliance with Morocco whereas Spain searched for the Moroccan neutrality and offered Sidi Mohammed ben Abdullah two hundred thousand dollars if he would stop English trade with Britain and the supply of provisions to Gibraltar.[47] Furthermore, Spain dispatched envoys to the court of the sultan to convince him stop providing Gibraltar with supplies. The Spanish attempts failed according to Rogers who posits that the Moroccan stance came out of the "great friendship with Britain."[48] Nonetheless, the refusal of Morocco was not only out of friendship but also out of political interest. The sultan's ambassador

[46] Allen Andrews, *Proud Fortress: The Fighting Story of Gibraltar* (London: Evans, 1958), p. 220.
[47] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 109.
[48] Ibid., p. 110.

who carried the letter to London, in which his refusal of the Spanish request is written, had another military mission that revolved around purchasing cannons and other armaments that could be used for the reduction of the Spanish fortress of Ceuta.[49] On the other hand, Great Britain sent envoys with expensive gifts to request from Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah the increase of the exportation to Gibraltar in return for supplying Morocco with weapons and tools for constructing ships. On the other side, Spain sent its consul in Tangier to ask Morocco to stop supplying Gibraltar with provisions once more.

Yet, the Moroccan assistance was not always straightforward. This was because of the sultan growing angry against the governors of Gibraltar, since their behaviors towards the sultan's ships and other equipment's were disrespectful. For instance, in one incident, a ship that belonged to the sultan run ashore near Gibraltar and the governor of Gibraltar refused to hand it back after it was repaired there. Rogers clarifies more: "when the price of repair was not paid, (it was) auctioned to recover the expenses incurred."[50] Moreover there was the incident of the clock and the watch that belonged to the sultan, which he had sent to London to be repaired. The sultan's equipment stayed for three years in London without being repaired. He was provoked by the delay in returning his clock and the watch. Because of this incident Sidi Mohamed raised by one-third the export duties charged on provisions for the Gibraltar Garrison.

Because of these small incidents, the Anglo-Moroccan relations witnessed ruptures and sometimes Morocco supported Spain against Great Britain. In a letter sent by Sidi Mohammed ben Abdullah, he ordered his governor in Tangier to stop assisting the British ships and ordered full help to be given to Spain. The letter stated:

> if English vessels arrive to you do not allow them to take anything even a small quantity of water. Say to them that our country went through draught and we have

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., p. 113.

only what we need (…). Moreover, we order you to treat well the Spanish in the best manner due to their King's affection and ours.[51]

This event took place in April 1780. Thus, the Moroccan supplies to the Garrison of Gibraltar were stopped and the Garrison witnessed its most perilous moments during the blockade. Moreover, Morocco allowed the Spanish vessels to chase the British ones in the Moroccan waters. The British consul Charles Logie protested against the Moroccan policy and encountered Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah to convey his objection. He complained about how two British ships which sailed from Tetuan and Tangier in June 1780 were attacked by a Spanish pirate soon after their departure resulting in one of the crew to be slayed. At the end of the audience, he requested the neutrality of Morocco during the siege.

The sultan grew angry when Charles Logie addressed him in an authoritative manner. Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah, at that juncture, as a response, dismissed the consul from his court and put Tangier under the Spanish control which the latter used us a military base to control the southern side of the Strait of Gibraltar. By the end of 1780s, the sultan rent his three ports, Tetuan, Tangier and Larache to the Spaniards, each for 100,000 cobs per annum. Hopefully for the British, these measures did not last for the whole siege. In 1781, the sultan allowed the British ships to trade in the northern ports of Morocco and released some British crews who were imprisoned in Tetuan since 1780. Nonetheless, this move did not mean a siding with Great Britain but rather a "return to the status before 1779"[52] as argued by Eddahani. Furthermore, in September 1782, three Moroccan ships went through the siege and one of them was with a flag.[53] When the boat from Barbary smuggled provisions to the besieged Rock, this time, Morocco sent provisions in daylight with national flags waving on the top of the Moorish boats. The year after: "arrived 2 Moorish boats from Tetuan, bullocks, which they lash down in the boat so that the animal cannot stir.[54] By the end of the blockade, Moorish military personnel were sent to the Rock along with British

[51] Abdellah Eddahani, *al-Maghrib wa Madyaq Jabal Tariq 1684-1815*, Diss. (Rabat University of Mohamed V, 2004), p. 112.
[52] Ibid., p. 113.
[53] Spilsbury, *A Journal of the Siege of Gibraltar 1779-1783* (Gibraltar, 1908), p.80.
[54] Ibid., p. 102.

officials to check upon the British needs for sustaining the resistance. Besides, on the 12th of June, 1783, two Moorish men-of-war arrived at Gibraltar with the British commodore on the vessel *Speed Well*.[55] Five days later, the Moroccan soldiers sailed back to Morocco.[56] After the great siege ended, the Rock reconstructed itself and regained its full recovery; and the first to test this recovery was Morocco who sent an "Admiral with a 15 inch mortar and six 12 inch howitzers, brass, to get them mounted"[57] on the 26th of June 1783.

[55] Ibid., p. 109.
[56] Ibid., p. 110.
[57] Ibid., p. 80.

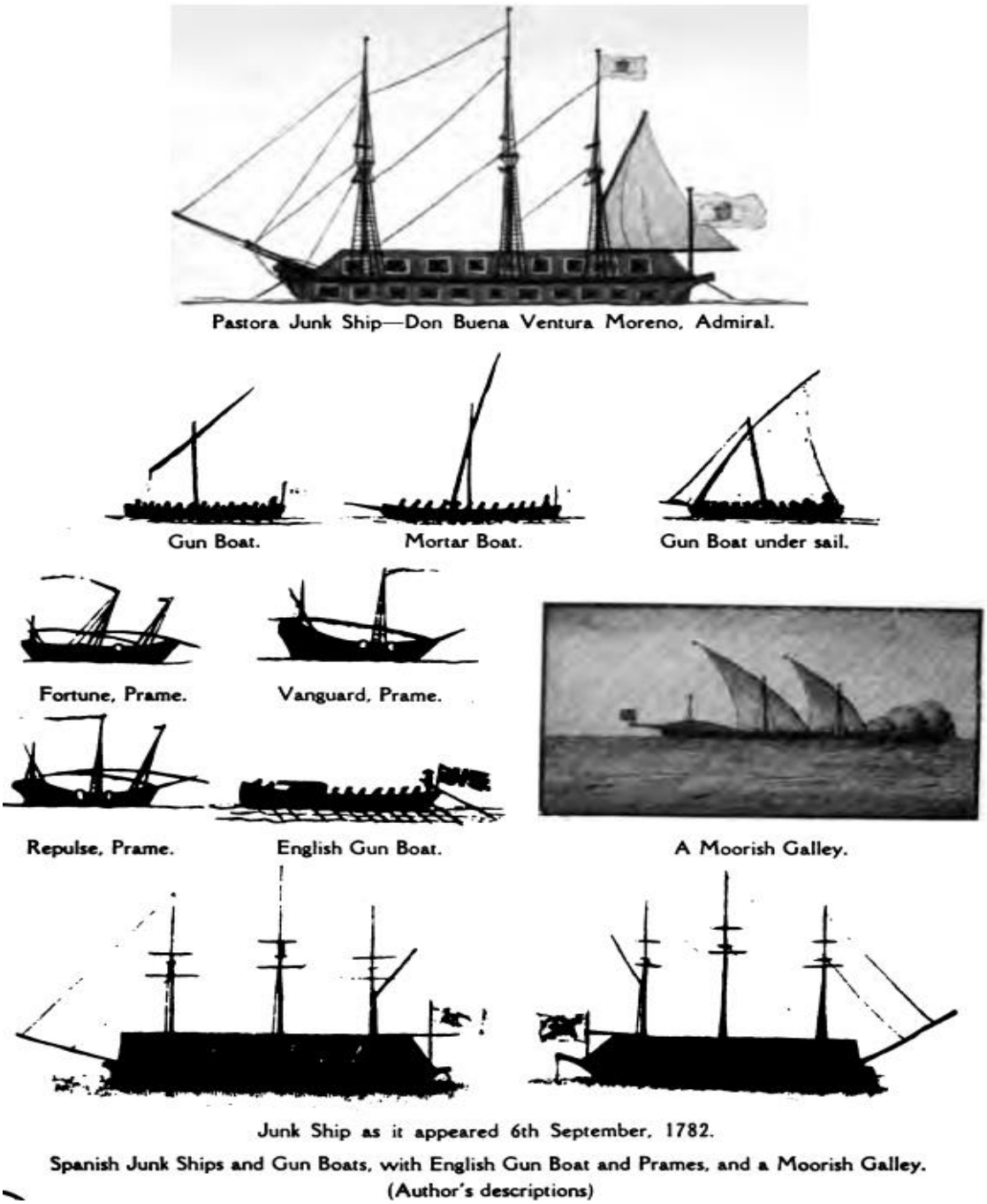

Figure 2: Moroccan, British and Spanish warships.[58]

[58] Ibid., p. 70.

Despite all the now and then political ruptures, the Anglo-Moroccan relations persisted. By the beginning of the 19th century, international pressures grew stronger on Morocco concerning health care in the kingdom. These pressures revolved around prohibiting, very usually, Moroccan passengers and cargos to cross to European ports especially at the time when plagues break out. Gibraltar, as a result of its geographical and strategic ties with Moroccan ports, on the other hand, assisted Morocco in institutionalizing health care and continued receiving passenger and shipments from Moroccan.

Yet, these shipments were held in the quarantine zone whenever the news of plagues came from Morocco or the East since hundreds of Moroccan pilgrims returned from Mecca through British ships and outposts; and here came the role of the Moroccan consuls there to intervene for the welfare of these Moroccan subjects. Some of these consuls were dismissed when complains of these pilgrims reached the sultans about the carelessness of his consuls in the Rock such as the case of Ben Oliel, as will be discussed soon, who was dismissed for the same reason. Ben Bajja; the first Moroccan consul in Gibraltar, on the opposite, took good care of Moroccan Muslims in Gibraltar and the Gibraltarian authorities assisted his efforts therein. He was mentioned, though not by name, in doctor William Pym's report in the first decade of the 19th century to have assisted some Moroccans who were returning from Malaga to Tetuan but their captain died of an epidemic. He escorted them to a house in Gibraltar where they stayed under quarantine before they were sent to Morocco with the body of their captain. The house was white washed later as a precaution.[59]

By 1837, Morocco had already had a Supreme Board of Health which comprehended commissions of the Consuls-Generals at Tangier and was under the direct authority of the sultan.[60] This board of health, occasionally, recommended establishing quarantine zones in some Moroccan ports such as Tangier and Essaouira. Definitely, in November 1866, Sidi Mohammed ben Abderrahman issued a decree revolving around making Essaouira a quarantine station for all pilgrims who return from Hajj with epidemics. This decree came as the fruit of the pressures exercised by the diplomatic representations of Western nations in Tangier and mainly from the

[59] William PYM, *Appendix to Mr. Pym's Treatise Upon West India and Gibraltar, or Bulam Fever* (London, 1815), p. 16.

[60] *Accounts and Papers*, vol. 32 (Oxford University: 1843), p.206.

international health board.[61] This quarantine station added more tiresome experience for those Moroccans returning from Hajj. Beside the long voyage, plagues and eminent risks…etc. the quarantine at home prolonged the endurance. Arthur Leared visited this quarantine station and reported:

> This island is the only quarantine station in Morocco, and is occasionally used for the purpose. Steam boats destined for Tangier and containing Mecca pilgrims from Alexandria, have been compelled, on occasions of an outbreak of cholera, to proceed to this place, nearly four hundred miles further. This, and justly, has been considered a great grievance, though it is one which at present admits of no remedy.[62]

Despite the fact that pilgrimage to Mecca became shorter in time and financially bearable than the old method of crossing inland through Algeria and Egypt…etc., but the quarantine stations along the Mediterranean shores magnified the journey. Meanwhile, the British ships, beside the ships rented by Moroccan merchants from Gibraltar, played major roles in shipping thousands of pilgrims mainly after the French colonization of Algeria which stopped the inland journeys. For instance, the British ship *Etna* was reported to have on board 785 Moroccan pilgrim.[63] Moroccan merchants, too, used to rent boats from Gibraltar and ship huge numbers to Mecca regardless of any health regulations.[64] Some of these privileged Moroccan merchants were given royal monopoly over shipping Moroccans to Mecca or the Near East in general. They overcrowded the boats with pilgrims providing suitable conditions for plagues and wreck. In 1849, when the Moroccan scholar L'arbi Al-machrifi was waiting for his transportation to Mecca- the ship was owned by Mustapha Dekkali- to arrive from Gibraltar he noticed how the other ships

[61] Mohamed Lamin Al-Bazzaz, "Hawla al-Hajj al-Maghribi 'la Diar al-Maqdissia fi Qarn 'Tasiaa 'Achar wa Bidayt Qarn al-Aachrin," *Dar Nyaba*, 7: Summer (1985), p. 66.

[62] Arthur Leared, *Morocco and the Moors Being an Account of Travels, with a General Description of the Country and Its People* (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1876), p. 84.

[63] Mohamed Lamin Al-Bazzaz, "Hawla al-Hajj al-Maghribi 'la Diar al-Maqdissia," p. 69.

[64] Ibid., p. 72.

"were overcrowded with pilgrims" and how his transportation "was like a scabietic goat".[65] The ship was too old and damaged that it was impossible it could resist the huge waves in the sea as reported by Al-Machrifi. Other acquisitive Moroccan merchants such as Abd Lghani Bnouna, Ahmed Afilal, el-Makki el-Qabbaj Erbatti and Abd Essalam Bennis …etc.[66] run after financial gain on the expense of Moroccan pious pilgrims and overcrowded their ships. In 1841, these greedy Merchants were overtook by the authorities in Tangier who rented three more ships from Gibraltar to send the pilgrims to Mecca.

By the second half of the 19th century, new maritime enterprises took over the business of transporting Moroccans to the East. Indeed, in 1856, two major players monopolized this business: a Gibraltarian merchant and the other was from Marseille. Nevertheless, conditions for pilgrims did not improve even when the International Health Board had stressed on the importance of health and comfort regulations on board of ships. Doctor Rebolledo reported on these conditions: "I saw a mass of human bodies covered with wretched clothes spread all over the ship (…), in general, one can only see piles of human creatures heaped over each other ranging from elderly to children."[67]

Despite these inhuman conditions, Moroccans continued their sacred annual pilgrimage. Moreover, despite the spread of the plague in Hijaz by the end of the 19th century, Moroccans preferred to fulfill the rituals and die, willingly, in these sacred places as reported by US diplomatic corps in Tangier. Indeed, by the spread of the news concerning the plague in Djiddah, the diplomatic corps in tangier requested from Mekhzen to prohibit pilgrimage to Mecca but without avail. The grand vizier of the sultan answered:

> the pilgrimage is one of the great essential precepts of religion and ordained by divine law, and neither Mekhzen nor anybody can interfere with the *shra* so as to deny the divine ordinances being followed by their adherents (…) although they (the Moors) may be fully aware that one of them going thither will never return, and that death would result to all of them, yet they would desire it and seek it, willingly spending

[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p. 74.

their money and sacrificing themselves in obeying the divine law in joy and gladness.[68]

Consequently, in 1897, the Board Health concluded that all passengers or cargo coming from the Hijaz to Morocco through Gibraltar were "not allowed to enter the harbor of Gibraltar"[69] and the same regulation went for all Moroccan ports except Tangier.[70] These strict rules applied also for Moroccan passengers and goods from Moroccan ports to European portal cities. Nevertheless, these strict regulations were only at the times of epidemics and not a rigid treatment of Moroccan pilgrims. A year before, the Board of Health decided to remove the quarantine on arrivals from Rabat and Mazagan.[71]

In 1898, Muley Hassan I issued more regulations concerning the Moroccans returning from the sacred places. These regulations put an end to the interventions imposed by foreign powers on internal affairs of Morocco. He assigned the treatment of the pilgrims on sea to the Health of Board; and once the pilgrims landed on Moroccan ports, they should be treated by Moroccan authorities.[72] More royal regulations were issued the year after.[73] Some small incidents in this respect disturbed Hassan I; for instance, in 1899, a German ship helped 54 Moroccan pilgrims who were stuck in Tripoli to return to their home. They were escorted to Gibraltar were they had to stay for the period of the quarantine. They were held there even after the designated time of quarantine elapsed which triggered the anger of Hassan I who asked for their immediate return to Tangier.[74]

In a nut shell, despite all the occasional hindrances that stood in the face of the Moroccan relations with the British at Gibraltar such as piracy, captivity and slavery…etc., the mutual interests were durable overcoming all sorts of complications. These interests comprehended

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[68] Thos Cridler, "Morocco. Regulations against Plague," *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)*, 13:21 (1898), p. 547.

[69] Burke, "Gibraltar and Morocco. English Quarantine at Tangier and Gibraltar," *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)*, 12:11 (1897), p. 258.

[70] AAMT FO 26/ 3304.

[71] John King, "Gibraltar. Quarantine Notice," *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)*,11:10 (1896), p. 229.

[72] AAMT FO 25/3212.

[73] AAMT FO 25/3234.

[74] AAMT FO 25/3238.

Moroccan trade, community and pilgrims at Gibraltar and the vital need for Moroccan supplies and provisions for the survival of the Rock against the Spanish military attempts to regain back its lost colony. These interests unfolded solid historical ties beyond any argument of clash or lack of curiosity. Yet, these growing and durable interests requested institutional apparatuses on the behalf of Morocco to sustain them. In this context, the Moroccan consulate at Gibraltar institutionalized and reinforced these relations. Thus, the next section will elaborate further on this consular system.

2. Moroccan Consulate System at Gibraltar

a. Jurisprudence, Development and Assignments

As we saw in the previous section, the growing Moroccan commercial and diplomatic interests in the British Garrison of Gibraltar had developed significantly which necessitated an institutional apparatus to monitor and facilitate this growth. Therefore, a fixed diplomatic consulate system proved of paramount importance then. That is to say, with the growing diplomatic ties with the garrison of Gibraltar, Moroccan Mekhzen and elite merchants in Morocco sought to consolidate these ties through establishing an administrative tool that would regulate and watch over their interests overseas. Gibraltar, in this sense, was a gate for maritime commerce and foreign policy of Mekhzen or as put by Brown: "the role of Gibraltar as one of the Moroccan sultanate's principal points of official contact with Britain and Europe in general."[1] Furthermore, Gibraltar was an insurance-policy market for the Moroccan elite and bourgeois class where to grow wealthier and tightly-linked to the international trade then. In the same vein, the Anglo-Moroccan treaties of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were the precursors for more regular and systematic frames that could encompass commercial, diplomatic and military ties. Besides, the increasing community of Moroccans in Gibraltar had pushed Mekhzen to amplify his control over these subjects overseas and prevent those Moroccans "deemed to be of poor character travelling to the town in the first place, in order to keep Moroccan trade there in the hands of those considered respectable and trustworthy."[2]

Amongst Moroccan community in the Rock, there stood remarkable names with extensive experience in the European lands; and these few names were selected to represent the Moroccan court in the confined city of Gibraltar. Some of these names were bilingual if not trilingual which

[1] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait: Morocco, Gibraltar and Great Britain in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Brill, 2012), p. 108.

[2] Ibid., p. 115.

facilitated their movement through cultures that made up the Mediterranean basin or as put by Brown: "They typified a group of Moroccans (…) for whom the Straits of Gibraltar were a highway connecting two parts of one world."[3]

Beside their linguistic abilities, they had a high awareness of cultural and religious difference when encountering and dealing with Christians. Al-Razini for instance:

> enjoyed good relations with Robert Wilson, governor of Gibraltar 1842-9, and was included in the social life of the town's leading figures, such as a ball given in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday. In turn he organized hunting trips around Tetuan for British officers, a popular pastime for them to break the monotony of life in the confined garrison.[4]

European companionship was a familiar context to which these consuls were used. Ben Gassus, being a true believer, kept his believes sharp while his English fellow George Beauclerk was visiting Morocco. The latter articulately stated: "I rallied him on his sudden transformation from the easy companion of the bottle, to the grave dignified Hadge."[5] With these characteristics, some tend to assign, as some orthodox Moroccans did in the 19th century as I will be elaborating soon, representations as far as these notable Moroccans are concerned. Nevertheless, the functions and necessity of these few selected Moroccans proved of supreme importance for Moroccan national and international progress.

The consuls were not only concerned with "the riff-raff" or those "man lā khalāq lahu min al-sufalā'" but also had a wide range of functions comprehending protecting Muslims and pilgrims in particular[6], resolving disputes between their countrymen or assisting the British authorities to "curb any unlawful behavior,"[7] facilitating Moroccan exports and imports, giving and

[3] Ibid., p. 114.
[4] Ibid.
[5] George Beauclerk, *A Journey to Marocco in 1826* (London: Poole & Edwards, 1828), p. 88.
[6] See: Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 518-519. See also: Mohamed Daoud, *Tarikh Tetuan*, vol. 7 (Tetuan: Al-Matbaa Almahidia, 1970), p. 134-135; and: MWM FO 1/31056.
[7] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 115.

administering the credit given by the sultan to his agents, forwarding agents for postal correspondence[8] and of course intelligence,[9] dealing with the inheritance of Moroccan merchants who died abroad such as the famous case of a deceased consul named Ben Bajja as I will be elaborating soon, and, in several cases, "return Moroccan Muslim children and slaves taken or abducted to Christian countries."[10]

Despite all these vital functions for the sake of Muslim interests, the internal resistance of the conservative trend in Morocco led by *ulama* had significant influence on the belated inauguration of such an administrative consular system in Gibraltar. Indeed, the circulating knowledge about the interaction of Muslims with the non-Muslims, especially Christian, had consolidated the notion of the limited, if not zero-degree contact. That is, the Maliki school of jurisprudence passed down from generation to another a strict opinion in this concern: "the operative legal cause in Malik's view is that Muslims will be forced to submit to non-Muslim law."[11]

Other Muslim *ulama* saw in the interaction and trade with the Christian infidels an opportunity for the enemy to grow wealthier and mightier as Al-Zayati had claimed: "their food supplies would increase and they will come to possess wealth with which they will fight Muslims and invade their land."[12] In this legal context, the Moroccans who had the opportunity to cross over to the Christian shore, namely diplomats or with embassies, were enormously influenced by these restrictions imposed by *shari'a* as well as by the historical context. Even Essaffar, who is believed to show a rather unrestricted admiration of the European civilization, showed remarkable antipathy towards the French invaders. Despite this antipathy, Susan Gilson Miller argues that the predominance of curiosity over antipathy in Moroccan accounts mainly that of Essaffar remains outstanding.

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[8] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 518.
[9] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 118.
[10] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 519.
[11] Khaled Abou El Fadl, "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities: The Juristic Discourse on Muslim Minorities from the Second/Eighth to the Eleventh/Seventeenth Centuries," *Islamic Law and Society*, 1:2 (1994), p. 146.
[12] Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727*, p. 10.

In the same vein, Mohamed Al-Manouni delves in bringing to light important archival documents in his remarkable two-volume book concerning the immense resistance of this conservative front within Morocco. He included authentic opinions of Moroccan *ulama* vis-à-vis dealing with Europe. One of these *ulama* wrote:

> it is the duty of each one who believes in Allah and the Last Day not to sit with protected people, nor to befriend, eat, live or deal with them; and to advise those who meet them to distance themselves from them, not to deal with them (…) and whoever helps the protected people or lives, deals or esteems their life shall be considered immoral and cursed.[13]

This is a *fatwa* or rather a call to Muslims issued by a Moroccan *faqih*/Muslim scholar at the end of the 19th century. Similarly, another *faqih* declared that:

> The Muslims must meet the enemy united just as the infidels are (united) but where is this unity which God ordered in the Maghreb (Morocco)? It is not found in the towns, not in the villages, and not even within a single house. Some will be (partisans) of Spain, some will be for the English and others for the French. And this is just one house.[14]

This second *fatwa* was also issued by a Moroccan *faqih* in respect to the Moroccans who had embraced the 'infidel' Europeans and had benefited from their consular protection in Morocco and within Islamic jurisprudence. As a matter of fact, the two Muslim scholars were strict and sharp about the shifting social and cultural structural changes that the 19th century Morocco had been undergoing by means of external infiltrations. The first *Faqih* was Abu Hamed Ali al-

[13] Mohammed Al-Manouni, *Madahir Yaqadat al- Maghrib Al-hadith*, vol. I (Rabat, Oumnia Press, 1973), p. 262.

[14] Susan Miller, et al. "The View from the Court: Moroccan Reactions to European Penetration during the Late Nineteenth Century," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16:1 (1983), p. 37.

Machrifi while the second was Ali ben Mohamed al-Soussi al-Simlali. They were both considered to be the officially-recognized spokesmen of the sultan then. al-Machrifi had reacted with religious fervor in a pamphlet entitled *A Letter to the Despicable Owners of Passports* in which he declared, as we saw, that the protected people were apostate to the faith. Meanwhile, al-Simlali had written his account defending the sultan against those who had asked him to wage *Jihad* against the infidels; nonetheless, authentically, al-Simlali reversed the other Muslim scholars' arguments in his letter entitled *A Reply on Behalf of the Imam (sultan) to Those who Ask why he does not Undertake the Jihad*.

These rigid *ulama* are supposed to reflect the Morocco that was[15] before the colonial protectorate in 1912. That is, Morocco was a country where the 'infidel' Europeans would feel unsafe and unwelcomed which was to some extent accurate. Nevertheless, what al Machrifi, al Simlali and the other Moroccan Muslim jurists reflected was not the Moroccan history but rather merely part of it or in Bhattacharya's words: "We face the problem that the history presented as ours is only part of our history."[16] Thus, what is the other face of the coin; or what are the other parts of the pre-colonial Moroccan history?

Talking about the 19th century, the same passport as a legal document had already led to the disorder and disintegration of Morocco as the *ulama* elaborated in their texts; and it had subverted the official *fatwa* as well as the arguments of Muslim 'rage' and 'lack of interest' to discover the West as discussed by Lewis. Indeed, due to the defeat at the battle of Isly and the French bombardment of Essaouira and Tangier in 1844, the Moroccan consul al-Razini issued 400 passports to Moroccans who fled to Europe through Gibraltar.[17] Therefore, the passport held by Moroccan Muslims had brought about many changes. It had put aside the *fatwa* issued by the Muslim jurists; and allowed the Moroccans to embrace the opportunities that the West had been offering; and did away with the elitist and unrealistic judgments of the political conditions in Morocco. Nevertheless, this should not be understood as an argument that Islam was no longer part of the Moroccan identity or a solid cornerstone in Moroccan cultural background. The Mekhzen, in

[15] I am coining Walter Harris, *Morocco That Was* (London: Eland, 2002).
[16] Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, "History from Below," *Social Scientist*, 11:4 (1983), p. 3.
[17] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 521.

this sense, had played a significant role in liberating Moroccans from rigid and out-of-context *fatwa* through establishing legal frameworks for them and Moroccans interest's overseas.

Thus, despite the strict opinions of a great majority of Moroccan jurists in respect to travelling to non-Muslim lands, residing or trading there, Mekhzen had established an official consulship in Gibraltar. Even before Gibraltar, Morocco had already had consuls and representatives or deputies through most of the Mediterranean ports such as Tunis, Alexandria, Cairo…etc. and in the northern bank of the basin such as Marseille, Genoa, Livorno, Istanbul …etc.[18] Even the wrongly accused Muley Solaiman of being influenced by the Wahabi and being the driving force behind Moroccan closed-door policy during his reign, he was rather a strong supporter of lining Moroccan commerce with international trade with some reserve. This is authentically maintained by Brown when he discusses the treaty between Britain and Morocco signed by Muley Solaiman who is "remembered by history also as a renowned stickler for abiding by the shari'a, the sultan (Solaiman) must have been aware of significance of the clause for legitimizing and facilitating Moroccan trade with Gibraltar."[19]

This attitude was manifest in two steps he took: 1) he encouraged Moroccan merchants to take over trade with Europe from Europeans inside Morocco.[20] 2) He encouraged foreign trade with Europe and facilitated the task for Moroccan merchants in Gibraltar which was engraved in the treaty of 1801.[21] This focus on Gibraltar confirms Mekhzen continuing and growing concern with this British port "as a factor in its commercial and diplomatic policy"[22] and even social and military as with the Moroccan students and soldiers who were to be sent there for training and education. These students proved crucial for leading a social reform in Morocco and a whisper of modernization back home.

Back to the Moroccan consular system abroad, no national ties were needed to choose a representative in the foreign geographies; and mutual interests between the potential representative

[18] Ibid., p. 518.
[19] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 104.
[20] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar: al-Mojtama' wa Dawala wa Din 1792/1822* (Casablanaca: al-Markaz Athaqafi al-'Aarabi, 2006), p. 87-89.
[21] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 103.
[22] Ibid., p. 106.

and the recruiting nation prevailed, Moroccan in this case, was not the basis upon which the deal was made as genuinely put by Brown: "this pattern of employment probably also reflected a concept of personal service to the sultan rather than fixed concepts of nationality."[23]

The examples are numerous, just to mention few: Giovanni Ferrugia representative of Morocco in Malta, Muḥammad Badr al-Din, "a Muslim of Tunisian origin, served as the agent of both the Bey of Tunis and the sultan of Morocco at Alexandria."[24] Moreover, the most suitable deputies were those who already had their business flourishing in the place, Gibraltar in this case, which added to their business that of the sultan and some other well-established names in Morocco.

Despite the fact that this administrative system originated in Europe, Morocco, and the same goes for the other Muslim countries, have managed to adopt and adapt to this system in different pace. Nevertheless, the consular system of Morocco shared but little similarities with the European one. While this latter dates back to the beginnings of the nineteenth century, the Moroccan consular system was late to be adopted and funded. Even if Brown suggests that the Moroccan consulate was as early as the 18th century,[25] but solid evidences are rare if not non-existing. No doubt, there were many distinguished Moroccans in Gibraltar for business; yet, it is unlikely that we might designate them as consuls. Moreover, when the European countries had developed a regular, salaried, consular corps to protect the interests of its merchants abroad, Morocco had a weaker and fragile system then. Indeed, Morocco "had consular-type representatives or agents, chosen from among the merchants resident abroad."[26] Due to this undecided nature of the consular system, those chosen agents or representatives had many titles in Moroccan records such as (*wakil al-maghariba, amin or khadim al-maqam al-'ali*), even *qunsu* (from 'consul') and *qunsu khiniral*.[27] These deputies were mostly Muslim Moroccans; and sometimes Jewish merchants did the job well.

[23] Ibid., p. 96.
[24] Ibid., p. 97.
[25] Ibid., p. 98.
[26] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 518.
[27] Ibid., p. 518 and James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 95.

These Muslim consuls in a Christian land reverted both of the rigid attitudes of *ulama* and the belated Orientalists who claimed that Muslims were introverts and lacked curiosity in traveling to the Christian geographies. Oppositely, Mekhzen was open to the growing global system and adaptive, meanwhile, to the influence of European powers; and it managed to maintain distinctive aspects along those influences.

In brief, the law of necessity had been the major factor that led Mekhzen to break away from the strong influence of Moroccan *ulama* and seek the greater good of the Moroccan Muslims living or trading at Gibraltar or even Muslims who wished to go on a Hajj to Mecca via the British ships and through the British port of Gibraltar. Yet, mostly, the interests of the sultans were to be met there through the consulate system.

b. Moroccan Consuls at Gibraltar

The first Moroccan consul in Gibraltar was Mohammed Bin Umar Bajja from Larache. Due to his status as an established adroit and honest merchant in Cadiz and Gibraltar, he was awarded the contract with the British to be the only Moroccan to import cattle from Morocco to Gibraltar[28] and made of him the best man to serve the interests of the sultan Solaiman as well as those of the Muslims there. Accordingly, the official declaration of Ben Bajja as the sultan's agent and consul in Gibraltar was in 1815.[29] Yet, there is evidence that suggests that Ben Bajja was the Moroccan agent or consul in Gibraltar years before that; and a letter from the Governor of Gibraltar Charles O'Hara to the governor of Tetuan dated the 10th of March 1796 had stated that some troublesome Moroccans were expelled to Morocco and referred to Ben Bajja as "authorized by His Imperial Majesty to serve as agent or consul;"[30] and that in 1805, his credentials were renewed by Muley Solaiman.[31] In 1817, his name appeared as an important contributor in "the

[28] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 99.
[29] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 519.
[30] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 100.
[31] MWM FO 1/18856.

construction of the 'Exchange and Commercial Library building"[32] in Gibraltar. The memorial frieze included other Muslim names and Jewish such as Judah Ben Oliel the consul who was appointed after Ben Bajja. In 1820, Ben Bajja died in Tetuan while still consul and was buried next to his Suffi *sheik*'s shrine.

After his death, Muley Solaiman claimed all Bajja's properties in Gibraltar and England since the deceased "died bachelor, without father, mother, brothers, sons, daughters, uncles, aunts, sons of the aunts (by the father), or any other *proper* heir by the Mohammedan law, leaving effects at Gibraltar, and in this country."[33]

He, also, "had not left a will."[34] Indeed, according to *shari'a* law, his property in Morocco and Britain was appropriated by the government[35] which was not valid in non-Muslim dominions such as the British one. When Muley Abderrahman wrote to the governor of Gibraltar Sir George Don claiming the properties of his subject and consul there, the governor "maintained that by English law the real property of an intestate deceased person who had left no heir reverted to the Crown."[36]

This legal case was to trouble Anglo-Moroccan relations for decades as reported by James Sholto Douglas, the newly appointed Consul-General of Britain in Tangier after Mr. Green.[37] In effect, this case was to be inherited from one king to another until 1886.[38] Thus, in order to obtain those overseas properties, Muley Solaiman commissioned "two of his subjects, Haggi Thaer Al Hial Rebati , and Haggi L'Arbi Mahanino, to proceed to Gibraltar, and act there, on his behalf, by taking possession of the deceased's estates and effects."[39]

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[32] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 519.

[33] Edward Ingraham, el al. *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the English Ecclesiastical Courts [1724-1844]: With Tables of the Cases and Principal Matters* (Philadelphia: P.H. Nicklin and T. Johnson, 1831), p. 340.

[34] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 134.

[35] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 519.

[36] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 134.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 524.

[39] Edward Ingraham, el al. *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the English Ecclesiastical Courts [1724-1844]: With Tables of the Cases and Principal Matters*, p. 340.

Judah Ben Oliel's first task as the successor of Ben Bajja was to be the sultan's "attorney, to receive the deceased's estate, in the first instance, to deliver it over to the said commissioners."[40] In July 1821, this legal situation came to an end, as was presumed, after His Majesty's Court of Civil Pleas at Gibraltar granted the two Moroccan commissioners the right to administrate the estate and effects left by the lately deceased consul Ben Bajja. Accordingly, necessary measures were taken to secure that no claims of creditors or others arise; and "one year and a day, from that time"[41] was the legal span given by the court in Gibraltar before Haggi Thaer Al Hial Rebati, and Haggi L'Arbi Mahanino could lay hand on the properties of Ben Bajja. With no reluctance, the two commissioned Moroccans delegated to Judah Ben Oliel the rights given to them by the court over the properties of Ben Bajja and empowered him to:

> receive and take possession of all monies, estate, and effects whatsoever, of the deceased; and to appear before any tribunal or court, whether ecclesiastical or secular; and to do all acts, matters, and things, necessary or expedient, touching, or relating to, the estate and effects of the deceased, *in all places, countries, dominions, or jurisdictions*, whatsoever.[42]

Ben Oliel, then, requested from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to allow him to administrate the estate and effects of the deceased in England on giving sufficient security for the usage and profit of the Emperor of Morocco since he is "the only public functionary of the emperor in the British dominions."[43] His request was rejected at the first attempt. Yet, In February 1824, after attesting that Ben Oliel was the legal representative of Muley Abderrahman in the

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., p. 341.
[42] Ibid.
[43] David Robertson, *Treatise on the Rules of the Law of Personal Succession, in the Different Parts of the Realm; and on the Cases, Regarding Foreign and International Succession, Which Have Been Decided in the British Courts,* (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1836), p. 286-287.

British dominions, he was granted the right to administer the deceased's estate and effects in Gibraltar and in England.[44]

Yet, this was not the end of the legal conflict over Ben Bajja's properties since other British names appeared to hold shares in these properties such as Emmanuel Viale who part-owned Ben Bajja's house situated in City Mill Lane;[45] moreover, the British held these properties unsolved till Morocco pay compensation to some British subjects "whose ship had been wrecked and plundered off the coast of Morocco two and a half years previously."[46]

In 1885, Sir John Miller Adye, Governor of Gibraltar, concluded that the vexing question of the properties of Ben Bajja should come to an end; therefore, he wrote to the Colonial Office in London suggesting that "the ownership question, which had troubled Anglo-Moroccan relations intermittently since 1821, should be settled once and for all."[47] In this respect, Muley Hassan received a letter from the British ambassador about the Moroccan properties in Gibraltar and Britain mainly those of Ben Bajja.[48] The sultan insisted, in his reply, that the British should proceed in the light of their law. He stressed that Mekhzen does not interfere in the internal legal affairs of any state.[49] Two days after that, Hajj Sa'id Gassus received a dispatch concerning the same query and the British aspiration to settle this legal problem.[50]

On the 22nd of February 1886, a letter from Muley Hassan to his governor in Tangier Torres unfolded more clarifications on the British measures to solve this property's question. Muley Hassan informed Torres that: "the British consul had informed you that his state gave 7000 Ryals to Mekhzen as a part of the properties left by Ben Bajja in Gibraltar and that Haj Sa'd Gussus received the sum of money."[51]

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[44] Ibid., p. 287.
[45] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 524.
[46] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 137.
[47] Ibid., p. 204.
[48] AAMT FO 4/446.
[49] AAMT FO 4/464.
[50] AAMT FO 21/2718.
[51] AAMT FO 8/1118.

Three days later, Muley Hassan ordered his minister of foreign affairs Haj Torres to assist the British with selling some of the properties in an auction.[52] Immediately, the properties in Gibraltar were sold and the Moroccan share, which was 7000 Riyals, was given to Hajj Gassus who forwarded it to Hajj Torres in Tangier after the consul had invested some of the money to reconstruct the Moroccan consulship building in Gibraltar.[53] The 5500 Riyals that Hajj Torres received were to be sent to customs officials of the port of Tangier[54] which Hajj Torres did.[55]

On the 23rd of July 1886, an agreement was reached between Britain and Morocco concerning some of the remaining properties of Ben Bajja. These properties included a house and a piece of land. For the house in Waterport Street, it was to be used by the Moroccan consul or any other functionary after him; and for the land in City Main Lane, the sultan ordered for further research to be conducted less other owners might appear.[56] Yet, this agreement did not seem to come into effect.

On the 4th of August 1887, a thorough and extensive agreement was reached revolving around three points:

a) The house in Waterport Steet was to be reverted to Mekhzen for one peseta per year; and when Mekhzen was no longer using it, the house would move to the British.
b) The decadent house in Mill Lane Street was to be sold and its worth divided equally between Mekhzen and the heirs of Emmanuel Viale.
c) The land in City Main Lane, over which many cottages were erected, was to be included in the development design of Gibraltar city while Mekhzen was to pay the design of his land.[57]

[52] AAMT FO 27/3423.
[53] AAMT FO 8/1118.
[54] AAMT FO 8/1127.
[55] AAMT FO 8/1142.
[56] AAMT FO 42/5660.
[57] AAMT FO 5/704.

Subsequently, this case was solved in 1886 through selling the house in City Mill Lane in an auction as agreed upon by the Governor of Gibraltar and Muley Hassan. Furthermore, Ben Bajja's other house in Gibraltar's main street "reverted to the British Crown, but continued to be occupied by the Moroccan consuls, who paid a nominal rent of one peseta."[58]

As discussed earlier, the Jewish Ben Oliel was the second Moroccan consul at Gibraltar whose first task was to solve this legal issue. Ben 'Ulil or Judah Ben Oliel was a "banker and Moorish consul at Gibraltar;"[59] he "was wealthy enough to loan the government of Gibraltar $10,000 in 1796 to help pay for the garrison's supplies."[60] Due to his outstanding personality, he was entrusted as consul in 1820 and continued as such till his death in 1838; and during his consulship, "there was a boom in Moroccan trade through Gibraltar."[61] After the death of Muley Solaiman in 1822, his nephew Muley Abderrahman confirmed Ben Oliel's position as consul. The letter of confirmation stated that he should be: "our agent on the same terms that he held that office in the lifetime of our master and sanctified uncle."[62] In 1823, he made the acquaintance of the famous Italian traveler John Baptist Belzoni and granted him leave to cross from Gibraltar to Morocco where he would request another leave from the sultan Abderrahman to cross in a caravan to Timbuktu. After the court was granted in Fez and the sultan's acceptance, Belzoni was molested by some Moroccan official who made the sultan change his decision and forbade him to cross. Ben Oliel, had to inform Belzoni, who was residing in Tangier then in a letter "speaking in the highest terms of the prudence of Mr. Belzoni's conduct, and expressing surprise and shame at the change in the emperor's intentions."[63]

His influential character and position at the court of the sultan triggered resentment at home. Hence, Moroccan Muslim merchants and some notables grew concerned about Ben Oliel's

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[58] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 524.

[59] Joseph Jacobs, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History* London (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 126.

[60] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 107.

[61] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 520.

[62] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 108.

[63] Mackenzie, *Choice Biography: Comprising an Entertaining and Instructive Account of Persons of Both Sexes and All Nations, Eminent for Genius, Learning, Public Spirit, Courage, and Virtue* (London: Virtue, 1829), p. 666.

power; a sentiment that continued for the next two decades and culminated by an official complaint on the behalf of the governor of Tetuan Ash'Ash concerning the "improper dealings"[64] of Ben Oliel. Erzini argues that "there were serious inquiries about the Jewish consul, who was accused of not concerning himself with the fate of Muslim merchants; and taking measures leading to their detriment."[65] These inquiries started in 1837. In fact, the allegations existed from the start of his task as consul of Morocco in the Rock.[66]

Immediately after Ben Oliel's death, a new, rather obscure, Muslim consul was appointed to fill in the post at Gibraltar; and his name was Ali ben Abd al-Rahman al-Tamsamani from a Riffian family that had been serving Mekhzen for decades such as his cousin who was Governor of Tangier.[67] Yet, despite conducting business in Gibraltar and other European cities, his name was not established as strongly as Ben Bajja and Benoliel. Besides, Erzini does not refer to this Muslim consul ever in her discussion of the Moroccan consulate system in Gibraltar; and she moves immediately to Gassus overlooking al-Tamsamani. This might be because the latter had left no legacy as his predecessors or perhaps because of his short-timed service in that post: six months as Moroccan consul.

On the contrary to al-Tamsamani, Haddu Ben al-mu"allim Gassus had already established his name as a rich Moroccan merchant. That made him the most to suit the position even more than al-Tamsamani whose "relative inexperience regarding Gibraltar and its trade"[68] hastened his leave. In March 1841, the resident merchant at Gibraltar Haj Hadoud Gassus was appointed after fifteen years of trade and residence at Gibraltar. His "knowledge of European laws and practices,"[69] as Muley Abderrahman described him in his letter of appointment, distinguished him from among the other Moroccan merchants therein. He held that position for three years and had to resign in 1844 due to his old age.[70] In fact, his resignation, according to some other accounts, was due to the fact that Gassus had "purchased a consignment of weapons for Mekhzen that had turned out to be

[64] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut' ," p. 520.
[65] Ibid.
[66] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 108.
[67] Ibid., p. 110.
[68] Ibid., p. 111.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 520.

faulty."[71] After one year, he passed away and was buried in Tetuan where his house and orchard were taken by the sultan as compensation for the unsettled debt he owed to the Mekhzen. The confiscated house in Tetuan was "later awarded by the sultan to a refugee family from Algeria."[72]

Despite his short mandate, he left quite a notable impression in the history of Moroccan consulship in the Rock. He managed to secure one of Bajja's houses in Gibraltar as a permanent location for the Moroccan consulate; yet, this house remained as British property since all properties in the Rock belonged to the Crown. Thus, in 1842, Gassus managed to repair and occupy the house in Waterport Street;[73] and it was to continue as such for the upcoming decades for symbolic annual rental price: one peseta as discussed earlier. Moreover, his benevolent gestures left no doubt of his good intentions since he "adopted a boy and two girls, the children of the daughter of a British sergeant from the garrison at Gibraltar and another Moroccan merchant, both of whom had died."[74]

The children were sent to Tangier to be educated in a more Islamic environment, although the boy was later brought back to be schooled at Gibraltar before finishing his education in Rabat. Besides his loyalty to his deceased friends and their siblings, he was a remarkable fellow to the extent that George Beauclerk implemented him as the main character during his travel to Morocco. Beauclerk defined Gussus as a person who was eloquent in Spanish and accustomed to the European company.

After Gassus, Haj Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Razini from Tetuan was appointed consul in the same year of Gussus' leave. Before his appointment, al-Razini had been exiled to Oran and Tunis in the 1820s and had established himself at Gibraltar since 1829; and afterward, he resided there irregularly crisscrossing from to Morocco ever since. One of the reasons behind his nomination as consul at Gibraltar was to buy his loyalty since he was associated "with the rebellion of Mawlay al-Sa'īd"[75] or what is known as the rebellion of Tetuan in 1821-1822 which caused his exile. Moreover, thanks to his fluency in English and Spanish as well as "the excellence

[71] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 112.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., p. 111.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. 113.

of his dealings, his high standing, and his knowledge of laws and customs,"[76] he was the excellent choice and suitable representative and assistance of Muslims in Christian lands. Though he refused the appointment firstly, he was convinced of the "blessing in it, in the assistance of Muslims (literally, taking them by the hand), and the protection of their honour."[77]

Although he was worried about the burden of the task that could slacken his commerce, after the insistence of Muley Abderrahman, al-Razini accepted and was granted the authority to appoint an assistant at Gibraltar that would assist him and a representative in Malta to assist Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. Thus, as a deputy at Gibraltar, he employed his son Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Razini for the sake of spending more time in his hometown Tetuan after long years abroad. Yet, this deputizing was interrupted by the appointment of his son as *amin* in Tangier port between 1852 and 1855 which forced the father to fully resume his occupation which he was not ready to do. Thus, he deputized his younger brother Abd al-Karim bin Ahmad al-Razini during the same period.[78]

During the 1850s, al-Razini "was busy in Morocco, both trading and lobbying against the British free trade agreement."[79] When Drummond Hay attempted to negotiate the treaty of 1856 with Morocco, he attempted to pull some Moroccan officials to his side to convince the sultan. Thus, he discussed it with Essafar and other advisors of the sultan such as al-Razini who refused the treaty since it was a threat to his monopoly over Moroccan external trade. Pennell clarifies that "not all the sultan's advisors were easily convinced. Hajj Muhammad al-Razini, the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar and a very rich beneficiary of the monopoly system, strongly counseled the sultan to resist Drummond-Hay's suggestions."[80]

In the same vein, Rogers pertinently elaborates:

> The reason for this unusual treatment soon became apparent to Hay. He found out that the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar, Haji Mohammed Arzini, who was also one of the

[76] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 521.
[77] Ibid., p. 520.
[78] Ibid., p. 521.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Pennell, *Morocco Since 1830*, p. 60.

> chief monopolists of Moroccan trade, had arrived two days previously in Marrakech on the sultan's instructions, to give advice during the treaty negotiations.[81]

On the 23rd of March 1855, Drummond Hay sent a letter from Marrakech to Clarendon in London suspecting that the consul al-Razini was the person who had suggested to Mekhzen to send a complaint to Queen Victoria.[82] The letter included:

> Al-Razini was an honorary Moroccan Consul in Gibraltar, where he was a *tajir* (merchant). During the 1840s, he accumulated debts amounting to 100,000 riyals. He, therefore, fled from Gibraltar but returned thereafter paying 50 percent of his debts. He had a brother in Tetuan who was also a tajir who used to profit from the kuntradat.[83]

After this incident, al-Razini fell out of favor with the British and more pressure was exercised on Mekhzen to dismiss its consul and advisor. Shortly, these pressures proved fruitful and the advisor "was asked by the sultan to leave Gibraltar to accompany his sons, four 'Alawi princes, on a pilgrimage to Mecca."[84]

In 1861, al-Razini passed away and was buried in Kitan, a village near Tetuan which was colonized by the Spanish then. His son Muhammad bin Muhammad succeeded him for a short while before Sa'id Gassus took the job. Muhammad bin Muhammad continued his trade with Gibraltar till his death in 1892 while his son Abdalqadir, grandson of Erzini, resided in the Rock till the 1870s.[85]

On the 31st of December 1863, Haj Sa'id Gassus presented his letter of credence and was approved by Queen Victoria.[86] On the 8th of January 1864, *The London Gazette* published the

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[81] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 164.
[82] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 293.
[83] Ibid., p. 294.
[84] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 521.
[85] Ibid., p. 522.
[86] *The Colonial Office List*, (London: Harrison, 1967), p. 126.

approval of Hajj Sa'id Gassus as Moroccan consul in Gibraltar: "The Queen has also been pleased to approve of Hadj Said Gussus as Consul at Gibraltar for the sultan of Morocco."[87]

His mandate coincided with serious international and national upheavals to which he stood firm. Haj Sa'id Gassus was accused of trading with the American rebels as purported in confidential American correspondences. The transaction that took place between an American merchant in Gibraltar named R.O. Joyce, who "acted as the pretended agent of the rebel steamer *Sumter*"[88] while this ship was in Gibraltar, and Haj Gussus triggered the alarm of the American secretary of state who sought more clarifications from Morocco. The American consul in Gibraltar assumed that Mr. Joyce, who was considered a supporter of the rebels in the USA during the American Civil War (1861-1865), had concluded an illegal transaction with the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar and, thus, the American consul there informed his compatriot, the consul in Tangier Mr. Jesse H. McMath about the deal. This latter, in a letter to the Moroccan minister Mohamed Barkash, dated the 21st April 1864, wrote that Mr. Joyce had transshipped six guns that were on board of the ship, while it was in the bay of Gibraltar, to an agent of the sultan; and these guns were USA property. This event put Morocco in a delicate situation. Meanwhile, Barkash replied that he knew nothing about the transaction "but would write at once to the Moorish consul at Gibraltar, and ascertain if the guns had been bought for the sultan."[89]

Barkash insisted that Mekhzen had no clue about the origins of these guns and that the Moroccan consul would prevent their shipment to Morocco from Gibraltar if he had known. Before this letter, Haj Gussus had informed the Moroccan minister that an English merchant, with no name mentioned, had offered guns to him on the account of the sultan Mohamed ben Abderrahman which Gassus refused to buy. This refusal did not suffice Mr. McMath who wrote to the American secretary of State stating: "My opinion is, the consul had bought them for the sultan."[90] Mr. Joyce "had in a very quiet manner offered to pay 100 dollars to the master of a

[87] *The London Gazette*, 8 January 1864, p. 97.

[88] United States Department of State, *Papers relating to foreign affairs, accompanying the annual message of the president to the second session thirty-eighth congress*, part IV (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 431.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

vessel if he would deliver the guns in Mogador."[91] This fact confirmed Mr. McMath's assumptions. Nevertheless, this incident did not put an end to Haj Gussus' career as consul; and he went on as a trusted official in Morocco.

Thus, he continued his function with much rigor. He was looking after the young Moroccan soldiers training in the Rock as well as sending back home those who proved not willing to learn or got sick as the case of Driss ben haj Mohamed al-'Azraq and Mohamed Elghazi Tekni.[92] On the 1st of March 1885, Hajj Sa'id Gassus received a Moroccan named Hajj Ali Boutaleb who had been protected by both of the French consul in Morocco and then the American consul for a long period but had decided to cease dealing with them. After the French ill-treatment, Hajj Boutalb decided to flee to Gibraltar where Haj Gussus was ordered to well treat him as a Moroccan subject.[93] Additionally, it was the consul Haj Sa'id Gassus who had convinced the sultan how economically imperative tourist visitors were; and it was him who granted permission to the Gibraltarian tourists to cross to Morocco. Thus, on the 5th of August 1887, Muley Hassan I sent a letter to Haj Mohammed al-Ghassal informing him that all the required procedures should be taken with respect to the British tourists coming from Gibraltar, precisely, to Belyounech which is a small village situated 16 km far from Fnideq. One special tourist from Gibraltar was: "leader of the navy in Gibraltar who would cross to that place searching for hunting wild pigeons and other hunts since he is an obsessed great hunter.[94] The sultan had urged his minister in Tangier to inform his consul in Gibraltar to do what it needs for the tourists' comfort. Similarly, in 1832, Muley Abderraman had granted permission to the newly appointed acting governor of Gibraltar Sir William Houston to visit Morocco and sightsee after meeting the sultan; the latter ordered his servants to ease the governor and guide him through his visit.[95]

On the 6th of August 1886, the Moroccan consul haj Gussus' unexpected death was declared to Muley Hassan.[96] Six days later, Muley Hassan ordered the custom functionaries of

[91] Ibid.
[92] MWM FO 1.
[93] AAMT FO 3/256.
[94] AAMT FO 45/22.
[95] MWM FO 1/20297.
[96] AAMT FO 8/1202.

Tangier port to prepare a list of the properties left by the defunct consul and urged them to maintain them.[97]

In 1892, Muley Hassan appointed Hajj Mohammed Benouna as consul in Gibraltar after Haj Gassus. Benouna was informed of his new position and his new duties by the sultan's minister of foreign affairs in Tangier as the letter of appointment stated: "the sultan has appointed the holder of this letter Hajj Mohammed Benouna Tetwani as consul of the *Cherifian* Mekhzen in Gibraltar, and we request from you to show him his job and its duties."[98]

Another letter to Mr. Torres having the same date stated that the letter of appointment of Benouna should be given to the governor of Gibraltar by Hajj Mohammed Benouna himself.[99] On the 26th of April 1892, Muley Hassan confirmed the nomination of Hajj Mohammed Benouna as consul in Gibraltar. In a letter to Torres in Tangier, he ordered and the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs to do the necessary procedures.

Six years afterward, Taleb Abd Essalam Bouzian was appointed as representative of Morocco in Gibraltar after the decease of Hajj Mohammed Benouna.[100] Bouzian was the eighth consul. Muley Abd El'aziz sent a letter in 1901 to Mohammed Torres to assist the Moroccan representative in Gibraltar Taleb Abd Essalam Bouzian in keeping Moroccan properties clean and anew therein. However, the consul suffered some financial problems since his gains from renting some of Mekhzen properties there have decreased because the authorities in Gibraltar started new urban planning for the city's estates. This financial problem would, presumably, lead to a fainting Moroccan splendor in front of the other nations and gentlemen as declared by the sultan.[101] The latter, hence, issued his orders to assist Bouzian financially.

[97] AAMT FO 8/1205.
[98] AAMT FO 47/48.
[99] AAMT FO 43/5842.
[100] AAMT FO 6/2298.
[101] AAMT FO 18/2566.

Figure 3: The Moroccan Consul in Gibraltar Abd Essalam Bouzian who was there from 1899 till 1906.[102]

After this financial impediment, the consul continued his tasks professionally. He did an outstanding job looking after Moroccan pilgrims whose endurance throughout the journey was unbearable. Accordingly, On the 18th of March 1901, Mohamed Thami, a Moroccan prominent name who wished to go on pilgrimage, was sent from Tangier to Gibraltar to Bouzian who was ordered to receive, help and send him again to Egypt where the Moroccan consul there would help him cross to Mecca.[103]

In short, the development of the Moroccan consular system at Gibraltar reflects the persistent desire to fortify and develop the Moroccan foreign commerce and diplomacy. This persistence, as well, reveals the continuous curiosity and openness of Morocco to understand and integrate in the emerging international commercial, diplomatic and military new order back then. What reinforced further this tendency to openness and discovery was the Moroccan plans to develop the military apparatus and the administration through sending military and civilian delegations for long years to learn the European ways in all fields. The next section is devoted to

[102] Abd Lhadi Tazi, "Sifara A'n sultan Moulay Abd Alaziz ila London," *Albaht Al'ilmi*, (1979), p. 192.

[103] AAMT FO 35/4526.

the administrative and military reform that Morocco underwent through concentrating on the military and educational missions to Europe and Gibraltar in particular.

3. Moroccan Military and Educational Delegations to Gibraltar:

a. Context and Factors Prompting the Missions

A wide variety of factors had played significant roles in shaping the concept of Moroccan reformist educational and military delegations to European countries. First, the scholarly accounts written by many Moroccans through the 18th and 19th centuries paved the way to adopt the concept by the Moroccan monarchs; and the rapid fall of Algeria in 1830, the defeat in Isly in 1844 and the loss in Tetuan battle in 1860 hastened the adoption of this plan of reform. Among the several Moroccan scholars who wrote about the necessity of military reforms were Ibn ʻAzouz who wrote a letter in 1849 to Muley Abderrahman ben Hicham about the need of Muslim states for military reform after he had eye-witnessed the swift French conquest of Algeria. Also, Ali Essoussi al-Smlali wrote to his Moroccan sovereign about the extreme necessity for military preparation through relying on the self as far as military equipment is concerned. He suggested that Morocco ought to implement the military industry locally instead of purchasing and consuming European products. Secondly, the first-hand ambassadorial reports that eye-witnessed the European progress in the army, administration, democracy…etc. had, as the scholarly accounts mentioned before, a significant role in boosting the wheel of military reform in Morocco. Some of these accounts were written by Mohamed Assaffar about France after his visit in 1845, Driss ben Driss al-Amraoui wrote about Paris, too, in 1860, Abo al-ʻAbbas al-Kardoudi wrote about Spain in 1884 and Haj Mohamed al-Zebdi wrote about France, Belgium, Italy and Britain in 1876 …etc.; and all of the accounts included a fascination with the care and progress that the European nations had invested in the military reform. Thirdly, the European diplomatic and commercial presence in Morocco illuminated the Moroccan minds about the huge gap between these modern powers and the decadent Moroccan military and administration. This gap surged a national awareness of the urgent need for modernization and reform; and the encouraging experience that Egypt had undergone with Mohamed Ali concerning modernization, through sending military and educational

delegations to Europe and the Ottoman empire as well as hiring European and Ottoman military official to train Egyptian soldiers, hastened the Moroccan adoption of a plan for reforming the military apparatus and administration.[1]

All these factors could not but push Morocco to rethink its policy in the midst of a growing colonial appetite. Thus, the Moroccan educational missions to Europe can be traced back to Muley Solaiman who had sent many soldiers to Gibraltar to acquire the art of artillery; and he also requested from some of the European nations to send highly ranking officials in the army to train his soldiers how to use modern weaponry.[2] His successor Muley Abderrahman ben Hicham widened the destinations and sent four Moroccan engineers to deepen their knowledge in architecture. His son Mohamed ben Abderrahman, as well, sent two hundred soldiers to Gibraltar for three years to learn the discipline of the army and the usage of modern artillery.

Likewise, when the 43-year old sultan Hassan I first seized power his zeal and ambition to improve the Moroccan nation at the dawn of colonialism was unprecedented. He took on his shoulders the burden of modernizing an old-fashioned regime against the will of a rigid Mekhzen mentality and strong fundamental elite composed of *ulama*. Accordingly, he developed a two-edged strategy plan in order to achieve his goals. The first plan concerned mainly the urgent needs that Morocco required to match the modern necessities; and this scheme focused on bringing foreign trainers and engineers[3] which was more affordable and faster than the other long-term scheme. Indeed, the second strategy revolved around sending military and civil delegations to learn and acquire modern knowledge in European cities; London and Gibraltar captured the chief share of these delegations.

As planned, the first move to fulfill this scheme was to reconstruct the military school for engineers in Fez which had already been built by his father Mohammed IV. This school formed excellent students who were sent in military missions to European countries. For instance, Italy, through its school in Torino, helped in graduating many Moroccan officials and technicians who proved outstanding at their jobs in ports, arms factory in Fez and other careers; Germany, as well,

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[1] Jamal Haymer, *Albaathat Taalimia fi Aahd Asultan Molay Hassan* (Rabat: Manchorat Zaman, 2015), p. 21-65.

[2] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar*, p. 69.

[3] MWM FO 1/28163.

assisted in educating and training Moroccan high ranking officials such as the Minister of war Mohammed Gabbas…etc.[4] Indeed as soon as the young sultan Hassan I had held power, he issued his orders to his ministers and officials that concerned modernizing the state and allocating more time and energy on training young Moroccans. In 1882, he urged his Minister Mohammed Barkach stating: "our sanctified reasoning has decreed the appointment of six mariners, mechanics and experts in sea science and sending them to the ships of the British, French, Spanish, German and Italian."[5]

In the same letter, Hassan I ordered his Minister to start immediate negotiations with the representatives of each country concerning the charges and procedures that should be taken into consideration to make this deal attainable. At the end of the letter, he ordered Barkach to hasten the reply since the enthusiastic king could not wait longer to see his plans coming to fruition.

Undoubtedly, these delegations to Europe flourished with Hassan I considerably. The hundreds of Moroccans sent to European schools and institutions struggled along with the young sultan to meet with the rise of the internal and external needs to modernize Moroccan institutions. The outcome of these missions proved fruitful and promising since the Moroccan young trainees who had been educated to the European methods and knowledge were able to take control and do the jobs that only foreign engineers, doctors and captains…etc. could do. Just to mention few examples of these Moroccans: Mohamed 'Allal Tadlaoui, Mohammed ben Omar, Mohammed bou 'Amro ben Lwara' and last, but not least, Ahmed Jebli …etc. were four Moroccans from Rabat who had studied in Italy. They were sent by Hassan I to test batteries for cannons; a mission which was just impossible unless a foreign engineer was hired.[6] Moreover, the eminent historian Ibn Zaidan included in his historical notebooks a list of Moroccans who worked in the Royal court; and he listed many Moroccans under the title of "Students of tongues."[7] These students were well-articulated in different European languages and were always present with the sultan whenever a

[4] Ḥassan, al-Ḥajwi Aḥmad. *al-ʿAql wa-al-Naql fī al-Fikr al-Iṣlāḥī al-Maġribī 1757-1912* (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-ṯaqāfī al-ʿarabī, 2003), p. 46.

[5] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla fi Ma'alim Nodom Dawla*, vol. 2 (Rabat: al-Matbaa al-Malakia, 1962), p. 148.

[6] AAMT FO 26/3394.

[7] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol.1, p. 221.

foreigner was granted an audience. The need for foreign translators and sometimes Jewish bilinguals was not needed after the missions to Europe had started. Thus, the young sultan's plan came to fruition.

Moreover, Hassan I included military soldiers and officials along with civilians and both from elite ranks as well as ordinary Moroccans for the purpose of acquiring European military technology and civilian jobs. For instance, in 1884, he sent to France twelve young military men to learn dynamite powder and telegraph as well as building bridges; with them, there were five students and seven artificers who would learn metalwork, carpentry, and shoemaking…etc.[8]

b. Missions to Gibraltar

As previously mentioned, Muley Solaiman is considered to be the first Alaouite sultan to send soldiers and students to Europe for training and acquiring knowledge. It was then Gibraltar that received a handful of soldiers[9] to be trained in modern European warfare. Then, the missions continued to different European destinations before they stopped during the reign of Muley Abderrahman and was, reservedly, preceded by Mohamed ben Abderrahman. Yet, the zealous young sultan Hassan I refreshed the project as soon as he got to power.

Indeed, the missions stopped with no further details given concerning the reasons behind it. One pertinent account by a British eye witness of the trainees in Gibraltar shed some light on the reason behind the abortion of the plan of missions. It was a fatal experience that caused the death of three Moroccan trainees in Gibraltar that caused the ending during the reign of Abderrahman ben Hicham. The experience, reported by an annoyed British reporter, was tragic and had the most significant effect on the future of the Moroccan missions to Europe. A mission of six Moroccan soldiers to Gibraltar was concluded abruptly by the death of three of them accidentally during training. He reported:

[8] Ibid., vol. 2, p.154.
[9] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 255.

> six Moors were sent to Gibraltar, to be instructed in the art of gunnery. Whilst practicing at Europa Flats, under the command of an English officer, and assisted by a party of English gunners, one of the guns, from some defect, hurts and strewed the platform with the limbs of three of the unfortunate Moors. Strange to say, the English artillerymen all remained unhurt.[10]

Strangely, the three remaining Moors saw the accident as a providential exception in favor of the British and excluded any possibility of chance. It was reported that they considered the accident as a punishment from Allah. In consequence, they insisted on returning home and their only excuse was that, as they put it "we see how your English guns refuse to kill Christians! We will not stay here to be sacrificed."[11]

The British reporter, who conveyed the accident, was present when the six Moorish soldiers arrived at Gibraltar for the sake of learning artillery and this accident had the utmost influence on his judgment on these Moroccan fellows. He disdainfully described them on the basis of their unskillfulness or rather incautious dealings with the weapons. He stated that "The Moors have a perfect horror of train of field artillery (…). They are the worst gunners in the world, even on land batteries."[12]

At some point, he was accurate about their lack of knowledge and experience when it came to using modern gunnery. Yet, that was surely unfair to the Moorish fellows who "first introduced this powerful auxiliary (he is referring to artillery) into European warfare"[13] as reported by another Englishman. Indeed, the accident did not reflect innate residual backwardness and foolishness on the behalf of the Moroccan trainees as much as the carelessness of their trainers. After this incident, the missions stopped for a long period till sultan Mohamed ben Abderrahman revived the project once again reservedly.

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[10] *The London and Paris Observer: Or Chronicle of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, vol.6 (Paris: Galignani, 1831), p. 461.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] William Robertson, *Journal of a Clergyman During a Visit to the Peninsula in the Summer and Autumn of 1841*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1845), p. 217.

Yet, the era of Muley Hassan marked the peak of the missions to Europe and Gibraltar in particular. It was the British consul in Morocco Drummond Hay who insisted on the sultan to resume the missions again and help Moroccan soldiers and civilians equally to acquire the necessary skills in military and medical fields. Thus, between 1873 and 1878, about four hundred infantrymen and other military officials were trained in Gibraltar by Colonel Cameron.[14]

Ibn Zaidan provided more details with respect to these Moroccans. In 1876, the sultan ordered his minister of war to send 25 young soldiers to Gibraltar to be trained and educated in "the war of soldiers in the English language."[15] Some of these trainees were 'Allal ben Bella el-Marrakchi, and Kaid ben Nasser ben Abderrahman Agh, Mekhtar ben Nasser el-Marrakchi and el-'Arbi ben Taoudi Saqqat el-Fassi…etc.[16] This first mission, which was led by Ali ben Bella el-Marrakchi,[17] remained for a couple of years; and they learned martial arts and military movements.

The British newspapers could not miss this scoop of these Moorish soldiers landing on British soil; they were immediately reported after their arrival on the 13th of November 1876 and the titles were extremely attractive to the British readers. The Morning Post published a short notice after two days of their arrival entitled "Moorish Soldier"; and this piece of information conveyed: "twenty Moorish soldiers, with two officers, arrived here yesterday for a course of artillery drill" "Moorish Soldiers."[18] Another Australian newspaper, later on, published a longer article quoted from Gibraltar Chronicle. The article was intriguing as the history of the Muslim Moors was re-called and the twenty five Moroccan soldiers were depicted as the descendants of Tarik ibn Zayad who "landed once more at Gibraltar" "Moorish Soldiers at Gibraltar."[19] The depiction was friendly as the Muslims who named the Rock after their leader reigned for 725 years had held "peaceful relations and sanction of the British authorities at home."[20]

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[14] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 155.
[15] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 151.
[16] Ibid., p. 152.
[17] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Ithaf A'lam Annas bi Akhbari Hadirti Meknes*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maktabat Thaqafa Dinia, 2008), p. 545.
[18] "Moorish Soldiers," *Morning Post,* 15 Nov. 1876.
[19] "Moorish Soldiers at Gibraltar."*Western Daily Press,* 25 Nov. 1876.
[20] Ibid.

The soldiers, or *askar* as were called in the article, crossed on board of the British ship *Lion Belge* from Tangier to Gibraltar; and they were with "two *kaids* and two *Mukaddums* (…) to learn the principles of military discipline."[21] They had made the best impression back then as they were "young and very intelligent, and, no doubt, they will be found of the greatest service in effecting the object desired after a course of instruction in a regimental barrack-yard."[22]

In fact, they were 24 soldiers at first and one young Moroccan from Fez joined his countrymen later but for a different purpose. He was sent to study medicine in the military hospital at Gibraltar.[23] These outstanding Moroccan trainees made favorable impressions on Colonel Cameron who wrote to his countryman Hay in Morocco suggesting that the number of trainees should increase to one hundred. Cameron wrote: "I assure you it is quite a pleasure training the minds and bodies of these fellows- they are eager to learn and seem so happy and contented."[24]

The request by Colonel Cameron was approved and more trainees were sent to the Rock.[25] Twelve of these trainees graduated and returned to Morocco with Maclean; and, instantaneously, Hassan I gave his orders to send seventy soldiers to Gibraltar to join the remaining fifteen Moroccans from the first mission. These eighty five trainees comprehended seventy soldiers, ten artillerymen, and five doctors. After taking their provisions and clothes from the capital city Fez,[26] they crossed to Gibraltar. The five doctors were: Kaid Jilali ben Thami Charadi Zerouali, Muley Ahmed Zouaq Alaoui el-Marrakchi, Driss ben al-Makki Charadi Mohamed called Hamman al-Jam'i and Jilali ben el-'Arbi al-Boukhari.[27] They learned medicine whereas the ten artillerymen acquired the art of artillery and the seventy soldiers learned military movements. As far as the five doctors are concerned, they received more attention from Hassan I as well as the British authority especially Hay who used to send detailed reports to Hassan I on the experience and education of these Moroccans. Moreover, as soon as the training had begun, the five doctors showed "a sincere

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Jamal Haymer, *Albaathat Taalimia*, p. 94.
[24] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 186.
[25] MWM FO 1/15737.
[26] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 152.
[27] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Ithaf A'lam Annas*, vol. 2, p. 545.

desire to learn, and their teachers praised them."[28] Thus, Drummond Hay, moved by their excel as he pretended, suggested to the sultan that the doctors ought to be sent to the British school of medicine in London and train in hospitals for a longer period. Thanks to Hay's persistence, Hassan I informed his grand vizier Mosa ben Hmad that the doctors ought to move to London and "to make the journey to gain all the knowledge they need and to watch doctors treating their patients."[29]

Later, Hassan I sent one hundred seventy soldiers to Gibraltar and ordered the eighty five trainees there to return home and join the army.[30] This third mission was led by kaid Mohamed Zerouali al-Fassi, and it was received by Haj Ali al-Moumni who was among the first twenty five trainees. His role was to assist the new delegation in adapting quickly with the new context.[31] Forty five of them learned artillery while the rest devoted their time to learning military movements[32] as did their countrymen before.

However, due to some discipline issues, Hassan I issued a decree to stop the delegations to Gibraltar and ordered his consul there Haj Gussus to sell the residue of the trainees and send them back home to El-Jadida.[33] Ben-Srhir brings about a pertinent historical document unfolding the reason behind this decision. It was a letter sent by Hassan I that concerned these trainees stating that "they should do as Colonel Cameron told them in military matters. He will promote only those who deserve to be promoted. If someone had held an important position in Morocco, but appeared ready to accept this, then he should do his training; otherwise he should return to Morocco."[34]

Indeed, many of the trainees were high ranking officials in Mekhzen back home with short experience with European contact and a tendency to conservativeness; a fact that limited their willingness to learn from Christian officials. They felt quite demeaned resulting in frequent refusal of the orders given to them by the British trainer Colonel Cameron. This refusal and defiance grew stronger as Hay insisted that the trainees should consider themselves as ordinary soldiers or

[28] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 256.
[29] Ibid.
[30] MWM FO1/15755.
[31] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 153.
[32] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Ithaf A'lam Annas*, vol. 2, p. 545.
[33] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 257.
[34] Ibid.

subalterns with no past of high ranks in the Moroccan apparatuses. The authority given by Hassan I to the British trainer, mainly the power for commission and promotion, proved fruitless in disciplining these 'proud' Moroccan officials.

Nevertheless, historically speaking, on the grand scale, the orders of the sultan to stop missions to Gibraltar was not triggered merely by the refusal of some 'proud' Moroccan trainees to obey orders issued by their British trainers but also the competition between Britain and France to exercise hegemony over all sorts of life and modernization in Morocco had played a major role in the decision made clear by Hassan I. Indeed, after the inspection led by Hassan I of French troops in Oujda in September 1876, there were rumors about the likelihood of the "French trainers entering the service of the Moroccan army."[35] Consequently, Hay stopped the French intentions and convinced the sultan to do as the Turks had done when they hired German officers for senior army positions and British for senior naval positions as well. The sultan, then, requested a British officer with a highly skilled personality to mimic the Turkish strategy. The sultan wrote to Hay seeking for:

> a man for us who can teach us the art of war, a man who is intelligent, knowledgeable and experienced in warfare, a skilled veteran, whom His Majesty may employ as an officer and instructor to his troops under the command of the commander-in-chief. If you find such a one, seek him out from the friendly country and send him to us, on condition that there is no obligation upon us if God so permitted that he dies while at war in our service.[36]

This officer was the well-known Maclean. He had been among the trainers in Gibraltar training the first delegation and returned to Morocco with the twelve who graduated. It was then when he joined the royal court in fez in 1877. It was part of the scheme constructed by Hay to monopolize the military affairs of Morocco. Maclean was a veteran British soldier in the Infantry Battalion and had served in countless overseas outposts before joining Gibraltar garrison in 1873.

[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

His role was crucial in the military reform started by Hassan I and continued by his successors. He started his career in Morocco training the infantry; and, after a short period, he was appointed as diplomatic consular for the sultan with the job of informing the latter about the European dealings and plans about Morocco, purchasing weapons from European factories and teaching the sultan and his surroundings the usage of new weapons given as gifts from foreign ambassadors.[37]

In some British newspapers, Maclean was called Kaid Sir Harry Maclean; and his news was a favorite material for these newspapers. In 1885, a letter by Hassan I to Haj Torres in Tangier unfolded the role played by Mclean in sending two gifted Moroccan students to the USA for the sake of learning how to dismantle, clean and load rifles.[38] Four years later another letter unveiled a request by Mclean to rent a royal boat for the duration of five to ten years. The request was granted by Hassan I under the condition that Mclean should take some Moroccan soldiers, already working onboard, and train them.[39] This was just one among seven other conditions as the letter unfolded.

In 1905, Mclean was reported to join Hassan I during his journey from Marrakech to Rabat; but the long voyage made the sultan "succumbed to the hardship of a forced passage across the Atlas Mountains"[40] and died during the trip.

c. Other Delegations Other Destinations: Europe Receives Moroccan Students and Soldiers

Beside Gibraltar, various European cities attracted the attention of Hassan I; and the European delegations in Tangier rushed to take part in this plan of military and educational reform. Therefore, in 1874, Hassan I assigned 15 Moroccan engineers to be sent to European countries for the purpose of learning European languages. Before the chosen engineers crossed to Europe, they remained in Tangier at the Hassania School, founded by Hassan I, to have an introductory course

[37] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 153.
[38] AAMT FO 3/356.
[39] AAMT FO 7/1018.
[40] "Scotsman and Moor," *Western Mail*, 17 June 1905, p.66.

to the languages of their receiving nations.[41] After concluding their course in Tangier, each three of them traveled to a different destination. Mohamed al-Gabbas al-Fassi, Idriss ben Abd alwahed, and Zobir Skirj moved to Britain and studied for five years[42] in the military school in Chatham.[43] After the designated period they returned as Mohamed Barkach indicated in his letter to Hassan I:

> Concerning these students sent to London in order to study, they have completed the courses and grasped their purpose; and our king, may Allah glorify him, is pleased with the short time they consumed which others might have needed twice the period. He praised their willingness, understanding, cleverness, and gentility.[44]

After these three had finished their education in London, they were appointed to fulfill various tasks; Mohamed al-Gabbas al-Fassi was appointed in the royal court, Driss ben Abdelwahed in the army and Zobir Skirj in the port.

Three other Moroccan engineers were sent to Italy with the goal to inaugurate a local weapon industry in Morocco and dispense with purchasing European weapons since it was costing too much and the Moroccan budget could not meet these expenses. In this respect, Hassan I made a deal with the Italian consul to build a weapon factory in Fez.[45] These Moroccans who were sent to Italy were: Mokhtar Raghay Bukhari, Mohammed Bennani al-Fassi and Abdessalam al-Wadi. They had resided there for nine years before they returned back home to work in the royal court.

Three other engineers went to Spain where they spent nine years too. They were Ahmed ben Haj ʻAbbass ben Shaqrun al-Fassi, Abdessalam al-Rbati, and Mohamed Charradi.[46] They

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[41] Jamʻīyah al-Maghribīyah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, *Maʻlamat Al-Maghrib: Qāmūs Murattab ʻalá Ḥurūf Al-Hijā' Yuḥīṭu Bi-Al-Maʻārif Al-Mutaʻalliqah Bi-Mukhtalaf Al-Jawānib Al-Tārīkhīyah Wa-Al-Jughrāfīyah Wa-Al-Basharīyah Wa-Al-Ḥaḍārīyah Lil-Maghrib Al-Aqṣá: Bībliyūghrāfīyā Al-Ajzā' Al-Ithnay ʻashar Al-Manshūrah*. Vol. 10 (Salle: Maṭābiʻ Salā, 2000), p. 3437-3439.

[42] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 15**0**.

[43] Jamal Haymer, *Albaathat Taalimia*, p. 96.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Ithaf A'lam Annas*, vol. 2, p. 495-497.

[46] Ibid., p. 466.

studies in the Architecture Academy in Guadalajara.[47] Jamal Haymer explains that the reluctance on behalf of Mekhzen to send more delegations for education to Spain was the fact that Hassan I had a well-informed background on the difference between the European nations and that Spain lagged behind the other nations in terms of development.[48] Thus, no more missions were sent to this country.

Three more engineers went to France. They were: Taher ben Haj al-Wadi, Mohamed ben el-Ka'ab al-Chargi and Qassem Aloudi. They had spent six years in Tangier to be prepared for the French courses before they traveled in 1879 to Paris. Their instruction comprised French, architecture, maritime sciences, history, and photography.[49] The last three engineers went to Germany where they had spent the longest period among their countrymen. Twelve years was quite sufficient for al-Miloudi al-Rbati, al-Hussein al-Wadi and Abdessalam al-Dsouli to complete their education in Germany.

Ibn Zaidan included in his account all the details of these fifteen engineers and how they were well-educated, professional and knowledgeable in all domains. He stated: "We have tested them in every single field and they have proved to be excellent."[50]

Apart from these fifteen engineers, twenty seven young Moroccans were also sent to Germany in 1884; and this mission was quite harder than the first one. The group comprehended twelve students and fifteen soldiers. The soldiers went to learn the art of artillery and the industry of canons whereas the students were to be engineers and learned different domains. A year later, twelve more joined them. They were five students and seven craftsmen who were to learn dynamite powder, telegraph, building bridges, foundry, carpentry, and shoemaking.[51]

In 1888, twenty four young Moroccans aging between 13 and 16 were chosen by the Italian ambassador Gentilé from different cities of Morocco: 10 from Rabat, 5 from Salle, 4 from

[47] Louis Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, vol. 3, p. 223.
[48] Jamal Haymer, *Albaathat Taalimia*, p. 111.
[49] Ibid., p. 104.
[50] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 151.
[51] Ibid., p. 154.

Larache, 3 from Tangier and 2 from Fes.[52] After eighteen days in Tangier, they were sent on board of the Italian ship *Dondolo* to Genoa then on the train to Torino. The students met with other classmates from different nationalities and among the students was the crown prince of Egypt Ahmed Fouad[53] as well. After three years of schooling, the sultan instructed them to make three groups and each group should study different subjects mainly: 1. studying soldiers training. 2. studying maritime science. 3. studying arm production.

Moreover, in 1888, fifty five other young Moroccans were listed as members of the mission to Belgium. They learned many different professions ranging from mechanics, foundry to carpentry and train industry…etc. all of them acquired knowledge in technical fields.[54]

To conclude, the French swift military operation in Algeria in 1830, the dramatic defeats in Isly and Tetuan in 1844 and 1860 respectively deeply shacked Morocco; and the experience of Mohamed Ali in Egypt to modernize the army through dispatching educational and military delegations to Europe and Istanbul proved crucial to stand against the European colonial appetite; as well as the internal voices that were calling for a total reform in the military and administration, such as the accounts by Moroccan *ulama* and other accounts by Moroccan ambassadors to Europe, had played significant roles in the adoption of a scheme to modernize Morocco by the successive sultans. Some of these accounts, though scarce in numbers and length, targeted Gibraltar where fascination overwhelmed their writers. The next section will elaborate further on how these Moroccan writers viewed the advanced British outpost of Gibraltar. Moreover, Gibraltar was not only a destination for Moroccan elites who crossed there in official missions but also a place where hundreds of Moroccan commoners settled, traded and got married to Europe women. The next section will also discuss these intercultural marriages.

[52] Ahmed Ma'anino, "Modakirat Talib Maghribi Orsila fi Bi'tha Maghribia 'ila Italia Mondo Thamanin Sana," *Da'wat 'Alhaq*, vol.1 (1968), p. 143.

[53] Ibid., p. 144.

[54] Abd Errahman Ibn Zaidan, *Al'aaiz wa Sawla*, vol. 2, p. 157-160.

4. Moroccans at Gibraltar: Elites and Commoners

There is a long tradition of Moroccan embassies to Britain and Europe in general; and a handful of Moroccan historiographers have dealt with these materials as discussed in the theoretical part. As far as Gibraltar is concerned, it was until late 19th century that Moroccan embassies aimed for this British destination. Yet, this does not mean that Morocco lacked interest in this British outpost or as some historians tend to call policy of isolation; on the opposite, as early as 1704, which is the date when the British annexed this port, Morocco showed remarkable interest in it and proved itself to be knowledgeable about the political, commercial and military circumstances that this British garrison went through. Moreover, Moroccan consulate there played major roles in various domains in Moroccan relation with Britain. In brief, the consuls appointed there and embassies sent from Morocco to the garrison re-tell an alternative history of the relationship between the two nations that shared but few common history and culture but intense commercial interests.

a. Gibraltar in Moroccan Travel Accounts: Images of Admiration and Constrains on the Text

Within that condense historical context, Moroccans who encountered the Christian peoples, lands, cultures…etc., in the other shores, had perplexing if nor ambivalent views and feelings. The long history of economy, diplomacy and friendship made the contact between Moroccan travelers to England and Gibraltar in particular smooth constructing a feeling of equality and familiarity, as these Moroccans thought. The encounter was shocking at best as the gap between the two domains grew huge and concrete.

Mohammed ben Abdallah al-Ghaigha'y grew up in the tribe of Ghighaya which is located in the surroundings of Marrakech. He was a decent writer who lived during the reign of sultan

Muley Abderrahman ben Hicham (1822-1859).[1] He conducted a journey to the East in order to accomplish his pilgrimage to Mecca; and, on his way, he crossed to Gibraltar. It was very often, that the Moroccan travelers to Europe or to the East for pilgrimage cross to Gibraltar and spend days there before embarking to their final destinations. Mustapha al-Chabbi narrates a story of some Moroccan pilgrims who returned from Mecca to Tangier but the international delegations there sent them to Gibraltar for the period of the quarantine. He narrates:

> In September of 1865, the pilgrims were returning from Mecca via the port of Tangier; but the Health Council which was founded by the representatives of the countries in that city decided to expel those pilgrims (…). Those excelled pilgrims were obliged to go to Gibraltar where the authorities supplied them with some aid.[2]

Gibraltar, clearly, was a transitional city for the Moroccan pilgrims who came from Mecca back home. Accordingly, the care that the sultans of Morocco showed for the Moroccan pilgrims who arrive to Gibraltar is undeniable. The sultan Abderrahman ben Hicham appointed a Moroccan consul in Gibraltar to look after the interests of the Moroccan merchants and the arriving pilgrims from Mecca. In a letter of appointment that he sent to Qaid Mohammed Ach'aa, who would inform El haj Mohammed Erzini of his appointment as Moroccan consul in Gibraltar, the sultan focuses on the importance of looking after his subjects in the city of Gibraltar. The letters states: "in order to take the hand of the Muslims and preserve their pride and to show their elevation and stop them from getting astray."[3]

Looking after the Moroccan pilgrims was essential among the tasks of the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar. The *Dhahir* of appointment of Erzini stressed that task. It affirms that:

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[1] Anchad. Hassan, *Rihlat Al-Ghaigha'y*, Diss. (Rabat. University Mohammed V, 2006), p. 33.

[2] Al-Chabbi, Mustapha. *Al-Nokhba al-Makhzanya fi Maghrib al-Qarn19* (Rabat: University Mohammed V, 1995), p. 88.

[3] Mohammed Alhabib Alkharaz, *Soufara' Tetuan 'ala 'Aahd Dawla al 'Alaoya,* vol. I (Tetuan: Alkhalij Alaarabi, 2007), p. 215.

> he (the Moroccan consul) guides the merchants and the pilgrims who come (to Gibraltar) and leave (for Mecca); and help them through the conventional laws and the praised path with their exercise of their rights and lifting the harm leveled upon them; and push them to be serious and noble.[4]

In this respect, al-Ghaigha'y's journey from Mecca to Morocco was through Gibraltar. The few hours that he had spent there were, ambivalently, loaded with anger and admiration simultaneously. That is why he included these short hours in his account. His journey is known by his name *al-Ghaigha'y's Journey*.

In his account, al-Ghaigha'y was astonished by the European inventions. He depicted the advancement of Christian Europe in matters of technology; and considered these inventions as being inspirations from Allah. He described the steam ship, the telegraph, and the train…etc. thoroughly. Nonetheless, his admiration was rather a justification of the European power and advancement the fact that triggered the hunger of these colonizers in the East and the Islamic West as well. Thus, he endeavored in explaining the danger of the European existence in the East; mainly since it took the form of defiance and dominance.[5]

The identity, which is embodied in al-Ghaigha'y in this context, is a 'Self' that is proud of its Islamic distinctiveness. Similar stance is taken by the Moroccan travelers to Europe before the war of Tetuan. Besides, despite the fact that he demarcated the limits between the Muslim 'Self' and the Christian 'Other'; yet, he did not delve in reiterating the language of *Dar Lharb* and *Dar Silm*. Nonetheless, the wishes of ruin and demolition of the Christians loaded his account about the city of Gibraltar.

al-Ghaigha'y's arrival to Gibraltar was preceded by a narration of the historical events of the conquest of Spain and the foundation of Andalusia. He, then, moved to Tarik ben Zeyad; and how this latter managed to take Spain from Roderick of Spain. Then he started describing Gibraltar and his own experience there. His knowledge of geography remains pertinent as an argument against the calls of the lack of curiosities among Muslims as his knowledge of the different

[4] Ibid., p. 216.
[5] Anchad. Hassan, *Rihlat Al-Ghaigha'y*, p. 33.

European nations and their relations remains relevant. He stated that "the aforementioned Gibraltar is today occupied by the race of the British. They took it from the race of the Spanish aggressively and trickily as they took the aforementioned Malta."[6]

He was, also, familiar with the enmities between different European countries. al-Ghaigha'y, even, analyzed the relations between them and how Great Britain was, strategically, strong because it had Gibraltar and Malta under its authority. His historical knowledge shaped his judgments too. The knowledge of history and geography shows that al-Ghaigha'y belonged to the elitist social group in Morocco. His social position allowed him to experience the journey to Gibraltar differently from the other unknown commoners/subaltern Moroccan.

He delved in describing the city of Gibraltar and considered it a military place par excellence where commerce was flourishing. He stated:

> We stepped in the city of Gibraltar; and it is a fortified place with soldiers and canons; and there are cheap weapons as well. It is a part of soil inside a sea; and whoever sees it without having knowledge of it may think that it is an island; but it has a link with the sea. There are cities close to it such as Algeciras, Cadiz and Tarifa, but it is more close to Tangier.[7]

He was also amazed by the fact that Gibraltar was a free port where merchants and residents did not have to pay taxes or custom duties. He elucidated that "there are no dues, duties or whatsoever in Gibraltar."[8] However, when he desired to enter the town, he was annoyed by the complicated process that he had to undergo. He was allowed to enter with four people at once; and the soldiers in the port recorded their names, professions and the aim for their visit.[9] This process took a long time which made al-Ghaigha'y irritated; and he started asking Allah for their ruin. Unexpectedly, his ambiguous attitude towards the Gibraltarian 'Other' rendered his narrative about

[6] Ibid., p. 426.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., p. 427.

the town problematic. That is, the order and care that the Gibraltarians showed for their city pushed al-Ghaigha'y to admire them after the annoying process of access.

In a nut shell, he did not spend much time in the city of Gibraltar; he came there, in the first place, because he traveled on a British ship from the East to Morocco through Gibraltar. He immediately left for Tangier where he spent fifteen days before he continued his trip inland. His experience in the Rock was short and rapid but loaded with ambivalent views as it marked an exceptional encounter between a Moroccan rigid mindset with Europeans. Other Moroccan accounts reveal further details and extensive experiences in the same scope.

Ahmed Erhouni was born in 1871 in Tetuan where he studied the Quran since his childhood. In 1887, he moved to Fes where he joined Quaraouin University. He was a scholar, a wise man and a writer; and he was appointed to fulfill many tasks in Mekhzen such as an inspector in the Judicial Court; also, he worked in Eljadida port as well. He was appointed as a writer in Dar Nyaba in Tangier in 1906.

Figure 4: Moroccan ambassador to Gibraltar Ahmed Erhouni.[10]

In 1903, he was dispatched as an ambassador to meet the King of Great Britain in Gibraltar while this latter was returning from his far colonies of India after the death of his brother king. Ahmed Erhouni scribed his journey to meet the British King in Gibraltar; and he described the major events in his journey. He stated that he received a telegraph that ordered him to go to

[10] Mohammed Alhabib Alkharaz, *Soufara' Tetuan*, vol.II, p. 254.

Gibraltar accompanied by a few notables. He, then, went to meet the British consul and Pasha of Tetuan; and, then, transported to Gibraltar via a military vessel:

> He (the British consul) told us to travel in a military vessel at 2 p.m of 21 January, 1912. when it was 2 p.m., I went down to the port with Ibn Edriss Lehrezi dressing in Mekhzen costume; and we found the aforementioned vessel in the official form; and we received from its captain and crew all joy and greeting.[11]

Ahmed Erhouni focused on the decent welcome he and his group enjoyed. This focus on the greeting and welcoming traditions were intertexted by many Moroccan ambassadorial accounts to Europe. His position in the diplomatic sphere rendered his text, description and experience quite dissimilar in terms of style and stance to that of al-Ghaigha'y. There was no cursing or seeking ruin and destruction to be laid upon the British. Unlike al-Ghaigha'y who wished for ruin and destruction to be sent upon the British in Gibraltar, Ahmed Erhouni was restricted by the constraints of his mission from reiterating the wishes of destruction. The encounter was not spontaneous and the Moroccan 'Self', then, was compelled by the political and diplomatic position being assumed. It differed from the encounters between the commoner Moroccans or even other unrestrained well-established scholars such as al-Ghaigha'y. The ambassador continued his chronicle of the encounter by stressing the respectable performances and attitudes of the British towards him and his group while arriving to Gibraltar "we encountered the King in a wonderful audience; and he showed the best care and enchantment. We delivered to him the letter that we had prepared for his meeting as it was the tradition after we had translated it by the translator Orwin who read it in English."[12]

The experience of Ahmed Erhouni in Gibraltar was short and he did not have sufficient time to report on the different features of the city. Even though the everyday life of Gibraltarians was characterized by the view of Moroccans in the streets, markets, and the port for trade, the reasons behind the absence of these Moroccans in his account remains obscure. Similar to the

[11] Ibdi., p. 256.
[12] Ibid.

other commoners, he wore traditional costumes during his audience and stay in the town. This commitment to the culture of the 'Self' remains of prominent importance in the study of the development of the subjectivity of the Moroccan identity vis-à-vis the European 'Other' as discussed at the end of the theoretical part; and the performance of this subjectivity in the contact zone of Gibraltar.

This mission fits in with what ben Sai'd argued for in relevance to the three phases of the development of the relationship between the 'Self' and the 'Other'. The encounter of Ahmed Erhouni with the British king in Gibraltar was shaped by the third phase of the development of the awareness of the Moroccan 'Self'. The third phase was loaded, according to Ben Sai'd, with the experience of astonishment and the regaining of consciousness. In this context, Ahmed Erhouni was sent to Gibraltar while Morocco was facing the hardest and darkest phase of its contemporary history. The memory of the 'Self' is loaded with images of defeat and weakness in opposite to the strong Europe. Yet, there was an attempt, by Moroccan scholars to regain the balance after the blows that they had received. There was a reconfiguration, reconstruction and a re-discovering of the 'Self' in parallel to an encouragement to explore Europe and gain allies such as Great Britain.

Thus, the experience of Ahmed Erhouni in Gibraltar proves this tendency of the 'Self' to go and strengthen the relations with the powerful Europe. Great Britain, simultaneously, persisted as a strategic ally and support to Morocco.

The travel accounts that Moroccans wrote after the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th were mostly emanating from a political need to solve problems or strengthen the Moroccan relations with the European countries.[13] As the aforementioned two accounts fell in that same scope, so did al-Ghassal's. Indeed, in 1902, Hassan ben Mohammed al-Ghassal, a Moroccan scholar and diplomat, was sent to London by Muley Abd al-Aziz in order to congratulate Edward VII for his succession as king of Great Britain.

[13] Mohammed Edfali, "Mochahadat al-Kardoudi bayna Syaq wa Tarikh," in *Espania bi'oyoun Arrahalin Almaghariba*, ed. Shaib Hlifi (Casablanca: Ben Msik University Press, 2011), p. 91.

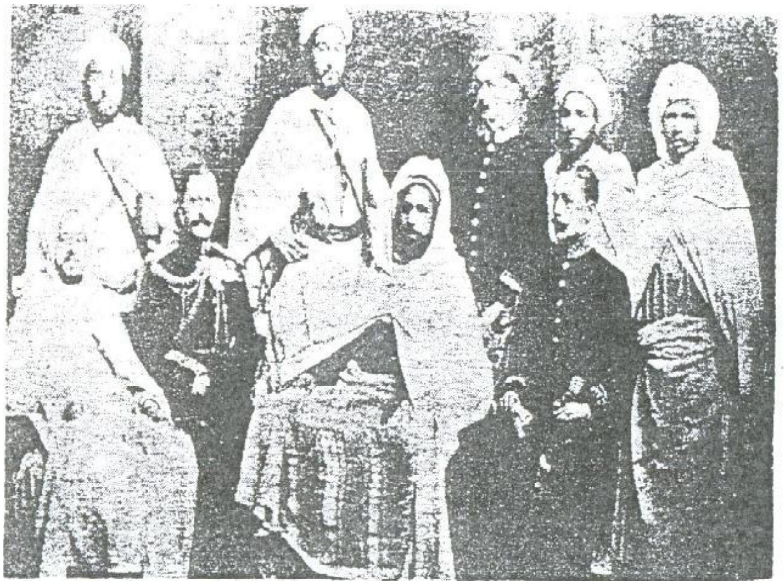

Figure 5: The Moroccan Embassy to London.[14]

The reaction of al-Ghassal towards the British power and how the countries from all over the globe had sent their delegations in order to congratulate the new King was pertinent.[15] On their route, the embassy stopped at Gibraltar, where al-Ghassal started describing the welcome ceremony reserved for them. As it was the case for all Moroccan envoys to Great Britain, they were welcomed in the best manners and traditions. They embarked on Saturday the 21st of June in 1902 at 10 p.m. in the Royal vessel named *Royal Sovereign* to Gibraltar. After the vessel had roamed, the ambassador Abd Errahman ben Abd Essadeq presented a golden dagger to the captain of the vessel.[16] After two hours sailing, they reached the port of Gibraltar where they were welcomed by the Moroccan consul in Gibraltar Abd Essalam Bouzian, the governor of Gibraltar and many notables; then, canons fired as a sign of salutation at their arrival. Then, they took the coach and crossed between the soldiers who were saluting them and singing the official British hymn. Women and men were enjoying the gaiety of the reception on windows. On their arrival to

[14] Abd Lhadi Tazi, "Sifara A'n sultan ," p. 197.

[15] Abd al-Majid Al-Qadori, *Sofara' Maghariba fi Oropa 1610-1922: fi 'Alwaa'i bitafawt* (Rabat: University of Mohammed V Press, 1995), p. 66.

[16] On the circumstances of his departure see MWM FO 1.

the Bouzian's residence, the Moroccan envoy went to the house of "the grey-haired wise and respected Governor Sir George who received him in the best manners."[17]

On Monday at 10 p.m, both of the Governor and his assistant paid back the visit to the ambassador who served tea for his guests as a sign of welcoming in the Moroccan tradition. As the account and pictures tell, the outfit of the Moroccan officials and ambassador reflected their commitment to home culture as well as how difference was tolerated, normalized and even praised in a contact zone of Gibraltar.

Figure 6: Mohammed ben Lhaj l'aarbi Martil the Moroccan ambassador to Gibraltar.[18]

At the end, the ambassador gave the Governor a golden dagger and the assistant a silver one. al-Ghassal, cleverly, noticed how the visit that the Governor of Gibraltar paid to the Moroccan embassy triggered and attracted the attention of the Gibraltarians. Many were waiting in front of the house waiting the Governor to come out since they were not used to see him visiting anyone. At 2 p.m, the Governor sent his own coach to take them to the port where they were, again, joyfully received and bid farewell. These manifestations of the welcoming, contentment and

[17] Abd Lhadi Tazi, "Sifara A'n sultan," p. 195.
[18] Mohammed Alhabib Alkharaz, *Soufara' Tetuan*, vol. II, p. 252.

gaiety overwhelmed the dimensions and possibilities of an alternative kind of encounter between the Moroccan 'Self' and the British 'Other'.

Taken by the magnificent European inventions, al-Ghassal delved in describing the British vessel *Persia* which shipped them back home.[19] His detailed depiction of the components of the ship displayed a profound admiration for the British refined constructions. He spent quite a long time admiring every aspect, part and equipment of the vessel; even the baths, speed and the crew who exceeded one hundred, mostly Indians, astonished him. Besides, what amazed him more was that the owners of the vessel had 70 similar others. This admiration of the British development in matters of invention was a shared point that could be located in Moroccan travel accounts to Europe. All of Al'amraoui, al-Maknassi, al-Kardoudi and J'aidi shared the same interest in describing and admiring the European industrial inventions.[20] al-Ghassal, in the same pattern, admired the British creativity. Finally, at 4 p.m, they left to London on board of that ship; and the journey to London comprised another encounter with the cradle of the British civilization which differed from the encounter with the margin/periphery of Great Britain.

However, this experience was distorted by many elements. The lack of spontaneous reactions and the political and diplomatic constrains had influenced significantly the text. Unlike the encounter of the commoner Moroccans who resided and traded in Gibraltar, this one was less impulsive. It was constructed by means of diplomatic conventions and pre-established positions of the Moroccan 'Self' and the British 'Other'. This account reveals little about the encounter between the Moroccan and the British. The diplomatic constrains that were leveled on this text prevented al-Ghassal from imposing his own personality/subjectivity.

Apart from these official accounts on Gibraltar resulting from ambassadorial visits, the city stood as a safe destination or liaison for other Moroccan high ranking officials such as the son of Kaid Aisa ben Omar[21] or, sometimes, overthrown sultans. In august 13th 1912, Muley Hafid, ex-sultan of Morocco who abdicated in favor of his brother Muley Youssef arrived to Gibraltar on his

[19] Abd Lhadi Tazi, "Sifara A'n sultan," p. 195.
[20] Abd al-Majid Al-Qadori, *Sofara' Maghariba fi Oropa* , p. 82-91.
[21] MWM FO 1.

way to his final destination France.[22] He was wearing a suite and accompanied by a large *harem* and his doctor Verdon.[23] He was promised an annuity of 15000 pound "during his good behavior."[24] Decades before him, in 1743, a certain brother of the Basha of Tetuan had taken refuge in Gibraltar with "his four sons and 42 Moors (…) and brought with them two million of money in gold"[25] as was reported back then. Moreover, some other official such as Kaid Mohamed ben Abdelmalk Errifi sought medical treatment in Gibraltar[26] whereas others brought doctors from there[27] since health care in Morocco is deplorable.

Nonetheless, the lion share of Moroccans in Gibraltar was relegated to the vast numbers of Moroccan commoners either Muslims or Jewish. Their experience remains by far outstanding and richer than those elite Moroccans. Though their history is rather scanty and scattered throughout various phases and genres such as travel narratives, historiographies, or local archives…etc., but informative vis-à-vis the encounter with the modern West.

b. Moroccan Commoners at Gibraltar: Home, Identity and cultural edges

The encounter of Muslim Moroccans with the British 'Other' was dissimilar and more pertinent in comparison to their Jewish countrymen. Many of the Moroccan Jews who crossed to Gibraltar preferred to settle and refused to return to Morocco; Gibraltar for them was an end for itself whereas other Moroccan Jews used Gibraltar as a bridge to London and other British cities. On the other hand, Muslim Moroccans rarely choose to stay till death in Gibraltar unless fatal and unfair ends waited for them back home as will be discussed. Yet, other Mooccans such as Ahmed who had crossed and traded in Gibraltar for a while before his wife Saadia bent Tieb wrote to the sultan complaining about her husband's reluctance to support her and the children financially in

[22] "Harem with Mulai Hafid: ex-sultan of Morocco Reaches Gibraltar on Way to France," *New York Times,* 14 August 1912.
[23] *Inangahua Times,* 14 Aug. 1912.
[24] *National Advocate,* 15 Aug. 1912, p. 3.
[25] *Newcastle Courant,* 8 Oct. 1743.
[26] MWM FO 1/33036.
[27] MWM FO 1/22502.

Morocco. Thus, the sultan ordered his consul in Gibraltar to force Ahmed to support his wife and children or be deported to Morocco.[28]

At any rate, the contact zone of Gibraltar offered a space for freedom, business and negotiating the identity of the 'Self' in a modern and open space. The Muslim commoner Moroccans encounter with the British 'Other' was beyond the notion of clash as discussed in the theoretical part of this thesis. Certainly, during the Great Siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783), the Moroccans who were there gave examples of bravery and solidarity with their British hosts. In an article issued in *Gazetteer and New Daily* newspapers in 1781, that is, in the middle of the Spanish blockage of the city of Gibraltar, the Moroccans were depicted as showing great eagerness towards the British against the Spanish:

> Great commendations are passed on the Moors at Gibraltar in the British service, who have braved all danger; and some of them, one day when red-hot balls were showering on the town, stripped themselves almost naked; such was their enthusiasm, stimulated by superstitious notions of gaining immortality by their prowess.[29]

This depiction, even if it was oddly put, engraved the extent to which early Moroccan commoners' solidarity with their new home of Gibraltar. This solidarity with the British during the hardest moments of their existence in Gibraltar elucidates, beyond any theory of clash or lack of curiosity, the encounter between the two identities.

The contribution of the Moors in the everyday life of Gibraltar was also important. An English author and traveler by the name of James Silk Buckingham visited once Gibraltar and described the Moors who lived there at that time: "the Moors, many of whom are negroes, and the Arabs from the great Desert of Sahara, wear the haick, a white serge clock, with a hood for the head, having neither shirts, turbans, or shoes."[30]

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[28] MWM FO 1.

[29] *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 7 June 1781, no. 16365.

[30] James Buckingham, *Autobiography of James Silk Buckingham Including His Voyages* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1855), p. 354.

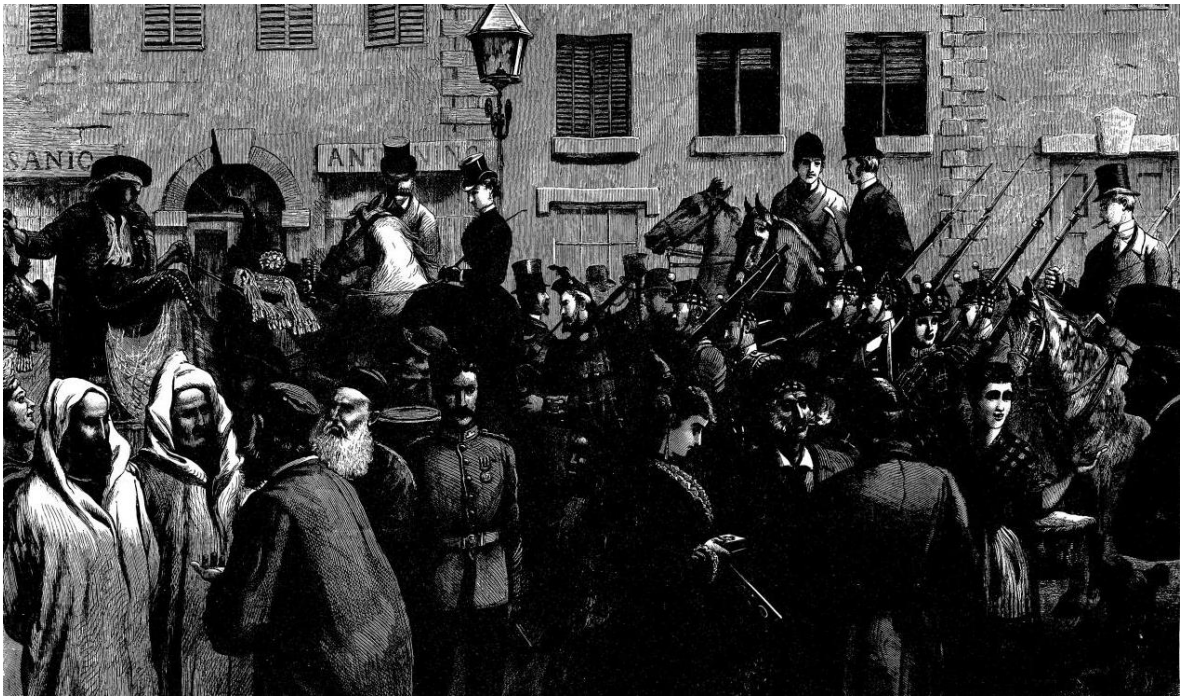

Figure 7: A reminiscence of Gibraltar – the main street on hunting morning.[31]

This is an important confirmation of the tolerance that characterized the city of Gibraltar. The Moroccan existence was much naturalized among the other components of the society in the city. Even though they clung to their traditional dress, they were not suffering from any discrimination or whatsoever. On the contrary, their existence enriched the multicultural aspect of the city and helped with the economic and political life.

This naturalization of the sight of commoner Moroccans in Gibraltar was positively observed by Walter Thornbury during his visit to Gibraltar. He describes the Moors as Othello in their traditional dresses and he relates their attachment to their religion and their performance of rituals freely without any rigidity from the Moorish side or rejection from the community of Gibraltar on the other side. Thornbury explained:

> There are some thousand Moors resident in Gib. You meet them everywhere; kingly and erect in their rhubarb-colored slippers, bare brown legs, and blue and white robes,

[31] *The Graphic*, Saturday, 12 May 1877, no. 389.

> Othellos everywhere. You meet them at sunrise, trooping to some Eastward-pointing ramp, where they may kneel toward Mecca, and think of the Prophet, as the saffron fire kindles to burning rose.[32]

Figure 8: Gibraltar in 1783. Two Moorish men walking close to a Gunner's Parade.[33]

In the same vein, there were many Muslim Moroccans who ventured and lived in the city of Gibraltar. Their encounter with the British was never shaped by clash or enmity as their (hi)story tells. Sidi Hamet was a Moroccan merchant who used to live in Gibraltar and gained a fortune in his job at the beginning of the 19th century. He benefited abundantly from the capitalist

[32] Walter Thornbury, *Life in Spain: Past and Present* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860), p. 308.

[33] Chipulina, Neville (2014), "1720 - A Treaty of Peace - Never Mind Utrecht," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018).

characteristic of Gibraltar and became prosperous. Because his aspirations were fulfilled and gained a fortune in this new home, he was no longer wishful to visit his homeland. The tradition, then, was that the subjects of the sultan of Morocco should pay tribute to the king and visit him loaded with offerings. However, Sidi Hamet did not pay the tribute to his king. Yet, he decided to travel to Tangier for commercial purposes and brought with him a large sum of money. Unluckily, he was immediately arrested and his money confiscated and brought to the sultan Muley Solaiman. The officers told the king that Sidi Hamet had chosen to reside among the Christians and that he had never entered a mosque or fulfilled duties of the religion; and, accordingly, he had forfeited his allegiance to his sovereign.

For that reason, the sultan ordered that Sidi Hamet to be executed. Nevertheless, his wittiness saved him through convincing the Emperor that his intentions were to come and settle permanently in his homeland but the officers took his 10.000$ which he brought as a present to his king. The officers arrested him and craved to take the money for themselves and to deprive the king. He was released after persuading the Emperor that he sought to bring his money from the Christians city and settle in his birthplace. The money was given to the Emperor and Sidi Hamet was allowed to go to Gibraltar to carry all his remaining wealth back home. Once there, he never came back to Morocco.[34]

The story of Sidi Hamet provides a deliberate illustration of the Moroccan commoner who preferred to live in Gibraltar rather than his homeland. The economic opportunities which were available to Moroccans in Gibraltar were large and various. These prospects ranged from the tolerable way of life to the easy and quick commercial gain. The possibility to grow wealthier in a short period, in the capitalist Gibraltar, was an attractive dream that haunted the Moroccans of Gibraltar. Sidi Hamet was one of these Moroccans who succeeded in commerce; and accumulated a huge wealth. On the opposite, Morocco was not a capitalist country at that time. The opportunities for an ordinary man and subject of the Emperor to grow wealthy were little and narrow lest he/she comes from prestigious and well-established families.

[34] Mordecai Manuel Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States, in the Years 1813-14 and 15*. New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1819), p. 102-103.

Sidi Hamet preferred to stay in Gibraltar after he had managed to escape from eminent death by a huge sum of money. He chose 'law' and 'freedom' that were in Gibraltar; which was a free port, an international zone and a multicultural society; than being 'murdered' at home.

Another example of the Muslim Moroccan commoners was Sidi Hamet ben Benja, also, a merchant who had spent his last years in Gibraltar and died there. He, as well, benefited from the capitalist mode of economy in the town. He "was known to the whole mercantile world by the extent of his connections and his great riches."[35] Similar to the story that occurred to the former Sidi Hamet, ben Benja was submerged in the capitalist free society of Gibraltar. Home was Gibraltar for him. His allegiance to his sovereign grew weak and the convention of the royal gifts was not respected by ben Benja.

The sultan ordered him to join his court after the insinuations and flattering messages that the surroundings of the sultan had kept stressing. When Ben Benja heard from a friend of him the intentions of the sultan to imprison him, he anticipated that; and ordered for 50.000 dollars to be brought to him from Gibraltar. He gave the sum as a gift; and declared that this was his intention in the first place and that he will bring all his fortune to Morocco in order to make "his residence near *Seedna*, his lord and master whom he intended to constitute his sole heir."[36] Ben Benja was allowed to go back to Gibraltar in order to bring his wealth and reside in Morocco. However he did not return home and concluded to stay there until his death. The sultan of Morocco inherited all ben Benja's wealth by the law of being his subject after all.

Both of the stories seem to be similar, but it is probable that they are not the same person. Sidi Hamet and Sidi Hamet ben Benja are likely to be different persons because their story is not the only story that occurs in history having the same plot. Moreover, the timing of both of them is different. There were other Moroccans in Gibraltar who were ordered to come to Morocco and were imprisoned because of their breaking of the convention which was equal to law in Morocco. There were details about their stories which were different such as the death and the sums of money and even the names. The aim of these accounts of the Moroccans who lived in Gibraltar; and were ordered to come to Morocco; and then imprisoned was to show the 'tyranny' of the

[35] "Law in Barbary," *Spirit of the English Magazines,* Oct. Apr. 1830-3, p. 170.
[36] Ibid., p. 171.

Moroccan Emperor in opposite to the freedom and fairness of the West. These scattered examples are traceable within British travel accounts to Morocco to magnify the 'exotic' and 'fanatic' nature of this Oriental country.

Almost, the same story occurred to another Moroccan subject who lived in Gibraltar and was punished by his sultan. His name was Shallond; and had been living in Tetuan before he traveled to Gibraltar where he worked as a merchant. The sultan, wishing to meet him, sent for him through the Moroccan consul at Gibraltar, and he complied since his family was in Tetuan and he was anxious about them to be tortured. When he arrived to Morocco he was imprisoned and tortured. Brooke narrated the story of this Moroccan who "was afterwards kept in confinement fourteen months, and only got his release by the payment of a fine of ten thousand ducats, levied by the sale of some houses."[37] When he got out of his prison, he solicited the Emperor to give him back fifteen hundred dollars from the huge sum of money that he used to have. He was granted his request and started again his trade. This sever punishment was "inflicted because some enemy of him had told the sultan that he had spoken too freely of him at Gibraltar."[38]

The same image of the Moroccan Emperor re-occurs in the story of Shallond. The same fate waited for Shallond as his countrymen Sidi Hamet and Ben Benja. The 'tyranny' of the Moroccan ruler was paralleled with the freedom of the British Gibraltar. The freedom of speech which was guaranteed in Gibraltar was forbidden in Morocco. Shallond was arrested and imprisoned because he 'spoke too freely of' the emperor.

For these reasons the Moroccans preferred to live in the peaceful, free and capitalist society of Gibraltar. The opportunities that existed in Gibraltar were not available in Morocco. The former denotes richness whereas the second denotes 'tyranny'.

Briefly, the encounter in the contact zone of Gibraltar remains one of the first human experiences of co-existence in the modern period. Meanwhile, these archives discussed earlier subvert the claims of the clash or borders as posited by the early discussed belated Orientalists.

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[37] Arthur de Capell Brooke, *Sketches in Spain and Morocco* (London: Thomas Davison, 1831), p. 389.

[38] Ibid., p. 390.

In spite of the examples that depicted the Moroccans of Gibraltar as fully submerged in the contact zone of Gibraltar, there were other stories which depicted them as attached to their traditions and home. There were many Moroccans who resided in Gibraltar but did not lose their culture or sense of belonging to their home Morocco. The reaction of many of them to some disastrous events in Morocco showed a deep commitment to their original home. For instance, when the war of Tetuan between Spain and Morocco began in 1859 till 1860 the Moroccans of Gibraltar, to some extent, reacted and showed a deep national commitment. An article which was published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* in 1859 reported that the Moroccans in Gibraltar requested the assistance of Great Britain to be given to their nation: "It is there said the Gibraltar Moors reckon on English Support being given to their country when once the struggle commences. When a Spanish officer enters Gibraltar he is the object of vigorous surveillance."[39]

Ironically, when the Moroccan Jews attempted to escape to Gibraltar during the fierce Spanish bombardment,[40] the Muslim Moroccans there held their breath in an act of solidarity with their countrymen in Morocco. This sense of nationhood that the Moroccans in Gibraltar held subverts the idea that they were culturally uprooted by the Gibraltar 'freedom and peace'. The encounter in the contact zone of Gibraltar did not engender a complete loss of identity and sense of belonging to another culture.

Other Moroccans of Gibraltar such as Hadji ben Azid showed further the attachment to their native culture and nation. Hadji ben Azid was a Moroccan merchant who resided in Gibraltar where he was a famous merchant; and he spoke English but not as fluently as Spanish. His commitment to Islam prevented him from selling outdated goods and to deceive his clients. He looked "quite sultanic" and sold Moroccan traditional products. The governor of Gibraltar once visited him and confessed to him: "By the Prophet! Ben-Azed, you are the- honestest rogue in all Gibraltar."[41]

Furthermore, Absalom Esoosy was another Moroccan who used to travel to Gibraltar for trading. He was astonished by the way of life there and was somehow influenced by it. His trade

[39] "Spain and Morocco," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 Dec. 1859, p. 3.
[40] MWM FO 3/176, pp: 52-106.
[41] Walter Thornbury, *Life in Spain*, p. 309.

revenues grew scanty by time and he indulged drinking wine, a seriously forbidden drink in Islam. It could be seen as a sign of acculturation, but that did not last forever. He met an Irish soldier Patrick O'Rourke from the British army who suffered from a love story failure and his endurance in the army was unbearable. Both of them were yearning for their homes. Esoosy was dressed in his traditional Moroccan dress a fact resulting in O'Rourke mistaking him for a woman at first glance. Every time Esoosy arrived at Gibraltar, they met and drank wine. One day, they decided to work in the circus business in London. Esoosy brought with him three Moroccans and O'Rourke was their guide and counselor. They performed in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin where Esoosy made acquaintance with a gorgeous widow by the name Biddy O'Kelly: "A pleasant thing it was to see the little red-headed Moor surrounded by a bevy of Irish Dames, acquaintances of the widow, relating his adventures in Irish-English with an Arabic accent, for a polite man had Esoosy become, with his wheedling ways."[42]

He was very admired by these women; and, immediately, the Irish dame fell infatuated with him; a love story culminated in their marriage. After some time in Dublin, he made her sell her shop and lead an upper-class life. Esoosy and the other three Moroccans began to feel nostalgic for their country. The images of home began to haunt their memories and exercised an emotional barrier on all of them. Thus, the ideas of going back home dominated their thoughts while:

> visions of little red-headed counterparts of himself, too, that he had left behind him in his fatherland, came before his mental eye[…] He communicated these thoughts to his companions, who had perhaps their own reasons for entering into them more warmly than he had expected.[43]

Although Absalom Esoosy drank alcohol and led a comfortable life amongst Europeans and enjoyed all aspects of modern life in Europe, he was not forgetful of his home or culture.

[42] Dickens Charles, et al. *Bentley's Miscellany.* Vol. XXII (London: S & G. Bentley, Wilson and Fley, 1847), p. 539.
[43] Ibid.

Images from home kept haunting him and his countrymen. The ultimate consequence was quite expected. That is, home stood for them as a resort for peace and belonging.

Esoosy's marriage to a British lady was not a singularity in the social and cultural history of the Anglo-Moroccan relations; many other Moroccans comprehending sultans and high ranking officials in Mekhzen shared the same cultural and social experience as Esoosy and other commoners. This intercultural marriage was a culmination of a fervent love story where Moroccan men played the role of Othello in real life and British women were Desdemona. Yet, other marriages did not enjoy the same start-up. As we will see in the next section, this intercultural marriage illustrates for condense social, cultural and historical interactions where the play on women's body was at stake.

c. Intercultural Marriages: Desires of Sexual Encounter with the 'Other'

The intercultural and interracial marriage, which celebrated the practically inseparable destiny of Moroccan men with British women, was the ultimate culmination of an ambivalent encounter between the two geographically, culturally and historically dissimilar nations. Beyond the economic exchanges, ambassadorial and diplomatic reciprocal missions, marriage, as a solid social bonding between Moroccan men and British women on one hand and between British men and Moorish women as fictionalized, on the other hand, demarcated historical moments that were never tolerated in both cultures, or at least in Britain. Nevertheless, the occurrence of this concretized cultural encounter or a rather sexual one was never remote from taking place as historical evidence proves. Just to mention few, Muley Ismail took the daughter of a private at Gibraltar as his wife; and she gave birth to Muley Yazid, Emily Keen got married to Cherif of Wazan in 1873, Miss Clara Casey got married to her Moroccan co-worker Mohammed ben Bilcassim and embraced Islam…etc.; this historical evidence of intercultural marriage is stronger than to be refuted.

We can generally distinguish between two categories as far as the Moroccan men who got married to European women are concerned. The elite category that comprehending sultans, high

ranking official in Mekhzen and powerful Kaids…etc., and the ordinary subaltern category where many unknown Moroccans could be listed. The famous story of the Moroccan ambassador Ibn Aicha who was an envoy to France sent by Muley Ismail for the sake of proposing marriage to the daughter of King Louis XIV[44] remains outstanding. The proposal was rejected; yet, the refusal was smoothed by the sending of gifts and other bounties including gorgeous white girls to ease the temper of the Moroccan sultan. The attempts to marry European women did not end after this case since Muley Ismail fulfilled his wish through many other bleu-eyed European captives who were sent to him as gifts from North African corsairs and merchants. Matar and Mclean mention, briefly, how an anonymous fifteen-year-old British girl was not redeemed and, hence, after discovered to be virgin, offered to Muley Ismail as a wife and never returned to England.[45]

His descendants did not deprive themselves, as well, from these gorgeous white ladies; and marriage smoothed the insertion of these European women in the *harem*. Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah got married to a Gibraltarian girl who gave birth to the succeeding sultan of Morocco Muley Yazid. The latter was the hybrid outcome of an intercultural/intersexual encounter between the Cherifian sultan and the daughter of a sergeant from Gibraltar. She was an attractive red-haired and blue-eyed Irish widow whose husband died in Morocco.[46] Her deceased husband was an Irish sergeant of sapper and miners who was sent, by request, with some others from Gibraltar into the service of the sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah. The husband died soon there and his wife sought an audience with the sultan which was granted. The sultan got immediately smitten by her charm and proposed to her "an offer which, notwithstanding all drawbacks of race, religion, and country, was accepted."[47] Her name, then, was Lella Scersceta or Zarzet.[48] This 'renegade' Irish lady not only did she became the preferred one but also managed to rule the sultan's *harem* and "infrequently rode into battle at the head of her husband's troops."[49] She gave birth in Safi to Muley Yazid who was known "by the sobriquet of Elhayer Hamara, or red beard, a characteristic

[44] Nabil Matar, *In The Lands of the Christians* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 197.
[45] Nabil Matar, et al. *Britain and the Islamic World*, p. 130.
[46] "A sultan's Irish Wife," *The New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1892.
[47] Arthur Leared, *Morocco and the Moors*, p. 198.
[48] Léon Godard, *Description Et Histoire Du Maroc*, vol. II (Paris: C. Tanera, 1860), p. 564.
[49] *The New York times*, 25 Jan. 1892.

derived from his mother's race."[50] He "inherited much of her pluck and spirit" as reported in *The New York Times*. To end with, Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah had many other wives and his last one was "Lalla Douvia, de la Famille génoise Franceschini."[51]

Furthermore, in 1873, another intercultural marriage took place when the famed English Emily Keene got engaged to an esteemed and influential Moroccan figure named Hajj Ahmed Ben Abdeslam. He was the most powerful spiritual leader in Morocco with much wealth and prestige. Despite the opposition of her parents, stressing the cultural and ethnic differences, she could not but adhere to her emotional drift and infatuation with Moroccan Oriental lifestyle; hence, she resisted all cultural restrictions and got engaged with her beloved. The British Drummond Hay had a noteworthy part in this marriage, as well, and attended the ceremony after the request of the Cherif Abdeslam who rushed Hay to conclude the proceedings.[52]

Emily went to her wedding on horseback; and for many years, her life as a Moroccan "princess was happy."[53] Nevertheless, some might stress the idea that this Moroccan/British marriage was not the result of a conventional love story per se but rather a necessity for the British interests in Morocco to grow durable. That is, the marriage took place in the context of Britain lobbying for reform in Mekhzen economy and administration; meanwhile, the British anticipated monopolizing this reform. The Cherif's role, hence, was to favor reform and modernization in British manners and to suggest it to the sultan.[54] Besides, Drummond Hay made Emily "a trusted correspondent, who would keep him regularly informed of the Cherif's movements and his relations with the French and the Spanish.[55]

Despite the controversial, the marriage was a success in all senses. In 1877, the Cherif visited Britain with his British wife to see her family as well as to get an idea of some weapon industry.[56] Besides, due to Emily's recommendations, the Cherif made some acquaintances in

[50] Arthur Leared, *Morocco and the Moors*, p. 198.
[51] Léon Godard, *Description Et Histoire Du Maroc*, p. 564.
[52] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Almaghrib fi L'archif* Albritani (Casablanca: Wallada, 1992), p. 365.
[53] "Tale of Moroccan Romance," *Sunday Times*, 21 Jan. 1940.
[54] "A Moorish Marriage," *Rock Hampton Bulletin*, 26 June 1873.p. 2.
[55] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 201.
[56] Ibid.

Gibraltar where he would cross from time to time.[57] Gibraltar, moreover, was the closest British outpost for supplies such as medicines for Emily and her surroundings. She, one day, asked for lymph to be brought to her from there which the Moroccan consul then fulfilled after the request of her husband.[58]

These intercultural marriages had significant ramifications on the internal and external affairs of Morocco. Internally, they hastened the pace of modernization and reform while the British influence grew stronger externally compared to the other European nations. In addition, as did the elite social class in Morocco, subaltern Moroccans followed the same lead resulting in more substantial intercultural marriages that occurred in the concrete history of the Anglo-Moroccan relations.

The difference between elite and subalterns who got married to European ladies lies in the fact that some elite Moroccans such as sultans and high ranking officials had, mostly, unredeemed European ladies captivated and forced to have sexual intercourse as wives or concubines; whereas the subaltern Moroccans could not afford these luxurious pleasures such as the procurement of captivated women. They had only to seduce European girls to fall in love with them as many love stories of this kind took place and stroke the European and British society in particular. In 1905, for instance, the first Muslim Mosque in Britain Liverpool held the marriage ceremony of a young English bride, aged seventeen from Salford named Clara Casey, to a Moroccan circus performer named Mohammed Ben Bilcassim. The young girl fell in love and renounced Christianity for Islam despite her parent's refusal.[59] The couple was a member of the Achmet Music Hall troupe and was quite acquainted with each other which paved the way to an uncommon love story that struck the Liverpoolian community as the newspapers reported the event that took place in the Muslim Institute there.

The Institute included a school for the Muslim community and a mosque for prayers. It had been originally called Brougham Terrace before the son of a watchmaker by the name William Quilliam bought the 12 terraces in 1889 and made them an Islamic Institute. He had embraced

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[57] Emily Wazan, et al. *My Life Story* (London: E. Arnold, 1912), p. 86.
[58] Ibid., p. 75.
[59] Khalid Bekkaoui, (2010), "Moroccans in Britain," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018), from https://beyond-borders.webs.com/moroccansinbritain.htm

Islam after his visit to Morocco and changed his name to Abdullah Quilliam. He delivered many lectures about Islam and issued a newspaper called The Crescent from the same building.[60]

Soon after Bilcassim's marriage to Miss Casey, the couple returned to Tangier where the infatuated bride found herself part of a large *harem* that included Bilcassim's mother, sisters and aunts and presumably wives. She, subsequently, went back to England with the assistance of the British consul in Morocco.

Other performers and commoners from Morocco had relatively the same experience with European ladies. Mohammed Bin Said was married to Josephine and had a daughter named Zara and a son named Ahmed.[61] Additional stories had different endings though. A letter from King Hassan I narrated the history of a Moroccan theatrical performer who used to cross to Europe and got married to a British girl. The couple moved to Essaouira and gave birth to a boy. After the death of the Moroccan father, the English woman moved to Britain where the child was raised and, henceforth, Christianized. After the boy grew younger, he returned to his birthplace and asked for his parent's estates.[62]

Unlike this Christianized hybrid Moroccan-British boy, other children, who were the fruit of an intercultural marriage of that kind, had different or rather opposite experiences. Beauclerk mentioned how Haj Hadoud took custody of the boy child of his deceased friend in Gibraltar. This friend was a Moroccan merchant who got married to the daughter of a Gibraltarian sergeant, and they had three children. The Gibraltarian woman "took to drinking and died consequently."[63] The Moroccan commoner, hence, took his beloved woman's death so much to heart and fell seriously sick. He "conjured him (Hadoud) by all the sacred ties of friendship, never to desert his children, a boy and two girls, whom he committed to his care."[64] After these strong insisting words, Hadoud moved the children to Morocco where they could be raised according to Islamic norms. They had a dissimilar life than the hybrid child mentioned before.

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[60] Steven Horton, (2001), "Britain's First Mosque," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018), from liverpoolhiddenhistory.co.uk/britains-first-mosque/.

[61] Layachi El Habbouch, "Moroccan Acrobats in Britain: Oriental Curiosity and Ethnic Exhibition," *Comparative Drama*, 45:4 (2011), p. 409.

[62] AAMT FO 24/3029.

[63] George Beauclerk, *A Journey to Marocco in 1826* (London: Poole & Edwards, 1828), p. 75.

[64] Ibid.

These intercultural/sexual encounters, although they had been marginalized in historiography, demarcate noteworthy moments in the Moroccan and British mindset and representation of each other. Though the scenes of the marriages that were reported in British newspapers around the world shocked the audience in the United Kingdom, they worked as flagrant reminders, too, of the theatrical encounter between Othello and Desdemona that was engraved within the sub-conscience of the British society. In Morocco, in addition, though marrying a Christian or Jewish woman was not forbidden by *shari'a* but it remained culturally deplorable and unfamiliar during the 18th and 19th centuries Morocco.

On the other hand, the Moorish girl who escaped with her beloved British soldier in Gibraltar, as will be elaborated soon, demonstrates the fictional counterpart of those marriages discussed earlier. This fictionalized sexual encounter filled the missing gap in the British imagination of the Muslim Moorish *harem* to satisfy the white men's desire for sexual and geographical conquest on one hand and to react to the infatuation of the British ladies with the Moroccan Muslim fellows on the other one. That is, British ladies were infatuated with Moorish man in reality whereas Moorish women were fond of British gentlemen in fiction.

This framework can be applied on a smaller scale. Gibraltar was the place where numerous Moroccan commoners got married to British women, and no evidence shows the Moroccan women marrying British men during the same period as archival research unveils. As anxiety grew concerning this unbalance, literature took on the burden of filling in this missing gap and balancing the power relations which proved asymmetric. Subsequently, the musical farce *The Siege of Gibraltar* played this role. In this case, we can never claim that literature has the role of a mirror reflecting reality but rather the role of creating the balance between reality and fiction. That is, it reflects the inner desires and anxiety of the producer and consumer of literature.

The play starts with a military engagement of Spain with British Gibraltar after the latter had seized Rock. The Gibraltarian soldiers were enjoying drinking wine when the Spaniards were about to engage in the evening with the Rock. St. Rocque was about to open its batteries against Gibraltar. Then, exchanges between the protagonist Mr. Beauclerk and Major Bromfield unveiled the first's intention concerning the Moroccan merchant Ben Hassan's daughter Miss Zayde. The Major, being fatherly to Beauclerk, did not approve this intercultural encounter and considered the

Moorish girl as "a devilish fine woman."[65] Nevertheless, Beauclerk had already made his mind and asked for leave to meet his beloved who was to be conveyed secretly to Morocco and engaged to a Jewish merchant named Solomon. Beauclerk, with the consent of Miss Zayde, tricked ben Hassan who was waiting clandestinely with his small family for a boat to smuggle them to Tangier. Being caught in the darkness, Ben Hassan was, misleadingly, assumed a traitor who was conveying intelligence to the Spaniards. This was a trick planned by Beauclerk who manages to seize his beloved from her father and got engaged to her. Yet, soon, the trick was discovered by Ben Hassan who posited that he would resort to British law as it was better than the British religion.[66] His attempts came to failure, and the play came to an end with the victory of the English over the Spanish and the success of the English man to conquer the body and heart of the Moorish Muslim woman.

Indeed, literature, as this musical farce demonstrates, was the virtual ground in which Western anxiety and discontentment about white ladies falling in love with Oriental Othellos were to be smoothened and balanced. When sporadic, if not scarcely existing, evidence of the real encounter between Muslim women and white Christian men are missing, literature jumps in to quench the thirst of a whole society. In many cases, literature, also, comprehended love stories of Muslim men with English and European girls. Yet, these pieces of literature disrupted the love stories with flagrant endings to stress on the inevitable essentialist truth of separation and demarcation between two dissimilar cultures. In effect, compared to the story of Esoosy who got married to an Irish lady, the protagonist is not a white British male but a Moroccan Muslim subject who had a sexual encounter with the white lady. This type of relationship is never tolerated, and it is considered as cultural contamination; hence, it is never coming to encouraging fruition. For that reason, it concluded by the Moroccan stealing the British lady's money. A cultural and sexual encounter doomed to failure was given as a moral to the British readership. Thus, it is not an exception but rather a supportive pillar to the role of literature. In this context, the white man's culture, land, and body cannot be contaminated.

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[65] Frederick Pilon, *The Siege of Gibraltar: a Musical Farce: in Two Acts. As It Is Performed at the Theatre-Royal, in Covent-Garden* (London, 1780), p. 7.

[66] Ibid., p. 37.

In conclusion, the strait of Gibraltar has often been depicted as a dividing barrier between two culturally, socially, historically, ethnically…etc. dissimilar civilizational entities; a firm geographical demarcation where the Mediterranean basin plays a crucial role in separating the Islamic civilization from the Christian one. Two different cultures, religions and civilizations are, reluctantly, considered at clash permanently and inescapably throughout history. Yet, the complex historical, social, political and economic ties discussed in this dissertation undo and challenge these arguments and present substantial evidence for a counter-argument that stresses the inevitable nonviolent interactions. These ties filled the water gap between the two entities creating a third space or opportunity to cross the geographical and cultural limitations. Moreover, some of the Jewish minor community in Morocco crossed to Gibraltar where they experienced quite a significant historical encounter as well. The next chapter is devoted to the analyses of this religious cohort's journey from Morocco to Gibraltar and the different implications of this movement.

III. MOROCCAN JEWS AT GIBRALTAR: HISTORICIZING THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEWRY

1. Undermining the Discourse of Oppression on the Jews and Unveiling their Functional Identity in Morocco

a. Mapping the Field

For centuries, the Jewish community in Morocco lived almost in all Moroccan parts; that is, they lived in coastal cities, inlands, mountains, and villages as well as in the southern parts of Morocco. They reached up to 100,000 inhabitants in 1808.[1] The rapport between Muslims and Jews in Islamic lands is legally manufactured by *Shari'a* Law as decreed by the Holy Quran and the teachings of Mohammad (pbuh). This stretches to cover the relationship with the Christians as well. In this Islamic framework, the Jews, who constituted a minority in Morocco, were dealt with as *Dhimmis* who were welcomed to live, trade, travel and exercise their faith freely in Islamic lands; and opposed to these rights stands the duty of paying *Jizya*. This *Dhimmi* position frames the relationship between Muslims and both Jews as well as Christians; and between the sultans and their non-Muslim subjects. Muley Hassan I defined *Dhimma* as:

> The ahl al-dhimma are so-called only because they are under the dhimma or protection of Islam. They must be safeguarded and defended; their blood and property

[1] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar*, p. 42.

> are inviolable (…) the Jews owe us obligations and commitments, which they must fulfill and in accordance with which they must act.[2]

Moreover, Daniel Schroeter defines *Dhimmis* as: "literally "protected persons"[3] of the sultans in accordance with the Islamic legal theory and practice that guaranteed the protection of the Islamic state to non-Muslims in exchange for their recognized inferiority". However, if the duties are not fulfilled, "their (Jews) violation would be detrimental; their flocks would not be safe and they would no longer be safe"[4] as declared by Muley Hassan I. The rights guaranteed to the Jewish community in Morocco came along with responsibilities and duties in a conditional relationship that denoted: the rights will fail to exist if the duties are not fulfilled. Thus, the position of the Jewish community in Morocco was strictly framed by *Shari'a* and within a structural social platform dominated mainly by Muslims. This social position was further enhanced by the role they played in the economic life of Morocco either in local or external trade.

Structurally speaking, we can generally distinguish between two major categories as far as the Jewish community in Morocco is concerned. The first category is allocated to the privileged Jews and Jewish families who constituted a certain bourgeoisie class mainly in the 19th century through seizing unquestionably appealing commercial opportunities given by Mekhzen be it the Qaids, Bashas or Governors in major Moroccan coastal and inland cities or be it the sultans themselves. These Jews were called *Tujar* sultan or the sultan's agents. The commercial privileges consisted of giving remittances to some Jewish families or loans or even huge sums of money to outstanding Jewish names to trade in Europe and Gibraltar particularly on the behalf of the sultan; and the imported or exported merchandise benefited from a duty-free advantage in Moroccan ports such as Tetuan, Tangier, Sallé or Essaouira…etc. The profit, then, was handed to the sultan while the agent Jew got his fair share from the deals. Despite the numerous names that emerge in many accounts by Schroeter, Kanbib and Mieges…etc. the numbers of this category remained tiny in comparison to the number of inhabitants of the Jewish community in Morocco as a whole.

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[2] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 158.

[3] Daniel Schroeter, *The sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 2002), p. 3.

[4] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 158.

Second, the rest of the Jewish inhabitants of Morocco constituted the greater majority that did not benefit directly from Mekhzen commercial system and had to figure out ways to earn their living relying on their hard labor or other skills such as interpreting, craft skill or seeking the consulate protection to escape the filthy life and 'social injustices' in Morocco in the 19th century. These commoners had to migrate from inland to coastal cities where daily interactions with European and American merchants were taking place and more commercial chances appeared in the horizon; that is why the Jewish community in Morocco witnessed huge demographic shifts from inland cities such as, Demnat, Fez, Oued Noun and the south East…etc. to portal cities namely Essaouira, Tetuan, Sallé…etc.

In spite of the social differences between the two Jewish categories, their unity was granted through solidarity and raising fund for poor ones in times of perils as well as the shared faith that Rabbis fastened through synagogues and congregations. The two categories, although tiny in comparison to the general Muslim population of Morocco, they had vital roles in the commercial and sometimes diplomatic life in Morocco. Moreover, their importance in the social texture of Morocco did not stem out from their numbers, ethnic background or cultural practices but from the 'functionality' of their social component in the 19th century Morocco, be it in the internal or external trade. The privileged category, the elitist Jewry of Morocco, functioned as a modernizing factor to the Moroccan external economy; and this functionality boosted the early integration of Morocco in the immature capitalism leading Morocco, thus, to break out from the isolation of the Medieval atmosphere of piracy in the Mediterranean and feelings of hatred and abhorrence towards the non-Muslims into a more tolerant, liberal and free market. This shift toward adopting a tolerance discourse on the behalf of Morocco comprised mainly, protestant nations in Europe such as Britain and Netherlands but not the catholic states such as Spain and France who were still considered the main enemies to Moroccans and who deserved to wage *Jihad* against in sea and in land. However, the key functionality role of the Moroccan elitist Jewry did not fully succeed in modernizing the Moroccan economic system because of the fact that some capitalist features did not suit Islamic Law of *Shari'a* such as the banking system, loan benefits, partnership and

forbidden merchandises such as trading in wine and raising a cattle of pigs.[5] Nevertheless, the commercial transactions fulfilled by this elitist Jewish community in Morocco were trouble-free and beneficial since those sultan agents had their relatives or co-religionists spread all over the European and American maps which facilitated their transactions.

On the other hand, the commoners, the nameless merchants and subaltern Jewry of Morocco had another, yet not different, functionality inside Morocco. This function comprised mainly the enhancement of inland trade through taking imported merchandise further within Morocco to reach further markets and annual local *Amogars* and even to the extreme south to Mauritania and Senegal through the trans-Saharan trade.[6] Furthermore, these subalterns functioned as a link that facilitated the smooth crossing of Western visitors to Morocco such as William Lempriere who recruited a poor Jew as interpreter during his visit to Morocco after a sultanic invitation to cure one of the sultan's wives.[7] Beside interpreters, these subalterns smoothed the arrival of Elizabeth Murray to Tangier after her boat had to stop away from the shore because Tangier had not had a port for boats yet; so, she was smoothly bridged on the back of a Moroccan Jew to the shore sound and safe. In fact, two Jewish porters quarreled to give Elizabeth a lift on their backs. She describes the scene "the two sons of Abraham quarreled, and lost no time in proceeding to a liberal interchange of blows and scratches. But this was not all. The hands were not their only weapons of offence…"[8]

[5] Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 111-113.

[6] For more on trans-aharan trade, see: Jean-Louis Miège, "*Le commerce transsaharien au XIXe siècle*," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 32 (1981), pp. 93-119 ; and Ghislaine Lydon, *On Trans-Saharan Trails: Islamic Law, Trade Networks, and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Western Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[7] William Lempriere, *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, and Tarudant; and Thence Over Mount Atlas to Morocco* (Richmond: Published by William Pritchard, 1800), p. 10.

[8] Elizabeth Murray, *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain and the Canary Islands* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1859), p. 9-10.

Figure 9: Jewish porters at work in Waterport Gibraltar.[9]

Besides, the subaltern Jewry of Morocco functioned as brokers who facilitated the daily life of Western settlers and elitist Jewry in coastal cities in Morocco as they "never really needed to set foot in the other quarters of the town, for purchases of daily necessities could be made by their brokers and servants"[10] as explained by Schroeter. These non-Muslim settlers could not cross the physical and mental barriers of the *Casbah* that surrounded most of the Moroccan towns. They were legally forbidden and culturally isolated and secluded inside portal towns and markets which created a gap between them and the rest that some Jewish brokers had to fill in order to ease their daily life. Other Jews were peddlers with powerful convincing tools who assisted in bringing European goods to the inland markets. The difference, however between the Jewish broker and

[9] Chipulina, Neville (2014), "1750 - The Jews of Gibraltar - The Establishment," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018), from https://gibraltar-intro.blogspot.com/2014/05/1750-jews-of-gibraltar-establishment-by.html

[10] Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*, p. 63.

peddler, even if they shared common functionality, lies in peddlers were persons "who make the rounds in the regional markets and return at the end of the week, and itinerant traders, who leave for entire seasons."[11] These minute daily practices bridged the gap between the European settlers in coastal Morocco with their daily necessities and bridged a huge gap between inland and portal cities as European commodities could not reach inland markets.

In the same context, Muslim Moroccans had two distinctive social classes too. First, an elitist class comprehended families which gravitated by virtue of lineage or power around Mekhzen as well as a large class of commoners with less or no privileges. The latter social class bridged the gap between foreigners and Morocco but they did not excel as the subaltern Jews did. Moreover, some of the elitist class played important commercial as well as diplomatic roles as the Jewry did and sometimes the Muslim and Jewish elites were partners in some commercial dealings with Europe.

Due to historical circumstances, significant numbers of Jewish commoners moved to Gibraltar after the horizon of hope for wealth in Morocco had declined dramatically. Chiefly, the poor economic conditions in Morocco and because of the monopolizations of trade and diplomacy by their elitist co-religionists, lists of Jewish subalterns crossed to Gibraltar for better life. Yet, we cannot assume that the majority of these Jews were attracted to Gibraltar because of the appealing aspect of the last and the bad conditions in Morocco. However, the few hundreds who immigrated to Gibraltar can never overcome the greater majority who preferred to stay in their country Morocco. Even those who migrated and managed to become British subjects, protected hence by the British law and treaties between Morocco and Britain, were considered the sultan's subjects[12] which relocated them to their *Dhimmi* position as the case of the Gibraltarian Jews who visited Morocco and were wearing European clothes which triggered the rage of the sultan[13] The political perils and economic upheavals due to plagues had devastating impacts on the Moroccan society in general and the Jewish cohort in particular. That is, due to political volatility to dramatic changes, tribes raided against each other, trade roads were unsecure and piracy broke out ferociously in the

[11] Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*, p. 86.
[12] Sharon Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 68.
[13] James Jackson, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa: Territories in the Interior of Africa* (London: Longman, 1820), p. 296.

Morocco shores; and economic upheavals caused by starvation led to major demographic changes in Morocco.[14] The Jewish community in Morocco was not an exempt from these conditions. The difference between the Muslims and Jews in Morocco was in the interest showed by the European powers in deconstructing Moroccan unity through the pretext of claiming 'humanitarian' sentiments vis-à-vis the Morocco Hebrew community.

I assume that the changes in the functionality of the Jewish cohort in the social texture of Morocco engendered serious changes concerning their status in the eyes of Muslim Moroccans and officials of Mekhzen. That is, the attempts to break away from the social and economic structure in Morocco and embrace other functions apart from the ones discussed earlier, caused some serious and unfortunate conditions to ascend against the Jewish community in Morocco. Within this structure, the *Dhimmi* position worked as a legal and cultural cover facilitating the economic and social functionality of the Jews in Muslim lands; and the distortion of this *Dhimmi* position, by internal or external factors, caused incidents where some Jews suffered serious repercussions as I will be explaining.

b. Accounts of Indignities Re-Questioned

Many historical accounts tend to stress on the miseries that the Moroccan Jewry suffered from such as the 'despotic' rulers or 'cruel' Muslim (Arabs and Berbers equally) tribes who waged raids against Jewish communities…etc. As a matter of fact, this is not entirely untrue. Mohamed al Mansour, for example, triggers this idea of the suffering Jews when he illustrates how Muley al-Yazid (1790-1792) "allowed the robbery of the *Mellah* of Tetuan and avenged from some Jewish merchants who had benefited from his father's economic policy."[15]

In 1892, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* published an interesting account on the Moroccan Jewish community written by Budgett Meakin who oscillated between admiring the position of the

[14] For further details see, Germain Ayache, *Dirassat fi Tarikh Al Maghreb*. See also Muḥammad, Al-Bazzaz, *Tārīkh Al-Awbi'ah Wa-Al-Majā'āt Bi-Al-Maghrib Fī Al-Qarnayn Al-Thāmin 'ashar Wa-Al-Tāsi' 'ashar* (Rabat: University Mohammed V, 1992).

[15] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar*, p. 43.

Moroccan Jewry and detesting their daily mistreatments by Moroccans. Allotting one sub-section in his article to 'daily indignities' of the Jews seemed crucial to satisfy the general readership appetite then; yet it contradicted the main flow of his account: I will be explaining later on how this was done. The daily indignities, as Meakin entitled his sub-section, comprehended verbal violence as he illustrated: " 'Dog of a Jew!' is a very milot term to be employed in abusing him (the Hebrew of Morocco), and the soubriquets of 'ass!' and 'swine' stand in equal favour."[16] Other injustices, these Hebrew fellows had to face on daily bases, were that "they can only leave their quarter barefoot" and "they can't ride in towns except for Hazzan (Rabbi)" and "they remove their shoes before some Mosques."[17] Not only did the Jews of Morocco underwent verbal mistreatments but also physical indignities and brutalities which pushed also a person as Montefiore to leave London to Morocco in order to meet the sultan and discuss the ill-treatment of his co-religionists.

Furthermore, the attacks by the Kabyle tribes against the Jews of Tangier,[18] the Jewish prisoners taken into custody in Tangier jail by the Spaniards after the attacks in 1860,[19] the wounding of twelve jews near Fes in 1876,[20] the case of Akkan ben Judah who was beheaded in 1863 in Safi opposite to the Christian burial ground and Elias the other Jew who aided Ben Judah in his murder was killed in Tangier: they were both accused of murdering a Spanish subject by the name of Don Joaquin.[21] The two were "barbarously" put to death without trial at Safi and Tangier as a telegram by the British foreign office on 5th October to the British consul Mr. Reade unfolded.[22]

The cases of the daily misfortunes of the Hebrew community in Morocco were countless as history 'tells'. These cases mobilized the Jewish organizations inside and outside of Morocco to

[16] Budgett Meakin, "The Jews of Morocco," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 4:3 (1892), p. 380-381.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ben Srhir, Khalid, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 92 explains that these tribes "had zealously responded to the sultan's call for them to defend the country" against the Spanish enemy; thus, the tribes did not target the Jews of Tangier.
[19] Parfitt, Tudor. *Israel and Ishmael: Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), p. 149.
[20] "The Jews in Morocco: Savage Attack by a Moor -Several Jews Wounded," *The New York Times*, 23 June 1876.
[21] Ibid., p. 146.
[22] Khalid Ben Srhir, *Britain and Morocco*, p. 146.

react and communicate their preoccupations to the Board of Deputies of Jews in London headed by Sir Moses Montefiore Bart to lobby the British Government in order to put more pressure on Mekhzen. In these circumstances, the Montefiore mission, to investigate and alleviate the 'indignities' of his coreligionists in Morocco culminated by an audience with the sultan Mohammed IV in Marrakech in 1864 to whom he delivered a petition which included a call to "remove the grievances under which the Jews were suffering"[23] as the newspapers reported back then.

Figure 10: Sir Moses Montefiore.[24]

Obviously, the pretended systematic 'suffering' of the Jewish community in Morocco is undeniable and more archives further attempt to prove this notion. The 'Jewish Heroine' is a flagrant proof of the 'brutality' the Jews were subject to in Morocco. It is a true story turned into a successful drama by Antonio Calle in 1852 entitled *La Heroina Hebrea* and was first adopted by Eugenio Maria Romero *El Martirio de la Joven Hachuel, o la Heroina Hebrea* published in Gibraltar in 1837 after Eugenio had met Sol's Brother who moved to Gibraltar after her death while her parents stayed in Tangier.[25] The literature on this case is rich and needless to review them extensively. Briefly, the Jewess Machuel Sol was seventeen years old when she was 'brutally' beheaded in 1834 in Fez; because of her extreme beauty, the sultan could not resist and

[23] *The Western Australian Times*, 1864, p. 3.
[24] *Illustrated London News*, 18 Feb. 1865, p. 153.
[25] Sharon Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint*, p. 202.

fell instantly in love on her first sight leading him, thus, to ask her to join his *harem* which she bravely refused and consequently was sentenced to death in the presence of a huge audience in Fez. Sol or as known in Central and Southern Morocco by Lala Soulika (Dame Soulika) was beheaded in the pretext that she was accused of apostasy being first Jewish and then converted to Islam and finally turned back to Judaism. After her refusal of the sultan's proposal, the Moroccan court accused her of apostasy so that it could cover the truth behind the story. In short, it is 'uncontested' the degree to which the Hebrew community was subject to brutal conditions in the 19th century Morocco.

c. Privileged Jews in Morocco: Enhancing their Functional Identity

The brutalities against the Jews in Morocco were not an innate and natural essential characteristic in the Moroccan attitude towards the Hebrew cohort as most of the historical accounts tend to construct. The scattered events through Moroccan time and space that show the 'misfortune' conditions of the Jewry in Morocco are micro incidents that cannot be taken for granted to reflect the 'innate' or 'nature' of Moroccans.

The importance of the story of Lalla Soulika does not lie in the fact of its accuracy as an event which shocked the Jewish community in Morocco, being subjects of the sultan, but in the fact that it was turned into a dramatic piece of art that reached not only the Jewry of the world but also European readers who hunkered eagerly to read all that concerned the Moors and why not the suffering of a Jew or a Jewess by the renowned Mohammedans. The mechanisms involved in such a story were away more important than the story itself vis-à-vis the aesthetic techniques, dramatization, publishing and reading as a final stage in the process. How this specific historical event was turned into a piece of literature? And mostlt why?

These two questions seem reasonable bearing in mind that hundreds of other Muslims, Jews and Christians who were beheaded in the same way or differently did not deserve such a flagrant interest by European readership and the Board of Deputies of Jews in London. I cannot help making the comparison between Lala Soulika and Anna Frank, the fist being victim of the Moorish atrocities and the second being subject to Nazi's brutalities. Propaganda seems to be the

accurate labeling to this process that turned a micro event in a specific moment and place into a dramatic generalization that covered centuries of the said 'indignities' of the Jewish community in Morocco or any other Muslim country as Meakin and others pretended. These exaggerations concerning the 'vulnerable' Jewish community in Morocco were well-illustrated by Daniel Schroetre who claims that: "The vicissitudes of the vulnerable court Jews are linked to the history of the Jewish community as a whole."[26]

Besides, the European powers back then did not adopt the Jewish issue of sufferance in Morocco as firmly as they did after the 1850s due to the blatant decadence of the Moroccan political power in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, they did not include the poor Jews in their consular correspondence because they were not intervening so ferociously in the internal affairs of Morocco as they have been doing later on. Sharon Vance genuinely illustrates how Western concerns and humanitarian stance did not exist in diplomatic circles when only literature was the bearer of the Sol's drama: "These versions (of Sol's drama), written in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, projected back a humanitarian European concern that did not exist at the period Sol was imprisoned in Tangier and executed in Fez, as is evident by consular records from this time."[27]

The propagation of the story of Sol had other purposes beside claiming the 'humanitarian' position by European powers. Her story "was used to make political arguments in debates that were internal to European politics."[28] Moreover, as any propaganda, there is a goal to be reached that deserves the attempts to establish such a horrible image of the encounter between Judaism and Islam on Muslim Lands. Benedict Anderson's outstanding discussion of the role of publishing and literature in constructing a sense of belonging to communities/nations as was the case in Europe after the invention and technological development of printing and press proves of huge value in the case of the drama of the Jewess girl. Among the main features of Nationalism stands the notion of the *imagined* that is shared by individuals "who will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[29]

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[26] Daniel Schroeter, *The sultan's Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 2002), p. 4.

[27] Sharon Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint*, p. 214.

[28] Ibid., p. 40.

[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 6.

Part of the shared is the dramatic history and tales of sufferance and diaspora. The nationalist project embedded in dramatizing the constructed pains of the Jewish communities in Muslim territories deserved the attempts to found the Sol's soreness as an image shared by Jewish individuals who "will never" meet.

Similarly, the rationale of the texts written about the 'Jewish Heroine' was to construct a sense of a unified community and a shared national destiny. This meaning is further enlightened by Sharon Vance who argues that "these texts tell Sol's story within a Jewish context, and in reference to the contemporary challenges faced by the community."[30] This process engraved Sol in the collective history of the Jews of the world and presented their eternal fight for salvation and redemption as further revealed by Vance:

> Sol's story was subsumed under the archetypal martyrdom tale and followed its plot, which was embedded in the polemic challenges faced in the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. In this tale the martyr defends Judaism from attack before death and with his/her sacrifice brings merit to the Jewish people, paying for their sins by serving as a substitute for the Temple sacrifices and paving the way for the coming redemption.[31]

The Jewry shared the same religion, which is a strong common tie upon which communities can be founded, but it is never a guarantee to the homogeneity of their community due to their different national and cultural belongings. That is, the Spanish Jews embraced the Spanish language and culture; similarly, the British, French, Eastern… etc. Jews did. These differences cannot compose but a heterogeneous community, let alone the two blocks of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews as major divisions. Similarly, the Moroccan Jewry was a huge heterogeneous community with diverse origins.[32] These national and cultural differences tore apart the sense of belonging that, for centuries, had grown weak. Thus, the need to put an end to the

[30] Sharon Vance, *The Martyrdom of a Moroccan Jewish Saint* , p. 214.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Schroeter, Daniel J. "The Shifting Boundaries of Moroccan Jewish Identities," *Jewish Social Studies*, 15:1, (2008), pp. 145–164.

diasporic nature of the Jews through an imagined community was a vital challenge to be materialized by literature and print.

Back to history, when Mohamed al-Mansour presented the case of the *Mellah* of Tetuan which Muley al-Yazid had allowed to be attacked, he addressed the issue as an irregularity that was isolated in the history of Morocco and showed that "the reality was that the Jews were not the only ones to suffer the hardship of al-Yazid (…); the victims of his hardship were Jews and Muslims equally and that he did that to avenge the supporters of the old regime since he tried to reverse his father's policy in all fields."[33]

al-Yazid's predecessors and successors equally abided by the Islamic teachings about the relation with the Jewish subjects. Al-Mansour elaborates:

> The coronation of Muley Souliman in 1792 was received with ease by the Jews of Morocco. He followed his father's (Mohamed ben Abdallah) policy in dealing with the Jewish merchants and gave the same merchants of Essaouira from the family of Macnin and Kiddala, for example, huge sums of money to invest in foreign trade.[34]

This dealing with the Jewish community was a long term commitment reinforced by the Islamic law that forbad the mistreatment of the Jews that the aforementioned historical accounts endeavored, in vain, to construct.[35] The abuse of al-Yazid was a reaction not an action against the Jews of Tetuan. They attempted to change the functionality role into a challenging power to the sultan which engendered a shift in the dealings with and positions of the Jewish community.

Thus, the question of methodology, as far as history is concerned, is of paramount importance. Isolating micro events from their context leads to inaccurate conclusions. On the other hand, contextualizing events in their historical, geographical and economic context helps in reaching accurate conclusions. In other words, the 'daily indignities' that Meakin stressed on were

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[33] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar*, p. 43.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs Et Musulmans Au Maroc, 1859-1948: Contribution À L'histoire Des Relations Inter-Communautaires En Terre D'islam* (Rabat: Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, 1994).

derived out of context; the beheading of the Jewess girl or the brutal murder of Akkan ben Judah and Elias…etc. can never be used to condemn Morocco as a country where minorities were suffering. This inaccuracy is mainly caused by the methodology being overcome by ideology. Some acts taking by the sultans against some Jews were, in fact, reactions to the Jews being a threat to the social stability or not abiding by the law that guaranteed their rights and decreed their duties. For instance, the Jews who came back to Morocco from Gibraltar or London wore European clothes instead of their traditional clothing which was an act of violence against social and cultural security of Morocco in the age of the Western massive pressures on all scales. The sultans reactions were for the sake of protecting the Moroccan identity from external influence; and this reaction did not only target the Jews coming from Europe, it also reached the Muslims. In the same context, some of the Moroccan students who were sent to study in European countries wore European clothes when they returned home. This triggered the sultan's reaction as well as the powerful elite of scholars/*ulama*. Moreover, some Jews did not abide by the law and thus deserved punishment as it was the case when Muley Soulaiman "ordered the Jews of Laraich port, they were about 2000, to leave the city after accusing their merchants of selling wine to Muslims."[36] This issue of selling wine and the rejection of the authorities had also reoccurred in Gibraltar when the authorities expressed their discontent about selling cheap *mahya* (wine) by the Jews to the British soldiers leading, thus, the Governor to impose regulations against the Jews as I will be explaining later.

Furthermore, in a letter sent by Muley Hassan I in November 1889 to his servant Hadj Mohamed Torres that unfolded the case of two Jews of Marrakech named Massouad Shrifi, protected by the British, and Mordakhy, a translator protected by the French, who had built houses higher than the walls of Mekhzen and Muslims buildings. This act caused the displeasure of the Moroccans whose inside houses became vulnerable to these Jews' gazes from the *Mellah*. This act was "unacceptable, illegal and unorthodox to *Shari'a* and local traditions" [37] as Muley Hassan I declared to Torres who, by request of the sultan, had to contact the British and French consulates as well as the judge and Basha of Marrakech to fix this problem without delay. Less than a month

[36] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar,* p. 45.
[37] AAMT FO 8/29.

later, on 27th December 1889, Torres had contacted the British and French consuls who refuted the existence of Shrifi and Mordkhay in their consulate records which meant that they were not protected by the two nations and that they were falsifying it. Yet, the sultan urged his servant to make sure that the two Jews, being his subjects, should be judged as *Shari'a* declares concerning the damage done by building higher houses and possibility to see from upon the Muslims and Mekhzen houses.[38]

Late, in August 1884, a group of Demnat city came to Casablanca to complain to Mekhzen and Western Consulates about the fact that the Governor of Demnate imposed one tenth 1/10 taxation on trade of leather which the Jewish merchants refused to pay. Their "slander, untruths, obsessions and complaints while they are the aggressors" were outrageous and provoking because they "change the facts and complain in order to escape the regulations which will cause their damage to increase and bankruptcy to spread."[39] The deceits they told the consuls in Casablanca were less outrageous than resorting to the foreign powers for protection as the sultan declared latently in his letter to Torres in Tangier who received the Jews after they had left Casablanca for Tangier in order to complain to the British consul who, finally, ceded the case to Torres. The latter "prevented the Jews from meeting the other consuls and promised them justice and sent them to the sultan."[40] Finally, the sultan fulfilled their request and ordered his Governor in Demnat to "remove what had harmed them and treat them as their co-religionists in other cities are treated."[41]

In brief, resorting to foreign powers and trespassing Mekhzen was an outrageous act that occurred in the period when Morocco was suffering from huge pressures exercised by France, Britain and America...etc. Ironically, after a year, on 22nd February 1885, Mekhzen figured out that the complaining group of Jews were pushed by Boutboul; a Jew who had claimed that the Governor of Demnat had stolen from him 300 Rails merchandise which had been sent by a British subject to Boutboul. The Governor stealing the sum of money was never proved but what was

[38] AAMT FO 8/50.
[39] AAMT FO 2/152.
[40] AAMT FO 2/162.
[41] Ibid.

proved was that the Jew Boutboul was the one who instigated Demnat Jews to revolt against their Governor and had whispered to them and advised them to send a group to Casablanca.[42]

These acts committed by the Moroccan Jews triggered also the frustration of the elite scholars who had been exercising huge authority in the Moroccan society then. Not only the acts of the Jews but also the prosperity that numerous Jewish families of Fez, Essaouira, Tetuan…etc. were enjoying as being the sultan's agents, as Schroetre elaborates, triggered the elite's rage al-Mansour explains that "it is undeniable that the orthodox elitist authority exercised also some pressure on Makhzen so as to put the Jews in the circle of *Dhimmis* which explains why *Mellahs* were built in cities where there were no neighbors for the Jews before such as Sallé, Rabat and Tetuan."[43]

The reaction of the elite is acceptable as it witnessed the collapse of powerful Muslim countries by European colonial powers and a shrinking internal sovereignty due to the successive military attempts such as the French attack in Isly in 1844 and Spain in 1860 against Tetuan and the Southern parts. These historical dramatic changes legitimized their concerns vis-à-vis the inappropriate behaviors of the Jews and Muslims equally. Furthermore, the protection given to Moroccan subjects, Jews and Muslims, had weakened the authority of Mekhzen and made of the protégées legally outlaw. This protection led Mohamed ben Abdlekrim Almaghili, one of the outstanding scholars in the 19th century, to suggest in his book *Misbah l'arwah Fi Asli Lfalah (Light of Spirits in the Origins of Goodness)* that "Muslims must avoid the Kuffar (Christians) and that the *Dhimmis* (Jew) are required to pay *Jyzia* submissively and how most of the Jews today infringe and revolt against Islamic Law and pillars, and appointing them in key positions in the service of the sultan."[44]

The same concerns were expressed by Mohamed al Soussi al Simlali who shared the same opinion about the dramatic downshift of the social and cultural structures of Morocco by means of external infiltrations. He declared that:

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[42] AAMT FO 3/67.
[43] Mohamed Al-Mansour, *al-Maghrib qabla al-'Isti'amar,* p. 46.
[44] Jamal Haymer, *Albaathat Taalimia,* p. 165.

> It is the duty of each one who believes in Allah and the Last Day not to sit with the protected ones, nor to befriend, eat, live or get married with them; and to advise those who meet them to distance themselves from them, not to deal with them in order to deter those like them (…) and whoever helps the protected one or lives, deals with or esteemed his conditions shall be immoral and cursed.[45]

These elite scholars reflected the Moroccan worries and reactions towards the growing European pressure and its implications which Westernization and consulate protection were major manifestations. In a nutshell, the outrageous practices of some Moroccan Jews pushed Mekhzen as well as the elite scholars to react firmly and sharply to bound the Jewish community within the Islamic legal theory and preserve the functional identity of the Jewish inhabitants as well as protect the Moroccan identity from foreign infiltrations, be it military, economic or even cultural especially after the imposition of the treaty of 1856.

Despite these internal pressures led by *ulama*, the mission of Sir Montefiore from London to Marrakech through the itinerary of Madrid, Gibraltar, Tangier, Safi and Essaouira was concluded by an audience with the sultan who received a petition by the former, who was accompanied by the British Consul Mr. Reade, that comprehended a request to protect the Jews of Morocco from the brutalities they were subject to since the war of Tetuan by Spain against Morocco. After the audience, exactly, "four days afterwards, on the 5th of February, a *firman* or edict was sent to Sir Moses Montefiore as the sultan's formal assent to the prayer for equal and impartial justice to the Jewish portion of his subjects."[46]

[45] Mohammed Al-Manouni, *Madahir Yaqadat al- Maghrib Al-hadith*, p. 262.
[46] "Sir Moses Montefiore's Mission to Morocco," *The West Australian Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

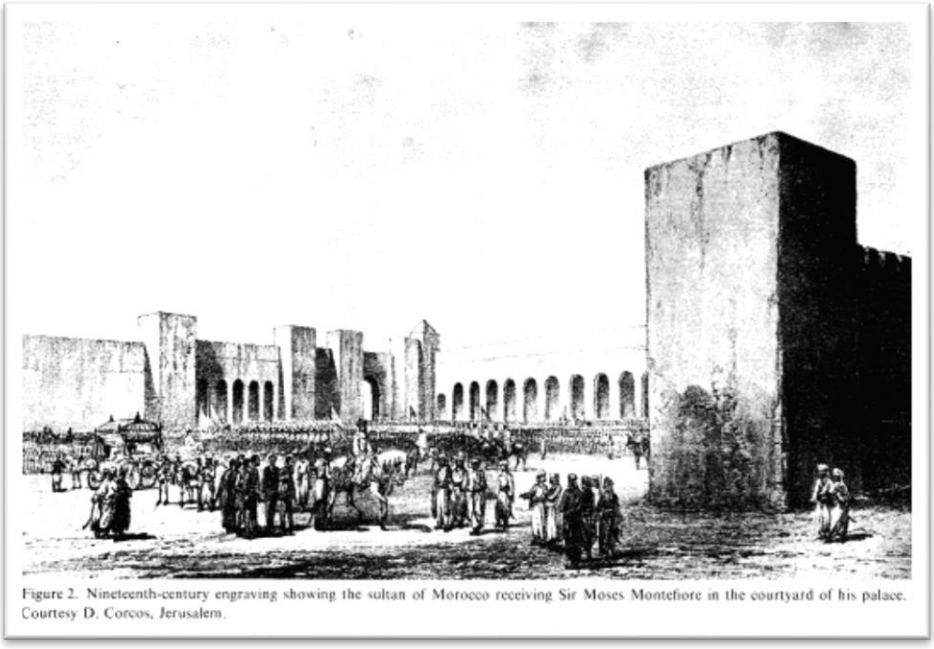

Figure 2. Nineteenth-century engraving showing the sultan of Morocco receiving Sir Moses Montefiore in the courtyard of his palace. Courtesy D. Corcos, Jerusalem.

Figure 11: Nineteenth century engraving showing the sultan of Morocco receiving Sir Moses Montefiore in the courtyard of his palace.[47]

Definitely, after the audience, the sultan issued a *Dahir* (royal decree) to all his Governors that unfolded:

> We command all of our servants, governors, and functionaries who read this letter of ours (may Allah exalt it, may He strengthen the command it contains, and may He raise its shining sun and moon into the highest heavens) that they should treat the Jews in all of our provinces in accordance with that which Allah Exalted has required, by setting a scale of justice and equality between them and others in the administration of the law so that none of them will be afflicted by even an atom's

[47] Encyclopaedia Judaica (2014), "Jews in Morocco 07: Alawid Rule Confronted by Christian Pressure," retrieved on (13 Aug 2018), from http://www.hist-chron.com/afrika/marokko/EncJud_juden-in-Marokko07-span-mar-krieg-ENGL.html

> weight of injustice, nor be injured. Nothing reprehensible should be done against them, nor oppression brought to bear upon them.[48]

The interest of the sultan towards his Hebrew subjects reflected to what extent the Jews position had been growing stronger. In fact, decades before this, some of the Hebrew community embodied in the elitist group had already been privileged as their Muslim countrymen. Pertinently, Meakin elucidates how they were ambassadors to European countries. For instance, in 1610, "Shoomel-el-Farrashi was sent by Muley Zeedan as his representative to the United Provinces, and he was succeeded in 1675 by Youssef Toledane, whose brother Haim was Ambassador to England."[49] In 1750, "the Moroccan ambassador to Denmark was a Jew..."[50] The names listed by Meakin are numerous as he continued describing how some Jews were honored in Morocco. The outstandingly skillful Jews emerged as elite as they had proved to be indispensable means that functioned purposefully in the best interest of the Moroccan ruling dynasties.

Beside the daily 'indignities', there were daily honored Hebrew subjects as Meakin ambivalently assumed. These elitist Jews, who reached high status in Mekhzen, were not the only privileged, as one may argue, commoner Jews, also subjects to the sultans, were covered by the latter and his Governors with the utmost attention as the case of the Moroccan Jew, who owned a huge sum of money and was subject to Gibraltar Governor's abuse and extortion, reveals. The Basha of Tetuan, after receiving the complaint of the Moroccan Jew, helped the latter and eased his pain.

Furthermore, Morocco was the place where the Jews grew richer and Jewish families were given high ranks such as the Corcos, Macnin, Benoliel families …etc.; equally Muslim families enjoyed the same privileges. Names such as Benider Judah, Afriat and Ohayou …etc. discovered in Morocco quite promising and prosperous conditions for their trade. The prosperity of the Jewish community in Morocco could, without remarkable efforts, be noticed in seaports of Morocco as Daniel Schroetre did through focusing on Essaouira per se. Seaports such as Tetuan, Tangier,

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[48] Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands*. Philadelphia, (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), p. 372.

[49] Budgett Meakin, "The Jews of Morocco," p. 374.

[50] Ibid., p. 375.

Casablanca…etc. were main sources of income to Mekhzen treasury through collecting customs duties on foreign trade; and when Mohamed Ben Abdallah (1756-1780) founded Essaouira in 1764, he already had a plan of fighting Moroccan piracy which was a pretext used by European powers to attack Morocco;[51] he also aimed at establishing the foundation of a "modern state". The migration to Essaouira made out of it "an entrepôt where all trade with Europe could be conducted;"[52] and the Moroccan Jews also took their share in the royal port of Essaouira "where foreigners and Moroccan Jewish royal merchants were provided with special separate quarters in the casbah."[53] These Jewish royal merchants were non but Samuel Lévy, Corcos, Meir Macnin, Masahod C. Macnin…etc. who are considered to have created the first bourgeoisie class in the pre-colonial Morocco.[54]

Yet, James Brown argues that Essaouira was an isolated case where the Jews were meant to play the mediator role between the Christian Europeans and the Muslim Moroccans which led Mekhzen to construct a specific class made of Jews to fulfill this mediator role.[55] This social class, made completely by elite Jews, is the argument assumed by many historiographers who "tend to assume that this mediating function was carried out by groups who Moroccan state could use to isolate the wider population from its economic, political and cultural effects, i.e. Jews both Moroccan and foreigners, or foreign Christians."[56]

While this elite Jewish class functioned as a modernizing force for Mekhzen economic system it also functioned as a defensive mechanism for the Moroccan Islamic identity.

Dissimilarly, James argues that Jews and Muslims both played this mediatory role in Morocco. The structural distinction between the Muslim and Jewish Moroccans did not exist as often assumed.[57] The historical facts entail strong and rich evidences on how the Jewish

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[51] Díaz, Lourido Ramon. *Alsiyasa Alkharijia Lilmaghrib fi Alnisf Althani min Alqarn Althamin 'ashr*, trans. Muley Ahmed Kamoun and Badi'a al-Kharazi, vol. 1 (Casablanca: Najah El Jadida, 2013), p. 19-73.

[52] Daniel Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*, p. 2.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid., p. 1.

[55] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 164.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., p. 177.

community in Morocco was enjoying high status thanks to its commercial functional identity especially after the annexation of Gibraltar as a British free port. More and more Jewish names grew richer and more famous as they mediated the two banks of the Mediterranean basin either from Essaouira as Schroeter argues or Moroccan Gharb, from Sallé north till Tetuan, as James Brown posits. That is , names such as Abraham Benider, Solomon Serruya, Abraham Bulby, Cardoza, Isaac, Aaron Benider… etc. emerged as prominent Jewish merchants.

In short, these Jews played two-faced role in the Anglo-Moroccan relations, i.e., they were merchants and diplomats of the sultans at the same time. Jacob Benider "before being sent to Britain as ambassador by Sidi Mohamed ben Abdallah (1757-1790), was British vice-consul at Sallé under Popham and then consul at the new port of Essaouira."[58] In the 18th century, many others fulfilled commercial transactions for the sultans in London. Ma'sud Delmar Jacob Attal, Abraham Taurel…etc. were Jews who were employed by the sultan to settle diplomatic and commercial agreements in London and Gibraltar as well. They were the favored representatives of the sultans at the British court not the segregated community as some historiographers tend to portray the experience of Moroccan Jewry.

Nevertheless, immigration of Moroccan Jewry to Gibraltar remains undeniable. Because of the geographical proximity and the appealing nature of Gibraltar as a free port where equal rights for prosperity and wealth are at hand, thousands of Moroccan Jews, mainly commoners, migrated from different Moroccan cities to the Rock. Since 1704, the numbers of the Jewish community, which was hugely originating from Morocco, increased significantly in spite of the various regulations imposed by the British authorities to control the demographic structure in Gibraltar. Some of these Moroccan Jews worked for specific periods of time and returned back home while others settled permanently in there. Meanwhile, this Jewish community in Gibraltar was subject to asymmetric power relations that representation, cultural practices and strict regulations were major manifestations.

[58] Ibid., p. 168.

2. The Crossing of the Moroccan Jews to Gibraltar and the Stakes of Progress

a. Moroccan Jews Crossing to Gibraltar from 1704 till the Great Siege 1779-1783

Since it was first declared as belonging to the British and their allies in 1704, Gibraltar became an appealing aim for merchants from multitude of ethnicities, nations and religions. The first comers, as records show, were Jews from the entire Mediterranean basin but mainly and mostly from Morocco due to the geographical proximity, legal framework established by Anglo-Moroccan treaties of friendship and commerce and thirdly the appealing tolerant and capitalist nature of Gibraltar. The development of the Jewish community in the city is exceptional; and the different economic and political circumstances throughout its history helped at consolidating the status and the image of this community in there. These various conditions, as well, were crucial for this community as they "symbolized the community's views about itself as a prominent part of life in the garrison."[1] The nature of Gibraltar itself encouraged civilian population to settle in the Rock for the reason that the Garrison needs fresh food, water, craftsmen…etc. not only soldiers. Moreover, as soon as Gibraltar was declared a free port by prince Hesse-Darmstadt in 1705 on behalf of King Charles III, the status which was confirmed by Queen Anna after the request by sultan Muley Ismail of Morocco,[2] the immigrants started to flock immediately. For this purpose, the "British authorities need(ed) to attract civilians to Gibraltar either on a daily basis or as permanent residents"[3] to overcome the basic needs and also to boost the economic development of

[1] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns in the Sephardim of Gibraltar, 1704 to 1939," *Jewish Social Studies*, 50:3/4 (1988), p. 181.

[2] Robert Gardiner, *How to Capture and Govern Gibraltar* (London: Richardson Bros, 1856), p. 148.

[3] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity: The Making of Modern Gibraltar Since 1704* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 17.

the heavily armed and hugely fortified small city that was soon going to be an exceptional entrepôt in the Western side of the Mediterranean basin.

The dramatic progress of the Jewish community in Gibraltar through the 18th and 19th century is outstanding in comparison to the development of the same cohort in other British or non-British territories. This progress, however, was not always upward since different historical contexts affected negatively or positively the development of this community in Gibraltar as I will be explaining later.

Years	*Number of Jews*
1725	137
1728	300
1753	535
1777	863
1791	693
1816	1068
1835	1625
1844	1625
1891	1499
1901	1067

Table 1: Development of the Jewish Community in Gibraltar from 1725 to 1901.[4]

Yet, the speedy increase of the civilian population in Gibraltar required serious social engineering by the British authorities. The statistics of the 1725 census unfolded 1113 inhabitants; and the Census invoked, also, demographic unbalance vis-à-vis the British subjects in there which

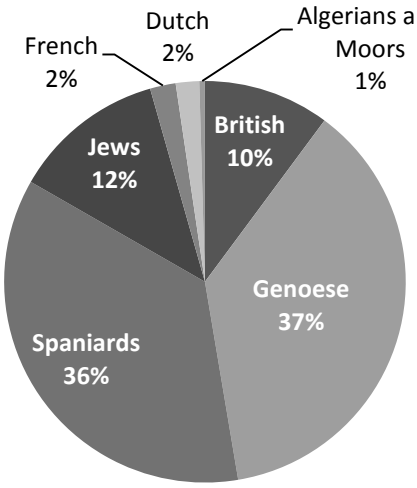
[4] The data is gathered from: Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," and Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity* and Mesod Benady,"The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar,"

"worried the British authorities."[5] The British residents (10%) were over numbered by the Spaniards (36%), the Genoese (37%) and the Jews (12%); which meant a military supremacy over the Rock but less control over the social and cultural structures therein. The high numbers of Catholic and the non-British citizens over the British Protestants needed instant interference to mold a peaceful community that would overthrow ethnic and religious divisions and benefit from free mercantile system. Those worries about the structural unbalance were blatantly engraved in questions about ethnic and religious belonging during the Census; thus, "implicit in both (ethnicity and religion) were British concerns about security, and sensitivity to the composition of the population."[6] The demographic issues were at the core of the British social and cultural designs for Gibraltar throughout its history till now. Thus, regulations and legislations were always the strong pillars and apparatuses that the authorities employed in the Rock in order to maintain control and cultural hegemony. The British "preferred Protestant Christians to other denominations because they were more likely to be loyal to the crown"[7] while the evidences proved the disloyalty of the Roman Catholic entity before the Great Siege (1779-1783) as I will discuss later.

Nations	***Males***	***Females***	***Totals***
British	57	56	113
Genoese	301	113	414
Spaniards	233	167	400
Jews	111	26	137
French	17	6	23
Dutch	8	13	21
Algerians and Moors	5	0	5
Totals	*723*	*381*	*1113*

Table 2: Census of civilian population of Gibraltar in 1725.[8]

[5] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 20.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity and Empire*, (Lonndon: Routledge, 2013), p. 98.
[8] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 21.



Ethnic Percentages of Gibraltar Census 1725.

The Jews who had established themselves in the Rock numbered 111 male and 26 female; and were largely from Morocco. They arrived from both of the banks of the Mediterranean. That is, as Mesod Benady elaborates that these Jews "had the following provenances: England 4, Holland 3, Leghorn 17, Barbary 86, Turkey (Algeria?) 1."[9] This important number remains outstanding after the newly appointed Lieutenant Colonel Stanhope Cotton as Governor in the Garrison had enforced the article X of the treaty of Utrecht an had expelled both of the Moors and Jews in 1718 which, of course led "Morocco (to)severe(d) relations with England."[10]

Yet, no mystery remains after we know that the Hispano-British hostilities would erupt in the summer of the same year whereas the Anglo-Moroccan ones would, on the other hand, flourish with the treaty of 1721. This treaty of peace, as I will elaborate on, would be of great assistance to the Jewish migrants from Morocco and would allow them to trade, possess properties and build a synagogue…etc. This treaty was the firm base upon which the Jewish community, mainly from Moroccan origins, would prosper. The Moroccan Jews in Gibraltar benefited from the close relations between the two nations, Morocco and Britain, to the extent that they abused this

[9] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 95.
[10] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 180.

proximity and "raised the price provisions to a very great degree; and indulged by their paying high fines and rents, so that they have some of the best houses in the town"[11] as Colonel Bennett had noticed during his governorship before Cotton; and he included his remarks in a letter to the Commissioners appointed to examine the public accounts of Spain and Portugal.

The 1721 treaty was the firm legal framework that boosted and uplifted the edifice of the Moroccan Jewish community in Gibraltar; and the upcoming treaties would further enforce the rights of the Jewish subjects of the sultans. The first treaty of peace and commerce that framed the Anglo-Moroccan relations was signed on January 23rd 1721 between Muley Ismail and King George I with the presence of the Basha Ahmed Ben Ali Ben Abdallah and the British ambassador Charles Stewart.[12] The Jew Moses Ben Attar's medium role as a servant and interpreter of the Emperor's court facilitated the agreement; he, also, as described by John Windus during his visit to Meknes in 1725: "(who (Ben Attar) took upon him to be jointly empowered with the Basha)) agreed to the articles of peace, which were signed and exchanged the 17th January, 1720-1721." [13] That is, Ben Attar had the same authority as the Muslim Basha Ahmed Ben Ali. Besides, Abraham Benider "acted as secretary to British ambassador Captain Charles Stewart during the negotiations over the 1721 Anglo-Moroccan treaty."[14] The main concerns of the treaty were piracy, passport regulations, commerce and supplies to Gibraltar and other juridical issues.

A pivotal change in the establishment of a Moroccan community in the Rock was trailed by the rights engraved in the article 7 which insisted on the right of British merchants to settle in Morocco wherever they are pleased and the same right was given to Moroccans in England and its dominion including the attractive free port of Gibraltar.[15] With the power of this treaty, Moroccan Jews had to obtain passports from British consuls that will allow them the protection of the British men of arm in the British dominions as article IV stressed:

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[11] *The Report of the Commissioners Sent into Spain* (London: publisher not identified, 1728).

[12] Hopkins, J.F.P, *Letters from Barbary 1576-1774: Arabic Documents in the Public Record Office* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 46-51.

[13] John Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez, the Residence of the Present Emperor of Fez and Morocco* (London: J. Tonson, 1725), p. 6.

[14] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 168.

[15] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 94.

> If the Emperor's men of war meet with any English ships, and shall want to see their passports, they are to send a boat with two men of fidelity to peruse the said passports, who are to return without any further trouble, and then both sides to proceed quietly on their respective voyages; the same usage to be received by the Emperor's merchant ships from the English men of war, who shall allow the passports made out by the English consuls, and if the consul shall not be present to make them, then the passports made out by the English merchants to be good and valid.[16]

The detailed description of the process of validation of passports from both sides shows the extent to which the general atmosphere in the Mediterranean basin was loaded by terror of piracy. In this atmosphere trade and settlement seemed quite impossible yet reachable thanks to this treaty. It was the first legal ground upon which Moroccan Jews were able to circulate and trade in England or any other of its outposts such as Gibraltar, Minorca and port Mahon.

Nevertheless, Barbary merchants in the British dominion were aliens who do not conform to the British commercial regulations and, hence, had to pay more for the British merchandise. This injustice would have slackened the development of Jewish community who were categorized as aliens in the Gibraltar census for long decades if Article XII of that treaty had not further protected the sultan's subjects in the British dominion and stressed that "if any of the emperor's subjects shall purchase any commodity in the English dominions, they shall not be imposed on in price, but pay the same as if sold to the English."[17] In fact, as modest as this agreement seems, it was a pivotal element in establishing peace between the two nations in spite of the tremendous threats of piracy which jeopardized amity and turned the Mediterranean into an insecure place and hence broke the ties of communication between the two banks of the basin. In this light of hope, Moroccan Jews, Muslims too, were given a chance of safe and free trade. Improvements were made to strengthen the rights and duties of each nation in the forthcoming treaties.

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[16] Joseph Chitty, *A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures, and the Contracts Relating Thereto: With an Appendix of Treaties, Statutes, and Precedents* (London: printed by A. Strahan, for H. Butterworth, 1824), p. 213.

[17] Ibid.

In December 1726, the Spanish ambassador to London the Marquis De Posobueno informed in a letter, which Captain Sayer included in his account the Duke of Newcastle, that everything the Spanish and British agreed upon such as the restitution of Gibraltar and that Britain would not build more fortifications …etc. were not implemented by the British; and he claimed that Britain had violated the Treaty of 1713 which made its articles to become "null and void" because it "had permitted Jews and Moors, enemies of the Catholic religion, to reside in the city."[18] This claim became a legitimate pretext for the Spanish attack on Gibraltar and to the siege that lasted from 1726 to 1727. Indeed, the treaty of Utrecht which was signed by Spain and Britain on 13 July 1713 stressed that neither the Moors nor the Jews would be allowed to dwell in the city of Gibraltar or have shelter there. The X article of the treaty stated clearly:

> And Her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does consent and agree, that no leave shall be given under any pretence whatsoever, either to Jews or Moors, to reside or have their dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar; and that no refuge or shelter shall be allowed to any Moorish ships of war in the harbor of the said town, whereby the communication between Spain and Ceuta may be obstructed, or the coasts of Spain be infested by the excursions of the Moors.[19]

But the Queen of Britain, refusing to seed to the Spanish pressures, had not denied the Moors and Jews the right to trade because of the growing reciprocal economic interest between Britain and Morocco at that time; also because Britain had "a more relaxed attitudes towards ethnic and religious differences." [20] Due to the political and economic growing relations between Morocco and Great Britain, the latter was not ready to lose a strategic ally. Thus, the treaty of Britain had included in Utrecht and in the same article that the Moors and Jews had the right to trade:

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[18] Frederick Sayer, *The History of Gibraltar* (London: Saunders, Otley, 1862), p. 177.
[19] Scott Truver, *The Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean*, p. 247.
[20] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, p. 48.

> But whereas treaties of friendship and a liberty and intercourse of commerce are between the British and certain territories situated on the coast of Africa, it is always to be understood, that the British subjects cannot refuse the Moors and their ships entry into the port of Gibraltar purely upon the account of merchandising.[21]

Undeniably, the need for Moroccan supplies and the tolerant doctrine of the British unfolded two faces of the same coin in the British approach to Moroccan Jews. The capitalist irresistible stream was a historically pivotal drifting force that trespassed both of the Spanish medieval discourse of Expulsion and Reconquista as well as the Moroccan rigid Mekhzen institutions. This was a positive factor in the development of a Jewish community in Gibraltar as well as the whole Britain. Rogers explains this idea of the British strategic need for Morocco to keep supplying its far colony of Gibraltar with fresh food and different kinds of supplies; on 29 March 1771, in one of his letters to Consul-General Samspon, the Secretary-of-State for the Southern Department, Lord Rachford, had reminded him that: "One principle reason of desiring to keep up a strict friendship with the Emperor is the convenient supply of the Garrison of Gibraltar."[22]

Spain, on the other hand, did not cease its desire to regain back Gibraltar especially with the pretext of the Moors and Jews who began to put their feet back on the soil of the Iberian Peninsula after decades of expulsion from Andalusia. Accordingly, the Spaniards' siege of 1727 was a total failure and Britain further insisted two years later:

> that all Moors and Jews, subject to the Emperor of Morocco, shall be allowed a free traffic, to buy or sell for thirty days in the city of Gibraltar, or Island of Minorca, but not to reside in either place, but to depart with their effects, without let or molestation, to any part of the said Emperor of Morocco's Dominions.[23]

This was declared in the first article of the second treaty of peace and commerce of 14th January 1729. Indeed, the 1721 treaty was to be rectified and new articles added. The additional

[21] Scott Truver, *The Strait of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean*, p. 247.
[22] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 108.
[23] Joseph Chitty, *A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures*, p. 215.

articles were agreed and signed in Fez between Basha Hamet Ben Abdallah, on behalf of Muley Abdallah Ben Ismail and John Russell, on the behalf of his Britannic Majesty Prince George II of Britain.

In 1734, a deal between Britain and King Abdallah (1748-1757) entailed the redemption of British captives in Morocco; however, after the release of the British captives, Britain gave the cannons and powder, the agreed ransom, to the rebel Basha of Tetuan and the sultan's uncle at the Moroccan city of Asilah. Moreover, the British ships, mainly from Gibraltar, started smuggling through Larache port and south in Wadd Noon[24] without the permission of the Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah, escaping, thus, paying costume duties to Mekhzen. The Prince heir Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah blamed Gibraltar Governor Joseph Sabine (1730-1739) but not the British Crown; consequently, he declared war against Gibraltar stating:

> We believe, my father (Muley Abdallah) and I, that the king your master has no knowledge of the behavior of the governor of Gibraltar towards us… so Gibraltar shall be excluded from the peace which I am willing to consent to between England and us, and by the aid of the almighty I will know how to avenge myself, when I may, on the English of Gibraltar.[25]

On 15th December 1734, four new articles were added to complement the previous treaties after those serious historical developments as well as the persistent predicaments of piracy and captivity in both sides. The treaty was signed between his Britannic majesty King George II and sultan Muley Abdallah Ben Ismail in the presence of Basha Ahammed and William Petticrew. Moroccan subjects in England, Gibraltar or any other British dominions were protected by the power of article III and the British subjects as well by the same authority. Commercial dealings between the Moroccans and British were further legalized through writing contracts which was a decisive move to institutionalize these commercial dealings as we will later discover when the British consuls and Moroccan Qaid would join together to solve some cases.

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[24] MWM FO 1/28002**.**

[25] James Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 340.

The Moroccan Jews who crossed the strait on daily basis found in this treaty a favorable push toward establishing a solid community in the Rock with little concern with the Spanish proclamation done by its ambassadors in London. 30 days leave to stay in the Rock did not prevent the British from "turn(ing) a blind eye to such matters and the Jews were allowed to settle'"[26] but "this limitation was soon abandoned, and during the eighteenth century, despite repeated protests by the Spanish embassy in London."[27]

Soon enough, the reciprocal relations culminated by the treaty of 15th January 1750 and concluded in Fez between Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah and George III celebrating a state of friendship and respect to each other's subjects in each kings dominion. The Moroccan Jews and Muslims were to be given passports by English consuls which would protect them when "an English man of war meets with any merchant ships belonging to the Emperor."[28] Furthermore, the ships of the Emperor or his subjects "shall not be obliged to pay anything for the shelter or assistance they may receive"[29] when they happen to experience bad weather or "any other occasion" and had to resort to British ships or ports. Almost a year later, new articles were added and the article four stressed on the exemption from taxes.[30] These rectified articles played a major role in encouraging the Moroccan merchants mainly Jews as they were the favored agents of the sultans to venture further in England and all of its dominion from Gibraltar to India.

Yet, as this treaty marked the involvement of Morocco in the capitalist trade it also infringed its internal social structure via the additional articles in 1751 mainly number 4 that stated "the consul and the other British merchants shall be freely allowed to have Moors and Jews as their interpreters and brokers, who shall be exempted from all taxes, as likewise all their domestic servants."[31] This article inaugurated what will be later known as the system of consulate protection in the 19th century Morocco. Moreover, it, along with the treaty of 1750, paved the way for more

[26] David Levey, *Language Change and Variation in Gibraltar* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008), p. 18.
[27] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, p. 49.
[28] Joseph Chitty, *A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures*, p. 217.
[29] Ibid., p. 220.
[30] Ibid., p. 218.
[31] Ibid.

Moroccans Jews and their descendant to settle in Gibraltar which explains the significant numbers that the 1777 census in Gibraltar revealed.

On 28th July 1760, a new treaty was an issue of paramount importance mainly after Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah (1757-1790) had become sultan. The treaty confirmed the state of peace and friendship; and their Majesties subjects, ships and trade were once again protected and "shall be entirely free, without being detained, molested, robbed or receiving any damage"[32] by Moroccan or British pirates or port Governors. Not only safety but also commercial justice was granted to Moroccan merchants in Gibraltar as the article 12 unfolded that "if any subject of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco Desires to transport commodities from the Dominions of the King of Great Britain, he shall be permitted to do it, without paying greater duties, or impositions, than other nations pay."[33]

The role of the friendship and commerce treaties was of chief importance to the sultans Jewish subjects for their trade, loans and legal cases for they were to be seriously considered by the Gibraltar Governors as what happened to a "Tetuani Jew Jacob Benhabu" who asked for Mekhzen help; and the sultan's brother Muley Ali Ben Abdallah who wished to regain his money back from "a British merchant who had imported goods on his behalf from Holland;"[34] and "the governor of Tangier intervened in the same year to secure the payment of debts in Gibraltar to another Moroccan Jew, Solomon Bendalac."[35] Besides, the Moroccan Jew who was extorted by the Governor of Gibraltar and rescued by the Basha of Tetuan reflects how the treaty was beneficial for the Moroccan Jews in Gibraltar. This secure atmosphere encouraged more Jews to dwell and trade in Gibraltar as the 1777 census reported.

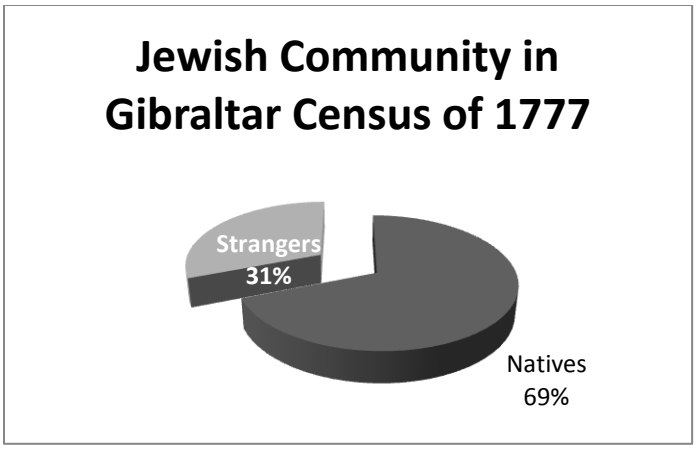
[32] Ibid., p. 220.
[33] Ibid., p. 222.
[34] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 167.
[35] Ibid., p. 168.

Religion	Nationality	Totals
British or Protestant	Natives	220
inhabitants	Non-natives	286
Total		506
Roman Catholic	Natives	845
Inhabitants	Genoese and Savoyards	672
	Spaniards	134
	Portuguese	93
	Minorcans	62
	French	13
	English and Irish	13
Total		*1832*
Jews	Natives	596
	Strangers	267
Total		*863*
Grand Total		*3201*

Table 3: Census of civilian population of Gibraltar in 1777.[36]

The number of the Jewish community was almost twice the number of the British and protestant inhabitants jointly. Those "native" Jews (69%) were not but the Moroccans or their descendants being subjects of His Britannic Majesty by the right of birth whereas the "strangers" (31%) were mostly from Tetuan, Sallé and other Moroccan cities.

[36] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 26.



Pertinently, Benady discerns that: "a study of the 1777 Census list shows that the great influx of Jews came in the period 1727 to 1739."[37] Certainly, volatile conditions in Morocco, such as the death of Muley Ismail that caused political instability fueled by tribal revolts and wars of succession, led to constant immigrations of Jews to the Rock. Most of these Jewish immigrants were from Sallé as Benady assumes:

> The comparatively large number of immigrants from Salé at this stage was probably due to the political unrest which followed the death of Mulay Ismael in 1727, and which made the position of the leading inhabitants of the city particularly difficult, as it became a centre of political intrigue.[38]

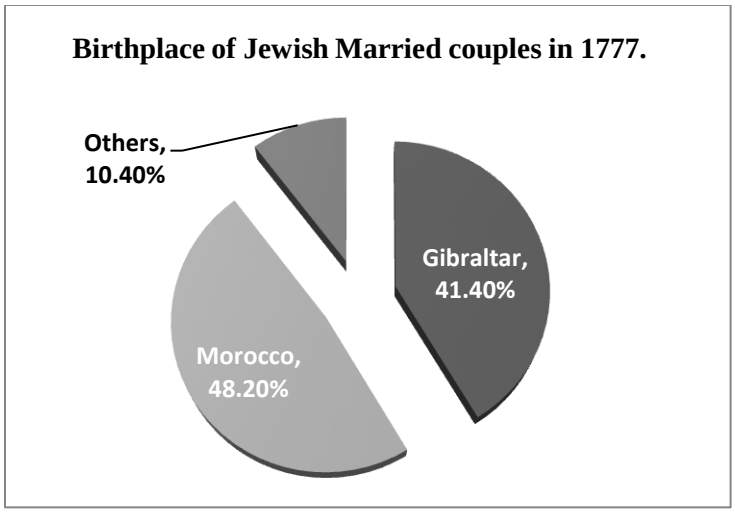
However, because of the geographical proximity and long commercial ties between Gibraltar and Tetuan, the last had dominated as major source of Jewish immigration to the former as the 1777 records shows. Apart from the birthplace of the Jewish settlers in the Rock, be it Tetuan, Tangier or Sallé…etc., the Moroccan Jewish community, males and females, fluxed to the Garrison in the context of the friendship and *Mahaba* between Morocco and Great Britain. Doubtless, there were other factors that eased this considerable immigration from Morocco or other countries to Gibraltar such as the appealing nature of the latter itself; but, greatly, the factor

[37] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 96.
[38] Ibid.

of the Jewish organizations that were at play then had been playing a huge role in alleviating the uncontested pains of immigration involved in moving to alien places.

Birthplace	*Per cent*
Gibraltar	41.40%
Morocco	48.20%
Others	10.40%
Total	100.00%

Table 4: Birthplace of Jewish Married couples in 1777.[39]



Most of the Moroccan married Jews were born in Tetuan: 49.5% were males and 19.4% were females; and 2.2% male and 2.2% female from Tangier; and 8.6% male and 1.1 % female born in Salle whereas 10.8% males and 3.2% females were born in Morocco as a general category. The other birthplaces were, Algiers, Algeciras, Lisbon, Port Mahon, Leghorn, London and Amsterdam.[40]

[39] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 185.
[40] Ibid.

The increasing numbers of Jews in the Rock caused the outrage of the Governor as Richard Kane (1720-1727) who declared that:

> I shall order the Jews that are here to give Notice to their Correspondences in all Parts not to come hither with a view to inhabiting here; and shall acquaint all Jews who have familys that they are to prepare to retire from hence with their familys, and that non are to be admitted here but as travelers.[41]

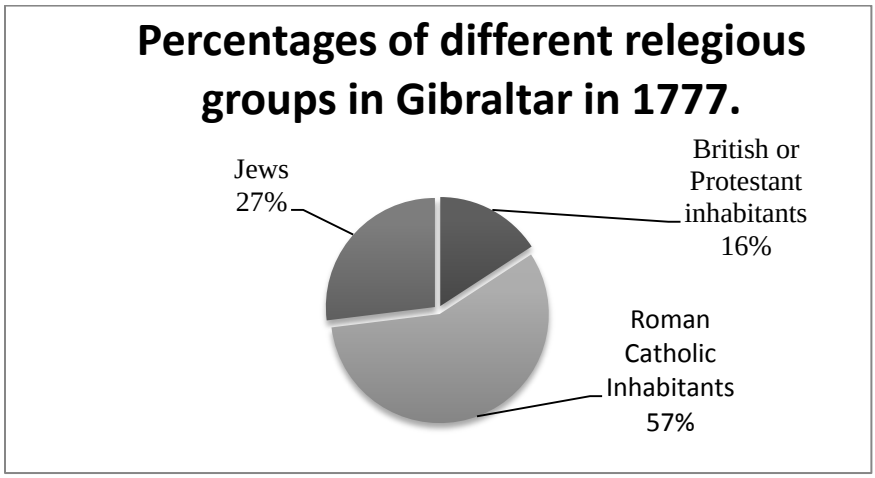
Yet, this declaration was never been implemented and the number of Jews continued to increase as the census reports showed. Moreover, the key role that these Moroccans played in the link between the two banks of the Strait was another crucial factor that pressed London to reconsider its policy towards the Jews; and led Kane to reconsider his view about the settlement of the Jews in Gibraltar "considering the present circumstances of our affairs… those Jews at Gibraltar may for the present be connived at, and will accordingly have you suspend the execution of any orders that may have been formerly sent for removing them from thence."[42]

Meanwhile, statistics showed weak numbers of British and protestant community in Gibraltar in comparison to Catholic inhabitants being natives or non-natives. These social and cultural challenges threatened the British designs for Gibraltar requiring immediate cultural and social intervention to equilibrate the numbers by means of the various regulations issued by Governors. That is to say, with these striking structural differences "one would expect the same quarrels and acts of violence in Gibraltar (compared to Andalucía), because of the diversity of religious interests and customs"[43] as astoundingly put by the outstanding Spanish historian Ignacio Lopez de Ayala who had been in Gibraltar during the 1770s.

The cultural and religious clashes were not at work there as the acts of crime, delinquency and violence were. The detailed description of Ayala of the atmosphere in Gibraltar was loaded with admiration of how the military government was strict, the officials straight and judges straight

[41] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 95.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., p. 100.

and cannot be coerced …etc.[44] The firm and just British rule over the Rock played a huge role in muffling these structural disparities.



One of the strategies to rebalance these structural disparities for the benefit of the British Protestants was property. Being the unit around which settlement and wealth had been spinning, property became the target for the British authorities in order to diminish the impact of the Roman Catholic and Jewish increasing numbers which led, subsequently, to preventing them from possessing land titles.[45] Yet, this was inacceptable by virtue of the free and tolerant nature of the appealing port of Gibraltar. In this respect, in 1752, Governor George Bland (1749/1754) withdrew his verdict concerning the prohibition of non-Protestant inhabitants of the city from holding properties and "endorsed the grant of a land for the synagogue Shahar Hashamayim in Engineer Lane;"[46] nevertheless, he insisted that "property be sold henceforth only to native-born Protestants" and the "the lying of this Restriction is to get by Degrees the property out of the Hands of Foreigners and Paptists."[47]

Yet, Governor Bland, after various complains about misbehaviors committed by some Jews that offended public life in the city, issued regulations against the Jewish community. Nonetheless,

[44] Ibid.
[45] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 185.
[46] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 98.
[47] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 180.

these regulations were overlooked by the other appointed Governors; and the Jewish community grew wealthier as the entrepôt prospered since it received countless types of merchandise from Morocco, Spain, Turkey and India…etc. The growing numbers of the Jews and the wealth they had accumulated pushed their community almost to reach third of the whole Gibraltarian community; they, thus, were bound to possess more land titles in the 1750s which explains how "20 per cent of the property in Gibraltar was owned by Jews"[48] and how Isaac Aboab became the largest property-owner in Gibraltar in 1749.[49] Moreover, other Jews showed up in Bland's rent book such as: Azulai, Acris David, Benider Abraham, Benatar Judah, Cansino Joshua…etc. thus, the Jewish Managing Board and the treaty of 1750 with Morocco enhanced further the rights of the Jewish community and minimized the regulations imposed on them in the Rock.

In a nutshell, the 1777 census recorded that "most of the foreign-born males (Jews) came from nearby Tetuan (63.5 per cent)"[50] not to mention the other Moroccan sea ports such as Sallé, Tangier and Mogador…etc. Gibraltar, as has become palpable so far, had been the attractive city where group of Jews from all the Mediterranean countries and mostly from Moroccan immigrated. Not only Jews but almost all ethnicities that resided in the two banks of the Mediterranean basin were lured by the prosperous Gibraltar.

b. Moroccan Jews During and after the Great Siege of Gibraltar

The precursors of war between Spain and Britain drove a significant proportion of civilians to flee Gibraltar to London, Minorca and Morocco…etc. causing demographic drain reflected in 1787 and 1791 censuses. Historically speaking, in 1779, Spain launched a siege after it had seized the opportunity of the war for independence in the United States 1775-1783 and the British military involvement in oppressing the American Revolution and launched an attack to get back the city of Gibraltar. It besieged Gibraltar for more than four years in what will be known in history as the Great Siege of Gibraltar (1779-1783). Meanwhile, the British colony repulsed the

[48] Ibid., p. 181.
[49] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 98.
[50] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 183.

attacks for four years and managed to resist the siege. At this time of peril, Morocco stood as a strong ally upon which the load of supplying the besieged Fortress laid after all other sources were cut off by the Spanish fleets. In the meantime, the Jewish inhabitants in Gibraltar proved themselves supporters to Britain's endeavor to repel the Spanish raids. Rogers explains how Morocco supported Britain with maintaining its outpost and how much Spain was ready to pay to Morocco to stop supplying Gibraltar with fresh food and water. He mentions the letter sent by Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah to England which "stated that the sultan had sent him to inform King George that in November 1770 the Spaniards had offered him two hundred thousand dollars if he would stop English trade with Morocco and the supply of provisions to Gibraltar."[51]

In order to regain Gibraltar once and forever, Spain had to weaken the Garrison through preventing the supplies from reaching it. In this context, Spain sent many envoys to Morocco to persuade the latter to stop providing Gibraltar with supplies which failed according to Rogers who emphasizes that the Moroccan stance came out of the "great friendship with Britain"[52] which the last treaty of 1760 stressed in the opening of its manuscript. Moreover, the refusal of Morocco was out of not only friendship but also of political and military interest. The sultan's ambassador who carried the letter to London had another military mission that revolved around: "purchase(ing) in England cannons and other armaments which the sultan needed to use for the reduction of the Spanish fortress of Ceuta."[53]

Subsequently, the Moroccan attitude towards the British grew stronger while the Spanish and French weaker. This facilitated the work of Mr. Logie who managed to establish a network of spies that he recruited among the Moroccans to collect precious information about the military statues of the Spanish fleets in Moroccan ports and to transmit them to Gibraltar: "many faithful Moors were in his pay, and as a constant trade was carried on between the Spanish camp, frequent opportunities were afforded to the spies for making observations and obtaining an insight into the affairs of the army."[54]

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[51] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 109.
[52] Ibid., p. 110.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Frederick Sayer, *The History of Gibraltar,* p. 342.

Furthermore, Moroccan *flockas* continued to smuggle supplies through the heavily armed Spanish vessels as Allen Andrew describes how:

> A Barbary craft took advantage of the absence of the Spanish men-of-war and slipped in with thirty-nine bullocks, though they were so knocked about that they died on the beach. But another Moorish vessel, and a Swede which appeared off the point the next day, were boarded by the galleys and their precious freight taken into Algeciras. The very slender supplies of fresh provisions which were reaching the garrison were at this time coming only from Barbary.[55]

Andrew illuminates the decisive role that Morocco was playing during the Great Siege of Gibraltar. The British Gibraltar could not withstand the four-year siege without the vital assistance which Morocco provided during the perilous siege. This support saved the Fortress from internal breakdown caused by a lack of provisions and lessoned the pressures of the four-year siege mainly after stocks had started to run short after the first few months of the siege which the British did not expect to last that long.

However, the Moroccan supplies stopped for a while after some political upheavals with Britain had emerged which led to delicate moments inside the Rock where hunger prevailed along with the Spanish bombardments from upon. The Spanish had managed to rent Moroccan ports for 7500 pound; and Morocco, in 1781, expelled, back to Gibraltar, the British Consul-General Logie along with some Gibraltarians as well as Jews who sought refuge in Tangier.[56] Furthermore, the sultan grew angry against the Governors of Gibraltar, since their behaviors towards the sultan's ships and other equipment were impolite. The support of the rebel Basha of Tetuan and the heir's uncle in Asilah by the Governor of Gibraltar, as I explained before, and the smuggling in Larache port by Gibraltar ships made the heir then Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah angry against Gibraltar. Moreover, Rogers clarifies more how the sultan's "anger was intensified when one of his vessels which had run ashore near Gibraltar was repaired by the English and, when the price of repair was

[55] Allen Andrews, *Proud Fortress: The Fighting Story of Gibraltar* (London: Evans, 1958), p. 220.
[56] Frederick Sayer, *The History of Gibraltar,* p. 340-341.

not paid, auctioned to recover the expenses incurred."[57] Another incident that disturbed the Anglo-Moroccan relations, according to Rogers, was the incident of the clock and the watch that belonged to the sultan, which he had sent to London to be repaired. The sultan's equipment stayed for three years in London without being repaired. He became provoked by the delay in returning to him the clock and the watch. Because of this incident, Rogers explains how "Sidi Mohamed raised by one-third the export duties charged on provisions for the Gibraltar Garrison."[58]

Because of these small incidents, the Anglo-Moroccan relations witnessed ruptures and sometimes Morocco aided Spain against Great Britain. In a letter sent by Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah in April 1780, the sultan ordered his Governor in Tangier to stop helping the British ships and ordered full aid to be given to Spain. The letter included:

> Our servant the Qaid Mohammed Ben Abdelmalek may Allah help you, peace be upon you. Your letter has arrived and we learnt what is in it. We order you if English vessels arrive to you do not allow them to take anything even a small quantity of water. Say to them that our country went through draught and we have only what we need (…). Moreover, we order you to treat well the Spanish in the best manner due to their King's affection and ours.[59]

Thus, the Moroccan supplies to the Garrison of Gibraltar, which was under the Spanish and French siege, stopped and the Garrison witnessed its hardest moments during the siege. Moreover, Morocco allowed the Spanish vessels to chase the British ones in the Moroccan waters. The British consul Charles Logie protested against the Moroccan behavior and met Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah to convey him his protest. He explained how a British ship shipped from Tetuan on 13th June 1780 but it was attacked by a Spanish pirates. Charles Logie also reported to the sultan how a British ship while shipping to the port of Tangier, was attacked by Spanish vessels and one of its crew murdered. At the end, he asked the sultan that Morocco should be neutral during the siege.

[57] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 113.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Abdellah Eddahani, "Almaghrib wa Madyaq Jabal Tariq," p.112.

Irritated by the British consul Charles Logie's authoritative tone, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdullah dismissed the consul from his court and put Tangier under the Spanish control which the latter used us a military base to control the southern side of the Strait of Gibraltar.

However, in 1781, the sultan allowed the British ships to trade in the northern ports of Morocco and released British crews who were imprisoned in Tetuan since1780. Nonetheless, this political shift did not mean a siding with Great Britain but rather a return to the status before 1779. That is to say, "to open the Moroccan ports for all the races even the British and Spanish"[60] as Eddahani posits.

c. The 19th Century Gibraltar: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Community

Though Spain did not manage to recover the city of Gibraltar, but Britain had lost the American colonies. Due to some political and military pressing matters, Spain ceased the enmity with Great Britain and the two stood against the growing and powerful France under the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte who invaded Spain and overthrew the Spanish king Charles IV and replaced him by his brother Joseph. Accordingly, Spain was in great peril and in dire need for the British help which led consequently to the alliance. Thus, Spain grew less interested in recovering Gibraltar and turned its forces to liberate its territory from the occupation of France; and Gibraltar became an important base for supplying the Spanish troops during their war for liberating Spain.

Meanwhile, sultan al-Yazid's mother was the daughter of a private in Gibraltar and she converted to Islam and named Lella Scersceta or Zarzet. Her father moved to Tangier after Lella Zarzet's death and embrassed Islam.[61] This might have an influence on sultan Elyazid's official consideration of Britain as "the most favoured nation' statues."[62] Indeed, after few months of the siege, the treaty of Sallé on 24th May 1783 signed by Ambassador James Mario Matra on behalf of King George III and sultan Mohamed al-Yazid, was decisive to restoring friendship and *Mahaba* between Morocco and Britain. It included only rights and duties of English subjects in Morocco

[60] Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan*, p. 113.
[61] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 66.
[62] Ibid., p. 65.

but no reference to Moroccans in the British lands. Yet, the 18th April 1791 treaty, signed in the same city, restored the rights of the Moroccans to free trade and safety for their effects and trade in Gibraltar and all other British territories. Meanwhile, Moulay al-Yazide had started preparing for war to regain Ceuta from Spain. In the same context, he changed his ambassador Ibn Othman, whom he had sent to Madrid, by his Cousin Muley Ali to negotiate with Spain; and he sought friendship with Great Britain meanwhile. He received the British consul four times and announced the decrease of the duties on the exported cattle to the Garrison of Gibraltar.[63] The sultan al-Yazid was so keen about retrieving Ceuta till his premature death in 1792.

As far as Gibraltar is concerned, despite of its lure for immigrants, merchants or brokers…etc. the statistics in 1787 and 1791 showed a dwindling ethnic components in the Gibraltarian population. A decade after the 1777 Census, the numbers showed petite increase in civilian inhabitants in Gibraltar reaching up till 3386. In 1787, the British Protestant ethnicity remained slackening to develop in comparison to the Catholic and Jewish ethnicities. Nevertheless, this last community, unexpectedly, decreased by 87 inhabitants while the numbers of Jewish natives of Gibraltar remained significant. The same remark could be deduced relating to the Roman Catholic natives of Gibraltar who increased by 47 native born inhabitants from 1777 to 1791. That is, the natives increased on the expense of the foreign migrant.

Accordingly, the structural social unbalance that lasted for the whole 18th century in Gibraltar in favor to the non-Protestants still prevailed on the expense of the British Protestant subjects. In spite of the different regulations to monitor and design the social map of the Rock, the British once more failed to adjust the social unbalance and were still a minority in their outpost. This ethnic supremacy of the Roman Catholic cohort threatened the military and political supremacy of Britain over the Rock as when they sided with the Catholic Spain in times of peril such as the Great Siege. It was an alarm and a manifestation of this dreadful unbalanced situation.

These ethnic, cultural and religious cohorts reflected the supremacy of a Catholic tendency of a whole community there which was unacceptable by the Protestant core of the British Empire i.e., London. That is, as Stephen Constantine genuinely puts it "If Gibraltar's civilian population

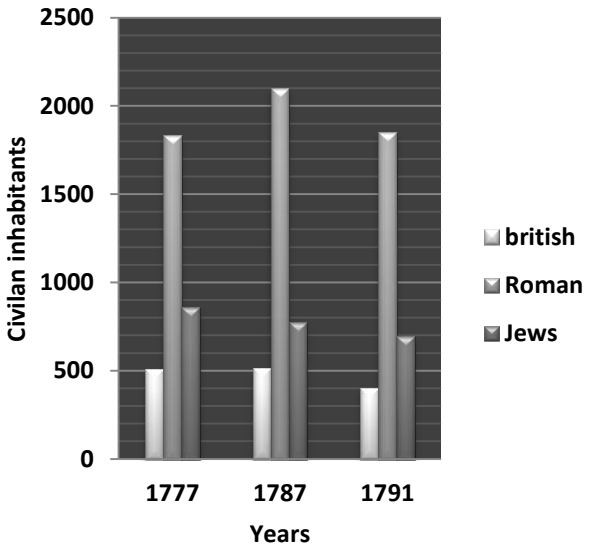
[63] Abdellah Eddahani, "Almaghrib wa Madyaq Jabal Tariq," p. 92.

were to develop a communal identity, its core was in the cradle and its religious Orientation was clear(ly Catholic)."[64] Clearly, the 1791 census demonstrated how the previous regulations and policing of the social and cultural life in Gibraltar had proved deficient and that it had not been fully implemented. Consequently, Governors were invested with more power to control the demographic structure through monitoring ethnic and religious belonging to each one petitioning for pass or residence in Gibraltar. In plain words, "no person can possess a right to enter and reside in Gibraltar, even though a natural born subject of the Crown, without permission of the Governor of the Fortress and no general right of way to this end has ever been granted"[65] to any Governor. It must be clear that this authoritative power given to the Governor proved efficient and a large number of civilians, mainly Catholics, were expelled from the Fortress in 1798 after the authorities dismantled a conspiracy to hand in Gibraltar to the Catholic Spain during the Napoleonic Wars.[66]

[64] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 28.
[65] Ibid., p. 29.
[66] Ibid.

Nationality /religion	Place of Birth	1791	1787
British	Gibraltar	211	
	Britain	182	
	Other	10	
	Total	*403*	*512*
Roman Catholics	Gibraltar	892	
	Genoa	450	
	Savoy	73	
	Genoa and Savoy		
	Portuguese	163	
	Minorcan	173	
	Spaniards	56	
	French	13	
	British	2	
	Other	30	
	Total	*1852*	*2098*
Jews	Gibraltar	467	
	Barbary/Tetuan	184	*776*
	Minorca	17	
	Britain	11	
	Other	14	
	Total	*693*	*776*
Grand total		*2948*	*3386*

Table 5: Census of Civilian Population in 1791 with the year 1787 figures for comparison.[67]

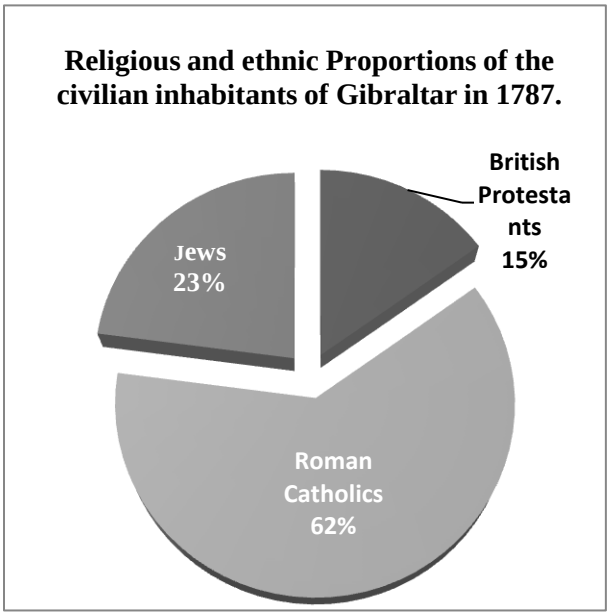


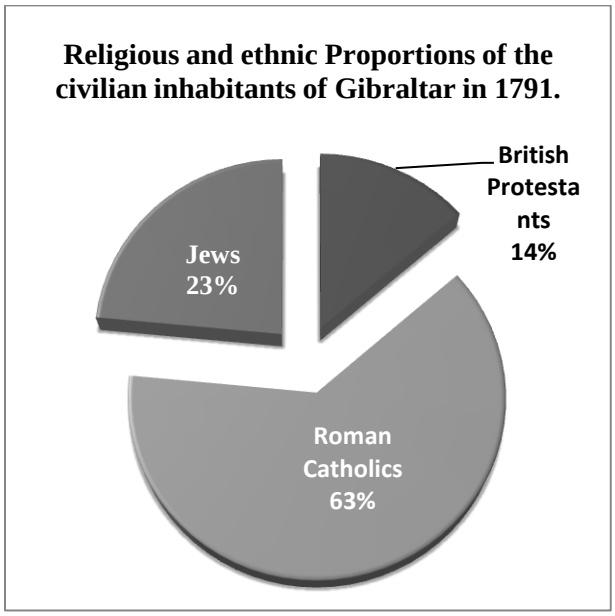
Ethnic Unbalance in Gibraltar from 1777 to 1791.

As far as the Jewish community is concerned, the shift from 27% in 1777 to 23% in 1787 of the civilian population was flagrantly undeniable causing a serious impediment to this sub-community's progress in the Fortress. This decline was still continuing after 4 years which statistics of the 1791 census reflected. The Jewish community shrank further by losing 170 members in just 14 years. Yet, this contraction was not only related to the Jews, it also affected the British sub-group who lost 103 inhabitants. However, the Roman Catholics gained 20 inhabitants

[67] Ibid., p. 28.

in the same period. Even after the total shrinkage of the whole Gibraltarian community, the Jewish ethnicity stood firm at 23% proportion of the whole community in the Rock in the 1791 census.





The rigid measures taken by the British Governors with the authoritative power invested in them had a huge impact on the development of the Gibraltarian community in general and the non-Protestant subjects mainly Jews in particular. Furthermore, the lack of security during the Great Siege was the main factor that explains the shrinking and stagnant population growth in Gibraltar.

In 19th century, Gibraltar turned from a small garrison where petite transactions took place on daily basis in the 18th century into a grand emporium in all Europe; it was the entrepôt where major parts of international commerce had to go through with the British possession of the two Mediterranean outlets i.e., Gibraltar and Suisse Channel. With this pinnacle economic uprising, the Gibraltarian population was encouraged to increase as well as the British need to rebuild the city after the Great Siege guaranteeing more privileges to new comers particularly Jews.

The rapid scale on which the British Empire was growing at the eve of the 19th century required more legal regulations equally with its allies as well as enemies. Treaties with the Barbary States of Tunis and Tripoli were concluded with Turkey and with the French since 1830 when mentioning Algiers. While in Morocco, after the premature death of sultan al-Yazid and the

ascending of Muley Solaiman (1760-1822) to the throne in 1792, Britain had to confirm the validity of the previous treaties with Morocco and add more articles which culminated by the treaty of Fez in 1801 agreed upon later only on 19th January 1824 with Muley Abd al-Rahman (1778-1859). This treaty bluntly consented that "all the treaties concluded with Muly Ishmael, Muly Abdala, and Muley Mahomed Ben Abdala, shall be in force without alteration."[68] The outcome of this treaty for the Moroccan Jewish community in Gibraltar was important at the age of economic revolution worldwide led by the British Empire.

Again, this legal frame work in the dawn of the promising, at least for Great Britain's Empire, 19th century had an impact on the demographic structure of the Jews in Gibraltar. In fact, not only the Jews who boosted up their inhabitant numbers in the Rock; the grand total of the 1816 census showed an enormous increase in civilian population reaching up to 11424 after it had been only 2948 in 1791.

[68] John Macgregor, *Commercial statistics*, vol II (London: Charles Knight and Company, 1844), p. 282.

	Male	Female	Total
British	633	484	1117
Natives	1159	1089	2248
British and Native Jews	392	378	770
Total	*2184*	*1951*	*4135*
Foreign Jews	169	129	298
Spaniards	1237	1505	2742
Genoese	1172	646	1818
Portuguese	839	473	1312
Minorcans	231	179	410
French	100	48	148
Germans	74	59	133
Italians	99	32	131
Sicilians	56	35	91
Sardinians	56	31	87
Others	89	30	119
Total	*4122*	*3167*	*7289*
Grand Total	*6306*	*5118*	*11424*

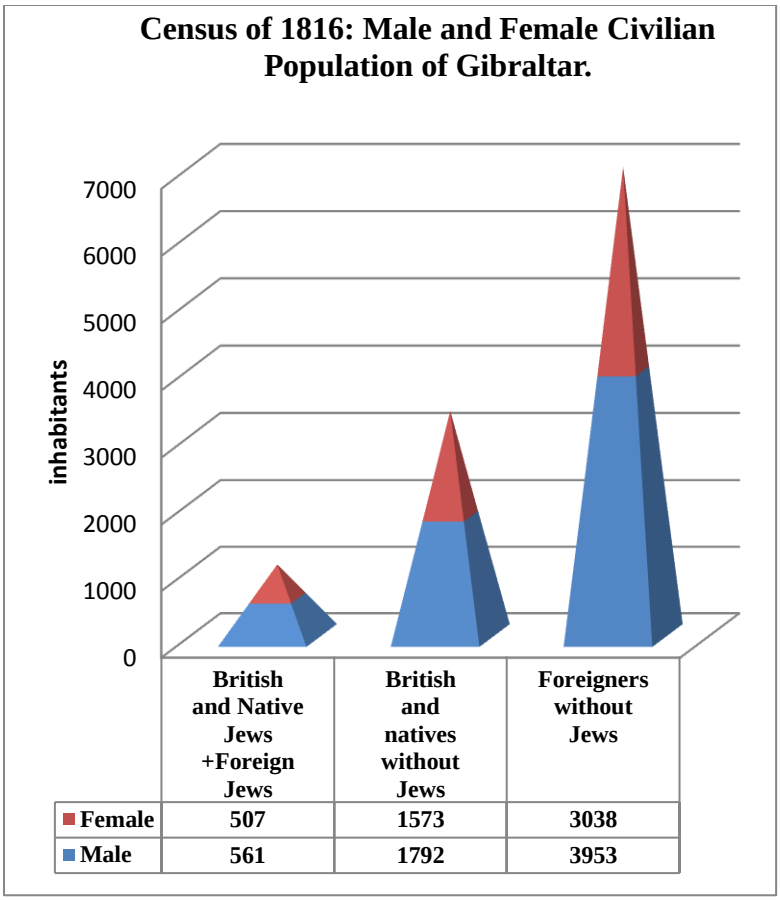


Table 6: Census of Civilian Population in Gibraltar in 1816.[69]

The huge increase in the Gibraltarian population is due to massive immigration to the city not the native natural born inhabitants. The numbers showed that only 4135 were natives whereas 7289 were all Moroccans, Spanish, Minorcans, French, Genoese…etc. immigrants. In spite of the outbreak of yellow fever and cholera in Gibraltar at the beginning of the 19th century, the numbers witnessed huge increase from 1791 census to the 1816 one; however, the 1835 census showed a

[69] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 30.

petite decrease in the demographic structure of the city caused mainly by the slackening immigration ratio. Dissimilarly, the native inhabitants increased during the same period.

Thus, the period between 1791 and 1816 witnessed an increase in immigration from all Europe and also from England itself to Gibraltar. This mass settlement was enhanced by the post-war statues of peace and the appealing capitalist Gibraltar. In 1826, George Beauclerk, a captain in the British army, visited Morocco and crossed through Gibraltar where he described the post-war therein and how this city turned to be clean, appealing and prosperous after long decades of being mostly a dull garrison for soldiers and a filthy port for merchants. He reported:

> As there are many who believe the rock of Gibraltar, to be literally what its name imports, a barren rock swarming with monkeys, mosquitoes, and soldiers, where there is barely space enough to turn round, without entangling your sword in your neighbor's leg; and, as ill-grounded prejudice among officers of our army, but too often places it on a footing with the worst quarters in our colonies.[70]

Literature on Gibraltar that was written, printed and circulated among the British who live in the core of the British Empire constructed an image of an alien, exotic and distant space[71]. However, Beauclerk endeavored to subvert these images throughout his attractive depiction of the city. Consequently, this new trend in propagating for Gibraltar that the post-war inaugurated can explain how the British inhabitants augmented from 182 individuals in 1791 to 1117 individuals in 1816.

Meanwhile, the Spanish immigrants trespassed overwhelmingly the other ethnicities in the Rock; and the non-Protestant inhabitants grew further on the expense of the Protestant civilian population which triggered the alarm of the authorities there pushing Lieutenant-Governor Sir

[70] George Beauclerk, *A Journey to Marocco in 1826* (London: Poole & Edwards, 1828), p. 314.

[71] For instance, this was the image engraved in Maria Wilson's imagination before visiting Gibraltar. Yet, she discovered, at the end of her visit that it was home for her and she confessed that in letters to her sister Fanny: Maria Wilson, *Spain and Barbary: Letters to a Younger Sister, During a Visit to Gibraltar, Cadiz, Seville, Tangier* (London: Joseph Rickerby & Sherbourn Lane,1837). See also: Emmeline Wortley, *The Sweet South*. vol. I (London: George Barclay, Castle ST. Leicester Square, 1856)

George Don (1814-1821) to report on the 6th of July 1816 to Bathurst the risk of this foreign social bulk which "have no interest in our welfare and consequently cannot be dependent upon."[72]

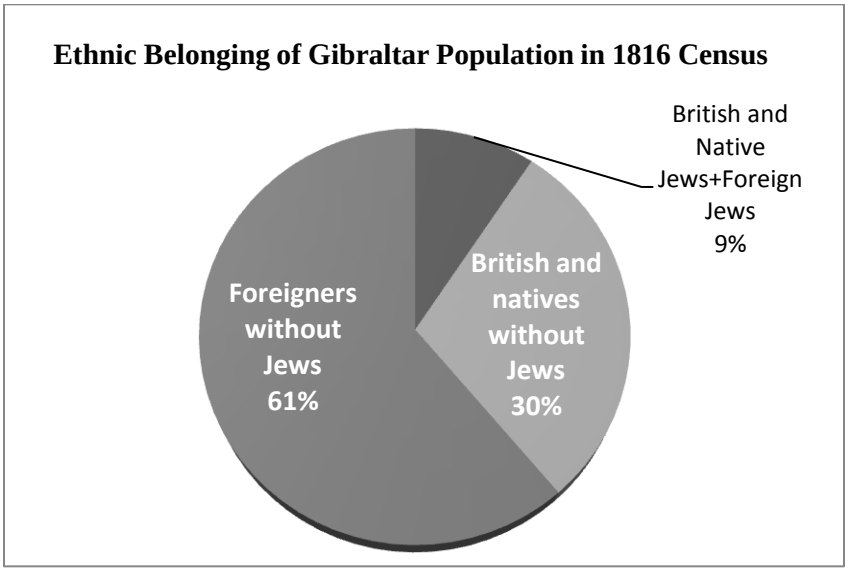
The Jewish community, however, was not considered as a social threat for the demographic structure of the Gibraltarian community. The previously issued regulations on forbidding non-Protestants from possessing property was still at work from time to time till 1804 when a pro-Jews Lieutenant Governor Sir Thomas Trigge (1803-1804) wrote on 21st June 1803 to Pelham that the Jews were "useful and good subjects"[73] mainly after they had proved to be good citizens and supporters of the British during the Great Siege as elaborated previously. Definitely, the Jewish community in the Fortress proved useful during the Great Siege. Examples of this usefulness are numerous such as the "300 jews (…) labourers (who) were employed in cleaning some mounds of sand from in front of the fortifications, so that the Garrison could secure a clear field of fire;"[74] and the Hare which was a small Jewish boat that secured wheat to the Garrison; and "able-bodied young Jewish men who were employed by the military such as "Abraham Hassan (who) joined the 38th Foot (South Staffordshire) as a volunteer and served as a private soldier during the whole of the Siege."[75]

Moreover, this community composed only 9%. This ratio of the Jewry reflected the slow development of this subgroup in comparison to the massive increase that the whole Gibraltarian community witnessed after the war with France. Yet, this did not mean that the Jewish community had shrunk as what occurred in the 1777 census because of war; on the opposite, the Jews increased from 693 inhabitants in 1777 to 1098 inhabitants in 1816.

[72] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 30.
[73] Ibid., p. 34.
[74] Benady, Mesod, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 103.
[75] Ibid.

Ethnicities	British and Native Jews +Foreign Jews		British and natives without Jews		Foreigners without Jews	
Inhabitants gender	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
	561	507	1792	1573	3953	3038
Total	*1068*		*3365*		*6991*	
Grand Total	*11424*					

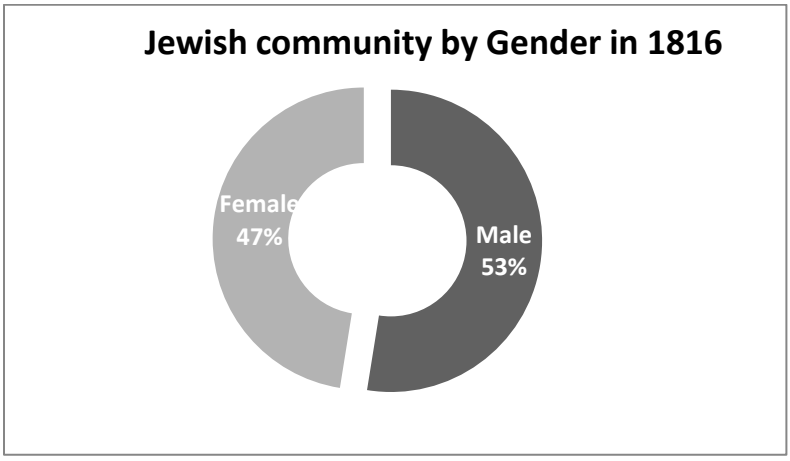
Table 7: Ethnic belonging of Gibraltar Population in 1816 Census.[76]



One cannot but notice how the female Jewesses figure as key numbers and holding great proportion of the whole Jewish community be it natives or foreigners. In fact, they had always been there along with their male fellows. In 1725, there were 111 male and 26 female; and 496 male and 351 female in 1777. The marriage system of this Sephardic community played major

[76] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 30.

roles in maintaining and upholding this community in Gibraltar since 1704 as argued by Lawrence A. Sawchuck and Doris Ann Herring. The exogamy marriages, foreign-born males marrying native-born females, stood as a strong pattern that perpetuated through the development of the Sephardim in Gibraltar since 1704 because this "exogamous marriages offer to males from proximal communities in the trade network a means for participating in the commercial, social and political opportunities offered in the new community."[77] Endogamous marriage, on the other hand, was a pattern usually perpetuated under restrictive conditions and regulations that Gibraltar imposed on the Jewish community.



The solidarity and sense of belonging to the same Sephardic cohort created a sense of a shared destiny that the Jewish in the Mediterranean basin constructed played a central role in unifying and increasing the Jewish community in Gibraltar. The exogamous marriages were a powerful apparatus that melted the cultural, national and social boundaries between the Jewry of the Mediterranean Sea.

After the 1816 general census, the growth of the civilian population in Gibraltar progressed modestly. Two internal factors had a serious impact on this progress. First, the outbreak of the

[77] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 197.

deadly yellow fever that lasted five years since 1804 and spread again in 1828 which had a huge impact on the demographic structure of Gibraltar and the civilians were the primary victim not the soldiers as the records show:

		Population		
		Military	**Civilians**	***Totals***
Years	1804	869	4864	*5733*
	1810	6	17	*23*
	1813	391	508	*899*
	1814	114	132	*246*
	1828	507	1170	*1677*
		Grand Total		*8578*

Table 8: Yellow fever Mortality among Militaries and Civilians in Gibraltar from 1804 to 1828.[78]

The deadly yellow fever killed 8578 inhabitants from 1804 to 1828 with a ratio of 357.4 individuals per year; and the cholera of 1834 killed 380 inhabitants. Indeed, Cholera was confirmed in Gibraltar on 19th June 1834; in consequence, the Tangier Board of Health directed that no vessel from Gibraltar would be allowed into any port in Morocco, and that no provisions or merchandise from Gibraltar were to be accepted. In fact, due to these epidemics, Morocco cut its communications with Gibraltar and this was "more felt by the Jews" of Morocco because Gibraltar was the place where they "draw their supplies and is the main spring to all their Speculations."[79]

[78] Robert Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Mediterranean: Comprising Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo, and the Ionian Islands* (London: Whittaker & Co, 1837), p. 77.

[79] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 157.

A year after the yellow fever, in the census of March 1829, numbers showed 16394 inhabitants with 44% located as resident strangers;[80] and the December 1835 census showed 15008 inhabitants; a slow decrease caused mainly by fear of epidemics and a slackening commercial rate in the Rock. In 1829, an international Board of inquiry met at Gibraltar to unveil the causes behind the epidemic; whereas some the deputies recommended that the causes were from outside others, on the other hand, insisted that innate factors originated the disease. Consequently, the Secretary of State Sir George Murray, opting for the external factors, inaugurated strict and thorough reform on the permit system that immigrants must hold. Thus, four types of permits were required in order to be admitted in the Rock:

> permanent residence, granted to people living in the town for fifteen years or more; a servant's permit, revocable if the holder lost his or her employment, a temporary permit, issued mostly to merchants in the town for a short time; or a day permit, issued to sailors and day traders coming to market across the Spanish border.[81]

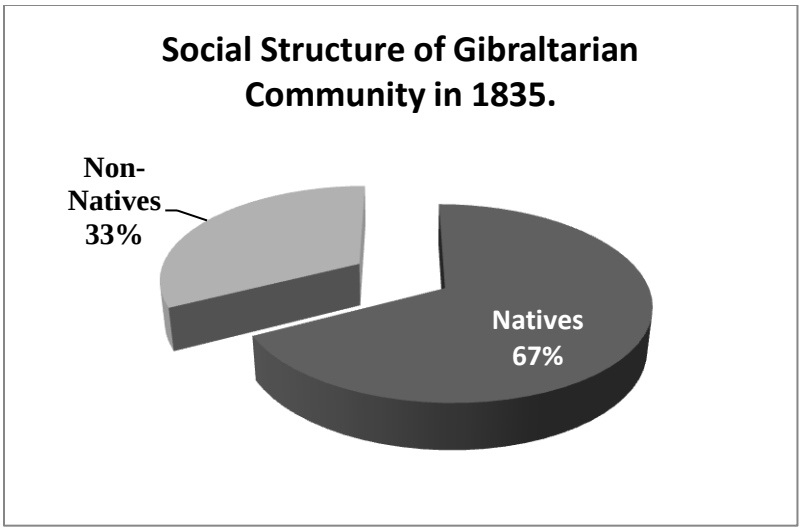
These regulations proved efficient for the British and matched their designs for the social and cultural atmosphere of the Gibraltarian community; that is, more natives and Protestants and less "resident strangers" and Roman Catholics. This social unbalance that fueled the ethnic, cultural and religious disparities in Gibraltar since 1704 came to an end as the 1835 census recorded.

[80] Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 186.
[81] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 173.

Nations	**Males**		**Females**		***Total of each Nation***
	Above 12 years of age	Under 12 years of age	Above 12 years of age	Under 12 years of age	
British Subjects	402	33	406	33	*874*
Native Christians	1893	1901	2245	1937	*7976*
Native Jews	395	183	484	210	*1272*
Total					*10122*
Barbary Jews	315	------	37	1	*353*
Brazilians	8	------	7	-----	*15*
French	40	------	21	1	*62*
Dutch	2	------	------	------	*2*
Germans	21	-------	2	------	*23*
Genoese	736	8	367	5	*1116*
Greeks	5	------	------	------	*5*
Ionian Islands	6	------	------	------	*6*
Italians	120	------	19	------	*139*
Moors	13	2	1	------	*16*
Portuguese	414	4	251	5	*674*
Prussians	1	------	------	------	*1*
Spaniards	878	32	1520	30	*2460*
South Americans	3	------	5	------	*8*
Swedes	1	------	------	------	*1*
Swiss	------	------	1	------	*1*
Citizens of the United States	2	------	1	------	*3*
Total					*4885*
Grand Total					*15008*

Table 9: Civil Population of Gibraltar in 1835 Census.[82]

[82] Robert Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Mediterranean*, p. 88.



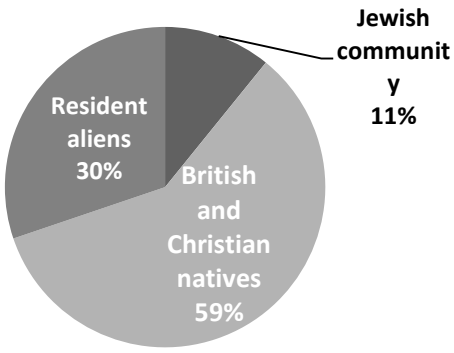
Consequently, the natives dominated greatly on the expense of the resident aliens this time. The British subjects were "slow to arrive and reluctant to stay"[83] since 1704 but the beginning of the 19th century marked a serious shift and interest showed by the protestants towards Gibraltar. This was due to the pro-Protestant policing regulations put by Britain: property privileges and restrictions on permits to strangers, as well as the beautifying discourse in the British newspapers, novels and travel accounts…etc.

As far as the Jewish community is concerned, it remained tiny in comparison to the other components of the Gibraltarian cohorts. The slight increase from 1068 inhabitants to 1625 individuals in 19 years (from 1816 to 1835) with an average of 29.3 individuals per year engendered the slow increase. The reason behind this slow progress laid in the internal regulations and fear of epidemics that haunted Gibraltar for decades that century.

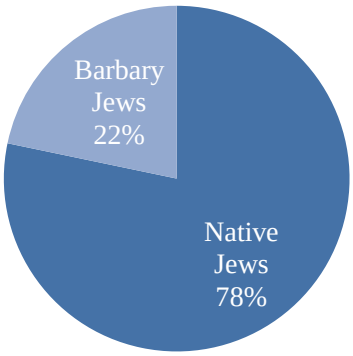
Indeed, the new strict regulations and legislations, discussed earlier, issued by the Gibraltarian authorities to halt the massive migration did not prevent the Jews from leaving Morocco, even in small numbers this time, and gravitate toward the tempting Gibraltar. The 353 new Jewish immigrants came from Morocco and showed up in the census of 1835 as Barbary Jews; whereas the main core of the Jewish community in Gibraltar was made of the natives who established themselves as British subjects for decades reaching up to 1272 individuals. The

[83] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 35.

exogamous patterns, again, proved efficient against the legislations meant to halt the non-Protestant migration to Gibraltar. The Jewry figured out means to trick the law and overcome legal predicaments imposed from upon by the London capitol and emporium.



Components of Gibraltarian Community in 1835.



Components of Jewish Community in Gibraltar in 1835.

Historically speaking, the 1830s was a demarcating period in the Anglo-Moroccan relations and the efforts made by Louis Miège to highlight this era are undeniably genuine and outstanding. Moreover, the French invasion of Algeria boosted the diplomatic and commercial exchange between the two nations encouraging, henceforth, more Moroccan Jews to move to Gibraltar. Yet, the predominant feature of the progress of the Jewish community after 1816 is deceleration. Even after nine years from the 1835 to the 1844, still the census recorded 1625 Jewish individuals.[84] That is to say, a stagnant Jewish community in Gibraltar prevailed. In fact, the whole Gibraltarian community increased humbly to 15823 individuals in 1844 after being 15008 individuals in 1835 with 815 new inhabitants. In the same context, the resident aliens declined to 3641 individuals in the same period. The Jewish community on the other hand, stationed stagnantly at the same inhabitant number with an increase of 111 individuals in the native component which means that a similar loss in the foreign resident component balanced the equation.

This declining Jewish community continued till the 1891 census which revealed the loss of 126 individuals; and the drain continued till the beginning of the 20th century as the 1901 census

[84]Sawchuck Lawrence, et al. "Historic Marriage Patterns," p. 168.

recorded that the Jewish community declined to 1067 inhabitants. Meanwhile, the increase was mainly in the native Jewish inhabitants on the expense of the foreign Jews. This dramatic shift was mainly caused by the structural change that this community witnessed internally:

> From 1840 to 1859 the pattern of marriages underwent a significant change as three of out four marriages contracted during this interval were spatially endogamous. The rise in endogamy during this period occurred primarily at the expense of marriages between foreign-born males and native-born females which plummeted to only 17 percent of all marriages.[85]

That is; the change in pattern from exogamous marriages to endogamous ones had a serious impact on the internal structure of the Jewry of Gibraltar; it also put an end to the integration of foreign Jewry in the Jewish community of Gibraltar.

In a nutshell, the drastic change in the progress of the Jewish community in Gibraltar since the eve of the British dominion in 1704 till the beginning of the 19th century remains significant in a context marked mainly by the growing imperial appetite and a huge body of literature and cultural practices characterized mainly by alterity and representation. The Jewish community in Gibraltar was not secluded from these forms of representation since they were a sight not to miss in the mosaic and demographic structure of the Rock. Hence, questions about the representation of the Jewry in the European and British discourse about the other are of paramount importance in case we should want to be acquainted with the cultural history of this group in the British Gibraltar.

[85] Ibid., p. 188.

3. The Jewish Functional Identity and the Discourse of Alterity

a. The Moroccan Jewish Functionality Revived at Gibraltar

Due to a range of historical incidents in Morocco and the appealing nature of Gibraltar, Moroccan Jewry immigrated in considerable numbers. As the statistics and censuses of the Gibraltarian authorities declared, the numbers of the Jews coming from Barbary to Gibraltar increased significantly through the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. Yet, this did not mean for the Jews that the opportunities in the Garrison would be as shining as they had imagined before moving to the newly declared free port. The strength of this community in Gibraltar was still in the infant stage; but as long as this community lasted in the city, their social ties and organization got stronger and widespread as discussed earlier which, hence, led to enhance their image in the eyes of the British.

Accordingly, we can distinguish, in terms of the perception between two ambivalent images of the encounter of the Jewish community of Gibraltar, be it originating from Barbary or Europe, with the newly dominating power in the Rock; that is the British: the image of the rich Jew who was a site for admiration and remarkable social statue in Gibraltar and the poor Jew who worked as porter, peddler, low-priced polyglot or hawker …etc. in filthy clothes. The first rich Jew represented the Moroccan authorities in Gibraltar and, by virtue of this function, deserved admiration while the other poor Jew or subaltern who utilized his/her modest skills in Gibraltar deserved disdain and became target for strict regulations.

Figure 12: North African Jewish Peddler in Gibraltar, eighteenth century.[1]

The Jewish community in Gibraltar, mainly from Morocco, had a vital function which was not less important than their role in Morocco. The function in Gibraltar since 1704 consisted of supplying the Garrison with various kinds of provisions from the Moroccan markets through portal cities of the latter. The first important supplier was the sultan's servant and interpreter Moses Ben Attar who provided Gibraltar, since 1704, with fresh food from Morocco and had his Jewish agents in the Rock complete the transactions before these agents expressed their discontent with the duties that were imposed on them; so Ben Attar, after reporting the complaints to the sultan Muley Ismail, stopped the supplies leading Gibraltar to relative shortage in provisions. Beside Ben Attar, numerous Jews fulfilled this function successfully and consisted in this sense, firstly, a vital factor in the upholding of Gibraltar and, secondly, in bridging the gap

[1] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, p. 58.

between Morocco and Britain and weakening the economic and political as well as diplomatic hindrances between the two nations in a larger scale.

This function was exercised by the same elitist Jewish community in Morocco and almost the same names appear each time the Anglo-Moroccan relations are debated such as: Corcos, Benoliel, Benider …etc. However, the subaltern Moroccan Jews who were able to cross the strait to Gibraltar fulfilled almost equally an important function as their elitist co-religionists. This function, although tiny opposed to the nations relations, consisted of giving life to the daily transactions and necessities of life in Gibraltar. That is to say, the growing numbers of the Jewish community in Gibraltar since 1704 facilitated micro dealings in the Rock. These dealings which neither the British civilian subjects, proud of themselves to the extent that they refused to settle in the filthy port of Gibraltar, nor the soldiers would perform. Micro jobs such as peddlers, brokers or porters beside other small businesses such as selling *Mahya* (cheap wine) or selling fish… etc. condensed the daily transactions and enriched life in Gibraltar which attracted other foreign alien residents, as Gibraltar censuses categorized them, to gravitate towards the Rock.

These supplying and micro functions guaranteed for the Hebrew cohort in Gibraltar steady support for their demographic development throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This support was, in spite of the numerous historical upheavals such as the Spanish pressures to forbid Jews and Moors from coming to Gibraltar as well as the rigid approaches and disdain of the Governors there as I will be explaining further later, strengthened over time.

Nevertheless, due to these two functions, the image of the Jew in the eyes of the British dominant gaze oscillated in a structural relationship between disdain and admiration. The image of the filthy and vagabond Jew from Barbary was contrasted to the rich and learnt Jewish fellow. Beside the functionality, the role played by Jewish congregations in Morocco, Gibraltar and London…etc. was decisive in enhancing the status and image of the Jewish community in Gibraltar as well as in Morocco.

In effect, the second Moroccan consul in Gibraltar was the Jew Yahuda Bin ‘Ulil or Judah Benoliel who was appointed after Umar Bajja al-Hassani. Presumably, he was appointed in 1820 after long years of trading and crisscrossing the Strait from Tetuan, his hometown, to

Gibraltar.[2] The first task that he was ordered to fulfill consisted of regaining back the effects of the last consul as well as his estates given that Mr. Bajja died as a bachelor.[3] In 1822, Muley Suleiman "instructed Bin 'Ulil to 'stand by' a young merchant, the son of the governor Ash'ash of Tetuan, in his dealings in Gibraltar and Lisbon."[4] A year later, after the death of Muley Suleiman, Muley Abdarahman "sent him (Bin 'Ulil) funds and instructed him to conduct business in the name of the sultan."[5] Bin 'Ulil was accused by the same Governor of Tetuan of not helping Muslim merchants in Gibraltar which was his duty as representative of the sultan in the Rock. This might signify the same discontent that some Muslim elite in Morocco expressed concerning the privileges that the sultans had given to some elite Jewish families as I had discussed earlier.

In 1825, the American consul in the Island of St. Thomas Mr. Nathan Levy sent a fleet against Morocco but "the differences were settled by Judah Benoliel Esq. Consul at Gibraltar."[6] Besides, during his consulship, the Moroccan trade with Gibraltar witnessed significant increase. He remained the official representative of Morocco in Gibraltar till his death in1839. Two years after his death, Hadu bin al-mu'allim Mohammad Gassus was appointed as Bin 'Ulil's successor.

During his life, many travelers who visited Gibraltar were acquainted with the good-mannered and generous Ben Oliel; and the latter left a good impression reflected in the travelers' descriptions and accounts. In 1826, at the beginning of his account on Morocco, Beauclerk described Ben Oliel as a "Jewish agent, and a man of great wealth and responsibility in Gibraltar."[7]

In 1827, Wolff described enthusiastically "Mr. Ben Oliel, who is not only the richest Jews, but the richest man, at Gibraltar; he is Consul general of the emperor of Morocco."[8] He

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[2] Lindo, *A Jewish Calendar for Sixty-Four Years* (London: Thompson, 1838), p. 132.

[3] John Addams, *Reports of Cases in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and in the High Court of Appeals* (London, 1823), p. 341.

[4] Nadia Erzini, " 'hal Yaslah Li-Taqansut'," p. 519.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Lindo, *A Jewish Calendar* (London: Thompson, 1838), p. 133.

[7] George Beauclerk, *A Journey to Marocco* (London: Poole & Edwards, 1828), p. 1.

[8] Joseph Wolff, el al. *Missionary Journal and Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Wolff* (London: J. Duncan, 1827), p. 79.

was "benevolent to the poor"[9] as well. In Gibraltar, Ben Oliel received Mr. Wolff, Dr. Parker and Lieutenant Bailey "with great kindness" and "with the cordiality of an Israelite indeed."[10] In fact, Mr. Wolff expressed how tolerant Mr. Ben Oliel was after he knew that Mr. Wolff had been a Jew before embracing Christianity. Mostly, Wolff's account embellished the image of the Jews to European readers and showed how "amiable" and tolerant the Jews he had met in Gibraltar were to him. In 1835, John Davidson explained that Ben Oliel was "the agent of the Emperor of Morocco, then residing, as a merchant, at Gibraltar. He died lately, leaving a fortune of 3,000,000 dollars."[11] Davidson used "the intelligence and advice" of Mr. Ben Oliel before he crossed from Gibraltar south to Morocco.

The Tetuani Ben Oliel performed a crucial function embodied in bridging the gap between Morocco and different Western powers; and he managed to enhance the image of the Jewish community in the eyes of the British. His characters of tolerance, generosity and diplomacy invested him with strong Functional identity that subverted the image of the Jew in the British mindset. The image of the filthy Jew that exiled the Jewish community within the space of Gibraltar for the whole 18th century was reshaped and altered by the image of the rich and powerful Jewish consul from Tetuan.

b. The Jews of Barbary in Gibraltar: The Image of Disdain

The systematic ethnic segregation leveled on the Barbary Jews was manifest in different regulations issued by Gibraltar Governors. Some greedy Governors threatened, extorted and molested Moroccan Jews in the 18 century without the knowledge of London. These extortions and molestations were in direct opposition to the treaties of friendship and commerce signed between the two nations. These infringements of the articles of the conventions, sometimes as some cases illustrates, led to Moroccan firm reactions against Gibraltar mainly concerning supplies and piracy in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic sea as well.

[9] Ibid., p. 70.
[10] Ibid.
[11] John Davidson, *Notes Taken During Travels in Africa* (London: J.L. Cox and Sons, 1839), p. 3.

In the same context, despite playing a key function as suppliers for the Garrison, the taxation system that the British Governors imposed on the Barbary Jews' trade to Gibraltar was a serious impediment to their commerce and links between the Moroccan port cities and Gibraltar. In plain words, the Jewish settlers in Gibraltar had to pay every month in gold double what the other migrants had to so as to get leaves to stay in the Rock as Benady states: "if they were Spaniard 1 Pistole per month; if Genoese a Moeda of Gold per month, and if Jews 2 Moedas of Gold per month."[12]

Furthermore, the case of the Moroccan Jew with the Governor of Gibraltar Mr. Joseph Sabine (1730-1739) is an applicable illustration for the disdain and awful treatment of the Jews in the Rock. A powerless rich Jew has always been a lucrative target for those worthy trustees of power in Gibraltar in the 18th century. The rich Jew was not but "a fat pigeon" to be "plucked". Indeed, at the end of his governorship, Mr. Sabine attempted to extort a sum of money from a Jew of Barbary by force; and the latter, being a rich merchant, cunningly refused to understand the embedded menace of the Governor. The name of the Jew was Faquannar (Fachima or Faxima).[13] Thus, Mr. Sabine: "made the Jew seized, put him on board of a vessel, and dispatched him to the Bashaw of Tetuan, with a letter, the burden of which was, that he had sent the Bashaw a fat pigeon to *pluck.*"[14] Some other archival sources talked about the Jew being kidnapped by the Governor after refusing to concede to his unjust demands.[15] This extortion was common in Gibraltar where the military Governors were the supreme unquestioned authority; yet, the Anglo-Moroccan treaties, as elaborated previously, had put a legal frame to protect the sultan's subjects in the British lands and overseas as the treaty of peace and commerce signed on the 10th of July 1729 between the two countries enclosed in the additional article number 1 which unfolded that

[12] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 88.

[13] Ibid., p. 97.

[14] Sholto Percy, et al. *The Percy Anecdotes: Original and Select* (London: Printed for T. Boys, 1820), p. 132.

[15] James Lind, *Three Letters Relating to the Navy, Gibraltar, and Portmahon* (London: Printed for A. Millar; and sold by S. Bladon, 1757), p. 117.

sultan's subjects in British territories should be allowed to leave "without let or molestation."[16] By the same token, the disdain and shocking treatment of the poor Moroccan Jew triggered the outrage of the Basha of Tetuan who felt that the subject of the sultan, who was protected by the power of the law, was under pitiless extortion. Therefore, the Basha gave back the letter to the Jew and allowed him to go wherever he pleased.

The Jew, after having felt the disdain and terrible ruthless treatment, concluded to go to London to suit the Governor of Gibraltar and to institute an action for damages against Mr. Sabine. Thus, he reported his case against General Sabine to the Privy Council in December 1738.[17] The Jew hired Mr. Nowell whereas Mr. Murray defended Mr. Joseph Sabine. In the court of pleadings, the case came to a hearing where Mr. Murray turned the sufferance of the poor Moroccan Jew into facetious staging by emphasizing how:

> wonderful stress had been laid on the cruelty of the proceedings; and the banishment of the Jew has been termed and almost unparalleled act of inhumanity. Most true it is he was banished-but to where? Why, to the place of his *nativity*! And where could be the cruelty, where the hardship, where the injustice of banishing a man to his own country![18]

Mr. Nowell, cunningly and instantaneously, reacted to the malicious remark of Mr. Murray through inquiring the same interrogations back to the latter leading, thus, the audience to burst into laughter because the latter was from Scotland and not from Britain. That is, why Mr. Murray, being Scottish, did not return to his native place and had preferred to stay in London?

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[16] Joseph Chitty, *A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures, and the Contracts Relating Thereto: With an Appendix of Treaties, Statutes, and Precedents* (London: printed by A. Strahan, for H. Butterworth, 1824), p. 215.

[17] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 97.

[18] Sholto Percy, et al. *The Percy Anecdotes: Original and Select* (London: Printed for T. Boys, 1820), p. 133.

Unfortunately, the Jew lost the case and had never obtained any satisfaction which was, as one British writer described it as "a great approach to our nation… Tho' he (the Jew) complained to the Privy Council, and the thing was too notorious an flagrant to be denied."[19]

What Morocco constituted to the Jew Faquannar was a sentiment sensed similarly and equally by for Mr. Murray towards his native home Scotland. Uncontested, in both cases Britain and its overseas was a beacon of freedom and civilization which meant, by necessity, the opposite was right for Morocco and Scotland. That is, whereas Britain was the beacon of Liberty, Morocco and Scotland were the sight of backwardness and brutality. Nevertheless, this same Morocco, as a Muslim State, had never been degrading for the Jewish community inside and outside of the country as I have detailed earlier.

Furthermore, the role of the friendship and commerce treaties was of paramount importance to the sultans Jewish subjects. As far as their trade, loans and legal cases were concerned, they were to be seriously considered by the Gibraltar Governors. James Brown illustrates some cases where the Moroccan Jews were assisted by Moroccan and British officials to settle some legal cases. The Tetuani Jew Jacob Benhabu was assisted by the sultan's brother Muley Ali ben Abd Allah, to regain his money back from "a British merchant who had imported goods on his behalf from Holland," and "the governor of Tangier intervened in the same year to secure the payment of debts in Gibraltar to another Moroccan Jew, Solomon Bendalac." [20] These two cases entail the importance of the legal framework the Anglo-Moroccan relations have provided for the Moroccan Jews in Gibraltar.

Another case where the Moroccan law protected or rather was abused, in this case, by the Jews was when a French merchant by the name of Marius Rey signed a commercial contract with Solomon Benzecri, a Jew from Gibraltar. The French had thought that Benzecri was a British subject since he had defined himself to him as a merchant from Gibraltar which implied "the status and the rights of a businessman living in the said city [Gibraltar] who is subject to

[19] James Lind, *Three Letters Relating to the Navy, Gibraltar, and Portmahon* (London: Printed for A. Millar; and sold by S. Bladon, 1757), p. 117.

[20] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 167.

English law."[21] After some time, Rey discovered that Benzecri was not a British but a Moroccan subject; and the contract was not valid in the Moroccan court because it was not notarized by Udul (a notary). This was similar to the case of the three Tetuani Jews (J. Benmerqui, J. Cohen y Garzon, and Bendahan) who owed unpaid debts to a British firm based in Gibraltar; and the three Jews preferred a Qadi (judge) instead of a consul to deal with the case. The three Moorish Jews wished to be tried by a Qadi because the latter will not ask them to pay the interest for the debt.[22]

In 1747, the Governor of Gibraltar imposed heavy taxes on Moroccan Jews which was illegal and neither the Gibraltar treasury nor the one in London benefited from this source of income. The annually collected money was "500 dollars per annum to be paid by Jewish hawkers and peddlers to the Gibraltar Governor, three dollars per annum each poor Jewish porter, 1000 dollars allotted to Christmas-boxes were collected by Jews, as well, to pay to the same Governor."[23]

This huge sum of money was the annual perquisites that the Jewish subjects of the Moroccan King had to pay for forty years because "for forty years (till 1747) a good governor has not been found in Gibraltar, and most likely never will"[24] as some pamphlets which circulated in London suggested then. This money was perquisites taken from different foreigners in Gibraltar and went straight to the Governors' increasing wealth. This triggered the discontent of many British who wrote about Gibraltar in the 19th century such as Frederick Sayer and Sir Robert William Gardiner…etc.

Indeed, some Governors of Gibraltar exercised illegal acts of extortion and plundering threatening all foreign comers to the Rock without the knowledge of the Kings and queens of Britain. This was, pertinently, noticed by an anonymous author, whose critical pamphlet on Gibraltar Governors was published in London in 1747. In 1749, he was cited by Sayer depicting how the emoluments and peculations taken by Governors were huge and illegal; these emoluments "cannot be less than 20.000£ per annum". The anonymous author continued:

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[21] Jessica Marglin, *In the Courts of the Nations: Jews, Muslims, and Legal Pluralism in Nineteenth-Century Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2013), p. 298.

[22] Ibid., p. 328.

[23] Robert Gardiner, *How to Capture and Govern Gibraltar*, p. 157.

[24] Ibid., p. 156.

> The whole art of plundering is so magically conducted that it never comes to the ears of his Majesty, nor is laid before the legislature. If an officer complains, he is kicked out of the town; if a housekeeper, he is dispossessed; if a foreigner, he is dungeoned and stript; and if a Barbary Jew, he is transmitted to a brother Bashaw of Tetuan, where perhaps he is hanged outright.[25]

Ironically, the Bashaws of Tetuan were supportive to the Barbary Jews who were object to the greedy Gibraltarian Governors as I explained before in the case of Governor Sabin with the Barbary Jew. Not only did the Moroccan Jewish community in Gibraltar suffer from the high taxes but also the moody tempers of the two States relations, Spain and Britain, and of the appointed Governors of Gibraltar who expelled and rejected the petitions done by the Jews to settle in the port. The insistence of Colonel Richard Kane (1720-1727) to drive out the Jews back to Morocco illustrates the upheavals that faced the settlement of the Jews in Gibraltar. He was the first to report to London that the increasing number of the Jews in Gibraltar was "in contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht."[26] In the same context, in 1717, the Spanish consul in Gibraltar Francisco Garcia Caballero noticed the increase in the numbers of the Jews in Gibraltar which was a clear infringement of the Utrecht convention mainly article X in which Spain had insisted on the British not to allow any Moor or Jew to reside or dwell in Gibraltar. Therefore, under this pretext, Spain stopped the supplies that went to the Rock causing serious economic and social troubles. It is worthy to clarify that the Moors went to Gibraltar on daily bases but never settle; on the other hand, the Jews of Barbary usually cross there and stay whereas some of them return back. After the Spanish pressures, the British had to answer the former's demands of expelling the Jews but with reserve.

Eleven years later, that is after the siege in March 1728 and peace was restored, the Spanish demands to apply the article X of the treaty of Utrecht and, hence, to expel the Jews from Gibraltar emerged again as the reports recorded "that there were 300 Jews at Gibraltar with

[25] Frederick Sayer, *The History of Gibraltar,* p. 259.
[26] Benady, Mesod, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 95.

a 'publick' synagogue."[27] Lieutenant-Governor Jasper Clayton (1727-1730) had no choice but to comply with the orders that had arrived from Newcastle, the Secretary of State, and banish the Jews.

Due to these strict inequitable systematic dealing with the Jewish community there, the Jewry had to figure out ways to adapt to this rigid approach implemented by the Governors in the Rock. One way was to refuse to pay the huge sums of money but that would have pushed the authorities to oblige those who refuse to pay to double the sum or to leave Gibraltar permanently and to have their names listed on the doors of churches. Another way was to offer gifts to the authoritative Governors which the Jews had attempted as the case of some "Jewish merchants (who) had several times offered sweeteners to the Lieutenant-Governors and the Town Major, Major Thomas Fowke;"[28] or bribe the "corrupt local officials"[29] as was the case of Vice-admiral Cornwall who accused Colonel Stanhope Cotton of taking bribes to shelter the Jews in Gibraltar. The third possible means in order to move the burden of the high taxes from upon the shoulders of the Moorish Jews was to resort to the sultan of Morocco as the prominent Moroccan Jew Moses Ben Attar had done even if he had never gone to Gibraltar but his agents there called for his help in the court of Muley Ismail. Definitely, due to the calls coming from the Moors and Moroccan Jews in Gibraltar to help them with this unfair rigid administrative system, the sultan Muley Ismail had to exercise an enormous economic pressure on the British in order to lend a hand to his subjects in the British outpost. Indeed, the sultan stopped the Moroccan supplies to Gibraltar during the time of the Spanish attacks against the Garrison which made the British feel the shortage in supplies they were undergoing and pushed colonel Joseph Bennett, who was a chief military engineer, to cross the Strait south in order to negotiate the continuance of the supplies with Muley Ismail. Bennett narrated that "the true reason that Gibraltar was made a free port was the Emperor of Morocco having received complaints of the Moorish Jews in Gibraltar,

[27] Ibid., p. 96.
[28] Ibid., p. 90; and Robert Gardiner, *How to Capture and Govern Gibraltar*, p. 148.
[29] Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 21.

would not allow timber, lime and bricks, etc…for the fortifications, until the Queen made it a free port as well for Moors as for Jews."[30]

The firm intervention on the behalf of the Moroccan highest authority declared the extent to which the position of the Moroccan Jews in Morocco and outside, being subjects of the Moroccan sultan, was of huge significance to the sultan. Indeed, the role that the sultans of Morocco played to protect the Jewish subjects in Gibraltar and inlands was crucial; yet, the Moroccan Jews would rely on other forces to support them and their claims in Gibraltar and inside Morocco as we will discover later on when we discuss the role of the Jewish international organizations and social ties in lobbying for their interest.

The disdain that the Jewish community was subject to in the highly asymmetrical relationship of power in Gibraltar was occasionally fueled by the irritating behaviors of this cohort. In 1750, the mobs formed by Jewish porters and hawkers congregating in the streets of Gibraltar triggered the complaints of the Gibraltarian community. These complaints reached Humphrey Bland (1749-1754), the newly appointed Governor, who issued strict regulations that concerned the annoying behavior of the Jewish porters, hawkers and settlers in Gibraltar; and he reported that:

> (I)have been receiving reported Complaints of Quarrels, Disturbances, and Disrderly Behaviour of the Jews inhabiting this Garrison, And the Attending to and examining of such Complaints being very tedious and troublesome, and interfering with my more material concerns, I ordered some of the Principal Jews to consider of some method for preventing such inconvenience for the future, who have reported to me that in their opinion the following rules and regulations will answer the intended purpose.[31]

The blatant and widespread poverty among the Jewish community in Gibraltar was noticed by many visitors to the Rock such as Joseph Wolff who was astounded by the fact that

[30] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 88.
[31] Ibid., p. 99-100.

"they were extremely poor."[32] Furthermore, in 1789, an English captain named Alexander Jardine, in his letters, compared the Gallegos, people of Galicia of Spain, with the Jews of Gibraltar. He could not but make the link between the two poor and miserable groups. The link and similarity was embodied in the extreme poverty. Jardine described the Gallegos as: "poor miserable-looking race; docile, obedient, mean, and ragged creatures; something like the poor Jews at Gibraltar."[33] Similarly, in 1821, Theodore Dwight noticed "the striking appearance of wretched poverty which they brought with them."[34] Moreover, Robert Martin could not avoid noticing that:

> There is much poverty among the poorer classes at Gibraltar, especially among the aliens; the lower order of Moors an Jews have filthy appearances: they wear a sort of frock composed of flimsy blanketing, with a hood and sleeves for wet weather; loose cotton drawers, open at the knees, the legs bare, the feet in clumsy slippers, and scull cap of greasy woolle; this garb is frequently worn night and day until it drops of pieces.[35]

Furthermore, Messo Shannon was, for fifty years, a "butcher who had a shop in Petticoat Lane in 1797"[36] in Gibraltar; and he was born in Barbary. As a matter of fact "the majority of the town's butchers in 1750, who bought and slaughtered Moroccan livestock, were Jewish."[37] Others were porters with license issued in 1751 by the Gibraltar authorities. List of names included the chief Mesahod Benbunan, Haym Oziel, Moluf Benbunan, Moses Massias, Joseph Cohen, Samuel Nahon, Joseph Ben Hezra, Joseph Azancot, Jacob Cohen, Abraham (ben)

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[32] Joseph Wolff, el al. *Missionary Journal*, p. 69.

[33] Alexander Jardine, *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, & C: By an English Officer*, vol. 2 (London: T. Cadell, 1788), p. 251.

[34] Theodore Dwight, *A Journal of a Tour in Italy in the Year 1821* (New York: Paul, 1824), p. 29.

[35] Robert Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Mediterranean: Comprising Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo, and the Ionian Islands* (London: Whittaker & Co, 1837), p. 90.

[36] Todd Endelman, *Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society (ann Arbor Paperbacks)* (University of Michigan Press, 1999), p. 341.

[37] James Brown, *Crossing the Strait*, p. 165-166.

Sahdon, Mesahod Soto, Jushua Seruya, Solomon Ben Naym, Jacob Bensusan, Joseph Bensusan.[38] The same Masahod Benbunan remained the chief or overseer after twenty three years as the licenses registered in 1774 in Gibraltar shows.

The numbers of the arriving Hebrews to Gibraltar could not but attract the attention of many travelers there as the numbers did attract the attention of the Spanish and British authorities as I elaborated earlier. The disdain and higher position from which the white man gazed upon the Jewish community in London had retched Gibraltar. This mindset of images about the Jewish led Eli Blackgown to express his dissatisfaction with the growing numbers of the Jewish population in Gibraltar. In a straight expression of discontent and in a strong tone, he stated that "the place was infested by them" the extent to which you can "turn which way to would, you encountered them in myriads, like the musquitoes."[39] They were the "crying evils of the garrison" and they "usurped the entire internal trade of the garrison."[40]

The image of the filthiness that dominated the perception of the Jewish porters or *hamalos* as they called themselves attracted the attention of many travelers who could not but notice those dirty bare-footed men who stood against the walls of the city. The daily scenes of the Jewry groupings in Gibraltar were depicted by Theodore Dwight during his visit and stay in the Rock. He stated: "a great number of Jews are always seen in the streets."[41] Additionally, in a conversation with one of these *hamalos,* a British traveler highlighted the uncleanness of the Jewish porters:

> On either side outside the door, squatting on the ground, or leaning indolently against the walls, were some half dozen men of very singular appearance. Their principal garment was a kind of blue gown, something resembling the blouse worn by the peasants of the north of France, but not so long; it was compressed around their waists by a leathern girdle, and depended about half way down their thighs.

[38] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 96.
[39] *The Metropolitan Magazine*, Vol. 11, from Jan. to June (New York: Jemima Mason, 1841), p. 243.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Theodore Dwight, *A Journal of a Tour*, p. 29.

> Their legs were bare, so that I had an opportunity of observing the calves, which appeared unnaturally large. Upon the head they wore small skull-caps of black wool.[42]

As this traveler approached the resting Jews, he engaged himself in a talk with their chief, who happened to be originating from Mogador and had spent most of his life in the Rock, and who called himself to be *hamalos* which is the Arabic equivalent for porter. The chief and his brethren, having heard the British talking in Eastern Arabic, stood astonished and exclaimed:"*Wakhud rajil shereef hada, min beled bel scharki*" (this is a holy man from the kingdoms of the East)."[43] These Jewish porters were sitting in a crowd making noise which was the common behavior which, usually, pushed the inhabitants to complain about their quarrels and disturbances and disorderly behaviors. As Benady puts it

> (The Jews) congregate in the center of the town around the parade when they were not working, and behaved in a noisy, quarrelsome, and aggressive fashion, which was a threat to the public order and an embarrassment to the better-off members of the community.[44]

The image of the filthy Moorish Jew was present also in medical reports of the Gibraltar Public Health Commission which assumed that the unclean nature of the Jews was the reason behind the propagation of the yellow fever in the Rock in 1804. This, killed half of the population and "searching for the cause of this catastrophic event, the colonial government appointed a public health commission. The appointed officials claimed it was the Barbary Jews,

[42] George Borrow, et al. *The Bible in Spain, Or, the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an Attempt to Circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula,* vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1843), p. 282.

[43] Ibid., p. 283.

[44] Mesod Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," p. 99.

who, because of their 'habits and uncleanliness,' caused the spread of the disease."[45] The filthy and unclean 'nature' of the poor Jews might have caused the spread of the Yellow fever in Gibraltar in the 19th century. Yet, they were not certainly the source. The general filthiness of the port of Gibraltar provided a favorable ground for the disease to spread.

One of the most popular labeling of the Jews of Morocco in Gibraltar was the term 'the Moorish Jews'. As early as 1712, Colonel Joseph Bennett in his 'Statement of Cause', after the audience granted to him by the king of Morocco, had talked about how "the Moorish Jews" had complained to Muley Ismail about heavy taxes in Gibraltar.[46] Moreover, this ethnic stereotypical notion appeared in Joseph Wolff's account: "I observed many poor Jews from the Barbary coast dressed similar to the Moors, called at Gibraltar the Moorish Jews."[47] Moreover, Eli Blackgown could not help but remember during his stay in Gibraltar "a Moorish Jew peddler."[48] Similarly, on 1st December 1821, Theodore Dwight arrived to Gibraltar where, after showing his passport to the officials, he observed the heterogeneous mobs of sailors of Spaniards and Genoese, Moors…etc.; and among the mob in the market he saw "Moorish Jews carrying monstrous burthens, with small scullcap, and loose trowsers cut off at the knee, leaving their muscular legs bare."[49] They were Jewish porters.

In short, the systematic discrimination leveled against the Jewish group in Gibraltar was reflected in the strict unfair regulations issued by different Gibraltarian Governors. These regulations and high taxation mirrored the asymmetrical relationship of power and resistance on the Rock. This asymmetric relationship molded the British perception of the poor Jewish individuals; and this perception categorized the majority of the subaltern Jewry in Gibraltar to be disdainful and irresponsible. Unlike the few outstanding Jewish individuals who were rich merchants or Moroccan Consuls, the majority of the early North African Jews who moved to

[45] Lawrence Sawchuk, "The Jews of Gibraltar and the Development of Medical Practices," in *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture,* eds. Ehrlich, M A. Santa Barbara (Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2009), p. 851.

[46] Robert Gardiner, *How to Capture and Govern Gibraltar*, p. 148.

[47] Joseph Wolff, el al. *Missionary Journal*, p. 57.

[48] *The Metropolitan Magazine,* 1841. p. 243.

[49] Theodore Dwight, *A Journal of a Tour*, p. 14.

Gibraltar for trade or work were poor; and they could only use their labor to earn money. Gibraltar, in their underprivileged social and economic conditions, was the ark of their refuge.[50]

[50] *The Metropolitan Magazine*, 1841, p. 243.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an endeavor to undo the theories, rigid claims and assumptions of the boundaries, clash and binary oppositions between the Muslim Self and the Christian Other. More precisely, the focus is on the encounter between the Moroccan Self and the British Other in the space of Gibraltar; and the archival research outcome that this dessertation presents reveals alter/native possibilities that support the counter-theories of dialogue, exchange and reciprocal interests between Muslims/Moroccans and the Christians/British in the contact zone of Gibraltar. The establishment of boundaries between Muslims and Christians which overwhelmed the imagination, ideology and mindset of the supporters of the clash between civilizations such as Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington, is disOriented and re-shaped by the counter-voice that this research allows.

Three major notions were deconstructed in this dissertation. The first focus is on undoing the clash of cultures theory and unveiling the Orientalist images of cultural borders and their constant reiteration. This is fulfilled through re-questioning the argument of the inevitable clash between Islam and Christianity long posited by Lewis and Huntington, altering the terminology of the clash and, finally, unveiling the mechanisms of Orientalism mainly manichaeism and intertextuality and deconstructing these politics of clash. The second notion is the argument of Muslim lack of curiosity and discovery. At this level of theoretical discussion, the thesis aims at deconstructing the Western hegemony over Muslims' history through liberating history itself from Western discursive interpretations and monopolization. Then, it seeks to tell the way Europe was represented in what is called Occidentalism or Muslim discourses as Matar suggests. The third notion revolves around decolonizing knowledge from binary views through showing how Orientalism and Occidentalism represent two similar and rigid attitudes towards the 'Other'. The aim here is to enhance the voice of subalterns and present a third space where identities are negotiated away from politics of inclusion and seclusion.

Accordingly, the theoretical outcome is implemented on the Moroccan Muslim and Jewish experiences in the Rock. Indeed, the British Gibraltar is a space where cultures, ethnicities and identities are intermingling and collaborating. The mosaic nature of the

community of Gibraltar, which has been well-engineered through history, comprehends differences, cultural others and multiplicity of subjectivities. This proved idea of the diversity of the community of Gibraltar goes beyond the debatable statement of Bernard Lewis about the lack of interest and curiosity among Muslims to discover Europe or Dah Lkofr. Moreover, the multiculturalism of the British Gibraltar is a subversive evidence to the claims of the clash between Civilizations. The fault lines that Samuel Huntington alludes to are altered, in this research paper, by the idea of the contact zone of Gibraltar. As an alternative to the fault lines that demarcate and prove the clash between civilizations, as Huntington argues, are deconstructed by the critical concept of the contact zone that Mary Louis Pratt elaborated. Instead of a clash, there is a smooth contact between identities, cultures and civilizations.

The same theoretical conclusion is applicable to the encounter of Moroccans with the British in the space of Gibraltar. This thesis unveils the historically strong relations between Morocco and Gibraltar; firstly, the intense history of piracy and captivity that haunts the Islamo-Christian mindset reveals but the tip of the ice-burg and hides, therefore, a rich history of cooperation and exchange. This thesis traces these prospects and highlights them. Second, beyond Muslim law and restrictions concerning dealing with the infields, the Moroccan consulate system, as discussed, lessened that intense history. Third, the Moroccan military and educational delegations to Gibraltar showed how curious Morocco and Moroccans were to discover the European ways in military, education and social conducts…etc. Also, the intercultural marriages, as discussed in this dissertation, subvert the claims of rigid cultural boundaries between the British ladies and Moroccan Muslim men.

Meanwhile, two main social classes or categories were distinct vis-à-vis the encounter with the British in Gibraltar. The first is the elitist group which comprehended notables, consuls and ambassadors…etc. leaving a textual heritage that is analyzed here. The feelings of admiration for the British advancement in technology overwhelmed Moroccan texts on Gibraltar. The literature that these Moroccans left shares an important deal of commonality that is proved through the intertextuality that is easily perceived in their accounts. However, unlike these Moroccan travelers who were among the elites in Morocco, the un/known subaltern Moroccans such as Hadj Hamet, Shalond, Esoosy…etc. had different experiences in the contact zone of

Gibraltar. Gibraltar offered to them possibilities of trading, settling and enjoying the capitalist free market. Hence, their commitment to their home land became questioned. Some of them died in Gibraltar whereas others preferred to return home.

Beside Moroccan Muslims, Moroccan Jews had different experiences. The Jewish community, being a minor cohort in a Muslim land, presents an important case illustrating for the internal social dynamics of Morocco, on one hand, and the external interventions on the other hand. Furthermore, this minor community had a significant cultural experience in Gibraltar that differed, depending on the social background of each Jewish person, from their Muslim countrymen. That is, the elite Moroccan Jews who worked as sultans' agents or consuls in Gibraltar had a highly esteemed position there while their subaltern countrymen did not enjoy the same appreciation there. Thus, we can distinguish, in terms of the perception of the these two Moroccan Jewish categories between two ambivalent images that resulted from their encounter with the British Gibraltarians; the image of the rich Jew who was a site for admiration and remarkable social statue in Gibraltar and the poor Jew in filthy clothes who worked as a porter, peddler, low-priced polyglot or hawker …etc.

Besides, the functional identity that these Jews fulfilled in Gibraltar since 1704 consisted of supplying the Garrison with various kinds of provisions from the Moroccan markets through portal cities of the latter. This function was exercised by the same elitist Jewish community in Morocco and almost the same names appear each time the Anglo-Moroccan relations are debated such as: Corcos, Benoliel, Benider …etc. However, the subaltern Moroccan Jews who were able to cross the strait to Gibraltar fulfilled almost equally an important function as their elitist co-religionists. This function, although tiny opposed to the nations relations, consisted of giving life to the daily transactions and necessities of life in Gibraltar. That is to say, the growing numbers of the Jewish community in Gibraltar since 1704 facilitated micro dealings in the Rock. These dealings which neither the British civilian subjects, proud of themselves to the extent that they refused to settle in the filthy port of Gibraltar, nor the soldiers would perform. Micro jobs such as peddlers, brokers or porters beside other small businesses such as selling Mahya (cheap wine) or selling fish… etc. condensed the daily transactions and enriched life in Gibraltar which attracted

other foreign alien residents, as Gibraltar censuses categorized them, to gravitate towards the Rock.

These supplying and micro functions guaranteed for the Hebrew cohort in Gibraltar steady support for their demographic development throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This support was, in spite of the numerous historical upheavals such as the Spanish pressures to forbid Jews and Moors from coming to Gibraltar as well as the rigid approaches and disdain of the Governors of Gibraltar, strengthened over time.

Shortly, although the history of the Moroccans in the city of Gibraltar is rich and worth penetrating but no interest in revealing this cultural encounter is found in books, debates or TV programs. Most of the resources I found dealt mainly with the history of Andalusia. Some other resources dealt more precisely with the Moors. Some others were preoccupied by the discussion of the history of the Anglo-Moroccan relations. States were the center of research by most of the historians. Khalid ben Srhir narrates the history of Moroccan relations with Great Britain in both matters of economy and politics; many of the historians, as well, hold tightly to the same pattern and focus on relations between the nations which, consequently, discard the dealings between the peoples of the same nations. Yet, there are numerous Western historians who depart from this pattern and opt for focalizing their historical research on Gibraltar per se, which is already an advanced stance in historical research based on subverting the solid ramparts which protected the 'Great Tradition' of nation-relations history on the expense of the 'micro-history' writing of subaltern individuals or local communities. Nevertheless, until now, attention is never devoted either fully or partially to the experience or participation of Moroccans in the making of the Gibraltarian identity, history and community per se. Indeed, those who are interested in the history of Gibraltar and the formation of its identity and community such as, Angela Alameda Hernandez in her PhD thesis *Discursive Construction of Gibraltarian Identity in the Printed Press*; *The Fortifications of Gibraltar 1068-1945* by Darren Fa & Clive Finlayson; *Gibraltar: British or Spanish* by Peter Gold; *English and Spanish in Gibraltar* by Dr. Johannes Kramer; *The Social Construction of Ethnic and Gender identities in Gibraltar* a PhD dissertation by Janet Martens, *Gibraltar Identity and Empire* by E.G. Archer, fail to grasp and acknowledge the influence of Moroccans -both Muslims and Jews, and Islamic Andalusian architecture- in the

history of the Rock. It was an academic disinclination that characterized the Western historians' research as far as the dealing with this issue is concerned which led, thus, to a systematic marginalization of the importance of the Moroccans in the history of the Garrison of Gibraltar. This marginalization is fueled by a strong current in Anti-Muslim though that stresses on alleviating and softening the impact of Muslims on the European History and civilization on a broader scale.

Albeit the paucity in the historical research on Gibraltar and Morocco, nonetheless, recently, there comes to the surface a significant deal of interest in this theme. I would like to refer to a ground-breaking book which is written firstly as PhD dissertation by Brown James in 2012 entitled *Crossing the Strait: Morocco-Gibraltar and Great Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries*. The importance of this book lies in its focus greatly on a specific geographical location which is Gibraltar and the amount of commerce and politics as well as diplomacy conducted with Morocco. Likewise, Nadia Erzini wrote a pertinent article entitled "Hal yaslah li-taqansut (Is He Suitable for consulship?): The Moroccan Consuls in Gibraltar During the nineteenth Century" where she discusses a specific history of Moroccan Consuls in Gibraltar. She based her article on archives that belong to Erzini Family in Tetuan which she happens to be a member of the same family; and the family of Elhaj Mohammed Erzini who was appointed a Moroccan consul in Gibraltar by The sultan Abd Errahman ben Hicham for the purpose of looking after the interests of the Moroccan merchants and the arriving pilgrims from Mecca therein. Both of these mentioned references, dealt extensively with the relations between Gibraltar and Morocco in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The upshot, I am not concerned with historical events per se as much as I aim at comprehending the complex outcome of the cultural encounter between Moroccans and British which occurred in the British Gibraltar since 1704 till the beginnings of the 20th century; and the various manifestations and consequences of this encounter; and problematic questions that raised due to this encounter such as issues related to Moroccan identity and concepts of home, interactions between the host/guest culture, apostasy and gender issues; as well as global issues such as the dilemma of the clash/dialogue between cultures in "fault lines". Hence, I tend to consider the British free city of Gibraltar as a contact zone where different and heterogeneous

cultural identities interacted and negotiated the dimensions of the encounter in a free liberal mode of life where multiculturalism predominates over seclusion and marginalization. These last two, for significant period- during Spanish reign over the Rock, had filled up the general atmosphere of the Garrison after Alhambra Decree which is known also by the name of Edict of Expulsion in March 30th 1492 with hostility and antagonism towards the Moors in and Jews equally. Therefore, through the leading historical events, which left prints on the local community formation of the Gibraltarian people under the Crown of the Great Empire of Britain in the 18th , 19th and 20th centuries, it is essential to delineate the boundaries between historical events which have been intensely, to some extent, treated by historians and interested researchers in the Anglo-Moroccan relations and the cultural history of the encounter per se that resulted because of these events and, chiefly, the cultural history of Moroccans in the Rock.

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