

A NEW SOURCE FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY  
MOROCCAN HISTORY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS  
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THE DOMBAY PAPERS

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THE second half of the eighteenth century was one of the more flourishing periods in Moroccan economic and commercial history, and on the diplomatic front it was one of the most active. The period was dominated by the personality of Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, who ruled from 1757 to 1790. This capable and energetic ruler began his lengthy reign by restoring Sherifan authority throughout much of Morocco, which had been in a state of chaos since the death of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl thirty years earlier. After bringing some order to his own kingdom—there was still an extensive *bilād al-sība* (territory not under the authority of the *makhzan* or central government)—Sīdī Muḥammad embarked upon a policy of opening up Morocco to European commerce. Until his reign foreign trade in the ports of Morocco was almost entirely in the hands of the English and the Dutch. Perhaps the most important single manifestation of the new open-door policy was the construction of the port town of Mogador (Arabic : *al-Ṣuwayra*) in 1765, under the direction of the French architect Cournut. By 1780, there were twelve commercial houses in Mogador and close to 1,000 Europeans. Sixty ships anchored in its harbour in 1798.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with his policy of encouraging foreign trade, Sīdī Muḥammad spent most of his reign establishing diplomatic ties with the nations of the world. His ambassadors visited Madrid, Versailles, the Hague, Vienna, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Constantinople, and other capitals. A large foreign diplomatic community developed in the northern port of Tangier.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jean Brignon *et al.*, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca, 1967), p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> For the published works on this period, cf. below, the notes to pp. 464 and 465, and especially, Ramón Lourido Díaz, O.F.M., *Ensayo Historiográfico sobre el Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (1757-1790)*, Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, Serie Monográfica—Islamica Occidentalia, no. 1 (Granada, 1967).

Despite the significance of this period for both Moroccan and world history, it has not received the detailed treatment which has been accorded by Western historians to the preceding and following centuries. This neglect is due to several factors, among them the predilection of orientalist for the classical Islamic Middle Ages and the intense interest of modern historians and political scientists in the French Protectorate (1912-56) and the period immediately leading up to its establishment (specifically, the second half of the nineteenth century).<sup>1</sup>

The neglect of the eighteenth century is also due in no small part to the paucity of available sources—a fact noted by the late Roger Le Tourneau nearly a decade ago.<sup>2</sup> Today most of the basic archival spadework has yet to be done. The prodigious compilation of documents in European archives dealing with Morocco, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, which was begun in 1905 by Lt. Colonel Henry de Castries and which has proved to be a source of inestimable value to students of Moroccan history—especially for the Wattasid, Sa'adian, and early 'Alawid dynasties—only extends to the beginning of the eighteenth century and is by no means exhaustive.<sup>3</sup> Over the past three decades good use has been made of French and Spanish diplomatic correspondence and documents from the period by Vicente Rodríguez Casado,<sup>4</sup> Mariano Arribas Palau,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> There are no works for the eighteenth century comparable, for example, to J.-L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1961-3). A quick perusal of any bibliography on Maghrebi history, such as those periodically published in *Hespéris* and its successor *Hespéris-Tamuda*, or the detailed bibliography appended to Ch.-A. Julien, *History of North Africa: From the Arab Conquest to 1830*, ed. and revised by R. Le Tourneau, trans. by J. Petrie (London and New York, 1970), will show how much more qualitative and quantitative work has been produced for earlier and later centuries.

<sup>2</sup> R. Le Tourneau, "Le Maroc sous le règne de Sidi Mohammed B. Abd Allah (1757-1790)", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, i (1966), 113.

<sup>3</sup> H. de Castries, P. de Cenival et al., *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Première série : *Dynastie Saadienne* (1905-34), includes archives and libraries in France, Holland, England, Spain, and Portugal; Deuxième série : *Dynastie Filalienne* (1922-54), includes only France.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of V. Rodríguez Casado's studies relating to this period, cf. R. Lourido Díaz, *Ensayo Historiográfico*, p. 34; an assessment of Rodríguez Casado's research is given *ibid.* pp. 35-37.

<sup>5</sup> For M. Arribas Palau's researches, cf. *ibid.* pp. 31, 34-35, and 47, n. 45.

Jacques Caillé. Caillé has been the most prolific student of Moroccan diplomatic and commercial history during the eighteenth century and has published numerous articles and a monograph on the international accords of Sīdī Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> However, Caillé uses only European materials in European languages.<sup>2</sup>

Most recently, Ramón Lourido Diaz, O.F.M., has attempted, in his doctoral dissertation *Marruecos en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. El sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1757-1790)*,<sup>3</sup> to write a synthetic history of the period using all of the European studies to date, new Spanish archival material, and the neglected works of native Moroccan historians who cover the period, such as Akensūs, al-Zayyānī, al-Nāṣirī, and Ibn Zaydān.<sup>4</sup> Father Lourido Díaz, unfortunately, had no Moroccan archival documentation available to him.

Since the writing of eighteenth-century Moroccan history is still in its initial stages, and since so little Arabic documentation for the period has so far come to light, any new Arabic primary sources are most welcome.

<sup>1</sup> For J. Caillé's articles, cf. *ibid.* pp. 38-39 and 42. Caillé's *Les accords internationaux du Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah (1757-1790)* (Tangier, 1960) contains the texts of Sīdī Muḥammad's treaties with the countries of Europe and the United States along with a useful analysis.

<sup>2</sup> There are occasional documents in Caillé's books and articles which were translated for him from the original Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> University of Granada, 1967. An extract of the thesis, entitled *El Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1757-1790)*, was published in the series *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, no. 2 (Granada, 1970).

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad Akensūs, *al-Jaysh al-'Aramram al-Khumāsī fī Dawlat Awlād Mawlānā 'Alī al-Sijilmāsī* (Fez, 1336 A.H.) 2 vols.; al-Zayyānī, *al-Turjamān al-Mu'rib'an Dawlat al-Mashriq wa 'l-Maghrib*, partially translated by O. Houdas, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812* (Paris, 1866); *idem.*, *al-Turjamāna al-Kubrā fī Akhbār al-Ma'mūr barran wa-baḥran* (Fedala-Muhammadiyya, 1967); *idem.*, *al-Bustān al-Ẓarīf fī Dawlat Mawlāy 'Alī al-Sharīf*, in manuscript in the Archives Nationales de Rabat, MS. D 1577; al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣṣā' li-Akhbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (Casablanca, 1954-6), 9 vols.; the section of this last work dealing with Alawid history is translated by Eugène Fumey in *Archives Marocaines*, ix-x (1906-7); Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf A'lām al-Nās bi-Jumāl Akhbār Ḥāḍirat Miḡnās* (Rabat, 1929-33), 5 vols. Concerning each of these writers and their works (with the exception of Ibn Zaydān), cf. É. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des chorfa* (Paris, 1922) and Mohammed Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire sous la dynastie 'Alawide (1075-1311 = 1664-1894)* (Rabat, 1971).

It is the purpose of this article to call attention to a valuable and hitherto untapped source, the Arabic papers of Franz Laurenz von Dombay, who served as Hapsburg consul in Tangier from 1783 to 1787, and which are now in the possession of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Arabic MSS. 285-6 and 797). The potential value of these documents was first realized by my friend and colleague, Dr. Kenneth Brown, of the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Manchester, who suggested that I examine them with a view to further study. During the summer of 1973 I was enabled to visit Manchester to study the Dombay papers by a grant from the State University of New York Research Foundation and the Southwest Asia-North Africa Center of that university.<sup>1</sup> This article represents, so to speak, a first report.

#### FRANZ VON DOMBAY : A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

There is relatively little extant data on the life and career of Franz Laurenz von Dombay other than some brief notices in nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> and the eloquent testimony of his scholarly output. Silvestre de Sacy, the founder of modern Arabic Studies in France, wrote of this pioneer orientalist :

Tous les ouvrages de Dombay jouissent d'une estime meritée parmi les savants qui cultivent la littérature de l'Orient.<sup>3</sup>

Dombay was born in Vienna on 10 August 1758, and died there on 21 December 1810. He was of Hungarian origin. He

<sup>1</sup> The Social Science Research Foundation of New York kindly paid for the photographing of the Dombay papers. My work at the Library was greatly facilitated by the efficient and courteous help of the entire staff, and in particular Dr. Frank Taylor, Deputy Director and Principal Keeper, and Miss Glenise Matheson, Keeper of Manuscripts. To all of these individuals and institutions I give my heartfelt thanks.

All these manuscripts were purchased for the Library in 1901 by Mrs. Rylands when she acquired the manuscript portion of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. They came to the latter by purchase, in 1866, from the collection of Nathaniel Bland (for whom see *D.N.B.*).

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy, "Dombay (François de)", *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ii (Paris, 1814), 502-3; K. Weiss, "Dombay: Franz v. D.", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v (Leipzig, 1877), 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographie universelle*, ii. 503.

applied himself at an early age to the study of oriental languages at the Wiener Academie der Morganländischen Sprachen, which had been founded by Maria Theresa. From Dombay's correspondence it is clear that he spent time in Constantinople between the years 1775 and 1782, although this fact is not mentioned by either de Sacy or Weiss in their biographical notices. In Constantinople the young Dombay continued his oriental studies and apparently maintained close relations with a number of native Christians, among them several prelates.<sup>1</sup>

In February 1783 the Pasha of Tangier, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik, came to Vienna to extend the personal condolences of the Moroccan sultan Sīdī Muḥammad to the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II on the loss of his mother, Maria Theresa, who had died a little over a year earlier, and to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship between the two nations, as well as a trade agreement.<sup>2</sup> The treaty was concluded on 17 April 1783 and a reciprocal embassy headed by the Hapsburg court secretary, Emmanuel von Tassara, was sent to Morocco for its ratification. Franz von Dombay was sent as part of Tassara's entourage, becoming consul and imperial translator in Tangier, where he remained until 1787. During his residency in Morocco, he lived in the Spanish Consulate.<sup>3</sup>

After serving in Morocco, Dombay was appointed to the Austrian embassy in Madrid, after which he went to Agram (Zagreb) in Croatia, where he held the post of Border Interpreter. He was called back to Vienna in 1792 to serve in the Imperial Court and State Chancellery. His official titles were those of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description of the Dombay correspondence below, especially p. 470, nn. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Franz von Dombay, *Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 195-8; also J. Caillé, "Une ambassade marocaine à Vienne en 1783", *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iii, fasc. 1 (1962), pp. 35-42. The text of the treaty, translated by Louis Brunot, is given in Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*, pp. 246-9, and in idem., *Une ambassade autrichienne au Maroc en 1805* (Paris, 1957), pp. 115-19. The letter of condolence bearing the seal of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik appears in the Dombay collection (Ryl. MS. 285, no. 12).

<sup>3</sup> Dombay's correspondents frequently send regards to the brothers Juan Manuel and Antonio Gonzalez Salmón, the Spanish consuls. The address on the back of MS. 285, no. 10, an unsigned business letter in the handwriting of al-Ḥasan al-Wāfilāwī, is addressed to Dombay care of the Spanish Consulate.

Court Secretary and Interpreter (Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofsekretär und Hofdolmetscher). He seems to have remained in Agram part of the time until 1802.<sup>1</sup> He continued in his position at the royal court until his death in 1810.

Throughout his years of service to his country Dombay continued to pursue his scholarly interests. While in Morocco he not only furthered his acquaintance with Arabic literature but took a keen interest in contemporary intellectual life. He employed a *ṭālib* (a petty grade scholar) both to obtain and copy manuscripts for him. Many of the letters in the Dombay collection are by a certain al-Ḥasan al-Wāfilāwī and concern the purchase or copying of Arabic books.

Dombay also made a detailed study of the spoken language of Morocco, and to this day his most famous scholarly work is his *Grammatica Linguae Mauro-Arabicae juxta vernaculi idiomatis usum. Accessit vocabularium Latino-Mauro-Arabicum* (Vienna, 1800). The vocabulary from this grammar is frequently cited by the Dutch scholar Reinhart Dozy in his dictionary of post-classical Arabic.<sup>2</sup> Dombay's pioneer grammar is still a useful work for students of Maghrebi dialectology. He also wrote a Persian grammar, *Grammatica Linguae Persicae: accedunt dialogi, historiae, sententiae, et narrationes Persicae* (تعلیم طوطی زبان فارسی) (Vienna, 1804), which was very popular in the nineteenth century.

Dombay's other works include: (a) *Geschichte der Mauritanischen Könige*, 2 vols. (Agram, 1794-5), a translation of *al-Qirṭās al-Ṣaghīr*, an Arabic epitome of the *Rawḍ al-Qirṭās* of Ibn Abī Zar', a chronicle covering the reigns of Moroccan rulers from Idrīs I (788-91) to the Merinid Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān (1310-31); (b) *Popular-Philosophie der Araber, Perser, und Türken, theils gesammelt, theils aus Orientalischen Manuskripten übersetzt* (Agram, 1795); (c) *Auszug der Lebensgeschichte des*

<sup>1</sup> The date 1792 is given by de Sacy in *Biographie universelle*, ii. 502, whereas Weiss in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v. 324, mentions only the date of 1802, implying that he was only Grenzdolmetscher (Border Interpreter) until then. However, on the title page of his *Geschichte der Scherifen*, Dombay already bears the titles of Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofsekretär und Hofdolmetscher.

<sup>2</sup> *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1881).

*Propheten Mohammeds mit Bezug auf dessen Religions-politische und moralische Gesetze* (Agram, 1795); (d) *Geschichte der Scherifen oder der Könige des jetzt regierenden Hauses zu Marokko* (Agram, 1801), a history of the 'Alawid dynasty from 1654 to 1799; (e) *Beschreibung der gangbaren Marokkanischen Gold-, Silber-, und Kupfer Münzen* (Vienna, 1803)<sup>1</sup>; (f) *Ebn Medini Fessani sententiae quaedam Arabicae* (Vienna, 1805), an edition and translation of the *Tuhfat al-Arīb wa-Nuzhat al-Labīb*, an eclectic *adab* treatise by Abū Madyān al-Fāsī (d. 1768).<sup>2</sup> Dombay had intended to write a history of Morocco from the mid-fourteenth century, where his translation of *al-Qirṭās al-Ṣaghīr* breaks off, up to the founding of the 'Alawid dynasty, where his *Geschichte der Scherifen* begins.<sup>3</sup> He died, however, without having fulfilled his intention.

## A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE DOMBAY PAPERS

### a. Correspondence

Dombay's Arabic correspondence is described by the following brief entry in Mingana's catalogue :

Correspondence of Moorish officials and others with Franz Dombay during his residence in Morocco as secretary or " translator " for the Emperor Joseph II.

There are 367 letters and documents, some of them transcripts, but mostly originals, and in many cases bearing the seals of the writers. They cover the years 1196/1780-1202/1787, but include a few written to, and by Dombay at an earlier time, when he was in Constantinople, in A.D. 1775-82.

They are all laid on blank paper, and bound without any particular order, in two volumes. This was done by Dombay himself, and the volumes bear his book-plate as well as that of the Honourable Frederick North, who afterwards possessed them.<sup>4</sup>

The items in the first volume (Arabic MS. 285) are individually numbered in pencil from 1-231; however, there is a jump from 227 to 229, and thus there are only 230 items in all.

<sup>1</sup> Originally appeared in J. M. Eichhorn, ed., *Allgemein Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, viii (Leipzig, 1799).

<sup>2</sup> That is, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, concerning whom cf. Lakhdar, *Dynastie 'Alawide*, pp. 229-32; also C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, ii. 609, and *GAL Supplementband*, ii. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dombay's forward to his *Geschichte der Scherifen*.

<sup>4</sup> A. Mingana, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1934), col. 454.

Those in the second volume (Arabic MS. 286) are similarly numbered 1-137. Two items bear the number 103 but there is no 130, so that there are in fact 137 pieces here.

Not all of the correspondence in the collection is with Dombay. Some is with other consuls or European officials. Some is between native writers who usually appear in correspondence with Dombay as well. There are twenty-two letters from Dombay's years of study in Constantinople (MS. 286, nos. 107, 108, 110-14, 116-29 and 131). The correspondents are apparently all local Christians and most of them are clerics. They frequently refer to Dombay's diligence in studying Arabic, Turkish, and Persian.<sup>1</sup> Two of them, Yūsuf Shāshātī Celebī and Father Sam'ān, seem to have been his teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The overwhelming majority of items in the collection are from Morocco, dating from as early as 1768 (MS. 285, no. 177) to as late as 1804 (*ibid.* no. 2). In all, there are sixty-six letters and documents of a more or less official character. Although all this material is of value for the study of Moroccan social, economic, and political history of the period, we shall limit ourselves here to giving a complete survey only of the official papers, the primary value of which is in the economic and political spheres. A brief description of each of these letters, documents, and transcripts follows in the order of their appearance in the two volumes.

### RYL. ARABIC MS. 285

#### 2. Official copy of a letter from the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān to the Spanish Consul Antonio Salmón,<sup>3</sup> dated

<sup>1</sup> For example, MS. 286, nos. 110, lines 6-7; 111, lines 8-9; and 116, lines 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Dombay signs a letter to Yūsuf Celebī, dated 17 December 1779, as "your pupil" (*tilmīdhukūm*) (MS. 286, no. 126). In another letter to Father Sam'ān, dated 5 Shubāt (February), 1780, Dombay says that on the priest's advice he is translating the letters sent to him into Latin and asks for corrections (MS. 286, no. 131, lines 5-12).

<sup>3</sup> Don Antonio Gonzalez Salmón represented Austrian interests in Morocco at this time. Concerning his role in reactivating Moroccan-Austrian relations, cf. J. Caillé, *Une ambassade autrichienne au Maroc en 1805* (Paris, 1957), pp. 12 and 45, n. 24. Cf. also p. 467, n. 3.



8 Rabī' I, 1219 (17 June 1804). The sultan directs the Spanish Consul to inform the Hapsburg Emperor (Francis II) that he should send an ambassador to Morocco, as had been done in the days of Sīdī Muḥammad, to reconfirm the treaty between the two empires.<sup>1</sup>

3. Original letter with seal from the Qā'id Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to the Austrian Chancellor Prince Kaunitz, dated 14 Ramaḍān, 1198 (1 August 1784). The pasha explains how he has continually worked on Kaunitz's behalf and how he has looked after Tassara's needs for six months.<sup>2</sup> He has written another letter to the Chancellor, via Tassara, concerning certain muskets and has sent a sample of what he wants. All this is at the command of the sultan.<sup>3</sup>
4. Original letter with seal from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to Kaunitz, dated 14 Ramaḍān, 1199 (21 July 1785). Pasha received Kaunitz's greetings from the Consul General of Spain. Again there is mention of the matter of the muskets.
5. Copy of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Joseph II, dated 19 Sha'bān, 1196 (30 July 1782), the sealed original of which is no. 231, below.<sup>4</sup> The sultan had intended to send his ambassador, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik, but delayed upon learning of Maria Theresa's death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The embassy, headed by the Count de Pouilly, ratified the new treaty on 4 July 1805. De Pouilly has left us a journal of his mission which is published in Caillé, *Une ambassade autrichienne*, pp. 39-113.

<sup>2</sup> Emmanuel von Tassara, the Hapsburg Court Secretary, had come to Morocco for the ratification of the treaty concluded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik in Vienna on 17 April 1783. However, he had to wait in Tangier until the sultan returned from the Tafilalt to Marrakesh, where the treaty was finally signed by the sultan on 3 July 1784. Cf. Dombay, *Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 197 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the matter of the muskets or flintlocks (*zinādāt*), cf. MS. 285, no. 7, below. In the vocabulary appended to his *Grammatica Linguae Mauro-Arabicae*, no. 80, Dombay defines *zinād dhel-mekūḥla* as "sclopeti ignitabulum". Cf. also Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 606b.

<sup>4</sup> In place of the seal, this copy has a circle with the abbreviation L.S. (*loco sigilli*).

<sup>5</sup> The empress died on 29 November 1780.

6. Original letter with seal from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālik to Kaunitz, dated 30 Jumāda I, 1198 (21 April 1784). When the sultan returned from the Tafilalt, he summoned the writer and was pleased with the gifts from the emperor and with his letter.
7. Original letter with seal from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālik to Kaunitz, dated 16 Sha‘bān, 1198 (5 July 1784). The peace treaty between the two empires has been ratified. Tassara has departed with the sultan’s permission, and everyone is pleased. He would not have been delayed till now had it not been for the sultan’s preoccupation. The sultan was pleased with the thousand rifles,<sup>1</sup> but the thousand muskets are not suitable because they are not from materials obtainable in Morocco. Thus, the pasha is sending an example of a Moroccan musket with Tassara and wishes Kaunitz to promise a thousand like it.
8. Copy of a communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to all the consuls in Tangier, promulgated 9 Jumāda II, 1202 (16 February 1788) and dated 23 Jumāda II (1 March), stating that whoever is at peace with the Ottoman Sultan is at peace with him, and whoever is at war<sup>2</sup> with the Ottoman Sultan is at war with him.<sup>3</sup>
9. Original letter with seal from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālik to Kaunitz, dated 14 Ramaḍān, 1198 (1 August 1784). The contents are almost identical with no. 3, above.
12. Original letter with seal from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālik to Joseph II, dated 25 Tishrīn (October) 1782, and written upon the pasha’s arrival in Livorno. He expresses the

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps “rifle barrels”—Arabic *ja‘ba*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 197b.

<sup>2</sup> The word used here for war is : كُتِرَا (from the Spanish *guerra*).

<sup>3</sup> War had broken out between Austria and Turkey at this time. Dombay (*Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 206 f.) points out this declaration was indicative of Sīdī Muḥammad’s fickleness and was in direct contradiction to Article 10 of the treaty between the two empires. For the text of this treaty, cf. Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*, pp. 246-9 (Article 10 is on p. 248).

sultan's condolence on the death of Maria Theresa and requests permission to come to Vienna to negotiate a treaty of friendship. The letter is written by an Eastern scribe, but is signed and sealed by the pasha.<sup>1</sup>

117. Undated calligraphic invitation to Dombay from 'Abd al-Wahhāb in the service of the Qā'id (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik) to visit them in Dār Ben Grīm.
130. Calligraphic note from an official to the Spanish Consul Manuel (Salmón),<sup>2</sup> dated 18 Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 1201 (1 September 1787). The sultan was pleased with the writer and has now sent him to the port of Casablanca. There is no signature.
156. An unsealed copy of an order to all of the consuls in Tangier, dated 18 Dhu 'l-Hijja, 1199 (22 October 1785), concerning the use of the port of Casablanca. Christian ships may only load foodstuffs. Any goods brought either to Casablanca or Ṭiṭ will be considered contraband<sup>3</sup> and will be treated accordingly.
164. Signed letter from Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān,<sup>4</sup> Moroccan ambassador in Constantinople, to Juan Manuel Salmón in Tangier, dated 24 Jumāda I, 1201 (14 March 1787). He has received the consul's letter and the other letters sent with it. He is now sending a number of letters via the Spanish ambassador in Constantinople to Count Florida-blanca, the Spanish Minister of State, who will forward them to Salmón, who, in turn, should pass them on to the sultan.

<sup>1</sup> An Italian version of this letter signed in Arabic was sent to Prince Kaunitz and is now in the Austrian archives. Cf. Caillé, "Une ambassade marocaine", *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iii (1962), 37, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Manuel Salmón was the brother of Antonio Gonzalez Salmón mentioned above, p. 470, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Fa-hiya kōnṭrabānd*, lines 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān had headed an embassy to Madrid in 1780. Cf. V. Rodríguez Casado, *Política marroquí de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1946), 334 ff.; also Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, pp. 112 f. and 117.

177. A letter bearing the seal of an official of the *makḥzan*, Muḥammad ‘Āshīr, dated 1 Jumāda II, 1182 (13 September 1768), permitting an unnamed Englishman to load his ship with produce. He may load three cwts. of barley at the rate of one riyāl per cwt.
187. Transcript in Dombay’s neat Arabic hand of the sultan’s order to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mālik, dated 3 Rajab, 1200 (2 May 1786). The pasha is to inform all the consuls in Tangier that the port has been granted the same status for commerce as Mogador.<sup>1</sup> The duties will be the same as those levied in the port of Tetuan. Those of the Spanish and English will remain the same.
203. Signed letter from the Ṭālib ‘Umar Ayyūb Bū Sadda,<sup>2</sup> an important sherifan official, to Capt. van Nieuwerkerke,<sup>3</sup> Dutch Consul, dated 8 Rabī‘ I, 1202 (19 December 1787). The writer offers to be of service.
204. Letter from ‘Umar Ayyūb to Capt. van Nieuwerkerke, dated 24 Rabī‘ I, 1202 (3 January 1788). He has received the Dutch Consul’s letter. The sultan will be coming to Mogador soon. Mention is made of thirty-four chests sent by Consul Blount<sup>4</sup> as a gift for the sultan. Regards to the consuls of Venice and Sweden.
212. Letter from ‘Umar Ayyūb to Van Nieuwerkerke, dated 9 Muḥarram, 1202 (21 October 1787). The writer has heard that the Ottoman Sultan is at war with Moscow,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wa-ja‘alnā fihā ‘l-kumarsiyū mithl marsat thaghr Tanja* (lines 3 f.). A French translation made from the Dutch Consul’s copy is given by G. F. de Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités . . . conclus par les Puissances de l’Europe*, vi (1791-1817), 221 and is reprinted in Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> He was ambassador to the States-General of the United Provinces in 1786 and signed a treaty which accorded the Dutch a monopoly in commerce in the port of Larache (al-‘Arā’ish). Cf. Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*, pp. 256-8.

<sup>3</sup> He was apparently consul general until 17 March 1788.

<sup>4</sup> Webster Blount, an Englishman, served as Dutch consul in Mogador. Concerning him, cf. Caillé, *Ambassade autrichienne au Maroc*, p. 43, n. 14.

<sup>5</sup> In 1783 Sīdī Muḥammad had offered aid to Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamid I against the threat of Russia. Cf. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, pp. 134 f.

and he asks for any information the Dutch Consul might have.

214. Letter from 'Umar Ayyūb to Van Nieuwerkerke, dated 6 Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 1201 (20 August 1787). The writer has not heard from the consul for a long time, but has heard about what happened between Holland and other Christian countries<sup>1</sup> and would like information. News of Consul Blount.
222. Letter from 'Umar Ayyūb to Van Nieuwerkerke, dated 26 Şafar, 1202 (7 December 1787). He has received the consul's letter. The present from the Netherlands for the sultan has arrived in Mogador with Consul Blount and is apparently unsatisfactory. He expresses his chagrin—Has war broken out? Do not the Dutch wish them well? He concludes with regards to the Swedish Consul and others.
- 229-30. A single letter cut in two pieces bearing the seal of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik. It is addressed to Prince Kaunitz and is dated 30 Jumāda I, 1198 (21 April 1784). When the sultan returned from the Tafilalt, he commanded the pasha and Tassara to appear before him. The pasha explains the reasons for the delay in the ratification of the treaty, and gives details of some of the expenses he has incurred.
231. Sealed original of no. 3 above.

#### RYL. ARABIC MS. 286

1. Transcript in Dombay's hand of a four-page communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to the Pasha of Tangier to be read to the consuls of Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Venice, and others, and dated 16 Rajab, 1201 (4 May 1787). The consuls were supposed to ship grain for one Aḥmad

<sup>1</sup> Probably referring to Joseph II's difficulties with the Hapsburg provinces in the Netherlands.

Khōja to Tripoli at the sultan's order. The ships, however, went to Malaga to sell the grain dishonestly. The required tariffs must now be payed.

2. Letter from a sherifan official with seal to Manuel (de Pontes),<sup>1</sup> representative of Portugal, dated 21 Rajab, 1202 (27 April 1788). The court has learned that Manuel has arrived in Mogador and has brought the bills of lading for the ten ships as well as the present for the sultan from the Portuguese Queen (Doña Maria).<sup>2</sup>
3. Letter from Dombay to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik requesting the pasha's permission for him to receive Arabic lessons each evening from the Fāsī Ṭālib al-Ḥasan (al-Wāfilāwī).
4. Copy in Dombay's hand of a note, apparently from the sultan, to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik stating that the port of Larache is not restricted to anyone, but rather that any of the subjects of Joseph II may load wheat and barley there upon payment of the established duties, as at Mogador, and other commodities, as at Tangier and Tetuan. Dated 19 (Sha'bān?), 1201 (6 June 1787?).<sup>3</sup>
5. Copy in Dombay's hand of the sultan's recognition of Peter Wijks<sup>4</sup> as Swedish Consul, dated 1 Sha'bān, 1201 (19 May 1787).

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this ex-slave, who became an intimate of Sidī Muḥammad, cf. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sidī Muḥammad*, pp. 107 f. and 116.

<sup>2</sup> Doña Maria is invariably referred to in these letters as الرينة (from the Spanish *la reina*).

<sup>3</sup> I suggest this might be from the month of Sha'bān since it appears to have been copied by Dombay at more or less the same time as the transcript that follows it (no. 5).

<sup>4</sup> The following year saw Wijks promoting a boycott against Sidī Muḥammad's European policy. Cf. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sidī Muḥammad*, p. 116. The date on this document is earlier than that given by Caillé, *Ambassade autrichienne au Maroc*, p. 44, n. 19, where 12 June of that year is given, which would correspond to 25 Sha'bān.

10. Transcript in Dombay's hand of a communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to the consuls in Tangier, dated 1 Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 1199 (5 September 1785).<sup>1</sup> If the Regency of Algiers makes peace with Spain as ordered by the Ottoman Sultan, Sīdī Muḥammad is satisfied. If there is no peace, he will blockade the port of Algiers with ten frigates<sup>2</sup> and keep out all Christian ships.
11. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad, 20 Rabī' al-Nabawī (I), 1200 (21 January 1786), granting the Dutch consul<sup>3</sup> the former consulate house in Tangier in place of the one in Larache.
15. Transcript in Dombay's hand of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālīk, dated 14 Shawwāl, 1200 (10 August 1786). The pasha is to gather all the consuls in Tangier and announce that whoever wishes his nation to be held in higher regard than another, they should provide the sultan with mates or helmsmen knowledgeable in both oceanic and Mediterranean sailing.<sup>4</sup>
20. Transcript of a *ẓahir* in Dombay's hand, dated 1 Ṣafar, 1199 (14 December 1784), in which Sīdī Muḥammad appoints Francesco Chiappe to act as intermediary between all foreigners—consuls, ambassadors, or merchants—and the sultan.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The transcript bears only the Muslim year, but has the Christian date written below. In Dombay, *Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 203 f., where a translation of this communiqué is given, the date is misprinted as 1786. There are two more copies of this document in this volume (nos. 25 and 42).

<sup>2</sup> Transcribed here : فرايط

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the reference is to Capt. van Nieuwerkerke.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads : فيلعلنا بلوطات وبحريته يركبون في مراكبنا كل مركب يكون فيه عشرة من سوطارياس (?) البلوطات العارفين بأمر البحر الكبير والبحر الصغير المعرفة التامة. (from Sp. *piloto* —البلوطات)

<sup>5</sup> We know little about this extraordinary appointment. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, p. 121, knows of it from a letter by João Antonio de França in Mogador to Martinho de Mello e Castro, the Portuguese Minister of State, dated 3 April 1790, now in the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino in Lisbon.

21. Transcript in Dombay's hand of an undated order from Sīdī Muḥammad to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik. The pasha should gather the scholars and the sultan's servant Ben Kurrūm, who are going to Egypt on the Venetian ship, and give them money. The rest of the note concerns payment of money to the Spanish Vice-Consul to be forwarded to the French Consul.
22. Transcript in Dombay's hand of Sīdī Muḥammad's letter to the States-General of the United Provinces, dated 25 Rabī' II, 1200 (25 February 1786), granting the port of Larache to the Dutch for loading their merchant ships. This letter granting the monopoly is to be delivered by the Ṭālib 'Umar Ayyūb.<sup>1</sup>
23. Copy in Dombay's hand of an undated note to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik from Sīdī Muḥammad. The pasha should keep the emperor's friend in Tangier until he receives the sultan's letters.<sup>2</sup>
24. Transcript in Dombay's hand of a communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to the consuls in Tangier, dated 15 Jumāda I, 1200 (16 March 1786),<sup>3</sup> stating that anyone who brings a Muslim captive to Mogador would be permitted to take 200 fanegas<sup>4</sup> of grain duty free for each male and 300 fanegas for each female.
25. Identical with MS. 286, no. 10, above.
31. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik, dated 16 Rajab (no year).

<sup>1</sup> A translation of this document is given by G. F. de Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités d'alliance*, iv. 220, and is reprinted in Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Either deals with Tassara's departure in 1784 or Dombay's in 1787. The former is more likely.

<sup>3</sup> A translation of this communiqué is given in Dombay, *Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 205 f., where, however, the year is misprinted as 1787.

<sup>4</sup> A fanega is equal to 1½ bushels. It is transcribed in the Arabic of the period : فنيقه



The new Danish Consul should be permitted to take his predecessor's place when he arrives, and the latter should be permitted to return home. However, they should write to their court and request that two master workmen<sup>1</sup> be sent to Sīdī Muḥammad to replace those presently at his court, so that he might send them home to see their families.

36. Scribal copy of a communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to the consuls in Tangier, dated 17 Jumāda I, 1202 (24 February 1788), expressing in the most insulting terms the sultan's displeasure with the English. In thirty years of dealing with them he has found them to be without character and to be liars. The other Christian nations are not so.<sup>2</sup>
40. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Charles III of Spain, dated 4 Jumāda II, 1200 (4 April 1786). The sultan has sent his ambassador Sayyid 'Umar to Istanbul on a ship that Charles provided from Carthegena. He requests that the Spanish ruler order his own ambassador at the Sublime Porte to stand with Sayyid 'Umar and aid him.
41. Copy in Dombay's hand of an undated letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Christian VII of Denmark. The sultan was pleased with the birds and the belts sent by the king as a gift and will send a pair of Moroccan birds in return.
42. Identical with MS. 286, nos. 10 and 25, above.
44. Copy in Dombay's hand of MS. 285, no. 156, above.

<sup>1</sup> *Ithnān mashṭerūs, wāḥid minhā ruḡḡā'imī wal-ākhir li-mubashirāt al-nuwwār* (lines 6 f.): "two maestros, one of them a marble worker [?] and the other to oversee the flowers [a gardener?]."

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the circumstances surrounding this declaration, cf. Dombay, *Geschichte der Scherifen*, pp. 201 f. According to Dombay (*ibid.* p. 202) the British government paid little attention to the statement and issued a counter-statement putting the blame for the insulting remarks upon an over-zealous Moroccan secretary, "and added that the secretary had earned the monarch's just revenge." Cf. also, Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, pp. 122 f.

47. Copy in Dombay's hand of an order from Sīdī Muḥammad to the consuls in Tangier, dated 30 Jumāda I, 1200 (31 March 1786), that they should write to the consuls representing their respective nations in Jidda to pay Sīdī Muḥammad's representative there, Ḥājj 'Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā,<sup>1</sup> whatever money he needs. They should write to the same effect to the consuls in the ports of Syria. The sultan will reimburse the governments involved through their consuls in Tangier, without interest. However, should they wish a return<sup>2</sup> on the loan, he will reduce their duties at Mogador by one third.
  
49. Signed personal letter from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to the Consul General of Spain, Juan Manuel Salmón, dated 4 Rajab, 1203 (31 March 1789), asking after the welfare of the consul and his family.
  
50. Copy of a *ḡahīr* in Dombay's hand, dated 1 Jumāda, 1199 (12 March 1785), stating that the bearer, the Dutch Consul Van Nieuwerkerke, is to be allowed freedom to travel in and out of Morocco.
  
51. Copy in Dombay's hand of an undated letter from a sherifan official to the sultan requesting instructions on the unloading of a merchant ship.
  
52. Identical with MS. 286, no. 11, above, except that here it is the vice-consul who is specified.
  
53. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to the Austrian Consul, Count [?], dated 15 Rabī' II, 1200 (16 January 1786), concerning payment for silk and the return of some Muslim prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> This need for precaution is probably due to the fact that during the previous year at the time of the pilgrimage, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā, who headed a delegation sent by Sīdī Muḥammad, was robbed in Mecca itself by Mawlāy Yazīd, the sultan's prodigal son. Cf. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiṣā'*, viii. 57 f.; French trans. in *Archives Marocaines*, ix. 343 ff.

<sup>2</sup> الرطورنوا (line 8).

54. Copy in official scribal hand of a letter from 'Umar al-Dāwidī,<sup>1</sup> governor of Mogador, to the merchant Manuel de Pontes,<sup>2</sup> dated 16 Ṣafar, 1202 (27 October 1787), detailing the loading of an enormous quantity of grain on the eighth of a series of ten Portuguese ships and the duties due on the shipments. The writer has received the chests and letter from the merchant Tomé and has sent them to the sultan, who was very pleased.
55. Letter from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to Juan Manuel Salmón, dated 2 Rajab, 1203 (29 March 1789). The writer's brother, the Qā'id Sīdī 'Abd al-Mālik is coming to Tangier today. He has been well received at the sultan's court. Manuel's brother (Antonio) is well.
56. Copy in official scribal hand of a letter from a sherifan official, Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī Efendi, to Martinho de Mello e Castro, Portuguese Minister of State, dated 1 Ṣafar, 1201 (23 November 1786), stating that the Spaniard Francisco Seguí has told the Moroccan court of the Portuguese good will. Seguí is being asked to bring Muslim captives back to the sultan. The writer asks de Mello to receive him well.
58. Original letter with seal from Mawlāy 'Abd al-Salām,<sup>3</sup> governor of the Sūs province, dated 11 Jumāda II, 1201 (31 March 1787), to Manuel (de Pontes), announcing that his father the sultan has put him in charge of Mogador and has recommended the Portuguese to him above all other Christians. He grants the Portuguese a monopoly. The

<sup>1</sup> He had formerly been ambassador to Lisbon and greatly facilitated Portuguese trade in Mogador. Cf. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, pp. 116 and 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 476, n. 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> Mawlāy 'Abd al-Salām was much esteemed by everyone, including his father. Cf. Lourido Díaz, *Sultanato de Sīdī Muḥammad*, p. 65. A somewhat different appraisal, however, is given by the English physician, William Lempriere, who was summoned to treat the ailing prince in 1789. Cf. W. Lempriere, *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangier, Sallee, Mogodore, Santa Cruz, Tarudant; and thence over Mount Atlas to Morocco: Including a Particular Account of the Royal Harem* (London, 1791), pp. 142 ff.

prince has received the gift sent him and is sending the Portuguese Queen a horse and saddle. His representative in Mogador, the Qā'id Ḥayda, will carry out with dispatch whatever they wish.

60. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from the Imām Muḥammad b. al-ʿArabī in Tetuan to Father Haek, Director of the Imperial Academy for Oriental Languages in Vienna, dated 21 Jumāda II, 1198 (12 May 1784).<sup>1</sup> The writer was apparently part of the embassy headed by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik which visited Vienna the year before.<sup>2</sup> He thanks the priest for his greetings which he sent in a letter to Dombay.
61. Letter with signature from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik to the Consul General Manuel Salmón, dated 4 Rajab, 1203 (20 March 1790), expressing his thanks for the Spaniard's condolences upon the death of his father.
62. Letter with seal from the Qā'id Ḥayda b. al-Ḥājj al-Huwwārī, representative of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Salām, to Manuel (de Pontes), dated 10 Jumāda II, 1201 (28 February 1787), stating that had received the merchandise he had sent with Tomé, but no answer to the letter they had sent him.
63. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik to the Austrian consul Count [?], dated 24 Ṣafar, 1200 (27 December 1785),<sup>3</sup> in which the pasha says he received the count's letter via the Venetian consul stating that he could not find a ship to carry the Ottoman sultan's friend Sayyid Ismā'īl. Sīdī Muḥammad forgives

<sup>1</sup> Dombay has incorrectly calculated the date as 14 May at the bottom of the letter. Father Haek is also mentioned in another letter in this volume (no. 127) which dates back to Dombay's student days in Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> He is perhaps the "priest of the embassy" mentioned in the Italian documents. Cf. Caillé, "Une ambassade marocaine", *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iii, fasc. 1 (1962), 36.

<sup>3</sup> Dombay has incorrectly calculated the Gregorian date as 25 December.

him, and has got a Spanish ship to take Sayyid Ismā'īl to Istanbul.

64. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter to the consuls in Tangier from a sherifan official, Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī Efendi, dated 10 Sha'bān, 1201 (28 May 1787), stating that the Pasha of Tangier had written to the sultan about the affair of the ships' captains who transported grain for Aḥmad Khōja. The sultan forgives them and has written them an expression of his friendship toward their nations which will reach them soon.<sup>1</sup>
65. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik to the Austrian consul Count [?], dated 5 Rabī' II, 1200 (5 February 1786), stating that he received the Count's letter and the letter from the emperor via Dombay. The pasha explains that he is much occupied with royal affairs, but will write soon about what should be done in the matter of the money for the silk.<sup>2</sup>
66. Copy in Dombay's hand of a letter from Sīdī Muḥammad to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik, dated 20 (Sha'bān), 1201 (7 June 1787), forgiving the consuls of Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Venice in the matter of the grain shipments for Aḥmad Khōja al-Ṭarābulī.<sup>3</sup>
67. Transcript in Dombay's hand of a communiqué from Sīdī Muḥammad to all Christian consuls in Tangier, dated 2 Sha'bān, 1201 (20 May 1787), declaring that Morocco is at peace with them until May 1203 (1789). At that time, those nations wishing to remain at peace should write to the sultan to that effect and he will do likewise. Those wishing war should also write to him, and God will aid

<sup>1</sup> For the sultan's earlier angry response, cf. above, MS. 286, no. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Count's name is transcribed here : کریب. He is obviously the same as ٲکرپی in no. 53, and اکرپی in no. 63, above. Joseph II is referred to here as " Ruler of the Germans " : حاکم الجرنية

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, MS. 286, nos. 1 and 64.

him against them. This communiqué is being sent to the consuls via the sultan's secretaries, al-Sayyid Ma'mūn and al-Sayyid al-Sakīrī.<sup>1</sup>

79. Scribal copy of a letter from the Spanish Minister of State, Count Floridablanca,<sup>2</sup> to Sīdī Muḥammad, dated 11 Sha'bān, 1201 (29 May 1787). The Spanish consul in Tangier, Juan Manuel Salmón, is to appear before the sultan with this letter and to inform him of the latest Spanish intelligence from Algiers (from a fortnight earlier) of an epidemic<sup>3</sup> among the Algerian troops. In the past five months there have been over 150,000 deaths.
82. A brief note from someone in the service of the sultan to Manuel (de Pontes),<sup>4</sup> dated 8 Rabī' I, 1202 (18 December 1787), instructing him to bring the duty payments for ten ships to Tangier : 2,000 monedas and the rest in reals.
101. An official copy of a list of the new duties on commodities exported from the ports of Larache, Tangier, and Tetuan for all Europeans except the Spanish, whose duties are listed in a parallel column. Dated 22 Rabī' I, 1200 (23 January 1786).
115. A bill of lading, dated 20 Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 1201 (3 September 1787), for a Portuguese ship to be loaded under the supervision of the Qā'id 'Umar al-Dāwidī (governor of Mogador) and the Christian Tomé.<sup>5</sup> One half of the portage fees (?)<sup>6</sup> totalling 797 is due until Manuel (de Pontes) pays the

<sup>1</sup> Neither of these men is listed among the names of Sīdī Muḥammad's secretaries given by al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā'*, viii. 54; French trans. in *Archives Marocaines*, ix. 340. al-Nāṣirī states there, however, that there were others (*wa-ghayruhum*).

<sup>2</sup> الوزير كندی فلريد بلا نكة

<sup>3</sup> *Marḍ al-wabā*. Here وبأ for وبی.

<sup>4</sup> He is called here *kḥadīm sayyidnā 'l-naṣrānī* (line 1).

<sup>5</sup> Concerning both of these men, cf. above, MS. 286, no. 54, and p. 481, n. 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Tahmala* (written here with *tā'* for *tā' marbūṭa*, line 7).

total duty. This ship is the sixth to be loaded, and the sultan wishes that ten be loaded in this fashion.

133. A note bearing the seal of the Qā'id Ḥayda b. al-Ḥājj, deputy of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Salām,<sup>1</sup> to Manuel (de Pontes), dated 24 Jumāda II, 1201 (14 March 1787). The writer states that he is to represent the prince in all matters in which de Pontes represents the Queen of Portugal. He informs him that 6,069 fanegas have been loaded and that the duty on them equals 619 $\frac{1}{3}$  monedas.
134. A brief letter bearing the seal of Sīdī Muḥammad to General Mendoza, Governor of Algeciras,<sup>2</sup> dated 7 Jumāda I, 1193 (23 May 1778). The sultan is sending twelve horses as a gift to the ruler of Portugal with Manuel (de Pontes)<sup>3</sup> via Algeciras.
135. Bill of lading for grain loaded on the ninth ship which sailed on 7 Rabī' I, 1202 (17 December 1787), and whose captain is Thomas the Englishman. The duty on 5,956 $\frac{1}{2}$  fanegas is 4,862.90 reals.
136. Sealed bill of lading for 4,184 fanegas of wheat loaded by Tomé (the Portuguese merchant) on the seventh ship whose captain is [?], the Dane.<sup>4</sup> The 427 monedas duty is to be paid by Manuel (de Pontes). Dated 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja, 1201 (23 September 1787).
137. Duplicate of MS. 286, no. 135, above.<sup>5</sup>

#### B. RYL. ARABIC MS. 797

In addition to the two volumes of Dombay's Arabic correspondence, the Rylands possesses four others of his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 481, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> حاكم الخزيرات جلال مندوسه

<sup>3</sup> Called here *naṣrāniyyunā Manuel* (line 3).

<sup>4</sup> *Rā'isuhā 'nsh danmārḳ* (line 3).

<sup>5</sup> The first word here is *taqyīd*, as opposed to *jumla* in MS. 286, no. 135.

manuscripts, marked A, B, C, and D, respectively, which are bound into a single volume (Arabic MS. 797). These are described at some length in Mingana's catalogue,<sup>1</sup> and comprise : A. dialogues in Moroccan colloquial Arabic with linguistic notes,<sup>2</sup> B. a handlist of Arabic books circulating in Morocco at that time, C. a collection of proverbs and ditties with ethnological notes, and D. a list of Arab and Berber tribes.

The first and third of these items are primarily important for historical linguistics. The fourth, listing the tribes of Morocco, contains 127 names and is by no means complete. It is the third which is probably of the greatest historical value, particularly for the intellectual history of the period. It is the intention of the present writer to publish the list in its entirety in a future study.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. cols. 1135-8.

<sup>2</sup> This notebook, which is divided into twenty chapters, contains much material not found in Dombay's *Grammatica Mauro-Arabicae* and refers to it in the notes. It must, therefore, have been written some time after 1800.