



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN BUSINESS & SOCIAL SCIENCES



Aspects of Political, Economic and Social Life in the Era of Imam Al-Tawudi (1111 AH / 1209 AH)

Abdella Ali Salem Elramli, Mohd Al'ikhsan Bin Ghazali, Kawthar Abdalla Mohammedahmed Bayoumi

To Link this Article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v12-i7/14116>

DOI:10.6007/IJARBSS/v12-i7/14116

Received: 17 May 2022, **Revised:** 19 June 2022, **Accepted:** 30 June 2022

Published Online: 11 July 2022

In-Text Citation: (Elramli et al., 2022)

To Cite this Article: Elramli, A. A. S., Ghazali, M. A. Bin., & Bayoumi, K. A. M. (2022). Aspects of Political, Economic and Social Life in the Era of Imam Al-Tawudi (1111 AH / 1209 AH). *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*. 12(7), 407 – 422.

Copyright: © 2022 The Author(s)

Published by Human Resource Management Academic Research Society (www.hrmars.com)

This article is published under the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0) license. Anyone may reproduce, distribute, translate and create derivative works of this article (for both commercial and non-commercial purposes), subject to full attribution to the original publication and authors. The full terms of this license may be seen at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode>

Vol. 12, No. 7, 2022, Pg. 407 – 422

<http://hrmars.com/index.php/pages/detail/IJARBSS>

JOURNAL HOMEPAGE

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
<http://hrmars.com/index.php/pages/detail/publication-ethics>



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN BUSINESS & SOCIAL SCIENCES



Aspects of Political, Economic and Social Life in the Era of Imam Al-Tawudi (1111 AH / 1209 AH)

Abdella Ali Salem Elramli

University Teknologi Malaysia, Faculty of Islamic Civilization

Email: salem@graduate.utm.my

Prof. Madya Dr. Mohd Al'ikhsan Bin Ghazali, Dr. Kawthar
Abdalla Mohammedahmed Bayoumi

University Teknologi Malaysia UTM

Email: alikhsan.kl@utm.my, amkawthar@utm.my

Abstract

Discussing a scholarly figure that is known in the Maliki school of thought - and whose name was associated with one of the most important explanations in Khalil's Mukhtasar- requires any researcher of Maliki jurisprudence to present the general conditions in which Imam Al-Tawudi lived in, and to shed a light on some crucial aspects, especially knowing that he was one of the scholars of Faz city in Morocco (died 1209AH), where the scholars have a special presence and a distinguished position in this school of thought. He also had a prominent presence in the events that happened in Morocco during that period. Henceforth, this study aims to shed a light on aspects of this era to know the environment in which the Imam was raised and how it impacted him. This study (Aspects of the political, economic and social life in the era of Imam Al-Tawudi) is divided into two sections; the first section includes a general background of Imam Al-Tawudi bin Souda, and the second section discussed the circumstances accompanying the life of Imam Al-Tawudi. The second section is divided into four subsections namely, the political aspect, the economic aspect, the social aspect, and cases of religious issues that were discussed by the scholars in that period. The researcher used the historical, the descriptive, and the inductive method to reach the goals of this study.

Keywords: Aspects, Political, Economic, Social Life, Al-Tawudi

Introduction

Imam Al-Taoudi lived in an era that suffered from political, economic and social turmoil, which led to multiple wars and inter-tribal fighting. At the end of the Saadian state, the era of "Zawaya" emerged, which is somewhat similar to the era of feudalism that took place in Andalusia before its fall. Some Zawya made sure to gain people's trust to gain power and dominate it. The most known one was the Zawya of Dila'iya, led by Muhammad al-Hajj al-Dala'l; he seized large lands, and controlled them for almost 30 years going into battles, success and deliberation, until Sultan Moulay Rashid demolished their zawya in 1079 AH,

announcing the beginning of the Alawite state, however he died in 1082AH, and was followed by Sultan Moulay Ismail, who is considered a major figure in the history of the state. As he established its pillars and unified them, the state experienced political stability between the years 1082 AH and 1139 AH.

During this period, Imam Al Tawudi was born; he was a descendant of a house filled with knowledge and power as his grandfather Ibn Saud Al-Kabeer was a judge in the state of Moulay Ismail. After the death of Moulay Ismail in 1139 AH, the country entered in an critical situation for about 30 years, between 1139 AH and 1171 AH, during which a total of 8 sultans took over the state. One of the factors that helped curb the chaos was the involvement in the decision making. The 'Abid al-Bukhari or Black Guard had authority in the state, as they used to approve or disagree with a ruling, which almost ended that ruling. As Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Ismail took over the reins of the state in 1171 AH, he began to repair what had been corrupted and to restore the prestige and authority of the state returning it to how it was during the reign of his grandfather, Moulay Ismail. Nevertheless, His ruling did not dodge revolutions and chaos, as one of the most prominent oppositions was his son Al-Yazid who went against him in 1201 AH; when Al-Yazid felt that he is in danger, he fled and took refuge in Idrisi mausoleum in Fez and lived there until his father passed away in 1204 AH, when he took over, but died soon after less than two years in 1206 AH, to be followed by his brother Suleiman; he was known for his knowledge and virtue, and was one of those who studied under Imam Al-Tawudi, who died at the beginning of the reign of Suleiman in 1209 AH at the age of 92 years old. Based on this, we can see that Imam Al-Tawudi, may Allah have mercy on him, grew up during a period of turmoil, fighting and treason. However, he did not stop learning and attending lectures, and was approved to teach when he was 20 years old. He continued to teach in Fez until Sultan Abdullah stopped him and prevented him from teaching, under the excuse that he was one of those who supported his brother, the Sultan. Historical evidence showed that this situation changed with the arrival of Sultan Muhammad bin Abdullah, who encouraged him to write a few books; one of them was aimed to manage the treasury named "Kashf al-Hal fi Tanzeem ahwal Bayt al-Mal" (Tactics of managing the affairs of the treasury). Also, the researcher shall, before going into the discussion of the Imam's era, provide a brief overview on Imam Al-Tawudi:

Objectives of Study

- Highlighting the importance of the period of Imam altawide, between 1111 AH to 1209AH.
- Introduce the significant political, economic and social events related to that period to understand the environment in which the imam lived on, and how it is impact his thought.
- Describe the most prominent religious issues that scholars dealt with in that period and the extent of the imam's influence on them.

Al-Tawodi's Background

His lineage goes back to an Andalusian family known for its knowledge in science and literature, whose origins descended from one of the Arab tribes that came to Andalusia during the Islamic conquests in 124 AH. Then they came to Morocco during the reign of Sultan Abi Anan al-Marini in 754 AH, where they stayed for a while in Madshar "Bani Tawuda" or what is known today as "Fes al-Bali"(Al-Fadhili, 1999,274-275 ; Al-Omrani, 2009,85 ; Ibn Al-Hajj, 1991, 15 ; Provencal, 1977, 238). The imam was born in the city of Fez, but it was debated which year he was born in: Makhlof stated that he was born in 1111 AH and Dr. Youssef Al-Kitani(Al-

Katani, n.d., 256; Makhoulf, 2003, 543) agreed with him, but Ibn Hamdoun Al-Hajj thought he was born in 1118 AH (Ibn Al-Hajj, 1991, 17), while Suleiman Al-Hawat (Al-Hawat, 1994, 204) mentioned that he was born after 1123 AH. Al-Tawudi studied under few scholars such as Ahmad Ibn Mubarak al-Sijlmassi (d. 1155 AH), and Muhammad Ibn Qasim Jasous (d. 1182 AH) (Al-Tawudi, 2002, 71-74; Issawi, 2014, 141-143), who had been with them for a long time, as he stated in his book (Al-Tawudi, 2002, 71-74), and some of his students were his son Ahmed, Hamdoun ibn al-Hajj, Suleiman al-Hawat and others. On his trip to Makka in 1181 AH, he also met with a number of scholars of the East, he narrated about them, and held lessons in the Two Holy Mosques and in Cairo. He recited al-Muwatta in the Al-Azhar Mosque, and the first of the six books and al-Shama'il al-Tirmidhi, etc. Imam Al-Tawudi has many exceptional contributions namely: Al-Fahrasa Al-Kobra wal Soghra; an explanation to Sahih Al-Bukhari that he called "Zad Al-Sari fi Matla' Al-Bukhari"; an explanation to Al-Zarqani's commentary on Khalil named "Tala' Al-Amani Ma'ta' Al-Zarqani"; and an explanation of Lamiya Al-Zaqqaq. In the end, he died in Fez on the 29th of Dhul-Hijjah 1209 AH and was buried there.

Political Side

Stability

The era of Moulay Ismail's reign (1082 AH-1139 AH) and Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah's reign (1171 AH / 1204 AH) is considered the best period of political stability in Morocco, despite the problems and revolutions that occurred during that time.

A- Moulay Ismail Era

In 1112 (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 261; Al-Omrani, 2009, 167; Ibn Al-Hajj, 1991, 46) AH, the people of Sous encouraged Prince Muhammad Al-Alem to rise up against his father, Moulay Ismail, and so he did and gained people's trust. In 1114 AH he took over Marrakesh. However, the other son Zaidan fought back for Marrakesh and thus Muhammad Al-Alam fled to Sous. In 1116 AH, Muhammad Al-Alam fell into the grip of his brother Zaidan after entering Taroudant and sent him to Meknes. As a punishment, the Sultan sent someone who cut off Muhammad Al-Alam hands and legs; he received great sympathy from Sous and Fez scholars due to his position, as well as his stance against his father, which used to take slaves and abuse their women (Al-Qadri, 1977, 3, 173; Harkat, 1994, 3, 38). In 1120 AH, A dispute occurred between the scholars and the sultan on the issue of the ownership of the Haratines¹, after Qassem Alilish collected the Haratine in Morocco, he only had left the Haratin of Fez, so he wanted to bring them as well (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 86). The scholars of Fez refused that, they were led by the Arab judge Bardala and the jurist Abd al-Salam bin Jasous. and others, and this ordeal was a reason for imprisoning the respected scholar Abd al-Salam bin Jasous, where he was killed in Fez in 1121 AH (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 83; Al-Qadri, 1977, 3, 208). In the same year, he established a treaty with the King of France, which provided him with support against the Kingdom of Austria; in 1133 AH he signed a treaty of peace with the King of English Christians, which was the result of negotiations and correspondence that lasted for a while, aiming to obtain support for the liberation of the city of Ceuta in Spain, after England seized Gibraltar in 1704 AD due to the war that occurred in Europe (Al-Qadri, 1977, 3, 252; Al-Tazi, 1988, 9, 160-169). Perhaps the

¹ As the sultan wanted the people to be owned in order to include them in his existing army, 'Abid al-Bukhari, so the scholars debated on this issue, the issue of ownership and not the establishment of the army, and It will be mentioned.

Spaniards sensed what was coming, so they attacked the Muslim army outside the city of Ceuta in 1134, and they almost had the victory in the beginning, but by the grace of God, and by the backup sent by Moulay Ismail from all the countries of the Morocco, the Christians returned to Ceuta, defeated, with about 3,000 Christians captured on that day (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 97; Al-Qadri, 1977, 3, 252). In 1139 AH, Moulay Ismail, fell ill, and his illness continued to worsen until he died, may God have mercy on him, on the 28th of Rajab (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 98); he was 83 years old, and his reign lasted for 75 years.

A- The era of Moulay Muhammad and his two sons- until 1209 AH

Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah bin Ismail took over the government after the death of his father, Moulay Abdullah, in 1171 AH, and the ruling was accepted from the majority of the people of Morocco (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 163). However, his reign did not come without disturbances, as in his first year (in 1171AH) the revolution of Ghamra happened in the South, which forced the Sultan himself to go and end it by killing their leader Abu Al-Sokhour (Harkat, 1994, 3, 88); in 1173 AH, the Wadaya, together with some slaves, attempted to organize a coup against Moulay Muhammad by attacking those who were with him in Meknes. The Sultan, however, was able to eliminate them, then he ordered the rest of them to shift their residence from Fez to Meknes; they sought his sympathy, but he did not change his mind. In 1175 AH, the Sultan carried out a massive campaign to discipline the tribes, who have harmed people. He also carried out a campaign against the people of the West in the following year. In 1177 AH, he eliminated the revolution that was led by Fakik bin Ahmed in the desert. In 1178AH, the sultan found out that Christians came to Sala with 14 ships, But God disgraced them and they came back defeated (Al-Qadri, 1977, 4, 162). The Christians tried again in the following year in 1179 AH, and attacked Larache; the war raged between them but the victory belonged to Muslims - thanks to God - and thanks to the reinforcements that reached the city by the orders of Moulay Muhammad. In Shaban of the same year, the Sultan moved from Marrakesh to Meknes as his predecessors. In the same year, they made peace with the Christians of France in exchange for money, which they are going to pay him; he also authorized them to buy the goods they needed from his country. In 1181AH, a great strife occurred under the leadership of Kalakh, where he prepared his supporters to move towards Marrakesh with a main goal of controlling the Bait Al-Mal, but they were defeated and Kalakh was arrested and shortly executed (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 163-174; Al-Qadri, 1977, 4, 135-180; Harkat, 1994, 3,88-89). Moulay Muhammad was interested in establishing a strong fleet that would protect the state from the potential danger. During his reign, the number of warships amounted to 20 warships and 30 ships (Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 30). Perhaps this is what gave him strength in the Mediterranean Sea, as he conquered Al-Buraijah or what is known as Al-Jadida in 1182 AH, and recovered it from the Portuguese Christians, after they occupied it for nearly 150 years. This encouraged the Sultan to head to the conquest of Melilla and recover it from the Spanish Christians, so he besieged it in 1188 AH. When the Christians felt that the city was about to fall, the Spanish monarch reminded the Sultan of the treaty, which states that truce is to be concluded by sea and not by land, so they deleted the word (not) and replaced it with (and), so the sultan withdrew and ended the besiege (Harkat, 1994, 3, 95-98). In 1189 AH, one of the army divisions from 'Abid al-Bukhari in Meknes rebelled after the Sultan sent to his commander to transfer a thousand soldiers with their families to Tangier. The commander refused to take the poor ones, which caused them to revolt, so the Sultan sent to them his son Al-Yazid, who was also was looking forward to rule and agreed with their objection. The Sultan did not give him much time as he soon sent an army for him, but he

defeated them, and took refuge in Idrisi mausoleum in Zahron, and from there he was able to leave the country towards Algeria. In 1203 AH, he returned to Morocco, so the Sultan Moulay Muhammad sent an announcement to the army to arrest the Yazid, but the later was quick to act and resorted to the tomb of Abd al-Salam Mashish in Ghamra. In Dhul Qa'dah of the same year, Moulay Muhammad announced the removal of Moulay Yazid from the hereditary monarchy and that no one would be nominated to take over the throne after him, which would leave it up to Muslims to decide (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 197; Harkat, 1994, 3, 93-94).

In 1204 AH, Moulay Muhammad left Marrakesh with his army to meet Moulay Yazid and his supporters. On the way, his illness worsened, and eventually he died on the 25th of Rajab near Rabat and was buried there. After his death, people argued as to whom to choose out of the two sons of Moulay Muhammad to rule over the country, as the people of Rabat, Sala and army leaders supported Al-Yazid, while the people of Marrakesh supported Hisham. After being chosen, Al-Yazid cancelled the customs in all of Morocco, while Hisham distributed the gifts to the people so that he would gain more support. Moulay al-Yazid sent a message to the people of Marrakesh warning and threatening them if they continue their pledge of allegiance to Hisham, they got afraid and exiled him from the city. Later on, Moulay El Yazid sent to the scattered slaves in Morocco to return to Meknasah, and in Ramadan of the same year he sent to his brother Moulay Hisham telling him that he forgives him and so the two brothers met in Fez (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 200-211). After being appointed, the Minister of State Kadous - who was related to them - sent a message to the Christians of Spain warning them of Moulay El Yazid and telling them that he was like his grandfather Moulay Ismail, but Moulay El Yazid was aware of Kadous's moves and the danger that was associated with him, so he plotted to kill him in Dhul Qi'dah in 1204 AH. In Muharram of 1205 AH, he moved an army with the intention of liberating Ceuta, where he besieged it for 40 days, until he gave up and went back. When Spain sensed the danger of the emergence of a strong state in Morocco, it supported internal conflicts in it. For instance, it supported the leader Abd al-Rahman al-Abdi against Moulay Yazid; it also supported Moulay Hisham to rebel against his brother in 1206 AH, when a great battle took place between them in which Moulay Hisham was defeated and his followers were divided among him and his brother Moulay Salama; in the same battle Moulay Yazid was seriously wounded which led to his death in Jamadi al-Thani of the same year in 1206 AH (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 212-240; Al-Tazi, 1988, 117-118). After his death, people were divided, as some of them wanted the pledge of allegiance to Moulay Hisham, and the others to Moulay Salama, and some wanted to pledge allegiance to Moulay Suleiman. The jurist, Tawudi, said, "In truth, the word of the Muslims should unite and we invite the people of Hal and Rabat, to my master Ali bin Ahmed, to my master Al-Arabi bin Al-Muati, to the people of Marrakesh, to the people of Doukkala, and to Ould Ibn Al-Aroussi and Abdul Rahman bin Nasser; the agreement is to bring the children of my master Muhammad, and they decide who will pledge allegiance to who either by drawing lots or by being appointed and is worthy of it, otherwise Maulana Hisham, who fought over the position and fought his brother, is also entitled to the country in which the Sultan died" (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 241). In Rajab of the same year, 1206 AH, the people of Fez saw that Moulay Suleiman was the most worthy of the state, so they pledged allegiance to him in Fez in the Idrisi mausoleum, in the presence of the people of knowledge and power. The one who wrote the text of the pledge was Imam Al-Tawudi Ibn Souda (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 244; Harkat, 1994, 130-131; Ibn Zidan, 1937, 2, 68). The sultan faced many disputes over the ruling between him and his two brothers Moulay Salama and Moulay Hisham which lasted until 1212 AH. On Thursday, 29 Dhul-Hijjah 1209AH, Imam al-Tawudi died during the era of Moulay Suleiman. The funeral prayer was performed in the Qarawiyyin Mosque and he was

buried on the right of the mihrab in the mosque opposite the door of his house in Fez (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 261; Al-Omrani, 2009, 167; Ibn Al-Hajj, 1991, 46).

Throne Crisis

After the death of Moulay Ismail, the Alawite state passed through one of its hardest years. There was a lot of uncertainty and disagreement in all the Moroccan provinces; many people died and money was looted. Among the most prominent causes of this crisis were the following:

- 1- The tyranny of 'Abid al-Bukhari in power, as they were appointing whomever they wanted and overthrowing whoever they wanted, which was similar to what happened during the tyranny of the leaders of the Turkish army after the death of al-Mu'tasim in the Abbasid state.
- 2 - The return of the Sinhaji groups to the revolution with an obvious change in the way they dealt with the crisis, by supporting the opposition of the rulers, and not requesting ruling as they were previously doing.
- 3- Dispersal within the Alawite family, and not being able to choose one person (Harkat, 1994, 2, 63-64).

Therefore, many sultans came in power during his period. Ahmed Al-Dhahabi bin Moulay Ismail came in power after the death of his father in 1139 AH, then in 1140 AH the army deposed him and pledged allegiance to his brother Abd al-Malik; he was later ousted and they gave the power back to Ahmed Al-Dhahabi. The two brothers fought multiple times, but Ahmad al-Dhahabi died of a disease which he has been suffering from for a while, while Abd al-Malik was killed 3 days after his brother, in Sha'ban in 1141 AH (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 100-110; Harkat, 1994, 3, 64-69; Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 5).

Next, Moulay Abdullah bin Ismail was appointed, and continued his rule until he was deposed in 1147 AH by army leaders, after he killed more than ten thousand of them in retaliation for his brother Abd al-Malik (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 115; Al-Qadri, 1977, 3, 322; Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 6), and then fled from Meknesah to Sous. The slaves pledged allegiance to Moulay Abu al-Hasan Ali al-Araj in the same year of 1147 AH, who also did not last long as the leaders of al-Bukhari's army agreed to depose him, and return the power to Abdullah in the same year. Abdullah however did not spend much time in power, as in the same year of 1149, a group of the army led by Pasha Salem Doukkali deposed Moulay Abdallah after they consulted with the scholars of Fez who believed that the two brothers Abdullah and Ali had been stripped of allegiance and that the scholars of Fez should choose the best to come in power; the people of Fez nominated Moulay Sidi Muhammad ibn Walad Arabiya. When Moulay Abdullah heard of this news, he fled with those who supported him and took all the money in Meknasah, and so when Moulay Muhammad entered Meknasah, he found its treasury empty. Looting, robbery and murder increased during the reign of Moulay Muhammad ibn Walad Arabiya, while the state was also fragmented into small states:

- 1- Moulay Abdallah in the Sahara, Souss and Marrakesh.
- 2- Al-Basha Al-Hawat in the western side.
- 3- Al-Basha Akhmed bin Ali Al-Rifi: Al-Fahs, Ghamara, Al-Reef, and Kart to Al-Qasr Al-Kabeer.
- 4- The Kaedi leader in Bani Yazgha.
- 5- Ibn Arabiya: The rest of the authorities, as the actual leader of the country was Pasha Salem Doukkali.

In 1151 AH, when the crisis became worse, the army ousted Ibn Arabiya and pledged allegiance to his brother al-Mustadi'. In 1152, they overthrew him and decided to choose Moulay Abdullah again. In 1153AH, Alrif entered the West, and encouraged more looting and

killing. Then he took off the pledge of allegiance to Moulay Abdallah and pledged allegiance to his brother Moulay Zine El Abidine, convincing the army leaders in 1154 AH to appoint Zine El Abidine as the emir of the country, however, the people of Fez and the Udayas refused the pledge of allegiance to Zine El Abidine, so he besieged them. During the siege, the army was divided against itself, so he returned with whoever was left to Meknesah, and in the same year of 1154 AH, Moulay Abdullah was pledged for the 4th time (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 116-138 ; Al-Qadri, 1977, 380-410; Harkat, 1994, 3, 70-76; Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 6-7).

Some consider it to be the last pledge of allegiance in which the matter was established for Moulay Abdullah (Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 8), and in the same year of 1154 AH, the Pasha Ahmed Al-Rifi pledged allegiance to Maulana Al-Mustadi' and the army followed him; many battles took place between them until the two teams met at the Lakkos River. The army of Moulay won the battle and killed the pasha in 1156AH. Al-Mustadi' fled to Sala, and was appointed again in 1156AH by Pasha Abdel Haq Fneish, defeating Moulay Abdullah as he killed his brother. Moulay Abdullah did not stop, and went to battle with them in Azbaida in 1157 AH; he defeated them by killing many soldiers.

In 1158 A.H., Al-Mustadi' tried again to defeat them but he was eliminated (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 140-148; Harkat, 1994, 3, 76-77). In 1159, Moulay Abdullah bin Ismail was appointed, and the people of Fez started obeying him; He also appointed his son Muhammad as the governor of Marrakesh, who contributed to restoring the rest of Al-Bukhari's army to the Sultan in 1164 AH after they were pardoned. The last years of the era of Moulay Abdullah were quiet, especially after the exile of Al-Mustadi' to Tafilat in 1166 AH. In Safar of 1171 AH, Sultan Moulay Abdullah bin Ismail died after spending 30 years in power full of disputes and fights with his brothers over power (Al-Da'eef, 1986, 150-161; Al-Qadri, 1977, 4, 53-123; Harkat, 1994, 3, 78-83; Al-Musharraf, 2005, 2, 9-15).

Economic Aspect

The economic sectors in the Alawite state were as follows:

Agriculture

Morocco, like the societies that existed at that time, was dominated by the agricultural pattern. Based on the historical resources, Morocco was characterized by maximum fertility of land, and was capable of producing several crops such as wheat, barley, corn, olives, and others. Given the wide area of arable land in Morocco, as the region is considered a large food basket, we find, for example, the landing area of Al Habt² is characterized by the production of grains and fruits, and the mountains were distinguished by olive trees, figs, oranges, grapes and other fruits, as well as palm trees on the desert side (Dayf, n.d., 255-258).

Given the importance of this great economic resource, we find that agricultural land belongs to the state or to the groups, then private and confiscated properties come next. The state was pursuing a policy of feudalism. It gave some of its agricultural properties to some of the migrating tribes that wanted to settle somewhere in the country, or to senior state officials such as the army officials, who in turn, harness small farmers to serve them in exchange for a small part of the crop, and in order to achieve this result needs, appropriate climatic and political conditions need to be achieved. This aspect has been greatly affected by climatic and

² It is 100 miles long and 80 miles wide, west of the Atlantic, in the north, the Strait of Gibraltar, in the south, in the Azgar region. Its most important cities are Ceuta and Tangiers. (Dayf, n.d., 255).

political turmoil and 'Abid al-Bukhari crisis between the years (1139 AH-1171 AH), which led to frequent famines in the years: - (1133 AH - 1136 AH), (1149 -1150 AH), (1155 AH), (1163 AH), (1190 AH - 1196 AH) (Al-Bazzar, 1992, 35-78; Harkat, 1994, 3, 495-500; Kula, 2019, 207-215)

Industry

Morocco contains many mines of precious minerals such as iron, gold, silver, lead and others, but using these minerals in industry at that time was very limited due to the primitive methods they used. Fez was considered at that time one of the largest industrial cities in Morocco, as it was famous for its handicrafts including gold and silver jewelry, as well as copper utensils. They were also famous for weaving clothes, and this industry was very popular in the market, perhaps due to the availability of its raw materials in abundance such as wool, cotton and silk and the ease of weaving them due to the availability of simple traditional tools. The state also invested in military industries after they benefited from the Turkish mission that came to Morocco in 1181 AH, as its role was to build ships, make missiles, and teach how to deal with cannons. Sultan Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah ordered the construction of ships in Marsa Al-Adwatin and Larache, as well as the establishment of a house for the manufacturing of major ships in Rabat (Dayf, n.d., 308-309; Harkat, 1994, 3, 502-503; Kula, 2019, 215-218).

Commerce

Commerce was one of the most important activities practiced by Morocco at that time, and so markets were established for it, whether these markets were intended for the purpose of trade, such as the one in Fez, where "30 shops were established for clerks...shoe sellers who occupy about 150 shops, ... about 50 shops where they sell their fruits" (Al-Wazzan, 1983, 1, 233-234) or markets established in the open air along the agricultural areas and the mountains, where they sold whatever was needed, and in exchange they buy what they needed. They also found ways of foreign trade by establishing commercial routes to facilitate transactions between foreign cities and Morocco, for example, Sala Tetouan imports goods from Europe, and Tafilat from West Africa, as some sources indicate that Moroccan ports witnessed great commercial activity between 1692 and 1792; Port of Salé received 362 ships, port of Essaouira received 245 ships, and port of Safi received 187 ships (Al-Qadduri, 2012, 226). The commercial movement reached its peak during the reign of Sultan Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah, as the port of Fadala³ was built in 1185 AH, and the port of Dar al-Bayda was renewed. Moreover, Morocco's exports of grain increased during that period. In 1188 AH, Morocco exported 100 quintals of wheat to Spain and France carried on 30 ships (Harkat, 1994, 3, 504-517; Kula, 2019, 218-231).

Levies

Levies were one of the most important resources of the treasury in the Alawite state. Levies had different types in the Alawite state, some of which had a negative effect on society such as taxes that burdened people; that led to many revolutions against the rulers. Below are mentioned the most important levies of that time:

A- Zakat: Zakat of all kinds constituted an important source for the treasury in that period, as people were not allowed to donate on their own accord, as they needed to control

³ known today as Muhammadiyah.

them through the tax collectors. For example, we find that Sheikh Al-Yusi wrote to Moulay Ismail, complaining about the injustice of the tax collectors: "Our master, the tax collectors of his kingdom have imposed injustice and violence against the people... the rights of those who should receive these money were violated, and they never received it, so the sultan should inspect the collectors." These zakat were used by the treasury to pay its debts and the dues of its employees (Harkat, 1994, 3, 446-447)

B- The Jizya: The Jews and Christians residing in Morocco paid the Jizya to the treasury, while the Europeans used to pay it in the form of money, gifts, or both.

C- Al-Magharim: the gifts that city public figure present to the Sultan on religious holidays such as Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha.

D- Excise: It is imposed on the goods offered in the market and on its citizens whenever it sees an interest such as what happened in 1175 AH, after the civil war ended and led to emptying the treasury, Sultan Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah decided to issue a decision to introduce excises, but he found that some imams such as Al-Tawudi and Fassi violated these rules.

Social Aspect

Population Elements

A- Imazighen or Berbers

They are the basic element in the region, as Ibn Khaldun says, "Such a population, includes nations and lives that filled the earth; the Berbers are known in their countries and regions, and have been biased by their slogan for ages, even from before Islam." (Kula, 2019, 233) The Berbers living in this region are divided into two groups:

1- The Berbers of the Pyrenees: They are the descendants of Prince bin Barr bin Mazigh, and they inhabited the coastal and mountainous villages. Among their tribes are Masoudah, Azdaja, Kutama, Lamta, and others.

2- The Berbers of Al-Abtar: They are the descendants of Madghis bin Bar bin Qais, nicknamed Al-Abtar. They inhabited first, and among their tribes is the Darisa, Adasah, Nafusa, and Luwata.

B- Arabs

They started migrating to Morocco during the Islamic conquests in the caliphates of the Commanders Omar Ibn Al-Khattab (13 AH) and Othman Ibn Affan (23 AH), and they also contributed to spreading Islam and inviting people to it, which made a large number of Berbers enter Islam; the migration of Bani Hilal and Bani Salim to Morocco in the 5th century (AH) was the major cause of Arabs coming to Morocco, so they settled in it and dispersed in Morocco. Some of them lived in Hajja and its rivers in the north, and some others lived in Mekanés and Sala in the south, as their tribes mixed with the people of Morocco.

C- Andalusians

They began their migration to Morocco at the end of the 2nd century (AH); their major migration to Morocco happened after the fall of the Islamic state in Andalusia in (897 AH / 1492 AD) when they considered Morocco as their home. The people of Andalusia were people of civilization and culture, so the people of Morocco benefited a lot from them, especially in

the areas of irrigation, handicrafts, industries, and others. The Andalusians also settled in the West in Salé, Tetouan, Marrakesh and Meknes.

D- Jews

The Jews have lived in Morocco since BC; many of them came to Morocco after Caesar Titus destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem in (70 AD). Among their most known tribes were Bahloula and Banu Fazaz. They were also known for their professionalism in trade and industry; their presence in Fez was the largest in Morocco, until they left it by a decision of the Sultan in 1092 AH, so they went to live in remote and mountainous cities.

E- Christians:

They came to Morocco during the Byzantine and Roman empires. When the Muslims were asked to leave Andalusia, they brought their Christian slaves with them. During the era of the Alawite state, naval battles and treaties prospered between them and the Christians of Europe. This is why we find that many of those countries opened consulates in Morocco, as France has the largest number of them.

F- Blacks

Their presence extends to the era of the Carthaginian Empire and Roman states in Morocco, where they established trade relations with the Sub-Saharan Africa, which resulted in the migration of some black Africans to southern Morocco. The number increased after 1591 AD when Sultan Ahmed Al-Mansour Al-Saadi eliminated the Sengai state, and Sultan Moulay Ismail Al-Alawi also exploited their presence in Morocco to form an army that protects the state, which was aimed to be different from the society they had, also known as “Abid al-Bukhari” or “the slaves.”(Kula, 2019, 232-240).

Community Elements

A- The Honorable People

They were the descendants of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him. People admired and respected them for their ultimate lineage to the Prophet, peace be upon him, regardless of their condition, whether they were poor or rich. Despite this, a group of them possessed, in addition to the honor of prophetic connection, a special status and influence, as the Sultan used to ask for their help to calm the situation when disagreements occurred; they were also exempt from the taxes imposed by the Sultan.

B- Scholars

People respected and admired them as they were considered the heirs of the prophets, thus they gained a religious honor; people would return to them in all their affairs, regardless of their poverty or wealth. Some scholars also had an important role in supporting the rule of the sultan, as happened during the reign of Moulay Ismail, where the Fez Zawya, founded by Youssef El Fassi, contributed to strengthening Moulay Ismail's rule in Fez. The same was true about the Sharkawiya Zawya in Tadla, as the Sheikh of the -after the death of Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah - encouraged people to pledge allegiance to Suleiman and not Yazid.

C- Merchants

They are the traders who have economic activities and commercial transactions. This role granted each of them a temporal status linked to their ability to continue engaging in the economy

D- Haratine

They are Black people with African origins. Although they are free, they were discriminated and were assigned difficult jobs such as digging wells, building dams, and others.

D- The Public

They are the majority of people, including craftsmen and farmers. Some of them are business owners, and some work for others for wages (Kula, 2019, 241-245).

Examples of Religious Issues Addressed by Scholars

Perhaps one of the most prominent issues that were discussed by the scholars in that period was the issue of the slaves of Haratine, when the Sultan's letter came to them regarding the ownership of Haratin of Fez, in 1120 AH, so the scholars fled to the tops of the mountains (Makoul, 1993, 264 - etc)

A- The case of the Haratine of "Fes"

In 1108 AH, Sultan Moulay Ismail ordered the ownership of the Haratine slaves, but a disagreement occurred between the scholars, some of whom supported the sultan, justifying this with the right of the sultan to establish a strong army purely loyal to him, while others were against it, arguing that people are meant to be free, and that slavery can only come through recognition. One of the most known oppositions was the scholar Jasous. In 1120 AH, Sultan Qasim sent an order to enslave the remaining people in Fez. Some scholars stood against him, most notably the Arab judge Bardala and the jurist Jesus. The Arab judge was removed from the judiciary and the jurist Jesus was killed in his prison in 1121 AH.

Judge Bardala noted an important matter in his letter to the Sultan: "Why did you delay the decision up to this point? You have seen the situation and you did not do anything about it. Those who demand enslavement are in places far away from us, so we do not know their lineage, their notables, or even their names, let alone their freedom and affiliation, and what that letter did is addressing and proving those obligations after disagreeing with the judges, or an answer to the validity and permissibility of a question that does not contradict it. Those are the unavoidable obligations upon the witnesses of the country, its justice and its judges, so those who follow them are what they imitate. As for those who ask for enslavement whom we are talking about now, all of them have been with us since their birth in one country; we know them and we know that they are free and that is known to everyone. We have been called now to restrict that. In general, taking a decision in this matter is not easy, as it involves the rights of our Lord, Glory be to Him, and His servants. Let the insightful people do their best to save themselves and the others. May God protect us from slippage and grant us good words and actions. This is what I have to do, to give advice, and I Allah, Glory be to Him, to forgive me about this or other shortcomings. On the last day of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal of 1120 AH, I seek God Almighty's forgiveness, Al-Arabi bin Ahmed Bardala, Amen. Ended" (Sakalli, 2018, 29).

And the jurist Jasous said: "Praise be to Allah, the one who puts his name bears witness against himself, and Allah, glory be to Him, His angels and all His creation bear witness that I did not

agree with the enslavement because I did not find in the law anything that approves it, and I did not agree to it voluntarily or unwillingly, as I feared God, His Messenger and the law, and an eternity in Hell. I looked at the stories of the early imams when they were asked to do what was against the law, they sacrificed their money and their bodies for religion in fear of going against the law and deceiving people with them. Whoever thinks otherwise or claims that I did or said something that I didn't do or say, then God is going to be a witness over this matter, and God is the best trustee and peace be upon us". Abd al-Salam bin Hamdoun wrote, "God forgives his sins and faults, He finished his letter on Tuesday morning, Rabi` al-Thani 23, 1121AH, in prison. Ended"(Sakalli, 2018, 29).

B - Referring to origins and discarding Mukhtasarat

During the reign of Sultan Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah, a trend emerged calling for paying attention to the Qur'an and its interpretations and hadith books and ignoring the summaries (Mukhtasarat), claiming that the first are the essentials that people need to know, so it is important to use them during religion classes/lectures. In fact, this trend was not the first in Morocco, as we can find that imams paid more attention to the books of hadith, in the first Alawite era, such as Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdullah Maan Al-Andalusi, d. 1062 AH, and his student Al-Ayashi 1090 AH, and the righteous woman named Khentha bint Bakar bin Ali in 1159 AH, the grandmother of Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah to his father; since he was raised in her arms and received knowledge and discipline from her, it may be due to "her modern thinking which had an impact on his thinking and inclinations" and this is what made him adopt this trend and be motivated by it. The sources also mention that the period of his rule was one of the highest intellectual activity periods in Morocco, as this era was full of wise scholars such as: Abu Al-Abbas Al-Sijlmasi 1175 AH, Abu Madyan Al-Fassi 1181 AH, Abi Al-Ala Al-Iraqi 1183 AH, Abi Hafs Al-Fassi 1191 AH, Al-Tawudi 1209 AH, and others. Many of the works were produced in that period, whether in jurisprudence, mysticism, grammar, logic, language etc. However, Quran interpretation and hadith were barely discussed in any new books. Al-Hawat argues that teaching was limited in some categories to only one book, for example in the science of hadith "the people only taught the two Sahihs and in terminology: Alfiya al-Iraqi, and Seera: Al-Ikrifaa by al-Kalaa'i and ignored other books.... For example, people stopped teaching and studying the interpretation of Quran and rumors spread about it that made people avoid it even more."

We also find in his letter, "Mawaheb Al- Mannan, Bima Yata'akkad Ala Al-Muallemeen Ta'leemah lil Sibyaan", that the purpose is to educate the teachers and encourage them to understand the beliefs and laws; he states: "During my travels from Meknesah to Marrakesh in 1203, I met many who did not adhere to the knowledge of their religion. As I love advising Muslims, I decided to collect important religious issues and matters, focusing on what is necessary to facilitate its memorization for children and the elderly as well." In 1201 AH, the Sultan sent nearly 500 students to the mosques of Marrakesh so that they could read Sahih al-Bukhari (Al-Afeyya, 1989, 245-255; Al-Alawi, 1996, 7-17; Kula, 2019, 267)

We also found that in 1203 AH, he sent a pamphlet to Imam Al-Tawudi in Fez, saying: "We have been commanded to study only the Book of Allah Almighty with its interpretation; among the books of the hadith we shall study the books of Isnad, and those extracted from Al-Bukhari and Muslim and other Sahih books; among the fiqh books we shall study Al-Modawwana and Albayan and AlTahseel and introduction By Ibn Rashd, and Al-Jawaher by Ibn Shas and Al-nawader and Alresalah by Abi Zayd and others. Whoever wants to teach Khalil's Mukhtasar, he shall do so using the explanation of Bahram al-Kabeer, al-Mawaq, al-Hattab, Sheikh Ali al-

Ajhuri and al-Kharshi al-Kabeer, and nothing else, as these five explanations are taught by Khalil, and are sufficient, while the rest of the explanations are all discarded and not studied for the book..... So this is the plan, InshaAllah, and we order Al-Tawudi-the jurist- to work according to what is in this book.”(Ibn Zidan, 1937, 2, 61-62)

C- The case of Al-Rabat

When the governor, Al-Arabi Al-Masteri, was unable to lead the people out in the end of 1186 AH, Sultan Moulay Muhammad decided to expel them from their land by claiming that it was the land of the army, and that the Sultan Yaqoub bin Yusuf Al-Muwahidi was the one who built it, and the sultan has the right to inherit it. Therefore in the beginning of 1187 AH, he sent a letter to Fez scholars to ask them for a fatwa in this matter. The scholars agreed with him, except for some of them. Imam Al-Tawudi issued a fatwa as follows: “If a man stays in a land and uses it for 11 years and no one argues about its ownership, then the land belongs to him. He said to Fez scholars that if the Rabat people are asked to leave using that excuse, then soon you will also be asked to leave as well, as the builder of Fez is Maulana Idris, and he was a prince, so he inherits what he built too”(Al-Da’eef, 1986, 177). The Sultan removed him from his position and ordered him to stay in his house. Later on, the Sultan changed his mind about expelling the people of Rabat, fearing that if they were gone, no one would do their job.

D- Customs

“Due to the emptiness of the treasury, which resulted from civil wars during the reign of Sultan Abdullah, Sultan Muhammad III issued a fatwa from the jurists in 1175 AH / 1762 AD to introduce customs”(Al-Nasiri, 1997, 8, 7; Kula, 2019, 198). He had asked few jurists of Fez and others, including Imam Al-Taoudi to issue a fatwa but they rejected the tax policy. Al-Tawudi together with Allamah Al-Fassi wrote a book called “The provisions of zakat for rulers”, and he also wrote “Revealing how the treasury is organized”(Al-Omrani, 2009, 153)

E- Encouraging the scholars to write:

He urged people to explain "Mashareq al-Anwar" by al-Sanani, so Sheikh Al-Tawudi explained a third of the book, while Sheikh Abu Al-Saud Bukhareed and Al-Alaa Al-Iraqi explained the second and the third thirds, respectively. Sultan Moulay Suleiman also used to utilize the nights of Ramadan by joining meetings that discuss hadiths; he also ordered the distribution of Al-Nawawi's Forty Hadith to scholars so they can teach it, inciting scholars to teach and preserve Al-Khalil's Mukhtasar. Finally, he cancelled the customs that were implemented by his father Moulay Mohammed bin Abdullah.

Conclusion

This study aims to spotlight one of the most significant periods in the history of Morocco, as it is one of the duration which links between the middle history and the modern history of the region. As it sheds light on some aspects of the political, economic, and social life for approximately one hundred years from the birth of Imam Al-Taoudi in the year 1111 AH to his death in 1209 AH. The researcher also mentioned some of the jurisprudential issues that emerged during that period and had a role in shaping the personality of the imam and formulating his thought.

However, many researchers never concentrate on studying this period in which Imam Al-Taoudi lived. After induction and research, the researcher did not find a study that dealt with this period; that is why this study is providing uniqueness on its kind as it sheds light on the era of Imam Al-Taoudi from the perspective of political, economic, and social aspects. The

researcher also recommends his fellow researchers to further studies on the contribution of the jurisprudential legacy of this imam, who is considered a prominent scholar of this region.

Results

- Imam Al-Tawudi attended many devastating events and witnessed and heard the scholars' ijtihad in each of them. This has helped him gain an exceptional cognitive experience and a strong capability in knowing how to deduce as well as the political and jurisprudential dimension of each issue.
- Disseminating knowledge among people needs a sultan who will control and a scholar who will teach, as it was said that a sultan can impose punishments when the people ignore what was stated in the Quran. Thus, the sultans urged the Alawite state throughout their rule to do so. So we find Moulay Ismail and his letters with Al-Yusi, as well as Moulay Muhammad bin Abdullah, urging Imam Al-Tawudi to write and make him his advisor, and the same was true with Moulay Suleiman.
- Al-Tawudi was not one of the scholars who would agree with the sultan blindly, but he had his own free opinion. This is clearly evident in his opinions going against those of the Sultan in a number of cases, the most prominent of which are the cases of the land of Rabat, and the imposition of the customs on people.

References

- Al-Afeyya, A. (1989). *Malameh Al-Harakah Al-Fekreyya fi ahd al-sultan seedy Mohamed Bin Abdullah. Dawat Al-Haqq Magazine, 273, 245–255.*
- Al-Alawi, M. bin A. (1996). *Mawaheb Al- Mannan, Bima Yata'akkad Ala Al-Muallemeen Ta'leemah lil Sibyaan. Verified and edited the original version: Ahmed Al-Alawi.* Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs.
- Al-Bazzar, M. A.-A. (1992). *Tareekh Al-Awbeah wal majaan bil Maghreb fil qarnayn althamen ashar wal tase' ashar.* Publications of the Faculty of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences in Rabat.
- Al-Da'eef, M. bin A. al-S. (1986). *Tareekh Al-Da'eef. Verified, commented and presented by: Ahmed Al-Ammari.* (1st ed.). Mathurat publishing.
- Al-Fadhili, I. (1999). *Al-Durrar Al-Baheyya wal Jawaher Al-Nabaweyya. Reviewed: Ahmed bin Al-Mahdi Al-Alawi, Mustafa Ahmed Al-Alawi.* Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs.
- Al-Hawat, A. R. S. (1994). *Al-Rawda Al-Maqsooda wal-Hillel Al-mamdooda Fi Ma'aser Beni Souda. Study and Verification: Abdul Aziz Tilani,* (1st ed.). Ahmed Bensouda Cultural Foundation.
- Al-Nasiri, A. bin K. (1997). *Al-Issteqsa Li-akhbar dowal al maghreb al-aqsa. Verification and commentary: Jaafar Al-Nasiri, Muhammad Al-Nasiri.* Kitab publishing.
- Al-Omrani, A. (2009). sheikh Al-Jama'ah Bi-Fas Mohamed Al-Tawudi Bin Sawda Nozleya. *Journal of the Maliki School of Thought, 7, 149–173.*
- Al-Qadduri, A. M. (2012). *Al-Maghreb ma bayn alqarnayn al-Khāmis ashar wa-al-Thāmin 'ashar.* (2nd ed.). Arab Cultural Center.
- Al-Qadri, M. bin A.-T. (1977). *Nashr Al Mathani li-ahl alqarn alhadi ashar wal thani. Verified: Muhammad Hajji, Ahmed Al-Tawfiq.* Maghrib for writing, translation and publishing.
- Al-Tawudi, A. A. M. (2002). *Al-Fahrasah Alsoghra wal Kobra. Study and Verification: Abdul Majeed Khayali,* (1st ed.). Scientific Books House.
- Al-Tazi, A. (1988). *The diplomatic history of Morocco from the earliest times to today.*

- Al-Wazzan, A.-H. bin M. (1983). *Wasf Afreeqya* (2nd ed.). Islamic West Publishing.
- Al-Zayani, A.-Q. (n.d.). *Al-Bustan Al-Zarif Fi Dawlat Awlad Moulay Sharif. Study and verification: Rasheed Al-Zawiya*. Alawite Studies and Research Center.
- Dayf, S. (n.d.). *Asr Dowal Al-Emarat Wal Jazae'r- Al Maghreb Al-Aqsa Mauritania Sudan* (1st ed.). Ma'aref publishing.
- Harkat, I. (1994). *Almaghreb 'abr al tareekh* (2nd ed.). Modern Dar Al-Rashad.
- Ibn Al-Hajj, A. A. M. bin H. (1991). *Al-Ta'reef Bil-Tawudi Ibn Sawda*. Jaafar Ibn Al-Hajj Al-Sulami. Arab Book Press.
- Ibn Zidan, A. al-R. (1937). *Al-Durrar Al Fakhera Bi-maather Al-Mulook Alalaweyyen bifas Alzahira*. Economic Press.
- Issawi, M. (2014). sheikh Al-Jama'ah Al-Alama Al-Tawudi Bin Sawda Alfasi Faqeehan wa mohdethan. *Al-Modawwana Magazine*, 2, 131–177.
- Kula, N. (2019). *Al-Maghreb al-aqsa fi ahd al dawla al-alweyya fi ketab al-esteqsa lil nasry*. University of Abu Bakr Belkaid. Tlemcen.
- Makhlouf, M. bin M. bin O. (2003). *Shajarat Al-noor Al Zakiyya fi Tabaqat Al-Malekeyya* (1st ed.). Scientific Books Publishing.
- Makoul, A. (1993). Namazej min tasaddi Al-Ulama Lil-fasad Al-Ejtemaii wal dini wal soofu khilal alqarnayn al-hejreyyayn alhadi ashhar wal thani. In *Symposium of the scientific movement in the era of the Alawite state to the end of the 19th* (pp. 264–278).
- Muhammad, M. (2005). *al-Hulal al-bahiyah fi muluk al-dawlah al-Alawiyah Wa d baḍ mafakhiraha ghayr al-mutanahiyah*. (1st ed.). Wizarat al-Awqaf wa al Shuun al-Islamiyah al-Maghrib.
- Provencal, L. (1977). *Moarekho Al-Shurafaa. Translation: Abdul Qadir Al-Khaladi*. Dar Al-Maghrib for writing, translation and publishing.
- Sakalli, K. (2018). Reesalat al-Alama Alqadi Bardala Ila Al-sultan Moulay Ismail Al-Alwi fi qadeyat Haratine. *Lexus Magazine*, 21, 17–30.