

## Jewish Voices in Muslim Family Archives: A Report on Muḥammad Dāwūd's Library

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“If you want to collect firewood,” as the Moroccan proverb goes, “go to non-explored places.” It seems that despite the substantial improvement in archival material collections,<sup>1</sup> Moroccan historians, anthropologists and social scientists have not yet fully recognized the wisdom of this local proverb. Many have not bothered to make extra efforts to search for uncommon sources of archives and historical material. Some argue that there is no firewood to be collected and have chosen to seek their sources in colonial state archives of Paris, Madrid, Rome, and London. For Muḥammad Dāwūd, the local historian of the northern city of Tétouan, historians have been “hypnotized” by these official colonial archives; most of it, today sits in the shelves of libraries and institutions in France, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Dāwūd argued that we do not need to go to these official and common stores to find material to explain social and historical issues; instead, he advised scholars and historians in particular to travel around the villages and cities of Morocco and their outskirts, meet with people from all walks of life, listen to the sounds of their surroundings and record their lifestyles.<sup>2</sup>

Searching for material in unusual places has been an ethnographic principle of Dāwūd's method of historical inquiry and writing. My experience in southern Morocco supports Dāwūd's claim about the unexpected richness

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1. In the post-colonial period, a number of scholars wrote on the state of the archives and libraries in Morocco. We can name as examples Ahmed-Chouqi Binebine, *Histoire des bibliothèques au Maroc* (Casablanca: Imprimerie Najah El-Jadida, 1992); Abdellah Ganoun, “Arba'u khazā'in li-arba'ati 'ulamā' min al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar,” *Revue de l'institut des Manuscrits Arabes* 9 (1963): 46-105; Mohammed Ibrahim al-Kattani, “Les manuscrits de l'Occident Africain dans les bibliothèques du Maroc,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* IX (1968): 57-63; Abdelwahab Ben Mansour, *al-Wathā'iq*. Vols 1-8 (al-Ribāt: al-Matba'at al-Malakiyya, 1977-1989); Daniel Schroeter, “The royal Palace archives of Rabat and the Makhzen in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century,” *The Maghreb Review* 7 (1-2) (1982): 41-45; Joseph Schacht, “On some manuscripts in the libraries of Morocco,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* IX (1) (1968): 5-57; P. Maillard, “La Bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Tanger,” *Revue du Monde Musulman* 35 (1917-18): 105-92; Germain Ayache, “La question des archives historiques marocaines,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* II (2-3) (1961): 311-26; Thomas K. Park, “A Report on the State of the Moroccan Archives,” *History in Africa* 10 (1983): 395-409; Daniel Rivet, “Archives coloniales et écriture de l'histoire du Protectorat,” In *Recherches sur l'histoire du Maroc: Esquisse de bilan*, ed. Mohamed El Mansour el al., 25-33 (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1989). For more detailed bibliography see, Aomar Boum and Thomas K. Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 662-665.

2. Muḥammad Dāwūd, *Tārīkh Tiṭwān*, vol. 1 (Tétouan: n.p., 1964), 25.

of private archives.<sup>3</sup> I met and interviewed many families who later opened their personal libraries and collection only to be pleasantly surprised by the amount of documents on Muslims and Jews and their economic, social and political relationships. Like al-Mukhtar al-Susi, in the region of Sous, Dawūd's collection is today one of the most important private libraries and archives on the city of Tétouan and its relationship to the rest of the country and the Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup> Unlike al-Susi's collections, however, Dawūd's collection is one of the most accessible family libraries in Morocco today. It is also a collection that is full of religious, social, economic and cultural voices, and despite the fact that Dawūd acknowledged that it is incomplete, he advised us, as readers, to listen carefully to its sounds and silences to learn about the history of Tétouan including its Jews.<sup>5</sup>

In his last will and testament, Mul:mmmad Dawūd empowered his family with the task of managing his library and historical collections as a public trust.<sup>6</sup> The archives of Mul:iannd Dawūd are unique in many ways. They demonstrate the concern of many nationalists during the colonial period about the dangers of colonial historical and historiographical writings. They also highlight the process and challenges of collections and information gathering as one of the dimensions of this classical school of national history.<sup>7</sup> Dawūd was at the forefront of collection campaign in private libraries (*jam'*

3. Aomar Boum, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

4. Aomar Boum, "Dusting off the Family Archives: Akka as a Case Study of Regional Historiography of the Anti-Atlas Oases," *Hespèris-Tamuda* XLIX (2014): 155-183.

5. I am not claiming that Moroccan and western historians have completely ignored "unusual archival troves." Instead given my experience in Akka in 2004, I am calling attention to do more to salvage some of these documents. Scholars such as Daniel Schroeter, Jamaâ Baïda, Mohammed Kenbib, Khalid Ben-Srhir and Aomar Afa among others have already done their part in seeking these unusual sources of material related to Moroccan Jewries. See Daniel Schroeter, "The town of Mogador (Essaouira) and aspects of change in pre-colonial Morocco: a bibliographical essay," *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* 6 (1): 24-38; Jessica Marglin, *Across Legal Lines: Jews and Muslims in Modern Morocco* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2016); Aomar Afa, *Tūriḫ al-Maghrib al-Mulīfīr: Dirī, sū, fī al-Mašdir, wa al-Mujtama' wa al-Iqtīšdī* (Al-Ribat: Manshūrat kulliyat al-'adab wa al-'ulūm aVinsaniyya, 2002); Germain Ayache, "La recherche au Maroc sur l'histoire du judaïsme." In *Juifs du Maroc: identité et dialogue*. Actes du colloque international sur la communauté juive marocaine: vie culturelle, histoire, sociale et evolution. Paris, December 18-21, 1978, 31-35 (Paris: La pensée sauvage, 1985); Jamaâ Baida, *La presse marocaine d'expression française des origines à 1956* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1996); Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc 1859-1948: Contribution à l'histoire des relations inter-communautaires en terre d'Islam* (Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1994); Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco during the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, trans. Malcolm Williams and Gavin Waterson (London and New York: Routledge Curzon and Frank Cass, 2005).

6. I:lasna Mul:jammed, Dawūd, *'Ala ra 'sī al-thamīn al-juz' al-mukamil li-mudakirat Muhammed Dawūd (ala ra'si al-arba'in)* (Titwân: Manshuratjam'iyat TitwanAsmir, 2011), 306-308.

7. Mohammed El Mansour, "Moroccan Historiography since Independence." In *The Maghreb in Question: Essays in History and Historiography*, ed. Michel Le Gal, and Kenneth Perkins, 109-20 (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997).

*al-wathii'iq wa al-mustanadiit*). He believed that historical collection is a "national obligation" (*wijjib wafanġ*), noting that "it is important that people who can write should write about the region they know, the subject they understand, and with the style they perfect."<sup>8</sup> On the basis of good and bad historical styles and works, Dawūd hypothesized, we would have enough information to write a comprehensive national history that includes the political, military, scientific, literary economic and social aspects.

What is the importance of the regional project in today's Moroccan historical studies? Why do we need to reconsider our approach to private archives despite the reluctance of their owners to open them for public access?

Since his appointment as the director of the Archives of Morocco (Archives du Maroc) in 2011,<sup>9</sup> Jamaâ Baïda focused part of his attention on securing and preserving public and private archives. Moroccan archives have largely been influenced by French colonial policies.<sup>10</sup> Given the ethnographic nature of the French colonial archives of Morocco, research institutions, publications and expÉditions to Morocco between 1900 and 1912 focused on the collection of documents<sup>11</sup> and knowledge that informed and defined the "production of policy-relevant social research."<sup>12</sup> In 1926, the colonial authorities introduced laws that organized the management of the archives. However, in addition to the failure of post-independence national authorities to apply these rules, the archives' laws were not updated until 2007.

Promulgated by the Dahir no. 1-07-167' on 30 November 2007, law no. 66-99 defines archives as "ail documents, regardless of their date, their shape and material support, produced or received by any natural or legal person and any service or public agency, in the exercise of their activity."<sup>13</sup> Given the historical neglect that faced political, social and cultural private and public collections, the Archives of Morocco was given the legal authority and financial autonomy to ensure the management and conservation of public records for administrative, social and cultural objectives.

Baïda argues that one of the biggest challenges of his tenure at the Archives of Morocco will be the creation of a national culture of archives where owners of small or large private collections trust the institution as

8. Muljammad Dawūd, *Tiirikh Tġ twġn*, vol. 1 (Tġ:wiin: n.p., 1964), 25.

9. See discussion of this issue in Baïda's contribution in this volume.

10. Edmund Burke, III, "The Creation of the Moroccan Colonial Archives, 1880-1930," *History and Anthropology*, 18 (!) (2007): 1-9.

11. Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits Arabes de Rabat* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1921); Louis Massignon, "Une bibliothèque saharienne," *Revue du Monde Musulman* VII (1909): 409-18.

12. Burke, "The Creation of the Moroccan," 4.

13. See Bulletin Officiel du Maroc.

safe repository.<sup>14</sup> He notes that in addition to educating new generations of Moroccans about the importance of the preservation of archives, laws and educational and professional training will play a significant role in the preservation of material through the appropriate filing and safeguarding of public records.

Administrators and leaders within many national institutions have historically failed to preserve the historical records of their institutions. The distinction between private and public records has rarely been respected. Therefore many public figures moved the records of their institution to their private homes and collection once their service ended. Despite the fact that many families nationwide continue to preserve these collection related to national history, political parties and culture among other things, their homes and libraries do not meet the standards required for proper preservation of documents.

The Archives of Morocco does not have the legal authority to require individuals to give their private collection. Private archives are family property. Families are not legally bound to preserve them or donate them to an archive repository. Yet despite the unwillingness of many historical families to share and donate their *persona!* collection to the national institution, Baïda has succeeded in acquiring a number of collections since his appointment as the head of the institutions. In 2015, the Archives of Morocco organized a conference on private archives as a national patrimony during which the institution paid homage to the families of Mohamed Guessous, Larbi Messari, Saïd Hansali, and Abdessamad Kenfaoui for donating their *persona!* collections. Yet, despite these few cases many historical and political families continue to hold their collections in their private homes. Many families established *persona!* foundations such as Fondation Allal El Fassi and Abderrahim Bouabid partly as research centers and conferences venues for national and international researchers to access the private papers of the nationalist leaders.

Unlike these emerging familial institutions and libraries, the Library of Mul)ammed Dawüd remains one of the oldest family archives established and organized by a nationalist leader and intellectual during the post-independence period. Like Baïda, Dawüd believed not only in the importance of writing and challenging colonial readings of historical archives, but also in expanding their collection as part of national collective political interest. During his tenure as director of the *al-khiziina al-hassaniya* in Rabat, Dawüd was faced with the same challenges that Baïda is facing today. Both scholars believed that the marginal voices in private and public archives are as important as the voices of ministers and head of political parties.

14. *Persona!* communication, November 12, 2015. Los Angeles, CA.



Mul'ammad Dawüd, 1920s, source: Dawüd library

In this short essay I argue that the library and family archives of Mul'ammad Dawüd are full of Jewish voices which could help shed more light on the Jewish communities of the north and their relationship to the rest of the country.<sup>15</sup> These voices are present in three dimensions of his collections and work: legal and diplomatic manuscripts, newspapers, and photographs. At the same time, I also contend that even if Dawüd was consciously aware of the importance of all events and voices in the construction of a general and comprehensive history of Morocco, many private archives throughout the country could similarly help us shed more light on Jewish communities throughout Morocco if their owners open them to the general public of historians.

15. In *Türkh T(bw'in*, Dawüd reproduced many copies of these documents reflecting aspects of Jewish-Muslim relations that he collected over the years.

Born in Tétouan (Titwân) on 1 April 1901, Dâwüd pursued his education in Fez under the supervision of many scholars at al-Qarawiyyin University. Dawüd argues that his educational experience in Fez transformed his views of the importance not only of writing history but also its centrality in nation-building. Upon his return to Tétouan, Dâwüd began a career in education and journalism. He started as a correspondent of *al-Ahram* and was charged with the coverage of the Rif War. His interest in history, documentation, writing, education and journalism influenced his approach to regional history and historiography with all its complexities. In *Tarfkh Ti\_twan*, Dâwüd writes:

I wrote what I wrote, I collected what I collected, I commented on what I saw based on my school of writing general histories. It is a school that believes that the historian should point out the facts, describe the events as they are or as he sees them without forgery or dishonesty.<sup>16</sup>

Dâwüd underlines the freedom of readers to read and interpret the historical text based on his/her training and background. He also points out that given the fact that society is composed of a variety of classes and individuals, the role of the historian is not only to photocopy the reality in front of his/her eyes but also to avoid propaganda, personal interest and never to be afraid to report the facts by noting the small and general information, giving voices to smart and stupid views, laymen and scholars, strong and weak members of society.<sup>17</sup> This view of history has allowed Dâwüd more than any national historian or archival collector to focus on many dimensions of Moroccan Jews in Tétouan and their history in the context of his work on Tétouan but also the larger dimension of Jewish-Muslim relations during the mandate and after the establishment of the state of Israel. A close reading of Dawüd's collections and historical writing provides fundamental insights into major local projects during and after the colonial period that nationalist historians were involved in implementing despite limited resources and logistical obstacles.

Located in northern Morocco near the Mediterranean coast, the history of Tétouan has been linked since the sixteenth century to the arrival of the Sephardic Jewish population from Spain.<sup>18</sup> Therefore Judaism and Jewish life have been a central part of the development of the city since the arrival

16. Dawüd, *Tarfkh Titwân*, vol. 1, 25.

17. Ibid., 29. Also see, Mhamad ben Aboud, "Mulaqa'at al-Jawâ muqadimat kitab Tatikh Titwân li al-faqih Mu'jamad Dâwid." In Mu'jamad Dâwid: *al-baraka al-wataniyya fi al-shamiil wa al-mas'ala al-thaqifiyya*, ed. Ittihad kuttub al-Maghreb, 79-86 (al-Ribat: matba'at al-rna'iirifal-jadida, 1990).

18. Jacob Israel Garzón, *Los Judios de Tetuim*, (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2005); Nina Pinto-Abecasis, *The Peacock, the Ironed man and the half-woman. Nicknames, humor and folklore in the day-to-day speech of Tetouan's Haketia-speaking Jews* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2014); Mohammed Kenbib, "Les juifs de Tétouan entre la chronique et l'histoire," *Hespéris-Tamuda* XXIV (1986): 273-299.

of Muslims and Jews in the aftermath of the Inquisition. My choice of the Dâwüd Library as an example of a private collection emerges from the fact that it is not only one of the first national libraries and private collection to be open to the general public, but also that the content of collections is available through the Internet.<sup>19</sup> The library is organized into three key sections: 1) books, 2) documentation (handwritten and photos), and 3) newspapers. In the context of the study of the Jews of Tétouan and their histories, the personal archives of Dâwüd offer a lot of material that encompasses the three sections.

In terms of documentation, the nature of documents relating to Jews varies depending on political, economic and social issues. Some of the documents include:

- Letters between the representative of the sultan and Great Britain asking for the protection of the Jews of Tétouan.<sup>20</sup>
- Letters and reports on the Mellah of Tétouan and its Jews.<sup>21</sup>
- Letters from the sultan calling for the protection of local Jews.<sup>22</sup>
- Report on the relationship between the Jews of Tetouan and Caid Ben Youssef.<sup>23</sup>
- Report on the relationship between the Jews of Tétouan and foreign governments.<sup>24</sup>
- Letters from the sultan asking his local representative to lower the taxes levied against local Jews.<sup>25</sup>
- Letters and reports on attacks against Jews.<sup>26</sup>
- Reports on the killing of a Jew by a Muslim.<sup>27</sup>
- Description of taxes levied on the Jewish merchants of Tétouan.<sup>28</sup>
- A letter calling on the local governor to release a Jewish prisoner.<sup>29</sup>
- Letter from the sultan to his Jewish representative Yuda Ibn 'Ali! in Gibraltar.<sup>30</sup>

19. "Maktabat Mul)ammad Dawüd," accessed June 19, 2016, www.daoud.ws.

20. Dawüd, *Tiirfkh Ti twiin*, vol. 4, 12-4.

21. Dawüd, *Tififikh T(twan*, vol. 2, 237-39; Dawud, *Tarikh Tifwiin*, vol. 7, 374.

22. Dawüd, *Tarikh Ti twiin*, vol. 7, 68-9; Dawüd, *Tiirikh Tifwiin*, vol. 5, 62-3.

23. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Ti twan*, vol. 7, 80-2.

24. Dawüd, *Tarikh Titwan*, vol. 7, 373.

25. Dawüd, *Tarikh T(twüin*, vol. 5.

26. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Ti twiin*, vol. 9, 317-18.

27. Dawüd, *Tiirikh T(twüin*, vol. 5.

28. Diiwüd, *Tiirfkh Tifwiin*, vol. 9, 437.

29. Diiwüd, *Tiirikh Tifwiin*, vol. 7, 58.

30. Ibid., 60-63.

- Letters on the protection of Jewish merchant during their movement between Tétouan and Tangier.<sup>31</sup>
- Economie relations and credit between merchants of Tetouan and Fes.<sup>32</sup>
- Report on Jewish minters from Tetouan.<sup>33</sup>
- Letters calling on the governor to respect Jewish holidays.<sup>34</sup>
- Legal cases involving Jewish litigants.<sup>35</sup>
- Reports on the question of foreign and European protection and Moroccan Jews.<sup>36</sup>
- Description of loans from the sultan to the Jews of Tetouan.<sup>37</sup>
- Reports on the relationship between Zionist groups and the Jews of Morocco.<sup>38</sup>

It is important to note here that these documents and reports are collected from individuals and families in Tétouan and other regions in Morocco. In addition to these documents, the library also contains a set of media reports about the relationship between the nationalist movement in the north and other Arab leaders especially Chakib Arsalan, a close friend of Dawüd himself. These reports shed an important light on the Palestinian question and the views of Moroccan nationalists about the question of Palestine especially in the 1930s.<sup>39</sup> Dawüd was also aware of the historical importance of images, photographs and postcards. Many of these visual documents are about local Jewish folklore, individuals and habitat.

Unlike many personal libraries and archives in Morocco, the private collection of Dawüd still remains one of the most accessible. There is a relatively good Internet website ([www.daoud.ws](http://www.daoud.ws)) that introduces researchers to its content. Yet, despite the easy access to the collection, partly because the descendants of Dawüd have respected his wish, the Muliammad Dawüd Library needs to seek a partnership with the Archives of Morocco not only to facilitate research and improve access to its database but also to partner

31. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Ti twiin*, vol. 9, 124-125; 132.

32. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Tifwln*, vol. 7, 83.

33. Ibid., 97; 264.

34. Ibid., 154-55.

35. Ibid., 271-272.

36. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Titwiiin*, vol. 9, 75.

37. Ibid., 140-141; Dawüd, *Tiirikh Ti twiin*, vol. 2, 273.

38. Dawüd, *Tiirikh Ti twiin*, vol. 9, 280.

39. In 1933, Dawüd founded an association to collect money in Tétouan for Palestine. In 1960, Dawüd travelled with Mohammed ben Youssef (future King Mohammed V) to Jerusalem and attended the Islamic Conference on Jerusalem. He produced a report detailing the trip.

in safeguarding the collection from decay. Despite the efforts of the family of Dawüd in maintaining the collections in good condition, it does not have the resources that the institution of the Archives du Maroc could have in the future. At the same time, this partnership could fulfill the wish of Dawüd to bring together local archives for a better and comprehensive rewriting and understanding of Moroccan history.

The collection of Dawüd offers a set of themes and documents about the marginal and the taboo. Dawüd names specifically slaves and Jews. He argued against historical erasure because it camouflages national weaknesses. By producing a comprehensive archive that foregrounds all aspects of social, political and economic national issues Morocco could build a better future grounded on a frank look at its own past. This was the spirit of Dawüd's work until his death in 1982. It is today's mission of Jamaâ Baïda and the Archives of Morocco. It is a spirit that requires a future partnership between the private owner and the public collector based on national trust.

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ملخص: أصوات يهودية في محفوظات أسرة مسلمة: تقرير عن مكتبة محمد

داود

كثير من الباحثين في التاريخ المغربي يفترضون أن هناك القليل من المعطيات المتعلقة باليهود المغاربة و اليهودية في المجموعات الخاصة. وقد أثبت محمد داود عكس ذلك في حياته كمؤرخ و جامع للوثائق. وهناك كثير من المعلومات عن اليهود والجماعات الهامشية الأخرى مثل العبيد والنساء. وفي أبحاثه المتعلقة بتطوان، يوفر داود مثالا يمكن للمؤرخين الاقتداء به. وأعتقد انه على الرغم من التمحيص المتعب و العسير في هذه المجموعة و الارشيفات الخاصة الاخرى

يمكن ان نتعلم المزيد عن يهود المغرب من خلال المواد الجديدة التي ربما لا تتوفر في الأرشيفات الوطنية و الدولية .

الكلمات المفتاحية: وثائق عائلية، المسلمون، اليهود، تطوان، محمد داود، التاريخ المحلي

**Résumé: Voix juives dans les archives de la famille musulmane: Un rapport sur la bibliothèque de Mul}ammad Diiwüd**

De nombreux chercheurs en histoire du Maroc supposent qu'il existe peu de données sur les juifs marocains et le judaïsme dans les collections privées. Dans sa vie d'historien et de collectionneur de documents, Mohammed Daoud a prouvé le contraire. Il ya beaucoup d'informations sur les Juifs et d'autres groupes marginaux tels les esclaves et les femmes dans ses écrits. Dans son travail sur Tétouan, Daoud fournit un exemple pionnier que les historiens pourraient suivre. J'assume que, malgré les difficultés qu'imposent l'utilisation de cette collection et d'autres archives privées, nous pourrions en apprendre davantage sur les Juifs du Maroc à travers de nouveaux documents qui ne sont probablement pas disponibles dans les archives nationales et internationales.

**Mots clés:** archives de famille, musulmans, Juifs, Tétouan, Mul}ammad Diiwüd, histoire locale.

**Abstract: Jewish Voices in Muslim Family Archives: A Report on Mul}ammad Diiwüd's Library**

Many scholars of Moroccan history assume that there is little data of Moroccan Jews and Judaism in private collections. In his life as a historian and a collector of documents, Mohammed Daoud proved the contrary. There is a lot of information about Jews and other marginal groups such slaves and women. In his work on Tétouan, Daoud provides a trailblazing example that historians could follow. I argue that despite the tiring dimensions of sifting through this collection and other private archives we could learn more about the Jews of Morocco through new material that is probably not available in the common national and international archives.

**Key words:** Family Archives, Muslims, Jews, Tetouan, Mu}ammad Diiwüd, local history.

**Resumen: Voces judias en archivos de la familia musulmana: Un informe sobre la biblioteca de Mu}ammad Diiwüd**

Muchos estudiosos de la historia marroquí asumen que hay pocos datos de los judíos marroquíes y el judaísmo en colecciones privadas. En su vida como historiador y coleccionista de documentos, Mohamed Daoud demostró lo contrario. Hay mucha información sobre los judíos y otros grupos marginales como esclavos y mujeres. En su obra sobre Tetuan, Daoud proporciona un ejemplo pionero que los historiadores podrían seguir. Sostengo que a pesar de las agotadoras dimensiones de tamizar esta colección y otros archivos privados podríamos aprender más sobre los judíos de Marruecos a través de nuevos materiales que probablemente no estén disponibles en los archivos nacionales e internacionales comunes.

**Palabras clave:** Archivos familiares, Musulmanes, Judíos, Tetuan, Mu}ammad Diiwüd, historia local.