Marrakesh, A City in the Process of Change; Studies in Urbanization and Urbanism

Richard Leon Press

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Marrakesh, A City in the Process of Change; Studies in Urbanization and Urbanism

Abstract
The overall purpose of this thesis is to describe and analyze a contemporary Muslim city by applying as organizing concerns the dual phenomena of urbanization and urbanism to the city of Marrakesh, Morocco. This kind of study, which in itself is a series of related studies, is intended to elucidate the recent stimuli and responses to change in Marrakesh and also to be a contribution to comparative studies of the general growth and development of urbanization and urbanism in the third world.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

First Advisor
William B. Schwab

Subject Categories
African Languages and Societies | French and Francophone Language and Literature | Jewish Studies

Comments
Library at the Katz Center - Archives Thesis. DT329.M3 P747 1969
MARRAKESH, A CITY IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE;
STUDIES IN URBANIZATION AND URBANISM.

by

RICHARD LEON PRESS

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
Philadelphia
1969
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

Marrakesh. A City in the Process of Change;
Studies in Urbanization and Urbanism

by

Richard Leon Press
Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

[Signature]

has been read and approved by

[Signature]

Date April 24, 1969
Possibly the easiest and in some respects the most satisfying part of an article, thesis or book is the acknowledgement given to family, teachers, colleagues, friends and, today more than ever, the U.S. government for providing the intellectual, emotional and monetary wherewithal for making research possible. Firstly, I wish to express my appreciation to the United States government and their NDEA Foreign Language Fellowship Program whose grants supported my graduate studies at Dropsie College and field research in Morocco. Secondly, I acknowledge with gratitude the aid of my professors Bernard Weinryb, William Schwab, Moshe Zeltzer and Lawrence Berman, each of whom contributed their gifts of knowledge, critical intelligence and humaneness. My appreciation also goes to Dropsie College for making me one of their sons (so to speak). I wish as well to acknowledge the great assistance and friendship given by Marcel Chénier, the city architect of
Marrakesh;—a Frenchman in the best sense—cultivated, frank, sensitive and large. I extend also my appreciation to David Speiser; Monsieur and Madame Charles; the Jewish community of Marrakesh (particularly David Abtan), Secretary of the formal Jewish Community of Marrakesh, Joseph Azran; as well as the Ouaknin, Assor and Gozlan families for their funds of information and hospitality; to all our Moroccan friends particularly in Sidi Yusuf bin 'Ali who provided us with not only data but kindness and understanding; to David Hart "Mr. Ait Atta" whose indefatigable correspondence and willingness to share knowledge was in the best spirit of scholarship. Finally, it is to Esther, my wife, that this dissertation is dedicated — for without her years of unstinting encouragement, sacrifice and professional acumen, this work would have never been started let alone completed.

For reasons of space, bad memory and lack of time I have probably overlooked many who should be mentioned, for they were numerous.
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CHAPTER I

A. Introduction: Background.

The overall purpose of this thesis is to describe and analyze a contemporary Muslim city by applying as organizing concerns the dual phenomena of urbanization and urbanism to the city of Marrakesh, Morocco. This kind of study, which in itself is a series of related studies, is intended to elucidate the recent stimuli and responses to change in Marrakesh and also to be a contribution to comparative studies of the general growth and development of urbanization and urbanism in the third world.

To achieve the above, data has been collected and analyzed on the phenomena of urbanization, the ecology of the Muslim city in general and Marrakesh in particular and the various populations and their urban behavior in Marrakesh. Attention has been given also to the urban behavior of the working class of Marrakesh, the majority group in its population as it is of any urban population.

The city chosen for this study is Marrakesh, Morocco. It is an important though little studied contemporary Muslim city with nine hundred and six years of history. Today, it is the second largest city in Morocco. It is going through a transition from being a great imperial inland commercial center in a pre-industrial
society to the largest secondary city in Morocco. Marrakesh is faced with all the difficulties connected to being a non-industrial, agriculturally oriented inland commercial center in a country where the great growth and energies are in the new centers of economic and political activity; the coastal cities of Casablanca and Rabat.

Not only is Marrakesh a good model for studying a Muslim city in transition but also it was ideal for me as I had greater access to this city than to any other in Morocco or for that matter to any Muslim urban center from Morocco to Afghanistan. The reason for this is simple enough: My wife, who was my research assistant in Marrakesh for the years 1964-65 was born and raised in this city.

It is important at the outset to define various terms which will be used throughout this study. The definitions used may not be the only ones which are applicable to these terms. However, they are chosen for their applicability to this study. These definitions are not arbitrary but rather they are working definitions used in the current literature.
One of these terms is *urbanization*. The current literature uses this term in a variety of ways with no apparent consistency even within a given study. The term urbanization has been used and is used today in four different ways:

1. A strictly demographic which treats urbanization as the increasing concentration of a large territory's population in large, dense settlements. The term demography will also be defined for purposes of thesis a little later. Suffice it to say that by the word demography I mean population phenomena in relation to the social setting.

2. An economic one of which the territorial concentration of productive activities rather than population is the guiding principle.

3. An interactional one which places emphasis on the growth of specialized networks of social relations clustered in cities whether the cities grown in size or not.

4. A normative one, in which urbanization becomes the production and diffusion of a way of life.

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1 A rigorous analysis of how chaotic the use of the words *urbanization* and *urbanity* are as reflected in several recent studies can be found in: Charles Tilly, "The state of urbanization" Comparative Studies in Society and History v.10, no. 1, Oct. 1967. pp. 101-113.
The definition used in this thesis separates out the economic, interactional and normative definitions. The demographic or growth of urban population conception of urbanization is used here as it has the strongest claim especially if it is combined with an analysis of shifts in the location of their activities.

The word urbanism is used in this thesis to mean the way of life of the inhabitants of a city, i.e. the culture of the city which is synonymous with the total configuration of behavior patterns in a city.

Wherever the words demography or demographic are used they are to be understood to mean population studies, i.e. the study of population phenomena in relation to the social setting. It does not refer to formal demography requiring technical skills, particularly the use of mathematics, in the gathering, collating and statistical analysis of population data.

1 "The principal differences between formal demography and population analysis are the range of data included and the types of skills that are consequently relevant." William Petersen, Population, New York, 1961. p.3.
To study a Muslim city, modern or traditional, is to have as a major focal point the process of galloping urbanization, a phenomenon taking place in most cities in the developing world. My focus within this process is the Muslim city as exemplified by Marrakesh, for among the cultures of the world the fewest studies are on the Middle East, Islam and the Muslim city.

There is not as yet one comprehensive study of a Muslim city in the twentieth century, though efforts are being made in that direction for Cairo, Casablanca and Tripoli, Lebanon.

1 See the several articles by Janet Abu-Lughod on Cairo. Her articles to date concern primary demographic change, rural migration and spatial growth and change within the capital of Egypt. cf. "The Emergency of Differential Fertility in Urban Egypt" Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly v. 43 no. 2 part 1 April, 1965 pp. 235-253. "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case" American Journal of Sociology v.67 no. 1 July, 1961 pp. 22-32; "Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo" Comparative Studies in Society and History v. 7 no. 4 July, 1965 pp. 429-457. This is a chapter from a forthcoming book on Cairo; for comments on the last article notably the lack of maps to illustrate the various quarters and place names mentioned see Gerald Breese "Some Notes On A Case Study of European Urban 'Transplants' in Cairo" Comparative Studies in Society and History v. 7 no. 4 July, 1965 pp. 458-460.

2 Letter from David Hart, Temara, Morocco, November 29, 1965 in which he mentions Andre Adam's long awaited sociology of Casablanca is yet to appear.

This study of Marrakesh does not claim to be all embracing, rather it is the beginning of a comprehensive study in the manner of Le Tourneau's study of Fez. To be sure there are numerous short studies on various aspects of urbanization affecting cities of the Middle East which concentrate on spatial change within the city; demographic change i.e. the population explosion; the impact of the rural exodus on urban centers; and the inadequate facilities for the absorption of burgeoning urban populations coming from the dual sources of rural stagnation hence rural exodus on the one hand and the phenomenal growth of existing urban populations due to modern sanitation and medicine on the other hand. A countering trend is the slow but growing


2 For this study the Middle East extends from Morocco in the West to Afghanistan in the East including the non-Arab, non-Arab speaking countries of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

3 The following quote illustrates the crisis of traditional agriculture in semi-arid lands of which interior Southern Morocco is a part. "The advent of the modern way of life, our present day wage economy, the prospects offered by industry in need of ever greater numbers of labor and the common aspiration to achieve a higher standard of living—have basically unbalanced the traditional order. Those areas which have to be classified as marginal as a result of both the limited economic standard attainable in traditional agriculture and their erratic climate have joined full scale the trend toward rural depopulation. Obviously, mountains and lands on the border of aridity have been most severely affected." David H.K. Amiran. "Arid Zone Development: A Reappraisal Under Modern Technological Conditions" Economic Geography, v. 41 no. 3 July, 1965 p. 194.

acceptance of birth control as a major innovation within Islamic society.

Historically, the study of cities has been concerned with European and American locations and, archaeologically, with cities in the Middle East, Asia and Meso and South America. With the end of the Second World War the developing world or Tiers Monde has had a great impact on academic studies in the United States in the form of area study programs concerned with Africa, Asia, South East Asia and the Middle East. Part of this new intensive interest quite naturally grew from the growing urbanization of those countries which in the main became sovereign states after 1945. Hence studies of urbanization in the developing world have increased greatly.

Information regarding birth control in the Middle East is generally difficult to locate. The countries which have been in the vanguard in fostering drastic social change: Turkey, Tunisia and Egypt, all have initiated programs of birth control. In the cases of Turkey and Tunisia, the programs have been underwritten by the United States Government and the Ford Foundation respectively. A good source of information is the periodical *Population Bomb News Items* published by the Population Policy Panel of the Hugh Moore Fund. It is essentially a digest of articles on population control appearing in the American Press. See its December, 1965 issue for information on the birth control program in Tunisia (11,000 Tunisian women have been fitted with IUD devices (interuterine device) which have been judged best suited for this population). Concerning Turkey, see John W. Finney "U.S. to Give Turkey Birth Control Help" *New York Times* December 12, 1965 p. 1, 17. For Morocco see *Maghreb Digest* v. 4 no. 1 January, 1966, p. 44.
particularly in the last five years. To give an idea of
the kind and scope I will cite a few of such studies as
illustrative of this new interest. UNESCO was an early
sponsor of symposia and works particularly by Phillip
1
Hauser. In 1965 there appeared three works by Kuper,
2
Little and Simms on urbanization in West Africa. This
interest in urbanization exists for the entire developing
world and the literature is greatly expanding though,
as indicated before, the Muslim city has by comparison
been relatively neglected. To my knowledge there is only
one collection of articles dealing with the problems of
Muslim cities throughout the Middle East (such problems as
lack of central planning, lack of planners, ever increasing

1

1 cf. Phillip Hauser ed. Urbanization in Asia and the Far
East UNESCO. Calcutta 1957; Urbanization in Latin America
UNESCO. Paris 1961; Phillip Hauser and Leo Schnore ed. The

2

2 Hilda Kuper ed. Urbanization and Migration in West Africa
African Series No. 3 University of California. Los Angeles 1965.

3

3 Kenneth Little. West African Urbanization Cambridge

4

4 Ruth P. Simms. Urbanization in West Africa: A Review of
"Over 200 sources in the text are keyed to an extensive annotated
bibliography."
population far outstripping existing facilities, demise of traditional crafts and general breakdown of traditional allocations of space for ethnic quarters, industry and recreational facilities.) There are however a substantial number of articles in learned journals on various aspects of the city in the Middle East.

Nations undergo urbanization in their transition from agrarian to industrial societies. In general the later each country became industrialized the faster was its urbanization. This is because the technology for later industrialising countries is already available and does not have to be developed. The change from a population with 10 percent of its members in cities of 100,000 or larger to one in which 30 percent lived in such cities took about 79 years in England and Wales, 66 for the United States, 48 in Germany, 36 in Japan and 26 years in Australia. The main source for the growth in the proportion of people in urban areas during the industrial transition was rural-urban migration.

Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of the population in cities of 100,000 or more rose about 33 percent faster in the

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developing world. Developing countries including those of the Middle East and North Africa are urbanizing more rapidly than the industrial nations did in the nineteenth century, the heyday of their urban growth. If the cities in developing countries continue their recent rate of growth they will double their population every 15 years. The figure is similar for various regions: 4.7 percent in African countries and 15 Asian countries and 4.3 percent for 12 countries in Latin America. By contrast 9 European countries during their period of fastest urban population growth (i.e. latter half of nineteenth century) had an average gain of 2.1 percent per year. Even the frontier industrial countries: United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Argentina with their huge number of immigrants, had a smaller population growth in town and cities: 4.2 percent per year.

1 This term refers to those countries called the under-developed nations or poor countries. Geographically this means most of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East.

2 In the 1940's and 1950's the average annual gain in the urban population of 34 developing countries was 4.5 percent.
Since 1940, the populations of contemporary nations have been growing more than twice as fast as industrialized populations and this increase far exceeds the growth of the latter at the peak of expansion. This population boom is responsible for the rapid inflation of city populations in the developing worlds. Contrary to the urbanization of Europe and America the main factor in the developing world for city growth is not rural-urban migration. It is the combination of a high birth rate and low mortality rate brought about by modern medicine and public hygiene which is the primary cause of the burgeoning populations in the cities. Impressed by the mushrooming of shantytowns et al the officials in developing nations attribute the fantastically fast city growth to rural-urban migration. During the nineteenth century the urbanizing nations were learning how to keep crowded populations in cities from dying like flies.

---

1 In a conversation with Monsieur Benkiran, the head of the national placement bureau of Marrakesh, on April 11, 1965 he expressed the idea that the pressures of unemployment in Marrakesh were due to rural-urban migration and the solution lay in revitalizing the agriculture of interior Southern Morocco. If this were impossible then strict registration measures would be used to keep people on the farm. The problem again is not rural-urban migration, but rather the burgeoning rural and urban populations.
As a result of the creation and efficient use of public health facilities throughout the developing world, people in cities are multiplying as never before.

Given the explosive rural and urban population growth in developing countries, it follows that if the rural population is not to pile up on the land and reach an absurd density, i.e., a density that can't be supported by agriculture, a high rate of rural-urban migration must be maintained. In spite of the enormous growth of cities, the rural populations in developing nations are growing at a rate that in many cases exceeds the rise of even the urban population. The Tiers Monde is on the horns of a dilemma; if it does not step up the exodus from rural areas, these areas will be swamped with people. If they do step up the rate the cities will grow at an even greater rate. The problem is not urbanization nor rural-urban migration but rather human multiplication. It is a problem that is new in both its
scale and its setting; runaway city growth is only one of its painful expressions.

Hence this is our setting, the basic factor that has brought cities in the developing world to the attention of social scientists everywhere. Marrakesh is no exception to this picture of the city in the developing world as will be shown in detail further on.

The Muslim City

The next step in this survey concerns the Muslim city past and present; its peculiarities and its response to both the demographic and communication revolution. Marrakesh, a contemporary Muslim city, is to some degree just another city in the developing world with growing pains common to all rapidly growing cities and to some degree there is something more than these disequilibriums which shape a city in Islam. Some analysis of the Muslim city past and present will provide another point of view for studying Marrakesh today.

Islam has been characterized as being peculiarly an urban religion making the Muslim city more of a response spatially¹ to a religion than has been common with either Christianity or

¹ The spatial design dictated by the requirements of religion regulated all urban activities including the public and private sectors of a Muslim city's population.
Judaism. The city was also the force that unified disparate tribes into an Islamic community. Fischel however states that "in origin and substance Islam like Judaism is an urban religion." There is also evidence supporting the claim that Christianity is an urban religion. What can be written is that Islam, from its beginning, was urban oriented reflecting the disintegration and dissatisfaction with nomadic values plus being a conquering religion, an empire builder absorbing old important urban centers and constructing when necessary new garrison towns and administrative centers in which authority and military power were used in the name of Islam. The hinterland outside the city was always more heterodox in belief.


4 "By strict definition and still accepted English usage, a hamlet is a village without a church, just as a town cannot be a city unless it has a cathedral." Time vol. 85 no. 12 March 19, 1965 p. 12. "In England the term city from early times was usually applied to a cathedral town and for several centuries was understood to have a quasi-legal meaning of 'an incorporated town which is or has been an episcopal see.'" (Blackstone) Webster's Unabridged Dictionary 1953 p. 492.
and fostered reformist and puritanical movements as responses against urban Islam and its authority. This is quite common in Moroccan and general Middle Eastern history. Consider for a moment the origin of the Almoravides (Murābiṭūn, founders of Marrakesh), Almohads (Muwahhidūn) and the Wahabi and Senusi movements for example.

However, even at the advent of Islam in the 7th century A.D., her sister religions were already as commercial and urbanized as she; Judaism in Yathrib was a direct threat to Mohammed and was eventually stamped out. By way of contrast the majority of Muslims today are overwhelmingly agricultural populations as opposed to most Jews and Christians.

During certain periods of history Islamic cities have passed into obscurity as urban life did in Europe and the lands bordering the Mediterranean. All three religions have been and are urban centered in theory and practice. Islam in this respect is no more naturally urban than Judaism or Christianity. In the past as today all the religions look for their support and raison d'etre in settled rather than nomadic populations. If the Friday prayer requiring a permanent enclosed building is a basic indication of Islam

1 Briefly stated, Islam is not a peculiarly urban religion.
being urban oriented, then by the same reasoning does the involvement of church and synagogue militate against the hinterland. It is difficult to posit Islam as being uniquely urban.

The three religions mentioned are urban phenomena and they have influenced the structure and functioning of cities throughout history. The overwhelming difference in the physical treatment of space and hence social behavior in an Islamic city today may be due to the long period of dormancy and seclusion from change which have made the traditional Islamic city or the traditional sectors of the Islamic city today a reflection of a spatial arrangement of walls, central mosque, central market, spacing of guilds and ethnic groups, a prototype that once existed throughout the medieval world. The traditional Muslim city i.e. those urban centers which existed before European colonization, can be understood in terms of arrangement of space, politics, technology, economy, social structure and behavior as an existing stereotype of pre-industrial cities from other

cultures and other periods. Yet caution must be extended to recognize that as cities may have a set of generalizations in common, each city in the last analysis must be studied as a separate entity. For example, Fez and Marrakesh are the great traditional cities of Morocco—thinking of one usually brings thoughts of the other—but their histories are quite different due not so much to the presence of Islam but rather to the differences in ethnic origin, geography, history and the penetration of Islam to a far greater in Fez than Marrakesh.

Another important consideration, already touched upon briefly, is the spatial order and arrangement of the traditional Muslim city particularly as it relates to the nature of the urban dwelling and the street pattern where the population lives. An important question is to what extent the physical configuration of the Muslim city is an expression of an environment (idealized to be sure, including the garden and perennial fountain) transmitted throughout the Middle East by Islam and to what degree these

physical patterns reflect social behavior prescribed by Islamic law and tradition. A tentative conclusion restricting the study to the city is that the court house and street patterns in Islamic cities are more of a response to a religio-social ethic than to the immediate demands of the environment. The opposite is true for the rural areas where environment dictates to a major degree the materials for housing and their design. Mikesell points out that Morocco has at least seven distinct types of houses of which the court house is only one of the rural variations whereas it is the exclusive design for houses in cities, for example, the Medinas and Mellahs of Fez and Marrakesh.

In general, cultural geographers, ecologists and landscape architects understand the use of the Islamic city's court house, which turns all private life inward, as a heritage from the desert. The desert is a very inhospitable environment and the Muslim, rather the bedouin, seeking to isolate himself from it, creates and carves out his own world complete with the epitome of the oasis or heaven, the garden

and fountain in the courtyard. Orientalists, historians, sociologists and anthropologists attribute this type of house with its blank windowless exterior walls reflecting utter disdain for public contact, thus internalizing family life, to be the physical expression and guarantee of the withdrawal and alienation of women and the family from society at large.

Throughout Islamic history the values and behavior of a Muslim urban environment have greatly influenced architecture and dress for the purpose of maintaining the near total exclusion of the woman from society. Whereas the house hid her in the realms of private life, the haik and veil isolated her even when she was physically in public. In Morocco, the veil is still very much in use with some changes. Women from the north (ex-Spanish zone) wear their veils so that most of their nose is revealed whereas women from Marrakesh wear them just below the eyes. The transparent veil is in vogue amongst the younger women in large cities and has an obvious flirtatious function. In Morocco the

1 "The Muslim house is oriented away from the street; it receives its light from an inner court, and the complex of its constituent buildings is so arranged as to secure a maximum of privacy. This desire for privacy which is the outgrowth of the social mores demanding as complete a withdrawal from the public as possible of the women of the family." Von Grunebaum "The Muslim Town" Landscape vol. 7 no. 3 Spring, 1958. p.3.
educated woman have shed the veil. Throughout North Africa seclusion is strongest in the small town, the middle point between the countryside where housing and dress (no veil or haik) reflect the exigencies of the environment and the large modern city where education and modernization have greatly lessened the pressures of seclusion upon women 1.

Specifically in the case of Morocco the environment more than Islamic law and custom determined housing, dress and livelihood. In the city, the opposite was true for there housing and clothing reflected social behavior as prescribed by Islamic law, custom and tradition. Today the position of women is changing albeit slower in some countries and faster in others and with this change the final, long incoming demise of the traditional urban male oriented-dominated society of Islam. In time this revolution will also change the architecture and dress that has been described.

The Roman pattern of the rectangular city with all streets running at right angles ends with the fall of Rome and under Byzantium a new pattern begins to emerge which later becomes the accepted spatial arrangement of Muslim cities: a walled Medina with access through gates which open on to a few principal streets to facilitate communication of the populus with the mosque and central market, the hubs of public life. The rest of the Medina between these principal streets is a maze of dead end streets (derb, druba; in Marrakesh for example there can still be seen gates which sealed off narrow, short, individual streets and alleys) and crowded dwellings forming a compact urban design in which neither street patterns nor individual buildings were discernible. This pattern over time almost reverses the Roman-Christian-European house and street relationship in which the street is located first and through public ordinance dwellings must conform to its alignment. For the Muslim physically separated his public life i.e. occupation,

1 Von Grunebaum, "The Muslim City," p. 4. In a conversation with Dr. S. D. Goitein, Professor of Arabic, University of Pennsylvania, he related that at the conference on the Muslim city held at Cambridge, England, Summer, 1965 a conclusion was that the haphazard street pattern of Muslim cities existed before the advent of Islam in cities that later came under the aegis of the Islamic empire.

market, mosque, from his private life i.e. his family, house and alley or street.

"The handsomest facade of doors and windows is offered to the street in the cities of Christian origin in Northern Spain. While Christian urban patterns tended toward the extroverted set of values, the Moslem world was based on a contemplative, inward-looking life for the family and the individual."¹

This statement to be sure exaggerates the contemplative spirit when one thinks of the poor quarters of Marrakesh, but it does dramatically illustrate the different use of design and space to reflect different cultural values.

This informal, random, haphazard street pattern also reflects the need for and maintenance of self-contained quarters, vestiges of an earlier tradition in which different tribes occupied separate districts. Self-contained quarters were later perpetuated during the course of empire through the absorption but not assimilation of many different ethnic groups including non-believers i.e. protected minorities of Jews and Christians.

This fragmentation accelerated the trend in the city to an

uncoordinated mosaic of "Hārāt" or quarters which did not foster or permit a spirit of local responsibility and citizen participation. In general there was a lack of municipal administration. Officials of a city were responsible only to the central administration of the country of which a city was a part. The activities of local officials were the collection of taxes and the enforcement of regulations, all for the benefit of the central authority.

The most conspicuous changes in the contemporary Muslim city are the growth of external appendages and the rearranging of the space of the city's interior. Both are responses to basic reorganizations of urban life prompted by the stagnation of the rural economy and the impact of modern modes of communication most notably the automobile. The external additions are composed of recent rural migrants. These shantytowns, known as bidonvilles in North Africa, built

1 In Tunisia "Hāra" signifies the Jewish quarter of a city whereas in Morocco it is called "Mellah". Hara in Marrakesh referred to the leper's quarter outside Bab Doukkala. This quarter was established under the Saadian dynasty (1517-1669) and contained a separate Jewish sector within it. In 1902 it was estimated that there were two or three hundred persons in this separate Jewish quarter of Marrakesh's leper colony (the Hara), but there is no trace of it today. The above information is from Gaston Deverdun. Marrakech: Des Origines A 1912 Rabat, 1959 p. 422 and 590.

2 External in traditional cities meaning outside its walls and in cities like Casablanca outside the built up area.
from scrap materials -- usually tin and wood -- and from pressed mud, were among the first aspects of the modern Muslim city to be studied by cultural geographers and sociologists from Morocco to Iran. This early focus beginning with the work of Andre Adam in the 1930's in Casablanca was due to the bidonville's great visual and social impact on the city. Under colonial regimes the shantytown was thought to be the source for the organization of the masses against the foreign governing authorities.

The manifestations of internal spatial change relate to the congestion of the Muslim city and the possibilities of making it more accessible to the new requirements wrought by transportation and the demand by the central government for more effective control. In Morocco, for example, Lyautey's policy was to physically circumvent the Medina or Muslim

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2 Marshall Hubert Louis Lyautey, first Resident-General of Morocco (April 28, 1912-September 26, 1925)
traditional city and build a ville nouvelle or European quarter outside this walled island. Most evident in Marrakesh and Fez, this thinking has persisted until today for Marrakesh. The Medina of Marrakesh for example has the problem of responding to the automobile era when its present routes of traffic and communication reflect an age of pedestrians. The initial suggestion was to cut two huge swaths through the Medina to be modern thoroughfares for automobile and truck traffic but this plan was abandoned because it would take from the pedestrian his own routes, gravely prejudice the existing commerce, require great sums of money and it would change drastically the character of the Medina.

Colonial administrators and foreign civil servants sought to cushion the blow of drastic change on traditional societies. This commitment was and is in direct opposition to the plans of most of the governments of states which have achieved independence since World War II. They are opposed to a slow transition from the traditional to the modern. These new indigenous political systems understand an emphasis on slow change by foreign civil servants, particularly anthropologists, as being at best a well intentioned but misplaced concern over a luxury (slow change) which new nations can ill afford in terms of time, personnel and money.

1 Interview with Monsieur Marcel Chénier, Architect Municipal of the city of Marrakesh November 13, 1964. The occasion was a visit to Cité Mohammedia a new multi-class development on the outskirts of Marrakesh. During this visit it was disclosed that friction exists between the local and national urban planning bodies; the latter primarily concerned with putting the greatest number of people within four walls whereas the local authority is more sensitive to the traditional housing needs of its populace and is constantly petitioning for innovations such as oversize kitchens and separate entrances on opposite sides of the building. See also Lisa R. Peattie "Anthropology and the Search for Values" Journal of Applied Behavioral Science vol. 1 no. 4 1965. pp. 361-372. "When Indonesia became independent, one of the first acts of the new government was to expel the anthropologists from the country on the grounds that their conservative point of view made them non grata to a nation about to embark on a deliberate course of change." p. 366.
In summary, urbanization and social change in Marrakesh is affected and shaped by the general trends of rapid urbanization and social change in both the new and older independent states of the Third World, by the relation of Islam to the Muslim urban environment and by the competing philosophies and approaches towards modern growth and change in traditional Muslim cities.

These are the organizing ideas and concerns shaping this study of Marrakesh in the second half of the twentieth century, i.e. a traditional Muslim city being affected by rapid urbanization and social change.

Appendix 1 is a bibliographical note and a bibliography of printed works on Marrakesh. This is a working bibliography listing those works whose main interest is Marrakesh.
CHAPTER 2

Brief History of Marrakesh

The name Morocco itself is derived from Marrakesh and up to the twentieth century this caused much confusion for it was not always clear whether Morocco referred to the country or to the city. It is the second largest city of Morocco (340,000 population in 1965), the administrative and economic center for southern interior Morocco and the big red city, the last of the great traditional cities in Morocco.

In the midst of the poverty of Southern Morocco the Almohad monuments are eloquently reminiscent that Marrakesh was the metropole of the Muslim Occident during the twelfth century, the greatest in Moroccan history. The city is situated in the Haouz plain at the foot of the snow capped High Atlas. This city was and is the point of contact between the plains and plateaus of the West and North and between the valleys and mountains of the South and East, and is a great marketplace where are exchanged the cereals of the plain, the fruits of the Dir (zone of contact between the mountain and the plain) animals and animal products and

wood of the Atlas with manufactured goods and processed foodstuffs (sugar, tea, some wheat flour) from the Coast. Historically Marrakesh was a great crossroads for the caravans from the Sahara and from the Coast. Within the Haouz, Marrakesh is situated in a vast palmeraie and has in the Guéliz or ville nouvelle one of the best and earliest examples in the twentieth century of the garden city.

Marrakesh and Fez, and to a lesser extent Meknes, are the traditional cities of Morocco in that they were the royal capitals and, up until the twentieth century, the most important commercial and political centers in pre-industrial Morocco. Marrakesh differed essentially from both Fez and Meknes in that it was always less stable and hence a migrant city par excellence.

A Berber confederation known as the Almoravides or Al-Murabitun came from the regions of Mauretania and out of the desert, as a revitalization movement in the form of religious reformism, a response to restrictions from moving out of the Sahara. This was coupled with a growing population

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1 Jean Gaignebet, "Marrakech, grand carrefour des routes Marocaines" Revue de Geographie Marocaine VII, 1928, p. 27 f.

2 The approximate date for this migration is the early 1050's. See: Deverdun. Marrakech: Des Origines A 1912 pp. 32-50.
and an ever increasing drying up of the Sahara similar
to the conditions attending the bursting out of the
Arabian peninsula of the Arabs and the subsequent spread
of Islam. This confederation of Berbers founded
Marrakesh in the year 1062, and made it their base of
operations for campaigns which reached all the way to Spain.
Subsequently other dynasties came and went. Such changes
in the fortunes of power were reflected in a city such as
Marrakesh more than in other cities, because of the self-
sufficiency of Marrakesh's hinterland, the marginality of
its hinterland and the general lack of urban sophistication
that Fez, for example, was famous for.

1 For a discussion of the possible date of the founding of
Marrakesh see: Deverdun. Marrakech: Des Origines A 1912
pp. 59-64.

2 The dynasties and their years of reign are as follows:
A. Almoravides (Al-Murābittun) 1062-1130.
B. Almohads (Al-Muwahhīdūn) 1130-1269.
C. Marinides and Wattāsides (Banū-Marīn and Banū Wattas)
   1269-1557.
D. Saadians (Banū-Saad) 1557-1669.
E. Alaouites - 1669 to date.

   The dynasties which had the greatest impact on Marrakesh
   were the Almoravides, Almohads and Saadians.

3 These areas did not look to or contribute to the life of
   the city proper.
Throughout its history, people came to Marrakesh principally for two reasons: the attraction of power of the various dynasties and the result of natural catastrophes in the surrounding countryside, mainly periodic famines. When power waned or the natural crisis eased, the migrants would return to their villages. A boom or bust trading center depending on the locale of the ruling dynasty, the importance of Marrakesh to it (ruling dynasty) plus the state of the local harvest from year to year can be characterized as the general rhythm of Marrakesh up to the twentieth century. Marrakesh entered the twentieth century as a traditional urban center in a pre-industrial society.

The twentieth century changed Morocco and Marrakesh, principally by the impact of the industrial world introduced on a significant scale by its "protector" France. Political and economic activity shifted from the interior cities to the coast. Marrakesh and its surrounding area became politically stabilized, changing her from a transient to a much more permanent center, which sees its population greatly increased both by migration and much later by natural increase within the city itself. The latter is in
great part due to the introduction of sanitation and medicine on a significant scale. The last major epidemic, typhus, in Marrakesh was in 1938.

Between 1912 and 1956 the rest of Morocco was becoming industrialized faster than Marrakesh which, in some respects, was encouraged to change very slowly. Since Independence, Marrakesh has lost the economic props provided by the French while the coastal areas have become even more industrialized. Economically she reflects her quiet, stagnating hinterland. Obvious solutions for renewing Marrakesh's economic base include large schemes for the redevelopment of the agriculture of Southern Morocco and also the exploitation of this city as the tourist capital because of its proximity to winter sports, balmy winter weather, beautiful natural surroundings, numerous palaces and monuments, importance as a handcrafts center and the gateway to southern interior Morocco. However, there are no easy solutions particularly in that Marrakesh offers so little opportunity for industrialization.

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Jacques Berque the eminent French sociologist suggests that this eclipse of the South and Marrakesh coincides with the propagation of industrial civilization and social dispersion. The disequilibrium which industrialization has introduced seems as irreversible as its technical contributions. Obviously, the problem is to bring this city and its hinterland back into the general orientation of the modernizing sector of Morocco. This will be doubly difficult in light of the great difficulties the entire economy of Morocco is experiencing.

The peculiar vulnerability of Marrakesh can be seen more clearly if her history in the twentieth century is presented in three distinct phases.

1st Period. Marrakesh up to 1912

Marrakesh was a pre-colonial and essentially a pre-industrial city. Approximate figures for the population of Marrakesh range from twenty-five thousand inhabitants towards the end of the seventeenth century to 75,000 at the beginning

1The term pre-industrial city and all it implies is most thoroughly described and analyzed in: Gideon Sjoberg. The Preindustrial City, Past and Present. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.
of the twentieth century. Up until 1912, Marrakesh was a medieval walled city periodically preyed upon by warring factions and confederations of the tribes of the Rehamna, Mesfioua and Ourika and in 1912 also from as far away as Tafilelt. Within the Medina itself, these groups each occupied their own sector and when they entered the city, weapons were checked in for fear of insurrection.

1 Deverdun. Marrakech: Des Origines A 1912 pp. 596-599. Deverdun has this to say about statistics of population for Marrakesh during the period covered above: "Naturellement tous les nombres avancés n'ont aucune base scientifique..." p. 596 "Faute d'archives et de documents de valeur, c'est tout ce que la prudence nous permet d'avancer dans le domaine de la démographie, à Marrakech, pendant les deux siècles et demi qui nous intéressent." p. 599. In the words of Dr. Bernard Weinryb, Director of the Middle East Institute, Dropsie College, most statistics from the developing world, Middle East included, are guess-timates. Only in the last thirty years do statistics begin to have reliability which in many cases were originally the activity of statistical services set up by Colonial powers and maintained after independence. Most statistics which antedate the Census of Morocco of 1936 are at best indicators and should be understood as such. Naturally some statistics are more valuable than others and the author has sought to be most judicious in their use.

2 Ibid. p. 548.

3 Personal communication of Paul Pascon, Director de l'Office National des Irrigations of Marrakesh and surrounding area.
Spatially, Marrakesh was divided into a Medina or Muslim quarter, Mellah or Jewish quarter and the Kasbah or military quarter as an archetype of the traditional Muslim city.

The most important segment of the economy was the local production of handcrafts which was the source of supply for the city itself as well as for the countryside. Marrakesh to this day retains the role of supplier of manufactured goods and handcrafts for interior southern Morocco.

Before 1912, there was no city budget to speak of. The taxes of the markets and revenues from monopolies which were officially to go directly into the public treasury were in fact frequently diminished along the way by a large number of intermediaries. The Sultan occasionally subsidized some public works. In reality it was the Habous whose revenue maintained the religious, scholarly, judiciary and welfare institutions of the city and also the municipal services, such as they were, of water, sewage and cemeteries. My research assistant recalls her father switching from kerosene to electricity in the early 1940's.

Communication with the rest of Morocco was quite difficult. The first postal service for Marrakesh was
organized in 1891 as a private venture serving the cities of Mazagan and Marrakesh. On November 22, 1892, Moulay Hassan I issued a dahir organizing the postal service for all of Morocco; however this private postal service was active until 1910.

Second Period. Industrial-Colonial Marrakesh 1912-1956

These were the years of greatest change in Morocco and Marrakesh. The French pacified Southern Morocco and Marrakesh, making both a stable place of residence. al-Glawī was set up as the local uncontested ruling authority and made this city the capital of his fiefdom. Marrakesh was gradually changed into a modern administrative capital having its previous agricultural economic base with the addition of a large administrative corps, large military garrison and colonial farming.

Jews start to play a much larger role as middlemen and they also set up the first food processing plants in Marrakesh for local agricultural products such as wheat, nuts, olives, olive oil, citrus fruits, pears, peaches, apricots, apples and preserves made especially from apricots. The origins of many

1 Ibid. p. 582-583.

2 al-Hājj at-Ṭihāmī (al-Glawī), Pasha of Marrakesh (1912-1956)
of the large fortunes in Marrakesh today are linked to the processing and distribution of foodstuffs.

Architecturally and physically the walls and gates have been kept intact and in repair without having the functions of defense or control. The city was transformed from something of a closed corporation to an arm of the French presence in Southern Morocco. Marrakesh changed from a transient trading center to a city of permanent settlement for large numbers of people, from a city of fondouks i.e. transient hotels for men and animals and nouallas (thatched conical hut common to the bled or countryside) to one of permanent court houses suitable as dwelling places for an entire family.

The French also brought communication and a more predictable degree of stability, hygiene and employment to Marrakesh, which resulted in a great increase in population, the addition of a whole new city adjacent to the existing one and a new rhythm of life. Population figures for this period are as follows: In 1912, Marrakesh had an approximate population of 75,000; by 1924 the figure had grown to 140,000; in 1936 it was 190,000 and in 1952 it reached 215,000. The greatest period of growth was in the first twenty years of the
Protectorate. Its original high rate of growth diminished during the 1930's as a reflection of a great slowing down of the European sector of the Moroccan economy, and to a lesser extent, to the greater attraction of the coastal cities and the new mining towns. This trend of pulling population away from Marrakesh has increased up to the present, especially with the resurgence of the coastal cities of Safi and Agadir. Within Marrakesh, population increase is reflected spatially by the Medina's filling up, the Jews beginning to move out of the Mellah, e.g. Rue Tuareq and the quarter known as Arset el-Maach, the building of the ville nouvelle and the rise of working class suburbs outside the walls of Marrakesh, e.g. Douar Askar.

The construction of the ville nouvelle, locally known as the Guélix, was a reflection of the growing European, mainly French, civilian population of Marrakesh and also an example of Lyautey's policy of preserving the traditional city by physical separation of the new and European from the

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[European quarter. In Marrakesh it was also known as the Guélix which is the name of a promontory overlooking the European quarter].
traditional and Moroccan. When the French first came in numbers to Marrakesh they lived in the Medina off the central square (Jama' al-Fnā) and later moved to Arset el Maach, another sector bordering the Medina. As their numbers increased they went outside the walls building the European city which ultimately covered the distance from Camp Mangin to the Medina itself. The ville nouvelle planned in the main by Colonel Landais and Prost, Lyautey's chief architect, is certainly an archetype of the garden city movement in the twentieth century, evidenced by its low density, wide converging boulevards, separate industrial quarter with connecting railroad station, and, above all, the total sense of greenery contributed not only by the palmeraie which surrounds and is within Marrakesh, but also by the tree lined boulevards, parks and private gardens. The contrast with the Medina, where one sees narrow streets and alleys, is striking. Blank walls of the houses conceal the life that takes place both within the larger gardens of the wealthy and the small courtyards of the poor.

Unfortunately not too much information is available on Lyautey's policy. Certainly his own policy was less rigid, but over the years other administrators of much lesser lights

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1 This is a distance of 3 miles.
were unable to adapt his vision to the changing realities
of mass migration, the growing contradiction between new
ideas and technology and the hermetical sealing off of the
Medina for posterity. There were no official regulations
barring Moroccans and Jews from living in the ville nouvelle
except during the war under the Vichy government. However,
Moroccans and Jews for most of this period did not settle
there for a variety of reasons. It was too expensive and
they felt estranged in a community which did not have their
friends, religious institutions, schools, public baths and
cemeteries. Added to this was the ever present possibility
for ordinary Moroccans and Jews visiting the ville nouvelle
to be insulted and told to go back to their respective Medina
or Mellah.

Many Marrakshis argue that the French sought to preserve
the quaintness and charm of the Medina so as to avoid
commercial competition and incidently provide tourists with
something to see. The facts as presently known are compounded
of some of both positions. There is on the one hand Lyautey's
desire to prevent the disintegration of Moroccan traditional
society and on the other, the use of the idea of the
preservation of the traditional society to stifle the political
and economic development of Moroccan society. For example,
maps of the Medina as late as 1925 show it to be sparsely settled, and in the case of Marrakesh at least, the building of a separate European city did not create unbearable population pressures on the old city for a number of years. After World War II the picture changed, for the Medina could no longer contain the constant increase in population, and the Guéliz offered no solution. Thus began the building of working class suburbs, the largest being Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali, which today has 25,000 residents. In 1963 it was incorporated into the city of Marrakesh. The laying of sewers in 1965 has assured Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali of even greater permanency.

Another area of fundamental change brought about by the Second World War and Independence relates to the rhythm of Marrakesh and its inhabitants. World War II turned a world accustomed to scarcity and immobility into one where desires and their fulfillment became possible and especially acute for the developing world--the beginning of the rising expectation-rising frustration cycle. Before and during the war, Marrakshis had to wait in long lines to buy anything. There was neither opportunity nor money for entertainment. Few could afford the luxury of a cup of tea in a café or go
to one of the few cinemas. After the war, the liberalization of the economy and the availability of transportation changed the pace of life in Marrakesh and the surrounding hinterland. The cold war added its touch in the form of the construction of the SAC Air Force Base at Ben Guerir some 30 miles north of Marrakesh. The economy of Marrakesh was spurred by the presence of 6,000 Americans and also by the local hiring of Moroccans and Jews. Some of them in turn learned skills and opened small businesses, others bought cafes, still others purchased dwelling space for their families. Briefly the American presence from 1953 to 1963 gave a boost to the economy of Marrakesh not only in dollars but also in skills and attitudes.

Third Period. Independence and After

1956 to the Present

Present day Marrakesh can certainly be characterized as post colonial, but characterizing its economy in this period as being the same as under the period 1912-1956 would be somewhat misleading. Decolonization and its attendant readjustments have created disequilibriums as evidenced by a cutting back of technology especially in agriculture, which is particularly noticeable during the last three years (1962-1965).
A few statistics will help demonstrate the urbanization of Marrakesh in comparison to Morocco\(^1\). The population of Marrakesh has officially expanded from 215,000 in 1952 to 243,000 in 1960, a rate of increase of 12.8\%. For the same period, Casablanca, the largest and most important center of industry and commerce, has grown from 682,388 to 965,277 or an increase of 41.4\%; Fez from 179,372 to 216,133 or an increase of 20.5\%; Meknes from 140,380 to 175,943 an increase of 25.3\%; Rabat, the capital of Morocco, from 156,209 to 227,445 an increase of 44\%; and Khouribga, the most important mining town, from 20,365 to 40,302, an increase of 98\%. It is estimated that the major cities of Morocco are growing at the rate of 5\% per year whereas Marrakesh is growing at a rate of only 1.6\% per year. Local information suggests however that Marrakesh has a growth rate not greatly at variance with the

\(^1\) Basic sources for the recent urban demography of Morocco are:


other cities mentioned. The disclaimer, as is usually the case, is the validity of statistics i.e. there are two sets, the national and the local. Against the official figure of 243,000 for 1960 and the local census estimated 264,000. In 1963 there was a five nation anti-polio campaign sponsored by UNESCO where vaccine was given to 106,000 children between the ages of three months and twelve. In 1960, the last official census calculated that 86,000 or 35% of the population were twelve and under. If these figures have any validity, it would be conservative to estimate the present population of Marrakesh as 300,000+.

Contrary to some opinion, Marrakesh after independence did not fall into anarchy and revert back to its pre-1912 state. There is, to be sure, a lack of competent civil servants, due to pressures for Moroccanization of the civil service and the freezing of all salaries since 1956. The technical divisions of the city government (public health, city engineer and city architect) are still headed by French citizens who receive a

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The information in this chapter leans heavily on personal interviews and observations. The City Architect of Marrakesh, Marcel Chénier, provided by far the majority of the oral documentation used herein.
subsidy from the French government for staying on. As a municipality, Marrakesh's public services are to be admired. There are two large modern municipal swimming pools for all the population and a third one is to be constructed. Garbage is collected every day by a truck in the Guéliz and by men and carts (the garbage men blow a horn to announce their presence) in the Medina and Mellah. The post office and electrical and water works operate quite efficiently as does the local police force, even though at times they harass passersby unduly. The streets, sidewalks and parks are spotless, not only in the ville nouvelle but also for most of the Medina and Mellah. From no budget in 1912, Marrakesh moved to the equivalent of a five million dollar budget in 1963.

The major socio-economic changes in this period are the exodus of the French and Jewish populations and the introduction of large urban redevelopment projects. Decolonization and the establishment of Israel have rent asunder for all time the compartmentalized Muslim city of the past of which Marrakesh was an example.

The internal use of space is in a great state of flux due to the exodus of Jews and Europeans from the Mellah and the Guéliz respectively. Today, nearly all the businesses in the
Mellah are owned by Moroccans and 85% of the inhabitants of the Mellah in 1965 were Moroccans. There is also a general shifting out of the Medina to the Ville Nouvelle where Moroccans have settled in such great numbers that the year 1965 saw the beginning of the construction of a huge new mosque, the first in the Guéliz, along with the opening of new hammamat or public baths. The traditional French cafés and cinemas have, as a consequence, a much larger Moroccan clientele. Understandably, due to different historic and recent political circumstances, the spirit is different for all three ethnic groups; the Moroccan in general is optimistic, the Europeans and Jews are counting their days.

Economically, independence has made life more difficult as investment, capital, skills and confidence are leaving with the aforementioned groups. Middle-sized businesses have gone under in response to cut throat competition. Where you once had ten spice wholesalers you now have 100. The other trend is the growth of government monopolies such as tea and sugar and government marketing cooperative. The largest food
processing plants are still in Jewish and European hands. However these two groups actively seek to liquidate their holdings. In agriculture the same picture prevails. Expropriation, even if accompanied by remuneration, hangs over the heads of many large farmers and they are no longer investing in their farms. A trend among some Moroccans who buy European farms is to exploit them unduly by not plowing back funds into fertilizer, maintenance and care. Two large sellers of farm equipment note a general slackening in sales which is in part related to a general slowdown in the economy but also in some cases to a preference for hiring more laborers rather than investing in capital equipment.

The life of most Moroccans in Marrakesh after independence has changed almost as greatly as that of the Europeans and Jews, but in a different direction. This is observable in many of the everyday details of existence. Before independence, cars were rare and bicycles and buses provided the means of locomotion for the
Europeans and Jews. Today buses are the main mode of transportation for the Moroccans and there is even a subsidy for workers who board between the hours of six and eight in the morning. Where people used to walk they now have bicycles and motor bikes. In general they are also better clothed and have within their reach the ability to buy most of their household needs. In the fields of education and medicine the Marrakshi now has access to facilities to a far greater degree than he ever did in the past. However, there is the great lack of skilled personnel to run these institutions. In a word the Marrakshi's life is full of contradictions. There is this rapid albeit uneven improvement in many areas which again must be viewed against a situation characterized by near bankruptcy of the national treasury, rising unemployment and rising cost of living.

Perhaps the most important event in Marrakesh today is the construction northwest of Marrakesh of Cité Mohammedia, one of four totally planned new communities being built by the national government and the city of Marrakesh. It is hoped that when finished these extensions will solve the problems of lodging and services for a sizeable percentage of the poor and some of the middle class. This first community consists of 400 hectares and, is planned for a population of
30,000, includes schools, hospitals, play areas, commercial areas, a network of paved roads and frequent bus service to Marrakesh which is approximately one mile away from certain sectors of the Medina. The site itself was given by the crown for the purpose of establishing such a community. Fortunately it also has the attributes of proximity to the city and beauty, as well as being a good site for water and sewage. This housing scheme is unusual in that the majority of the dwellings are for the poor, consisting of two rooms and a courtyard; it also includes apartments for civil servants and professionals plus sites which offer foundations, water and electrical outlets for $100 to private parties. These people then build two and three story court houses according to plans regulated by the city. It is not all uncommon for these houses to have cost $6,000 when finished. As mentioned, the economically disadvantaged are in the majority and they are obliged to pay as little as $2.00 a month rent which includes electricity and running water. Cité Mohammedia is almost complete and is quite impressive in terms of site, quality of architecture and planning at a relatively reasonable cost.

As noted before, Marrakesh can be characterized a heightened vulnerability to external forces which constantly

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1 This is an expensive house in Marrakesh.
affected its economy and hence its total existence. Up until 1912, Moroccan dynasties and weather dictated the relative peaks and valleys of the city's existence. The French presence changed the physical structure of the city as well as the socio-economic arrangement. This picture of drastic change continues for the period 1956-1965. Independence and the Arab-Israeli conflict brought about the last major changes affecting the spatial pattern and the nature of commerce and agriculture. Solutions for the revitalization of Marrakesh's economy involve making her the focal point of tourism in Morocco and the planning for the modernization and expansion of agriculture in her hinterland. Both schemes are possible given large sums of money, dedicated personnel and a relatively settled political situation.

The economic problems attending transition are felt not only in Marrakesh, but in all of Morocco and the riots at the end of March, 1965 were manifestations of these difficulties. However, the Moroccans are now once again in a position to find solutions in terms of their own resources which will eventually be reflected in an economy geared to their own needs. This is the hope of which Marrakesh, la patrie des coeurs, is a part.
CHAPTER 3

A. The Urban Culture of Marrakesh

Is it possible or even desirable to try and characterize the culture, i.e. the behavior patterns of a city in order to more fully comprehend any or all aspects of it? This task is more natural for the poet or writer of belles lettres than for the social scientist. However, this kind of description and analysis can effectively impart an identity and understanding to a locale.

Is Marrakesh a Berber city, an Arab (Muslim) city, a Jewish city, a city of Black Africa or simply a Southern city? It has all of these components. Hance characterizes Fez as Arabic, Casablanca as French, and Marrakesh as almost Sudanese. Slouschz coming to Marrakesh in 1913 notes:

"It is the most individual and the most original of the cities of Africa.

1 "What doctorate thesis, for the moment, can compare with Nagib Mah'fuz's Cairo Chronicle, or Chorqawi's regional novel? In both cases, an essentially subordinate situation, coloured by economic and social relations deriving, in the last analysis, from the intervention of a foreign ethny, is depicted as seen by the insider -- as it must be seen if we are to have a reliable picture of the whole." Jacques Berque "The North of Africa" International Social Science Journal v. 13 no. 2, 1961 p.187.

Situated in the midst of the vast plain of Tenseft, at the foot of the Atlas Mountains, Morocco, (until the first decades of the twentieth century, Marrakesh was also called the City of Morocco) with its 80,000 inhabitants is rather a collection of ksours than a city. There is more Berber than Arab in the population with a strong admixture of Negro blood; here one feels the real South, the real Mauretania. It is a city completely African in every detail that lies stretched out beneath the blazing African sun.\(^1\)

More than in other large cities in Morocco, Marrakesh's population has a larger proportion of Berbers and Africans. Both of these populations settled in Marrakesh in relatively large numbers because of the city's geographical-economic position vis-a-vis the immediate hinterland and trade routes into Africa south of the Sahara.

The question which becomes posed is to what extent the various ethnic groups in Marrakesh have left their impact. Could establishing the population percentage of each ethnic group help towards a characterization of Marrakesh? Available population statistics are broken down into three major categories: Muslims, Jews and foreigners. Almost all officials of Marrakesh, including an inspector of Police, say that for all large Moroccan cities it is impossible to further categorize the Muslims to distinguish between Arabs, Berbers, people of Black African decent, and admixtures of these subcategories because the

apparatus for collecting such data doesn't exist. More important the population, particularly in the cities, has been mixed for a long time.

It is however possible to collect such demographic data for the province of Marrakesh rather than for the city of Marrakesh. The province exhibits a greater homogeneity and a more obvious geographical demarcation between Arabs and Berbers. The plains of Rehamna and Srarhna are predominantly Arab whereas the Ourika and Mesfioua valleys and the villages in the foothills and mountains close to Marrakesh are inhabited by Berbers. Simply stated, the plains are Arab and the mountains and their valleys are Berber. Where the population is overwhelmingly Arab or Berber it becomes much easier to statistically determine majority and minority populations and their impacts on social behavior.

Almost all of the Jews who lived in Southern Morocco outside of Marrakesh lived in those areas inhabited by Berbers. Jewish informants from Marrakesh stated that in general Jews never lived in the plains among the Arabs because they couldn't trust each other whereas the opposite is true for Berbers and Jews. Both groups were honest with each other and had sufficient mutual trust which permitted commercial relations.

An Arab informant stated that the Arabs of the Rehamna plain are the most honest and hospitable people that exist.

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1 The term Berber is a linguistic term. Accepted usage dictates its use to mean Berber speaking peoples.
Whatever the reasons, Flamand clearly shows that the Jewry of Southern Morocco (rural population) lived in Berber areas almost exclusively, which demonstrates again a close relation between geography and ethnic grouping. In common parlance Jews who were rough in manner or rudely dressed were called shluhs (Berbers) and occasionally some blue eyed, usually robust Jews were teased as being really Berbers.

While daily walking through the streets in Marrakesh (June, 1964-June, 1965) I was impressed by the numbers of people whose ancestors came from Black Africa. To count them however is a futile task for one researcher. The problem becomes more aggravated when one speaks about Arabs and Berbers. How does one recognize the differences? The discernible differences are among transients in Marrakesh for business or for a day's amusement. They have an air of naivete about them. They wear a type of djellaba which is characteristic of the countryside, and their faces seem to have a more taut, weather-beaten quality acquired by being constantly out of doors. The man from the country stands out in an urban setting as well as by his speech and cultural and mental characteristics and attitudes. To distinguish urban Arabs from urban Berbers is more difficult since many families are mixed, but more crucial to an outsider, the differences concern

behavior rather than appearance or even language.

Many Moroccans, Jews and Frenchmen have stated that the inhabitants of Marrakesh have special characteristics which represent this city and its peoples. The Marrakshi or Marrakshia when speaking Moroccan Arabic is recognizable by the abundant use of the diminutive. People from Marrakesh are known to be jovial, very hospitable and generous. They also have a reputation for being very egalitarian in spirit, i.e., it doesn't matter who you are in terms of origins; you are accepted on your own merits. The Marrakshi is not a glutton. He works to support his family. Some say he is overcalculating in business and operates on a very slender margin, more slender than merchants and workers of other cities. He is poorer and has had to struggle harder for a livelihood in this the capital of the South than in any other large city in Morocco. Marrakesh reflects the life and values of its inhabitants, a hard life with the majority of the people more or less content with their lot while at the same time being very hospitable.

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1 This attitude may be due to the fact that Marrakesh is more of a pluralistic society than other cities in the South. For example, Taroudant's population is at least 80% Berber and can be said to be a Berber city whereas Marrakesh is the capitol for both the Arab and Berber South.
These characteristics reflect a country environment and Marrakesh in comparison to Casablanca or Rabat is both physically and socially but a very large town; not much amusement, a quiet tranquil life with little complexity and the slowest paced of all of Morocco's large cities. Its temperament and tempo, e.g. climate, geography and lack of heavy industry, resemble that of cities in the South be it the United States, Italy, France or Germany, etc. What the future will bring to Marrakesh one can only surmise. There will be modernization of many aspects of life while the city still retains an older, more relaxed and generous way of life than is found in other Moroccan cities comparable in size.

Agriculture not industry sets the city's pace. For example, every Wednesday morning one sees herds of cows and donkeys, the latter laden with huge woven hemp double bags, one bag on each side of the donkey, filled with sheep, all traversing the city to the animal market in the Industrial Quarter (Quartier Industriel). After 4 P.M., when the market has closed, there is a similar traversing from the city back to the country. On Thursdays one sees donkeys, mules, horses and camels making this same trek. Two other
observations concerning these weekly markets are:

1. At least a third of the animals present on a given market day have been transported by truck. The truck also plays an important role at the major markets in the country. If the terrain is passable there will be many trucks and buses present. 2. Villages around Marrakesh still have their own weekly markets where everything is sold: fresh meat, clothes, salt, sugar, manufactured goods, agricultural products, etc. In Marrakesh the markets, with the exception of the animal markets, are more specialized and are the centers of exchange and sale for the city's poorer inhabitants. Although characteristic of Marrakesh, these traditional weekly markets could not be found in Casablanca or Rabat.

The image of the Marrakshi thus far formulated may be biased in that it is an idealized picture created by the Marrakshi; idealized in that attitudes can be different than actual behavior. For example, the attitude of egalitarianism is compromised where a Muslim of Black African descent is concerned. However, the image is valuable in order to understand how the Marrakshi sees his city and himself.

Marrakshi's also provide characterizations of other cities which is a reflection of how they see themselves.
Fez is snobbish, rich, closed, unfriendly, selfish and exclusive. The inhabitants (Fassis) have regard only for themselves and not for outsiders. There is an Arab proverb which states that a Fassi has a body of silver and a heart of brass. Meknes, Fez's sister city, is its immediate rival. Its character according to the Marrakshis lies somewhere between Fez and Marrakesh. Rabat and Salé are also antagonistic twin cities. The former has the reputation of being very unfriendly and miserly. In Marrakesh when one asks for directions more likely than not the respondent will lead you to the door; however, the Marrakshi's feel that in Rabat the inhabitant may not give you any directional information at all. In Marrakesh, when a group of friends get together, they take turns in supplying refreshments. In Rabat it is felt that everyone pays for himself. Casablanca cannot be characterized as it is an international city with all the currents of Morocco and the world present. It is said about Casablanca however, that a

1 "Fes is colder in climate and the people reflect this. They are very businesslike. Fes is far richer than Marrakesh. More people seem to be more interested in money. My landlord breathes heavily and seems to sweat with passion when I pay the rent. He comes on the First promptly and the poor carpenter near us spends most of our talks discussing the "crise economique". Letter from Thomas Dichter, April 22, 1966. Fez, Morocco. Mr. Dichter, a member of the Peace Corps, lived for one year in Marrakesh (1964-65) and one year in Fez (1965-66)."
man could earn a fortune one day, lose it the next and have only God to help him.

In summary, Marrakesh preserves face to face relations to a great degree. All ethnic groups contribute to the image of this city which makes it impossible to say that Marrakesh is mainly an African, Berber, Arab or Jewish city. Each group has its traditions and holidays, art, music and architecture. However this situation is generally true of multi-ethnic urban environments. There is no value in romanticizing or stereotyping ethnic groups especially to give a personality to Marrakesh. The French romanticized the Berber against the Arab and gave him the qualities of incorruptibility and being straightforward (nisān), never devious. This image still exists in Marrakesh among the French and the Jews and some Berbers. The African influence on Marrakesh is perceived by architecture, music and art. In the 19th century Marrakesh had the largest Jewish community in Morocco. In the 20th century it was the second largest, the first being the Jewish community of Casablanca. What makes Marrakesh distinctive from other Moroccan cities is the existence of large ethnic groups of Berbers, Moroccans of black African descent and Jews in a primarily
agriculturally oriented environment situated on the historical north-south crossroads with Morocco at the northern end and the African Savannah below the Sahara at the southern end.

**Religious Behavior of Ethnic Groups in Marrakesh**

The different ethnic groups in Marrakesh have a pattern of activities which is discernible and can add to the feeling for and understanding of Marrakesh in the middle 1960's.

The most conspicuous shapers of rhythm or patterns of activities are religious in nature and include the last days of the week religious observance common to Islam, Judaism and Christianity, special religious holidays, and festive occasions with a religious basis.

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1 The ethnic grouping in Marrakesh has undergone a great transition since Morocco's independence in 1956. Most of the population of the European (almost exclusively French) and Moroccan Jewish communities have left Marrakesh, making it a more homogeneous city. In 1965 the Jewish quarter (Mellah) was 85% Muslim. The European quarter or ville nouvelle or Guéliz in 1965 was 40% European, 30% Jewish and 30% Muslim.
1. **End of the week religious observance.** The day of rest or the Sabbath for the Jews and Christians and the Friday Prayer (salāt al-djum'a) for the Muslims. In Islam unlike Judaism and Christianity there is not one calendar day set aside for religious observance and rest. On Friday around 11 A.M. the Muslim business sectors begin preparations for the Friday Prayer, which lasts from around noon until 7 P.M. In the süq water is thrown on the ground to settle the dust; barrels of hot water make their appearance so that Muslims can make their necessary libations. All shops are closed be they in various sectors of the Medina or in the Mellah or the Guéliz. All inhabitants of Marrakesh know that the Muslim business sector is closed. After the Friday prayer is over about half of the süqs begin to reopen around 4:30 P.M. The süqs in the Medina are more crowded with people than is usual.

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1 "In imitation of and in contrast with the Jewish and the Christian forms of the Sabbath institution, Mohammad appointed Friday as the day of a solemnized community prayer. This takes the place of the ordinary noon service. "O ye who have believed, when proclamation is made for the Prayer on the day of the Assembly [Friday] endeavor to come to the remembrance of Allāh, and leave off bargaining; that is better for you, if ye have knowledge. Then when the Prayer is finished, scatter abroad in the land and seek the bounty of Allāh, but call Allāh frequently to mind; mayhap ye will prosper (Koran 62:9-10). In other words, Friday is not to be a day of rest and business is to be suspended only during the noon service itself". Gustave E. von Grunebaum. **Mohammadan Festivals.** New York, 1951. p. 11.
Particularly noticeable are large numbers of women, accompanied by young children, window shopping for the most part. A festive mood is definitely present. Many Moroccan Muslims also come to the Guéliz to browse, window shop and chat with friends not only on Friday evening but also on Saturday evening when the Jewish population is similarly occupied in the Guéliz (ville nouvelle or European quarter). The end of the week is the time of relaxation.

From Friday sunset through Saturday sunset the Sabbath is observed by the Jews of Marrakesh. All Jewish businesses are closed in the Mellah, Medina and the Guéliz. The same pattern of visiting, promenading and browsing takes place after the Sabbath in the Mellah and the Guéliz.

In the European quarter (Guéliz) Sunday is very quiet, reflecting the pattern of the Christians of Marrakesh. Even the government offices are closed which seems to be somewhat of an anchronism since Morocco is a Muslim country with a constantly shrinking Christian community.

In summary, the religious commemoration at the end of every week for Muslim, Jew and Christian puts its stamp on Marrakesh which is particularly evident in the shutting down of the commercial life of the Medina, Mellah and Guéliz. The great majority of the Muslims relax and visit
in their own neighborhoods but there are growing numbers who visit the Guéliz because the Guéliz has changed. Since more and more businesses are owned or managed by Muslims, more and more Muslims move to the Guéliz.

2. Religious holidays have a similar if not more sustained impact on the life of the inhabitants of Marrakesh. The religious holiday which influences Marrakesh the most is Ramadan, the month of fasting for the Muslims. During this month Muslims fast from sun up to sun down. Ramadan officially began in Marrakesh on January 4, 1965. The Sultan of Morocco symbolically decides when Ramadan officially begins. In Marrakesh as in other cities a siren designates the beginning and ending of each fast day. In a number of cities cigarette companies put out paper wheels which allows one to calculate the beginning and ending of the fast for each day.

There are noticeable changes in the behavior patterns of Muslims. All businesses and government offices open one-half to one hour later and close for the Muslims between 5:30 - 6 P.M. The city is generally more deserted. Sirens announce the activities of eating. A siren at 5:30 P.M.

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1The regular work day is 8 a.m. - 12 noon and 3 p.m. to 7 p.m. During Ramadan the regular work day is 9 a.m. - 12 noon and 3 p.m. to 5:30 or 6 p.m.
announces that people can eat; another at 6:30 A.M.
announces the cessation of eating. From 6:30 A.M. to
5:30 P.M. no one is supposed to eat. An informant
related that when the siren rings it is obligatory to
even spit out what one has in one's mouth. In
Marrakesh Ramadan is held in great respect, practiced
and kept by most. It is possible to eat breakfast and
dinner at rather normal hours. The group of offenders
seems to be generally males made up of the age group 18-23
mainly from the lower middle class and from the rich and
influential. The mass of the population follow the precepts
of Ramadan as regards fasting. Ramadan is a time of semi-
vacation, a time for visiting particularly ones family and a
time for doing nothing. Offices have a schedule of 9-12,
2-5. However even these hours are lax. Professionals such
as dentists have hours from 10-12, 3-5. No activity starts
before 9 A.M. Many businessmen say that Ramadan is a very
quiet time; there is little buying and selling even in the
sūqs. Traditionally Ramadan is a time for meditation;
however, in Marrakesh this principle applies only to the
older generation. When walking through the sūqs one sees a
number of merchants reading the Q'urān and some were even
chanting passages. The numbers of readers among the elder
merchants increased notably during Ramadan. Most however are middle age and elderly. It is also the tradition during this religious holiday to ask forgiveness and give charity to the poor. It is the time of renewal or purification. People buy new outfits of clothing; a new djellaba, tagiya and new babouches (a small cap and slippers) preferably all white to honor this month.

The visiting of homes by non-members of the family is strictly curtailed during Ramadan. People tend to arise much later and irregularly. Their daily lives are upset, and they tend to be more ill at ease with strangers. Further, they can't offer guests anything to eat which runs counter to the legendary hospitality of Muslims.

The traditional dish during Ramadan is "Harira" a thick bean or vegetable soup which is consumed in the evening and in the morning. It is unlike other dishes available all year round as "Harira" is very much a staple of the poor laborers in Marrakesh.

In Marrakesh, Ramadan has three festive days discernible to the outsider. They are the 15th day of Ramadan, the 27th of Ramadan (Lailat al-Qadr - Night of Power) which commemorates Muhammad's first revelation; the night the

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1 SEI "Ramadan" p. 469 lists several important days commemorating certain historical events. The 15th is not mentioned. My assumption at this point is that it is possibly a local tradition.
Q'urān was sent down and the last day (ʿĪd al-fitr - festival of the breaking of the fast also known as the 'Īd al-ṣaghir - the little festival). Besides their religious significance, these festive days are said to help break the monotony of Ramadan, according to the poor, who in general know very little about the religious significance and history of their holidays. On all three days people buy great quantities of food and toys. A favorite toy is a long thin horn used to herald in the holiday. Noisemakers of all kinds, horns, whistles, harmonicas, etc. are in evidence. For the Muslim children of Marrakesh this day is a cross between Christmas and Halloween, the former for the gifts and festive goods, the latter for the noisemaking and merrymaking. The toys are of two categories: 1. those made of plastic similar to toys sold everywhere, e.g., dolls, horns, cards, toy pistols, toy swords. 2. traditional toys of Moroccan design made from traditional materials, e.g. drums of all sizes, handpainted and made of clay with a stretched skin playing surface, household utensils made from clay and cardboard particularly cous-cousiers (earthenware double boilers) which little girls play with to imitate the household duties of their mothers.
Special food is eaten on the 15th day of Ramadan. Fowl is on sale everywhere. Anyone who can possibly afford a chicken, guinea hen or turkey buys one. Public fountains large or small have traces of blood and feathers where the fowl have been slaughtered. There are two other foods which are sold today: 1. One is a type of candy known as "Sbakiya". It is a round, dark brown candy with sesame seeds. It resembles and tastes something like a very soft sweet pastry known as a snail or Danish in the United States. On this day special stands of this candy appear in every district in Marrakesh. Another specialty is "Tarid" which is sold only on this day and it is a specialty of Marrakesh. It is made from olive oil and flour, and resembles a large paper-thin pancake. It is mainly eaten with sauce from chicken. Jews eat it with honey. "Tarid" is only sold near the sūqs of the kaftans and djellabas in the central sūqs off of the main square, Jāmā al-Fnā.

The 27th day of Ramadan is the Lailat al-Qadr or Night of Power. The Marrakshis also call it Fedala. The belief is that on this evening those who are learned and well with God will see the prophet Muhammad when the sky
opens. People pray all night and keep watch on the sky. The next day is memorial day when everyone visits the cemeteries, especially at Bab Aghmat, the largest one in Marrakesh. It is the day for giving children gifts of drums and small tagines (basic cooking pot composed of a flat shallow clay plate with a conical clay lid). Most obviously, it is the principal day for giving to the poor. There are long lines of poor with their containers (especially made and sold for this day) to receive food, especially dried out figs. Dates in lesser quantities are also sold and distributed. Most of the people outside the cemetery of Bab Aghmat who give to the poor are poor themselves. One special object is bought for this day. It is called Rayhan and consists of branches from a particular kind of ornamental shrub. A small bunch is sold for two rial (2 cents or 10 old francs). Palm fronds are also used but not as much as Rayhan. Most of the people in evidence are women and children. In contradistinction to the above scene, men were laying sewer pipes for the Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali sector of Marrakesh.

The above account describes the behavior of the majority of the population in Marrakesh during Ramadan.
Conservatism in Marrakesh is reinforced by the presence of a traditional urban bourgeoisie and the country-in-city atmosphere. Rabat on the other hand has a large foreign colony and as the capital of Morocco has a less traditional stance towards Ramadan.

It is well known however, that many civil servants and business and professional people do not observe fasting rigorously and that a certain amount of this observance is due to fear of public opinion, e.g. during Ramadan one reads in newspapers, accounts of people arrested for breaking the fast in public places. The important variable seems to be the social and economic class of the participant; increased status leads to decreased observance. An extreme example is that of a high civil servant who at least on one occasion had lunch including whisky in a Jewish household during Ramadan.

Drinking intoxicating beverages is forbidden by the Q'urān and is considered as a major sin in Morocco; yet, the consumption of liquor in Marrakesh is high. Epicerie (grocery) owners remarked to me that the importation of liquor has increased fourfold in the last years while the French-European and the Moroccan Jewish communities were
leaving in great numbers. The primary explanation is that Moroccan Muslims buy and consume, somewhat clandestinely, quantities of alcoholic beverages. Most of the epiceries in Marrakesh have at least half of their shelves stocked with domestic and imported wines, beer, whiskies and liquors. Scotch, called whisky in Morocco, is by far the most popular liquor. In January, 1965 a fifth of Johnny Walker Red Label sold for 2,850 francs or $5.70. In July, 1964 the same bottle sold for 2,500 francs or $5.00. It is common knowledge that for many epiceries the difference between a deficit and a profitable operation depends largely on the illicit sale of alcoholic beverages at 1½ to 2 times the advertised price. The Muslims pay that much more. The average skilled working man usually restricts his purchases to beer. Some epiceries stock only the Moroccan export labels such as Flag Pils for they bring higher prices. Occasionally the police will close down an epicerie or restaurant for selling beer and liquor. This closing is more or less a ritual as the particular epicerie or restaurant usually stays open and those who are incarcerated return to their places of business after 2-4 weeks. The implication of course is that bribery of police is quite common. The desire to drink borders on the obsessive, irregardless of class. This is probably due to the existence of an unreasonable anachronistic prohibition; people react to it in the extreme explaining the drinking of whisky at lunch during Ramadan.
'Ashūrā! This is another important holiday in Marrakesh which influences the behavior of Marrakeshi's and hence the rhythm or pattern of activities of this city. In 1965 the holiday commenced on the eve of May 11. The striking feature, which is unique to Marrakesh, is the existence of drum bands (Dka) which go from quarter to quarter. The rhythms have a heavy influence from Black Africa. It is a holiday for children and at midnight there are scores of boys and girls all over the city, roving the streets playing on their clay drums. On the eve of this holiday there seems to be more Moroccan Muslims under the influence of alcohol than on other holidays, possibly due to its festive nature. In Marrakesh, it is the time to give to the poor, for visiting cemeteries, for buying new clothes for the wife and toys for the children and for eating dates, nuts, dried figs and raisins bought from special stands set up for this holiday. It resembles quite closely the 27th of Ramadan.

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10th of Muharram 'Ashūrā'. On the 19th of Muharram, 61 A.H. (October 10, 680) Husain, the son of 'Ali and the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, and who came to be considered as the 3rd Imam was killed in a battle at Karbela in Iraq. It is the major mourning holiday for the Shia. cf. SEI "Al-Muharram". The Sunnis celebrate 'Ashūrā' also but it relates to a voluntary fast day occurring at the beginning of the Muslim year. cf. SEI "'Ashūrā'".
It is not however an officially paid holiday so life goes on as usual to the point that even children attend school as on any other day.

The celebrating of this holiday and the manner in which it is celebrated raises some interesting questions. Morocco is a Sunni country and this is a Shī'a holiday though it is important to note that the ruling dynasty of Morocco, the Alaouís or 'Alīds trace their lineage to Al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, making them at least theoretically Shiites. For the Shī'a 'Ashūrā' is a holiday of great mourning and not of festivity as it is in Marrakesh.

Among both the poor and the middle class it was almost impossible to obtain an explanation as to why 'Ashūrā' in Marrakesh was festive in nature. Informants described what was done but not the reasons for the practices. Some of the devout and learned did indeed attribute the holiday as being the 'Ashūrā' of the Shī'a. A striking phenomenon among my informants was the lack of any fund of religious knowledge.

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The festive nature of this holiday as celebrated in Marrakesh leads to the supposition that it is the 'Ashūrā' of the Sunnites which in former times was a fast day at the beginning of the new year and in recent times has become the new year celebration.

Le Tourneau states that as far as Fez is concerned the origin of the holiday is indeed in the Shi'a tradition but that over centuries it has become mixed with local popular customs and has been completely transformed in a manner resembling the festivities witnessed in Marrakesh.

Deverdun and Flamand maintain that 'Ashūrā' is mixed with pre-Islamic North African traditions.

1 Muharram is the first Muslim month of the year and 'Ashūrā' is literally the 10th day of that month. "Après l'Achoura, la fête du Nouvel An musulman, les cierges sont retirés du marabout et transportés au domicile du maître ouvrier que les remettra en état." Les Guides Bleus, Maroc, Paris, 1966 p. 126.


3 Deverdun. p. 427.

II. Jewish Religious Holidays

Not every holiday in the Jewish year has been included here. Criteria for inclusion is availability of information on behavior and practices in Marrakesh and other southern Moroccan communities.

A. Mimouna.

In Marrakesh, Mimouna commences on the last night of Pesach and extends until sun down of the following day. Jews go out to groves of trees, particularly the Menara, Aguedal and Jnān al-'Afia, where they give thanks to God for trees and the sustenance they provide. During the day after Pesach, families and friends go to the groves and parks for picnics.

It is possibly a spring rite. Mimouna means happy feast. A woman Saint's tomb is outside of Bab ed-Dabbagh and her name is Lalla Mimouna.

B. Hilloula.

This is a festive occasion coming between Pesach and Shavuot and known as the period of the counting of the 'Omer.
The counting of the 'Omer starts on the second day of Pesach and ends on Shavuot forty-nine days later. One day equals an 'Omer. Hilloula generally refers to Lag ba-'Omer or the 33rd day of the counting of the 'Omer which is the holiday for commemorating the anniversary of the death of Simon bar Yohai. Hilloula in Morocco starts on Lag ba-'Omer and ends on Shavuot. These 16 days are given over to pilgrimages; people come great distances to honor the numerous venerated tombs of rabbis to be found mainly in the provinces of Marrakesh, Ouarzazate and Agadir. In Fez these festivities honor many Moroccan Rabbis. In other cities local Jewish Saints are honored by pilgrimages.

The major activity at a pilgrimage is paying one's respects to the venerated Saint by praying, lighting candles and eating sweets. Many of the pilgrims particularly women

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1Flamand op. cit. p. 111 gives the dates for Hilloula as being from May 17th to June 3 (Shavuot). May 17th is 16 days before June 3rd, i.e. Lag ba-'Omer and May 17th are the same day in relation to June 3 being Shavuot. This demonstrates that the beginning of these days of pilgrimages and festivities does indeed begin with Lag ba-'Omer and continue until Shavuot. It is incorrect however, to state as Flamand does that each year Hilloula starts on May 17th (Lag ba-'Omer) and ends on June 3 (Shavuot). These were the dates Flamand observed when he was making his study. Since a lunar calendar with a solar correction is used for setting dates of Jewish holidays both Hilloula (Lag ba-'Omer 33rd day of the 'Omer) and Shavuot (49th day of the 'Omer) are on different dates each year.
became emotionally overwrought quite readily. After respects are paid the pilgrimage becomes a festive occasion in the form of large family picnics. It is at this time also that the Jewish community of Marrakesh collects money by selling concessions and through private donations. The sums realized are used by the Jewish community of Marrakesh for the upkeep of communal buildings and paying for services rendered to the Jewish community.

The cult or custom of Saint worship among Muslims and Jews in Morocco is still au courant and the period of Hilloula provides an example where strong local tradition (Saint worship) pervades Jewish custom so that during the days between Lag ba-'Omer and Shavuot, the fulfilling of a well known Jewish tradition becomes the most important period of participation in pilgrimages to local Sainted Jewish parsonages.

C. Shavuot (Pentecost).

In 1965 Shavuot was celebrated in Marrakesh June 6th and 7th. The Christian community of Marrakesh was

1 The concessions are for the sale of food, drink and candles.
celebrating Pentecost (Whitsunday) at the same time (June 6, 1965).

The entire Jewish community participates in Shavuot. These festive days center around three themes: the Torah, Pilgrimages and Picnics. The general Jewish belief that Moses was given the Torah during this period is one of the basic ideas connected with Shavuot in Marrakesh and many activities involve the Torah. It is during this time that worn, defective Torah scrolls are put aside for burial in the Geniza. Torn prayer books, defective religious texts, obsolete contracts and records of the Jewish community of Marrakesh are also put aside for burial.

Burial of the kinds of written materials described, takes place in Marrakesh's Geniza which is located in the Jewish cemetery along the left side of the entrance. The Geniza is a hole originally 60 feet deep but now almost filled. It is accessible by a small door in the wall. Above the door is a plaque in marble identifying this place as the Geniza.

Before items are buried they are put into flour sacks in a room nearby. The odor in this room is quite musty as it is
in the Geniza which creates the impression that at least a part of the history of the Jewish community of Marrakesh was being lost. During this holiday new Torahs and books are presented to synagogues by congregants.

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According to David Abtan, Secretary of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh, there are other Genizot scattered throughout the cemetery though in 1965 no one knew where they were. Oral communication of David Abtan to Richard Press, June 10, 1965.

The same situation can be noted for the rural Jewish communities in the provinces of Marrakesh, Ouarzazate and Agadir. Solomon Benisty, an employee of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh who lived most of his life in the bled (country), stated that there are also Genizot in the country. Parallel with this observation is that when some of the small rural Jewish communities of Southern Morocco emigrated en masse to Israel they destroyed whatever religious artifacts and communal records they had. Mr. Benisty was told by an eyewitness that he saw many Jewish documents dumped down a well some time ago in a Jewish Mellah, one mile distant from M'Hamid; gasoline was poured on them and ignited. (Oral communication of Mr. Solomon Benisty to Richard Press, June 10, 1965.)

Burying of books before total emigration of a community also occurred in the Mzab in Algeria. cf. Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guède, No More For Ever; A Saharan Jewish Town (Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 45 no. 1) Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1964 pp. 73-74 and photograph (figure 14A).
Another aspect of Shavuot relates to its being a spring festival. People go on picnics where much food and wine is consumed. As with Hilloula, picnics during Shavuot are tied in with pilgrimages to the various renowned rabbis of the area. There is less activity during Shavuot however than during Hilloula. It is the Jewish community of Marrakesh which maintains some of the Pilgrimage sites in the provinces of Marrakesh and Ouarzazate particularly during period of Hilloula and Shavuot.¹ Money for this purpose is raised by selling concessions of food, drink and candles at the various venerated sites.

¹ Solomon Benisty, sent by the Jewish community of Marrakesh to collect money for its various activities, went to other Jewish communities in the area. In the past the many Jewish communities in the countryside maintained their shrines and payed for their services with local money and a subvention from the Jewish community of Marrakesh, which was also responsible for services and upkeep of shrines and public buildings of the smaller Jewish communities of the bled. In 1965 most of these communities no longer existed; therefore the Jewish community of Marrakesh had to raise money to maintain the following most important shrines:

1. Rebby Daoud on Mouchi no. 98.
2. Rebby Daoud Draa no. 71.
3. Rebby Moulai Aghi (Voinot spells it Moula Irhi) no. 70.
4. Rebby Shlomo Bel Hinz (Voinot: Rebbi Chloumou bel Hanech) no. 81.
5. Rebby Hayim Ben Diwan (Voinot: Rebbi Haiem Diouane no. 83).
6. Rebby Raphael Cohen (Voinot: Rebbi Rafail Cohine no. 84).

For geographical location see L. Voinot, Pèlerinages Judéo-Musulmans du Maroc (Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, Notes et Documents 4) Paris, 1948. The number to the right of the name is that given by Voinot in the above work.
Candles are lit at the tomb of every venerated rabbi, also referred to as Saints or Marabouts. The lighting of candles is very common in Morocco and in the cemetery of Marrakesh one sees a large number of grave markers (in Marrakesh the headstones for Jews as well as Muslims are horizontal and not vertical) containing a small niche in which to place candles. These niches are invariably black with smoke from candles having been burned for a long period of time.

D. Yom Kippur.

Yom Kippur is the most important religious holiday in the Jewish community. This day of atonement is also a fast day. It is the holiday in which as much of the community participates as possible and its observance is greater than on any other holiday.

The Mellah becomes again the center of religious life for Jews by virtue of its large numbers of synagogues. For many Jews it was a return to the Mellah where they or their parents used to live, to the Mellah which in 1964 had more Muslim than Jewish inhabitants.

Both on the eve of Yom Kippur and the following day, the Jewish community of Marrakesh alienates itself
from Muslims and Europeans. It is also a holiday of reunion where especially grown children of a family living in the coastal cities return to Marrakesh to be with their parents or younger siblings. This holiday in particular is a good example of how religious observance dictates the rhythm and pattern of events of the entire city.

Unlike the other religious holidays Yom Kippur gives an accurate picture of the size and structure of the Jewish community because of the very high participation of the inhabitants. What follows is a picture of the Jewish community of Marrakesh in 1964-65 based upon the almost total participation of the Jews of Marrakesh which in turn is a fundamental part of the total behavior pattern of Marrakesh; i.e. religious life and its effect on the personality and behavior patterns of the various ethnic groups in Marrakesh.

In 1964 Yom Kippur fell on September 16. All the
synagogues that could be found were visited. On several occasions Muslim bystanders were asked and usually knew the location of a particular synagogue, which indicates a fluid social situation in the Mellaḥ. On the one hand it is still a center for the religious life of the Jews and on the other hand it has become another Muslim living district. Once there were small islands of Muslims in the Mellaḥ. Today there are small islands of Jews becoming ever smaller. Yet neither community is sealed off from the other. This statement is not intended to typologize relations between Muslims and Jews anywhere and at anytime. Rather, it does describe a living quarter at a point in time going through a drastic transition. The behavior created by this transition, at least on important religious holidays, was quite evident. Certainly another factor affecting behavior in this situation was the difference in economic status between the Muslims and the Jews. For the most part, Muslims who owned property in the Mellaḥ came from the middle or wealthy class. They in turn rented to small shopkeepers and the
working class. The Jews in 1964-65 both from outside and inside the Mellah were of a higher economic class. This class difference influenced to make the observed pattern of cordial if distant behavior between Muslims and Jews. There were fifteen synagogues in operation. In addition to the twelve in the Mellah, the Bitoun synagogue, that of the Jeunesse des Juives in the Medina (Arset al-Maach— a predominantly Jewish sector adjoining the Mellah) and the synagogue in the Gué líz were located. The most elaborate was the Bitoun synagogue in which both the bimah and the arc were made of marble and the seating arrangement was in rows. Women sat upstairs.

Most of the synagogues in the Mellah consisted of rooms in a larger dwelling except for the largest which was a part of a Jewish day school. The general pattern of seating was along the walls and in the middle of the room. In this type of synagogue the bimah is in the center and people surround it. Most prayer goers sit on
benches that are cushioned. Men and women were situated in two distinct rooms.

The Jews of Marrakesh realize that praying all day on Yom Kippur is an ordeal so they try to be relatively comfortable. Some of them take snuff from time to time and lay down and rest in brief spells. The adherence to religious custom however is quite strong. Almost everyone praying in the Mellah refrained from wearing leather shoes and wore canvas shoes instead; however they bent the backs of these shoes to resemble the babouche or belgå. To complete the dress, most men wore a white shirt and clean tallit. The women who came were relaxed for the most part, reading or gossiping. In most synagogues the atmosphere is quite informal.

Some synagogues were on the ground floor while others required climbing stairs. The ornamentation within the synagogues gave evidence of being influenced by non-Jewish
beliefs. The most striking example of this influence throughout Morocco, North Africa and the Middle East is the very large brass hand which is a talisman against evil particularly the evil eye. Many are hung in each synagogue and are suspended from large lamps of oil.

The fourteen synagogues in operation constituted an unusually high number. In the Mellah there are usually two or three operating all year round. The others are closed except on Yom Kippur. It was somewhat difficult to estimate the population in terms of counting worshippers as they were full of children and young men. The task was to try and determine how many heads of household were present and use a multiplier of five (average household) to arrive at a fair estimate of the remaining Jewish population of Marrakesh. There was an average of 40 heads of household in each of the 14 synagogues. Using a multiple of five the Jewish population is estimated at 2,800.

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2 During the year 1964-65 I witnessed two synagogues being converted to living space as there were no longer congregations to keep them up. Much of the ornamentation is sold in the suqs where tourists buy them as souvenirs.
The European Christian religious influence on the behavior patterns of Marrakesh is much less evident than the Islamic or Judaic. Christianity has its impact primarily on the weekend as governmental offices are closed and the Guéliz is as quiet and empty as a provincial town in France. This situation is rapidly changing as more and more Europeans leave and Muslims move in. Two other obvious influences of the presence of Christianity are the church bells on Sunday and announcements of deaths, posted on trees which line the main boulevard, Mohammed Cinq.

In summary, Marrakesh as a traditional city with clear cut ethnic separation, ecologically and culturally, has been shaped by the many influences of these groups. The most powerful influence is that of religion which regulates and shapes the behavior of the various populations.

Religious patterns however are changing in that the Jewish and European (mainly French) populations are constantly being reduced to the degree that their respective ritual year will no longer have an impact on Marrakesh. As Muslims constantly move to the Mellah and the Guéliz, they quite naturally bring their institutions with them which in
turn diffuses the Muslim ritual year to every quarter of Marrakesh.

As Marrakesh becomes less provincial through more formal education and informal worldly penetration of the universe on the city's young inhabitants, there will be a concomitant drawing away from ritual observance though this is still in the distant future as a noticeable change in observable behavior. Religion will still have an influence on the rhythm and personality of Marrakesh but it will not be as syncretic nor as heterogenous nor as intense as in the past.
CHAPTER 4

Demography and Social Change

Historical statistics especially for the Tiers-Monde always involves the problem of reliability. Population statistics for Morocco and specifically Marrakesh are no exception. The demographic statistics for all of Morocco before the official census of 1936 are highly suspect of inaccuracy and even unreasonable inaccuracy. Despois maintains that this situation is true until the official

1 "Nos prédécesseurs au Service Central des Statistiques sont unanimes à penser que le recensement de 1936 a été la première opération susceptible d'obtenir des résultats généraux présentant un degré suffisant de précision, tout au moins pour la population Musulmane" Service Central des Statistiques. Résultats du Recensement de 1960; Vol. I: Nationalité - Sexe - Age, Rabat, 1964. p. 7. The U.N. indicated essentially the same evaluation: "On the other hand, it is more difficult to study its growth, [population of Morocco] since the first census in fact, which were taken in 1921, 1926 and 1931, more often than not resembled administrative enumerations and in some areas were occasionally based entirely on estimates" United Nations. Report of the Urbanization Survey Mission in the Mediterranean Region November to December 1959, New York, 1962. Annex IV, p. 2.

Lack of solid demographical data applies also to the Jewish and European populations also. For the European population (mainly French) of Morocco there are beginning to appear monographs on European settlement since 1912. cf. R. Faure. "L'évolution de la population européenne de Meknès de 1911 à nos jours". Revue de Géographie du Maroc. No. 5, 1964. pp. 67-72.

census of 1952. This chapter will deal at length in comparing demographic data of Marrakesh with other cities of Morocco. Only the 1960 census will be used to assure reasonable reliability though it too has some misgivings.

If inaccuracy is the norm for twentieth century statistics, then it is likewise true for population figures antedating the protectorate (1912). Before 1912 population statistics were in the accounts of travels and explorations of various authors. Some of these accounts are more reliable than others. Deverdun gives population figures of various accounts for the period 1693-1912. During this period the population fluctuated greatly, reflecting either productive harvests and the presence of the Sultan and his court or drought, starvation, epidemics and the absence of the Sultan. Marrakesh was even more sensitive than other cities to both the political and economic situations in which she was caught.


2 Gaston Deverdun. op. cit. pp. 597-599.
Taking into account the possibility of either under-estimating or overestimating the size of the population of Marrakesh, it can be stated that the population during this period (1693-1912) varied from 25,000 to 75,000. These figures are estimates and do not even represent an unbroken line of growth, for during various periods within this time span the population was more than 75,000.

The twentieth century is certainly a witness to a much faster growth rate than that for the previous 219 years. From 75,000 in 1912, the population has grown to 243,134 in 1960 with estimates of 300,000 for 1965 and 270,000 for 1966. In the previous 219 years the population of Marrakesh increased threefold or 300%. Within a span of 54 years (1912-1966) the population has increased almost fourfold, i.e. doubling every 27 years. This growth rate occurred in spurts until the end of the Second World War when there began the constant rapid expansion of population which is still in progress.

1 Service Central des Statistiques. op. cit. p.66.

2 This is an estimate of the population of Marrakesh in 1964 by Monsieur Marcel Chénier, Chief Architect and head of Planning for the City of Marrakesh. Interview with Marcel Chénier - November 4, 1964.

The following chart is a survey of growth of the population of Marrakesh in the twentieth century. Indicated are the year, size of population, source of information and remarks. The remarks will illustrate the problems brought out above.
### Population of Marrakesh in the 20th Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>139,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>149,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>164,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>195,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>196,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>190,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>199,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>241,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>215,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>243,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>215,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>300,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>270,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources for Population Statistics:


In 1912, Marrakesh was the largest city in Morocco. By 1924, Marrakesh still commanded this position but was being threatened by a rapidly growing Casablanca which had a population of 102,000. The figure for 1926 is an official census figure and part of the second official census under the Protectorate. The first official census took place in 1921. The 1931 figure is from the third official census and is an estimate. The 1934 figure comes from a local publication on Marrakesh. Two problems arise. Is it possible to compare local and national sources for the same data? Why is there an increase of only 1,000 people in three years? Given the official census figure of 190,314 for 1936, it is possible that the 1931 figure is unreasonably high.

The first figure for 1936 is from the fourth official census which is regarded as the most reliable date.

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1. P. Ricard. op. cit. p. 79.

Bacquet notes that not included is "une population flottante de plus de 10,000 individus". This could bring the population for 1936 to a little over 200,000. A so-called floating population, comprised of temporary migrants, has always been a feature of Marrakesh. In this census Casablanca emerged for the first time as the largest city in Morocco with a population of 257,430. This fact points to the demise of the great interior imperial cities of Marrakesh, Fez and Meknes as the economic and cultural centers of Morocco. The population gap between the largest and second largest cities in Morocco (Casablanca and Marrakesh) grew at an ever increasing rate so that by 1966 Casablanca had an estimated population of 1,200,000 whereas Marrakesh had an estimated population of 270,000 or 300,000 depending upon whose figures you use. The second figure for 1936 came from an unpublished source within the United Nation's study and is at variance with


2 Service Central des Statisques. op. cit. p. 99.

the official census. This same document inaccurately claims that Marrakesh was still the largest city in Morocco citing Casablanca as having only 184,700 inhabitants in 1936. The 1947 figure is far too high even though it comes from the fifth official census. The census was done by the issuance of ration cards and the rolls were thusly greatly inflated.

The first figure for 1952 comes from the sixth official census under the Protectorate and in coming close to mirroring the actual population it was the first that could be called a modern census. The second figure is from the United Nation study without any indication as to its source.

The 1960 figure comes from the seventh and last official census. It was the first modern census taken in independent Morocco. This census was the best organized and has the most literature available on it. Monsieur Marcel Chénier, Chief Architect and City Planner for the city of Marrakesh, stated that this figure was far too low as his office in 1959

estimated the population as 264,000. The 1962 figure is in reality the statistic for 1952.

All statistics after 1960 are based on estimates as there has not been another official census. The 1964-65 figure comes from the municipal architect of Marrakesh. He has stated on numerous occasions that this city is growing faster than official statistics indicate. It is certain that Marrakesh is not an industrial center but through natural increase and migration her population is growing about 4% per year.

C. Structure of the Population of Marrakesh

The 1960 census provides comparative statistics for age groups by sex and ethnic origin, i.e. Moroccan, Jew or European. With this information it is possible to determine to what degree if any the composition and age structure of the population of Marrakesh differ from ten other cities in Morocco. The purpose of this analysis is
to provide another variable to test in order to learn what makes Marrakesh similar to or different from other Muslim cities (in this example the comparison is limited to cities in Morocco) and other cities in the third or developing world.

The variable chosen to be most significant was the percent of the population in each city that was under 20. Concentrating on this variable provides a demonstration of the well known statement that populations in the third world are very young, a situation affecting problems of economic development, education and training a skilled labor pool.

The basic data comes from the last official census of Morocco conducted in 1960. Below is a summary of the findings. The complete chart is in Appendix 1 to this chapter.
1. Population Studies - Total Population of Morocco

Percentage of Population under 20 (0-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Moroccans - Muslim</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20 - total population</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20 - Urban</td>
<td>49.68</td>
<td>49.86</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20 - Rural</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Moroccans - Jews</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Foreigners (mainly French)</td>
<td>40.26</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The overwhelming majority of Moroccans are rural whereas the converse is true for the Jewish and European populations which are almost totally urban.

Source: Service Central des Statistiques. Résultats du Recensement de 1960; Vol. 1 Nationalité - Sexe - Age. Rabat, 1964. pp. 61-159. The percentages for this table and those subsequent have been calculated by the author based upon the statistics given in the cited work above.
2. Population of 10 Cities and Marrakesh

Moroccans - Muslims. Percent under 20 (0-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total % Under 20</th>
<th>Men % Under 20</th>
<th>Women % Under 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Marrakesh</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fez</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Meknes</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>49.96</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Casablanca</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rabat</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tangiers</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>48.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tetuan</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Oujda</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kenitra</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Safi</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>48.97</td>
<td>46.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Salé</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Population of 10 Provinces and Prefectures
Including Marrakesh:

Jews. Percent under 20 (0-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total % Under 20</th>
<th>Men % Under 20</th>
<th>Women % Under 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marrakesh</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fez</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meknes</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca</td>
<td>55.03</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabat</td>
<td>50.07</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetuan</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oujda</td>
<td>53.67</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangiers</td>
<td>39.98</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taza</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarzazate</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The group with the largest population under 20 were the Moroccans-Jews (52.8%). The next largest group were Moroccans-Muslims (50.8%). The smallest group were Foreigners mainly French with 40.6% of its population under 20.

A comparison of the Moroccan-Muslim populations of ten cities in chart 2 shows a range of 47.7% to 52.6% of the Muslim population being under 20 years of age. Of the eleven cities used for comparison, Marrakesh had the second lowest percentage (48%) under 20.

A comparison of the Jewish populations in chart 3 shows a range (excluding Tangiers and Tetuan as they are special problems elucidated by Appendix 1 to this chapter) of 50.07% to 56.9% of the Jewish populations of nine provinces and prefectures and Marrakesh being under 20. Marrakesh has the second highest percentage of its population being under 20 (55.3%).

In comparing charts 2 and 3 it is interesting to note that although both the Moroccan-Jewish and Moroccan-Muslim populations have a large percentage under 20 years of age, the former has an almost consistently younger population from city to city. The youthfulness of both populations however, is generally
characteristic of the developing world (Tiers-Monde, third world).

In summary, neither the Moroccan-Muslim nor the Moroccan-Jewish population of Marrakesh differ significantly (percentage wise of population under 20) with several other cities, provinces and prefectures in Morocco. This conclusion suggests that urbanization in Marrakesh generally parallels urbanization in Morocco and that the attendant problems including the visibility of rapid urbanization in Marrakesh are due more to the problems of young populations amidst rapid urbanization than to any specific group of culture traits which can be argued as being peculiarly manifested in Marrakesh, e.g. syncretic Islam and its influence on the structure of the population of Marrakesh.
D. Housing, Ethnic Quarters and Social Change

Marrakesh is divided into three main quarters; the Medina, the Mellah, and the Ville Nouvelle. Since World War II, two major demographic changes have occurred which have changed the above pattern of quarters and housing in Marrakesh.

The first great change, the building of new quarters by the Muslim working class, can be traced to the rapid increase in population due both to the high rate of natural increase and to the migration from the countryside. The Moroccan population was estimated at over 13 million in July, 1965 and is likely to be 14 million in 1967. This calculation is based on an annual increase in population of

In Marrakesh, the ville nouvelle or European quarter is also known as the Guéliz. This name is taken from a small promontory nearby which overlooks this part of Marrakesh. When the French came they built fortifications on it which remain until today. It is only with the arrival of the French that this part of the city, which is outside the walls of Marrakesh, takes on significance. Before that, it was nothing as evidenced by the following phrase contributed by Monsieur Abitbol, President of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh:

Guéliz, the field, the hills, the mountains.
3.2% to 3.5% a year. The urban population will be about 4,200,000 and the rural population 9,800,000 in 1967. The total number of foreigners is estimated at 190,000 of whom 97,000 are French and about 50,000 are Spanish. On the basis of the present percentage increase Morocco could have a population of 26 million by 1985. Within the Medina housing facilities were greatly strained particularly as certain types either ceased to exist or were not designed for permanent housing. The older form which has most strikingly vanished is the Noualla or thatched hut, a typical dwelling of the bled or countryside. The noualla is a vivid example also of how much a part of the countryside was in Marrakesh a symbiosis not only of peoples but also of physical structures. In 1938 for example, there were 34 sites on which there were 1,724 nouallas


2 The Noualla was replaced by permanent structures made of mud and agglomerate.
housing 3,277 inhabitants. Poverty in an Islamic city like Marrakesh exhibits the same dynamics of poverty in America or South America using the index of the absence of a male head of household. This example plus many others in sociological and anthropological literature for many parts of the world indicates that regardless of the culture there is a subculture of poverty in which social behavior takes on similar characteristics everywhere. For the most part the inhabitants were newly arrived to Marrakesh and were generally laborers with a high degree of "mendiants"
or beggars. As early as 1938 there is evidence of migrations from the countryside using inexpensive, easily available temporary housing. In 1965 there were no nouallas in existence in the city of Marrakesh.

The other form of housing which played a large role until the early 1960's was the fondouk or Caravanserai. This was a very large two story transient hotel for merchants and their beasts of burden. It was built around a large courtyard. The ground floor area was reserved for the animals. The merchants shared small

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1 Fondouk is also spelled fonduq, fondaq, or fondok.

2 Photograph of a Caravanserai in Marrakesh, 1965.

See Appendix 3.
rooms with other transients on the second floor.

Marrakesh had many such caravanserais which reflect the economic functions of another era when overland trade was most important and Marrakesh was the most important inland commercial center linking North Africa, Africa south of the Sahara, and Northern Morocco with Southern Morocco.

With the coming of the French, the development of the coast (particularly Casablanca, which today is the primate city of Morocco) and the changing nature of the economy and means of both transportation and communication, the fondouk or Caravanserai ceased, being replaced by vehicular traffic and warehouses. These transient hotels became cheap permanent dwellings with almost no sanitation facilities. From 1955 to 1961 studies were carried out to determine the number of people living in the fondouks, their

1 "La situation sanitaire des habitants des "fondouks" est beaucoup plus mauvaise que dans les douars même mal équipés. Le surpeuplement, la promiscuité, une population particulièrement déshéritée et pauvre, demandent une solution radicale qui ne peut être que le relongement en dehors de la Médina, mais aussi près que possible de celle-ci. Nous proposons la cité Mohammadia (Extension Nord)". Promotion Nationale. Projet de Resorption des Bidonvilles de Settat et Marrakech Document Annexes. November 6, 1961, p. 4.
economic situation and further, what to do with them.

These studies are valuable in that they supply various kinds of information, difficult to obtain, on the culture of poverty and social change as manifested by a part of the urban proletariat of Marrakesh, i.e., the inhabitants of fondouks. For the 1955 study, there is given the address of the fondouk, name of the owner, number of families, number of persons and size of dwelling, i.e. room. The 1961 study provides even more information which will be partially presented and analyzed here. This study gives the total fondouk population broken down by sex of adults and children, average size of family, giving both the number and percentage of all families fitting into the different sizes of families

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1 The owners included not only local businessmen but also the royal family (Domaines), the City of Marrakesh and important local powers who at one time were directly involved in the power struggle with the Glaoui family for control of Marrakesh and the South of Morocco, e.g., the Layadi, Mentagui and Goundafi families.
Women formed the largest single group of this population with 31.66%. Next came men (26.45%), boys (21.67%) and finally girls (20.21%). The preponderance of women does not indicate polygynous households but rather the dominance of women as heads of households. This interpretation is based on the idea that polygyny is invariably a sign of wealth in a Muslim society today so this form of family organization certainly could not apply to the poorest families in Marrakesh. Since lack of wealth precludes more than one wife at any one time poverty however fosters successive unions and desertions in which many men and women have been "married" a number of times.

My own field research constantly pointed to the instability of the lowest segment of the urban proletariat in Marrakesh where it was common to find women either as heads of households or acting heads of households. One of the major reasons that women are heads of households is due to desertion which in great

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Persons:</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>25.01%</td>
<td>16.45%</td>
<td>13.99%</td>
<td>9.98%</td>
<td>7.46%</td>
<td>4.23%</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
<td>2.31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
part is due to the lack of employment for men and the higher employability of women in cottage industries, food processing plants and as domestics. When men were employed it was often away from Marrakesh, either in other parts of Morocco or overseas, thus making the woman the acting head of household. Many women stated that they were widows whose husbands had died in various wars while fighting for the French. These widows had as their main source of income military pensions received from the French government. A good part of the time these women were indeed war widows but some used this explanation to get around explaining that the man of the house simply was not around.

The average size of family was 3.42 which seems low. However, it is possible that poverty and these living conditions tend to inhibit large families. A supporting statistic for this observation is that 73.91% of all families living in the Fondouks were comprised of four members or less with the highest percentage (25.91%) being for households of only two persons.

If one were to draw conclusions based on the data presented thus far, it is possible to say that the population of the
fondouks exhibits some characteristics of the urban proletariat everywhere particularly with regard to the prevalence of women as heads of household, the greater employability of women given the available jobs, and the relatively small size of the family coupled with the instability of the family unit.

Additional information supplied by this 1961 study and census of the population of the fondouks gives other indicators of the culture of poverty:

1. Occupations of workers - 45.06% i.e. 3,080 persons were classified as laborers.

2. Salary per month by family - 80% earned from 0-20 dollars a month with 48% earning 0-10 dollars a month.

3. Rent per month - 70% paid 0-2 dollars a month of which 40% of this group paid between 1-2 dollars a month rent.

4. Density of population - the total population of the fondouks was 11,973. The total number of dwellings or rooms was 3,494. The average number of persons per room was 3.42.

5. Subsistence level - included in appendix 4 is a table entitled Etat de solvabilité des habitants de bidonville de fondouks et Douars de la Medina (solvency or subsistence level of the inhabitants of the bidonville of the fondouks and Douars of the Medina). 3,494 families were surveyed out of which 25 were considered solvent, 346 half-solvent, 116 for which there was no information and 3,007 who were categorized as being insolvent or living below subsistence level.

1 The word bidonville generally translated as shanty town seems to be misused in the above context. The fondouks in the Medina do not constitute a bidonville in the usual sense of that word, i.e. a shanty town on the outskirts of a rapidly growing metropolitan area.
The above data was collected to provide information for planning how to overcome the overcrowded and outmoded housing within the Medina and to a limited extent outside the Medina also and incorporating this information in an overall urban redevelopment plan. The goals of urban redevelopment for Marrakesh were to direct the future growth of the city which is faced with an evergrowing population due to natural increase and rural migration. Building of large new suburbs outside of the walls of the Medina which could be considered as a form of New Town, minus the economic base, was seen as the solution to Marrakesh's growing pains while also providing some modernity and social responsibility on the part of both the municipal government and the Royal family.

Essentially the new suburb contained housing, educational and shopping facilities and communal areas, i.e., green areas with benches. It was near the Medina with easy access for pedestrians, bicycle traffic and frequent inexpensive bus

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1 The land for the first extension or suburb was given by the Royal family.
service. Part of the first development was already operational in 1965. This first partially completed development was revolutionary in many ways. It was the first extensive use of pre-fabricated houses in Morocco where all the component parts of the majority type of dwelling were manufactured in situ utilizing locally underemployed or unemployed labor. It was also a social revolution in planning as each of these suburbs is designed to serve a cross section of the population.

The majority of the dwellings and other related facilities were for the poor but there was also available housing for the middle class, i.e. civil servants and prepared plots to be sold namely to the wealthy. It is a successful effort to change not only the physical environment but also the social world of the Marrakshi. An example is the more visual awareness of different classes of each other. In the Medina rich and poor lived side by side but were sealed off from each other by the nature of the court house, i.e. all family life took place within an inner court around which were the rooms of the house. In Daudiyat (Cité

Appendix 3 Chapter 4 contains photographs of this project showing housing and facilities available for different classes all creating the picture of a new town or suburb adapted to the physical and social ecology of Marrakesh.
Mohammedia - Extension du Nord) the housing for various classes gives a new visual proximity for all classes to participate in though it is by no means certain that social interaction to a greater degree than before will develop. At least the physical environment provides more of an opportunity for social interaction. It is also the hope and intention of both the municipal government and the national government to change social patterns of people by providing them with modernity. The changing of people's behavior is always difficult at best especially when modernity can strengthen the status quo when technical progress occurs without social change.

To put these generalizations into perspective it is necessary to present some descriptive and analytical material about Daudiyat. The creation of Daudiyat (Cité Mohammedia - Extension du Nord), along with three similar developments, is

intended to solve the problems of lodging for a large portion of the present and future population of Marrakesh. Daudiyat is sponsored by the central government of Morocco (Promotion Nationale) and the municipal government of Marrakesh. Daudiyat, as the other three developments, is planned to comprise 400 hectares and to have a population when finished of between 40,000 and 50,000 people. In 1965 one quarter of Daudiyat was being finished and it will accommodate approximately 15,000 people. This housing scheme is quite complex as it seeks to provide dwellings, commercial and play areas for various classes of people. Approaching this new development from Marrakesh one sees first the large private houses of the rich and middle class. These houses are owner-built to government specifications and are the only living units privately owned. All the rest are owned and operated by the municipality and rented for a nominal fee. The next group of housing consists of apartments for bachelors. This category is reserved for unmarried men who may live there with a widowed mother, unmarried sister, etc. It is modern and well planned. These apartments and adjoining duplexes are first reserved for civil servants because they earn small salaries which
have not been raised since Independence (1956) whereas wages in other sectors and all prices have at least doubled. Modern housing at minimal rents is one way of compensating the civil servant in Marrakesh.

The third major set of dwellings and certainly the most important in terms of numbers and purpose of Daudiyat is the housing for the poor primarily those who have been evicted by the municipality from substandard housing of which the fondouk is the prime example. These are two room dwellings with courtyards which rent from 12 to 15 dirhams a month ($2.40 - $3.00). This sum includes electricity, which is shut off during certain hours, and water being available from a tap within the house itself.

News about Daudiyat traveled fast without stimulation from the government. This is in part due to the inhabitants spreading the word but also is due to the visibility of the site from a weekly market place. This news has created many more applicants than there are dwellings causing some problems of using influence. There is no reluctance on the part of the poor to move to Daudiyat as they know that living conditions are much better and they are close enough geographically to participate in their former ways of life.
The privately owned luxury dwellings, called Castors, are made available to prospective purchasers in order to encourage self-initiative in erecting a home. The municipality provides the foundation, doors, window sashes, water and electrical outlets for $100.00. The city controls the construction and provides the basic plan that all must follow. There are about four superficial variations in floor plan. The house is basically a two story court house, with four bedrooms and a terrace. As in all court houses the rooms are built around a court which may or may not have a garden, all with open roofs. These houses are enormous and retain the traditional structure which is still the prevalent mode in the Medina and the Mellah. These houses have an area of 100 square meters. Some of the more elaborate ones, costing about $5,000.00, are embellished with tile floors and fancy grillwork. If the proprietor wishes to rent it he can do so for $50.00 a month.

This sector of private building has also created a small industry of making cement blocks. The original idea of the "castor" was to encourage self-help in building homes; however, the people who buy the initial foundation usually have a crew of workmen to build the house for them. Some of the
Some families live in the still incompleted houses. People also buy plots and use them for speculation. Sometimes a lot will change hands four times before the house is built.

The most important factor in relation to Daudiyat is the hope of change of this new planned suburb on social behavior. It is still too early to tell how great an impact Daudiyat has, but the traditional Marrakshi Muslim behavior seems to maintain itself and is in some measure aided by the planners of Daudiyat.

The strongest behavior trait is the need for utter privacy, necessary not only because of the seclusion of women but also because of the extremely suspicious nature of the inhabitants of Morocco and in particular Marrakesh.

Most houses of the castor type have separate entrances on opposite sides of the building for the upstairs and downstairs flats. Most flats have no exterior windows; however, there are a few houses under construction which do have windows. These are placed very high and are meant only to provide light and air. One window, which first appeared to allow the occupant to peer into an apartment in another
building, was seen on closer inspection to be glazed and fixed in place. There was no way to open it; its sole purpose was to provide light.

This emphasis on privacy applies also to the poor. There is a high wall around the two room house insuring privacy.

No two dwellings share any common area or wall. Walls of adjoining houses are built two centimeters apart. With the Castor type dwelling this urge for privacy is carried to such a degree that more expenses are incurred by the builder-owner.

Another aspect of social behavior concerns the family unit and its traditional organization of space within the house. The kitchen in a Moroccan home is the center of activity and should be large. The kitchens provided in the various types of dwellings in Daudiyat weren't large enough and local administrators sought to influence the central government in Rabat on this issue. Some form of the extended family persists especially in the large Castor dwellings. One of these houses had nine people living in it who were from different generations. However, the head of the household would not discuss the structure of the family or provide any other information.
The offices of the City Architect and Public Works dispute with Rabat over the size of dwellings as it is their firm belief that traditional patterns of living should not be rapidly changed for the sake of modernity. All plans in Daudiyat seek to remember their clientele and their customs. In part, when Marrakshi's move into their new homes, they change the dwellings to meet their needs. One does notice a phenomenon common to projects or parts of projects inhabited by poor and that is the high rate of destruction and concomitant high degree of constant maintenance. It is necessary for example to have guards to insure that the flower beds are not destroyed and movable property not stolen. As in America this project behavior may be in good measure attributable to the venting of frustrations by the dispossessed.

Since 1948 (the establishment of the State of Israel) and particularly since 1956 (Independence of Morocco) the minority ethnic groups have been leaving Marrakesh and Morocco in ever increasing numbers and to such a degree

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The minority groups are the Moroccan Jews and Europeans mainly French citizens. The former are indigenous to Morocco in that they are citizens of Morocco and have lived in Morocco for hundreds of years whereas the latter group almost in its entirety dates from the beginning of the Protectorate (1912).
that by 1964–1965 the relation between ethnic groups and their traditional social ecology in Marrakesh has become permanently changed.

The Mellah or Jewish quarter is no longer the quarter for the Jewish population of Marrakesh as most of the Jews have left for Israel and Canada. Within the Mellah the housing facilities have been bought up by wealthy and middle class Moroccans as rental properties usually cutting up single family dwellings into multi-family dwellings. These apartments are usually rented out to the working class population of Marrakesh. The same situation describes the business sectors of the Mellah. Most of the retail businesses were quite small and were bought up by Moroccan Muslims.

In districts adjoining the Mellah like Arset el-Maach, which were almost exclusively Jewish, the houses were large and more modern than in the Mellah proper. Hence they were bought by merchants, school teachers and civil servants not as rental properties as in the Mellah but as their own private homes. Rue des Tuaregs was a fashionable Jewish street in Arset el Maach. Upon transference of ownership the homes were generally left as they were. The major
change was a qualitative one, a change in ambiance and furnishings and not so much in kind as in degree. The furnishings were a mixture of traditional Moroccan and inexpensive European. The major difference between the above furnishings and those of the former Jewish households was that the mixture for the latter was much more heavily weighted in the European manner but of finer quality. In these homes there was usually a traditional Moroccan room set aside which contained low divans all around the walls of the room which were piled high with cushions. In the center of the room were large trays complete with Moroccan tea service. This room was an essential in these homes. When Moroccan Muslims bought these houses the separate Moroccan room was used for receiving guests.

The Moroccan Muslim women were not as visible as were the Jewish women who used to live in Rue des Tuaregs. However they were much more visible than the women from traditional middle class families living in the Medina. The categories of people who bought these houses were already quite different in outlook than the traditional bourgeoisie living in the Medina. One factor influencing prospective buyers is certainly the architecture of the houses in the Rue des Tuaregs. These houses were not court
houses for the most part and they included windows and terraces facing the street making for a lesser degree of privacy than existed in the traditional court house in the Medina.

At least for the houses in Rue des Tuaregs the changing of populations was accompanied by few adjustments for the new Moroccan Muslim population.

The ville nouvelle, also known as the Guéliz or the European quarter is also going through a basic reorientation due to the drastic reduction of European and Jewish inhabitants of Marrakesh. Housing and businesses are more and more being bought by wealthy and moderately wealthy Moroccan Muslims. During 1964-1965, the first mosque in the Guéliz was constructed as was also the first hamam (public bath). The Moroccan Muslims have already settled in such sufficient numbers to require the bringing of their cultural institutions previously non-existent in the ville nouvelle.

Recent population changes in Marrakesh have thus been reflected in Moroccan Muslims moving into the Mellah and the ville nouvelle. For the most part the process of adaptation to these two quarters has not been as traumatic as it might have been. An important reason for this is that housing and
other facilities change hands roughly in proportion to the same economic class that has left.

Most noticeable however is a change in atmosphere felt particularly strong by former European and Jewish inhabitants of Marrakesh who now live mainly in Casablanca. In summary, their comments suggest that the excitement, interest, urbaneness and cosmopolitan nature of the ville nouvelle is gone. The entire city is an extension of the Medina not only increasingly so in terms of population but also quite logically in spirit and mood also. Marrakesh has returned to being a Moroccan Muslim city even in those quarters which traditionally were never Muslim, e.g. the Mellah or in a new quarter (ville nouvelle) which is becoming Moroccanized. That is not to say that there are not Europeans and Jews still living in the ville nouvelle and some Jews living in the Mellah with their businesses and social clubs; however, it is to say that demographically their numbers have decreased to a point which no longer allows them to create, maintain and dictate the activities and atmosphere of their former quarters.
CHAPTER 5

Ethnic Minorities in Marrakesh


The previous chapters have referred to the minority groups in Marrakesh. This chapter will discuss these groups, emphasizing the traditional and changing Jewish minority, in twentieth century Marrakesh.¹

It is by now axiomatic that Marrakesh, as other Muslim cities, is spatially organized into separate ethnic quarters. It is rare to see this characteristic documented by a census report. In 1961, Marrakesh conducted a census which was designed to count Moroccan Muslims, Moroccan Jews and foreigners by district.

For the purpose of this census the city was divided into 311 districts. The census demonstrated quite clearly both the ethnic partition of Marrakesh and rapid urbanization and social change, the former in part by including the huge

¹ The Jewish minority in Marrakesh is the focal point because I was able to collect an abundance of material on this group.
unplanned for bidonville like settlement (Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali) and the latter by noting changes in the size and importance of ethnic groups in relation to their spatial ecology. Since this census was taken in 1961 it can be used as a basis for examining the tremendous changes in both the Mellah and the ville nouvelle since that date.

In the census the reflection of ethnic partition by districts is as follows:

1. **Secteur du Nord** - Northern part of the Médina. This is part of the traditional walled city and is inhabited almost exclusively by Moroccan Muslims.

2. **Secteur Bab Doukkala** - Western part of the Médina which is more modern than the above. It contains several government buildings. This sector is within the traditional walled city but as its name suggests it is close to the ville nouvelle. The majority of inhabitants are Moroccan Muslims with a sprinkling of Europeans.

3. **Secteur du Centre** - This is the central part of the Médina in which almost all the inhabitants are Moroccan Muslims.

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1 Bab Doukkala means Gate to the Doukkala. Doukkala is the name of the very rich middle Atlantic plain situated roughly between Safi and Azemmour. Thus this was the gate or entrance through which traffic coming from West of Marrakesh penetrated the city.
4. **Secteur du Sud** - This is the southern sector of the *Medina*. It includes the Royal Palace and Royal Audience grounds, the *Mellah*, and the former military sector of the Sultan the *Kasbah*. The spatial grouping of the above three areas demonstrates both the protection of the Jews by the Sultan, as they were directly his subjects, and the fact that none of the three are in the middle of the *Medina* but rather at its southern extremity. Defeat by surrounding the area was almost impossible because of access and control of southern traffic routes of Marrakesh. This sector contains the *Mellah*, the highest concentration of Moroccan Jews, evidenced in the census by the column labeled *Israelites*. Part of this sector includes within the walled city new built up areas which until about 1912 were vacant lands. This new built up area accounts for the relatively large numbers of Europeans.

5. **Sidi Youssef Ben Ali** (also spelled *Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali*) - If Marrakesh can be said to have a bidonville this settlement would be it. It is outside the walls of the *Medina* and is the sector for the urban proletariat which is exclusively Moroccan Muslim.
6. **Secteur du Guéliz** - This sector includes the ville nouvelle and hence has the largest concentration of Europeans (Étrangers) in Marrakesh and the largest concentration of Jews outside of the Mellah including such heavily Jewish districts as Arset al Maach, an extension of the Mellah. In Marrakesh the Mellah is a walled quarter within a walled Medina.

As is readily apparent the Secteur du Guéliz as an administrative unit contains much more than the ville nouvelle or European residential quarter. It also contains for example Daudiyat, Douar Askar, L'Hivernage the Quartier Industriel and the Cité Ouvrière du Quartier Industriel. Even in 1961 the changing nature of the ville nouvelle was evident in the sizeable number of Moroccan Muslims living in those census districts of the Guéliz which were most heavily populated by Europeans, e.g. districts 255-270.

The extremes in ethnic exclusiveness as it was in 1961 were Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali, 100% Moroccan Muslim except for one European, and the Mellah, the central place of habitation for the Jews of Marrakesh. The sector called Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali dates only from the end of the Second World War.
and is inhabited mainly by new migrants from the country. It currently has a population of about 22,000. This sector could be considered as a bidonville in terms of it being the quarter for the newly arrived urban proletariat. In terms of physical structures, administration and public services it is not like a bidonville. The buildings are made of pressed mud, not of tin and the administration is controlled by the city of which it has been an integral part since 1965. In 1965 the city made this sector even more permanent by placing a sewage system there and by providing electricity.

Hence this census of Marrakesh taken in 1961 certainly illustrates the principle of ethnic division and separation. However it also illustrates the changes brought by increasing urbanization (creation of Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali) and the changes in the ethnic groups and their spatial ecology. These changes were influenced both by great internal change, Moroccan independence, and by great external change, the creation of the State of Israel. These two events are the major pressures for the gradual diminution of the Moroccan Jewish and European minorities, with their functions and spatial ecology being filled by Moroccan Muslims.
Willner and Kohls either encompass too much or too little and except for Flamand have little to say about the history of the Jews of Marrakesh.

In a recent review of Hirschberg's two volume study of North African Jewry, Chouraqui states the necessity to use source material such as manuscripts and archives which are in abundance but as yet not used. What is needed are many local histories based on the above material as well as field research whenever and wherever possible. This goal is particularly important in light of the constant diminution of Moroccan Jewry, and for our purposes, particularly the Jewish community of Marrakesh.


2. Brief History of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh.

There is no dearth of studies on the Jews of North Africa. One bibliography contains 950 items and this is exclusive of pertinent material contained in accounts of travels, consular correspondences and archives. Well known works on North African and Moroccan Jewry by Chouraqui, Flamand, Hirschberg, Slouschz, Voinot, and


There are three major works on the Jewish Community of Marrakesh. One is a socio-historical study of the Mellah of Marrakesh written as far as is known, in 1940 by the French banker José Bénech whose real name was Jean Valence. This banker knew the Mellah intimately and recorded its history including contemporary life with a rare warmth and objectivity. Deverdun's work is not only the most important source for the history of this city but is also a good source for the history of the Jewish community.

José Bénech [pseud.] Essai d'explication d'un Mellah (ghetto Marocain) by Jean Valence, [1940]. The bibliographical information for this book is puzzling. In my personal copy there isn't any publisher or place of publication and the date appears at the end of a forward by Charles Sallefranque. There is however a stamp on the last page which indicates that it was printed in Germany, i.e. "Buchdruckerei und Verlag Heinz Rohr G.m.b.H. Am Alten H of 5, Kaiserslautern - Imprimé en Allemagne". The Library of Congress Author Catalog 1948-1952 vol. 2 p. 508 lists a copy printed in Paris by Larose in 1940. The place of publication and publisher was supplied by a mounted label and the date comes from the forward. Deverdun's Marrakech des Origines à 1912 T. 2 p. 28 lists a copy published in [1948] without place of publication or publisher. Chouraqui's Marche vers l'Occident: Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord lists a copy thusly: [Baden-Baden, Mme. José Bénéch, 1949]. "Biblic"; Catalogue Francais vol. 16, 1949, p.80 lists the place of publication as being Baden-Baden, Allemagne.

Obviously the information as to place of publication, publisher and date is contradictory. Since Bénéch died on June 25, 1940, it is possible that this work was published posthumously many years later in Germany. An unusual amount of space has been given to a bibliographical description of this work because of its importance and rarity of treatment in this genre of writing. Bénéch was a French Catholic banker who wrote the only work on the Mellah of Marrakesh in the 20th century and if this isn't enough it stands until today as a particularly sensitive, insightful work on this subject.
of Marrakesh until the French Protectorate (1912). The last important work is Flamand's study of the Jewish communities of Southern Morocco which contains important sociological data on the Jewish community of Marrakesh. This latter study concentrates on the 20th century through the middle of the 1950's.

The Jewish quarter in cities throughout Morocco is called the Mellah. This word is also used in Morocco to signify small mountain villages exclusively inhabited by Jews. In Algeria and Tunisia the most common term is al-Hara meaning quarter. The transliteration is al-Mellāh or al-Mallāh and it is derived from the Arabic word for salt, milh.

1 Gaston Deverdun, Marrakech; des Origines A 1912 T. 1 Texte, Rabat, 1959. T. 2, Table des Matieres - Sources - Bibliographie - Index - Planches - Additions et Corrections, Rabat, 1960. Deverdun knew Marrakech intimately and contributed greatly to the knowledge and preservation of Marrakech's historical monuments. He was a professor and director of the College Mohammed V (today known as Lycee Mohammed V) of Marrakesh from 1936-1950's. The permanent memorial to his efforts is the excellent library on Morocco which he assembled for the Lycee Mohammed V.

2 Pierre Flamand, Les communautés Israélites du Sud Marocain; Essai de Description et d'Analyse de la Vie Juive en Milieu Berbere, Casablanca, 1959. Pierre Flamand was for many years the inspector of schools in Marrakesh under the Protectorate Administration. He knew very well all the Jewish administrators of the Jewish schools (Ecoles de Alliance Israelite Universelle) and through them he received the cooperation of the teachers and the Jewish community at large thus affording him the opportunity to write the most detailed study of the Jews of Southern Morocco including Marrakesh.
There are two major explanations why this word is used for the Jewish quarter. Scholars use one explanation and the average person in Marrakesh uses another. The first Jewish quarter in Morocco under Islam was established as early as the 9th century in Fez. Over the centuries the Jewish quarter in Fez was shifted until the 15th century when it was located in Fez-Jdid on a site known as al-Mallah, i.e. salt spring or salt marsh. From this restricted usage it became the name designating the Jewish quarter in cities throughout Morocco. The other explanation, given by informants in Marrakesh, refers to the onerous responsibility of the Jews in their own quarter to salt the decapitated heads of the enemies of their protector (the Sultan, his representatives, or the local ruling authority). Perpetuated in Gavin Maxwell's


2 The word for the Jewish quarter in European cities was ghetto which is supposedly derived by some scholars from getto, a technical term in metallurgy for casting. Getto was the name of the cannon foundry in Venice near which the first Italian Jewish quarter (ghetto) was located. Here is another example of a word describing a function, the casting of cannon like the salting of heads, becoming the appellation of the Jewish quarter in the cities of Europe. One difference however is that salting heads was an activity performed by Jews exclusively whereas casting of cannon may or may not have been. cf. Universal Jewish Encyclopedia "Ghetto" vol. 4, p. 597.
new book on the Glaoua, this explanation is mistaken because it is too localized. Jews salted heads in other locales in Morocco and in Marrakesh certainly before the end of the 19th century, when the Glaoua dynasty came to power in this city. Although Jews did salt heads of the enemy of their protector, including the Glaoua, this is not an historical explanation of the origin and use of this word throughout Morocco.

The first use of the word al-Mallah that Deverdun could find, which refers specifically to the Mellah of Marrakesh, is in a Judaeo-Arabic text dated the 2nd of Nisan 5399 or April 6, 1639. It appears in this context in an Arabic text in the 2nd half of the 17th century, in Danish texts between 1760 and 1768 and in a French text


2. "Mais alors que Lambert en 1867 déclare que quarante cinq têtes furent accrochées en un seul jour. En 1900, M. de Segonzac et le Capitaine Larras virent un défilé de 130 prisonniers Glaoua précédés de juifs portant une trentaine de têtes de rebelles, salées, qui furent accrochées aux portes de la ville". Gaston Deverdun, Marrakech des Origines à 1912 Rabat, 1959. T. 1 p. 591.
in 1767. The Encyclopedia of Islam however, makes the statement that "the term el-Mellah however appears for Marrakush only in the second half of the XVIth century." At any rate, printed sources give a history of the usage of this term to describe the Jewish quarter of Marrakesh for at least the last 328 years.

Most of the historical information concerning the Jewish community of Marrakesh before the 19th century comes from Deverdun's history of this city. From the 9th to the 11th centuries nothing is really known about Judaeo-Berber tribes, and it has not been determined how extensive these tribes were and what impact they had on the communities of Southern Morocco. Hirschberg maintains that the mutual influences of Jews and Berbers on each other were minimal particularly as there is no evidence of any import. Inland settlements mentioned in Jewish sources include Aghmat and Marrakesh. These sources date from the 10th to the middle of the 12th centuries or in other words

1 Deverdun op. cit. p. 364.

2 Encyclopedia of Islam vol. 3, p. 409. This date is earlier than Deverdun's and yet Deverdun cites the work in his bibliography from which E.I! 1 used as its source, i.e. E. Pagnan Extraits inedits relatifs au Maghreb p. 409. Deverdun must have known about this date but chose to by pass it.
up to the time of the Almohad expansion over North Africa and the attendant persecution of Jewish communities there. Monteil states that Aghmat, the capital of the Haouz and surrounding area before Marrakesh was founded in 1062 was a center of resistance of the Judaized Berghouata tribes who were crushed by the Almoravides when they founded Marrakesh. This victory marks the decline of Judaism in the Maghreb. Deverdun doesn't think there is enough proof for Monteil's assertions and indeed this is Deverdun's general attitude concerning the early history of the Jews of Morocco and Marrakesh. Before the 12th century almost nothing is known about the Jewish community of Marrakesh.

The first solid information on the Jews of Marrakesh comes in the 12th century (Almohad Dynasty 1130-1269) when


3 "Without wishing to take a position on this question, as on all those which underline the history of the Jews of Morocco, this hypothesis remains to be proven" Deverdun op. cit. p. 45. (translated from the French by the author).
they lived near Bab Aylan. The Jews only came near to Marrakesh as they were not allowed to stay overnight in the city proper. At the end of the 12th century the Jews, who dominated the metal crafts, were required to wear special garments. Most of the earlier history of the Jews of Marrakesh reads like Jewish history everywhere, i.e. persecution, special dress and a glimpse at the occupation structure.

During the period of the Merinid Dynasty 1269-1557, relations between Jews and Muslims were not distinguished in terms of persecution or favored treatment. The expulsion of Jews in 1391 and 1492 from the Iberian peninsula brought many to Morocco and for the later migration some Jews settled in Marrakesh.

A similar pattern of migration existed in the 20th century also but for different reasons. It was quite common before the 1950's to see Jews commuting from the nearby countryside. There was the practice of some Jews living in small Jewish villages some 40 miles from Marrakesh who came in to their city home and their families, loaded with provisions from the countryside, to observe the Sabbath. When the Sabbath was over they would return to their villages. Since the 1950's this weekly migration has ceased as these villages and the supporting families in Marrakesh no longer exist having emigrated to Israel and Canada. There was also the pattern of Jews living in Marrakesh then leaving the city and going to work and live in the surrounding countryside and then again returning after a number of years to resettle in Marrakesh.
Torres states that there were two Jewish quarters of more than 1,000 people each. The reason for two Jewish quarters is explained by the cultural rift which existed between the civilized Iberian Jews and the local so-called Berber Jews.

The new Mellah of Marrakesh was founded in 1567 and geographically has occupied the same area within the Medina until today. It was near the Maghzen complex which included the Kasbah. It was a true city with synagogues, a cemetery (the oldest surviving inscription in the cemetery dates from this period 1594), commercial streets, residential quarters, fountains, vegetable gardens, fondouks and gates. The majority of the population, which included the artisans, was dominated by the Rabbis and the wealthy. There were powerful Jews particularly tax collectors but again the majority led a miserable life as small businessmen and artisans particularly craftsmen in metals.

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1 Deverdun op. cit. p. 338.

2 The Maghzen complex was the buildings of the Central Moroccan government.
Under the Saadians the Jewish community of Marrakesh suffered much less than did their co-religionists in Fez. For the Mellah of Marrakesh it was a good period and it was also the most important Jewish community in the South of Morocco.

It is during the period of the Alaouite dynasty (1669 to present) and particularly from the middle of the 19th century on that documentation and primary and secondary sources are available to give a much more detailed account of the Jewish community of Marrakesh. From this period on the life of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh, as all of Morocco, was in a constant state of change in relation to the majority population. Various accounts point to the conclusion that the worst period for the Jewish community was from the death of Muḥammad bin 'Abd-Allāh (1757) to the beginning

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1 It is important to note that in Morocco the treatment of Jews at any one time varied from place to place which reflects the loose hold that the Maghzen (central government) had in various locales at various periods. While interviewing Jews in Marrakesh I was impressed by the reverence that Jews still have for Moulay Hasan I. Muslims also remember him and certainly part of the appeal of Moulay Hasan II, the present Sultan of Morocco, comes from the revered memory of his great-grandfather Moulay Hasan I.
of the reign of Moulay Hasan I (1873-1894). Moulay Hasan was particularly charitable to the Jewish population of Marrakesh, permitting them to expand the Mellah to even include Jnān al-'Afia but Jewish real estate interests refused this offer as they saw a threat to their properties in the Mellah. Fifty-five years later however, the housing project for Jews in Jnān al-'Afia was available for occupancy. When Moulay Hasan died it is said that all the Jews wore black and there is a legend that all the trees in the Agdal of Marrakesh withered.

Reports during the Saadian period indicate that Jews though frequently mistreated were in the main not worse off than the Muslim population. Accounts of travelers and diplomats of the Alaouite period suggest that their life became much more miserable under this dynasty except for the reign of Muhammad bin 'Abd-Allāh (1729-1757) who for example had seven Jewish undersecretaries in his treasury. After his death there are long accounts of the cruelty endured by Jews in Marrakesh and Morocco. The works of 1 Keatinge and Lemprière are quite instructive particularly

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2. G. Lemprière, *Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le Royaume de Fez pendant les années 1791 et 1792*, Paris, 1801.
for Marrakesh where the Jews in the 19th century were materially in a much more precarious position than at Fez or Rabat. This was mainly due to the role of European consuls which were not as yet present in Marrakesh.

It is important to emphasize that the fortunes of the Jewish communities of Morocco even during this period differed according to ruler and locale, i.e. between Central administration and local administration, between cities, between city and country and between villages. It is hard to generalize as to how much worse or better this period was for the Jewish community of Marrakesh especially when comparisons are sought with earlier periods. The deciding factor is certainly the greater amount of documentation available during the Alaouite period, particularly for the 19th century.

In 1864, under the reign of Sidi Muhammad bin 'Abd ar-Rahmān (1859-1873), Sir Moses Montefiore, President of the London Committee of British Jews, came to Marrakesh backed by European powers, to investigate the condition of the Jewish community of Marrakesh. Sidi Muhammad received him royally with gifts and honors. The Sultan issued a dahir (decree) on February 8, 1864 at Montefiore's request alleviating the sufferings of the Jews of Morocco.
The feeling in Morocco was that this decree contained simply the prescriptions of the law and obligations stipulated by God, of respect towards the Jews and no

This decree was only a formality.
longer subjecting them to injustice or harassment. The text was interpreted as not at all giving Jews a freedom similar to that of Christians. The Sultan sent a circular to his pashas and caids advising them not to place too much importance in this decree which the Jews had over publicized and placed too much hope on. The French merchant Lambert wrote in 1867 that the coming of Sir Moses Montefiore did not change the condition of the Jew, especially not in the country.

In 1875 a member of the Alliance Israelite visited the Mellah of Marrakesh and left a tragic description of the bad treatment inflicted upon the Jews there. In 1900 another member of the Alliance visited the Mellah but no longer spoke of the ill treatment of the Jews. Rather he recorded the appalling physiological, moral and intellectual misery, and he noticed that the consumption of alcohol was very high. From descriptions of non-Jewish life in Marrakesh and Morocco it is possible to say that the average Muslim in the cities of Morocco was not better off. On occasion conditions were ameliorated by the intervention of influential Jews with the Muslim authorities.

The Mellah and its way of life changed rapidly from 1912 on, particularly after World War II. However, as late as 1939 there were Orwell's glimpses which suggest how miserable life was for the Jews in Marrakesh, though not more miserable than for the average Muslim. How different the Mellah was in 1964–65; not only was modernity everywhere but the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims. Even so, there still was a small soup kitchen, a few beggers, and rations for the poor, provided by the American Joint Distribution Committee using American surplus food.

The administrative organization of the Mellah did not change under the Alaouites. It was a closed quarter administered by a Jewish governing body. The head of this body was known as the Shaykh of the Jews. Today he is known as the President of the Jewish community. This governing body today is responsible to the Pasha and the municipal government and in turn to the central government particularly in matters concerning the budget of the Jewish community. Before 1912 however, it was the Pasha of the Kasbah who had full authority for settling disputes and for protecting Jews from harassment.

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1 George Orwell, "Marrakech" in Such, Such were the Joys New York, 1952. pp. 121-128.
In 1898, the Jews of Marrakesh complained about their Pasha who treated them too harshly. The community wrote to European consuls who appealed to the Sultan. The Sultan reminded them that all his subjects had the right to address him directly concerning all their problems. This exchange reinforces an old pattern and introduces another. The old pattern was the relationship between the Jews and the Sultan. The Sultan was their protector and they were his Jews. It must be added that this relationship was more or less efficacious depending on the Sultan and his power over Marrakesh. Within Marrakesh, the Mellah was physically located next to the Royal Palace and the Kasbah. There was always this difference in attitude and treatment of the Jews by local officials and the Sultan. Moulay Hasan I encouraged direct consultation partially to neutralize the power of local authority which especially in the South of Morocco was an age old problem. There was fundamental strife between the territory under the control of the Sultan and the central government (Bled al-Maghzen) and the territory under local rule (Bled es-Siba).

The new factor was the appeal to foreign governments to redress wrongs. After the reign of Moulay Hasan I
(1873-1894) Morocco became more susceptible to foreign pressure as the central government became more incapable than ever before to control its internal and external affairs. As Morocco became of great interest to colonial powers at the end of the 19th century, representatives of European powers and visiting Jewish dignitaries played an increasing role as intermediaries on behalf of the Jews of Morocco. It is a pattern which has taken place time and again in Jewish history. As foreign powers increased their control over the affairs of Morocco, the Jewish community of Marrakesh and of other locales used this new avenue for redressing grievances. Hand in hand with this was the increased presence of Jews in foreign embassies who served as go-betweens between Morocco and its culture and the foreign legations and their interests.

This situation was particularly true of Mogador (Essaouira) up until the 20th century. It was a center of foreign consulates, and Jews became citizens of many countries, particularly England. This pattern continued to grow until the French Protectorate was established in 1912. From this point in time on the Jewish community of Marrakesh clearly chose to be totally under the protection and sponsorship of the French. There was certainly discrimination against the Jews of Marrakesh by the French but it was less important compared to the opportunity of entering and adapting to the modern non-Muslim
This opting for French culture away from traditional Moroccan culture is clearly seen in education and employment at the SAC Air Force Base in Ben Guerir from 1953-1963. From 1900 to the end of the 1950's Jewish children with little exception attended the Alliance Israelite Universelle Schools which were under the supervision of the French government. The SAC Air Force Base had to hire many local people from Marrakesh and almost all the clerical and supervisory positions went to Jews because of their education. They were prepared to operate

1"Libéré de ses chaînes par la force française, le juif se mêle peu à la vie moderne et grâce à son vieil instinct réaliste s'y adapte progressivement." José Bénéch, Essai d'Explication d'un Mellah, 1940. p. 312.

2These modern schools were not introduced without great opposition. Of all the major Jewish communities in Morocco that of Marrakesh was the least worldly and fought change whenever possible. This conservatism is in part due to the semi-rural nature of Marrakesh when compared to other large cities plus materially it was a poor community. The Alliance established schools in Tangiers in 1862, Fez in 1883 and Mogador in 1888. It wasn't until 1900 after much opposition from Rabbis and notables that an Alliance school could be opened. Once it was opened the flood gates to change were released. Cf. Bénéch op. cit. p. 289.
in a technical environment in which language and office skills were of high priority. Indicative of modernity versus traditionalism is the fact that all the clerical positions occupied by women on the base were filled by Jews.

Spatially the Mellah of Marrakesh was a walled city within a walled city, i.e. the Medina. Historically it had two gates. One with no exit gave access to the Jewish cemetery, and the other was connected to the Medina. The latter was flanked with guards who took account of everyone passing through. These gates were regularly closed at 9 P.M. until the following morning. In the 20th century this pattern changed to the degree that at least three dwellings faced onto rue Berrima which was across the street from the Royal Palace.

The first house to have equal access to the Medina and Mellah was that of Messod Azran, of 109 rue Berrima, who built his home about 60 years ago. Other dwellings were the Jewish Hamam (public bath) and the home of Mr. Pellas. These three dwellings had entrances which opened onto rue Berrima in the Medina and exits onto rue Afir in the Mellah.

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1 Appendix 1 Chapter 5 has a map of the Mellah with particular reference to rue Berrima and the Royal complex of buildings.
It is significant that these houses were on rue Berrima for they faced the royal palace and were in a sense protected by it. The terraces of these houses became the centers for Jews to congregate when Mohammed V (1927-1960) would come to visit Marrakesh. Jews of Marrakesh remember these occasions as being particularly festive for the Sultan would acknowledge the Jewish community as he passed with his golden carriages, white horses and black Senegalese guard. In times of real or imagined trouble, which extended into the 1940's, Jews would use the entrances on rue Berrima and exit into the Mellah. Many times when tensions were high these entrances were barricaded as were all the narrow slits used as windows. An incident in the 1940's will illustrate this. A decree was handed down that Muslim women could no longer work in Jewish households or in establishments owned by Jews. This created great consternation in many households as Muslim women needed their jobs as domestics and the Jewish households needed them for their daily operation. Added to this was the emotional factor

1 It was an ideal street also because it was on the outskirts of the Medina which enjoyed the absence of any buildings save the Maghzen complex and the absence of large numbers of Muslims who ordinarily would not be in this part of the city.

2 There were also occasions when the Jews were forbidden to be seen upon the king passing.
that there were many strong attachments. The same result occurred in the Hamam, for some of the scrubbers of Jewish women were Muslim women and the latter had to give up their positions. Trouble was expected due to pressures of having Muslim women leave their positions of employment, so the entrances and windows were barricaded. The Muslim women left for a short period but later returned. In Marrakesh this decree precluded for a time Muslim women bathing in a Jewish Hamam.

Over the years other entrances to the Mellah were created. In essence it was the French presence since 1912 which regulated the life of Marrakesh to the degree that the capricious nature of violence between Muslim and Jew was greatly minimized. This in turn gradually changed the Mellah in the 20th century from a medieval closed quarter to a much more open society with Jews living outside the Mellah, e.g. Arset al-Maach and the housing

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1 This was the only Jewish Hamam which had both Jewish and Muslim women as clientele. This was rare in the 1940's particularly so as a Mikveh (ritual bath for Jewish women) was a part of the woman's section of the Hamam. Some Jewish women felt that this particular Hamam was impure because of Muslim women bathing even though the Muslim women never used the Mikveh. In 1964-65 there were no longer any exclusive Jewish Hamams.
project Jnan al'Affia and various parts of the ville nouvelle. An important role in changing and stabilizing the relations between Muslim and Jew was the administration of Marrakesh by the Glaoui dynasty with the advice and consent of the French Protectorate. The Glaoui had several Jewish advisers the most influential being Monsieur Albert Mimran, President of the Jewish community during World War II. The protection of the Jews of Marrakesh from deportation in the early years of World War II was due to the intervention of the Glaoui. Jewish informants who knew him said that his Jewish advisers, in a manner of speaking, translated the urban environment to him who was more at home among his Berber kinsmen. It is quite paradoxical that the Jews of Marrakesh had loyalties to both the Sultan Mohammed V and the Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh. With the independence of Morocco in 1956 the Glaoui and a large retinue including the Mimran family were obliged to
leave Morocco because of the role that the Glaoui played in the deposition of Mohammed V by the French in 1953. In 1965 however, the Glaoui's family and his retinue have been allowed to return to Morocco. By 1964-65 security was a consideration of the past as the Mellah ceased to be an exclusively Jewish quarter. The majority of the population in the Mellah is now Muslim. Those two residences and public bath on rue Berrima are now owned by Muslims and the Jewish Hamam no longer has a Jewish clientele.

An idea of the growth of the Mellah can be given by presenting and analyzing population statistics for the last 300 years. Statistics before 1936 are estimates at best, supplied for the most part by accounts of travelers, some of whom were more informed than others.
### Population Statistics - Mellah of Marrakesh

#### 1665 - 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1666</td>
<td>400 to 500 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>200 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>2,000 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>2,000 families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>6,000 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>14,000 - largest Mellah in Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906--1907</td>
<td>15,000 - 17,500 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>11,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>12,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936&lt;sup&gt;4-5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>27,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>25,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>18,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960&lt;sup&gt;7-8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>16,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964--1965&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>12,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,500 - 3,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**

3. *Encyclopedia of Islam I* "Marrakesh" vol. 3, p. 296. This figure is also part of the official census of 1926.
6. Dubois.
8. Dubois.
9. Author's estimate during his sojourn in Marrakesh 1964-65.
One sees that the population of the Mellah constantly grew so that at the beginning of the 20th century it had reached a very high degree of saturation, i.e. more than 1,000 persons per hectare. From 1920 on, the population increased at even a more alarming rate so that between 1920 and 1930 the population of the Mellah doubled. This growth is attributable in part to rural-urban migration, the stable conditions under the French presence and modern medicine, which eradicated many epidemics, due to overcrowding and lack of sanitation. This lowering of the mortality rate included a lowering of the infant mortality rate. The highest recorded population is for 1936 (26,000). After that year there was not another census until after World War II. From 1949 on the population constantly decreased. Before 1948 (establishment of the State of Israel) this diminution was due to internal migration to Casablanca and Rabat. Since 1948 this decrease in population, which is now a constant pattern, has been due to immigration to Israel. The population was again stabilized during the 1950's due to the restriction on immigration imposed by the Moroccan government. In 1960 there was once again unrestricted immigration to Israel.

To explain this complete turn of events our Muslim informants sang a song in which the essential phrase was that the Sultan sold his Jews for wheat. This phrase refers to unrestricted emigration as barter for U.S. surplus wheat.
so that by 1964-65, there remained only one quarter of
the population that there was in 1960 and in terms
of the statistics presented here one must go back to
1864 to find a comparable figure.

A problem of description which is found in most
accounts of the Mellah of Marrakesh concerns the image
of the Jew and his quarter. The Jew is usually pictured
as being more depraved and filthy than a Muslim and the
Mellah much less fit for human habitation than the Medina.

One can recall Orwell's rivers of urine in the Mellah.

Leaving prejudice aside the problem is twofold. Foreigners
usually had more access to the Mellah than to the Medina
and even more while they were the guests of the wealthy
Jews of this quarter. More important however is the
greater density of the Mellah when compared with the
Medina, which is directly related to the bad impression
that most foreigners had of the Mellah. In 1949 the density
of the European quarter (ville nouvelle - Guéliz) was 35
persons per hectare. In the Medina the density was 150
persons per hectare. In the Mellah it reached the
astonishing density of 1,300 persons per hectare.

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1 Pierre Flamand, op. cit. p. 149.
Visualize that most of the dwellings were only two stories high. Density in itself has a direct relation to sickness, filth, promiscuity and practically living in the street.

The overcrowding of the Mellah of Marrakesh was a concern of the French authorities since their inception in 1912. The immediate proposed solution was an extension outside the walls of the Medina; however, no immediate solutions were realized. Instead the major relief to the overcrowding was the use of the adjacent quarter known as Arset al-Maach, and much later the European quarter absorbed some Jews as did the first housing development in Marrakesh, the Habitat in Jnān al' Afia. The latter was built in the 1950's expressly for the Jewish population. In 1964-65 Jnān al-'Afia was mainly inhabited by Muslims. All of these solutions were geared to the middle and upper classes so that not too much pressure was taken off of the Mellah. By 1964-65 these

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1 Ibid. p. 147.

2 There is evidence that the Jews themselves as early as 1918 sought solutions to overcrowding. Monsieur Judah Abitbol, President of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh in 1964-65, and reputedly the wealthiest Jew in Marrakesh visited Fez after World War I and saw that the Jews there were building a whole new quarter outside the Mellah. Marrakesh at that time was doing nothing along these lines partially because the Jewish community of Marrakesh was poorer, less educated and more conservative than the Jewish communities of Fez, Meknes, Rabat or Casablanca. When Judah Abitbol returned to Marrakesh he tried to persuade Jews to leave the Mellah and invest and build in an undeveloped sector of the ville nouvelle called L'Hivernage. No one would follow his lead as it involved both personal and financial risk. So this effort to reorient the Jewish community of Marrakesh and relieve the overcrowding in the Mellah came to naught. However, the Abitbol family invested in properties in L'Hivernage and these properties are the basis of his reputed wealth.
density pressures no longer existed as most of the inhabitants had emigrated to Israel or Canada. The establishment of the state of Israel (1948) and the independence of Morocco (1956) were the central forces that changed the Mellah to the degree that functionally it is no longer a Mellah, i.e. the Jewish quarter of the city of Marrakesh.

3. The Contemporary Jewish Community of Marrakesh

A. Education

The size and number of Jewish educational institutions is a good indicator of the size and viability of a given Jewish community. In Marrakesh there were six Alliance schools during the 1940's and 1950's. By 1964, there were three and in June, 1965 there was talk about merging all three into one. There are also 2 Yeshivot, the largest located in the European quarter. The Lubavitcher movement had a Yeshivah in the Mellah but it has since closed.

Interviews were conducted in November, 1964 with the Principals of the remaining three Alliance (Ittihad) schools. Monsieur René Camhy and his wife Madame Berthe Camhy were the principals of the Ecole Jacque Bigart, and Monsieur Alfred

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Appendix 2, Chapter 5 is a list of the remaining Alliance Israelite schools in Morocco as of October, 1964. By the request of the Moroccan government these schools have changed their names to Ittihad schools. All the schools in this list are situated in large urban centers. Within the last five years most of the Alliance schools in the smaller urban areas in Morocco have ceased to exist because of emigration. Every year the number of schools diminishes reflecting the constantly dwindling Jewish community of Morocco.
Goldenberg was the Principal of the Cours Complementaire Georges et Maurice Leven. The école Jacque Bigart is an elementary school divided into boys' and girls' sectors. Until two years ago there were 42 classes with 2,250 students. In 1965 there are only ten comprising 450 students. Ten students are Muslims who are the children of the caretakers of the school buildings. All of these buildings were built by the French during the French Protectorate. Today these buildings and the schools belong to Morocco and are inspected and supervised by the state. The schools are financed by the Alliance and the Moroccan government with the Jewish community providing a substantial lunch program. Recently one primary school was taken over by the Ministry of Education along with 160 teachers. The Ministry didn't have to demand a building since emigration is emptying all of them.

The school day is six hours long of which three hours of instruction are in French, two hours in Arabic and one hour in Hebrew. The teachers of classical Arabic are Jewish although the government frowns upon Jews teaching their sacred language. The Alliance seeks to keep its remaining schools Jewish but it is a losing battle.

The Cours Complementaire Georges et Maurice Leven is essentially a junior high school. There are 208 students of which 136 are Jews and 72 are Muslims. Last year there were 180 Jewish students. There are 46 boys and 162 girls. The preponderence of girls is due to the fact that Jewish boys of this age go to the two Yeshivot whereas the girls
have only this school to attend. 1964-65 was the first year that Jews and Muslims were in the same class. The Muslim students are all girls. The rationale for this is that Muslim boys are usually older and could cause trouble to the girls. There are 13 teachers. For classes in Arabic there are two teachers from France who teach 20 hours a week and a Moroccan teacher who teaches ten hours a week. The Muslim and Jewish students do not mix socially.

The rest of the Jewish students in Marrakesh attend the French Cultural Mission schools in the Guéliz. There are about 200 students altogether in attendance at the primary school Auguste Renoir and the Lycée Victor Hugo.

In June, 1965 the Camhy's and Monsieur Goldenberg were retiring after 30 years in the Alliance schools in Marrakesh. There were also preparations for the merger of the école Jacques Bigart with the Georges et Maurice Leven school because there were not enough Jewish students to keep both as exclusively Jewish as possible. These three Alliance schools and the three which no longer exist rendered a great service to the Jewish community of Marrakesh. They were truly the vehicle which brought so many Jews into the modern world in terms of hygiene, of outlook and of giving a good basic education which led the graduates onto higher education and ultimately the professions.
3. The Contemporary Jewish Community of Marrakesh

B. The Dynamics of Migration

One may say that when there is the possibility to emigrate to another country for a better future it is the poor who generally seize this opportunity as the middle class and wealthy have no reason to leave. In times of impending disaster (such as the Nazi period in Europe) the dynamics of emigration are reversed. It is the wealthy and the middle class who can arrange to leave while the bulk of the population remains behind because of the lack of money and influence.

Since 1948 there have been mild pressures for Jews to emigrate from Morocco to Israel. These pressures have increased since the independence of Morocco (1956) and they mainly take the form of much greater competition in business and a general uneasiness due to the presence of Israel.

Emigration from Marrakesh has taken the first pattern outlined above. The majority of those Jews who left

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1 Morocco in the 20th century had the largest Jewish population of any Muslim country (250,000) and still has though greatly reduced. The Jewish population of Morocco was approximately 60,000 in 1966.
Marrakesh for Israel were poor or religious and were greatly encouraged to leave by the Jewish Agency. Those who have remained are mainly the middle class and the wealthy. They realize that they will probably have to leave, but are presently "prisoners" of their wealth and leisurely life which cannot leave Morocco with them. It is possible to liquidate one's holdings and have the money deposited abroad through the black market, but the risks are great and the price is exorbitant so many prefer to wait, particularly as there are no overt pressures similar to those in Nazi Germany.

Many of the pressures relate simply to the Moroccanization of a number of sectors of Moroccan life in which the Jews have no future (e.g. proceedings in law courts must be conducted in Arabic). Most Jews practicing law can speak Moroccan Arabic but they can't read or write modern standard Arabic most commonly called classical Arabic. The nature of business has also drastically changed. In the past the past the Jew was the classical entrepreneur, the middle man, who was willing to take risks especially in trading in agricultural commodities, and who by doing so sometimes dominated whole sectors such as the spice trade. These entrepreneurs lived well. Since the independence of Morocco the new patterns have become great competition from dozens of small operators.
on the one extreme and large government marketing cooperatives on the other extreme.

While in Marrakesh I conducted a survey of the Jewish community in order to document the remaining occupational structure after four-fifths of this population had emigrated since 1960. This survey was done to gather information on the occupational structure. As this was a community in the process of disappearing, it also provided an opportunity to see the dynamics of immigration at work. Appendix 3, Chapter 5 contains lists of names of Jews with their occupations. The first page lists the officers and members of the formal Jewish community organization of Marrakesh. Included in this organization are owners and managers of food processing plants, a financier, businessmen, teachers, accountants and jewelers. The occupations are listed for

1 There are two lists. The smaller of the two represents a group of Jewish businessmen who donated to an emergency appeal for the Old People's Home. Names are purposely included, for they have important historical and etymological research value.

2 There are many jewelers listed as this was an almost exclusive Jewish craft. The men listed as jewelers no longer are craftsmen as such but are merchants. The gold market of Marrakesh is across the street from the Mellah in a compound of its own. It is run exclusively by Jews and is known throughout Morocco. Up until very recently gold jewelry was sold by the weight with little regard given to the workmanship. In the last five years workmanship has become increasingly a part of the price particularly so as almost no hand made jewelry is being crafted as the Jewish artisans have left. More and more jewelry is being turned out by machine which increases the value of hand made jewelry. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Yemenites were able to capitalize on their crafts in Israel whereas the Moroccans seem to have abandoned their crafts.
221 names. All are in some form of modern business enterprise or profession. This list represents approximately two thirds of the Jewish male working population of Marrakesh. As can readily be seen it is the cream of the spectrum of possible occupational specialities. The factor that has made this possible is emigration. The bulk of the unskilled and religious Jewish population of Marrakesh emigrated from Morocco from 1948 on.

### Occupational Structure of 221 Jewish Heads of Household - 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financier</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance broker</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Salon operator</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trucker</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glazier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Broker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>221</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unskilled, aged and retired Jewish heads of household are not included.
Those who remained are faced with one major problem: the declining Moroccan economy. This affects the Jews especially as many are in businesses based on imports and exports which the Moroccan government keeps restricting, particularly the importation of luxury items such as foreign made automobiles and appliances. The declining economy increases the impetus to emigrate.

The dynamics of emigration contain psychological and political factors as well. Briefly stated, once the Moroccan Jewish community began to break up through emigration it is likely it will not stop until it has disintegrated. This is particularly true of the close knit community of Marrakesh where it seemed that everyone was somehow related to each other. As parts of families immigrated to Israel the split within families and the desire to be reunited further accelerated emigration. Every person who left not only left a hole in the family but an irrepairable hole for the neighbors and consequently this hole became
larger and larger. Those who remained worried either about nationalization of their holdings, how to make a living, or how to have a communal life without family or friends and finally what was to become of their children. Potentially negative solutions to these problems have added to the impetus for emigration.

Israel also played an active role in encouraging immigration to her shores, particularly through her organization of the Jewish youth in Marrakesh and Morocco. The following observations came from an extensive interview with one of the leading Muslim intellectuals of Marrakesh who throughout his life was very close to a group of Jewish intellectuals of Marrakesh. He explained that the Moroccan Jews have difficulty in adjusting to Israel because these Jews are unlike other groups of Jews and can't be understood by others. The life they had in Marrakesh was simple, frugal, and full of tranquillity.

1 For example, from October 9-12, 1964 the Moroccan government announced drastic austerity measures to counteract a near bankrupt treasury. These measures included strict limitations on imports and also on sending money out of the country. Families didn't know how to send money to their children studying abroad. These new regulations have caused a panic not only among the Jews of Marrakesh but also among the Europeans. The end result was the further acceleration of emigration.
For him the main reasons the Jews emigrated were: 1. Israel needed the manpower of the Moroccan Jews especially the poor from the country, who were good workers. It was no one's fault. Rather it was simply a matter of arithmetic. The trip Marrakesh - Casablanca - Marseilles - Haifa and the establishment of these Jews in Israel was repayed to Israel almost immediately through their contribution to the labor force. 2. Israel organized centers for youth which pleased Jewish parents as their children were given modern Jewish history. 3. Scout groups and summer camps flourished and the children on their own began to identify with Israel and put pressure on others to leave. These activities worked very well on the Moroccan Jewish youth and helped push them and their families to Israel. 4. After the independence of Morocco (1956) the Jews in Morocco felt very insecure especially as the French presence was gone. To ease this situation the Moroccan government appointed Dr. Ben Zaken, a Jew, as Minister of Posts and shortly thereafter the Post Office was flooded with Jewish employees. Jealousies were aroused and this was no longer a solution. 5. After independence there were a number of small incidents between Arabs and Jews which were provoked by the Jewish Agency to scare the Jewish population. Our informant maintained that
the agents who created these disturbances are known.

6. The pressure of the Arab World against Israel created feelings of insecurity for the Jews of Marrakesh and Morocco.

In summary, the major reasons for emigration from Marrakesh and Morocco are the establishment of the state of Israel which compromised to a greater or lesser degree the life of the Jews living in Arab-Muslim countries; the independence of Morocco (1956) and the attendant Moroccanization of the economy; the missionary activity of Israel and finally the dynamics of immigration which once started constantly feeds on itself. The Jewish communities of Morocco had no choice but to emigrate given the internal and external changes noted above. However, as one Jewish informant of Marrakesh said, all these reasons are sufficient but they don't capture the deep attachments to Morocco and the fundamental emotional change that destroyed this deep attachment. No one ever thought of permanently leaving Morocco. Once Israel was established life in Morocco was no longer the same and an irrevocable rupture occurred affecting all age groups for different reasons. Israel also acted as an escape valve. The kind of insults and harassment which were once endured by the average Jew in Marrakesh was now considered monstrous, and provided incentive to emigrate.
3. The Contemporary Jewish Community of Marrakesh.

C. Poverty.

Poverty is a fact of life that dominated the Jewish Community of Marrakesh and which still plays a role among those who remain. The lists of the middle class and wealthy in Appendix 4 to this chapter are anomalies. They are the exception and not the rule. The Jewish community of Marrakesh was for decades the largest Mellah in Morocco and for its size the poorest. The poverty is directly related to the general poverty of Marrakesh and its region which becomes even more apparent given such a large Jewish minority. Mendicancy was a prominent and permanent feature of the Jewish landscape of Marrakesh.

An interesting question is how Jewish poverty compared to Muslim poverty. In 1964-65 both groups were receiving American surplus food to augment their standard of living. The differences in alleviating poverty can be discerned for 1964-65 by who received more aid.

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1 The Mellah of Marrakesh was the largest in Morocco until surpassed by the Jewish population of Casablanca in 1936.
Poverty was still a part of the scene in the Jewish community of Marrakesh in 1964-65. For the last few years the American Joint Distribution Committee has played a large role in financing the welfare needs of this community. A major part of this welfare aid is the distribution of American surplus food. The Jewish community organization of Marrakesh submits a list of the number of rations they need for the monthly distribution and the American Joint Distribution Committee sends the necessary food. The actual distribution is carried out by the Jewish Community organization of Marrakesh. The above process is different for the Muslim population as there is no intermediary organization between the Moroccan government and the recipients of surplus food. Everyone in Marrakesh spoke about the corruption which was a part of this distribution. The corruption in part is due to the vast numbers who are eligible to receive this aid and the very small amount available. Some surplus food is allocated to government and municipal work projects for absorbing under employment. For these men their salary is usually eighty cents (400 francs or 4 dirhams) a day of which half is paid in flour. The distribution for the Muslim community is about once every three months. An effort is made to schedule the
distribution near a Muslim religious holiday. The food distributed is flour and salad oil. The number of rations is indicated on an identification card.

Many of the Jews who received surplus food were the elderly and the sick, widows or widowers and people, mostly elderly, who for one reason or another couldn’t or wouldn’t leave for Israel and who had no way of making a living. Some who were eligible for these rations held jobs. It is obvious that some who qualified for relief would have been disqualified if they would have been members of the Muslim community. The definition, in 1964-65, of poverty was different for the Jews for the poverty line is much higher. Certainly a defining factor is the small number of Jews receiving aid when compared to the Muslim community and hence the defining formula was more liberal.

As stated, the Jewish community had a distribution of surplus food once a month. The following is an account of the distribution of surplus food to the Jewish community of Marrakesh on April 28, 1965. There were 600 rations to be distributed. Each ration included 5 kilos of flour, 2 kilos of corn meal, 1 liter of salad oil, 2 cans of sardines, 1 bar of bathing soap, 1 bar of laundry soap and 8 bars of
chocolate. Each male adult in a household was eligible for 2 rations, each female adult 1 ration and each child one-half of a ration. Approximately one-seventh of the Jewish community was receiving welfare aid. The distribution took place in a store room next to the Jewish cemetery. One of the salaried employees of the Jewish community organization was in charge of parceling out the rations. He had a Muslim helper. Many of the people who came received 5 rations which meant they needed help in carrying their provisions home. This help was provided by the Jewish community organization especially for the older members. Some of the rations were taken home by wheelbarrow. Most of the recipients were women with only a few men scattered throughout. Most were dressed quite shabbily. There were some unusual people receiving rations. Included was a family of a husband, his brother, his wife and her father, and her little boy. This is an

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1This aid was not only in the form of surplus food but also cash distributions of 50 Dirhams or 10 dollars to 89 families on April 13, 1965, cash distribution of varying amounts for Passover, and for those who qualify for the soup kitchen. The largest list is that of a special distribution of surplus food on May 11, 1965 in which 588 rations were distributed to 475 people.
example of Berberised Jews who had lived until two years previous in the Atlas Mountains near Agouim. This family group including their attire was a familiar scene in most travel books on Morocco until a few years ago.

Physically they were striking particularly the young woman with her high cheek bones and blue eyes. The whole family had walked 1½ days to get to Agouim and then an automobile brought them to Marrakesh. This event occurred in 1963 long after most of the "Berber" Jews had left for Israel or the large cities in Morocco. Before coming to Marrakesh the young woman spoke Shilha (Tachelhait) only and has since learned dialectal Arabic. Her father is deaf and dumb but always smiling and works very hard around the Bāb Mellah market. He helps keep this family unit going by begging and doing small odd jobs mainly carrying groceries. The young woman must have been no more than twenty years of age and she was married to a man at least as old as her father. My assistant remarked about this and her husband said that it is better to be married than not. Their explanation for staying after so many had left was

1 Appendix 4, Chapter 5 has several photographs of this family and the food distribution taking place among the Jews and the Muslim populations of Marrakesh.

2 This was the typical marriage pattern of all Jews in Morocco until recently. cf. Pierre Flamand, Un Mellah en Pays Berbere: Demnate, (Institut des Hautes - Études Marocaines. Notes et Documents 10) Paris, 1952.
that they were accustomed to the life in the country.

There was another young woman there who had been married to an American Christian who had been at the SAC Air Force Base in Ben Guerir. They were subsequently divorced and she was left with three children. She returned with her children to the Mellah of Marrakesh where they lead a penurious existence receiving no support from her ex-husband. Her three children speak only Arabic whereas she knows French and some English. The group waiting for rations were orderly and in good spirits. The man in charge said that the presence of visitors made them all less unruly.

Judging by aid to the poor from surplus food programs, it is clear that the line of poverty among the needy Jews of Marrakesh is not as low as among the Moroccans. Added to this is the fact that the Jewish community was able to distribute a greater variety of staples more often than the Muslim community.

The one variable used so far to measure poverty has been the distribution of surplus food. It is however by no means the only source of charity for the Jewish community’s poor. Other sources are the Succoth Charity Fund, Pesach Charity fund, Elgrably Charity, Shavuot Charity Fund, and the
Matzos Charity Fund.

The Muslim population also has its charities which come from various foundations (habous) but the impression is that the Muslim poor receive less support than the poor of the Jewish community, though even this support is minimal.

A final example of poverty and its recent institutionalization is the Jewish Old People's Home in Marrakesh. It is located in the Corcos Mansion in the Mellah. It is an enormous two story court house in which only the second floor is utilized. The Old People's Home is only a year old. Throughout the history of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh the aged were taken care of by their own families. This institution is relatively late in coming to Marrakesh. Both Tangiers and Casablanca have had old people's homes for a number of years, where the elderly are housed in modern spacious quarters with a staff including a dietician and doctor. Marrakesh uses a former mansion which until recently served as a nursery school. The staff consists of two maids and a cook. Most of the administrative work including the raising of funds is the work of one woman in particular, Mme. Ouazzan née Ohayon.

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1 The Corcos family was the most wealthy and powerful Jewish family in Marrakesh during the second half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. Most travel accounts of this period mention this family and their mansion.
The need for this institution is directly connected to the massive Jewish emigration in recent years from Southern Morocco to Israel. In some of the Mellahs in the country and particularly Marrakesh many families emigrated to Israel leaving behind an aged uncle or aunt who had no family of his own. Israel wouldn't accept some of them and others didn't want to leave, having spent their entire lives in Morocco. So they were more or less abandoned in the Mellah. Some were found by Moroccans (Muslims) who bought property in the Mellah and found them in dwellings. These cases were brought to the attention of the Jewish community. One man was found in a house in which the roof had caved in and he had only enough room for breathing. A woman was found who hadn't eaten in four days. Another elderly man had been paralyzed from his waist down and got around by being pushed on a two wheel flat-bed cart by children.

In all there are 23 residents in the Jewish Old People's Home of which 5 are men. The men are in worse condition than the women. Three are bedridden, while the other two are able to get around and go outside. This facility is not large enough for all those who wish to be admitted. At the same time some of the old indigents prefer to beg and exist on the street. An effort was made to transfer the 23 to
Casablanca but Casablanca couldn't accept such a large number. The American Joint Distribution Committee provides surplus food such as corn meal, cheese, butter, powdered milk and wheat. One of the problems of using this food is that it tastes different from what these people are used to and so they are reluctant to use it. Meat and vegetables are bought on the local economy. The physician in attendance is not Jewish and charges no fee. The Jewish physician who comes from time to time charges 50% of his regular fee. Raising money is a major problem. On November 17, 1964 there were only four dollars in the treasury so an emergency appeal for funds went out to the Jewish community. Its response in part is the last list in the appendix 4 to this chapter.

Another document which gives an idea of the welfare activities and sources of funds for the Jewish community of Marrakesh is the annual budget of the Jewish community organization. The income for 1964-65 was 133,000 dirhams or 26,600 dollars. The majority of the income came from

1 Appendix 5, Chapter 5 contains the budget of the Jewish Community Organization of Marrakesh for 1964-65.
the following sources: 1. Gifts and collections 25,500 dirhams or 5,100 dollars; 2. Taxes on Jewish food products, i.e. Kosher meat, use of slaughter house for ritual slaughter, wines and matzos 50,750 dirhams or 10,130 dollars. 3. revenue from various communal functions of the Jewish community of Marrakesh 15,750 dirhams or 3,150 dollars. 4. revenue from the Elgrably fund 4,000 dirhams or 800 dollars; 5. subsidies from outside organizations 36,600 dirhams or 7,320 dollars of which the American Joint Distribution Committee gave 33,000 dirhams or 6,600 dollars.

The major expenditures were for welfare services 41,400 dirhams or 8,280 dollars, education services 59,611 dirhams or 11,922 dollars of which 42,600 dirhams or 8,520 dollars went to the nursery school which in reality was almost completely underwritten by the subsidy of the American Joint Distribution Committee.
CHAPTER 6

Social Change in Marrakesh; the Universe
of the Muslim Woman of Marrakesh

A study of urban behavior of the working population of Marrakesh is a type of study which has rarely been done because of the nature of the closed Islamic society and because of the lack of interest until recently in studying the mass in Islamic society. Our idea was to attempt to do such research in Marrakesh so our interviews were of men and women working in food processing plants in Marrakesh whose ownership or management was Jewish and our maid and her friends and their friends most of whom lived in Sidi Yusuf bin 'Ali. The interviewing was absolutely random in the sense that we had no control over who would cooperate. For the working class suburb of Sidi Yusuf bin 'Ali an effort was made to systemize the interviewing by going up one street and down another. This was not very successful for a neighbor of an informant was quite often unknown or not on intimate terms with our informant.

The pattern soon became that of interviewing an informant and an informant's friend who may or may not have lived close by. In the factories we had access to any of the workers we wished to interview. They lived in the many poor quarters of the Medina i.e. the traditional Muslim part of Marrakesh but had no one geographic sector. Many also mentioned that once the workday was finished they saw very little of their fellow workers for eight hours of close contact was enough.

The last distinct Moroccan group of Marrakesh to be interviewed was the social web of our maid Keltoum bint Lahcen. This
group was composed entirely of women. The situation was dictated by the people interviewed and the hours that we and they were available, meaning the daytime working hours, particularly the morning. In most of these households the husband was away at work either in Marrakesh or outside the city. They were working on roads in interior Southern Morocco particularly after the winter and spring rains, which were particularly devastating during the winter and spring of 1965. Most were laborers with a few small businessmen; very small operators whose merchandise could vary in value between $30 and $125. Some of the women were housewives who contributed to the household and their private savings by cottage industries. Cottage industries consisted of weaving baskets and other household articles from commercial fibers including palm, the carting and spinning of wool and embroidery on all kinds of leather goods, e.g. the Moroccan purses so common in Southern Morocco and known as Shukara, slippers, belts and hassocks; the making of beaded necklaces of varying quality and complexity and skull caps for men and boys. These activities were performed both by women and girls who could do such tasks. Others were widows who supported themselves by domestic work, by unskilled work in local food processing
plants and granaries or by full time cottage industries at home. A very high percentage of women claimed to be widows; their husbands having been killed in the various wars they fought in for the French. Some were widows in actuality, others were between men so to speak, for amongst the poor, family life is quite unstable as it is everywhere.

An interesting methodological problem relates to the probing of the social contacts of this working class in order to understand the daily life and routines of the major part of the urbanized population of Marrakesh. When queried, the poor always say they have no friends and no diversions similar to those found amongst the middle and upper classes of Marrakesh. Their lives consist of searching for work, working and returning home. There is no time or money for going out with friends or for going to the movies, cafes or sporting events. Friends at work are usually not friends outside of work. Friends are the immediate family and relatives and symbolically the patron or boss who keeps the man or woman employed. This last remark was usually prompted by fear of what we might say to the employer.

Concerning associations in Marrakesh, the municipality in its annual budget lists those associations to which it gives some support. By and large they are sporting associations which provide an outlet for sons of
working class families to play soccer in the hopes of becoming a local hero. These soccer matches are well attended by men and boys who for the most part are either clerks or students at the various high schools. For the poor in Marrakesh life is quite amorphous reflecting both the migrant nature of this population and also the fact that they are essentially peasants in a modern environment i.e. their lives are much the same as they were in their respective villages but with the modernity of the city. Suzuki has studied this phenomenon in Turkey and has coined the term "urban peasant." My concern and interests are mirrored by Suzuki's observation in Turkey and his calling for a new kind of urban research, evidenced by the following quote,

"On the other hand, the dominant mode of life in the city, especially of the non-Western nation may be characterized by nothing more than a rural or peasant way of life. If the latter statement is true it is possible that we are witnessing the emergence of a different kind of city, one which is neither 'feudal,' 'pre-industrial,' 'administrative' nor industrial, but pre-eminently peasant-like in quality with a strain of modernity. It would follow then that a better understanding of the universal phenomenon of urbanization and the nature of the city would be gained by looking into peasant life in the city."¹

This statement has its great value in calling attention to the importance of the working class and its peasant-like quality in an urban setting.

For other segments of the population, the wealthy Moroccans, the Europeans (mainly French with other small communities of Greeks, Spanish and Portugese) and the majority of the remaining Jews, there is a large number of organizations for every taste: a gambling casino, horseback riding associations, benefit bazaars and testimonials and even a Go-Kart Association with its own racing track. As the European and Jewish populations continue their exodus many of these activities which quite obviously do not exist for the majority will cease. However, as some of the urban poor, particularly present-day children, change their status new activities come into their lives in the fairly established pattern of frequenting an European type cafe, seeing a movie and perhaps eventually purchasing a motor bike. An example of unfamiliarity with these activities, even after living in Marrakesh, relates to our maid and some of her friends who went to a cinema in the ville nouvelle to see the movie "How the West Was Won". They all returned to our house within the hour and I was curious to know both how they reacted and why the suddenness of their return. Because of their unfamiliarity with the cinema in the ville nouvelle, they mistook the intermission between the newsreel and the main feature as being the end of the film.
The pattern of participation outside of the immediate environs of home and family can also be traced spatially. The first cafes and movie houses to be frequented are in the Medina because of the proximity, clientele and cost. The cafes are known as cafes Maures or traditional cafes quite rude in appearance, consisting of a few wooden tables and chairs and serving mint tea or coffee. The movie houses, the largest being the Mabrouka, feature mainly Egyptian and Indian films, the latter more than the former, having simple plots not unlike the serial and grade C movies that are shown in the United States. These films have large lurid advertisements and attract unsophisticated audiences all over the world. Occasionally a film of world renown is shown only in the Medina such as was the case with the Elizabeth Taylor film "Cleopatra".

An interesting phenomenon is the impact of Indian popular culture on the poor in Marrakesh. It is present not only in their films but also in the pictorial art hung in homes illustrating with a pantheon of beasts and demons familiar in Indian art, many of the scenes from Islamic religious history. The more affluent patronize the cafes of the ville nouvelle particularly the Renaissance. This is true for movie
attendance also. The most modern theaters showing first run films from Europe and the United States were also located in the ville nouvelle where more and more of the young Moroccans (18 years of age and up) come to see the films. Some are occasionally accompanied by a girl friend who may or may not be veiled, while the married men also bring their wives on occasion, who are invariably veiled. Most wives do not attend as their husbands in a good many instances fear, in their words, the corrupting influence of the movies.

In summary, the social life of the poor consists mainly of visiting family and viewing the spectacles in Jama Al-Fna of itinerant bands, snake charmers, acrobats, story tellers, singers, monkey acts, writers of amulets, fortune tellers, and hawkers of a great variety of food and durables such as ball point pens, combs, soap, incense and just plain junk i.e. used batteries, empty bottles and cans, nuts and bolts of varying sizes and shapes, used tools and locks. The majority of our informants, the working class including many under-employed and unemployed people, live uncomplicated lives, the main concerns being a roof overhead and enough to eat.
Social Change and the Muslim Woman in Marrakesh

In Marrakesh young secretaries ride to work on a motorbike wearing a djellaba and a veil. When they arrive the djellaba and veil come off and the attire is high heels, nylon stockings and dresses and suits that secretaries wear in Europe and the United States. This brief example illustrates that any change particularly social change, is not monolithic, or manifested in the same form and to the same degree by one and all. To further illustrate this statement, I wish to give some examples of varying behavior of some other young women in Marrakesh.

Traditionally the Moroccan Muslim woman of Marrakesh was cloistered, rarely going out of doors and on occasion when she would venture forth it would be within her own quarters. She was uneducated and a chattel to her husband and his family. This type of Moroccan Muslim woman is an ideal still paid lip service to by men of all ages and classes. In 1964-65 in Marrakesh it is middle aged men who prefer and actively seek to marry young girls fitting the above description. The practice has developed of marrying a young woman from the country whose bride price is lower than a comparable young woman from the city.

1 A djellaba is a loose fitting overgarment worn by men and women.
and concomitant with this is that the young woman from the country has relatively simple tastes, wants and needs.

Physical attractiveness plays a role in courtship and marriage more so than in the past. The innovation encouraging this factor is photography. The circulating of photographs by the prospective families to a marriage particularly among the poor has greatly enhanced physical attractiveness as an important determinant for marriage. This new cultural trait operates most widely in the working class of Marrakesh where considerations of position and wealth are relatively absent. Photograph trading is certainly a by product of the European presence in Marrakesh. It has also led to the increased number and prosperity of photography shops.

In deference to the model of the ideal young woman some families particularly those of the traditional middle class try to maintain the image that their daughters are representatives of the ideal young woman i.e. untutored and uncultured with eyes for only the man of her parents choice. This man in the

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1 The city woman by contrast is more emancipated and can be seen in the suqs and in the Guéliz as well. She is considered too sophisticated and too demanding and the bride price is much higher for her than for her country sister. Germaine Tillion, "Les Femmes et Le Voile dans la Civilisation Méditerranéenne" in Études Maghrébines: Mélanges Charles-André Julien edited by Pierre Marthelot and André Raymond. Paris, 1964.
present and recent past was a middle aged member of the
traditional bourgeoisie. I will cite an example of such a
family in Marrakesh and the tensions that exist in trying to
remain a traditional family in a society going through change.
A Fassi merchant came from Fez to Marrakesh some 30 years
ago and has established a fairly large textile business. He
has five daughters between the ages of sixteen and twenty-
seven. They have had no formal education and spend the day
amusing themselves in a large dilapidated court house waiting
for a marriage to be arranged. These young women visit every
part of the city shopping and visiting friends usually in
pairs wearing a traditional djellaba and veil over their
European fashioned clothes. Though they possess no formal
education they have the values of their European counterparts
in wishing to marry a modern young man their own age and
participating in as modern an environment as exists in Marrakesh.

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1 The presence of Fez and her merchants can be felt in the
major cities of Morocco. This city was off and on for hundreds
of years the commercial and cultural center of Morocco. In the
twentieth century Fez could not absorb the pool of talent that
was available to her through the constant growth of the families
of the Bourgeoisie. Therefore a brain drain so to speak occurred
particularly to the new commercial center of Casablanca, the
new administrative center of Rabat and to the traditional city of
Marrakesh which had a shortage of the entrepreneurial class, a
shortage constantly aggravated by the modernization brought by the
Protectorate. For an excellent review and analysis of the process
of tradition and modernization particularly the idea that it is
impossible to rigidly compartmentalize these two concepts see
Reinhard Bendix "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered" Comparative
Studies in Society and History v. 9, no. 3, April, 1967. pp. 292-
346.
An increasing problem for young women of this class and education is that their logical spouses i.e., middle and upper class men who are young business executives, officials in the national government, high ranking civil servants in local government, members of the diplomatic corps and men of the professions are now seeking wives who have a reasonable amount of education allowing communication to flow between husband and wife. These young men, many of whom have been educated abroad, need wives who can actively participate in their world and the traditional young woman is no longer suited for this new role. This gap between the ideal and practical reality is more noticeable in Marrakesh than in other large cities in Morocco as traditional values still play a more important role than in Casablanca, Rabat or Fez. These traditional values are further strengthened in Marrakesh by the country in the city atmosphere. An incident which happened to this family of five young women illustrates this. In 1962 one of these girls was kidnapped by a local Caid from the country. She was returned after six months of hard negotiation including the intervention of police.

Within the upper middle class in Marrakesh there is also a smaller percentage of families who understand the changing world
of Morocco and Marrakesh and they actively seek by means of education and modern business practices to be a part of the modernization of Marrakesh. The second family to be described is on a somewhat higher level as regards both wealth and status in Marrakesh. A young woman from the second family recently graduated from the Université de Montpellier and she is engaged to be married to a Marrakshi who is finishing his Ph.D. studies in statistics at the University of California. In Marrakesh this young woman was studying English at the Maison d'Amerique and also privately with a Peace Corps volunteer at his house. Rarely does she wear a djellaba and veil over her European habit. As emancipated as she is outside her home, hospitality within her home preserves the pattern of women being out of sight and out of mind. If she stays within the presence of male company it is because they are her guests e.g. Peace Corps volunteers, but she doesn't participate in the conversation.

One of her brothers is the only modern Moroccan Muslim dentist in Marrakesh having obtained his education in France. Another brother is a university trained pharmacist. A cousin of this family has a small modern plastics factory in the industrial sector of Marrakesh where he manufactures plastic shoes and boots.

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1 This footwear is bought by the poor who can neither afford the handmade traditional shoes called babouches or belga nor the machine made products in leather made by Bata or other firms.
The young women from the poor working class are in many respects freer to come and go but as a consequence they have a more unstable marital history. The values and mode of life of the poor are manifestations of a sub-culture of poverty which exists in every modernizing as well as modern society today. Most of the men interviewed from the poor working class had been married at least two or three times. In 1964-65, it was harder to get a divorce through the courts than at any time in the past except for the poor who were not greatly affected by the legal apparatus in Marrakesh.

Modernity of the Muslim Moroccan woman can also be analyzed by comparing the rate of acculturation of the other indigenous group of women in Marrakesh i.e. the Moroccan Jewish woman. Generally, rates of acculturation are different for majority and minority populations. In Marrakesh the Jews, both men and women, were much more acculturated to French modes of living, thinking and doing than were the Moroccan Muslims. Why? A possible answer is that the French were seen as protectors and the vehicle to both a more modern and more viable world. Certainly this is explainable in part by the greater exposure of Moroccan Jews in Marrakesh as well as in other Moroccan
cities to the winds of change brought by foreigners. Jews in Marrakesh analyze a faster rate of acculturation and modernization in terms of the Jew understanding what is important. For example, Jews in the street wore traditional clothing while they modernized their homes and provided a modern education for their children. Whereas, the Moroccan Muslims dressed in European clothes while their homes and the education of their children remained traditional. This is a stereotyping of the Moroccan Muslim and the Moroccan Jew of Marrakesh vis-a-vis acculturation and modernization. However, there is no question of the much greater degree of acculturation of Moroccan Jews than of Moroccan Muslims particularly the women in each of these groups. The fact that Moroccan Jews are almost totally urbanized also helps to account for their earlier receptivity of the new. An example of faster acculturation is illustrated by which group of women were hired at the former S.A.C. Air Base at Ben Guerir located approximately thirty miles north of Marrakesh. The majority of the women employed during the life of the base (1953-1963) were Moroccan Jews from Marrakesh. They were hired as clerical staff, PX clerks and as library staff. These women usually had at least an elementary education and some
knowledge of French and English. They were also more accessible for hire than Moroccan Muslim women of the same age. Moroccan Muslim women of Marrakesh were until most recently almost entirely sealed off from any modernization particularly education. Until recently Moroccan Muslim women of Marrakesh, except for the poor class, were not allowed to work outside of the home and certainly not for strange men especially if they represented a foreign military presence. Also militating against their working were their own attitudes acquired by this male dominated society that work was dishonorable and shameful and consequently the acting out of a self-fulfilling prophecy that Moroccan Muslim women were shamed if they worked. It is obvious from the above examples that Moroccan society as mirrored by the Muslim woman of Marrakesh exhibits every manifestation of traditional and modern behavior at the same time and frequently within the same person. This paralleling and mixing of the past and present exists in all societies but it is more pronounced in the developing world because the two general modes of behavior, traditional and modern are more readily discernible precisely because the process of assimilation is slow and everchanging.

The Universe of the Muslim Working Woman of Marrakesh

The class least restricted by the traditions of Islam is the poor unskilled working class. This applies to women as well. Poverty, as stressed elsewhere, has its own culture of necessity. When this culture or set of behavior patterns is in conflict with a system such as Islam and its traditions and values in Marrakesh for example, the latter system is adapted to meet the needs of gaining a livelihood and providing shelter for oneself or one's family. Working class women who must earn a living outside their homes are not hindered by any discussion as to whether it is shameful or dishonorable to work. Many found their work undesirable but whether they should work or not is a meaningless question. These women must work and are grateful if they have work as their families depend on their incomes. Simply stated the working class woman who can be found performing seasonal work in various canning factories sorting and processing fruits, nuts and olives, who work in cottage industries and handcrafts and also as domestics do so because there is no male head of household or the husband is underemployed or unemployed or he is too old to work or the woman is a widow.
Several groups were interviewed during my research year in Marrakesh (1964-65). A group of forty unskilled Muslim working women of Marrakesh was interviewed during the months of February and March, 1965. These women were all seasonal food processing workers who worked for Etlimar et Cie, a firm which processed agricultural products, principally various grains and nuts. The duties of these women were to sort various kinds of nuts by hand according to size and quality. They earned 300 francs or sixty cents a day.

Access to this group of women was through the Jewish Community of Marrakesh. The management of this firm was Jewish, the workers were Muslim and the owners were French. The interviewing was conducted while the women were working for the nature of their tasks allowed them to work and talk at the same time.

These women had never been subjected to an interview situation and they had never seen a tape recorder nor heard their voices in playback. In order to minimize possible anxiety everyone was interviewed within the same room. Our experience was that interviewing a person as part of a familiar group proved most advantageous in terms of the relaxed atmosphere and high degree of cooperation attained. The playing back of a respondent's voice was considered magic at first and something to fear. However it
was explained that this was all accomplished by electricity. They were all conversant with electricity, namely radios and lighting, and shortly thereafter their fear changed to eager anticipation to hear their own voices. In a sense the interview situation was a social drama where no informant is isolated but rather is put at ease by the presence of fellow workers who now and again participate in another informant’s interview specifically to corroborate or correct a statement.

Questions were posed in Moroccan Arabic by my assistant. The tapes were subsequently translated from Moroccan Arabic to English. Most of the questions that were intended for use were greatly modified to meet the social universe of our informants rather than the much more complex social web for which they were designed. An example of this is trying to determine the role of voluntary associations in an individual’s life. Associations play no role whatsoever in the lives of these women. Formal religious practice is also absent. Within the culture of poverty the energies and concerns of the women interviewed were absorbed in making a living and keeping the family together.

Basically what I wanted to learn about was the operation of the world of the poor unskilled working woman of Marrakesh.

1 Appendix 1 contains a photograph of this interview situation. Illustrated is the place of work, the group of women, the work (sorting nuts) and the tape recorder. The gentleman in photograph no. 2 is Monsieur Assouline, the accountant for Etlimar et Cie.
I wanted to know why they came to Marrakesh; why they worked; what they did with their spare time, who outside their family did they associate with when they were not working and what were their hopes and aspirations particularly for their children.

Only a brief summary of their responses is necessary because of their (responses) high degree of uniformity. This uniformity is based on a phenomenon not peculiar to Marrakesh or Morocco. It is the sub-culture of poverty in which the working woman is the head of household and keeps the family going. Her condition and to a large extent her values are the same as those of her counterpart in other developing societies as well as in America, e.g. Harlem and Watts or for that matter any negro ghetto in a large American city. Particularly in other developing societies it is the female peasant in the city, with few if any ties to the country, who because of employability as seasonal workers is the breadwinner because the normal head of household is either underemployed, unemployed or too old to earn a living. In Marrakesh as in many Muslim cities there is still the tradition of old men taking young women for wives. Invariably these men have been married two or three times before. Since he can no
longer work due to old age, lack of skills or lack of the need for his skills, it is incumbent upon the young wife to be the wage earner. The great disparity in age causes women to leave these men and hence they are married several times also.

The migration patterns of these women show them coming to Marrakesh from a radius of up to 200 miles from Marrakesh mainly from the South of this city. Their moving was based on either the breakup of a family unit or near famine conditions in the country. The breakup of a family related to the death of a father or husband or marriage to a man from Marrakesh. Many families migrated from overcrowded regions in rural Southern Morocco because the land could no longer support the ever increasing population. These women work because they have no choice. Generally speaking they have no spare time. Occasionally they visit relatives. Their best friends are their children and their family. The most important personages in their lives are God and their employer in that order. Most of these women recognized and knew that education was important for their children's future and to that extent they actively supported whatever chances of education their children had. Education was for them the key for their children to escape from their work situation. Fantasy questions were incomprehensible. If you asked a woman what she would do if she had a large sum of money there was silence on her part. After discussing this with others in the group some decided they would buy food and clothing with it.
Conclusion

Marrakesh entered the twentieth century as a traditional, pre-industrial, imperial city. It was drastically changed during the period of the French Protectorate (1912-1956) and finally since 1956 it is once more a city controlled by Moroccans with a legacy of modernization from the colonial period. In the mid 1960's Marrakesh is still being changed radically by the pressures of urbanization and modernization. These pressures are part of the rapid growth of the population, influencing the character of this population, its values and its spatial ecology.

Social change has been a major organizing factor for this study of Marrakesh in the twentieth century. Much change in this city is similar to the kinds of changes taking place in many of the cities of the developing world. For example Marrakesh is a city possessing a modern infrastructure of communication, and electrical, water and sanitation facilities. Coupled with this is the rapid growth of her population which demographically is
structured like other urban populations of the third world. There exists also the sub-culture of poverty as personified by the unskilled working class woman who is the provider and head of household. Spatially Marrakesh has seen the development of both planned and unplanned suburbs to cope with the ever increasing population. As elsewhere there exists the quality of the peasant and his rural life in the city. All of these pressures and resulting patterns of change are responses to an unprecedented growth of population. The nature of Islam or the impact of Islamic tradition plays a very minor role as far as initiating and defining courses of action to be taken vis-a-vis the continual growth of Marrakesh.

There is however an aspect of social change which is peculiar to Marrakesh as well as some other cities of the Middle East. This is the demise of its two minority populations, the Moroccan Jews and Europeans (French) of Marrakesh. The former group was a part of the history of Marrakesh for hundreds of years and the latter an important community for the last fifty years. These two communities helped define and shape both the cultural and spatial ecology of Marrakesh. Since 1956, this city has become more homogenous in terms of the impact of Islam and
Islamic tradition carried by Moroccan-Muslims to all aspects of this city. This is occurring at the same time as Islam as a total way of life becomes less meaningful for the younger generation who so far have no system to replace it.
CHAPTER 7

Methodological Considerations

I shall explain how the field research was conducted in Marrakesh, the second largest city in Morocco, in order to gain insights into how urbanization and modernization have affected its functioning as a city: its public services, physical layout, and the behavior patterns of its inhabitants.

New research possibilities become apparent upon actual contact with the ongoing situation. Originally I expected that written questionnaires directly administered would be used exclusively to elicit information on the personal lives of Marrakshis. Questionnaires have been most useful with fairly open societies, with literate groups and populations accustomed to this form of gathering information. But most of these elements were absent in Marrakesh's working class, the focal group for interviewing.
One technique for administering questionnaires to all segments of a population is through the cooperation of local governmental authorities. During the period of the French Protectorate in Morocco (1912-1956), this was an avenue of approach used primarily by local administrators many of whom were amateur sociologists who have left important monographs. In Morocco as well as in other Colonial areas such work was carried out by sociologists, but rarely by a researcher from other than the "mother" country, ostensibly for reasons of "security".

In Marrakesh, after independence (post 1956), no authorities, willing or not, could gain the confidence of the people to be interviewed. This problem is probably even greater in a Muslim society like Morocco than a syncretic one like Nigeria or other African states where Islam plays a much lesser role.

This lack of confidence in the Muslim world between authority and the average man is quite evident in Marrakesh.
Mistrust, lack of confidence in officialdom and even repugnance and avoidance of it wherever possible is coupled with the omnipresent evidences of the hierarchy of power. The chaouch (doorman) outside the office of even the most minor official is, especially in the case of the newcomer, the reigning authority for the moment, for he can refuse to announce you for what seems to be hours just on the basis of whim. This same attitude is manifested by the traffic policeman, hospital orderly, postal clerk and ultimately all officials vis-a-vis the Moroccan without influence.

The distrust of one Moroccan for another regardless of relative status can be illustrated by two informants who at varying times needed hospitalization. While on a field trip to the Mesfioua valley some 60 kilometers north-east of Marrakesh, I met a well known former Caid or local administrative chief who knew my wife’s family very well. He directed us to his mud house along a stream and invited us for tea. Some of his retainers laid out a rug to sit on after which they brought out a charcoal brazier with a blackened kettle of water boiling on it. Moroccan tea, more familiarly
known as mint tea, is the most important beverage in Morocco, having much the same role as does tea in Japan. Homes take pride in preparing good tea which is accomplished by using a reasonably good grade of tea (tea is a government monopoly and comes from mainland China) mint chosen for its variety and freshness and cone sugar (kalb sukwar), not granulated or cubed sugar. While drinking tea he mentioned that his wife was quite ill with Paludism (Malaria) and would we help her. He suggested that his fourteen year old son accompany us to Ait-Ourir, the administrative center for the Mesfioua district, in order to obtain medicine. He cautioned us from going to the local dispensary, for the Moroccans would give us nothing to help his wife. If there was no pharmacy in Ait-Ourir, it would be advisable to return to Marrakesh and go to a
European pharmacy and purchase the proper medicine. As it turned out, the dispensary in Ait-Ourir knew of the epidemic of Paludism in their district and had already initiated a program to treat the afflicted and eradicate the mosquitoes from the many near dry river beds. The complaint of the dispensary was that the people in the country could not be relied on to take the medicine even if provided. This little incident illustrates the mutual distrust which exists causing a basic lack of confidence or in other words a lack of a modicum of predictability of human behavior on which to incorporate change.

The second example involves one of our closest informants. She had a miscarriage and was admitted to the Avenzoar hospital which was the center for obstetrical care in Marrakesh. They discharged her within a day and we found her at home in Sidi Yusuf bin 'Ali, a working class suburb of Marrakesh just outside the walls. She was bleeding profusely and by that time was very weak. She implored us to engage a European doctor in the ville nouvelle for her, for the Moroccans in the hospital would do

The end of this tale was that medicine was obtained from both Ait-Ourir and Marrakesh and the sick woman, under our supervision, used the medicine to good advantage.
nothing even if you paid them privately to do the job that they were paid from public funds to do. Finally I convinced her that a Persian doctor trained in France would personally see that she obtained the care needed. This Persian doctor was a personal friend who handled her case and brought her back to reasonable health. In her case distrust even pervaded her home. All her medical expenses were financed from her meager savings as her husband was unwilling to contribute anything. Amongst the poor there is the notion of the great chasm between the man in the street and the bureaucratic predator. Certainly an important reason for abuse of power on all levels is the abysmally low salaries paid to all civil servants.

Marrakesh has an elaborate governmental structure including Muquaddmim (ward leaders) who are chosen because they are literate, supposedly know everyone in their district and also because of patronage. I was specifically warned not to rely on them as any information solicited in their company would be slanted towards what the informant thinks you want to hear. Since the dignity of all concerned was the first consideration in the interviews, our research was not aggressive,
rather we felt that a sensitive aware approach would elicit a consistently higher quality of information. This is particularly true for the closed society we were operating in. Gibb and Bowen document the problem of penetrating a Muslim society because of distrust, and Sania Hamady explores this theme on the individual level in her study of the Arab personality. The conclusion is that officialdom was no source for opening up a district, a quarter or even a street. The civil technicians, mainly French civil servants, were helpful only in supplying documents, explaining the functions of their respective departments and from time to time leading small excursions for purposes of elucidating new civic programs such as the new planned suburb of Daudiyat (Cité Mohammedia) and the Marche de Gros complex (wholesale produce market).


The interviewing of Muslims was made possible by a network of relationships that was readily established upon arrival and in a sense could be said to have existed as a skeletal framework when we arrived. An added factor for choosing Marrakesh for this study was that my wife, who was my assistant, was born and raised there which provided the opportunity to use her web of relations to a degree still intact and which eliminated problems due to languages.

Our research situation raised another problem; what were the possibilities of a Jewish research team doing social research, through personal interviews and questionnaires, in a Muslim society which is quite aware of the Arab-Israeli conflict, clearly manifested by the gradual disappearance of the Jewish community of Marrakesh. Often Muslims of Marrakesh would accompany Jews to the places of emigration in Marrakesh; some were domestics, other were friends. The situation presented a singular opportunity to determine the social distance and animosity to us and Jews in general. For my wife would be recognized as a Marrakesh Jew by her speech alone. Moroccan Jews in general, and for each locale in particular, speak Arabic sufficiently different from Moroccans (Muslims) to be easily discernible. Proof that this situation exists and is well known

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1 Though I had studied Moroccan Arabic in the United States, my knowledge was not sufficient for thorough communication.
was the practice amongst Muslims of imitating and mimicking the spoken Arabic of Marrakesh's Jews. A non-linguistic description of the difference is that Jews use many more loan words from French and Hebrew and that their speech rhythm is different, being slower and heavier.

As the year went on there was acculturation in my wife's speech acquired by working with the lower income groups. Since no French was spoken, her Arabic became more like the Moroccans (Muslims).

A short digression is necessary in order to explain how the terms "Moroccan" and "Jew" have been used throughout this dissertation. Muslims and Jews born in Morocco who do not possess another citizenship through their parents are Moroccan citizens and would logically be called Moroccans. In everyday life however this is not the case. Jews refer to Muslims

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1 I saw this occur many times and on a few of these occasions it was done in the central suqs (central markets) of Marrakesh to entertain my wife. I also have tape recordings illustrating for example the difference among cities regarding spoken Moroccan Arabic by Jews of Fez and Meknes.


as Moroccans or Arabs. Jews refer to each other as Israelite or Juif i.e. as Jews and not as Moroccans. Muslims refer to themselves as Moroccans. The population of Morocco has a large indigenous population generally known as "Berbers". They are usually referred to as Moroccans also unless for some particular reason one wishes to differentiate them from Moroccans who would be considered Arabs. In that case they would be called Berbers. On occasion the Jews of Marrakesh will refer to Berbers as Shluhs i.e. local Berbers who speak Shilha, the predominant Berber dialect of the Marrakesh region. Once in a while a Jew will call another Jew a Shlih implying he is a rude country bumpkin. All Moroccans be they Arabs or Berbers are Muslims. The term Moroccan unless qualified in this work refers to a member of the Muslim community of Morocco and hence Jews are not covered by this term.

It must be remembered also that Jews over 40 years of age are most comfortable when speaking in Arabic. Until today (1965) Jewish children 18 years and over speak Moroccan Arabic fluently.

1 However, there is a situation where a Jew will identify himself as a Moroccan. For example, when a foreigner asks a Moroccan Jew what he is, he says he is a Moroccan. However the term is primarily used this way to differentiate him from being a Frenchman. Occasionally the reverse is true also i.e. a Moroccan Jew will try to pass as a Frenchman, outside of Morocco, which usually occurs in situations where being a Moroccan (Moroccan Jew in this instance) may be detrimental for a variety of real or imagined reasons. This happens quite frequently in Israel and Canada and to a lesser extent in France.
The change to be seen is in Jewish children under 16 years old who no longer speak Moroccan Arabic as a mother tongue, a definite break with the past. This is due to the great migration from Marrakesh and to the relatively large number of Jewish families who in moving out of the Mellah and Medina have much less contact with Moroccans and Jews who speak Arabic. These children attend schools where the teachers are not Arabic speakers and it is not fashionable to speak Arabic. Other manifestations of drifting from Arabic include the problem of communication between the younger grandchild and the grandmother. There are numerous examples where the grandmother speaks only the Moroccan Arabic of the Jews. The younger children speak a halting Arabic because French is their first language, so communication is difficult and is more or less restricted to the grandmother's children. Within three generations of Marrakesh Jews there is this chasm due to the great upheavals in Marrakesh Jewish life in the 20th century. This phenomenon is also observable over a three generation time span with Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants in the United States.

Of those still living in the Mellah or certain sections of the Medina the poorer Jews and their young children are much more
conversant with spoken Moroccan Arabic, for contacts with Arabic are greater causing this language to be preserved to a great degree.

Though my wife's accent indicated she is Jewish, my constant presence muddied the waters, for it was hard to place me. Definitely I was a Nazrani (Christian or foreigner), Rumi (one from Rome, a foreigner, a European) and after awhile I was identified as an American. The few persons interviewed who knew that I am Jewish did not seem too affected by it. In Marrakesh, cooperation was forthcoming because the work was being done by an American and the fact that Esther, my wife, was recognized as being Jewish was mitigated by her research role. On occasion, as for example while walking through parts of the Beni Msik bidonville of Casablanca, Esther was identified as a Nazrania (Christian) or as a Rumia (European or foreigner). In short, especially among the poor (the majority of our informants) Esther was received magnanimously not only because she spoke Marrakshi Arabic, but also because consciousness of Israel and all that it implies is much less strong among the unorganized poor especially if they are women and because she was working for an American researcher which in itself carried prestige.
The receptivity towards an American is related to the S.A.C. Air Base at Ben Guerir, thirty miles to the North which brought many enlisted men and officers to Marrakesh and which provided Moroccans and Jews with employment. From the information I gathered, the base definitely had a positive influence on the economy of Marrakesh and on the Rehamna plain of which Ben Guerir was the most important center. A farmer living about fifteen miles from Ben Guerir said that while the air base was open, there were two suqs or markets a week in contradistinction to one suq a week before and after the existence of the base. Another factor noticed by many is the strong good image left by President Kennedy in Morocco.

The final factor for acceptance was Esther's understanding of our informants. The majority of those interviewed were poor and the preponderance of women is due not only to the research situation itself but also to the desire of the researchers to study a representation of mass society rather than adding yet another work centering on an elite. Our experience also demonstrated that there is a recognizable difference between attitude and behavior. The attitudes towards

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Jews were always more stringent and hostile than the actual behavior. Michael Banton in his review of Robin McWilliams' *Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities* suggests that "prejudice between ethnic groups has to be understood anew for members" and "ethnic prejudices do not really refer to personal likings (or preferences for associations) at all, but rather to the acceptance of shared (cultural) definitions and evaluations of social categories as much." Our experience with Moroccan informants, acquaintances and friends bore out strongly that their reactions to Jews and ultimately to us were much more positive and reasonable than their official positions on Israel and the emigration of Moroccan Jews would suggest.

Without the cooperation of the Jewish Community of Marrakesh our interviewing would have been much more difficult and perhaps impossible. The role of the Jewish community as the intermediaries

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2 *op. cit.* Banton. p. 111.

between foreign travelers and researchers on the one hand and the Moroccan and Marrakesh communities on the other hand is well known and is due to the relative free movement of a protected minority in a loose knit society and later by the community's greater receptivity to the outside world. Our approach was in essence to build on this earlier tradition. However this is not the only avenue as there are other studies that have used different means for the collecting of data.

In line with the use of the Jewish community there is the justly famous and thorough study of Morocco done by Charles de Foucauld who, disguised as a rabbi and with a Moroccan Jew as a guide, left the most important account of Morocco at the end of the 19th century. The brothers Tharaud wrote their famous book on Marrakesh and al-Ólawi while they were the guests of the prominent Corcos family, a leading Jewish family of Marrakesh up until the 1950's. Other works include studies

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3 Their large mansion housing the Tharaud brothers is now the Jewish Old People's Home of Marrakesh. The family has since dispersed with members still in Marrakesh, others in Israel and the United States e.g., Josue Corcos practices and teaches medicine in New York.
about the Jews of Marrakesh by Benech and of Southern Morocco
by Flamand both done in part because of the easier
accessibility to the Jewish community. Budgett Meakin, writing
about Marrakesh at the beginning of the twentieth century notes
that

"There is no accommodation for Europeans and those
arriving without letters from the Moorish Commission
for Foreign Affairs in Tangier, or without friends
in the town must put up where they can in the Mellah,
as in that case no Moor would dare to let them a
house or a garden." 4

Relations have sufficiently improved between Moroccans and
non-Muslim inhabitants (mainly French scholars) and visitors to
Morocco, so that studies are, in a sense, easier to do and a
number of comprehensive studies have appeared on various sectors
of Morocco. For the most part they still consist of analyses of
documents and statistics with almost no contact with the majority
of the population i.e. the fellah or urban working class. For

Essai de description et d'analyse de la vie juive en milieu berbere
(Casablanca) 1959.
example see the studies of Lesne\textsuperscript{1} and Le Coz\textsuperscript{2}. The most ambitious work in progress combining both documentation and field research is a study of social change in the Haouz, the vast plain of which Marrakesh is the capital, by Paul Pascon, a frequent contributor to the journal \textit{Confluent}, and the director of the Office National des Irrigations (O.N.T.) for the province of Marrakesh. His unpublished study on the mining town of Khouribga was entirely based on the interview situation. The son of a French engineer, born in Morocco, fluent in classical and Moroccan Arabic, a Moroccan citizen and the head of a branch of an important government agency, Pascon has been able to work with both officials and the working populations of two different provinces of Morocco.

\textsuperscript{1} Marcel Lesne. \textit{Evolution d'un Groupement Berbere: Les Zemmour}. Rabat 1959.

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CHAPTER 1

Appendix 1

Bibliographical Note.

Information concerning Marrakesh can be classified into a few categories, the first of which are manuscripts and documents in the archives of the Municipality such as maps, budgets, plans, annual reports and administrative regulations. Almost all the documentation concerning Marrakesh as a city after 1912 is located here and in the various departments of the city government. The bulk of this material as well as the archives of the Jewish community of Marrakesh remains unexamined.

Practically every general book (history, travelogue, guidebook, memoir) on Morocco, gives a brief exposition of Marrakesh: its founding by Yusif bin Tashfin in 1062, a brief description of its quarters and special attractions such a Jama' Al Fnā (the large square where one can see snake charmers, dancers from Senegal, Muslim story tellers, makers of talismans etc.) the suqs, Koutubiah, Saadian
Tombs, Agdal, Menara, Hotel Mamounia and various places. This motley collection of literature is valuable but difficult to use for much of the information is mixed with error and bias. Guidebooks however, contain valuable information hard to find elsewhere in the form of maps, physical layout of the city, indications of the state of communication, and the number of buildings and kinds of activities which are always changing rapidly.

Another category of materials consists of books and articles on various aspects of the history of Marrakesh. Briefly, they can be classified as general histories up to 1912, articles on specific aspects of the city before the French occupation and articles and books on Marrakesh after 1912. The most important name in research to be linked with Marrakesh is that of Gaston Deverdun. He arrived in Marrakesh in September, 1936, and for twenty-five years was a professor and director of the Collège Musulman de Marrakech later known as the Lycée Mohammed V de Marrakech. The culmination of his work of twenty-five years is his

*Marrakech: Des Origines À 1912.* Tome I: Texte, Rabat, 1959
Tome II: Table des Matières - Sources - Bibliographie - Index - Planches - Additions et Corrections, Rabat, 1966.
It is the most important work on this city and its overall organization centers around the different ruling dynasties i.e. the Almoravides 1062-1130, the Almohades 1130-1269, the Marinides and Wattasides 1269-1557, the Saadians 1557-1669 and the present dynasty, the Alaouites 1669 to date. It is important to note also that the most complete bibliography on Marrakesh is to be found in this work. This study is indispensable to any research on Marrakesh. There is no work as comprehensive as this on the socio-economic sphere either before 1912 and certainly not after.
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Chapter 4
Appendix 1

Comparative Demography

The population statistics used come from the 1960 Official Census of Morocco. The percentages are based on the above statistics and have been calculated by the author.

The Chart for Moroccans-Muslims is made up of statistics from 10 cities and Marrakesh. The chart for Moroccans-Jews is comprised of statistics from 9 provinces and prefectures and Marrakesh. The ideal comparison would have been to use data from the same cities or the same provinces and prefectures. Unfortunately this wasn't entirely possible for the census was not constructed the same way for these two Moroccan populations. In spite of this the difference using cities with one population and provinces and prefectures with another is slight and doesn't affect the overall picture as used here.

The cities and provinces and prefectures were chosen to give a cross section in terms of geographic location and types of cities to be found in Morocco in order to have the broadest base possible to afford comparison.

---

1 Service Central des Statistiques. Résultats du Recensement de 1960 Vol. 1 Nationalité - Sexe - Age, Rabat, 1964. Note: All percentages in the following tables have been calculated by the author from figures supplied by the above work.
There is also included comparative statistics and percentages of the population under 20 (0-19) for various segments of the total population of Morocco. For Moroccans-Muslims there are also figures and calculation of percentages of population under 20 for the rural population. This is not the case for the Moroccans-Jews and the Foreigners as they are overwhelmingly urban populations.
Chapter 4
Appendix 1
Comparative Demography - 10 Provinces and Prefectures

Moroccans - Jews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Under 20</th>
<th>% Under 20</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Total Under 20</th>
<th>% Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Total Under 20</th>
<th>% Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marrakesh</td>
<td>19,593</td>
<td>10,843</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>9,609</td>
<td>5,470</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>9,984</td>
<td>5,373</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fez</td>
<td>12,264</td>
<td>6,515</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>5,841</td>
<td>3,263</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>6,423</td>
<td>3,263</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meknes</td>
<td>10,232</td>
<td>5,879</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>5,138</td>
<td>3,012</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>5,194</td>
<td>2,867</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca</td>
<td>74,697</td>
<td>41,110</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>35,075</td>
<td>20,764</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>39,622</td>
<td>20,346</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabat</td>
<td>14,518</td>
<td>7,376</td>
<td>50.07</td>
<td>7,027</td>
<td>3,692</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>5,064</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangiers</td>
<td>6,246</td>
<td>2,497</td>
<td>39.98</td>
<td>2,925</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>3,321</td>
<td>1,277</td>
<td>38.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tetuan</td>
<td>4,764</td>
<td>1,714</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>2,282</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oujda</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>1,332</td>
<td>53.67</td>
<td>1,286</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>1,196</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taza</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ouarzazate</td>
<td>4,323</td>
<td>2,372</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>2,087</td>
<td>1,187</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>2,236</td>
<td>1,185</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Symbols: see next page
Chapter 4

Appendix 1

Symbols:

a - Large, imperial, traditional inland cities.

b - The industrial and commercial center of Morocco.

c - Administrative capital of Morocco.

d - Largest cities in the former Spanish or Northern zone. This zone was much less developed than the former French or Southern zone. The lower percentages reflect an older population as the younger generation sought opportunities elsewhere, i.e., primarily the former French or Southern zone.

e - Old towns of Northeastern Morocco which are rapidly growing due to industrialization, their importance as crossroads and communication points between Morocco and Algeria, plus influx of Algerian refugees.

f - Most important pre-Saharan town South of Marrakesh and a garrison town created by the French and maintained by Morocco.
### Chapter 4

### Appendix 1

#### Comparative Demography - Cities

**Moroccans - Muslims**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Under 20</th>
<th>% Under 20</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
<th>Under 20</th>
<th>% Males</th>
<th>Total Females</th>
<th>Under 20</th>
<th>% Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Marrakesh</td>
<td>222,479</td>
<td>107,841</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>108,954</td>
<td>53,272</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>113,525</td>
<td>54,569</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fez</td>
<td>198,064</td>
<td>98,711</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>98,901</td>
<td>50,379</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>99,163</td>
<td>48,332</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Meknes</td>
<td>150,429</td>
<td>74,292</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>74,430</td>
<td>37,192</td>
<td>49.96</td>
<td>75,997</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Casablanca</td>
<td>776,995</td>
<td>396,313</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>387,165</td>
<td>195,575</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>389,830</td>
<td>200,738</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rabat</td>
<td>183,321</td>
<td>89,634</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>93,658</td>
<td>44,646</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>89,663</td>
<td>44,988</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tangiers</td>
<td>101,374</td>
<td>49,463</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>50,681</td>
<td>24,640</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>50,693</td>
<td>24,823</td>
<td>48.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tetuan</td>
<td>78,446</td>
<td>37,482</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>39,315</td>
<td>18,638</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>39,131</td>
<td>18,844</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Oujda</td>
<td>90,615</td>
<td>47,729</td>
<td>52.67</td>
<td>45,512</td>
<td>24,403</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>45,103</td>
<td>23,326</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kenitra</td>
<td>75,062</td>
<td>36,709</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>37,620</td>
<td>18,337</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>37,442</td>
<td>18,372</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Safi</td>
<td>76,871</td>
<td>36,814</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>37,056</td>
<td>18,667</td>
<td>48.97</td>
<td>39,815</td>
<td>18,147</td>
<td>46.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sale</td>
<td>72,976</td>
<td>35,384</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>36,281</td>
<td>17,318</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>36,695</td>
<td>19,066</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Symbols:** see next page
Symbols:

a - Large, imperial, traditional inland cities.

b - The industrial and commercial center of Morocco.

c - Administrative capital of Morocco.

d - Largest cities in the former Spanish or Northern zone. This zone was much less developed than the former French or Southern zone. The lower percentages reflect on older population as the younger generation sought opportunities elsewhere, i.e., primarily the former French or Southern zone.

e - Old town of Northeastern Morocco which is growing rapidly to industrialization, importance as crossroads and communication point between Morocco and Algeria plus an influx of Algerian refugees.

f - Known formerly as Port Lautey. Has become an important commercial port since World War II which in part is due to its role as the center of allied landings in North Africa and has continued as a quasi-military center with both Moroccan and American installations.

g - Small sea coast town famous for its pottery. It is growing fast because of industrialization, e.g., it has the largest sardine processing factory in the world and just completed is a huge Super-Phosphate-Petro-Chemical complex.

h - During the 18th and 19th centuries, its fame in the West was due to its being a center for piracy and pirates operating out of Sale were called Sally Rovers. Defoe used this city as the place where Robinson Crusoe was captured by pirates. Today it is the twin city of Rabat and is influenced by the latter's growth in terms of supplying services and housing for Rabat.
## Chart 2
### Comparative Demography - Total Population of Morocco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11,067,929</td>
<td>5,538,532</td>
<td>5,529,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0-19</strong></td>
<td>5,627,467</td>
<td>2,891,488</td>
<td>2,735,979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moroccans - Muslims - Urban</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,912,216</td>
<td>1,451,597</td>
<td>1,460,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0-19</strong></td>
<td>1,447,199</td>
<td>723,701</td>
<td>723,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20</td>
<td>49.68%</td>
<td>49.86%</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moroccans - Muslims - Rural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8,155,713</td>
<td>4,086,935</td>
<td>4,068,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>0-19</strong></td>
<td>4,180,268</td>
<td>2,167,787</td>
<td>2,012,481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparative Demography - Total Population of Morocco

Percent of Population under 20 (0-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Moroccans - Jews</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162,420</td>
<td>78,809</td>
<td>83,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-19</td>
<td>85,877</td>
<td>43,273</td>
<td>42,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% under 20</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>54.9%</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                  | Foreigners - Mainly French |            |            |
|                  | Total            | 395,883    | 191,831    | 204,052   |
| 0-19             | 159,356          | 80,493     | 78,863     |
| % under 20       | 40.26%           | 41.9%      | 38%        |

Note: The size of both of the above populations have greatly diminished between 1960-1967, i.e. between the last census and the writing of this dissertation.
Chapter 4
Appendix 2

Photograph of a Caravanserai

Marrakesh - 1965
Daoudiyat – Cité Mohammedia – Extension du Nord. These three names are for the same project. Daoudiyat is the traditional name of this area. Cité Mohammedia is a modern name recently coined and given for the development and Extension du Nord is the appellation given for the Northern part of the total redevelopment plan which when finished will have four extensions.

I. Photographs

A. Housing for the urban proletariat.

The majority of the dwellings are for the people moved from the fondouks of the Medina and to a limited extent from the Douars or bidonville-like communities such as Sidi Yusif bin 'Ali. The number of dwelling units is far less than the demand creating a situation in which competition is keen for acceptance and petty corruption makes its appearance.

B. Housing for the Middle Class: Civil Servants.

1. Apartment House – For bachelors and partial families, e.g. widows or widowers.

2. Duplex housing: Families of Civil Servants. Efforts were made to maintain as much privacy as possible reflecting values and living conditions in the Medina e.g. entrances to
living quarters were on opposite sides of the building; no window could look onto another dwelling and finally all terraces had walls sufficiently high to make it impossible to peer over.

C. Housing for the Wealthy

For $100 a person could buy a plot of land which included foundations and water and electrical outlets. The basic design of the house, a two story court house, was set by the municipality and had to be followed.

D. Overall Views

1. Shopping Centers.

2. Communal areas.
Housing for the Urban Proletariat.
Civil
Housing for the Middle Class: Servants
Apartment House
Civil
Housing for the Middle Class: Servants
Duplex Housing
Housing for the Wealthy
Overall Views: Shopping Centers.
Overall Views: Communal Areas.
Chapter 5
Appendix 1

Map of the Mellah of Marrakesh

Chapter 5
Appendix 2

The Ittihad Schools in Morocco as of October, 1964.

These are the Alliance Israelite Universelle schools which are now called Ittihad schools.
Ittihad Schools in Morocco

October 26, 1964

Schools

1. Ecole Normale Hébraique
   Circonscription d'Agadir
2. Inezgane
3. Taroudant
4. Tiznit
   Casablanca-Prefecture
5. Cours Complém. & Commerical
6. Ecole M. Nahon (r-de-ch.)
7. Ecole M. Nahon (étage)
8. Ecole N. Leven (droite)
9. Ecole N. Leven (gauche)
10. Ecole T.T. Cité Israelite
11. Ecole Ozar Hatorah
12. Ecole Y.D. Semach(garçons)
13. Ecole Y.D. Semach(filles)
14. Ecole ORT-IM (Val d'Anfa)
15. Ecole ORT-IM-AIN-Sebaa
16. Ecole Ort-IM (C.E.B.)

Directors

- Sebban, Emile
- Benisty, Denise
- Benhamou, Raphael
- Tapiero, Haim
- Gueron, Giuseppe
- Amiel, Claire
- Azoulay, Rachel
- Sion, Raphael
- Hadjez, Daniel
- Alfassi, David
- Ifrah, Elias
- Bassan, Joseph
- Hanania, Emy
- Fedotin, Michel
- Harrus, Sara
- Bensmien, Salomon
- Guigui, Amram

Address

- Rue du Chasseur Jules Gros OASIS
- 42 rue de Taroudant
- Ecole Ittihad-Maroc
- Ecole Ittihad-Maroc
- 8 rue de 1'Indochine
- 97 Bd de Bordeaux
- 97 Bd de Bordeaux
- 85 Bd Moulay Youssef
- 85 Bd. Moulay Youssef
- 174 Bd Ziraoui
- 118 rue des Anglais
- 83 bis Bd Moulay Youssef
- 83 bd. Moulay Youssef
- Val d'Anfa
- Ain-Sebaa Beaulieu
- 4 rue Eléonore Fournier
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Directors</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Institut pour les Sourds</td>
<td>Sadoun, Jacob</td>
<td>3 rue de l'Oise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Garderie Charles Finzi</td>
<td>Perahia, Rachel</td>
<td>163 Bd Ziraoui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca-Province</td>
<td>Bensimhon, Joseph</td>
<td>rue Commandant Lachèze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. El-Jadida</td>
<td>Perez, Yamine</td>
<td>rue des Martyrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circonscription de Fes</td>
<td>Bitton, Charles</td>
<td>Place du Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Fès: S. Lévi C.C.</td>
<td>Simha, Moïse</td>
<td>7 rue de l'Indochine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Fès: Ecole Mixte (V.N.)</td>
<td>Bitton, Régine</td>
<td>Place du Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Fès: S. Lévi (filles)</td>
<td>Levy, Raphael</td>
<td>rue Beni-Khaldoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Sefrou: Cours Complément</td>
<td>Levy, Raphael</td>
<td>Route El Menzel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Ksar-Es-Souk</td>
<td>Levy, Elysée</td>
<td>1 rue de Milbladen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Midelt</td>
<td>Cohen, Isaac</td>
<td>Ave. Mohammed V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Rich</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circonscription de Marrakech</td>
<td>Monsonego, Meyer</td>
<td>Ecole Ittihad-Maroc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Demnate</td>
<td>Penyer, Gédéon</td>
<td>rue Lemaigre Dubreuill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Essaouira C.C. &amp; Primaire</td>
<td>Penyer, Gédéon</td>
<td>rue el Mellal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Essaouira Talmud Torah</td>
<td>Goldenberg, Alfred</td>
<td>rue Arset El Maaût</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. G. &amp; M. Leven Marrakech</td>
<td>Camhy, René</td>
<td>rue Djenan El Afia</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. J. Bigart (garcons)</td>
<td>Camhy, Berthe</td>
<td>rue Djenan El Afia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. J. Bigart (filles)</td>
<td>Haroche, Lucien</td>
<td>Ecole Ittihad-Maroc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circonscription de Meknes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Meknès C.C. &amp; Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Directors</td>
<td>Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Meknès, J. Weill (Filles)</td>
<td>Valency, Marie</td>
<td>Rue du Dispensaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Meknès, Talmud Torah</td>
<td>Valency, Nissim</td>
<td>rue du Talmud Torah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Meknès Yéchiva Plaisance</td>
<td>Haroche, Lucien</td>
<td>rue el Menzel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circonscription de Taza</td>
<td>Serrouya, Matatia</td>
<td>rue Beni Mrime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Guercif</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circonscription de Tetouan</td>
<td>Abtan, Nissim</td>
<td>Ecole Ittihad-Maroc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Asilah</td>
<td>Marciano, Joseph</td>
<td>Quartier Castiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Alkartivir</td>
<td>Fereres, Elias</td>
<td>16 avenue Mohammed V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. La ra che</td>
<td>Yanni, Benjamin</td>
<td>21 rue de la Casbah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Tanger C.C., Commercial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Primaire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Tanger (filles)</td>
<td>Yanni, Henriette</td>
<td>60 rue Bouarra Kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Tetouan C.C. R &amp; S Ta</td>
<td>Assa, Léon</td>
<td>Ave. Moulay El Abbas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jouri et primaire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5
Appendix 3

Occupational Structure of Marrakesh
1964 - 1965

2. List of Jews with their occupations.
3. Special List of Jews with their occupations who gave money for the support of the Old Peoples home.

1 DH = .20¢ (twenty cents).
Jewish Community Organization of Marrakesh

1964-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Judah M. Abitbol</td>
<td>Financier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-President</td>
<td>Salomon Timstit</td>
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<td>Aaron Amzallag</td>
<td>Partner in Sugar Refinery</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Isaac Abtan</td>
<td>Professor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant Secretary</td>
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<td>Businessman – Cereals and nuts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>David Dayan</td>
<td>Architect</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant Treasurer</td>
<td>Nissim Sabah</td>
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MEMBERS OF THE BOARD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moise Azoulay</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaim Bitton</td>
<td>Wholesale grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses Azencot</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Abtan</td>
<td>Jeveler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Azran</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Cohen</td>
<td>Manager of flour mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Marc Soussana</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3. Hadida Brothers</td>
<td>Cereal Merchants</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. David Elkaim</td>
<td>Trucking Lines owner and merchant in salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Guy Abitbol</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
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<td>6. El Hacham Elbaz</td>
<td>Steel merchant</td>
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<td>7. Salomon Guenoun</td>
<td>Bicycle Merchant</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Meyer Essemouni</td>
<td>Insurance broker</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Maurice Bessedan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Salomon Dray</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. El Hakam Harrosh</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. David Assedou</td>
<td>Merchant in oils, wines and liquors</td>
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<td>13. Louis Senouf</td>
<td>Sugar merchant</td>
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<td>Jeweler</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Hanania Afriat</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
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<td>17. Charles Alfassi</td>
<td>Banker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Henry</td>
<td>Shoe Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Meyer Elmaleh</td>
<td>Banker</td>
</tr>
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<td>20. Meyer Bitton</td>
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</table>
21. Maurice Shoukrune Millionaire
22. Albert Azoulay Doctor
23. Maurice Elbar Doctor
24. Dr. Samanas Doctor
25. Armand Benhamon Doctor
26. Dr. Bakara Doctor
27. Salomon Benchitrit Real Estate business
28. Jacob Hamouth Trucker
29. Simon Attias Employer
30. Maurice Anidjai Insurance broker
31. Leon Bouzimian Restaurant owner
32. Amina Lugassy Moviehouse owner
33. Jacques Benisty Owner of gas station and rent-a-car agency
34. Aaron Ouaknin Car and appliance dealer
35. Simon Bitton Tailor
36. Leon Amzallag Merchant in textiles
37. Meyer Serfaty Tailor
38. Marc Moryoussef Building contractor
39. Albert Myara Government Official
40. David Dayan Architect
41. Mr. Moryoussef Employer
42. Victor Benisty Shoe merchant
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<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Marc Acoca</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>Joseph Wizman</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>Henri Kadouch</td>
<td>Tailor and Textiles</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Eli Benhayoun</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>63</td>
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<td>68.</td>
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<td>Quiner Benyayer</td>
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<td>85.</td>
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106. David Ohana  Textile merchant
107. David Alfassi  Textile merchant
108. David Abergel  Scrap Dealer
109. Iachiss Bouskila  Textile merchant
110. Meyer Dahan  Textile merchant
111. Haim Lasry  Financier
112. Elie Hazan  Thread merchant
113. Jacob Azran  Copper and brass ware merchant
114. Moise Attias  Scrap dealer
115. Albert Ohayon  Spice dealer
116. Moise Levy  Spice dealer
117. David Youli  Sugar refinery merchant
118. Joseph Bitton  Furniture merchant
119. Jules Attar  Surveyor
120. Gabby Rifkin  Bank employee
121. Laaziz Azencot  Investor
122. René Elhaddad  Tire dealer
123. Laaziz Assedou  Merchant
124. Jacob Dahan  Steel merchant
125. David Bouskila  Building supplies merchant
126. Moise Bouskila  Building supplies merchant
127. Monsieur Hazan  Wine merchant
128. Raphael Gabbay  Hairdresser
129. Meyer Nezri  Shoe merchant
130. Maklouf Perez  Shoe merchant
<table>
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156. David Attar - Investor
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158. Jean Bieder - Radio business
159. Elie Elbaz - Photography business
160. Meyer Azoulay - Radio Business
161. Haim Tangi
162. David Sabbah
163. Joseph Perez
164. Charles Serfaty
165. Messod Raffi
166. Henri Moyal
167. Nessim Sebag
168. Jojo Levy
169. David Lasry
170. Albert Abenhaim
171. Victor Alloul
172. Attias Pinhas
173. Isaac Abtan
174. Salomon Benisty
175. Salomon Nahmany
176. Raphael Benhaboun
177. Menaham Elbaz
178. Elhakaim Sebag
179. Haim Corcos
180. Jacob Mimran - Gas station owner
181. Elie Abisror
182. Raphael Abehesera
183. Mordocher Harroch
184. Jacob Bendavid
185. Jonas Cohen
186. Albert Elouk
187. Meyer Attar
188. Henri Elbaz
189. Saul Wizan
190. Rene Zrihen
191. Jacob Dahan
192. Moise Abitbol
193. Messod Cohen
194. David Sasportas
195. Moise Elhaleh
196. David Elmaleh
197. Isaac Dahan
198. Aaron Phima
199. David Bendavid
200. Messod Sasportas
201. Moise Lugnassy
202. Jacob Abitbol
203. Maklouf Maman
204. Haim Perez
205. Elias Azran

Spice Dealer
Butcher
Hairdresser
Bank Employee
Bank Employee
Bank Employee
Bank Employee
Bank Employee
Bank Employee
Manager of large European Owned Farm
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
Jeweler
<table>
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<td>214.</td>
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<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>215.</td>
<td>Elmkies Habib</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>216.</td>
<td>Moise Zrihen</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>218.</td>
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<td>Pharmacist</td>
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<td>220.</td>
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<tr>
<td>221.</td>
<td>Monsieur Benhamou</td>
<td>Industrialist - food processing plant - olives, olive oil and fruit</td>
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</table>
Chapter 5
Appendix 3.
List 3

Special List of Jews with Their Occupations Who Gave Money for the Old Peoples Home

1 DH. = .20¢ (twenty cents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
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<td>Isaac</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Abitbol</td>
<td>Monsieur</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Abtan</td>
<td>Monsieur</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Benharboun</td>
<td>Felix</td>
<td>Spice Merchant</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Afriat</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mamane</td>
<td>Monsieur</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Azran</td>
<td>Elias</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bendavid</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Abitbol</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Cohen</td>
<td>Haim</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
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<td>11. Sasportas</td>
<td>Mr.</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Afriat</td>
<td>Hanania</td>
<td>Jeweler</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ouaknine (Babaya),</td>
<td>Aaron</td>
<td>Owner of Automobile and Appliance business</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Assayag</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Dirhams</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sibony</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Automobile Salesman</td>
<td>20 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Sasportas (2)</td>
<td>Mr. et Mme.</td>
<td>Employees in large garage</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Marcel</td>
<td>Akoka (Acoca)</td>
<td>Beauty Salon operator</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Zrihen</td>
<td>Messod</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Cohen</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>Manager of flour mill</td>
<td>20 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Hazan</td>
<td>Marc</td>
<td>Employee in flour mill</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Benisty</td>
<td>Jacque</td>
<td>Volvo Automobile dealer</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Benchetrit</td>
<td>Salomon</td>
<td>Real Estate business</td>
<td>10 DH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Ruimy</td>
<td>Madame</td>
<td>Shoe Saleslady</td>
<td>5 DH.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5
Appendix 4

Surplus Food Distribution to the Muslim and Jewish Communities of Marrakesh

April, 1965

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Distribution of flour and oil to the Muslim population at the Police Station of the Secteur du Guéliz.

2. Store room where surplus food was distributed to the indigent of the Jewish community. On each door is a notice explaining the distribution i.e. the date of the distribution and what is to be distributed. The view is from outside in.

3. Another view from outside in of Jews in line for surplus food distribution.

4. A loaded cart with food for several families being transported to each recipients dwelling. Woman in foreground is carrying her ration.

5. "Berber" Jewish family from near Agouim. From left to right: husband of the young woman; wife of the father of young woman, Father of the young woman, young woman with her baby boy, brother of the husband of young woman.
Distribution of flour and oil to the Muslim population at the Police Station of the Secteur du Guéliz.
Distribution of flour and oil to the Muslim population at the Police Station of the Secteur du Guéliz.
Surplus Food Distribution Center
Jewish Community of Marrakesh
Jews Receiving Surplus Food
Transporting of Surplus Food
From the Jewish Distribution Center
"Berber" Jewish family from near Agouim. From left to right: husband of the young woman; wife of the father of young woman; father of the young woman; young woman with her baby boy; brother of the husband of young woman.
Chapter 5
Appendix 5

Jewish Community Organization of Marrakesh Budget - 1964-65

Income 133,000 DH = $26,600
Expenses 133,000 DH = $26,600

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Income</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Gifts and Collections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Subscription donors for Religious holidays.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Pesach</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Succoth</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Charity Boxes</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Collections for the soup kitchen</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gifts to the soup kitchen</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gifts to the nursery school</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. Jewish Communal Taxes</th>
<th>Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Meat</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Slaughter House</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wine</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Matzos</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Matzot</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wine</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Matzos</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Meat</td>
<td>50,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. Revenue from Properties and Activities of the Jewish Community Organization of Marrakesh</th>
<th>2,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rent from Real Estate</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


-280-
2. Rental of Synagogues  
   1,500

3. Services of Cemetery  
   3,500

4. Use of Holy Places  
   4,000

5. Sales of Products for Pilgrimages  
   4,000

6. Sale of materials for Cemetery  
   750

IV. Revenue and Gifts from Special Sources  
   1. Elgrably Fund  
      4,000

V. Subsidies from Other Agencies  
   1. City of Marrakesh  
      3,000

   2. Joint Distribution Committee for the Nursery School  
      30,600

   3. Joint Distribution Committee for Social Welfare  
      3,000

INCOME BY SECTIONS

I. Gifts and Collections  
   25,900

II. Jewish Communal Taxes  
   50,750

III. Revenue from Properties and Activities of the Jewish Community Organization of Marrakesh  
    15,750

IV. Revenue and Gifts from Special Sources  
    4,000

V. Subsidies from Other Agencies  
    36,600

TOTAL INCOME 133,000 DH

B. Expenses

I. Personnel - Salaries  
   1. David Abtan - Accountant  
      766.56 DH per month

   2. Raphael Bensanane - General Purpose Man  
      468.38 DH per month

   3. Isaac Azoulay - Messenger  
      155.70 DH per month
4. Uniform for Raphael Bensanane..... 370 DH

Total 17,057.68

II. Purchase of Supplies and Miscellaneous Expenses

1. Rent 1,200.00
2. Duties and Taxes 500.00
3. Furnishings, Maintenance and Repairs of Real Estate 1,000.00
4. Water, Electricity, Heat 240.00
5. Town Criers 600.00
6. Furniture for Office 150.00
7. Printing Expenses 400.00
8. Telephone and Stamps 650.00
9. Miscellaneous 1,000.00
10. Expenses for Cemetery 2,000.00
11. Materials for Cemetery 750.00
12. Dues 2,191.00
13. Expenses on the holiday of Pesach 250.00

Total 10,931.00

III. Social Welfare to the Needy

1. Weekly Charity (Penouche-Hilouk) 7,500.00
2. Charity on holidays 12,000.00
3. Burial of the Poor 1,500.00
4. Soup kitchen 20,100.32
5. Aid to Students 300.00

Total 41,400.32
IV. **Subsidies**

1. Scholarships                      3,000
2. Summer Camp                        500
3. Aid to Rabbis                      300
4. Community Council                  3,111
5. Nursery School                     42,600
6. Ozar Ha-Torah School               4,000
7. Social Welfare                     6,100

   **Total**                            59,611

V. **Expenditure of Special Funds**

1. Elgrably Fund                      4,000

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**EXPENDITURES BY SECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Personnel - Salaries</td>
<td>17,057.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Purchase of Supplies &amp; Miscellaneous Expenses</td>
<td>10,931.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Social Welfare to the Needy</td>
<td>41,400.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Subsidies</td>
<td>59,611.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Expenditure of Special Funds</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL EXPENSES** 133,000.00

---

**Note:** Translation of budget made by author.
Moroccan-Muslim Women at Work at Etlimar et Cie.
February - March, 1965