**The Social Dimension in the Planning of Cities in the Middle Morocco:**

**Salé’s Model**

Few studies have dealt with the topic of the history of city planning in medieval Morocco. Historians' neglect of this subject can be attributed to three main reasons. The first is the scarcity of urban morphographic writings from the medieval period. The second reason is the need for more awareness of the importance of architectural heritage and the neglect by regulatory bodies in activating legal protection for heritage sites and supporting those working on them. The third reason is historians' lack of interest in toponymy, which geographers traditionally dominated. Our choice of this topic aims to achieve two main objectives. The first is a methodological objective, which aims to build a comprehensive study through the field and cartographical studies and historical textual analysis. The second is a substantive objective, which aims to study the forms of planning in medieval Moroccan cities, as well as the extent of attention paid by the legislator to the social dimension in the distribution of areas, including residential areas and artisanal gatherings on the urban map, through the case study of the city of Salé.

**First** - **The early beginnings of planning the city of Salé and human migration's role in the built environment's growth and expansion.**

This study focuses on the early circumstances of the city of Salé to identify the natural and historical rules that governed its emergence, particularly concerning the city of Salé, then attempts to trace the process of human settlement of the emerging urban cell and its impact on the expansion of the built environment.

1. **An Attempt to Research the First Kernel:**

Salé did not achieve significant intellectual accumulations regarding source material and research studies, putting the researcher in an uncomfortable position compared to other cities. Generally, in the planning of the city of Salé, we face the confusion that some scholars have fallen into regarding this point. We need to clarify that the city is located near two major centers: the ancient Shalla (Chellah), and the modern Kasbah of Rabat (Kasbah of the Udayas), also referred to as Salé or Shalla in some sources. The material and historical evidence shows that human civilizations established themselves on the banks of the River Bouregreg and its surroundings, including the discovery of the Salé skull in the Dar Al-Kayed Belaroussi, which is located about six kilometers from the city of Salé and is estimated to be around 165,000 years old1. The Roman extension on the right side of the valley in the form of fortifications and agricultural lands further supports the historical reality. The excavations at En Ismir in Ouarzazate (عين سمير الولجة) also give us this information2. We also know that until around the 4th century CE/10th century AD, the banks of the River Bouregrag were the most likely place for the Moors to establish their garrisons against the Berbers, and this was not limited to one place, but rather multiple locations. In addition to Rabat, located in the "ancient city known as the ancient Shalla," the people lived and established connections through "connection points that connect."3 Up until the 5th century Hijri/11th century AD, the name "New Salé or Modern Salé" did not appear according to Al-Bakri4, while he was talking expansively and without hesitation about "Shalla," which he described as a "city with ancient standing artifacts," and located it in the "Valley of Salé."5 It was the same city that became part of the possessions of Emir Isa after the division of the kingdom of his father, the late Amir Mohammed, to his brothers6.

Furthermore, we must wait for the next century when it was referred to - perhaps for the first time - by Al-Idrisi (mid-sixth century AH / 12 AD) as "modern Salé " to distinguish it from the city of "ancient Shalla." Furthermore, the author of (Al-Nuzha/ النزهة) mentioned that the ancient Shalla - two miles from the sea on the bank of the same river, and "it is now - the author adds - in ruins, and it contains the remains of an existing building."7 It is noticeable that al-Idrisi did not have any evidence of the presence of any constructions in the vicinity of Old Salé on the sea coast that extends to the borders of Marsa Fadala (مرسى فضالة)8. It is necessary to wait for the author of the book (الاستبصار) (circa 587 AH / 1191 CE) to tell us about the large city created by the Caliph Yaqoub al-Mansur al-Muwahhid, which is connected to the eternal group. Rather, he confirms the existence of the city of "Al-Ashreen" (العشريين) on the eastern coast, "which is now known - adds the author - as Salé."9

1. **The stages of human settlement in Salé Region:**

The Andalusians built the city of Salé according to prevalent historical narratives. It is located on the coast and has an active port. Its military and commercial roles in the history of the Maghreb, particularly, cannot be ignored and helped shape the composition of the urban society and its reflection in the built fabric of the present.

Salé is well known for its openness, but despite its existence as a large city like Rabat-Fath (رباط الفتح), it was able to attract visitors from near and far through its maritime, economic, and cultural activities, as well as the interest of the ruling family members (سلاطين الأسر الحاكمة) in this youthful city.

The first residential nucleus witnessed by the field is associated with the name of the Andalusian family of Bani Ushra (Al-Ashrayun). As it is mentioned that the supreme ancestor of this family came from Andalusia and entered the service of the Banu Ifran10, who was controlling the political scene in the Far Maghreb after the demise of the Idrisid dynasty, at the end of the fourth century AH / 10 AD, so the family settled in the place11, and built for itself on a hill of land; A palace called "Lablida/ لبليدة." Then, the place soon witnessed the descent of a second family attributed to Tamim Al-Ifrani Al-Zanati (تميم الإفراني الزناتي) next to this first urban nucleus, at the foot of the dune, and he is the one who will give the Zanata (زناتة) neighborhood12.

From the first moment, it seems that the Alifranis (اليفرانيين) were partners from the outset in laying the foundations of the first foundations of the city of "modern Salé." but in its distant surroundings; As soon as it received a new third family, the Andalusian family of Bani Khayrun, whose settlement of the field would result in the birth of a new district that bore the name of the new arrivals, which is Darb Khiar (الأخيار)13.

[[1]](#footnote-1)

This new settlement, which was formed during the fourth or fifth century AH / 10-11 AD, soon began to grow and grow steadily due to the official interest that began with the Almoravids who built the Al-Shahba Mosque in the southeast of the first nucleus. With this construction, they laid the stone. The basis for building a new residential neighborhood for the new rulers and their men. They also fortified the city with solid walls and opened doors on the main roads, such as the Fez and Ceuta roads14.[[2]](#footnote-2)

With the decline of the Almoravid dynasty, the interest in modern Salé shifted to the Almohads, the new masters of the Islamic West. Caliph Abd al-Mumin took it as his headquarters - after Marrakech - because he stayed during his movements in the northwestern parts of the empire, received Andalusian delegations, mobilized armies, and prepared fleets. Moreover, there he died in the year 558 AH / 1163 AD. Yaqoub al-Mansur, the third of the Almohad caliphs, also pledged allegiance to it, and he told them to take care of this young metropolis15, including his construction of its greatest mosque on the ruins of the Mosque of Bani Ushra, to celebrate his victory in the battle of Zalaqa in 593 AH / 1196 AD. He also established on the underground side of the mosque a large school considered one of Morocco's first scientific schools. Furthermore, he proceeded to populate the plains of Tamsna and Azghar with the Crescent Arab tribes, which with time, turned into a human reservoir that provided the city with the necessary labor in various sectors and then furnished the areas of Salé, which were empty - until this date - of urban centers, by building the city of Ribat al-Fath16. According to what al-Nasiri tells us, quoting an Almohad source, the period coincided with the arrival of the Berber population who came from Fenzara (فنزرة)17, a place not far from Salé, fleeing to the metropolis emerging from the wars that broke out between the tribes18.

Thus, Salé would have realized a stage of demographic, architectural, and economic development and growth during the sixth century AH / 12 AD, what we read through the words of Sharif al-Idrisi, who described it as a "good and fortified city," its markets are popular, the abundance of its people's money, the abundance of its yields, and the cheapness of food in it, And the types of whales hunted from its valley, and a large number of exports and imports from Andalusia19. It was also linked to the city of Ribat al-Fath - its newly created neighbor - through a bridge made of wooden planks20.

With the rule of Bani Marin, the city completed the formation of its community, as it attracted delegations of immigrants under the influence of the role that it had, especially at the level of religious tourism, whose foundations were laid by Sultan Abu Inan Al-Marini, the builder of the hermits’ corner, and the owner of the well-known discourses in the books of Sufism with the famous ascetic Ahmed bin Muhammad bin Asher. Al-Shamini Al-Andalusi, a guest of Salé and its Sufi pole21. In addition to the latter, the books of classes and mysticism abound with the names of notables and sheiks from Morocco and Andalusia. They came to modern Salé, so they took it as a home and a residence from that ascetic mystic Abu Musa al-Dakali, who lived in the Askour Hotel from Salé, and the judge Abu Saeed Muhammad ibn Abi Saeed Fahajani al-Makansi22, and Abu Abd Allah Al-Telmisani23, and Abu Muhammad Abdel-Halim Al-Ghamad Al-Mursi24 and others. It also received two horizons from the Middle and Near Maghreb, and among the names preserved by the sources is Umar bin Zubayr al-Qafsi, whom the Hafsids expelled, so he sought refuge in Salé and became its ruler, and to him is attributed the introduction of sebkha cultivation and irrigation techniques.25[[3]](#footnote-3)

Perhaps one of the most important historical texts that depict the development achieved by modern Salé during the Marinid era is what was recorded by Ibn Al-Khatib Al-Salmani, who visited it, describing it in the following words: “The preferred Aqeela, the crippled Bateha, the rooted base, the detailed market, handsome and fresh, and the unifying between Bedouinism and civilization Minerals of cotton and flax, school and marstans, a corner like a garden, a valley with many eyelids, a safe drip when trembling, a great juice, excellent markets, even the tenderness of Abyssinia, surrounded by theatre, fertility that does not go away, the sea that despairs and wounds, and its cleft is a valley that completes its virtues and explains.26

**Second - the general planning of the metropolis:**

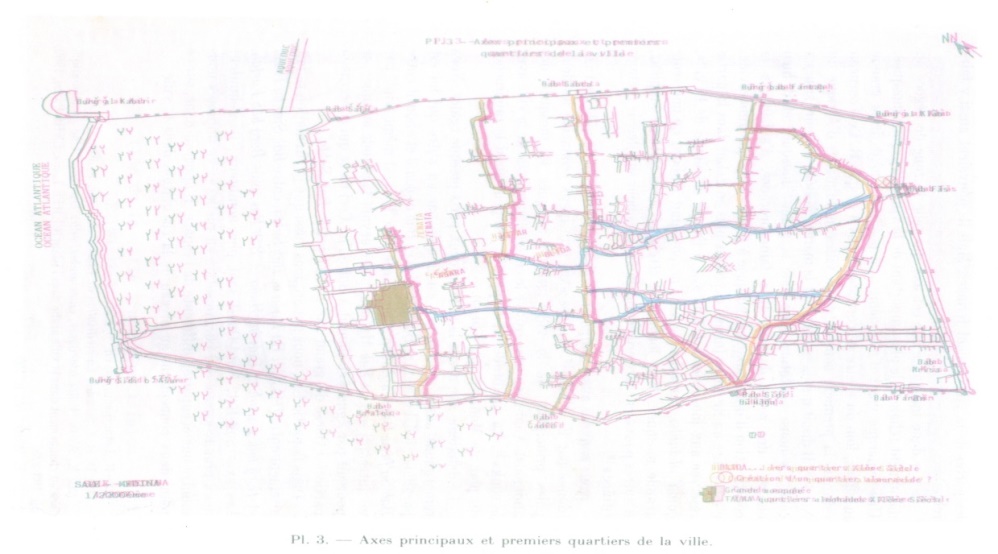
The location, topography, and historical factor clearly affected the design of the city of Salé, which we will try to explain in detail as follows:

**Specifics of planning the city of Salé**

The urban fabric of the city of Salé in the Middle Ages covers an area of 90 hectares, surrounded by a rectangular wall that is geometrically symmetrical. At the same time, it is bordered to the east and north by farms and fields that were considered the food belt of the metropolis throughout the various stages of its history27[[4]](#footnote-4).

It has been the norm in most medieval Moroccan cities that the Great Mosque occupies the middle center of the urban fabric, and from it, the most important arteries of the traffic network branch out from alleys and paths, and from its location, the commercial and craft areas, residential neighborhoods and the rest of the facilities related to the life of urban people are distributed. To what extent does this rule apply to the Islamic city of Salé, and what is the role of its greatest mosque in organizing its architectural field?

The nucleus of the city of Salé was known for constructing three mosques in a row, the first of which is the mosque of Beni al-Ashra, which is within the area occupied by their palace. Until this early date in the nascent metropolis, the mosque and the palace played the center's role. They practiced attracting new arrivals from Zanata, Bani Khayrun, and others, which was a reason for the birth of "Hummat al-Jami'" according to the author's expression (الاستبصار)28. However, with the advent of the Almoravids (c. 5 AH / 11 AD), the construction of a new mosque, to which its builder Sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfin transferred Friday prayers and sermons, was called "Al-Shahba" near Bab Fez, far from the first residential nuclei. This facility resulted in the Religious birth of a new Almoravid neighborhood29. Then, in the Almohad era, the center or the "home of the mosque" regained its role as an influential and effective element in drawing up the plan for the emerging city after the Caliph Ya'qub al-Mansur al-Muwahhid built the Great Mosque on the ruins of the ruined palace and mosque of Bani al-Ashra (593 AH)30. In delivering water to this religious and scientific compound and its new flashes over long distances from the pool springs in a Mamoura forest31.



**Map of the most important neighborhoods and districts in Salé taken from a book:**

**J . Hassar-Benslimane, *Le passé de la ville Salé*… p. 29.**

Thus, it seems that the urban planning of the city of Salé during its medieval era was governed by two distant mosques, the first in Al-Tala’a and the second near Bab Fez. They may have been the origin of drawing the main axes that linked these two religious centers, or rather between the two far-away the two neighborhoods (الحومتين) and then between the latter. Furthermore, between the important gates of the city; Along these axes, markets, hotels, craft workshops, and others spread. Also, the expansion that the urban field knew during the days of Bani Marin took place from the same axes in the direction of the west and southwest32[[5]](#footnote-5), which will be swept away by urbanization, and new facilities will be built, including two mosques and a school, the old navigator and the maristan, hotels, and others. Thus, the importance of this axis in linking the vital points in the city is evident. In this road network, Bab Fez is considered a link between the desert surrounding the city and extending to the borders of the walls and the urban space with all its religious, scientific, economic, and residential components. Via Bab Fez, goods of rural origin used to arrive in particular. Distant trade was carried out through it, as well as foreign visitors and tourists, as evidenced by its location in the orbit of the zawiya, which Sultan Abu Inan built in the eighth century AH / 14 AD outside the walls to accommodate travelers and visitors arriving in the city33.

Accordingly, it can be said that the development of the plan of Salé during its medieval era did not take place radially and circularly, in which the Great Mosque and the market occupy a central point, as is the case in most ancient Moroccan cities. Its second end ends at Bab Fez.

**Third - The Contributions of Toponymy in the Localization of Fields and Facilities with a Social Dimension:**

Toponymy is considered an essential source of historical studies because the names of places often reduce the memory of the place. Since our subject is related to urban society and its distribution in the field of dwelling and craft, the use of place names becomes necessary, noting that the field study that accompanies this process, if it is practically possible In the city of Salé, which still maintains its old urban fabric, and a number of its intermediate facilities.

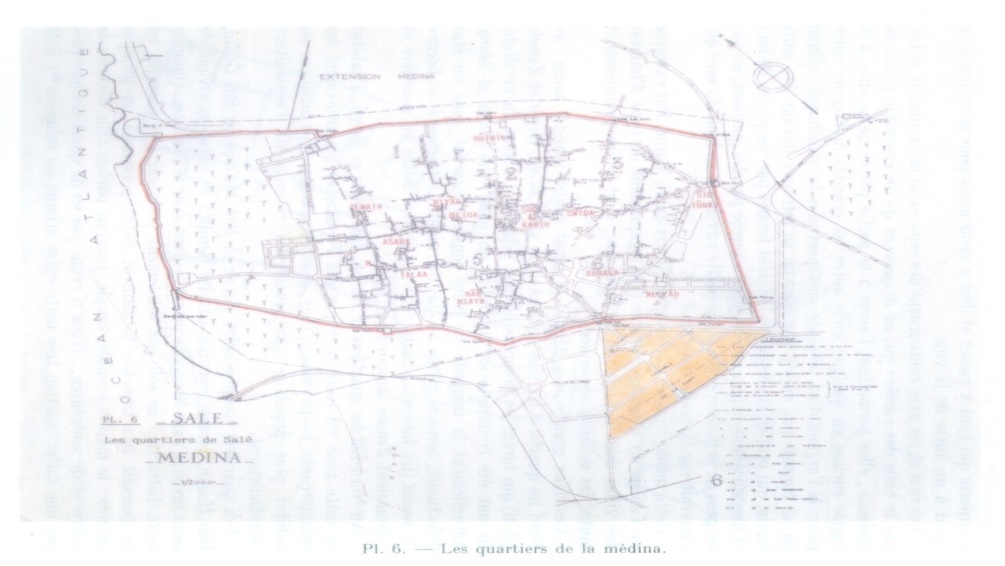
The organization of the architectural fabric and the distribution of activities in the field were not done arbitrarily, as indicated above. However, several environmental, strategic, human, and geographical factors were considered. Three types of fields can be distinguished in the plan of the city of Salé, as follows:

**1- Residential areas**

After the city of Salé passed the stage of embryonic formation, where the ar-Rabad or Houmah was like a large family, it opened up with time under the influence of multiple migrations, with which the neighborhood became closer to a residential cell inhabited by a group of families who enjoy one social behavior, and are similar in their behavior and lifestyle, including to tribe or clan (العشيرة)34.

Blida and the Zanata neighborhood, a neighborhood for the choice of the first neighborhoods in the emerging metropolis formed it. Its locations were taken south of the cemetery of Sidi Ibn Asher, in the northwestern part of the built area. Then the areas of the city were defined by the Almoravid construction of its walls (1073 AH / 1147 AD). However, Yusuf bin Tashfin’s construction of the Al-Shahba Mosque on the southeastern side35, far from the original nucleus, and the transfer of the Friday sermon (Khutbah - خطبة الجمعة) to it36, may benefit the high demographic growth rate in the emerging city to the extent that the Bani Al-Ashra Mosque no longer accommodates the total number of worshipers, meaning that the mosque came to meet an urgent spiritual need for A new resident has taken up residence in this district. We cannot imagine a mosque without worshipers.

[[6]](#footnote-6)

Furthermore, with the Almohad state, the city's first neighborhoods were strengthened by building the Great Mosque, a school and its facilities, and drawing water to this religious and scientific complex, which contributed to the expansion of the Al-Talaa neighborhood (حي الطالعة)37. [[7]](#footnote-7)The same period witnessed - apparently - the birth of a new residential neighborhood in Burmada, which is explained by the construction of the David Mosque, famous for its hermitage, "Lamkarjah / لمكارجة."

**A map of the neighborhoods of the city of Salé taken from the book:**

**J . Hassar-Benslimane, *Le passé de la ville Salé* …., p. 34.**

During the rule of the Marinid Sultanate, the residential fabric in Salé, Al Wasitia took its final form. During their reign, the metropolis experienced great demographic growth, reflected in the new facilities they established in the city, including the Zarqa Mosque in the Zanata neighborhood38. In addition, their construction of a second mosque known as the Marini Mosque concerning its daughters in the Bab Ihsain neighborhood explains the beginning of the formation of residential cells in this area. The residential areas were reinforced by establishing vital functional facilities, such as the Maristan, the Marinid School, and the Hermits' Corner near Bab Fez from outside the walls. Likewise, the care of Abu al-Hasan al-Marini in renewing the defunct Almohad water canals by building a unique canal over a great wall (the wall of the arches) starting from Ain al-Baraka, explains the urgent need for water under the pressure of demographic growth in the city39. It is not excluded that the old navigator was a follower of the meat of Bab Ihssayen was one of the secretions of this period before Moulay Slimane deported him to the alley between the baker's door and the artisan's house (دار الصّنعة)40.

Thus, the housing units - within the general urban fabric - included original residential nuclei, which witnessed increasing expansion with the care of the sultans, and stalactites surrounded them. The inhabited sphere also included the neighborhoods of Boutaweel, Bab Ceuta, and Souika on the northeastern side. This area also included hotels where merchants, villagers, and visitors to the city used to stay. Given the proximity of these neighborhoods to the city's gates on the one hand and to the markets and commercial shops on the other, it is assumed that their inhabitants are of Bedouin origins41. While other groups gradually took their homes between Al-Talaa and Bab Lamallaqa and in the direction of Bab Ihsain. The settlement of these neighborhoods was allocated to notables and large scholarly families or those who lived from the proceeds of trade, noting that the distinction between the groups of society - benefiting from the siege of Benslimane - was not always correct in Salé. The simple house was often adjacent to the house decorated with zellij and sculpture42.

It should be noted that the paths that housed the residential homes were not closed with doors in the manner of other cities, and these paths were not fortified until after the year 1260 AH / 1844-1845 AD after the French struck Salé with cannons. By building "doors with arches of stone and beams of juniper wood."43.[[8]](#footnote-8)

**2- Commercial and craft fields:**

It should be noted that the market and the professional are rarely separated in the history of crafts and industries in ancient Moroccan cities. The shop or the shop may originally be a small craft workshop in which the owner and his assistants (les apprentis) manufacture the thing and prepare it for sale in the same shop.

The market - in general - has symbolic and material connotations in the Islamic metropolis, as it is a spatial symbol for an economic action - whether trade or industry - that is, the original function in its existence, but it is also the preferred place - at the level of symbolic connotations - for people to gather and meet, where communication is renewed between the people of different neighborhoods Or between locals and horizons, where deals are concluded, the news is exchanged, new relations are forged, where peace and war are also declared. The guilty are punished, and where viewing is also held through the "circle" (spectacle de la rue), as was the case in the Andalusian cities44 and is still the case in The ancient Moroccan cities; in short, it is an area for multiple social activities that are difficult to count.

The city of Salé, which witnessed the aspects of the development of the Moroccan city during the Middle Ages, presents a pioneering model in terms of the multiplicity and diversity of craft activity, the source of livelihood for the majority of the urban population. It is an ancient legacy that the second still retains many of its secrets to the present time. The nature of the craft and the environmental space were taken into account in the distribution of craft workshops in the field, and then the interest of the urban people, according to the language of the jurists, “no harm or harm.”

**1. Craft fields in the city of Salé**

The markets were organized within the city, in part extending between the Great Market and Bab Fez in the form of a large alley away from the residential areas45. The mraket took its place away from it.

Craft facilities varied in Salé Wasitia and were distributed in the vital areas of the city. The historian of the city, Ibn Ali al-Dukkali, was able to keep a valuable confinement document in one of his books that included a list of the properties confined to the Marinid school. It is dated Friday, Jumada al-Thani 19, 742 AH / December 1, 1341 CE. Three hotels and a quarter of the hotel are the Al-Sabatrien Hotel, the Abi Al-Aas Hotel, the Al-Masada Hotel, and a quarter of the Ibn Ahmad Hotel. There are two models, namely the A[[9]](#footnote-9)l-Qasri and Al-Haj Yaqoub models, and ruin in front of the Al-Sabatrien Hotel, and twenty-eight and a half shops, ten of which are in the Al-Sabatrien market, four of which are in Al-Rahba, and the rest In the Grand Hotel, and a storehouse of salt, including outside Salé Al-Maqsr, the old and the Lesser saltines, one-third of Al-Sharif’s salty, one-third of Al-Khatt’s salty, one-third of Al-Tiyabin salty (sic), Al-Franj lake, and four feddans in Bulja Bani Maadan and Muraba’a in Esmir46.

Suppose this important document includes talk about establishments of a vocational and commercial nature that are endowed with one school. What about the rest of the other establishments that are endowed with mosques, schools, hospitals, etc.? Then what do we know about private property? The picture that we can form about artisanal architecture and its activities in Salé is greater than what we have from the source arguments to confirm its intense presence within the urban fabric during the medieval era. However, the historical extension of most of these crafts and crafts to the beginning of the 20th century, according to what Ibn Ali al-Dukkali wrote, may help us form an idea of the most important craft workshops, the source of livelihood for most of the city's residents.

A number of crafts related to the life of the urban people were active in Salé and took their places in the vital commercial areas on the sides of the alleys, and the alley is often known by the name of the craft practiced in it47. The city specializes in the knitting industry, which most of the population is skilled in. There were also workshops for manufacturing cotton and linen and its embroideries48, in addition to weaving carpets, braiding silk, sewing buttons, and embroideries on luxurious clothes, which are crafts that women specialize in homes49. The city's people also specialized in the manufacture of rugs, and they excelled in mastery, quality, and stylization, making them one of the materials of the internal Moroccan trade. Indeed, the rugs of Salé were transported to Europe50. The residents of Salé also took care of the comb industry, which was carried to various parts of Morocco, and the masters of this industry relied on wood brought from the nearby Mamoura forest51.

It should be noted that most of these craft workshops took place within the city along the major traffic axes. In parallel with these craft workshops that furnished the urban map of Salé Al Wasitia, hotels were established along the main alleys, some of which are named in the document whose text is included above; It was in these buildings that the village merchants spent their nights, and where goods were stored and sometimes sold.

As for foodstuffs, they were displayed at the entrances to the doors overlooking the neighboring desert. Bab Fez was singled out as a main entrance to receive goods of rural origin, to meet the needs of the population, such as vegetables, ghee, meat, etc., and at Bab Fez, the Thursday market was held before its departure away from the city walls. While the "Zar'a Room" took its place in the market square, where all kinds of grains were displayed seven days a week52.

The Salawis also started in the pottery industry and were famous for it, so they established many craft workshops and warehouses to store their production, which was confirmed by ancient archaeological discoveries in the Sania area of ​​the presenter of Hajj Abdel Qader Hamdoush located in the spinning market of the Al-Hajjamin Mosque53, and other recent ones that took place during the past year, that is, in the year 2017, in Dar Gunpowder, where pottery-making workshops were found, including kilns and pottery finds54. It is known that the Salawi pottery was marketed to all parts of Morocco due to its quality and the intensity of the demand for it55.

The Salawis also excelled - along with the Rabatis - in tanning long before the people of Fez, Tetouan, and Marrakech shared with them. It was considered one of the most important crafts in the city, so they excelled in tanning and dyeing leather, coloring it and beading it as slippers, saddlery, sacks, etc., and these industries were transported to foreign countries as much as they were carried to the rest of the countries of the Maghreb56. In view of the dirty nature of the craft and the polluting of the environment, and what it requires of a wider space and abundant water, it took its role in the many fountains that surrounded the urban facilities within the walls; Until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, there were leather tanneries located in a spacious area connected to the Al-Shahba Mosque, next to the new mellah57. The people of Salé also worked with plasterers; some took their places outside the wall58.

**[[10]](#footnote-10)**

**2 - Activities related to the sea (Nautical Activities):**

Maritime activity occupied an important place in the activity of the people of Salé, given the city's role in the Swahili and distant sea navigation.

The people of Salé - by its location overlooking the sea and the river - specialized in professions related to maritime activity. The author of (Foresight) talked about the activity of its port, which used to receive merchants from Andalusian cities, especially Seville, who carried much oil to it and supplied it from its coast with various types of foodstuffs59.

However, the role of Salé in maritime activity was further strengthened during the eighth century AH / 14th century CE, following the construction of a ship-making workshop known as the "Dar al-Sina'a" by the engineer Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn al-Hajj al-Ishbili, and by order of Sultan Yaqoub ibn Abd al-Haq al-Marini; This workshop was considered one of the largest Marinid installations in the city, according to what was answered by the historian of Salé Ibn Ali al-Dukkali, as he says about that: "Hafeel Qibli Salé built the House of Industry on the side of its valley. This is because the water was brought from the valley to the door that is adjacent to the Hassan Mosque from the other side in a large canal, so if a new ship is built in this place. I want to send it into the valley; the said canal is opened, the water enters, and the ship floats in it, so it comes out of the frontal door swimming on the surface of the water until it falls into the water. Therefore, the valley's arch of the frontal door rose very high, about a hundred feet, so that the boat would come out sawn in castles."60

Another craft whose activity was linked to seawater was drying salt as a source of livelihood for the people until recently61. The artisans used to dry it on the banks of the valley, then collect it and store it in warehouses established inside the city. There seem to be many salt shakers in Salé Wasitia, and reference was made to five of them in the endowment document containing the list of properties confined to the Marinid school. The same document also included a reference to a store of salt/ salt stock (مخزن للملح)62. [[11]](#footnote-11)

**Conclusion:**

Thus, it becomes clear that the planning of Moroccan cities in the Middle Ages was controlled by several factors, the most important of which are the location and topography, in addition to the city’s functional civil role in the country’s history. Therefore, it is not easy in reality - based on the Salé model - to talk about a unified Moroccan Islamic plan governed and managed by one hall. On several schemes. However, the architectural fabric with a social dimension, including residential neighborhoods and craft workshops, was organized in the field according to fixed rules that we rarely see in our current cities. The comfort of the urban people was taken into account according to the jurisprudential rule “neither harm nor harm,” the nature and specificity of the craft, and the natural environmental field.

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   3. ابن حوقل، صورة الأرض، منشورات دار مكتبة الحياة، بيروت، 1992، ص. 82.

   4. يشير الأستاذ محمد فتحة إلى أن البكري خلط بين سلا وشله، بيد ان دراستنا للنص أفادت ان صاحبه كان واضحا بحيث لم يتحدث نهائيا عن سلا الحديثة واشار فقط الى "شله" المدينة الخربة التي حددها على "وادي سلى". انظر فتحة، جوانب ...، المرجع السابق، ص. 18.

   5. البكري، المصدر السابق، ص. 87.

   6. نفسه، ص. 124.

   7. الإدريسي، كتاب نزهة المشتاق في اختراق الآفاق، عالم الكتب، بيروت، ط. 1409/ 1989، ط.1، المجلد الأول، ص 238- 239.

   8. الادريسي، المصدر السابق، ص. 239.

   9. مجهول، كتاب الاستبصار في عجائب الأمصار، تحقيق الدكتور سعد زغلول عبد الحميد، دار النشر المغربية، الدار البيضاء، 1985، ص. 140.

   10. يميل الباحثون إلى ربط الأسرة بالكاتب أحمد بن مدبر البغدادي أخي إبراهيم وزير المعتمد على الله العباسي، ويعتقد أن دخوله إلى الأندلس تم في عهد المنصور ابن أبي عامر، وأنه حارب إلى جانبه وقد نوه الشعراء بحروبه ومواقفه . انظر : بنشريفة (محمد)، بني عشرة، معلمة المغرب، منشورات الجمعية المغربية للتأليف والترجمة والنشر، مطابع سلا، 1413 / 1992، المجلد 5، ص. 1544- 1545.

   11. الاستبصار، المصدر السابق، ص. 140؛ ابن علي الدكالي (محمد) ، الإتحاف الوجيز بأخبار العدوتين، تحقيق مصطفى بوشعراء، منشورات الخزانة العلمية الصبيحية بسلا- المغرب، مطبعة المعارف الجديدة، ط. 2، 1996، ص.101.

   12. حجي، سلا- التاريخ، المرجع السابق، ص . 5060 ؛

   NACIRI (M), Salé. Etude de géographie urbaine, Revue de Géographie du Maroc, N° 3-4, 1963, p. 15.

   13. فتحة (محمد)، جوانب من تاريخ سلا من التأسيس إلى بداية القرن العشرين، مطبعة الرباط نيت المغرب، الرباط، 2012، ص. 19؛ حجي، المقال السابق، ص. 5061. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. 14. فتحة (محمد)، المرجع السابق، ص. 19.

   15. حجي (محمد)، المقال السابق، ص.5061 .

   16. حجي، نفسه، ص. 5061.

   17. يفيد الاستاذ الناصري بان فنزرة كانت بالموضع الذي تحتله حاليا مدينة لخميسات وان رحيلهم الى سلا حدث في العهد الموحدي اعتمادا على ما ورد في مخطوط لابي بكر الصنهاجي صاحب المهدي بن تومرت. انظر : NACIRI (M). art. cit, p. 15

   18. NACIRI (M), art. cit, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. 19. الإدريسي، المصدر السابق، ص. 239.

   20. الاستبصار، المصدر السابق، ص. 141.

   21. حجي (محمد)، المقال السابق، ص. 5061 ؛ ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 110.

   22. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 116.

   23. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 116.

   24. ابن الزيات التادلي (أبو يعقوب يوسف)، التشوف إلى رجال التصوف، تحقيق أحمد التوفيق، منشورات كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية، ط. 3، ص. 205 ؛ ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 106.

   25. HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), Le passé de la ville de Salé dans tous ses états, Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris, 1992, p. 22.

   26. ابن الخطيب، معيار الاختيار في ذكر المعاهد والديار، تحقيق الدكتور محمد كمال شبانة، مكتبة الثقافة الدينية، القاهرة، 1423 / 2002، ص. 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. 27. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 79، إحالة رقم 80.

   28. الاستبصار ...، المصدر السابق، ص. 140

   29. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 59 ؛ HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), op. cit., p. 71

   30. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 60 ؛ Ibid

   31. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. 32. يذكر ان احمد بن عاشر الاندلسي كان يقطن بدرب الفرات بسلا بإزاء باب المعلقة. انظر : ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 110، إحالة ص. 27.

   33. HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), op. cit., p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. 34. بنرمضان (زليخة)، التخطيط المادي لمدينة سبتة الإسلامية : محاولة في إعادة بناء التركيبة الحضرية، مجلة كلية الآداب بتطوان، عدد خاص بندوة سبتة التاريخ والتراث، عدد 3، 1410/ 1989، ص. 63.

   35. يقع بالقرب من ضريح سيدي علي بن أيوب.

   36. ابن علي الدكالي، المصر السابق، ص. 59 ؛ HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), op. cit., p. 70 [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. 37. اابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 60 ؛Ibid., p. 71

   38. سمي بالزرقاء لان اسطوانه فرش بالحجارة الزرقاء الصلدة المجلوبة من انقاض مدينة شالة الخربة. أنظر: بن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 69.

   39. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 60.

   40. نفسه، ص. 73.

   41. BROWN (Kenneth L.), Les gens de Salé, Ed. EDDIF, Casablanca, 2001, p. 75.

   42. HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), op. cit., p. 33.

   43. ابن علي الدكالي، المصر السابق، ص. 76 [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 44. ARIE (R) , L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232- 1492), Ed. E. DE BOCCARD , Paris, 1973 ; p. 410.

   45. HASSAR-BENSLIMANE (J), op. cit., p. 35.

   46. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 67، إحالة رقم 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. 47. الوزان، ص. 208 ؛ الدكالي، نقسه،

    ص. 46.

    48. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 45.

    49. نفسه، ص. 47.

    50. نفسه، ص. 46

    51. الوزان، ص. 208- 209.

    52. BROWN (Kenneth L.), op., cit, p. 69.

    53. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 83، إحالة رقم 86.

    54. اشرف على عمليات الحفر فريق من الاساتذة الباحثين من المعهد الوطني لعلوم الاثار والتراث بالرباط ولم تنشر بعد التقارير العلمية حول هذا الاكتشاف الجديد في سلا.

    55. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 83،

    56. ابن علي الدكالي، نفسه، ص. 46.

    57. نفسه، 79 ؛ BROWN (Kenneth L.), op., cit, p. 70

    58. انظر الوثيقة الحبسة في الإحالة 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. 59. الحميري، ص. 319.

    60. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 77

    61. BROWN (Kenneth L.), op., cit, p. 70 .

    62. ابن علي الدكالي، المصدر السابق، ص. 67، إحالة رقم 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)