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## AFFECT AND THE HISTORY OF COLONIAL MOROCCO: AFFLICTIONS AND EXILE IN SIDI MUFADDAL AFAYLĀL'S DIARY DURING THE SPANISH OCCUPATION OF TETOUAN (1860–62)

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### ABSTRACT

This article places affect at the centre of the history of Spanish colonialism in Morocco. Building on the *kunnāsh* (diary) of the scholar Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, who was exiled during the Spanish occupation of Tetouan (1860–62), I interrogate the exiled body as the locus of the tension between the poetic and the politic, as a site of knowledge and world-making. I lay out the afflictions Afaylāl described in his writings, and the different (healing) practices he put in place – all of which reveals the plurality of the medical notions and practices that made up mid-nineteenth-century Moroccan culture. The analysis complicates the customary ways in which religious notables' behaviour in the face of colonialism has been conceptualised, and shows that embodied and affect-oriented practices (in addition to sustained scholarly learning) articulated the Islamic 'cosmopolitan republic of letters' in which Afaylāl belonged.

### INTRODUCTION

At the end of September 1859, the protagonist of this paper, the religious notable Mufaḍḍal Afaylāl, travelled with some of the religious and political notables from Tetouan, his city, and from the northern Moroccan region of Jbāla to Fez to deliver the oath of allegiance (*bā'ya*) to Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1859–73) (Afaylāl, n.d., 47–51). Afaylāl was the scribe of the oath, which he wrote in golden ink and proudly transcribed in his personal diary (*kunnāsh*) (Ibid, 26–28). A few weeks earlier, Spain had reported an act of aggression against a post in Ceuta/Sebta by members of the Anjira tribe, and requested a number of compensations, including the expansion of the borders of the enclave (Daoud and Daoud 2008, 140; al- Bayāḍ 2010, 118). The Spanish demands reflected the increasingly threatening language that Europeans came to employ with the Makhzan (the Moroccan state) in the nineteenth century (Miège 1961, 386). Similar conflicts had occurred in the previous decade

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